

A New Approach to the
Social Capital and the Social Networks
of Australian Families

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Summary

The existence of families has long been seen as fundamental to the structure and health of a society. Nevertheless, current sociological thought sees family in terms of a 'haven', as a private, isolated unit, a place in which individual members can retreat from society. The reality of 'family' in today's Australian society does not fit this model, if it ever did. This thesis aims to provide a new approach to the family, one that sees family as active and engaged. It also argues that, as a result of its connected nature, this family is able to provide a type of value to its members. This value is conceived of as social capital. The ability of this family to generate social capital through its networks makes the family an interactive social entity, underpinning its position as part of the structure of society.

However, some social networks are more able to supply benefits than others. By exploring types of participation in terms of social, community, civic and economic participation, as well as formal and informal engagement, the thesis argues that while active participation is essential in generating benefits there are factors which can impinge on such participation. The effects of 'place' or the embedded locations of networks is undoubtedly important in bonding people within communities and acting as a bridge to others, however, the thesis finds that communities of interest generate more social capital. The thesis also argues that attitudes toward family independence or autonomy may compromise network exchange. Variations in the meaning of the norm of independence either emphasize the interdependency of society or highlight a definitive responsibility of the individual and family. In the former, the interdependency of society is emphasized. In the latter, network exchange is

compromised. Independence thus becomes an essential element in the measurement of social capital and a cultural dimension of why some social networks are better able to supply benefits.

Declaration

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled *A New Approach to the Social Capital and the Social Networks of Australian Families* has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of this thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

The research presented in this thesis was approved by Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: HE24OCT2003-D02637.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In an age in which individualization and globalisation have precipitated renewed debates not just about the place of the family in contemporary society, but about the possibility of society itself, family sociology literature often suggests that family, as a private haven of retreat from the world, may be in demise (Popenoe 1993: 536). There is little doubt that the family of the past has changed and that families are now more diverse than ever, but a strength of the family is its ability to adapt and adjust to wider changes in society. Family still 'remains at the core of human existence' (Gelles 1995: 511). Rather than add to concern about its demise, I align my research with a more nuanced idea of family, one that presents a more engaged concept of family as a social unit that crosses the divides between private and public. Family is not just an isolated unit that provides a haven for individuals, but a social entity that provides a web of sociability which acts as a provisioning base. The social ties maintained by the family are the means of integration of the family into society and vice versa. These social ties not only act as influences upon attitudes, but as links for marshalling resources inherent within the ties. It is through these external connections that a family is able to gain the joys of extended kinship, friendship, emotional support, encouragement and inspiration, as well as the practical and financial support that occurs through daily interactions. The *family social network* is a key way of viewing family as a dynamic and important unit. Through it, resources are marshalled in a way that is substantially different from that

found by an individual within the workplace. For example, this type of network provides a broad field of support which includes family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances, as well as workforce associates.

This thesis argues that family is a vibrant, ongoing, engaged and outgoing unit. From this position, Australian families can be seen as significant repositories of social resources for their members, for those within their networks and by extension, for society as a whole.

1.1 Perspectives on Families

To situate current perspectives on family, consider the changes in family life that have occurred in the twenty-first century. Firstly, there has been a pluralization of family forms (Beck and Beck Gernsheim 1995: 141). As the rate of marriage has decreased, cohabitation has risen, changing the relational nature of couples. While the number of one-parent families, stepfamilies and blended families has continued to escalate, the family unit increasingly does not include children. The practises of family have also altered as women have increasingly entered and stayed in the workforce. All of these changes have escalated in recent times and contributed in one form or another to current conceptions of family.

Secondly, the latter part of the twentieth century has also seen changes in family formation (Bianchi & Casper 2005: 94). Where once marriage existed to ‘regulate the sexual relations of men and women in a way that favours social stability and binds men, in particular, to their children by binding them to the mother of their children’

(Australian Family Association 2003: 2), contemporary attitudes to marriage are now more relaxed. In Western societies marriage is now seen as a personal commitment between a man and a woman, with the concept not necessarily associated with parenthood. Giddens argues there is a shift towards ‘the pure relationship’ (Giddens 1992: 58). Although each person is committed to the other, the relationship continues ‘only in so far as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfactions for each individual to stay in it’ (Giddens 1992: 58). This attitude has altered the significance of marriage for life.

Marriage is also no longer the only acceptable form of committed relationship: cohabitation is often seen as an alternative. Table 1.1 displays the increase in cohabitating couples in Australia from 1986 to 2001, indicating a steady increase in cohabitation of close to two percentage points every five years (deVaus 2004: 115).

Table 1.1 Percentages of Cohabiting Couples in Australia

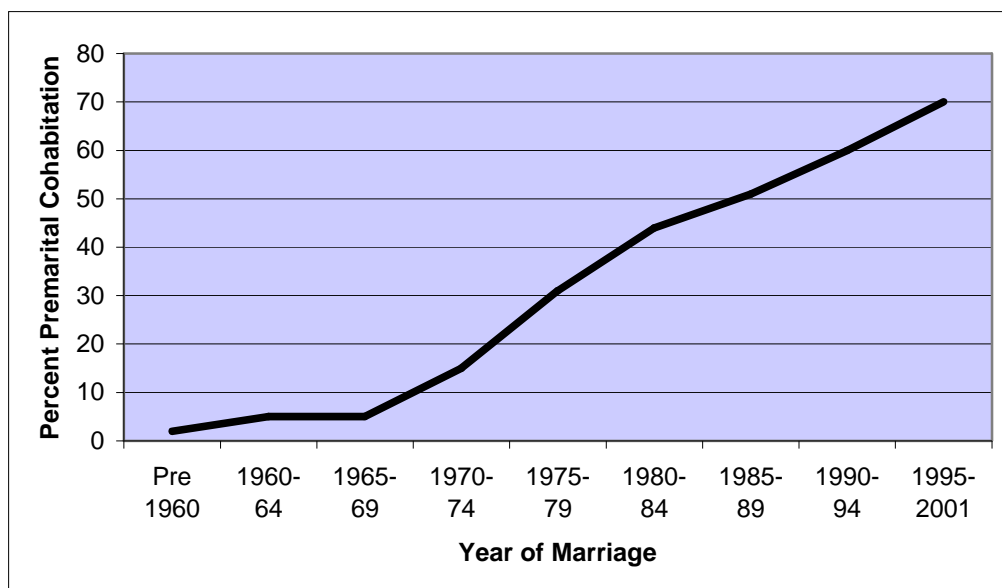
Year	Percentage of couples in cohabitating relationships	Percentage of increase
1986	5.7	-
1991	8.2	2.8
1996	10.1	1.9
2001	12.4	2.3

(Source: deVaus 2004: 115)¹

¹ DeVaus has compiled these figures from Hilda 2001 (FaCS 2002a) – see deVaus 2004:115.

Cohabitation and family formation are not necessarily synonymous, at least as far as self-perception is concerned. While many cohabitating couples see themselves as forming a family, others appear to live together with no notion of family involvement. Although there is no evidence of whether these couples consider themselves to be a family or not, deVaus (2004: 114) has found that cohabitation is often a prelude to marriage. Of those who married in Australia in 2001, 72 percent had already lived together with their marriage partner suggesting that each should be considered as part of the process of family formation. Figure 1.1 displays the increase in the proportion of marriages preceded by cohabitation in Australia from pre1960 to 2001.

Figure 1.1 Proportion of Marriages Preceded by Cohabitation by Year of Marriage, Australia, pre 1960-2001



(Source: deVaus 2004: 115)²

While the rates of cohabitation are increasing, there has been a 17 percent decline in the size of the married population in Australia in the last 25 years (deVaus 2004: 160).

² DeVaus attributes these figures to Hilda 2001 (FaCS 2002). He notes these are for first marriages only (deVaus 2004: 115).

There has also been an increase in the rate of those never married. DeVaus claims this has risen from ‘a quarter of all those aged 15 and over in 1976 to almost a third (32.8 percent) in 2001’ (deVaus 2004: 160). Table 1.2 displays the marital status of the Australian population 15 years + by percentage from 1954 to 2001, demonstrating these changes.

Table 1.2: Marital Status of Australian Population 15 Years+ by Percentage, 1954-2001

Year	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Separated	Divorced
1954	25.7	64.1	7.2	1.9	1.1
1961	25.5	64.2	7.2	2.0	1.1
1966	26.3	63.4	7.2	2.0	1.2
1971	24.9	64.5	7.1	2.0	1.5
1976	25.0	63.3	6.9	2.5	2.2
1981	26.8	60.1	6.8	2.5	3.7
1986	28.4	57.8	6.5	2.6	4.7
1991	29.3	56.2	6.3	2.9	5.3
1996	30.5	53.3	6.4	3.4	6.4
2001	31.6	51.4	6.2	3.4	7.4

(Source: deVaus 2004: 163)

This changing status of the population is important because it heralds the decrease in family formation through marriage and the increase in lone parent families through divorce (where children remain in the family). The Australian Institute of Family Studies (2006: 1) maintains that as a percentage of family types in Australia, one-parent

families have increased from 6.5 percent in 1976 to 10.7 percent in 2001. Lone parenthood is now so common it could increasingly be seen as a new stage of the family life cycle (Irwin 2000: 7). This increase is so sharp deVaus predicts that lone parent families will account for between 29 to 63 percent of Australian families by 2026, depending on projection assumptions (deVaus 2004: 6-8).³ Table 1.3 shows the increase in lone parent families in Australia from 1976 to 2001.

Table 1.3 One-Parent Families (with dependent children) in Australia as Percentage of Family Types, 1976-2001

1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
6.5	8.6	7.8	8.8	9.9	10.7

(Source: Australian Institute of Family Studies 2006: 1)

Families are also formed where women have children with no ongoing partner. DeVaus (2004: 44) claims in Australia in the year 2001, 11.6 percent of children were born to single women who did not reside with their partners.

As well as these changes, in 2001, 1.8 percent of Australian families were stepfamilies and 8.9 percent of couples with children under the age of 18 were blended families (deVaus 2004: 6-8), supporting Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's claim of the diversity of family forms. A stepfamily can be defined as one that contains at least one child who is a biological child of one of the parents, with no children between the couple. A blended family includes at least two children and a couple. One of these children must be a

³ These figures were compiled from 31 different surveys collected by the ABS, various universities and The Australian Institute of Families Studies – see deVaus 2004: x-xiv.

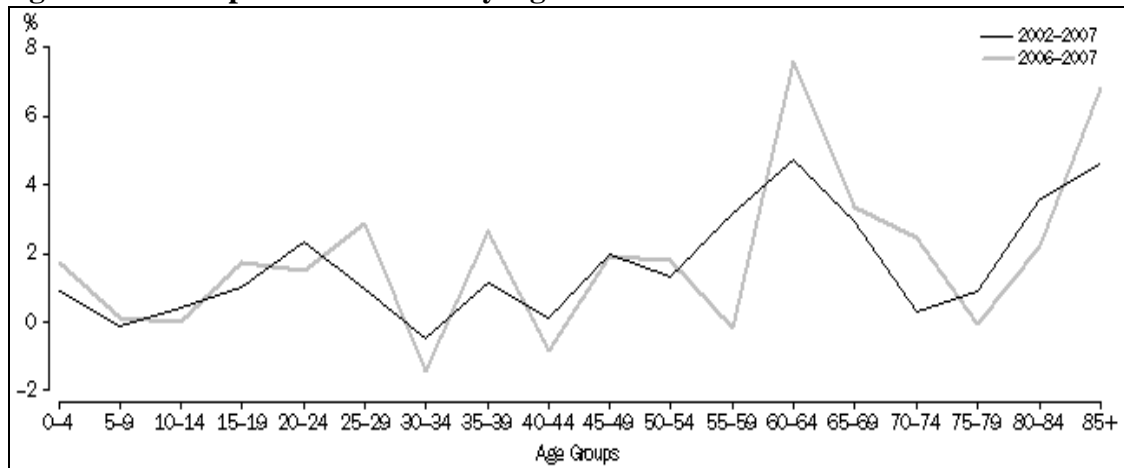
stepchild of one member of the couple and a biological child of the other, while the other child must be a biological child of both parents

Thirdly, there has also been a change in family structure. Weston and Stanton (2002: 47) found that in 2001, 43.2 percent of families in Australia did not include children. Some were pre-child families, some post-child and some couples did not intend to have children. This represents a significant change from previous years. DeVaus reports, 'Between 1976 and 2001, the percentage of child free couples increased [in Australia] from 28 per cent of all families to 35.7 per cent' (deVaus 2004: 21). In fact, deVaus claims that by 2016, couples without children will become the most common family type in Australia (deVaus 2004: 6-8). This trend is a result of not only more controls over fertility, but changing social attitudes and an aging population. The dominance of birth control and the availability of abortion have given women greater control over their fertility than ever before (deVaus 2004: 184). Attitudes towards childlessness have also changed. In the past, childlessness was seen as involuntary, occurring either because of the physical inability to have children or the inability to catch a partner. It is now increasingly seen as voluntary. Weston and Qu (2001: 12-14) suggest various reasons for this voluntary childlessness. These include practical factors, such as failure to establish or maintain relationships, having stepchildren, or a focus on pursuing individual freedom and autonomy. An outright lack of interest in being a parent or having grave concerns about raising children in today's world were also quoted as reasons for childlessness. This trend seems significant as it suggests an altered relationship to children by contemporary cohorts.

The ageing population can also account for the increase in families without children.

Figure 1.2 reflects the ageing nature of Australia's population between 2002 and 2007.

Figure 1.2 Population Growth by Age in Australia 2002 - 2007



(Source: ABS 2008)

During this period, 'the population aged 60-64 years recorded the largest growth in Australia, growing 4.7%. The population aged 85 and over also recorded large growth over this period, up 4.6%' (ABS 2008). With lengthening life expectancy, there is a transition to more post-child families (Anderson 2008).

Finally, with more and more women entering the paid workforce, another major change to family life is evident. The number of partnered mothers in the workforce who have dependent children, rose by 36 percent from 1983 to 2002, while lone mothers in the workforce rose by 23% over this period (deVaus 2004: 303). One of the outcomes of this change is that balancing work and family commitments often produces a time stress, especially for mothers. DeVaus (2004: 315) estimates that two-thirds of working mothers with dependent children are highly time-stressed.

These changes all suggest that contemporary families no longer conform to one unified social model (United Nations 2003: 8). Some families remain or continue to function in so-called traditional ways, while others show more diverse patterns of interactions.

These changes to the practices of family can not only be tied to more general societal changes but also raise questions concerning the notion and value of family in contemporary Western society. Sociology offers a number of perspectives in response to these questions. The notion of family change is said to mirror wider societal changes. Golini and Silvestrini (1997: 210) as well as Solly Dreman (1997: 283) emphasize that 'family' is a dynamic institution that changes along with society. Amongst these general societal shifts are the increase in individualization and the phenomenon of globalization. Beck (1992: 29-30) argues that modern society has moved from an industrial era to a 'risk society' that is characterised by manufactured uncertainty and increased individualization: 'Risks are distributed so they are no longer borne by state and economy but shifted on to individuals and families' (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2004: 502). In a risk society individualization is a transformation which demands individuals who can produce an active and self-directed 'life of their own': 'individuals must produce, stage and cobble together their biographies for themselves' (Beck 1998: 33). This process of individualization, while bringing new options for individuals, also brings a loosening of traditional social ties such as those within a family (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2004: 502). Giddens goes a step further and likens families to a 'shell institution' which is 'inadequate to the tasks they are called upon to perform' (Giddens 2002: 18).

Gillies (2003: 2-13) summarizes the debates concerning the place of family in modern Western society by distinguishing three different sociological perspectives apparent in

the family literature: the demise theory, the transitional view and the continuity perspective.

Demise theorists see family change in terms of social fragmentation. They argue that social cohesion, which holds a family together, is disintegrating, shifting the emphasis to the individual:

[F]amilies have lost functions, power, and authority, ... familism as a cultural value has diminished, and ... people have become less willing to invest time, money and energy in family life, turning instead to investments in themselves (Popenoe 1993: 527).

Gillies (2003) claims this demise viewpoint is reflected in the arguments of the second wave feminist movement whose protagonists questioned issues of gender and power in families and asserted that viewing family as a private and autonomous unit concealed acts such as rape, domestic violence and child abuse. They argued that the very existence of these widespread incidences undermined the image of family as a haven. Furthermore, rising divorce rates, the increase in cohabitation and births outside of marriage are additional factors marshalled in support of the view that 'family' is collapsing (Gillies 2003: 6).

The *transitional* view sees family change in a positive light. Here the family is underpinned by principles of choice and agency within family situations and offers new forms of allegiance based on negotiation. The diversity and flux of family forms supports the transitional view, with new types of families being pioneered based on the

importance of intimacy (Gillies 2003: 10-11). This viewpoint is evident in the work of Janet Finch and Jennifer Mason (1993) in their British study of kin obligations. In this perspective responsibilities to family members are negotiated rather than fixed and static. Family is an interactive process. Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim supports the transitional perspective claiming family 'is acquiring a new historical form' (Beck-Gernsheim 1999: 54). She nevertheless identifies a trend towards individualization among family members where family 'as a community of need is becoming an elective relationship' (Beck-Gernsheim 1999: 54). Likewise, Jeffrey Weeks advocates the idea of 'families of choice', which encapsulates the 'varied patterns of domestic involvement, sexual intimacy and mutual responsibilities that are increasingly displacing traditional patterns of marriage and family' (Weeks 1999: 46).

The *continuity* perspective rejects both these views. It sees change neither as a breakdown of family life nor as a transition in form. Rather it contends that family change is overstated and that family values and practices of caring have remained steady. Change here is a 'slow, uneven but cumulative influence on the way individuals live their lives' (Gillies 2003:3). Graham Crow supports the continuity viewpoint, questioning the processes involved in the beginnings and endings of social phenomena. He stresses the continuous nature of long-term social change and suggests diversity and plurality have always been a feature of family life and thus neither represent a transformation nor a breakdown (Crow 2005: 1).

Much of the more traditional sociological literature on family has emphasised the conjugal unit as providing basic human needs for love and intimacy, for companionship and psychological support. Yet the three contemporary perspectives outlined above

shift the focus of the place of family in modern Western society. The demise theorists view the private realm of the family as succumbing to individualism, challenging the very notion of family as a source of emotional or other support. Here family is viewed in terms of disintegration. The transitional view and the continuity perspective, on the other hand, sustain beliefs in the importance of the family's warm and intimate relationships to personal fulfilment but argue that the family is changing. The transitional view sees these changes in terms of the abandonment of the traditions and expectations of family, as a haven of domestic bliss that stops outside ourselves (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995: 2). Instead, a different type of family is emerging, one in which 'love' *per se* is becoming important (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995: 3). This view opens the way for various patterns of involvement other than the traditional conjugal family. Family arrangements can become more diverse, shifting the boundaries of family towards 'elective relationships' (Beck-Gernsheim 1999: 54). Similarly, the continuity perspective accepts that the family is changing, but claims that change is always present and a normal aspect of family. This view amounts to a restatement of the family's caring and supportive nature.

As part of these shifting foci in contemporary family research, the family unit is also more generally coming to be seen through its *engaged* nature. For example, Bell and Vogel (1968: 3) view the individual family unit as a component of a larger group of family relationships. Litwak sees these extra-nuclear kin relationships as socially valuable. The affective relationships of kin allow significant services such as the sharing of nurturant activities like childcare to be exchanged between kin members (Litwak 1965: 304). Additionally, Litwak claims that this functionality of the family is not limited to a few specialized areas. Rather, it has the capacity to expand to *all* functions,

although the contributions it makes might be partial rather than total. Seen in this extended way, the family has the capacity to *complement* more formal organizations ranging from neighbourhood groups such as sports clubs to bureaucratic institutions (Litwak 1959-60: 178-179), providing a link to these organizations which allow them, in turn, to provide ‘extra-familial’ sources of companionship (Litwak 1960: 392). It is through these wider ties that the family unit gains social value.

These wider ties are also coming to be seen as sustaining for families.⁴ Indeed, the diversity of contemporary family forms and living arrangements provides supportive ties which often extend well beyond the confines of what was understood as traditional family units. According to the director of a recent program of research on new forms of family in the UK, ‘family support networks may well include parents and step-parents, children, close friends, same-sex partners, ex-partners or ex-sons and daughters-in-law’ (Williams 2004: 6). David Hogan (1998) and Margaret Bubolz (2001) argue that the family should be seen as part of a wider interdependent network in which cooperatives and clubs where friends and neighbours can meet provide important ‘sources of friendships, status, information and services’ to the family (Hogan 1998: 3). These ties with the community increase resources for families and provide the building blocks for the economic and social welfare of family members (Hogan 1998: 3). Viewing family as a socially interactive entity allows this to be seen as a two-way process, as ‘a system in a network of mutually interdependent systems’ (Bubolz 2001: 131). The family also becomes a source *of* resources through its participation in other systems such as the

⁴ CAVA is a research programme on ‘Care, Values and the Future of Welfare’ at the University of Leeds. It is a ‘five-year study funded by the Economic and Social Research Council into changes in parenting and partnering and the implications for future policy directions’ (Williams 2004: 6). Its research has demonstrated that families find ‘a wider circle of friends’ to be of value to the family.

‘religious, economic and civic systems’ (Bubolz 2001: 133). These strands of research emphasise the value of the engaged nature of the family both to the family and to the wider society. Family is seen as the basis of a social network that has benefits that flow both into and out of the family.

It is to this tradition which my research is aligned. I argue that the contemporary family extends beyond the confines of the private and connects to other structures of society through its social networking. It brings benefits to its members, as well as to society, by doing this. These benefits thus extend beyond just the intimacy and emotionality asserted by Beck, Beck-Gernsheim and Giddens. Family sociability also brings *in* encouragement and inspiration as well as practical and financial support. It is through its connections to other individuals, other family collectives and the wider structures of society that family is able to mobilize beneficial resources to its members. This family will change as society changes but not as a reflection of social change. Rather its interconnected nature means that it will change along with society in an interactive way.

Value in this conception of a collective family lies in its active and engaged nature. More specifically, I argue that its value is based on the resources gained and offered through its social network. The concept of social networks is empirically grounded and to a significant extent underpinned by the work of Elizabeth Bott. In attempting to understand the social milieus of families, Bott (1957: 1) asserted that a family’s webs of relationships constituted interaction *between* themselves and society. She identified these webs as a network. J. Clyde Mitchell, one of the pioneers of social network analysis, defined a social network as ‘a specific set of linkages among a defined set of

persons' (Mitchell 1969: 2). In the case of a family, this network represents the linkages anchored in the family members that extend to the people they know.

The social network literature does not just supply a grounded definition but also presents a theoretical base that is well documented: 'networks [have] been mapped, their structural and rational dimensions distinguished, and their parameters specified' (Cochran 1990a: 3). Social network analysis (SNA) therefore presents a theoretically strong framework for investigating attributes of social networks. It is ideally suited to studying family as an active and engaged kind of network.

There is also a body of sociological literature that supports the notion of social networks providing value for their members. Barbieri's (2003: 681) study on the occupational division between the self-employed in Italy, for example, ties the network to resources, attesting that the 'social resource matrix' of a network impacts positively on well-being. Likewise, Clare Wenger (1997: 311), in her research into the support networks of the elderly in Wales, found that strengths and weaknesses of different types of networks were related to potential health risks. Much like Barbieri, Wenger claims that elderly people with particular types of networks are less at risk than others: adequate social support 'reduces risk of social isolation, loneliness and depression' (Wenger 1997: 319). Vicky Cattell (2001: 1502), in her study of two housing estates in East London in 1996, concludes that different network patterns enable access to varying forms of social capital, and that this has implications for well being. The study by Healy *et al* (2002: 7) in New South Wales, Australia, also asserts the value of connections and quality of life. Based on an investigation of community social capital in different geographical contexts, the authors conclude that the network of intra and inter community ties and the

social capital generated are positively associated with quality of life. Low quality of life is associated with the absence of connections. These studies indicate that connections through social networks bring in valuable resources for those in the network. These resources have, since the seminal work of Robert Putnam (2000), become widely considered as *social capital*.

Practises that recognise and seek to enhance valuable network connections now underpin many projects often with some urgency, as theorists such as Putnam (2000) and McPherson and Smith-Lovin (2006) have argued that such connections are now in decline. For example the World Bank now identifies social capital as an essential element contributing to sustainable development (Grootaert 1998: ii). In Australia, the Prime Minister's Awards for Excellence in Community Business Partnerships 2004 programme advances the notion of connections between the realm of business organizations and the wider society (Prime Minister's Community Business Partnerships 2004) and Adam Tomison (1999: 1), of the National Child Protection Clearing House, argues that the connections between a family and the local community are beneficial to children. Although none of these studies focus on the family *per se*, the contention that connections are decreasing and that it is important to stem this decline and build more social connections, suggests that family social networks will also have significance.

The social capital literature is invaluable as it illuminates some of the pitfalls of the family literature which continues to advance the family-as-retreat thesis. Through the concept of social capital, a family's social network can be viewed as a mobilizer of resources, allowing the family to be understood as engaged and connected beyond itself.

Yet the concept of social capital is not without tensions. Although the social capital literature views social connections as a form of capital, two main perspectives dominate. One concerns the benefits that *result* from social solidarity, with social capital viewed as a macro level resource. Because an understanding of the contemporary family's value requires a micro level analysis, this perspective is of little use in the present context. The other perspective relates to benefits *available through* networks, with a network being on any level of society. Social capital here is viewed as the value of a network (Putnam 2000: 18-19), because the resources are made available through the network. This network perspective of social capital is the one which is relevant to this thesis.

In my view of the family, I do not argue against the major sociological perspectives in the literature. Rather I align myself with those that see family as engaged and active and suggest that a syncretic melting of family sociology, social capital and network theory provides the best theoretical base for analysing and understanding the contemporary family. In order to give empirical credence to my thesis, I employ a detailed empirical study on the social networks of seventeen families in Sydney. The study investigates the nature, variety and function of these social networks.

Even a cursory examination of family networks indicates that not all families are equal. The benefits of social networks as a provisioning base vary between families. In order to examine what might account for this variance, I focus on three distinct aspects of family network interactions:

- 1) the scope of interactions;
- 2) the location of interactions;

- 3) the impact of norms of independence on interactions.

I argue that network participation will vary because the scope of interactions will affect how families are able to leverage their networks. Resource exchange also will either be facilitated or constrained by the locations and communities in which families are embedded. Finally, network exchange is compromised where the family is thought of as a private unit in which *self-reliance* is seen as the sole providence of a family. By exploring these tensions, I am able to observe how they mediate between a family unit and the resources gained through their social networks, thus elaborating the picture of the family as engaged in a contemporary or sometime's conflictual world.

1.2 Thesis Structure

To explore the themes of this research, the remainder of the thesis has four parts. *Part I* (Chapters Two through Five) discusses and critiques the relevant literature on social capital, social networks, typologies and the network characteristics of participation, place and independence, thus drawing a conceptual schema that aids my analysis. This elaborates my view of the family. More specifically, Chapter Two presents an historical overview of the debate surrounding social capital, as this is a valuable instrument by which to examine family social networks. In Chapter Three, by probing the tensions around the concept of social capital, I can situate in Chapter Three Nan Lin's conceptualization as the most relevant theory of social capital for this study Chapter Four situates social network analysis (SNA) as the analytic technology to interpret social networks. In this chapter I also identify the distinctions between bonding, bridging and linking ties as the basis for categorizing similar network configurations.

This differentiation allows both an analysis of levels of social capital and a set of characteristics to be compared across typologies. Constructing typologies is a critical step in the analysis to be undertaken. This chapter also presents an overview of the rationale for this construction. Chapter Five reviews the literature surrounding the three characteristics which I explore later in the thesis to see if and how they influence levels of social capital. This literature provides the basis for the examination.

Part II is comprised of a single chapter (Chapter Six) which sets out the research procedures for the empirical part of the study. Here I introduce the sample and discuss its geographical restrictions and relative social homogeneity. I also present the instrument that guides the interviews. I set out the reasoning used in its development as well as discussing the administration of the pilot study. Using an adaptation of the Miles and Huberman approach, data collection and the treatment of data are elucidated. I also explain in this chapter the procedures used in an additional newspaper and website study to elaborate ‘community’ profiles.

Part III reveals the analysis with regards to types of networks and social capital. Both chapters in this section analyse material gathered in interviews to fathom how respondents ‘use’ their social networks. In Chapter Seven I construct the typologies used as the basic unit of analysis in this thesis. In Chapter Eight, using typologies with different configurations of ties within social networks, I then investigate levels of social capital. I argue in this part of the thesis for the engaged nature of Australian families by demonstrating that families are active, fluid, and intra-active in regards to their resources.

Part IV explores some of the factors which affect the accessibility of social capital. I am specifically concerned with the factors that cut across family social capital, either constraining or enhancing access to it. Thus in Chapter Nine I explore network participation. I examine the activities that bring network members together and the groupings that are formed. By considering the roles people take in these groups, the intensity of levels of interaction, and the conflicts within networks, I tie these to levels of social capital. I argue here that active engagement is not only a vital generator of social capital, but that more social capital comes from formal interactions.

In Chapter Ten I explore the existing opportunity structures within typologies, enabling a comparison of the potential local interactions which affect social capital. I challenge the importance of place in generating social capital. I suggest instead that place-based interactions, although still important, are no longer dominant and may be succumbing to ‘communities of interest’ and Internet interactions.

In Chapter Eleven I go on to examine the norm of ‘independence’ and explore the tensions between interpretations. I suggest that various meanings of independence shape the everyday practices of participants for using social connections and consequently affect levels of mobilized social capital. Further, attitudes towards using connections also affect the expectations of exchange within networks thus affecting the accessibility of future social capital.

In Chapter Twelve I contend that families are important in the contemporary world. I argue that one of the reasons as to why families are valuable both to their members and to society is because they mobilize a range of resources through their social networks. I

thus seek to substantiate my suggestion that a new conception of the family is warranted, and that, by extension, the family-as-haven thesis, a key notion in family sociology, is no longer adequate to contemporary families. It is to this end that the final conclusions presented in this chapter, are dedicated.

Part I

Theoretical and Analytic Instruments to Examine Family Social Networks and a Literature Review of Network Characteristics

Chapter 2

Social Capital – The Value of Connections

The concept of social capital is an important tool for social science, one that I argue in this thesis provides an invaluable instrument with which to explore the engaged nature of families. Social capital provides a language to talk about intangible aspects of social life at a time when economics is dominant. Yet there are tensions in several areas surrounding the concept that have carried through each generation of its evolution, creating a debate between different theoretical perspectives. This chapter evaluates the different perspectives on social capital through an historical overview, and examines problems within these perspectives. As different viewpoints lead to different outcomes, many of these theories, while important to this research, need to be refined as tools that can indicate the value of family networks. By analysing these various perspectives, in the next chapter, Nan Lin's resource theory of social capital can be situated as the most applicable theory of social capital for use at the level of family social networks as this demonstrates the value of their engaged nature.

Following a framework used by Michael Woolcock (2005), a series of five timeframes (1920s, 1960s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000 onwards) evident in the evolution of the concept are examined to arrive at a conceptualization useful in indicating the value of networks to families. To understand the basis for critiques, a brief overview of the

shortfalls often found in social capital theories is provided first. These are examined in greater detail in the next chapter once the debate has been explored.

2.1 Defining Social Capital

Despite over two decades of theory and research on the topic, a generally agreed definition and theory of social capital remains elusive. This is in part at least a consequence of the fact that theoretical and empirical work have evolved separately within similar timeframes. Due to this, much of the empirical work has not been theoretically informed and vice versa. Problems or shortfalls have arisen in conceptualising social capital, in measuring it, in its ownership and in the comparability of research projects. Another shortfall is that social capital is often seen only in a positive light, without investigation into its negative or dark side (Stone and Hughes 2002b: 6).

The Evolution of the Social Capital Debate

Social capital first appeared in academic writings in the 1920s, but went relatively unnoticed until the 1980s. This timeframe is often excluded from discussion because it was before a systematic theory was envisioned. It is in the second period, 1980s to the early 1990s, that social capital developed as a concept. This growth was due to an increasing interest in ‘social issues’. Inequalities of class, education and diminishing social connections were all issues that became entwined with its development. In the mid 1990s, the third timeframe of the debate, more complex theories began to emerge and social capital evolved from a theoretical concept to become an ‘agenda’ for

building ‘community’. In the late 1990s, the business community, the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and many governments began to utilize social capital as a policy agenda. Following this there was an explosion in the social capital debate in the early 2000s with massive increases in academic surveys underpinned by social capital. The concept grew, expanding beyond the purview of social science and humanities to be taken up by the natural sciences and the financial sector (where arguably, it had begun as a metaphor).

The Emergence of the Term

Researchers attribute the first mention of social capital to social reformer Lyda Judson Hanifan in 1916 (Edwards & Foley 2001b: 281). Hanifan called social capital ‘those tangible assets (that) count for the most in the daily lives of people: namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse’ (Hanifan quoted in Putnam & Goss 2002: 4). Working in the rural school systems of the Appalachia area in the United States, Hanifan found communal customs such as barn raisings had been replaced by family isolation. She argued that individuals needed social contact, because it allowed the accumulation of social capital. According to Hanifan, this was beneficial not only to the individual, but also to the whole community. In other words, the daily interactions of individuals produced benefits for both them and the larger society. In sociological terms, micro level practices produced benefits at both micro and macro levels.

In this timeframe both Jane Jacobs, while investigating the physical and social environment of Hudson Street in Greenwich Village in 1961, and Glen Loury, investigating neoclassical theories of racial income equality in 1976, also spoke of

social capital, but did not develop the notion in any detail. However, the importance of this early but frequently overlooked timeframe is that it introduces the notion that tangible assets flow through connections. I suggest this provides a way of viewing family as ‘engaged’ in today’s society. *Families can be seen as mobilizers of resources that flow through their social networks.*

At this time another stream of research was also just beginning that later would become instrumental to social capital theory: social network analysis (Granovetter 1973, 1974; Boissevain 1974; Fischer 1982). This approach was eventually to be applied to social capital theory and led to the development of a social resources theory. Together with the network theories of social capital, an alternate perspective would emerge in the early part of the 21st century which would bring into view the tributaries through which social capital flowed.

Granovetter (1973: 1369-1373) argued for a ‘reaching up’ process through a hierarchy of social positions, through which accessibility to and control of normatively valued resources could be achieved. His *theory of weak ties*, which he used to investigate the role of interpersonal relationships in facilitating the process of job searching, focused on the flow of information in a network and on the strength of social ties. He concluded that weak ties were more likely to bring in information about getting a new job than the ‘stronger’ ties of a clique (a small, exclusive group). According to Granovetter, clique relationships usually had frequent interactions, resulting in strong, emotional ties that included multiple types of relationships such as those with family, friends, advisors and co-workers. Within these cliques information passed quickly or was already redundant because more than one person had it. Ties that reached outside

one's cliques, on the other hand, although weaker, less emotionally intense and infrequently used, connected the individual with different social groups and statuses, thus bringing in different types of information and resources. Granovetter concluded that people who had large numbers of weak ties had access to a wider range of information and resources.

Granovetter's theory of weak ties was criticised by Burt (1992: 28) who argued that the strength of a tie was irrelevant for understanding the 'bridging' process. Bridging involved connecting previously unconnected ties thereby closing a 'structural hole'. It was when a structural hole was bridged that information flowed bringing increased opportunities. The strength of the tie bridging the hole was unimportant. What was critical was that the hole was bridged and that a new connection now was forged. According to Burt, the *theory of structural holes* was a stronger theory and a clearer guide for empirical work because it recognized the importance of connecting previously unconnected areas of the network.

What both propositions (Granovetter's theory of weak ties and Burt's theory of structural holes) highlight is that the structural aspects of a network influence the resources that flow through them, thus directing us to an examination of network *structure* as a possible reason for variations in levels of social capital.

Social Capital as a Concept

Between the 1980s and the early 1990s social capital became a distinct concept.

Working independently, Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman developed theories of

social capital and consequently became known as two of the ‘fathers’ of the concept. Bourdieu used his theory to emphasize the reproduction of class privilege, while Coleman used his to show that the social context of interaction acted as a resource that led to collective benefits.

Pierre Bourdieu’s Theory of Social Capital

Bourdieu’s studies of Algerian tribes-people during the late 1960s and 1970s proposed that society be viewed as a plurality of *fields* based around shared habits and cultural understandings, with the positions of actors within each field determining access to resources. Bourdieu identified these resources as types of *capital*. Capital had three dimensions: economic, cultural and social. These various forms of capital, although different and relatively independent, were inter-related: they could ‘transform[ed] themselves into each other in order to maximize accumulation’ (Schuller *et al* 2000: 4). The control of capital was seen as a *form of power*. Individuals engaged in struggles to control this power for the pursuit of their own interests (Bourdieu 1986: 248; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996: 76).

However, Bourdieu also suggested that social capital was the *sum* of the economic and cultural resources available *through* a network of social relations. This perspective still saw social relations as valuable but located the possession of social capital in the power of the individual to access resources. The accumulation of social capital was therefore likely to be affected by inequalities in access to these resources and lead to or perpetuate ‘inequalities in outcomes’ (Hofferth *et al* 1999: 80). By suggesting that inequalities in access were linked to the ability to accumulate social capital, Bourdieu pointed to the potential negative ability of social capital. Social

capital produced and reproduced social division creating exclusion based on the possession of resources.⁵

Although Bourdieu was more concerned with the maintenance of social hierarchy than social capital as such, his perspective is important to research into family social networks because of his emphasis on social relations as important sources of resources. Any group, including a family, could be viewed as a mobilizer of resources via their social networks. Although Bourdieu also only saw social capital as a resource of the privileged, his concern with power suggests that all groups, including families will not be equal in their ability to mobilize network resources and that the current over-whelmingly positive endorsement of social capital may be blinkered.

James Coleman's Theory of Social Capital

James Coleman also published his seminal study on social capital in the late 1980s. Coleman discussed social capital in the context of educational attainment in America, in relation to a rational action paradigm of maximizing utility. However, unlike Bourdieu, who emphasized the accumulation of capital to the individual, Coleman focused on network connections that made indirect actions constitutional of social structure (Edwards & Foley 2001a: 8; Lin 2001b: 25).

⁵ The work of Kolankiewicz (1996) on privatization and democratization in Poland, supported and extended Bourdieu's theory. As Flap states, 'the absence of a constitutional democratic state puts an extra premium upon the formation and maintenance of social capital' (Flap 2002: 41). Kolankiewicz demonstrated how individuals and groups manipulated and withheld information and generally used their social networks to gain control and influence when there was a lack of conventional capital. Likewise, the work of Angelusz and Tardos (2001), investigating the post-socialist development of Central and Eastern Europe, shows the significance of network resources and the increasing polarisation of these network resources into different social strata (Angelusz & Tardos 2001: 314).

For Coleman, social capital was a resource to action because information inhered in social relations. Individuals acted towards others based on the information they gained through their social relations and they trusted others not only to reciprocate accordingly but to feel obligated to do so. Fukuyama calls this a ‘moral relationship of trust’ (Fukuyama 1995: 321). This is a *motivational* view which presupposes an individual who is self-reflexive and interpretative. Expectations and obligations act to create norms and sanctions as people do what they are supposed to do because they know they will be sanctioned if they don’t. This process creates a social structure that constitutes an unintended resource.

However, in order to generate social capital, *closure* and *stability* were necessary in networks. Closure involved the interrelation of A with B, and B with C, who indirectly inter-related with A through B, thereby closing the circuit. For example, person A knows person B and because of this, allows her son to play in B’s house. Person B knows person C allowing the same situation. Consequently, person A’s son is also allowed to play at the home of person C even though no direct relationship exists. According to Coleman, closure facilitated the creation and maintenance of social capital within a network by creating trustworthiness as the expectations of behaviour become clear. In a closed structure, sanctions could be used when expected behaviours were not met. Threat of sanctions acted to monitor the social norms and reputations within the social structure (Coleman 1988: S105-S108).

This is a *functional* definition, with social capital identified as ‘the value of these aspects of social structure to actors as resources’ (Coleman 1988: S101). However, while norms and sanctions as an aspect of social structure are advantageous to

individuals, Coleman's concern was with the advantages produced for groups of individuals. The resource benefits all those within a relational group; it is a public good for all those within the structure and not merely an individual good (Pope 2003: 2). Coleman's viewpoint could be considered as similar to Bourdieu's, although for Bourdieu the resource was confined within a class system. The difference lay in how and why the social process developed (Pope 2003: 2).

Although Pope (2003: 14) believes that the individualistic focus of Coleman's notion of social capital (that it adheres in social relationships) means that the social processes that reflect social capital can be measured like other risk factors and can be gathered through social surveys, using the key measures of trust, membership, civic participation and reciprocity, criticisms of Coleman's concept of social capital emphasize why his theory is not applicable to research into family social networks. Portes (1998: 5) and Lin (2001a: 1; 2006: 605) each assert that Coleman's argument is tautological (causality being defined by its effect) and that as a consequence, social capital becomes indistinguishable from its outcomes. According to Lin, confusion of this sort arises from Coleman's view that 'social capital is any 'social-structural resource' that generates returns for an individual in a specific action' (Lin 2001b: 11). Coleman (1990: 302) claimed that social capital was defined by its function and had to have two characteristics: it had to consist of some aspect of social structure and it had to facilitate certain actions of individuals who were within the structure. Lin contends that if social capital can only be identified when it works, then it can only be seen by its effect, 'causal function is defined by effect' (Lin 2001b: 11). They point out that while this relationship may exist, each 'function' is separate and needs to be measured as such, for other factors may cause the same outcome. Because Coleman

implies that all elements of social structure could be social capital when used ‘for a particular outcome in a particular contest for a particular actor’ (Lin 2006: 605), for both Portes and Lin, Coleman’s vague catchall explanation provided little theory, and falsification became impossible. This made Coleman’s theory less useful for research into family social networks than other theories of social capital.

Theorists working from a resource perspective (a specific way of viewing social capital as the resources of a network) also viewed as conceptually flawed Coleman’s notion of closure as facilitating social capital. Based on the proposition of weak ties and structural holes and bridges, Burt (2001: 32) and Lin (1999: 474; 2001b: 7-12) suggest that *open* networks facilitate access to better and more varied resources and that *these* resources are social capital. This viewpoint means that networks could themselves, rather than the closed structures they create, be explored as causal influences on exchange.

According to Field (2003: 28) and Hechter and Kanazawa (1997: 192), an additional problem with Coleman’s approach is that while he treated social capital as a form of exchange, he saw this exchange only in terms of rational calculation. He did not seem to engage with the idea that aspects of personal relationships lay outside of rational calculation. Consequently, there was no consideration of love, hate or avoidance, and how these might affect with whom and how individuals engaged for exchange.

Coleman saw people as only cooperating ‘when they believe that they will gain from doing so’ (Field 2003: 140). Yet people often act impulsively or emotionally, even by force of habit, and people don’t necessarily make a choice with expected benefits in mind (Field 2003: 140). Tonkiss (2004: 19) re-emphasizes this point in relation to

family, claiming that family relations are morally charged and cannot be reduced to questions of rational interest. Both Field and Tonkiss propose that there are aspects of relationships that might affect forms of exchange, suggesting the need for a more refined theory of social capital, one that views these aspects as precursors to the exchange of resources.

Despite criticisms of both Bourdieu's and Coleman's work on social capital, their insights substantially underpin later social capital theories. Through their work, social capital became a concept in its own right, and with its own agenda. Bourdieu's approach is also valuable as its methodological perspective enables a measure of resources for use in network studies.

Social Capital as an Agenda

During the third timeframe of the mid 1990s, the concept of social capital became the basis of an agenda for increasing societal goods rather than a means of providing benefits for individuals or small groups. Both Putnam's concept in the United States and Cox's in Australia have underpinned and perpetuated this societal agenda. Contrary to earlier work in which social capital was seen as a source of inequality, social capital was now to be seen as a collective capacity for mutual aid where there were no losers:

Some people may obtain no benefits, because they have inadequate access to the social networks which provide mutual aid, but the existence of those networks for others does not make them worse off in an absolute sense (Gray 2004: 1).

From this *communitarian* perspective, the generation of social capital becomes a ‘how to’ for producing a better society. The concept moves to an agenda. However, while social capital may well be valuable as a process for enhancing societal resources, its use as a general societal agenda moves it in a direction *away* from both individuals and the family. This makes the two important major theories of social capital in this timeframe (Putnam’s and Cox’s) less useful to research into family social networks, although both highlight connections which are important to this research. Putnam’s idea of internal value and his distinction between bonding and bridging ties is useful to any understanding of networks, and Cox is valuable in connecting the public and private spheres. These connections or their value can be explained by exploring their theories in more detail.

Robert Putnam’s Theory of Social Capital

Political scientist Robert Putnam’s impassioned theory of social capital emerged from his work in Italy where he examined the Italian governmental reforms of the 1970s. He found Northern Italy had a flourishing ‘civic community’ underpinned by mutual co-operation and equal political relations. He attributed the economic prosperity of the region to this horizontal patterning of allegiances, in contrast to the less prosperous Southern Italy, which showed a vertical pattern of allegiances. His central thesis was that ‘a well-functioning economic system and a high level of political integration [were] the results of the successful accumulation of social capital’ (Siisianinen 2000:1). In effect, in a reversal and generalisation of Bourdieu’s notion of social capital in which individuals became civic to get rich, communities became rich because they were civic. Putnam does not deny the positive effects of civic

participation on individuals but sees social capital as supporting democracy through the mechanisms of civil society (Hyggen 2004: 16).

Putnam's later work extended this argument that a strong civil society was the basis for democratic and economic growth. Three components of social capital were identified as underpinning economic development and civic engagement. *Trust* (a social value) was fostered by civic engagement by solidifying the norm of generalized *reciprocity* (a moral obligation). *Civic networks*, seen primarily as voluntary associations, furthered coordination and communication about the trustworthiness and reciprocity of others and served as 'cultural templates' (Putnam 1993b: 37).

Putnam's subsequent investigation of social capital in America, concluded that there had been a decline in social capital over the three decades between 1960-1990, based on empirical studies which revealed a reduced rate of participation in community life, especially associational participation. People had increasingly become disconnected from each other and from their communities (Putnam 1993a: 130; 1995: 74-75).

Putnam attributed this disconnection to Americans watching too much television (and not taking the time to socialize), the changing roles of women (more women were working and did not have time for associations), greater mobility (which acted to reduce local ties) and generational changes (values for volunteering had changed) (Putnam 2000: 189-276), all of which resulted in less social capital.

By 2000, Putnam had refined his ideas on social capital. Its core concept was now that networks had value (Putnam 2000: 18-19). In 2002, in conjunction with Goss, Putnam re-defined social capital as 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity

associated with them' (Putnam & Goss 2002: 3) and claimed that there were 'internal benefits of social connections' (Putnam & Goss 2002: 7). These internal benefits were in addition to societal or public good benefits, the 'external effects' (Putnam & Goss 2002: 7). Like Bourdieu, Putnam and Goss saw social relations as productive. Like economic capital, they could be invested in and accumulated. This change situated social capital closer to Bourdieu's theory, but Putnam's main tenet remained the external effects for the wider community.

In his work in America, Putnam also identified two basic forms of social capital, *bonding* and *bridging* (Putnam 2000: 22-23). Bonding (exclusive) social capital reinforced exclusive identities, acting to create solidarity and specified reciprocity within a group. Bridging (inclusive) social capital linked diverse groups of people, broadened identities and generalized reciprocity. These distinctions have enabled networks to be differentiated for analysis, and they are used as the bases of the network typologies in this thesis. However, many critiques have been levelled at Putnam's research, and these areas of concern need to be considered by any future research on social capital, including mine.

Firstly, Putnam's conclusion that social capital is declining was based on decreasing membership in traditional civic associations such as the League of Women Voters, Scouts and Kiwanis Clubs. Many researchers argue that Putnam does not account for new forms of associations, thus making his conclusions erroneous. Edwards *et al* (2001: 140) claim that since the 1960s there have been significant increases in memberships in non-profit and service organizations. Forms of associations such as Habitat for Humanity, support groups and crisis centres for victims of rape and

domestic violence, have increasing memberships. Grassroots and national social movements such as the environmental movement, women's health movement and peace movements are now popular. There has also been increased engagement with new forms of recreational and sport-related associations.⁶ Decreases in traditional organizations might not represent declining social capital, but merely a decline in these *forms* of organizations.

Putnam also treats all *active* associations as equal in their ability to produce social capital as a public good. The only distinction he draws is between 'mail order membership', which supposedly provides 'neither connectedness among members nor direct engagement in civic give-and-take' (Putnam 2000: 156), and active engagement with associations. Yet Stolle and Rochon (2001: 144) stress that while all active engagement in associations may produce social capital as a public good in one way or another, engagement in associations can differ, as can degrees of engagement. They investigate this claim by contrasting two types of engagement: an association that is dedicated to improving school areas, and membership in a local bowling league. Their study does not refute Putnam's theory but highlights an area that needs to be researched and refined because it suggests that both associations *and* levels of participation need to be examined.

A further criticism of Putnam's work has come from Richard Florida. In researching *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2003), Florida found that people in his focus groups were not interested in the type of community connections Putnam was advocating. In

⁶ For example, there was a total increase in U.S. Youth Soccer from 127,000 members in the mid 1970s to 2.4 million by the mid 1990s (Nicholas Lemann (1996) quoted in Edward *et al* 2001: 140). Tai Chi groups in the U.S. have also shown increased engagement.

fact, people wanted to get away from these kinds of connections. They wanted 'community', but not to the extent Putnam envisioned:

They did not want friends and neighbours peering over the fence into their lives. Rather, they desired ... *quasi-anonymity*. ...these people prefer weak ties to strong (Florida 2003: 269).

Florida contended that close-knit communities were now considered restrictive and a new enabling form of community was emerging which he called the 'creative class'.⁷ He suggested that creative communities were centres of diversity, innovation and economic growth and that these were moving in the opposite direction to Putnam's social capital communities (Florida 2003: 273). 'Community' no longer resided in a particular location, but in a sphere of interests. Florida's criticisms suggest that it cannot be assumed that location is important to notions of community or to the generation of social capital, and must be explored in its own right.

Putnam has also been questioned over the universality of his claims regarding the decline of social capital. John Field (2003: 96-97) argues that the decline of social capital in the United States may not be universal and questions whether a decline necessarily exists in Europe. Jan Aart Scholte (2002) also questions the cultural specificity of the concept but argues this in terms of Putnam's notion of civil society. She contends the civil society has various meanings ranging from the sixteenth century English notion in which civil society was synonymous with the state, to

⁷ Florida's claim is that a new economic class, the Creative Class, has emerged, which is based on its members being the 'purveyors of creativity'. This class had a new ethos, a new way of working, a new life/leisure mix and a new outlook on community (Florida 2003: 273).

Hegel's notion which included the market, and Gramsci's, in which 'dominant elites forged ideological hegemony' (Scholte 2002: 3). Scholte also points out that an active political orientation, which is central to Putnam's civil society, is a very western notion. She stresses that for many in contemporary civil societies across the world this is not possible. Mihaylova (2004) too, emphasizes the importance of recognising the cultural and political specificity of a region in her study of social capital in Central Eastern European countries: 'The specificities of the CEE context and past are significant and must be taken into consideration' (Mihaylova 2004: 92).

Even between western countries, differences in civil society are evident. While the United States has a distinct separation between government and community, Australia tends to blur these categories: 'some functions of governance [are] seen as almost communal (such as school councils) and sometimes communal functions are seen as being located in public institutions (such as public hospitals)' (Winter 2000: 48).

Social capital may be culturally specific, and affected by culturally specific understandings of norms.

Despite these criticisms, Putnam's work is prominent in the academic world. His work has popularized the concept of social capital and has proven to be a milestone in expanding the idea into an agenda for building a better society.

Eva Cox – Social Capital in the Australian Context

It was also in the mid 1990s that Eva Cox introduced the concept of social capital to Australia through the ABC radio series 'The Boyer Lectures'. In 1995 she urged the connection of public and private spheres. Her work is valuable to research into family

social networks because it especially suggests that it is through families that these spheres are connected. She argues that these connections have supreme importance to social beings and are the links to how 'we act towards each other' (Cox 1995b: 3):

Social capital should be the pre-eminent and most valued form of any capital as it provides the basis on which we build a truly civil society. Without our social bases we cannot be fully human. Social capital is as vital as language for human society (Cox 1995c: 3).

Cox views social capital as the *processes* between people 'which establish networks, norms, social trust and facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit' (Cox 1995c: 2). She views it as a societal good: 'societies rich in social capital recognize our common humanity, accept diversity and reject gross inequalities' (Cox 1995e: 2).

Cox's work reflects a specific strand of contemporary thinking which demonstrates a new understanding of the relationship between state, society and individuals. Yet social capital is seen as a societal process and Cox herself does not distinguish the processes from social capital itself. This makes her theory less valuable for use in research where social capital needs to be measurable on the level of individuals or small groups, such as families.

The Agenda Spreads

While the timeframe of the 1990s saw social capital generally move in a communitarian direction, the conceptualizations remain valuable as they suggest the

importance of social capital at *any* level of society. However, as social capital has spread as a societal agenda, as what needs to be done to create a better society, research has increasingly been focused on attempts to increase social capital by strengthening societal connections. This has also involved attempts to operationalize the concept so it becomes more useable as a policy tool.

Uptake as a Policy Agenda

In the late 1990s social capital began to spread as an agenda throughout many governments, and became the basis of what has come to be known as ‘Third Way’ politics.⁸ Democratic American President Bill Clinton utilized communitarianism and voluntarism as a central part of his political platform (Navarro 2002: 424), New Labour in the U.K. instituted Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair’s ‘New Deal for Communities Programme’ with the aim of regenerating deprived neighbourhoods (Blair 1999) through the endorsement of local level solutions to local problems. It was thought that ‘[b]y empowering a diverse range of local actors... there would be a willingness on their part to take an active role in helping to renew their local communities’ (Roberts & Devine 2003: 309-310).

In Australia, social capital also began to change the welfare policies of the Federal Liberal Coalition government. The McClure Report, developed in the late 1990s and produced in 2000, formed the basis for the government’s Final Report of the Reference Group on Welfare Reform. One of the five recommendations of the final

⁸ Third Way politics ‘is concerned with restructuring social democratic doctrines to respond to the twin revolutions of globalization and the knowledge economy’ (Giddens 2000: 163) and has shaped the political agendas of both sides of Western liberal democracies in the U.S.A., U.K. and Australia.

report was the introduction of a policy framework that incorporated ‘social partnerships’. The framework aimed at building the capacity of the community, while at the same time emphasizing family and individual responsibility: ‘It is strong family relationships that are the vital building blocks of strong communities. In turn, it is only strong communities that have the capacity to truly engage families in economic and community life’ (Howard & Newman 2000: 2). Due to this shift in policy directions, The Australian Institute of Family Studies began a major research project, The Families, Social Capital and Citizenship Project, which explored the interaction between community and family. The Commonwealth Government launched the *Stronger Families and Communities Strategy (SFCS)* in April 2000 with over forty Stronger Family Fund projects (Anderson *et al* 2003). Social capital thus became part of community capacity building (Stone 2000: 11; Williamson 2001: 7) on the assumption that *more* social ties at the individual and family level were what was important to human well-being and to building stronger communities.

The agenda for building community capacity was not only evident in Commonwealth government research but also in some of Australia’s leading welfare organizations. Social capital became an agenda for Mission Australia, The Benevolent Society and The Smith Family (Spies-Butcher 2003: 182).⁹ Their aim was to facilitate the making of everyday connections, to build bridges between people, across sectors and

⁹ Mission Australia produces an Occasional Paper entitled *Strengthening Australia*, outlining its agenda (Sandeman *et al* 2001). The Benevolent Society institutes research projects (Creating Better Communities and Walking on Stilts (and other things): Strengthening Families and Communities by Building Social Capital) (Benevolent Society 2001a, 2001b) while the social capital that underpins the Smith Family policies are published as *From Welfare to Place Management: Challenges and Development for Service Delivery in the Community Sector* (Green & Zappala 2000) and *Social Enterprise: An Opportunity to Harness Capacities* (Simons 2000).

organisations. They all stressed the value of social connections as representing one way families were able to increase the value of their networks.

In this timeframe of the late 1990s, the World Bank also legitimated the importance of social capital as it attempted to operationalize the concept. Michael Woolcock (1998) of the World Bank applied the concept of social capital to the field of economic development using the notions of ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’, (a micro-level use in which immigrants entering a community gain support to launch a new life) and ‘comparative institutionalism’ (a macro-level use, based on the ties between and within bureaucracies and civil society). He concluded that ‘getting the social relations right’ (Woolcock 1998: 186) was where social capital was placed within the development equation. Social capital could be seen as a tool for alleviating poverty and inequalities because it was thought to promote collective action and help solve coordination problems. Bloch *et al*, using this view of social capital, believe that, ‘It is now widely recognized that social networks...play a dominant role in people’s protection to risk in developing countries’ (Bloch *et al* 2005: 2).

As well as bringing social capital into the field of development, Woolcock expanded the notions of *bonding* and *bridging*, adding *linking* as another type of social capital. Ties with a linking nature are those that expand outside an individual’s local community and link them to a wider range of resources. According to Woolcock (2001: 13-14), linking social capital is generally thought of as institutional ties. For example, linking ties make a connection to the police or to government. The salient point in Woolcock’s discussion is that each type of social capital is thought to produce different outcomes, a crucial insight in relation to networks.

Due to the increasing use of social capital as a political agenda, both the OECD and the United Kingdom have adopted an official definition of social capital as:

Networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups (U.K. National Statistics 2006).

However, this definition focuses on ‘cultural and normative aspects of social relations, rather than the more dynamic processes of interaction and behaviour within social networks that are central to much of the literature’ (Matthews 2005: 8). The notion of social capital as an agenda thus emphasizes only one side of social capital. Social capital as a community good is accentuated, while the benefits it represents to individuals are ignored. Yet as an agenda for building a better society, such a definition still has value because it raises the profile of the concept and stresses the potential for inequality. As well, while the agenda focuses on how to strengthen social connections, underpinning policy, the agenda may also influence how families view their responsibilities for their own well-being, which will consequently affect their levels of social capital.

The Social Capital Explosion

The fifth and final timeframe (the early 2000s) saw an explosion of research into social capital as the concept has spread to numerous disciplines ‘not merely in sociology and political science, where it originated, but also in economics, public health, urban planning, criminology, architecture and social psychology, among

others' (Putnam & Goss 2002: 5) along with an emphasis on social connections as the one way to resolve the inequality of social capital.

Australian government at all levels implemented social capital in government strategies, including the discussions papers presented by the ABS (ABS 2002c) and its information papers (ABS 2004b), and to underpin specific federal and state strategies.¹⁰ Funding was provided for projects that built family and community capacity. Social and environmental visions and goals, were presented which recognized active and inclusive 'social, cultural and volunteer networks in building cohesive communities' (ABS 2002c: 2). A set of awards was established to enhance partnerships with the business community and recognize successful partnerships that build stronger communities.¹¹

At the local level of government, social capital committees were formed, forums and programs were aimed at promoting social capital, and social capital was included as a report item in community strategies. Marrickville Council, an inner Sydney Council, for example, formed one of the first social capital committees, with responsibility for identifying mechanisms and initiating projects fostering community spirit and community ties (Marrickville Council 2004) and held community forums to promote social capital and implement local programs to build social capital.¹² Hornsby Shire Council, in the northern suburbs of Sydney, implemented policies underpinned by

¹⁰ The *Stronger Families and Communities Strategy* is an Australian federal strategy that began in 2000 (Facs 2006). State strategies are the *Tasmania Together* strategy (Tasmaniattogether 2006) and the *Growing Victoria Together* strategy (Growingvictoria 2006).

¹¹ These awards are called The Prime Minister's Awards for Excellence in Community Business Partnerships (Prime Minister's Community Business Partnerships 2004).

¹² For example, residents in a street are encouraged to plant tomatoes on their nature strips as a point in common as part of Marrickville's 'Belongs Initiative' (Flowers & Waddell 2004: 1).

social capital as part of its *Community Sustainability Indicators Report*. These were prepared by their Environmental Division, and have appeared in their *Strategic Plan for Older People (55 years and over) 2005-2010*, their *Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) Communities Plan (2005-2010)* and their *Youth Services Strategic Plan 2005-2010* (Boardman 2005; Hornsby Shire Council 2004, 2005a, 2005b).

In the U.K., local communities have also attempted to revitalize community life using social capital. Market towns such as Ludlow and Alysham formally joined Cittaslow, the international network of 'slow cities', which aims to make connections by building and using local shops, businesses and associations, as opposed to big chains. As one Alysham resident explains it, the process 'is about having a community life in the town, so people don't come home from work, shut their doors and that's it' (Barkham 2004: 19). Gibson (1998: 4) ties this notion to social capital by arguing that such social networks are the key attributes of a civil society. He claims that if the antithesis of civil society was atomization, where individuals were disassociated from each other, then a vibrant civil society required well-developed social networks. National or local, the aim is similar: to build more social connections with social capital seen as the mechanism or process for enhancing these resources.

Amidst all this activity, confusion has arisen because researchers used social capital in various ways: 'Luhmann and Giddens see social capital as uncertainty from complexity...Fukuyama as habits of sociability as well as Putnam, Poarbatlet, Pixley and Roson as emotion and Latham as recognition' (Patulny 2003: 2). Edwards and Foley (2001a: 11-12) claim researchers have used the concept as both an independent variable affecting outcomes, as well as a dependent or intervening variable. Studies

using social capital as an outcome include civic engagement, national-level economic growth, juvenile delinquency and fertility and have produced fourteen different outcomes. As a dependent or intervening variable social capital has also been used to research the sorts of voluntary organizations that produced social capital to the special design of communities (ten studies on various variables) (Edwards & Foley 2001a: 11-12). The development of frameworks to make research compatible and more useable became an imperative. In Australia in this period the Australian Bureau of Statistics produced a number of papers suggesting a framework for working with social capital in order to make research more comparable.

Issues to do with measurement also became critical, and this timeframe saw an alternative approach to social capital emerge that, by focusing on social networks and the resources they generated, came to address these concerns as well. This perspective has proven vital to family research. While the stress on vital connections of most of the work in this period was important in suggesting how to increase *family* social capital and rectify inequality, it missed a vital element for family research. Families continued to be seen as static. In order for social capital to be a useful tool into family research, families have to be viewed as dynamic and engaged. The application of network analysis to social capital, in particular through the work of Nan Lin, finally produced a vital and usable perspective on social capital which was suitable to this task.

Chapter 3

Social Capital as Resources

In the early part of the 21st century, an alternative approach to social capital became dominant as network analysis came to be increasingly applied to this area of research. In network research, the ties or relationships become the basic data for analysis. This approach allows a focus on the *kinds* of social networks that generate social capital, an alternative approach that makes social capital a more useful and helpful tool for exploring the engaged nature of family social networks.

Two parallel approaches to measuring social capital emerged when social capital was viewed as the value of networks. The first was based on network *location* as the value of the network and thus social capital. The second was based on the view that the embedded *resources* in the network were social capital (Lin 2001a: 13-14). Both were underpinned by three different theoretical propositions, two of which arose earlier in social capital history: 1) Granovetter's (1973) weak tie theory; 2) Burt's (1992) theory of structural holes (both discussed earlier); and 3) Lin's (1990) theory of social resources.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, problems associated with conceptualizing and measuring social capital came to the fore in the last timeframe. Since Lin's theory in part is a way of addressing these problems, his theory can best be seen in light of a discussion of them. By indicating how Lin addresses each of these shortcomings, his

theory can be demonstrated as a powerful conceptualization for use in research on family social networks.

3.1 Shortfalls of Social Capital Theories

While the concept of social capital has an overriding value to the study of family social networks, social capital theories often demonstrate shortfalls in this regard. Apart from problems in conceptualising and measuring social capital, questions of ‘ownership’ affect how networks are depicted. Differing definitions can also compromise the comparability of observations. Finally, social capital is too often viewed as only a positive concept, ignoring its darker side.

Problems in Conceptualising and Measuring Social Capital

The conceptualisation of social capital is a key issue in the debate over social capital and its value. Mogues and Carter refer to this problem as ‘the social production spectrum’ (Mogues & Carter 2003: 13). Social capital cannot be measured unless it is defined. Only as a result of making a conceptual determination, can valid measures be taken.

Portes (1998: 6) claims that three aspects of social capital are consistently lumped together: 1) the processes that lead to social capital; 2) social capital itself; and 3) the outcomes of social capital. According to Portes, each of these aspects needs to be viewed separately because although each claims to be measuring social capital, each measures different things. Researchers of the first view measure aspects such as trust

or reciprocity and call that social capital. This includes the work of Wendy Stone and Jody Hughes (2001) undertaken on behalf of the Australian Institute of Family Studies. For them, 'Social capital can be understood quite simply as networks of social relations characterised by norms of trust and reciprocity' (Stone & Hughes 2001: 1). Researchers of the second view envision aspects of networks as influencing the outcomes. Social capital is seen as the value of the network. This perspective measures resources available through networks and views them as social capital. This is the view of Lin's work and this thesis: 'Social capital is defined as resources embedded in one's social relationships' (Lin 2005: 2). Researchers of the third perspective measure participatory actions within the network, such as volunteering or group membership and call this social capital. Robert Putnam's work in America is an example of this. Putnam measured social capital as voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies and football clubs (Putnam 2000: 21, 97, 219).

The point is that what is denoted as social capital needs to be explicit in order to understand the causal relationships. A tautology exists unless the processes, the social capital and the outcomes are distinguishable (Portes and Landolt 1996: 20).

Without an accepted definition of what constitutes social capital, the actual measures can be called into question.

Spellerberg (2001) also points towards the use of qualitative measures when dealing with social capital, rather than quantitative data. Guenther and Falk (1999: 6) add that measures need to reflect their context. For example, while Putnam (2000) used newspaper readership and voter turnout in the U.S.A., these measures may be

inappropriate in other cultures. Australia, for instance, has compulsory voting where the U.S. does not. Newspaper readership in a remote Fijian or Indian village, or even a high-tech Internet favouring community, may be useless.

A further concern with measuring social capital is its multidimensional aspects, which are thought to operate on different social scales. Any form of general assessment may be difficult because of the incomparability of the research (Sabatini 2005: 9).

Empirical works address different dimensions of social capital, and there can be differences in the units of analysis (the individual, the family, the community).

Bourdieu, for instance, viewed social capital as the property of an individual, while Coleman viewed it as the property of a group and Putnam views it as belonging to societies and nations. Stone and Hughes (2001) contend these levels cannot be linked.

Their solution is to put the 'dimensions together at the same scale and then thinking about them at different levels' (Stone & Hughes 2001: 2). Lin's resource theory of social capital attempts to resolve this problem. By viewing social capital as the *resources* in a network, the theory becomes useful at any societal dimension.

Resources are specified to match the specific network under investigation and measurement becomes possible.

Problems with Ownership

The second set of problems facing social capital is that of ownership. This concerns how networks are depicted. Bourdieu and Coleman each viewed networks as finite, with individuals occupying locations of advantage. Bourdieu argued that advantage comes from an individual's specific location within a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996: 119). Each location is unique. Social capital is seen as an advantage for an

individual, so a specific individual holds ownership. Coleman contended advantage was available to all within a group, thus social capital is owned by the group (Coleman 1988: 116). Wendy Stone endorses this position: ‘Social capital can exist within and between families, friends, neighbours, communities, services and other organisations’ (Stone 2003a: 4).¹³ Elsewhere, Stone elaborates this position, insisting that social capital is not the property of an individual. Individuals do not *own* social capital, yet it can be a resource available to them as an individual (Stone & Hughes 2002a: 7). While some researchers claim that if each individual can use the resources, they are individually owned, others claim that because all in the group can use them, there is group ownership. Both viewpoints see networks as finite. Individuals hold particular network positions, which provide advantage. Ownership of social capital is either individual or small group.

Putnam and Cox, who argue that social capital provides advantage at the level of society, provide an alternative viewpoint. They suggest collective behaviour produces advantage that is a societal good, not necessarily an individual good. According to Patulny (2004: 13-14) this means that, because it is an open type of network, ‘ownership’ can be seen as a societal accumulation or stock of social capital, however Cox and Caldwell (2000: 49) resist the notion of ownership, claiming that social capital exists *between* people. It is relational, and therefore cannot be owned.

If social capital can only be developed through a relationship and this requires more than one individual, ownership may not be a valid concept for social capital since it always involves more than one person or group. According to Lin’s theory, the

¹³ Emphasis in the original.

ownership of social capital *is* irrelevant. Social capital is the resources available to *any* unit of analysis relevant to the research. The unit can be the macro network of a society, the meso-level network of a neighbourhood or the micro-level network of an individual.

Comparability of Observations

The comparability of observations is also a problem for research using social capital. In Foley *et al* (2001), various authors emphasize the contextual nature of social capital. They suggest a comparison without similar contexts may not be compatible because, 'local and national political contexts exert substantial influence on the kind and degree of mobilization of social capital' (Foley *et al* 2001: 273).

To aid in making social capital a useful concept, standardizing approaches and measures are essential, especially when relating 'micro analyses within one program, to a whole of community evaluation' (Stone & Hughes 2002a: 1). Sabatini (2005: 22) agrees this is mandatory to make research compatible, applauding the various national bureaus of statistics for building frameworks to guide research which will lead to comparability of results.¹⁴

To address the issue of comparability in this study, the framework developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2004b) was used. For example, in the discussion of participation the categories used are those of the ABS. Chapter Six elaborates on the definitions and measures used in this thesis.

¹⁴ Sabatini lists 14 agencies and researchers he considers have made progress in this direction. See Sabatini 2005: 22.

The Dark Side of Social Capital

An additional shortfall in social capital research is that social capital is often viewed only as a positive concept. However, it also has a dark or negative side. Within the literature that acknowledges the harmful side, three general aspects of negative social capital are addressed. The first examines social capital and its negative effects on members *within* a group. Through fear of being ostracized group members may not try to go beyond the confines of the group. Thus social capital can produce a 'levelling effect' (Portes & Landolt 1996: 2-5). The second concerns the use of group social capital and its negative effects on non-members. Examples include drug cartels, youth gangs, ethnic groups and the Mafia where strong group membership may produce benefits within the group but group actions may have negative consequences on others (Field 2003: 86; Knack 1999: 2; Putnam 2000: 360-363). Group solidarity can also have an exclusionary nature that evokes 'otherness' and result in fear or hostility towards out-group members (Cox 2005: 4; Fukuyama 2001:8; Whittington 1998: 29). The third aspect of negative social capital concerns the reinforcement of inequality. Social capital can be seen as both an asset that is unequally distributed, as well as a mechanism that promotes further inequality. Some people are better connected than others, thus bringing in greater resources (an asset in itself). Having access to greater resources is also a discriminatory mechanism because it increases status and perpetuates inequality (Field 2003: 71-72). When social capital is used as a policy foundation it can also have negative consequences. Governments are in a position to withdraw from the service provision of welfare, which can perpetuate inequality (Mogues and Carter 2003: 4).

These arguments demonstrate that social capital should not *always* be seen in a positive light. Negative effects of social capital can harm group members as well as non-group members at any level. Social capital can reinforce inequalities and allow a downward shift in welfare responsibility. By viewing social capital as the resources within a network, only the *inequality* of accessibility to social capital need be viewed as negative, rather than the actions of social capital. Social capital as the resources of networks remains a positive. These resources are always advantageous to the network. However, different configurations of networks will facilitate or constraint social capital. The dark side here lies in whether and why some types of networks have more social capital than others.

3.2 Lin's Theory of Social Capital

Lin's theory of social capital is a subset of the network theories of social capital. It developed as a rebuttal to the criticism of network research which suggested that network theories were established on micro- and meso-level relationships, while generally attempting to say something about the macro level (Lin 2005: 3). Lin (2006: 610-611) devoted significant attention to conceptualizing a social capital theory which enabled the micro/meso-levels to be connected to the macro-level. His theory of social capital is based on the premise one must invest in social relations to obtain a return (Lin 2005: 3). It focuses on the resources embedded within networks and the access particular actors have to these. This particular view enforces a clear distinction between social capital, its sources and its use. Social capital is understood as the *resources* embedded in a network, and is defined as:

[R]esources embedded in one's social networks, resources that can be accessed or mobilized through ties in the network (Lin 2005: 2).

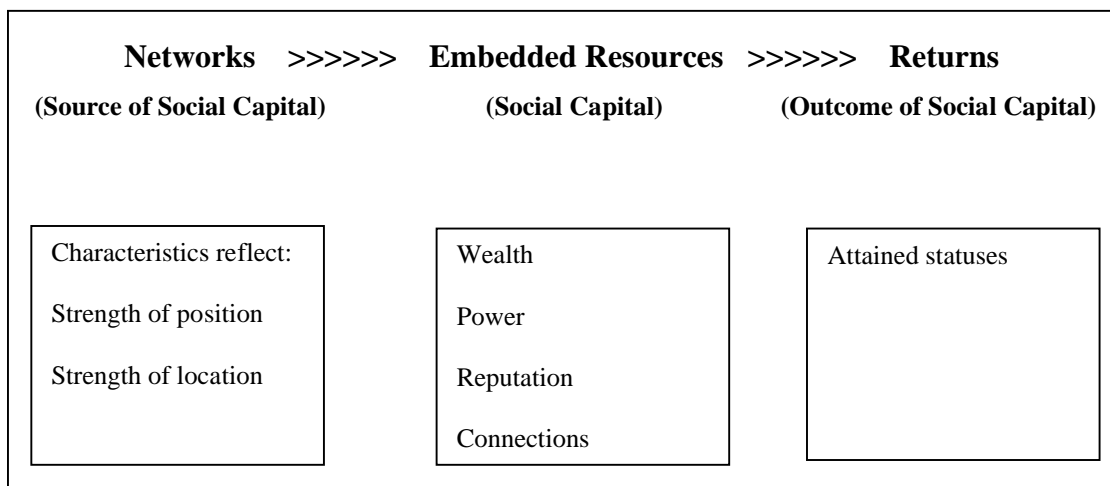
Resources, not individuals, are viewed as the main component of social capital (Lin 2001a: 24-25). The *source* of social capital is the network which provides the channels for the transfer and dissemination of resources. The *use* is the benefit gained from mobilizing the resource. Characteristics of the network are considered to determine *access* to resources. Collective assets such as culture, norms and generalized trust are not viewed as social capital. Lin (2001b: 23) suggests that although causal propositions can be formulated (for example, trust promotes relations and enhances utility of embedded resources), these collective assets are not alternative forms of social capital. For Lin, they contribute to the definition of a network, but are not the social capital itself. They are instead what I term *network characteristics*.

These distinctions allow a picture of a network from an individual or family perspective (the micro-level), or a meso-level network such as a community, or even a larger network such as a society. A larger network may include individuals, organizations and structures of society. According to Lin's theory, by viewing social capital from a resources perspective, the individual network of ties that carries resources is seen as links in meso or macro-level networks. These links become connectors to public levels of society. When social capital is seen as resources, all carry social capital (noting that resources are not only economic). *Social capital becomes the value of a network*.

This distinction clearly defines the division between the process of generating social capital, the resource of social capital itself and its outcomes. Much like Bourdieu's theory, Lin (1999: 468) argues this theory has a particular image of society as a schema of positions. Each position has normatively valued resources attributed to it, such as wealth, status and power (the 'strength of position' proposition). Lin suggests society can be viewed as a pyramidal structure with fewer occupants at higher positions which have a better view of lower positions and their resources. This suggests some positions will have more knowledge of resources. The assumption is that if there is no knowledge of resources, they cannot be used. Accessibility then becomes a key component of the theory.

The major advantage of Lin's theory is that it addresses the problem of tautology. By addressing this, measurement becomes possible. Network characteristics are distinguishable from resources and from the returns of social capital. Figure 3.1 presents the theoretical propositions of Lin's theory of social capital.

Figure 3.1: Theoretical Propositions of Lin's Social Capital Theory



(adapted from Lin 2001b: 13)

Lin's theory identifies two principle sources of social capital: structural position and network location. *Structural position* refers to the individual's position within the 'hierarchical structure of social stratification' (Lin 2005: 3). With hierarchy based on the 'strength-of-position' proposition, aspects such as education levels will affect the extent of physical and natural resources available to an individual. *Network location* refers to the unique position an individual holds within a network. Based on the 'strength-of-tie' proposition, Lin claims positions will exhibit certain features that affect the capture of social capital. Features may include bridging, closure or affection. Lin asserts both propositions link the sources (characteristics of networks) to social capital (the resources) to the returns (the uses of the capital) in a causal sequence (Lin 2005: 3, Lin *et al* 2001: 57-62).

For Lin (2004: 21), the outcomes of social capital are important. He connects these to the literature surrounding types of ties (bonding and bridging ties) with social capital used for either *instrumental* or *expressive* action. He claims instrumental action brings in new resources, while expressive action maintains resources. Instrumental actions include economic, political and social actions. Expressive actions are those that increase physical health, mental health and life satisfaction. The former are associated with bridging ties and the latter with bonding ties.

While the outcomes of social capital or the use of resources is not the major concern of this thesis, the notion that different types of advantage arise from different types of ties is extremely relevant. It is this idea that is behind the development of typologies in this study. By grouping networks that have similar configurations of ties (similar levels of bonding, bridging and linking ties), a distinction can be made between types

of networks. It then becomes possible to evaluate how the characteristics of networks operate and influence the levels of resources. In this way it is possible to explore why some *types* of networks are more valuable than others.

Conceptualizing Social Capital

Lin's social capital theory also presents a working definition of social capital which is relevant to this research. His conceptualization of social capital as resources available through a network enables the researcher to see *how* a family is gaining value or benefits through their social connections through their engagement with others. It suggests that family connections act as channels for resources, representing a view of family that is engaged in contemporary society.¹⁵ From this perspective, 'family' is the anchoring unit of the network and family social capital is the benefits gained to *the family* through their social network. This conceptualization highlights both the social capital (*resources*) and the source of capital (*the network*). By using this conceptualization it can be seen that the characteristics of a network facilitate or constrain social capital, ultimately affecting its value, assuming that value equates to social capital (greater advantage comes from more social capital). Lin's theory enables characteristics of networks to be evaluated in terms of how they influence their resources. In other words, Lin's causal propositions enable network characteristics to be classified as either stimulating or constraining the availability of resources.

¹⁵ In this thesis inter-family social capital, the benefits exchanged between the immediate family members, are not examined since the focus is on the wider connections a family makes. However, as the discussion of conflicts in Chapter Eleven demonstrates, the benefits between the immediate family members can also be unequal or constrained in a variety of ways to do with the network rather than the existence of social capital *per se*.

Lin argues that when social capital is seen as the pool of resources embedded in a social network, it can be measured by a direct inventory. These include both resources that have actually been accessed through a network (mobilized resources) and those that are still available (accessible or potential resources) (Lin 2005: 3). Mobilized social capital comprises the resources that are actually used, the 'activation' or 'utilization' of resources (Jennings 1999: 4). Resources are those that have been identified as already beneficial to the family. Accessible social capital can be defined as the potential resources available through a network which have not yet been used. According to Lin (2005: 3), these resources can be viewed from two different perspectives. The first involves the specific resources participants *expect* to be available. For example, adult children might *expect* they can borrow money from their parents; parents will act as a buffer against economic downturn. The second perspective of accessible social capital relates to the core of the social resource theory. It investigates resources based on the *position* of individuals within a network. Based on the idea that positions have resources associated with them, having a higher position in society enables individuals to have better knowledge of the resources available than those in lower positions. This view is supported by Flap (2002: 35) who asserts the importance of what is at the end of the link (available resource) and how this is related to position.¹⁶ Together, these two perspectives allow for a more complete view of potential resources. Both are used in this study to identify the accessible resources likely to be available to families.

¹⁶ Flap gives an example of a mother who is willing to support and help her children but if the resources are not there to begin with, if she has, for example, no education skills to pass along, then her willingness would be to little avail (Flap 2002: 35).

However, while social capital involves the amount and variety of resources that are available through social ties, the social capital literature and the more general literature on network support including Lin, provide no agreed definition as to what network resources might actually be. Lin (2001b: 13) claims network resources are those elements of wealth, power and status all societies value. The ABS (2004b: 13), in its *Framework for Social Capital Research*, suggests somewhat tautologically that resources pertain to natural capital, economic capital, human capital and social capital (all being inter-related). Edwards *et al* (2003: 4) assert resources are general attitudes and norms like trust and reciprocity. Olson (1997: 268) states social support is a resource, while Mary Larner (1990: 187) is more specific and claims time, human energy, material goods, information, skills and emotional support as resources. Both Bloch *et al* (2005: 1) and Jackson (2005: 9) contend that the role of a network is to act as a conduit of information, and this too can be seen as a resource. The only agreement seems to be that resources are not only economic: 'people also long for esteem, status, companionship and eternal bliss' (Flap 2002: 31). As a consequence of this lack of definitions, in this study participants themselves identify their social capital. Any resources they viewed as available through their family network became social capital.¹⁷ The outcomes of social capital, how the families *use* their resources, stem from the social capital itself. For example, achieving better health through companionship, getting a better job through information or getting gutters repaired through help from a neighbour, are advantages that are achieved through access to the resources. In these instances, the resources are identified as companionship,

¹⁷ Six categories of social capital were included in the interview format but the researcher was open to any other resource identified by the participants that would not fit into these categories.

information, and practical help. Outcomes will depend on what resources are available through a network.

As stated, this thesis does not directly investigate the outcomes of social capital because it is concerned with the sources and inequalities of resources. Yet it is necessary to distinguish between outcomes and social capital to avoid tautology. Outcomes of social capital do not directly result from networks or social relations but from the use of network resources (the social capital). For example, better health may be an outcome of companionship or emotional support gained through the network (resources), but it is not a direct result of the network itself. The network is seen as the antecedent of social capital, which in turn is the antecedent of outcomes. An instrumental example is obtaining money from a family member to pay off a debt. The loan is the resource or social capital that comes from the relationship. The outcome is paying off the debt.

By distinguishing between networks, social capital and outcomes in this way, it is possible to analyse the characteristics that influence social capital. In sociological terms, the interaction between structure and action is emphasized. The focus is on network resources and how the content, such as the strength of ties, norms and common purposes, affect their value. This also allows an investigation into how the form of the network (for example the embedded location) affects the resources.

This chapter demonstrates that the concept of social capital can be a powerful theoretical base from which to explore the engaged nature of contemporary families. Social networks of families generate a sociability which provides benefits to them.

Social capital, as interpreted through the theory of Nan Lin, enables these benefits to be seen as resources to the family. Lin provides a conceptualization that operationalizes social capital at the level of families, overcoming as it does, many of the problems evident in other social capital theories.

The next chapter turns to the discussion of networks. As Lin's work presupposes social network analysis (SNA), the chapter assesses this approach and finds that it too is a valuable tool for analysing the engaged family and their social capital. The chapter also draws once again upon the more general social capital literature to provide an understanding of how different types of ties may influence levels of network resources. It discusses how typologies of similar networks can be constructed that reflect similar configurations that should have similar levels of resources, thereby allowing an exploration into the characteristics that influence these levels.

Chapter 4

Networks and Social Capital

This chapter discusses two areas of consideration relevant to research into family social networks: social network analysis and network typologies. Social network analysis (SNA) provides the analytical technology to interpret social networks. A framework developed using SNA provides a systematic and in-depth methodology of investigating social networks in particular in relation to issues of equality. The SNA literature suggests that connections extend outward from families linking them to various levels of society, with these networks acting as channels of resources. The literature on SNA also contends that a network can be examined in terms of both content and form and that these characteristics provide either opportunities or constraints.

Yet to compare *types* of networks in order to consider whether and how network characteristics facilitate or constrain the social capital that flows through these, a critical first step is required: the construction of network typologies or groups of similar networks. Typologies are necessary in order to compare the levels of social capital between different types of networks. If different typologies have different levels of social capital, the characteristics of these typologies can be investigated to see how they facilitate or constrain social capital. This chapter therefore examines the literature on grouping as the basis for typologies, as the patterning of social lives is important in

determining the transmission of network resources. The chapter then returns to the more general social capital literature to explore the conceptual distinction between types of ties thought to exist in networks, and links these to the concept of ‘grouping’. The notions of *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* ties are imbued with values and ideals suggesting that there are proposed advantages attached to each. By linking types of ties to the clustering of individuals within networks, similar configurations of ties can be established that ought to reflect levels of benefits or advantage or what is called social capital in this study. This differentiation allows further analysis into what may account for these variations.

4.1 Network Typologies

Since my interest in this thesis is in whether some types of social networks are more advantageous than others, a method of grouping networks together to investigate *types* of networks is needed. Through this critical step, it is possible to view the systematic effects of network characteristics because the development of typologies reflects variability of social groups.

Formal vs. Informal Groupings of Interactions

The notion of *grouping* is based on the work of George Simmel (1922: 127-195) who described social structure in terms of a ‘web of group-affiliations’. Simmel argued that individuals defined their identity through their group memberships, and that social life consisted of belonging to or being excluded from different groups. Mills (1984: 3)

developed this notion further, arguing that groups had evolved into a sustainable social form from original mutual interactions based around issues such as care of children, development of language, exchange and play. Groups enabled individuals to accomplish goals that were impossible to do alone (hunting large animals, spanning chasms). They were also a source of physical sustenance, warmth and affection, as well as identity and security. Such groups become transmitters of culture (language and meanings) and when bound together, form larger social units such as the band, the clan, the tribe and eventually a global society. Society is thus built on the interactions between groups (Fabri 1982 cited in United Nations 2003: 7). This means that the patterning of social lives has importance, either for transmitting culture, defining identity or as a societal building block. In 1941, Warner and Lunt specifically tied this social patterning to networks in their study of New England. They also claimed that the collective configuration of subgroups had consequences for the accessibility of resources to members of the subgroups because different subgroups had different advantages. One subgroup could perhaps provide job opportunities, while another could be instrumental in personal development. This suggests that the configurations of groupings could determine the accessibility of resources, and ultimately the levels of social capital available through networks.

In 1974, Boissevain distinguished two major types of groups in social networks: formal (corporate), and informal. Within informal clustering, there were cliques, kinship groups as well as a number of minor groupings which he designated as coalitions, gangs and 'action sets' (Boissevain 1974: 171-191).

Formal Corporate Groups

A *formal, corporate group* is ‘a body with a permanent existence: a collection of people recruited on recognized principle, with common interest and rules (*norms*) fixing rights and duties of the members in relation to one another and to these interests’ (Boissevain 1974: 171). Although the ‘corporate group’ is permanent, it can gain or lose members over time. Nevertheless a common group identity and a uniform set of rights and obligations remain. This suggests that members of these formal groups would have a relatively fixed set of norms, one of which related to exchange. For example where a workplace constitutes a formal corporate group, a workplace colleague would not normally be the first point of call for borrowing large sums of money because this would be considered outside the norms of workplace exchange. However, the exchange of information may be considered entirely appropriate. In general though, formal group membership helps to create social capital because it increases interactions and social ties, which can lead to other avenues of exchange because it provides wider access to other individuals (Putnam 2000: 27-28; Sobel 2002: 152). The work of Sobel and Putnam suggests that formal corporate groups can be instrumental to the creation of social capital as they provide bridges (connections to dissimilar others) which can lead to a larger variety of resources.

Informal Clustering - Cliques

As well as formal group connections, individuals have *informal* ties that also contribute to the creation of social capital. These informal ties are clustered within networks, with clusters made up of similar ties. One informal sub-unit, designated by the greater strength of its interconnectedness, is called a *clique* (Boissevain 1974: 174). A clique is

a relatively constant collection of individuals who see each other frequently. All people in a clique must be linked to each other (Festinger 1954: 117-140; Luce & Perry 1949: 111) and a clique must consist of at least three members (Cartwright & Harary 1956: 287). Cliques have a subjective as well as an objective existence: both members and non-members are conscious of its common identity (Boissevain 1974: 174). Members of a clique generally come together because they enjoy each other's company, rather than for any clear common goal, as in a formal corporate group. A social tennis group, may be considered a clique if the sport simply provides an 'excuse' for members to socialize. The purpose is not the tennis per se, but rather the enjoyment of being together.¹⁸ Even when negative, cliques are an important subgroup in terms of emotional investment as they make life more meaningful for their members (Boissevain 1974: 180): 'actors who maintain especially cohesive bonds among themselves are more likely to perform similarly (to share information, to develop similar preferences, to act in concert)' (Knoke & Kuklinski 1982: 56).

The claims of Boissevain and Knoke and Kuklinski are instrumental in understanding network exchanges in cliques. While Boissevain believed exchange was easier between closer associations, (thus allowing resources to flow more easily), Knoke and Kuklinski stressed that cliques were a basis for similar action because they reinforced small group norms. These closely shared, understood norms were more likely to bring in more resources, especially if they involved reciprocity.

¹⁸ A group that comes together to play tennis competitively, to play in tournaments, is not a clique, as the purpose is to play tennis (and play it well).

Informal Clustering - Kinship

A second type of informal grouping is *kinship* relations. Cochran (1990b: 269) argues that exchange between kin and non-kin functions differently, which can affect the availability of network resources. Gunnarsson and Cochran (1990: 112) describe an 'inside the family' ethic: the basic needs of the family (financial help, emotional support, and childrearing advice) are seen as the province of kinfolk. Data collected in Australia in 1986 and 1998, seems to support this claim. Australians tended to turn to their extended families in times of crisis (Robetson Elliot 1986; d'Abbs 1991), with relatives of the female partner in a family generally supplying the most help (Millward 1996: 114). '[M]ost people were most certain of help from their relatives' (Hughes & Black 2004: 1).

Kin relationships are generally underpinned by an 'intergenerational family contract', that is, what is considered 'right and proper' behaviour within a family. Moral sanctions exist between kinsmen in most societies, reinforcing family norms (Boissevain 1974: 83). Kin obligations are typically thought to be strongest between immediate family members, while expectations of support between extended family members are generally weaker (Finch & Mason 1993: 26; Wellman & Wortley 1989: 274). Family responsibilities also vary over a person's life span (Finch & Mason 1993: 26; Harevan 1994: 437). Mutual support is a continuing process of interaction. What constitutes 'proper behaviour' (Finch 1989: 144-147) in a kin relationship involves a process of negotiation rather than a static obligation: responsibilities towards other family members are fluid (Finch & Mason 1993:14-21).

The notion of ‘proper behaviour’ is embedded within Finch and Mason’s idea of a ‘normative contract’. Accordingly, parents are expected to support the young until they are established and the young are expected to support their parents when they are older. This normative contract underpins informal expectations between generations, but the application and practice of the contract will be negotiated in individual families. However, family members do not negotiate the value of support (the goods exchanged or the labour given). Rather, they negotiate the form that their specific relationships will take. These negotiations are often based on intimate connections, on how one feels about a family member, rather than on their role or position in the family.¹⁹ More often, family exchanges are based on love and sentiment. However, since family commitments develop over time, other factors can come into play, for example, the amount of time each family member has for interaction (Finch & Mason 1993: 58). This line of family research suggests that a network of extended family members can act as a basis of exchange as well as a sort of insurance policy against bad times, yet resources exchanged by kin may be negotiated differently than those with non-kin.

Other Informal Groups

Besides these major forms of clustering, Boissevain also identified three other informal groupings: a coalition or alliance, a gang and an action set (Boissevain 1974: 171–191). Each of these alters the configuration of how individuals cluster together in a network and may influence social capital. A *coalition* or alliance is a group of individuals who gather for a limited purpose on a temporary basis. This grouping might accelerate other

¹⁹ Pahl and Spencer agree with the notion of choice in kinship relations. ‘They are voluntarily chosen: they are developed, not given’ (Pahl & Spencer 1997: 102–103).

tasks and might vary in time. Individual identity usually remains distinct and is not replaced by a group identity, nor is 'individual commitment replaced by an ideological commitment to a uniform set of rights and obligations, which is characteristic of corporate groups' (Boissevain 1974: 172). An informal clustering of people, '[c]oalitions can vary in size from a few friends who meet regularly with the sole purpose of sharing common interest, to tens if not hundreds of persons who enter into an alliance in order to mobilize support for a particular politician or cause' (Boissevain 1974: 173).

A *gang* is similar to a clique in that 'members associate regularly on the basis of affection and common interest and possess a marked sense of common identity' (Boissevain 1974: 181). However, a gang is a leader-centred coalition while a clique is not. An *action set* is a 'set of persons who have co-ordinated their actions to achieve a particular goal' (Boissevain 1974: 186). They have a leader and a measure of internal specialization but Boissevain qualifies the action-set saying: '[w]orking together does not necessarily generate norms of behavior which carry over outside the work situation. This also implies that there is not necessarily a sense of common identity' (Boissevain 1974: 191).

These six sub-groups (formal corporate groups, informal cliques, informal kinship groups, coalitions, gangs and action sets) should all have a marked but different influence on network social capital. Formal corporate group membership may present a forum for making new connections (bridging) resulting in a greater *variety* of resources. The higher intensity of clique relationships should make resources more *accessible*, while kin relations are likely to be the first point of call when resources are needed,

enhancing the mobilization of resources from these connections. Coalitions, gangs and action sets will also affect the availability of resources, in their own way.

Types of Ties

The social capital literature provides a basis for considering different network configurations so that specific characteristics can be viewed as either facilitating or constraining resources. Each social network can be seen as composed of a variety of relationships in a unique configuration of close and weaker ties. The configurations of these ties will affect the nature and extent of the social capital generated. Different researchers assert the value of some configurations. For example, Putnam (2000: 93-95) identifies some networks as based around *schmoozers* (a configuration of ties where interaction is through easy informal conversation where close ties abound), while others are based around *machers* (a configuration of weaker ties where sociability comes about through joining clubs and organizations). Spencer and Pahl (2006: 27) claim Putnam attaches more importance to the world of machers (configurations of weak ties) than he does to schmoozers, in line with his concern with democracy. In the work of Bourdieu, networks required closure (although the term was not popularized in his works) because social capital is used to maintain class vision. Closure refers to the configuration of ties that are dense and close. Within Coleman's work (where the notion of closure came into existence) closure in a network facilitated social capital by enhancing such things as trust, norms and sanctions. Since these 'solidifying forces may ensure that individuals can mobilize network resources' (Lin 2001b: 10), preference should be given to a configuration of dense, close ties in a 'closed' relationship. In contrast, Granovetter (1973) and Burt (1992) stress the importance of a configuration of weak ties and bridges in networks, arguing that these facilitate the flow of information and

influence the resources of a network. If closure is required, as Bourdieu and Coleman argued, the importance of weak ties and bridges is undermined.

The contradictions in these positions brought the need to distinguish *types* of ties.

Putnam distinguished *bonding* and *bridging* ties, to which Woolcock identified *linking* ties. While the importance of various types of ties is contested, there appears to be general agreement that different kinds of resources flow from different types of ties.

Each network (the sum of all the ties around a specific centre point – in this study all the ties to one family) has a unique configuration of these ties, with some bonding, some bridging and some linking ties. People need a mix of ties in order to find the specific kinds of support they need at any one time (Wellman & Wortley 1989: 274). Different configurations of ties can be expected to lead to varying availability of resources, with the consequence that different types of networks will have different strengths and weaknesses.

Bonding Ties - Birds of a Feather

A tie is a link between one unit of analysis and another. Bonding ties refer to social connections built on similarity, informality and intimacy. This is encapsulated in the proverb ‘birds of a feather flock together’. Called the *principle of homophily*, it is where shared characteristics promote interaction. Homogeneous ties are generally thought to be with family, friends and neighbours, with ties being close and dense and where most network members know each other (Homans 1950; Lazarsfeld & Merton 1954). These dense, strong, homogeneous ties help people to get by on a daily basis (Stone & Hughes 2003: 6). Strong ties promote mutual understanding and support,

contributing to qualities of life (Cattell 2001: 1513). Similar individuals will have similar resources and these will often be used to achieve 'expressive' goals, goals that are normative and identity-based (Lin 2006: 210).²⁰ These types of social ties are a source of glue for social cohesion and solidarity (Lin 2006: 210; Putnam 2000: 22).

Yet, because of their homogeneous nature, the diffusion of knowledge and information through these ties may be restricted. Since these ties are based on similarity, they exclude ties, and thus resources, that come from people who are not like the group. Bonding ties are generally inward focused (Patulny 2003: 8). By nature, they represent sectarian interests and these sometimes contrast with community well-being (Sabatini 2005: 25).

According to Field (2003: 32), Putnam's bonding ties reinforce exclusive identities because they are based on rational familiarity. Bonding ties crowd out more important bridging connections and tend to marginalize non-group members (Baum *et al* 2000: 260-261; Hughes & Stone 2003: 42). 'Crowding out' is a term used to describe the development of one type of tie at the expense of others. Patulny (2005: 59-70) blames crowding out in Australia on Australia's 'conservative liberal' policies. These policies encourage bonding ties to the family and to local communities and consequently discourage ties to strangers who are represented as 'potentially harmful' (Patulny 2005: 70). This erodes bridging ties while strengthening bonding ties. What evolves is family responsibility before social responsibility.²¹

²⁰ Field presents a range of examples of homogeneous groups where resources are similar (Field 2003: 141).

²¹ In Patulny's discussion of welfare policies in a global context, he cites Watts (1987) as noting 'both sides of politics in Australia had always seen welfare as residual and subsidiary to the needs of private

Since bonding ties are usually seen as close ties with similar others, families are often considered to be the most obvious example, based on the belief that most family characteristics are similar (McPherson *et al* 2001: 437; Patulny 2003: 11). However, due to the strong affective bonds within a family, dissimilar or heterogeneous characteristics of family members are also likely to be accepted. Bonding ties may also exist through religious and workplace networks, since these too are, to some degree, closed networks (Patulny 2003: 11). Homogeneity can appear in a number of ways: socio-demographic, behavioural and intrapersonal characteristics (McPherson *et al* 2001: 415). According to McPherson *et al* race and ethnicity rather than family characteristics create the strongest homogeneous characteristics, followed by age, religion, education, occupation and gender (in that order). The similarities on which bonding ties are based and which might make personal networks homogeneous cannot be assumed.

Bridging Ties - It's Who you Know

Bridging ties develop based on common interest. Individuals seek out others who enjoy doing the same things or share common concerns. This brings them into contact with people who are not necessarily like themselves. These ties are generally to acquaintances and are weaker than bonding ties. Patulny (2003: 8) calls them outward focused ties. While bonding is thought to be exclusive, bridging ties are thought to be inclusive and based upon norms of civility. They bring people together across a diverse range of social divisions. According to Lin (2001a: 75-76), these ties are thought to be

enterprise' (Patulny 2005: 66). According to Patulny, under a residual welfare system, individuals are expected to be responsible for their own welfare (broadly speaking) and the state becomes provider of last resort if they fail. As individuals fear the threat of becoming a welfare recipient, they will firstly support their closest ties, those of their family (bonding ties), before anyone else.

advantageous for 'getting ahead'. Using the term 'weak ties' instead of bridging ties, he asserts these ties are good for 'instrumental' goals because they bring people together with different types of resources. These are more useful for 'market competition' than for social solidarity, since advantage derives from having access to better information (Granovetter's 1973 theory of weak ties), better control of information (Burt's 1992 theory of structural holes) and more influence (Lin's 1982 theory of social resources). Putnam (2000: 22-23) suggests bridging ties are supportive of democracy because these ties provide links to community and access to diverse ideas and perspectives.

Linking Ties

Whereas both bonding and bridging ties are horizontal or 'flat' models of social capital, ties also operate vertically, representing relationships up and down the scales of a society (Woolcock 2001: 13). These *linking* ties also constitute social capital as they refer to relationships between individuals or groups that often possess formal power particularly in terms of social, economic and political development. An individual with a link to a formal institution is in a favourable position to access the resources of that institution than an individual who doesn't. Patulny (2005:63) argues, however, that linking ties may not be a distinct type of tie, but rather an outcome of bonding and bridging ties because the link to the institution is still made through an individual bonding or bridging tie. Sabatini (2005: 22) on the other hand claims the influence is different, suggesting linking ties are a separate and unique type of tie.

Distinctions within Networks

Wellman and Wortley (1989: 274) suggest that different configurations of network ties are more advantageous than others. This suggests that, where advantage is defined as having greater levels of social capital derived through a network, different configurations of ties will have different levels of social capital. By identifying similar configurations of ties, it is possible to place networks into groups or typologies for comparison, noting that levels of social capital should correspondingly vary between typologies. That is, by using bonding, bridging and linking ties as the basis for typologies, the levels of resources should become distinct as each type of tie is argued to bring in different advantages. For example, networks consisting of primarily homogeneous ties are thought to promote solidarity (Putnam 2000: 22-23), helping people to get by on a daily basis (Stone 2003a: 5). Networks that consist primarily of heterogeneous ties are thought to broaden identities (Putnam 2000: 22-23), bringing in a diverse range of resources (Lin 2001a: 75-76). By constructing network typologies on this basis, it is expected in this study that each typology will exhibit different levels of social capital. Consequently, it will become possible to ascertain what might influence these different levels of social capital because an association between network types and variables of content and form becomes possible.

Grouping similar networks together into typologies to study them is a respected tool of analysis. Merton, in his 1968 discussion of social theory and social structures, created typologies based on patterns of influence. Wenger (1991) used this method in her work examining the support networks of the elderly. Cattell (2001) employed this technique in her London work on social capital, to show how it mediated health within poor neighbourhoods. Table 4.1 summarizes the typologies used in each of these studies.

Table 4.1 Summary of Typologies used in Other Research

Typologies based on patterns of influence Merton (1968: 382)	Typologies based on support networks of the elderly Wenger (1991: 155-156)	Typologies based on network membership Cattell (2001:1507)
<i>The Local</i> *Integral part of the community *Oriented towards in-group communication *Strong ties	<i>The Local Family Dependent Support Network</i> *Close family ties, few neighbours and peripheral friends	<i>The Socially Excluded or Truncated Network</i> *Small number of membership groups and a small number of people within those groups
<i>The Cosmopolitan</i> *More of an outsider *Oriented towards between group communication *Weak ties	<i>The Locally Integrated Support Network</i> *Close relationships with local family, friends and neighbours	<i>The Homogeneous Network</i> *Small number of membership groups but extensive contacts within those groups
	<i>The Local Self-contained Support Network</i> *Infrequent contact with at least one relative but primary reliance on neighbours	<i>The Traditional Network</i> *A tight knit group made up of family, neighbours, ex workmates, old school friends and friends from social clubs and sports clubs
	<i>The Wider Community Focused Support Network</i> *Absence of nearby relatives but active relationships with distant relatives and high salience of friends	<i>The Heterogeneous Network</i> *Open network of dissimilar people consisting of a large number of membership groups
	<i>The Private Restricted Support Network</i> *Absence of local kin, few nearby friends and low levels of community contacts	<i>The Network of Solidarity</i> *A dense and loose network consisting of a wide range of membership groups made up of both similar and dissimilar people

The typologies of Merton, Wenger and Cattell are useful for establishing criteria for distinguishing configurations of ties. Merton (1968: 382) suggests distinguishing networks based on configurations dominated by weak or strong ties, linking these to local integration. Wenger's (1991: 155-156) distinctions are based on closeness of

association and contact with various groupings of individuals such as family, friends and neighbours while Cattell's (2001: 1507) stress groupings, contact and association as well as similarity and difference in network members. Each of these researchers presents a means of distinguishing *types* of networks that are useful for this study.

Criteria for Placing Networks into Typologies

Many *formal* associations such as workplaces and community organizations bring a diversity of individuals into a network. Consequently, networks dominated by these types of associations tend to have a wide range of bridging ties (Putnam 2000: 27-28; Sobel 2002: 152). This type of network is an *open* network. Merton (1968: 382) referred to it as a 'cosmopolitan' network while Cattell (2001: 1507) called it a 'heterogeneous' network.

Informal interactions are not thought to bring in as many new connections. Networks dominated by informal ties are referred to as *dense* networks, which contain predominantly close ties (bonding ties). Merton (1968: 382) referred to these as 'local' networks. Wenger (1991: 155-156) used both 'local family dependent support networks' and 'locally integrated support networks'. Cattell (2001: 1507) called them 'homogeneous' networks.

As all three types of ties (bridging, bonding and linking) are expected to bring different advantages, networks consisting of predominately one type of tie may well bring in greater levels of an associated specific advantage. The advantage of open networks should be that their weak ties help with 'getting ahead'. They should expand the

networks and thus the variety of resources. The advantage of dense networks should be that members help with day-to-day living. Networks which bring in both kinds of advantage can be considered *balanced* networks. Yet as suggested each network will have a mixture of these ties: a network dominated by bridging ties (an open, heterogeneous network) will also have bonding ties and linking ties. This type of network should have a large diversity of individuals expanding the network (bridging ties), but may also have a close core of relationships that help in day-to-day living (bonding ties) plus links to institutions through linking ties. As discussed, linking ties are distinguished only by the type of advantage a specific connection brings.²² Thus, while three types of advantage exist (those that help one to get by, those that help to get ahead and those that link to formal institutions), linking ties are not evident in a network's configuration (only the advantage is distinctive). As each type of tie brings in a different type of advantage and levels of each type of tie vary within networks, three distinct network configurations become evident: those dominated by bridging ties (*heterogeneous*), those dominated by bonding ties (*homogeneous*) and those with a more *balanced* configuration of ties. With the basis for typologies in place, the focus shifts to SNA.

4.2 Social Network Analysis

The aim of social science is to gain a practical understanding or a systematic analysis of social phenomena (Flyvbjerg 2001: 60). Social network analysis provides a framework

²² For example, a close friend may be a lawyer linking to the institution of the law or an acquaintance may be a teacher linking to the institution of education.

which enables a systematic, conceptual interpretation of social networks. SNA views the webs of connections to others and sees these as networks that link different levels of society. Each network is viewed as a whole that provides resources, with parts or characteristics of the network either limiting it or allowing it to prosper. These webs of connections are able to be analysed by exploring their content and form. SNA also provides an essential instrument to aid in analysis: the sociogram. A review of the development of SNA elaborates the usefulness of this approach.

Development of Social Network Analysis

Contemporary social network analysis draws on three diverse strands of research: 1) sociometric analysis; 2) research done on social relations at Harvard in the 1930s; and 3) kinship research by Manchester anthropologists in the 1950s (Scott 2000: 737). These three distinct strands converged in the 1960s and 1970s.

The roots of sociometric analysis can be traced to the work of psychologist Wolfgang Kohler in 1925 (Scott 2000: 737). Kohler argued that the mind had the ability to simultaneously see the ‘whole’ or the overall pattern of an object, as well as the parts that made it up. An object was thus recognizable as having properties distinct from its parts, but was nevertheless determined by the nature of the parts (Gleitman *et al* 2004: B10). This ability to recognize ‘organized patterns’ (Analytictech 2006: 1) as well as notice parts with unique characteristics was through to be applicable to any structure and allowed the development of sociometry as a method of interpreting social structure (the whole) from systematizing information about individuals (the parts) (Marshall 1998: 629). In 1934 Jacob Moreno argued that parts could be seen as either limitations

or opportunities on the whole of a structure (Moreno 1934: 264-265). This notion that a characteristic of a structure could either enable or inhibit a structure's prosperity became a key step in the development of SNA, and the tool devised by Moreno to demonstrate this effect, the sociogram, became the first essential tool.

The sociogram identifies the social relationships under investigation, allowing clear and rapid analysis. In later developments, this diagrammatic representation enabled researchers to precisely map what passed through the connections represented. In the 1950s Cartwright and Harary were able to outline a way to analyse group structure through the use of graph theory based specifically on Moreno's sociogram. Their graphs allowed a social structure to be analysed by decomposing it into simpler constituents (Cartwright & Harary 1956: 287). The prominent mathematical approach to SNA which is now associated with sociometry stemmed from this visual plotting.

The second strand of research underpinning SNA originated from Harvard (Scott 2000: 737). English anthropologist Radcliffe Brown was interested in the complex webs of social relations in modern societies and the forms taken by these relationships, focusing his research on 'the continuity in the arrangements of persons in relation to one another' (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 10).²³ He concluded that important relationships included friendships, not just kin, and he argued that social structure could only be understood by examining these extended and patterned relationships (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 198).

²³ Although Scott claims Radcliffe-Brown was one of the Harvard researchers of the 1950s, his work on structure is more commonly associated with the University of Chicago in 1937 (Freeman 1992: 12).

Other prominent anthropologists also used the idea of a web approach to patterned relationships. Mayo (1933) used this manner of research in his study of the Hawthorne electrical factory and Warner (1941) used it in the study of New England community life. Mayo's (1966: 65) work contributed to the development of SNA through the use of sociograms to display the configurations of informal relations in the factory. Warner recognized patterns of sub-groups within webs of relations found in Yankee City in New England, identifying patterns of sub-groups such as family, church, classes and associations. One of the important achievements of Warner's work was the classification of informal groups of association, which he termed 'cliques' (Warner & Lunt 1941: 32). Both Mayo and Warner were interested in patterns of relationships that acted as causes or consequences to variables. Much like the sociometric approach, this stream of literature identified sub-groups that affected the overall configuration of the structure and used the sociogram as a way of displaying this information.

This second strand of literature is important to family network research because it identifies the notion of social relations forming a web of connections, so that the relationships *between* individuals become the focus. This is relevant to the current study because it recognizes that each family has a web of ties, and that each tie is a relationship to another person, be it kin, friends or acquaintances. These relationships will form patterns of sub-groups which can be identified and considered in terms of influence. In recognition of this, my research investigates in each set of family connections Boissevain's two types of sub-groups, formal and informal connections. Formal connections link to associations, while informal connections are cliques of

friendships or extended family groups. These sub-groups are then investigated to see if, and how, they influence the flow of resources inherent in these relationships.²⁴

The final strand of research identified by Scott began in the 1950s with the anthropologists John Barnes and Elizabeth Bott at Manchester University. Barnes (1954) investigated the significance of kinship, friendship and neighbours to the whole of social life within a Norwegian fishing village. He represented these relationships as points joined by lines. Points signified people, while lines represented their interactions. He called this a 'social network' (Barnes 1954: 43).

Bott (1957) extended the use of this term. She agreed that the social relations of a family linked them to different levels of society through their 'friends, neighbours, relatives, clubs, shops, places of work, and so forth' (Bott 1957: 58).²⁵ Yet, these systems or levels of relationships were not cohesive groups: 'The institutions and persons with which they are related are not linked up with one another to form an organized group' (Bott 1957: 98). For example, friends are not an organized group, and the type of attachment to them will vary. The community is not an organized group, and the ways families are attached to the community will vary as well. To overcome seeing a connection as just a tie to a cohesive group Bott suggested that the *social environment* of a family should be seen as a network of social relationships (Bott 1957: 99). By viewing these connections as a network, a family would still be seen as connected through levels of society and would still be embedded within a kinship

²⁴ Sub-groups are discussed further in Chapter Eleven.

²⁵ Bronfenbrenner (1979:3-8) described this as a system, where the immediate family unit could be seen as embedded within a wider family system of kin relationships (the micro-level) as well as exo- or meso-level system. These represented their ties to the macro level of society.

system or a neighbourhood or a class system, but, by viewing ties as a ‘network’, differences in how families were connected to these groupings were preserved.

The incorporation of Barnes’s and Bott’s work on structure helped SNA move from an anthropological concept into the realm of sociology, where it could be used to examine patterns of ties and the relation of these ties to society as a whole. According to Scott, the work of other anthropologists such as Siegfried Nadel and Clyde Mitchell was also important in developing this second strand of research. Nadel (1957: 83) separated structure into the *form* of relations and *content*, and argued that these could be analysed mathematically. Attempting to formalize the use of network analysis in his study on urban life in Africa, Mitchell conceptualized a ‘personal order’ as ‘the network of personal links which individuals have built around themselves in towns’ (Mitchell 1969: 54). He suggested these links were built on two types of interaction: communication between individuals which established norms, and those ‘instrumental’ actions where goods or services were exchanged (Mitchell 1969: 10-39). Mitchell’s work was also important to SNA because it began to identify a set of qualities or content that described the relationships within networks.²⁶ Further research developed Mitchell’s initial set of qualities into a more generalized set of measures. His work helped establish SNA as a more complete method of analysis in the spheres of economy and politics as well as the interpersonal sphere he worked in.

The next forty years saw Nadel’s idea, the examination of network structure as both content and form, and the concept of exchange within networks become essential

²⁶ Mitchell’s set of qualities included ‘reciprocity’, ‘intensity’, ‘durability’, ‘density’ and ‘reachability’ (Mitchell 1969: 24-29).

elements of SNA. In line with these propositions, Powell (1993: 271-272) suggested that through network exchanges, people met their needs and survived in their cultures. Likewise, Bloch *et al* (2005: 1) argue that by forging diverse links to other people, ties acted as conduits that provided both direct and indirect access to the resources of others.^{27,28}

By viewing webs of connections in terms of ‘networks’, as Barnes and Bott suggested, sub-groups can be identified and the differences in their configurations preserved. Nadel’s insistence on analysing both content and form and Mitchell’s concept of exchange of information, goods and services across network ties, direct the researcher to investigate the *flows* or resources that pass *across* ties, *between* people in the network. I propose it is in these flows of exchange that the engaged value of the family lays.

Harrison White, from Harvard, continued the development of network analysis through the 1960s and 1970s. He is best known for his study of mobility patterns among Episcopal clergy in America. Here he developed algebraic models of social construction that furthered SNA as a method of analysis (White 1970: vii). White’s ‘block-modelling’ was an image matrix for each network which emphasized role structuring. His ‘multidimensional scaling’ provided a mathematical way of mapping relationships. These developments enable SNA to produce models and matrices

²⁷ An example of an indirect link to resources is when Sally knows Mary need a babysitter and she knows that Judy baby-sits. She arranges for Judy to baby-sit for Mary; an indirect benefit to Mary of knowing Sally.

²⁸ According to Scott (2000: 33), this led SNA in Britain to be seen as a specialist method of investigation relevant only to ‘ego-centric’ networks. Ego-centric networks are personal networks focused on the relationships to single individuals.

involving any type of connection, not just those in ego-centred networks. Yet it was through the work of Mark Granovetter, a student of White's in 1973, that SNA gained popularity. His work involves information flows in informal social contacts, which extended SNA to a much broader field of analysis (Scott 2000: 34-35). Edward Laumann was also instrumental in increasing SNA's popularity. His studies in conjunction with Pappi in 1973 described and analysed structures of acquaintances and affiliations in communities. Subsequently, he collaborated with Marsden in 1979 on political cleavage among elites and with Knoke in 1982 on the formation of legislation and policy in Washington. These studies strengthened SNA as a general methodology.

Before the 1970s SNA was generally perceived as a speciality area within sociology or anthropology. During the 1970s, SNA became more mainstream, a general *orientation* in its own right, 'capable of capturing and giving operational meaning to concepts present in existing theories of social structure' (Marsden & Lin 1982: 10). The network orientation of SNA enables integrative levels of analysis: the effects of micro, meso and macro levels on each other can be identified because SNA looks at how attitudes and behaviours are influenced by the social content in which individuals are embedded.

Marsden and Lin argue that SNA's move to mainstream analysis was due to organizational developments such as the founding of the International Network for Social Network Analysis (INSNA) (an interdisciplinary organization), and the appearance of an official newsletter called *Connections*, as well as a journal entitled *Social Networks*. In addition, there were increasing numbers of conferences on network analysis, and SNA sessions began to be included at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association. The development of graphic computing also aided

in SNA's uptake as a mathematical form of analysis. Programs such as UCINET and ICT were able to cope with the large matrices and algorithms that often accompany SNA (Maier & Vyborny 2006: 1).

However, the importance of this final strand of research to an investigation of family social networks comes mainly from Mark Granovetter's work. His strength of ties theory forms one of the three underpinning propositions to Lin's resource theory of social capital used to indicate the value of family in this study. Also relevant from this final stream, comes Marsden's and Lin's notion of integrative levels of analysis. Their contribution stresses that general societal attitudes act as facilitators or constraints on network variables, as do aspects of place or neighbourhood. Both norms and location become characteristics of networks.

There are four theoretical domains that have evolved from work in this field (Wasserman & Faust 1994: 7):

- A focus on the relationships *between* actors, on their interdependence rather than their autonomy or individuality;
- A focus on the linkages between actors act which act as channels for the exchange of resources;
- A focus on structure conceptualized as enduring patterns of relations;
- A focus on network structure as affecting substantive outcomes as a structural environment which provides opportunities or constraints.

All four domains are relevant to this thesis.

Relationships

The versatility of SNA makes it a powerful and configurable tool for use in a thesis such as this because it is able to accommodate the various types of relationships within each network. The types of relationships that SNA can examine are limited only by the researcher's imagination and ingenuity (Knoke and Kuklinski 1982: 15-16). For example, Trotter (1999: 11) could distinguish between kinship relationships, long-term friendships, shorter-term acquaintances and weak/close to anonymous relationships. Any kind of attribute can become the basis of relationships between the actors: social roles, such as 'the boss of' or 'the teacher of'; affective attributes such as likes, respects, hates; cognitive attributes such as knows or 'views as similar'; or behavioural attributes such as 'talks to' or 'has lunch with'. Attributes such as distance (miles between), co-occurrence (same colour of hair) or even mathematical associations (two links removed – for example, the maternal grandmothers of respondents) can also become a basis for an examinable relationship in SNA (Analytictech 2006: 1). While the types and basic categories of relationships that are to be researched, will depend on what is to be investigated, SNA is capable of incorporating this variability.

Linkages

A theoretical framework that examines family networks and their resources must not only consider network connections, but also the exchanges that flow through them. These exchanges represent the value of the networks and consequently the value of the 'engaged family'. Exchange is one of the key functions of a person's personal network, where support is gained through the people one knows (Analytictech 2006: 1). Exchanges are the 'infinite, sequential transactions within the context of a general

pattern of interaction' (Powell 1993: 270), through which individuals gain new ideas, information and emotional and material support.

SNA can accommodate various types of exchanges, further demonstrating the utility of this method of analysis. Finch's (1989: 18-33) study of extended family, for example, used five categories to designate exchange: 1) economic; 2) accommodation; 3) personal care; 4) practical support and 5) emotional support. In their study of formal supports and informal social ties of children and their parents, Cochran and Henderson (1990: 241) employed six categories: 1) childrearing advice; 2) babysitting; 3) borrowing; 4) financial assistance; 5) job-related exchange and 6) emotional support.

Structure

The third and fourth theoretical domains of SNA interact and suggest a method of analysing *why* network values differ. The third domain concerns the *patterning* of people's ties, which represents the structure of networks. The fourth suggests this structure affects outcomes because the structural environment provides opportunities or constraints. Patterns of ties order people's access to the resources available through their networks (Wellman 1982: 63). This idea is important because it focuses on the accessibility of resources. SNA affords a method to scrutinize the patterns of networks by directing researchers to address network properties in terms of both content and form (Knoke & Kuklinski 1982: 15). Content refers to the emergent properties of the relationships and is context specific. It is relational between at least two parties.

Form exists independently of the specific content of a network. SNA directs the researcher to assess two aspects of form, those that transcend individual membership such as size, density and composition of a network, and the network's location within the wider social structure (Cochran 1990a: 28). Structure *within* a network affects access to resources and thus represents opportunities. For instance, densely knit networks can access resources more quickly than others while less dense networks can be seen as constraining (Bott 1957: 60).

The second aspect of form, network *location* in the wider social structure, can also present opportunities and constraints which will affect levels of social capital in a network. Location represents a type of umbrella group such as socioeconomic influences, the locale where the network is anchored and properties that reside in a location (Cochran 1990a: 25). Locations can be characterized by the amount and diversity of accessible activities (Cromley 1999: 71-72; Cheng *et al* 2005: 23) because these represent opportunities within reach of anchoring participants. Physical aspects of location can also affect patterns of interactions, including the size and shape of a settlement, transport facilities and household density (Cromely 1999: 71-72).

Interactions can be affected by the social components of neighbourhoods as well., such as the length of residency, social class, ethnic and racial origins (Cheng *et al* 2005: 25).

Basic safety and services such as lighting, street repairs, and active police and fire services are also essential to the opportunities or constraints offered by a location:

‘Having a safe, liveable neighborhood is an important first step toward developing friendly ties with neighbours’ (Cochran *et al* 1990: 309). Living in a neighbourhood where activities are accessible and safety is addressed is thus seen as providing opportunities for interaction, while the lack of these can be seen as constraints.

Physical location may not be the only form of location which offers opportunities or constraints, however. Use of 'placeless' functions such as the Internet also have the potential to affect levels of social capital as well. While the Internet alters the effects of space and time so that people no longer need to be in the same place to connect (Lipnack & Stamps 1994: 48), de-emphasizing the importance of locality for both work and community (Wellman *et al* 1996: 236), the value of location in terms of access to the Internet or mobile phone use and reception remain a factor. These attributes can be seen as locational or pre-locational as well and can be accounted for by SNA in this way.

Location may also become less closely aligned with the literal meaning of place as physical space because of 'delocalizaion' (Heying 1997: 667) where key players in civic and political affairs such as leading businessmen and senior management personnel have become 'transients' whose attachment to place is short-lived and may no longer matter. Yet the notion of location remains helpful as it continues to signal structural characteristics of networks that are important. For example, transient CEO's may enjoy a structural location in their firm that ensures that they enjoy authority and control over resources and persons and thus will be analysable under SNA.

Criticisms of Social Network Analysis

One criticisms of SNA concerns its individualistic emphasis. Blok (1973: 163), for example, argues that the flexibility and scope of SNA exposes the approach to a systematic overemphasis of the individual at the expense of structural and moral constraints.

A more strident criticism of SNA is that this type of analysis ‘does not really afford the possibility of refutation’ (Rule 1997: 132). Whereas models can be constructed showing the organization of links, and these can be used to represent the complex realities under study, it often remains unclear exactly how these aspects of realities will alter theoretical understandings (Blau 1982: 279; Rule 1997: 132). However, SNA itself is not responsible for this lack of clarity although many SNA studies suffer from it. Rule contends that network analysis should demonstrate not only that a network is there, and that this represents the social world, but also that these connections matter to outcomes. The object is to ‘grasp what kind of network ties are apt to matter in which circumstances’ (Rule 1997: 139) and demonstrate the influence of network relations to outcomes of interest. The configuration of network ties must also be ‘enduring enough so that the principles identified as crucial at one moment continue to govern action at later points’ (Rule 1997: 141). The network approach is not appropriate for instances of abrupt change where mass influence occurs, such as in the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 on New York’s World Trade Centre. Here information was distributed by the media, not through social relations. However, this is a limitation on the use of SNA, rather than a criticism of the method itself (Rule 1977: 141).

A final caution comes from Noble (1973: 10-23). She stresses that one vital condition when using SNA is to define what a network is within the research. The networks of Barnes’ Norwegian fishing village for instance, were made up of links of kinship, friendship and neighbourliness. Noble contends these links were only part of a total network, because individuals always have ties to institutional structures. This highlights the responsibility of the analyst to define the network, as well as reasons for these boundaries. McCallister and Fischer (1983: 87) too, emphasize the importance of

clearly specifying what constitutes a network, as well a relationship, since both of these aspects can influence findings.

Yet these criticisms do not deter from the value of SNA. Its four theoretical domains suggests its appropriateness for analysing family social networks, the resources that flow through these and what might account for variations in levels of social capital.

4.3 Conclusions from Chapter Four

SNA provides the analytic technology to examine the social networks of families within the empirical study which forms part of this research. Underpinned by sound theoretical propositions, the framework of SNA gives direction to this investigation, enabling families to be viewed as linked through their social networks to various levels of society and thus be seen as engaged entities. Since these networks act as channels of resources, this framework also directs the researcher to examine the characteristics of the networks, both content and form, as opportunities or constraints upon the resources.

With the distinctions also in place that enable types of networks to be identified which should reflect the advantage of each type, I turn next to an examination of the literature relating to three network characteristics that may influence the levels of social capital:

1) network participation; 2) the embedded location of a network; 3) norms of independence.

Chapter 5

Characteristics of Networks

Once the construction of typologies is complete and social capital is attributed to these, it then becomes possible to explore the characteristics of networks as influences on social capital. As per SNA, network characteristics can be seen as either facilitating or constraining social capital. When a characteristic varies between typologies, it may well account for differing levels of social capital. This thesis examines three network characteristics: types of network participation, the embedded locations of networks and norms of independence.²⁹ The aim of this chapter is to acquaint the reader with the necessary background surrounding each characteristic.

5.1 Types of Network Participation

The first characteristic to be explored is types of network participation. Simmel (1950: 45) emphasises that socialising and association is a basic human drive and that social events help individuals develop a sense of belonging. Accordingly, participation within a network is likely to influence the resources gained through a network. Joining and a sense of belonging impact positively on ‘social health, self-esteem, sense of empowerment, and even general health’ (Frisch 1996: 47-48). Participation with others

²⁹ The method of choosing characteristics for inclusion in this thesis is explained in Chapter Six.

can be tied directly to social capital because there can be no social capital unless more than one person is involved (Bullen & Onyx 1998: 3).

Network members are drawn together through different types of participation. Unfortunately, the definitions of types of participation are often confused, and intentions or common purposes become indistinct. For example, community support and civic participation often overlap, but are construed differently. Types of participation themselves can also become blurred, such as when an individual is in a position within a community organization (community participation) that teaches civic skills such as leadership (a type of civic participation). A blurring or lack of clear common purpose may also occur in working relationships (economic participation) which may also be social. To bring a more orderly approach to the discussion and to make studies in Australia more comparable, the ABS Social Capital Framework (2004b: 42) suggests a group typology of participation that standardizes definitions of social, civic, community and economic participation.³⁰ Importantly, the Framework suggests that different types of engagement may influence social capital: each type of participation may have a different value in terms of generating social capital. The Framework refers to social capital in terms of community resources and not personal networks (ABS 2004b: 5), yet it does pose the question for this study. Do various types of participation in personal networks also generate different amounts of social capital? To explore whether this is so, I use the ABS definitions of social, community, civic and economic participation.

³⁰ ABS typologies have been adapted from a number of sources. These can be found in ABS 2004b: 42. Although, the Framework also includes 'friendships' as a type of participation, the four other types may all include friendships.

Social Participation in Networks

Social participation is participation in inherently enjoyable activities valued in their own right, either formal, provided by organised groups, or informal, with family and friends (ABS 2004b: 42).

Social participation has the narrow definition of social interactions which are distinguishable from economic, community and civic participation. Social participation could be seen in a broader usage referring to effective interaction between people which may benefit their health or education, yet according to the ABS (2004b: 6), the narrower usage refers only to interactions which are *social* in nature. These are often a relatively hidden area of participation yet they are important to social capital because they enable the development of supportive networks.

Many studies have investigated the benefits which accrue from social participation to either the individual or the family. The Adelaide Health Development and Social Capital Project (Baum et al 2000: 257) conducted in South Australia during 1997-1998, concluded that social participation offered health benefits to individuals, in turn benefiting families. The Australian National Mental Health Strategy (Department of Health and Aged Care 2000: 15) included social activities that resulted in attachment to a network as a protective factor in the development of mental health problems. Both studies demonstrate the importance of *social* participation.

The ABS Framework (2004b: 43) recognizes six categories of *formal* social groups:

- Sporting and recreation groups
- Arts, culture and education groups

- Craft and hobby groups
- Religious and spiritual groups
- Social clubs
- Ethnic and multicultural groups

Informal social participation simply involves spending time with other people doing enjoyable activities, for example, going to a concert with others or attending a party.

The first of the ABS formal social groups, sporting and recreation groups, are dominant forms of recreation and interaction in Australia, with Australia being recognized worldwide as a nation with a strong interest in sport. An ABS survey reports that, in 2000, 30 percent of Australia's population over the age of 18 participated in organised sports or physical activities (ABS 2002a: 3). In 2002, 48.2 percent of the adult population attended at least one sporting event in the previous year (ABS 2003: 1-2). Of the school age population in 2002, 59.4 percent participated in organized sports outside of school hours (ABS 2002b: 3). In fact Harrington (2003: 1-4) asserts that the facilitation of children's leisure activities through structured, organized sport is a characteristic of middle-class Australian families. Parents view this as part of their 'parental responsibility'. Through these sporting interactions, the social networks of Australians can be expanded through the friendships which are formed, enabling the access of network resources.

Cultural activities, the second ABS Framework formal grouping, includes the areas of music, literature, cultural heritage activities, creative and performing arts. Activities may include visiting cinemas, libraries, botanic gardens, zoological parks and aquariums. These activities provide further opportunities for interaction. The ABS

(2002a: 1) found 88 percent of the adult population of Australia, and 98 percent of 18-24 year olds, attended at least one cultural venue or event in 2002. According to the ABS, age, sex, area of residence, household composition, country of birth, labour force status, educational attainment and income all influence the type and frequency of cultural activities undertaken.

The third formal grouping considers religious group affiliation as a form of social participation. This type of participation is thought to influence other forms of local involvement, consequently affecting friendship patterns and in turn, social capital. It remains unclear whether this is a direct result of religiosity or due to the attitudes and world-views promoted by a church. Mitchell's (2004: 3-4) comprehensive review of the literature connecting religious affiliation and volunteering shows a significant positive correlation between the two forms of participation.

In the ABS Framework (2004b: 45), craft groups and ethnic and multicultural groups represented other formal groupings which facilitated social participation through distinct activities. *Informal* socializing on the other hand revolves around going out with friends, or visiting restaurants, cafes, bars and clubs. Each of these offers social interactions where benefits, seen as resources within the networks, could be gained.

Community Participation in Networks

Community support is participation in those activities that are aimed at providing assistance to the individuals, groups and the wider

community, which are not directly related to political participation or participation in governance (ABS 2004b: 42).

The ABS (2004b: 56) contends that the majority of community support activities are provided through the mechanism of voluntary work. Volunteering can be defined as an activity that is ‘freely chosen, does not involve remuneration, and helps or benefits strangers’ (Zappala 2000: 1). This sees volunteering as providing assistance either in a formal capacity through voluntary work in organizations, or on an informal basis, *not* through group association. Both establish the basis of reciprocal exchanges as well as reinforcing networks. While Wilkinson and Bittman (2002: 19) stress the importance of voluntary work in building bridges (social ties that extend to dissimilar people), volunteering also benefits participants: ‘dozens of studies have shown that people who are involved in community life have better physical and psychological health than people who are socially isolated’ (Williamson 2001: 7).

The importance of community participation is stressed in the social capital literature as it is this type of participation that links family social capital to the more general community social capital. The more linkages families have to community life, the more likely the family and their children will be to conform to the values of the wider community (Stone & Hughes 2001: 2). There is also likely to be a greater propensity for children from active community-involved parents to become more active and engaged citizens as these families provide a model of civic virtues (civic being those derived from community activities) (Cox 1995a: 28-29). Although this thesis does not investigate the linkages between family and community social capital, this discussion emphasizes the importance of distinguishing types of participation. In this thesis the

demarcation of participation lies in where each family meets people. For example, if a family member meets someone through volunteering in a community group such as Meals on Wheels, participation is classified as formal community. My concern is *where* they make the connections that generate social capital.

Wilkinson and Bittman base community participation on the notion of care, claiming that ‘it takes place beyond our intimate circle and in the absence of strong ties of affection’ (Wilkinson and Bittman 2003: 64). They suggest that there are two models of care. The *civic model of care* describes care as an extension of the experiences gained from caring relationships in the family. This is extended to strangers and members of the community. The other model is the *civil model of care*. This views care as developing from a sense of civility learned through association with others outside the family. Here care is a consequence of public association: ‘an acknowledgment that strangers are like us and entitled to our care’ (Cox 1995b: 3). Both models view care as a resource of a network. The first is reliant on the characteristics of a family, while the other relies on public association. In a discussion of social capital where resources are seen as not only those benefiting a family but also those going *to* other network members (a dual approach), this distinction would be relevant. The care network members received (the resource coming to them) would be influenced by different aspects of interaction. If the aim were to investigate these influences, the distinction would be necessary. In a discussion of community networks rather than ego-centred networks, it would also be more relevant for this same reason. However, my study only

looks at the resources available *to* a family *from* their network members.³¹ In this family view of social capital, the competing models of care are not of great importance. Both models however, suggest that care creates a kind of investment in members of society where resources should be reciprocated at some point in time. This reciprocity should act as an insurance policy for future investments.

The ABS Framework (2004b: 43) identifies six categories of *formal* community groups:

- Children, parenting and school related groups
- Service clubs
- Humanitarian aid groups
- Welfare groups
- Health and disability groups and self-development groups
- Voluntary emergency, rescue or fire service groups

Healy (2002:2) identifies *informal* community participation as donating blood, coaching (as informal volunteering) or contributing money to charitable causes. Fisher *et al* (2004: 31) include activities such as pruning plants and picking up litter alongside pavements and verges. They claim one-third of all volunteering in Australia (community participation) is done on an informal basis.³²

³¹ Reciprocity is the exception to this where it is viewed in my study as the resources provided *by* the family to their network members (outgoing resources) in the expectation that they will be returned (see Chapter Eleven).

³² This figure excludes informal adult care. If this is included, they claim two-thirds of all volunteering in Australia is informal (Fisher *et al* 2004: 31).

Civic Participation in Networks

Civic participation is participation in governance and citizenship (ABS 2004b: 42).³³

The third type of participation identified by the ABS is civic engagement. The Framework (2004b: 49) points out that a civically active populace is concerned about issues relating to themselves, their community or society. Moreover, they want to see these issues reflected in governmental decision-making. The Framework claims that by actively engaging in civic participation, people are brought together with their fellow citizens and that this creates bridges across social divides that extend the networks of individuals.

As in other forms of participation, both formal and informal interactions are possible.

The Framework (2004b: 43) categorizes formal civic groups as:

- Trade unions, professional and technical groups
- Political parties
- Civic groups
- Environmental and animal welfare groups
- Human and civil rights groups
- Body corporate and tenant groups
- Consumer organizations

³³ It needs to be noted that voluntary work that relates to governance falls within the realm of civic participation and includes groups that act as advocacy groups as well as individual participation in any group that teaches the skills that underpin democracy. This would include executive positions in most formal groups.

Holding office in *any* organization is a civic activity because it teaches the skills of cooperation necessary for maintaining a democratic society (Lenkowsky 2000: 58), although such participation would be considered a informal civic activity unless it was in a formal civic group. Running meetings, organising events and debating issues with clarity are all skills that facilitate further participation. For Putnam (2000: 35), a further aspect of civic participation consists of following current affairs. He claims that this is a critical precondition for more active civic involvement. It provides a connection and an area of ‘community’ oriented communication within a society (exchange of information). Yet Cox (2002: 355), in her discussion of changes in community groups in Australia, sees inequities forming in the accessibility of the opportunities for learning civic skills. She claims that due to the degree of professionalism now required by and of community groups (community in the general sense), those with fewer skills and less confidence are likely to be excluded from this kind of participation.

Economic Participation in Networks

The final type of participation identified by the ABS is economic participation. Engagement in the workforce is a major determinant of the income and living standards of a family (Stone *et al* 2003: 1) and it impacts on self-identity, on self-efficacy and self-worth. Economic participation is important to common purpose because paid labour creates relationships with other people: ‘these days people get about 90 percent of their social connections from the workplace’ (Wolfe 1999: 4). It is also through this setting that an individual may encounter people from many different backgrounds and lifestyles, and the workplace contacts of parents can be an essential source of new information for the family (Furstenberg and Kaplan 2004: 224). The economic link is

important because it not only expands networks and provides ties to diverse settings, but also because it can provide access to network resources. Employment offers families economic resources which are often required for participation in social activities. As well, the employment and occupational statuses of network members will affect the resources available through a network (Lin 1999: 473), especially in relation to information about job searches (see discussion of ‘reaching-up’ in Chapter Three).

Labour market participation is determined by several factors (Stone *et al* 2003: 8). These may include stage of life, the amount of income that is required to support a desired lifestyle and the desired balance between life-cycle responsibilities and employment, such as being home for children versus participating in the work force. Determinants of the type of participation in the labour market also include the availability of jobs and the qualifications and skills that these jobs require.

Another aspect of economic participation relevant to this study is the time limitations employment places on participation with others. Time spent at work limits the time spent with others (Hughes & Stone 2003: 42; Bittman 1999: 11).³⁴ Leisure time, time at one’s own disposal in contrast to constrained activities, requires available time (Bittman 1999: 11). The interactive nature of leisure is the aspect that is important to social networks. If leisure is tied to social interaction, then limiting leisure time will limit social interaction. The availability of leisure time is also dependant on the individual’s sex, employment status, age and family circumstances (Bittman 1999: 11). Whereas Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995: 63) argue that women who work thereby create a

³⁴ Hagestad (1984) identifies this as a coupling constraint, one of three types of constraints that limit interaction. A coupling constraint is where, when and for how long a person is able to join with others.

space for their own leisure time, by separating their work from their home, Pusey (2003: 97-98) contends that work is increasingly invading social time for women and that many middle-class women feel enslaved by the expectations of contemporary society, because of the need to live up to several separate roles.³⁵ He claims that over-commitment places severe restrictions on their time, especially on social time.

In relation to networks, *unemployment* is a complex phenomenon that has different consequences for different people. Unemployment reduces the amount of civic and community engagement (Paugam & Russell 2000: 258-260), even though unemployed people may have more time available for these activities. This is because unemployment affects income on a long-term basis and consequently alters other types of participation (ABS 2004b: 6). In particular, people may be unable to participate in reciprocal activities due to lack of finances. Money is necessary for social participation in most leisure activities (Bittman 1999: 10), as well as for consumption in modern society (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1995: 62). When income is affected in the long-term, participation can therefore be expected to alter. Yet it needs to be noted that unemployment does not always result in a lack of money. Some people do not need to work, with these people not included in official unemployment figures.

The self-employed typically have different patterns of participation and these therefore must be discussed. About 10 percent of the non-agricultural labour force of advanced societies is typically self-employed (Arum & Muller 2005: 1). Traditionally, most self-

³⁵ Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002: 63) suggest that by working outside the home women have created a leisure space. Whereas a family-based woman is always on call, a woman who works outside the home has a bounded time for working (working hours) and those hours outside of this time are at her own disposal. This assumes that by working, she is able to relieve herself of at least some of the work involved in the home. The reality is often that a working women remains 'always on call'.

employed people have consisted of small shop-owners, skilled craft people and non-professionals but due to the revolution in computing and communication technologies, the character of self-employment has changed. Self-employed professionals who do freelancing and other semi-autonomous jobs are on the increase. There has also been an increase in non-professional self-employment tied to the increased number of women in the workforce (Arum & Muller 2005: 1). As more women enter the workforce, traditional domestic responsibilities are outsourced to other people, often self-employed. Another cause of the recent increases in self-employment in Australia has been the rising incidence of retrenchments in the 1990s (Buchanan & Watson 2004: 7). Workers unable to find other positions turned to self-employment as a consequence. From the network perspective, aspects of time availability, erratic income, availability of additional members of the network for interaction and the subsequent resources available through the network, all become issues under these conditions.

To summarize, *social participation* includes interactions that are valued for enjoyment only. These are thought to enable the development of supportive networks, which underpin social capital. *Community participation* includes activities that provide assistance at a community level but which are not related to political involvement or governance. *Civil participation* is concerned with governance and citizenship. Community and civil participation are both thought to not only provide meeting places for interaction, but also to build bridges to dissimilar people. *Economic participation* is involvement in the workforce. According to the ABS, these four different types of participation are thought to generate social capital, acting as meeting places which facilitate the development of connections. These connections may each build bridges to diverse individuals. Yet the value of each type of participation in doing this may be

different and various types of participation may differ in their ability to ultimately generate social capital.

The Framework also denotes that each type of participation may occur through either formal or informal interactions, raising the question of whether these groupings *within* each type of participation may also be important in influencing social capital. For example, social participation may be with network members met through membership in formal corporate groups, or with informal cliques of friends or kinship groups. Each will have different expectations of norms of exchange. The breadth of the literature on groupings suggests that investigating only the *type* of participation without considering the groupings or patterning within each type, may only give a fragment of the picture. Connections that stem from different types of participation need to be examined as well as paying particular attention to whether they come from formal or informal ties.

Within these groupings, roles and activity levels may also affect resources. In a formal organization these may be important in the same manner as Granovetter's (1973: 1369-1373) notion of reaching up in occupational access. Higher up positions may have access to more information allowing better access to resources. Boissevain (1974: 34) also contends that the more contact between network members, the more frequent the exchanges. A position on the executive board of a formal corporate organization may enable benefits from both propositions. An executive permit may allow access to more information, which may enable better access to resources. Holding an executive position also generally infers a more active level of participation in an organization than a non-executive member. This intensity may equate to more frequent exchanges. These

propositions suggest that both roles and levels of intensity should also be examined to see whether they influence levels of social capital.

5.2 Embedded Network Location

The second characteristic explored in this thesis is the embedded location of a network or the place in which the network resides. Massey and Jess claim that ‘when we think of what we mean by a place, we picture a settled community, a locality with a distinct character – physical, economic and cultural’ (Massey & Jess 1995: 46). This implies the characteristics of an area will have an influence on how people both envisage their sense of place and access the resources in their networks. This suggests a way to examine the influence of place on social capital. By constructing a profile of various aspects of location, location can be viewed in relation to the way it may constrain or facilitate levels of social capital.

Warren and Warren (1977: 74-81) use three aspects of place in their measurement of place: 1) the use of the space in communities; 2) the contacts individuals have that link outside the area; and 3) a sense of belonging to a place. These three aspects can also be used to determine how place might impact on a network’s social capital, for families can be tied to place in different ways depending on how community space is used, the links which extend beyond the area and how they feel about where they live. Jones (1967: 412) contends that residential proximity increases the probability of social interactions. These connections are vital for generating bonding social capital. This raises questions as to whether places differ in terms of providing opportunities or

constraints for making these connections. In some areas are families more *able* to connect to those within their neighbourhoods?

Different places have different levels of community services and facilities. While one local area may have high levels of schools, sporting facilities and emergency services, others may be void of such facilities. Community services and facilities act as a focus for social interactions and draw people together (Glass 1948: 124). Public places and facilities provide obvious meeting opportunities (Flap 1994: 40). For example, children who attend the local school have opportunities for local interactions, as do their parents. When children attend schools that are not local, local interaction opportunities are displaced. Similarly, shopping in a local area may lead to conversations with neighbours. Along with these, parks and beaches may all present opportunities for local interactions. Transport facilities such as bus services will also influence the frequency of contact (Volker 2004: 10). If these services and facilities do not exist, there may be no focus for local interactions, and the generation of social capital will be impaired.

Community associations and events may also act to bring people together. They present an opportunity structure for meeting which influences the development of social networks and social capital. According to Simmel (1950: 45) the *gathering* is important because participating in social events assists humans in developing a sense of belonging. Community events act as part of the memories that link families to a place, and participation in such events leads to a sense of shared history (Cattell 2001: 1504).

Crime and safety can also affect whether families interact with others in their local areas. Having a safe, liveable neighbourhood may be an essential element in

developing friendly ties with neighbours (Cochran *et al* 1990: 309), while fear of crime or having to contend with a hostile and deprived environment which discourages contact may damage close relationships (Cattell 2001: 1505). In areas where they feel unsafe, families may also be less likely to participate in their communities (Carpiano 2005: 9). When people feel unsafe they tend to avoid public places and may not go out at night (Cox 2002: 351). Pain *et al* (2001: 244) identify four aspects that may change how people interact with each other due to the fear of crime: avoidance (staying indoors at night or seeking alternate routes); precaution (not making eye contact with strangers); resistance (not going out alone but only in company); and communal (less social contact, using public space less). Each of these would act as a constraint on the generation of social capital.

These three aspects of neighbourhoods - the services and facilities, the community associations and events, and the fear of crime and the safety of an area – can be drawn together to provide a profile of the opportunity structures that exist for families embedded within an area. This may influence how they *are* tied to their local areas and whether they make local connections or go outside their neighbourhoods to make the vital associations necessary for the generation of social capital.

The second measurement of the impact of place, contacts outside the local area, is more difficult to unravel. Massey and Jess's notion of activity spaces is useful here. An activity space is 'the spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which a particular agent operates' (Massey & Jess 1995: 54). An 'activity space' becomes a heuristic tool to explore how a family *is* tied to their locale

by identifying the degree of local and non-local connections which anchor them to a residential location.

The third aspect of ‘place’, the sense of belonging to an area, requires a more subjective investigation. Emotional fears, beliefs, habits, likes and dislikes contribute to a public environment, as much as ‘the institutional, economic and physical factors’ (Couclelis & Golledge 1983: 334). An ‘emotional fit’ needs to exist with a neighbourhood (Kahn 1996: 169). If people do not feel they belong in an area, they will have no reason to interact with others nearby. A neighbourhood needs to be seen as a ‘proper place to live’ (Popay *et al* 2003: 65), to be an ‘imaginable’ place which acquires meaning through subjective responses to experience (Gulick 1966: 179). Dermeritt (1996: 492) supports a subjective approach to the study of such phenomena, asserting the validity of research based on the perceptions and experiences of participants within their communities. In-depth interviews and case studies are useful tools by which to investigate these individual milieux (Curtis and Taket 1996: 14). Everyday geographies of place and individual identity significantly shape a person’s sense of place, which in turn may influence how they use local connections. Interactions could be expected to increase if perceptions are positive. Conversely, if perceptions are negative, interactions could be expected decrease.

By constructing a profile which includes how a family *can* be tied to a vicinity, how they *are* tied to an area and their *perceptions* of their neighbourhood, it is possible to view this profile as constraining or facilitating levels of social capital.

5.3 Independence as a Norm

The norm of independence is the final characteristic of networks examined in this thesis. As part of the content of a network, this characteristic may influence the resources flowing through the network. As there are tensions surrounding the norm of independence, this suggests that the views held towards this norm by participants may indeed affect levels of social capital.

Norms can be seen as the *cultural imperatives* operating within a network. They are the cultural definitions of desired behaviours (Williams & Gibbs 1968: 204). In his seminal study of configurations in social networks, Boissevain (1974: 67) suggests norms and values are part of the environment that affects structure. Norms may also define the patterns of behaviour expected and valued in networks, with sanctions used to govern deviant behaviour (Bullen & Onyx 1998: 3; Gelles 1995: 519).

Homan's (1961: 46) work on the development of *normative content* and *shared perceptions* and Festinger's (1950: 797) *social comparison theory* explain how norms are thought to operate in a society. Homan's normative content theory suggests that there is a perceived feeling, thought or action that is believed to be appropriate or correct (or inappropriate and incorrect) in a particular circumstance and that these perceptions are shared. In social comparison theory, individuals are thought to form their attitudes by weighing and integrating them with those of others. In this way interpersonal agreements become validated. These theories explain how interpersonal interactions produce shared attitudes and a sense of appropriateness (Friedkin 2001: 170). Hechter and Opp (2001b: 399) tie social networks to the emergence of norms

suggesting their importance to this thesis. They argue that norms evolve through the interaction of network members. It is through previous encounters that norms develop, indicating that networks become the field within which norms develop (Heist 1981: 115-126).

There are two primary viewpoints about how norms function. The first is what Christine Horne (2001: 306) calls the externality-based approach. In this approach, norms *constrain* self-interested action. By either rewarding or punishing actions that have externalities, a norm emerges that affects consequent behaviour. Horne uses the example of non-smokers who object to second-hand smoke. As they object and consequently don't reward smoking, indeed they are often offensive about being subjected to it, it becomes the norm to not smoke in close proximity of others (at least in certain circumstances). Norms become common knowledge and constrain further action. Hechter and Opp (2001) claim this first view stems from rational choice theory, where 'norms provide common knowledge about the individual payoffs to particular courses of action' (Hechter & Opp 2001b: 394). A second perspective views norms as *guidelines* to action. This viewpoint does not see norms as hard and fast but as more elusive, as what 'ought' to be done in a situation.³⁶ Viewing norms in this way allows for a system of expected behaviours that can be treated as routine. Norms here are learnt behaviours taught through socialization (Fine 2001: 140).

³⁶ This perspective is followed by Finch and Mason (1993: 14-21) and Finch (1989: 144-147), where they referred to norms as normative guidelines. Popay et al (2003: 59) follow this perspective, as does Fine (2001: 140) when he talked of norms as a 'frame' in which to interpret a situation, as providing a system of meaning.

Yet the idea of a norm remains elusive and may not be viewed in the same way by different individuals even within the same social group. This ambiguity is clearly evident in the literature surrounding the norm of independence (Burbidge 1998: 14). One view of independence is that an individual must be self-reliant: a person must not rely on others (Burbidge 1998: 14). In the extreme, self-reliance here means that individuals and families must aim to do *everything* for themselves.

However, this goal of self-sufficient independence can be questioned in two ways (Code 2000: 181-212). Firstly, when this goal is paramount, other norms such as trust, loyalty, friendship, caring and responsibility become less valued. Secondly, an autonomous view of independence can be threatened or at least compromised by values, social practises, relationships and communities based on cooperation and interdependency. These observations suggest that other valued norms exist and that some threaten or compromise others. The notion of any one as paramount becomes questionable.

Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000: 9) also critique the dominance of the norm of independence on two fronts. They also emphasize the value of nurturance and interconnections, questioning the authority of independence as *the* appropriate action in a society. As well, their metaphysical critiques of autonomy suggest that individuals are socially embedded and partially constituted by social relationships, so differing social relationships will affect the notions of individualism that derive from autonomy (Mackenzie & Stoljar 2000: 7). That is, an individual's identity, especially with regards to the notion of independence or autonomy, will be intimately influenced by social relations and therefore views on independence may differ from individual to individual.

Burbidge (1998: 14) offers another suggestion for viewing independence that seems to allow for this ambiguity. He contends that in contemporary times, self-reliance should not be taken literally. To be self-reliant need not entail growing all your food, generating all your power or treating all your illnesses. Rather, it can be seen more as a state relating to dependency. Burbidge ties this viewpoint to the discussion of the growing interdependency of society.³⁷ The Sutherland Institute takes a similar viewpoint in their discussion of poverty relief (2002: 2).³⁸ They also tie self-reliance to a socially interdependent community, viewing self-reliance on a continuum with few individuals existing in a state of total self-reliance.

Yet the Institute sees independence in terms of economic self-reliance, as does Stone (2000: 12). However, there are more dimensions to independence than just economic (Mackenzie & Stoljar 2000: 7; Burbidge 1998: 24), including emotional or social independence. According to Browton (2001: 8), self-efficacy and coping capacity are aspects of independence. Independence here takes on a broader meaning than just economic self-sufficiency.

This more expansive definition suggests that the norm of independence may affect the exchange process of networks. Economic, emotional and social support are often benefits that are exchanged through social networks as part of day-to-day living and may contribute to being independent when independence is viewed using this wider definition. Yet Clare Wenger, in her study of networks of care for the elderly, found that 'people have different perspectives towards their networks' (Wenger 1989: 170).

³⁷ For more information on the norm of self-reliance throughout Australian history see Burbidge (1998).

³⁸ The Sutherland Institute is the U.S. state of Utah's Public Policy Research Institute.

Attitudes towards *using connections* may differ and not all families may view using connections as contributing to their independence. Rather, they may view using connections as compromising their independence. In this view, resources may not be exchanged and social capital may not be used.

The Sutherland Institute's notion of a continuum of independence suggests a way of examining whether attitudes towards the norm of independent will influence social capital. By placing a family's attitudes towards *using connections* in a social network to mobilize their social capital on a continuum between the rhetoric of individual self-reliance (where using connections is viewed negatively) and a mutually supportive network (where exchanges are commonplace), it is possible to see how attitudes towards independence may influence social capital because levels of social capital can also be placed on a continuum and one continuum can be compared to another. On the norm of independence continuum, one extreme can be the viewpoint of Burbidge and Sheenan (2001: 119-120): when a society values self-reliance such that welfare is seen as residual, families will reduce their use of social capital in order to appear independent. Receiving support, even the daily exchanges of a network, will affect the self-perception of independence. In this case, social capital would be restricted because its use would compromise independence: using social capital would be seen as a weakness. At the other extreme, self-reliance can be seen in terms of a mutually supportive network. *Interdependence* will be sought as a means to independence. In this view, the exchange of social capital would be the norm, and a valued characteristic of the network. By developing this continuum of attitudes towards using connections based on differing views of the norm of independence, this characteristic can be examined for its effect on the use or mobilization of social capital.

Norm of Reciprocity and the Link to Independence

Another measure of the effects of the norm of independence may be in terms of reciprocity. Attitudes toward using connections which are influenced by attitudes of independence should also be reflected in the norm of reciprocity. Reciprocity is a norm that can be seen as a line of transmission. In reciprocity, resources are exchanged through reciprocal, mutually supportive actions within the context of general interaction. The norm suggests resources given *to* network members are *expected* to be returned in some form at a later time. The norm reveals itself *in* expectations of future resources. However, if attitudes towards the norm of independence influence the use of connections to the point where using social capital is viewed negatively, then there would be fewer expectations of resources in the future.

Specific ways of viewing the norm of independence influence both the use of connections, mobilized social capital *and* the expectations of social capital (one measure of accessible social capital). Little social capital would be expected if these resources were not to be used. Therefore, measures of the norm of reciprocity should strengthen the placement of attitudes towards independence on the continuum. As one may influence the mobilization of social capital and the other accessible social capital, placements based on a combined measure should present a stronger picture of how independence may affect levels of social capital.

Andreotti and Benassi (2002:8) argue that reciprocity is one of the three spheres through which resources can be accessed.³⁹ The norm of reciprocity demands that when a resource is given to a network member, it 'ought' to be returned in some form at a later time by that member (Podolney & Page 1998: 64). As it represents future resources, the norm reflects the investment aspect of social capital. By giving, others become indebted (Mauss 1969:1-3). This suggests that there will be future benefits available through current connections with other people. One way to obtain these is by giving now and creating a state of indebtedness. Boissevain (1974: 34) emphasizes this argument by asserting that the expected value of future support determines the importance of any relationship. Individuals will invest and divest in social networks depending on the expected value of future support. Axelrod's (1984: 174) 'shadow of the future' is based on this non-simultaneous exchange where resources may be needed at a future time. Reciprocity acts as a type of security or insurance.

Unlike Boissevain, Mauss (1969: 78-81) focuses on the normative cultural standards that underpin the exchange of resources. Here, reciprocity is seen as grounded by a belief and value system rather than motivated by self-interest (Lein & Sussman 1983: 53). It reflects the idea of looking out for one another. Everingham (2003: 18) claims that the notion of non-formalized reciprocity is the social glue at work in traditional communities. She sees this interdependency of community members as critical for the survival of the group. Reciprocity in this case is a more diffuse expectation of mutual support than mere tit-for-tat and can be applied at the level of society.

³⁹ Andreotti and Benassi (2002: 8) contend resources can be accessed through: 1) the market; 2) redistribution, mainly through social services and inheritances, and 3) reciprocity.

Network reciprocity influences social capital because it increases access to future resources (one measure of accessible resources). Axelrod's thesis proposes that a network with a high level of reciprocity will secure future resources for itself. If the family anchoring the network has given resources in the past, the norm of reciprocity deems they should get resources back in the future. Indeed, they trust their network members and perhaps society in general to reciprocate. This is not to suggest that reciprocal actions are based solely on self-interest, only that reciprocity *influences* the amount of social capital one can expect to have. But attitudes towards independence may well influence whether they expect these resources or not. If using resources is viewed negatively because it threatens their feelings of independence, then there will undoubtedly be lower expectations of resources. An accurate measure of future *expectations* of resources then, should not only be based on what one has given in the past, but also on attitudes towards using resources.

Reciprocity, then, can be based on resources that the family has provided in the past and a measure of future expectations which includes attitudes towards using social connections. Although in practise these expectations may be influenced by other factors, the measure of expectations is still an *indicator* of expectations. For example, parents who have given financial assistance to a child may well expect support from that child in the future. The correlation between the measures of reciprocity with social capital would expectedly be high, and therefore be an indicator of the norm. By measuring the expectations based on what has already been provided *by* the family, the influence of the norm of reciprocity should become evident because resources provided by the anchoring families will be tied to associated expectations. Networks where families have provided more *and* have expectations of returns, can be said to be more

influenced by the concept of reciprocity. If the provision of resources is high along with the norm of reciprocity, then social capital is likely to be facilitated. As the influence of the norm decreases, social capital will be constrained.⁴⁰

This type of analysis may be a way of accessing whether the norm of reciprocity is influenced by the norm of independence and thus affects social capital. When independence is viewed within a reciprocal understanding of society as mutually supportive, then using connections will not only be viewed positively, but expectations will also be high because the exchange of resources will be considered part of day-to-day living. When independence is viewed as a definitive family responsibility however, using connections will be seen negatively and therefore expectations of future resources will consequently be low. There will be little expected reciprocal exchange when using social capital is seen as impinging upon independence.

Conflicts in Networks

Conflicts between network members may affect both exchanges and network reciprocity irrespective of views of independence. A network is not just an integrated system of supportive ties but is in reality multifaceted, with support, obligations and conflicts all interacting (Oakley 1992: 113). Negative relationships, those that are unsatisfactory, competitive or destructive, are important in a network as well (Spencer & Pahl 2006: 2). Relationships involve *costs* (Larner 1990: 196) particularly in terms of maintenance. Costs can be material costs such as the expense of getting together, or affective costs such as having to deal with conflicts over differing childrearing methods.

⁴⁰ There is always the possibility of free-riders but in general these expectations should be met.

Larner argues that costs vary depending on whether ties are structurally anchored (*ascribed ties*) or if they are by free association (*acquired ties*), and claims that a distinction needs to be maintained between types of ties because when costs become too high, solutions will vary. An acquired tie with an acquaintance is easily terminated if the costs become excessive, whereas a structurally anchored ascribed tie with a sister requires a heavier emotional investment to terminate (for example, preparation to weather the disapproval of a parent if the sibling relationship is not maintained). Conflicts within social networks will influence reciprocity, independence and social capital because they may restrict the amount of time individuals spend together (affecting the flow of resources), may be responsible for eliminating people from a network (curtailing social capital), and may affect reciprocity and consequently expected resources.

5.4 Conclusions from Chapter Five

To investigate what might account for the expected varying levels of social capital in typologies in the empirical study, why some types of networks are better able to generate and access network resources than others, this thesis examines three network characteristics, types of network participation, the embedded location of networks and the norms of independence. The ABS Social Capital Framework suggests that types of participation may influence social capital. It recommends that researchers use the distinctions of social, community, civic and economic participation to be comparable with other studies. The groupings within each type of participation (formal or informal

engagement) as well as the levels and intensity of engagement may also affect social capital, suggesting that each need to be examined.

The embedded location of a network may also facilitate or act as a constraint on social capital. Using a framework suggested by Warren and Warren (1977: 74-81), this thesis examines how the families in the study *could* be connected to their locales.

Constructing a profile of the areas in which participants reside, it explores the services and facilities, the community associations and events that exist and the crime and safety of each area. Massey and Jess's notion of activity spaces is then employed to see how each family *is* indeed embedded within a location. This illuminates whether network connections are local or non-local enabling the spatial dimension of social capital to be explored. To further elaborate how location may influence social capital, the *perceptions* of each place are investigated.

The final network characteristic explored is the norm of independence. Representing the cultural imperatives in a network, the differing views of independence may well influence how and whether network connections are used to provide resources for a family. Yet how 'using connections' is viewed may well shape the norms of reciprocity that exist, influencing the expectation of future resources. Both the mobilization and the accessibility of social capital then come into question. Compounding this matrix of norms are the conflicts within networks as they too may influence how resources are exchanged. By constructing a continuum that represents this matrix, it is possible to see how it influences network social capital. With this framework of characteristics in place, the research procedures of the empirical study that form the basis of this thesis can be elaborated.

Part II

Research Procedures

Chapter 6

Research Procedures

Previous chapters have addressed the relevant literature in the areas of social capital, social network analysis (SNA) and various network characteristics to offer an understanding of the theoretical basis and general framework of the empirical research examining family social networks in this study. This chapter reviews the foundations for the small-scale empirical study used to explore the engaged nature of families. It also addresses the limitations of the research approach. The chapter outlines the research strategy and associated considerations, the methods, their purpose and the basis on which they were chosen. The strategy used in-depth, semi-structured interviews to obtain the network experiences of seventeen families in Sydney, Australia. Drawing on a variation of the Miles and Huberman approach to data analysis, the strategy guided the study through four steps: 1) data collection and the issues involved in this; 2) the display of data; 3) data analysis; and 4) drawing conclusions (Punch 1998: 203). Included in this chapter is also a discussion of the additional community profile study that extended the scope of the original project to enable a more accurate interpretation of opportunity associated with 'place', one of the characteristics of networks that is considered to be relevant to social capital.

6.1 Research Strategy

SNA is used to explore the engaged nature of family social networks and the resources obtained through these to suggest what may affect the accessibility of these resources.

Methodological Considerations

To address the concerns surrounding the use of SNA that were raised in Chapter Four, two issues needed clarification in this study. Firstly, the specific methodological approach needed to be elaborated. Secondly, there needed to be clarification of the major terms and boundaries.

Methodological Approaches to Network Analysis

There are three major methodological approaches in network analysis: ethnographic network mapping, ego-centred or personal network approach and full network approach (Trotter 1999: 3-8; Phillipson 2004: 38-43). *Ethnographic network mapping* is collecting information to describe ‘typical’ profiles of different types of networks. These profiles can be compared to any number of other characteristics. This approach was developed by McCallister and Fischer (1978) and used by Fischer in his classic 1982 population-study *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City*. Wenger (1989) also used this approach in developing typologies of the support networks of the elderly in Wales, although different factors affecting the formation of networks were being investigated. The second major approach, *ego-centred or personal network approach*, focuses on central individuals and the people with whom they associate. Kahn and Antonucci (1980) used this approach to measure network structure

through the different degrees of closeness to an individual. The community and kinship studies of Wellman and Wortley (1989) and Wellman (1990) represent variations of this approach. The third major approach, *full network approach*, explores the networks relationships from the perspectives of all members. This approach concentrates on relationships and roles as defined by prescribed categories. The work of Cochran *et al* (1990) on the social networks of children and their families uses this approach.

The approach adopted for the study in this thesis is based on the personal network approach and network mapping. The personal network approach focuses on the *ego-centred family network*. Using this approach, a network is the sum of all the connections to others for each family as identified by the participants (based on the connections of the ego-centred adult family members).⁴¹ This allows the resources gained through each network to be documented, while network characteristics affecting the accessibility of resources can also be investigated. However, while this approach demonstrates families' social networks and their resources, a second level of analysis is required to explore the reasons for inequality of social capital between families. *Network mapping* allows typologies of different network configurations to be built so that levels of social capital associated with different types of networks can be compared. However, this is not an ethnographic study. Mapping is based on the perceptions of networks gained through interviews. A *comprehensive network approach* is not applicable to the aims of this study since the research is first from the perspective of each individual family and then from each typology. A perspective that includes multiple focuses is not required.

⁴¹ A network was constructed for each family based on the input of one or often two interviewed adults in each family.

Clarification of Terms

In this study, the interviewees determined the boundaries of *family*, as well as friends and acquaintances. These categories were not understood in pre-described bounded terms yet a minimal delimitation was enforced. A family situation was taken to exist when there was a parent-child relationship, when there was a couple-relationship where participant's *felt* they were family, or when both were present. A *network* was defined as the configuration of ties radiating outwards from any of the adult family members (the focus of the network). These family networks encompassed all reported relationships of the informants. The focal individuals in the networks (the adult family members) were called *egos* and the networks were referred to as *ego-centred family networks*. Other members of the networks were referred to as *alters*. The demographics of this study represent the individual contexts of each family network.

The Strategy

A small-scale study based on in-depth interviews was used. The value of a small-scale study is that individual case studies allowed the complexity and context of family social networks to be learnt and understood. The validity of small-scale studies of social networks was demonstrated by Bott (1957) and has since been a key research strategy. The interviews were guided conversations to obtain qualitative data relating to the meso-level of family social networks. In-depth semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to understand the reasoning behind statements (the WHY of actions). Since 'qualitative research is more concerned [than quantitative research] with exploring a topic' (Punch 1998: 240), qualitative interviews are better suited to gathering data on 'why' topics. When analysed, the interviews should reflect the participants' 'voice'.

These findings can then be conceptualized as potentially applicable to other families, suggesting a generalizability which further research can test (Punch 1998: 154-156).

‘Voice’ was seen as the collective perceived attributes of the informants’ networks. McCarty (2003: 2) asserts that ‘perceptions’ of relationships are the best that can be achieved as actual relationships are always open to interpretation. Perceived relationships are wholly subjective, yet Spellerberg (2001: 17) suggests that honestly expressed responses reflect people’s view of their world as well as the ideological base from which they operate. Access to this subjective base is desirable for the majority of this study *because* it reflects what participants ‘feel’ about their networks. Since perceptions may actually limit access to resources, an investigation of perceptions is imperative.

A case study approach was used. Using case studies is ideal when issues (such as social capital and its influences) are to be explored through many bounded units (Creswell 2007: 73). The *unit of analysis* was the perceived social network of central adult family members: the social network that projected outward from the partnered couple or the single parent.⁴² The social networks of children within the family were not included unless they were seen as part of the social network of the central adults.

Two fundamental assumptions underlie the logic of this research design. The first is that a *total* family network exists distinct from individual networks. This total family network is constructed from the social networks of anchoring adults. The constructed

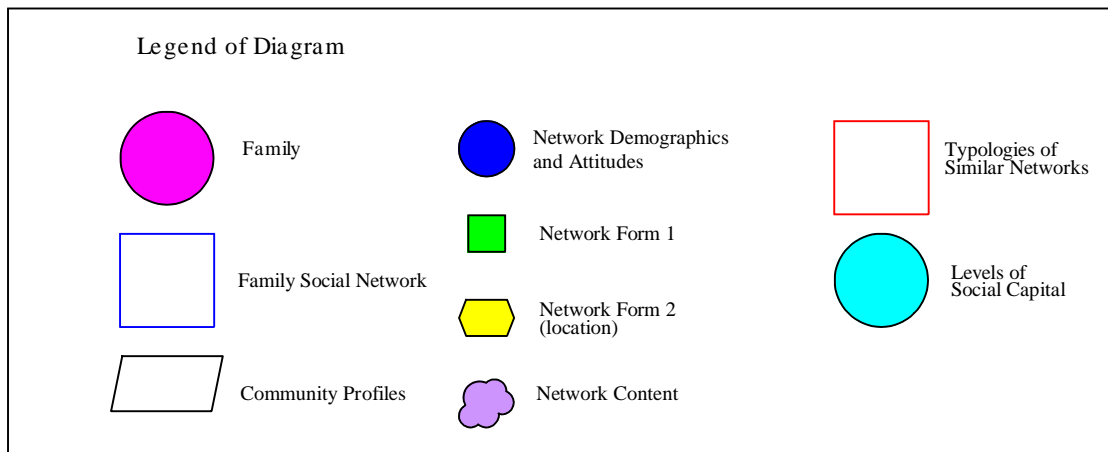
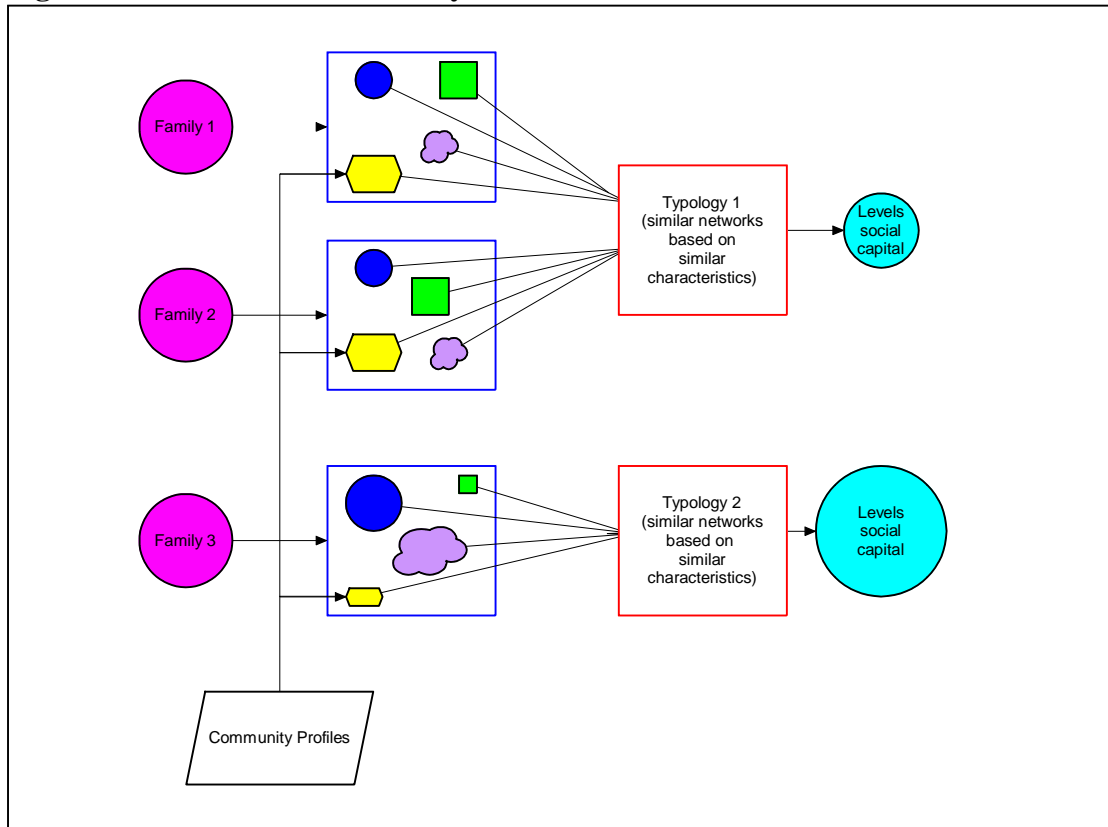
⁴² The relationships *within* an individual family unit were not the subject of this study.

family network relies on the congruence of these individual networks.⁴³ The second assumption is that resources available to any family member will also be available to the family unit as a whole. For example, when a participant recounted receiving emotional support from a network member, this was treated as a resource to the family. This assumption is based on flow-on effects. The benefits from individuals receiving support flow on to the entire family (the family benefits from the participant's increased well-being).

A second level of analysis involved placing similar networks into typologies. This enabled *types* of networks to be compared in terms of levels of social capital. Further analysis then identified specific characteristics of networks which appeared to influence levels of social capital. An additional newspaper and website study enabled community profiles to be developed which aided in the exploration of network location (one of the network characteristics).

The study covered the retrospective and present perceptions of participants. It also covered future expectations of resources. Due to the dynamic nature of social networks, different people become important at different times. This study represents a snapshot of what are in fact ever-changing networks. Figure 6.1 displays a model of this project.

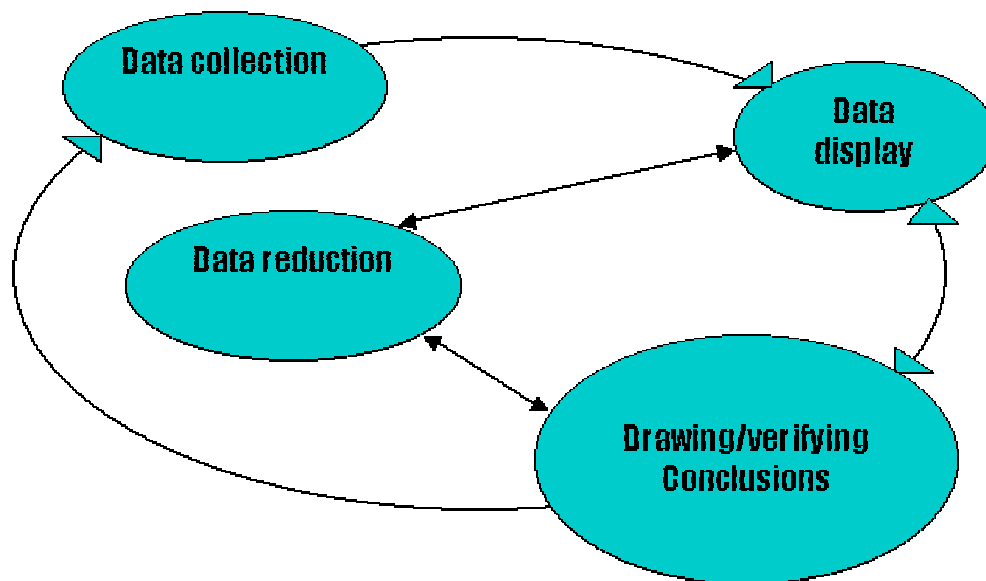
⁴³ The networks of males and females seemed to be very different. This will be dealt with elsewhere (see Watkins forthcoming).

Figure 6.1: Model of this Study

6.2 Data Collection and Analysis

The collection and analysis of the data for this study, was informed by the Miles and Huberman approach, which traces the relationships between social phenomena and the links between them (Miles & Huberman 1994: 4). This approach uses three interacting activities throughout the analysis to draw and verify conclusions as shown in Figure 6.2: data collection, data display and data reduction.

Figure 6.2 Components of the Miles and Huberman Approach to Analysis



(Source: Miles & Huberman 1994: 12)

While their approach relies on re-interviewing and re-structuring the methodology, time limitations constrained this study and data was only collected once. Yet the components of their approach are still useful as data can be reduced without losing the all-important context necessary to this kind of research. For example, the closeness of

association can be recorded but the closeness of a tie may be more relevant in a network with few close ties. This approach allows both closeness and the number of close ties to be segmented and summarized through both coding and memoing, which enables the context to be retained.

The Miles and Huberman approach also incorporates data display in the analysis, which allows the voluminous amount of data to be organised into meaningful categories for further analysis. This interweaves with the methods used in SNA where sociograms (visual diagrams of the networks) become a vital tool of analysis by displaying aspects of the social networks of participants.

The reason for reducing and displaying data is to enable conclusions to be drawn (Punch 1998: 204). Multiple diagrammatical techniques are used to draw conclusions and although these may be vague and general in the earlier stages, they can be sharpened and verified in subsequent analysis, making this approach a useful framework for this kind of study.

Considerations in Data Collection

Due to the multifaceted nature of networks, what is to be measured, and how it is to be measured requires careful deliberation to obtain a meaningful result. I followed the interview strategy of Minor (1983), in his study of heroin addicts in San Francisco. He based his methodology on Laumann (1966, 1973) in terms of techniques for measuring relationships between friends, and on Fischer's (1982) work on exchange relations.

Minor (1983: 90) specified four areas of measurement which need consideration. As

well as these, the current study was also concerned with resources within networks.

Consequently, five areas of measurement were used in this thesis:

1. A profile of each ego-centred family: this included the *external* features of a family that set it apart from others and which might have influenced social networks. The literature on SNA refers to this as the embedded location within the wider society (one aspect of form). For example, the class to which a family belongs (external) could affect the norms within the family network (internal).

To measure these external influences, a set of pre-determined demographics was developed. These were based on literature which suggests that these factors could have accounted for why some types of social networks had more social capital.⁴⁴ Four kinds of demographic information were collected: 1) general demographics such as ages and education levels; 2) family based demographics such as household information (for example, whether the families rented or owned their home); 3) determinants of class such as income and self-assessment of class positions; 4) general attitudes and perceptions such as ‘Do you like to socialize?’ and ‘What is your main focus in life?’.⁴⁵ These questions

⁴⁴ This literature is discussed further in Chapters Nine through Eleven.

⁴⁵ The attitudes and perceptions that emerged from network connections or transcended individual membership in networks were not included in the family profile but were included in the internal aspects of structure.

were aimed at providing a profile of each individual family and situating them within the wider society.⁴⁶

2. Description of the social network: the social network of a family was the independent variable in this study. The first step was to identify network members. The next was to ascertain the relationships *between* participants and these individuals. Following the framework of SNA, aspects of both content and form (those not related to the embedded nature of the networks) provided information on the *internal* structure of the network. In terms of content, aspects of norms, strength of ties (including conflicts) and aspects of participation were examined during interviews. In terms of form, the attributes, the patterns of interaction and the groupings within the networks, as well as the power structures, were all investigated.
3. To capture the most complete social network possible in one interview, the family had to recall not only close and intimate contacts (easily remembered) but also those where affection was not relevant. The interview instrument had to be able to capture both types of relationships. With this in mind, both a *name generator* and a *position generator* were used in interviews.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Compiling community profiles for each family later expanded this aspect.

⁴⁷ A 'generator' is a measurement instrument that retrieves information from participants (Flap et al 2000: 2). These vary in the approach they take. This is discussed further later in this chapter.

4. Profile of network members: the interviews also needed to gather as much information as possible on each network member. Due to the heavy burden this imposed on the participants, the profile details of network members covered general and family demographics only. It was especially important to determine the occupations of network members, as this was the basis of Granovetter's 'reaching up' principle.
5. Resources: following Lin, social capital in this study was defined as the resources available to a family through their social networks. Measurement needed to include both resources and accessibility. With regards to counting social capital, van der Gaag and Snijders (2003b: 4-5) suggest three aspects need consideration. The first concerns the volume of social capital. While a finite measure of social capital was not the aim of this study, there was an implicit assumption that larger amounts of social capital were more advantageous to families.

Van der Gaag and Snijders also claim that diversity of social capital is considered *better* social capital. According to them, when many types of resources exist in a network, the network can be used in more situations. For example, when a family needs a drain fixed, they need access to a plumber. When they need a lawyer, access to a plumber will not suffice. With this in mind, a diversity of accessible resources is thought to be *better* social capital.

The final consideration of van der Gaag and Snijders regards the ‘reaching up’ principle. The highest occupational position a family can reach in a network is valuable. According to Lai *et al* (1998: 166), this notion is based on a hierarchical model of society: ‘Knowing such persons is assumed to place the respondent in a favourable position to access the economic and social resources inherent in these various positions’ (Matthews 2005: 5).

With these considerations in mind, social capital was seen as the benefits or resources available to a family through its social network. The participants determined what was considered a resource, with the interviews structured to elicit several generic types of social capital. At this initial stage, resources were seen as companionship, physical, emotional and financial support, as well as encouragement and inspiration. Social capital was viewed as both mobilized and accessible resources. Mobilized resources were those specifically identified as received by the participants. Accessible resources were twofold. They included the expectations of resources, as well as the occupational positions within the networks. Resources are discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

These five areas of measurement formed the basis for the subsequent analysis.

Interview Instrument

Having considered what needed to be measured, the mechanics of the study could be determined to ensure that the strategy requirements could be met. A format or interview

instrument was developed to guide the interviews. The ABS Framework for Measuring Social Capital was adapted for this purpose (ABS 2004b). Although interviews were planned in four sections, in practice these overlapped. The first section of the interview concentrated on obtaining demographic details and attitudes of the informants in order to establish a profile of each participating family (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Interview Instrument Section 1 - Demographic Details and Attitudes

- Ages
- Marital status (if not - do you plan to marry, why or why not, if divorced - what is your relationship with your ex-partner?)
- Children – names, ages, living arrangements (do older children pay board, if none - do you plan to have them do so, if not, why not; step children – what are their living arrangements, visiting arrangements, holiday arrangements?)
- How would you describe your stage of life?
- Education levels
- Occupations – full/part-time, where do you physically work, do you travel?
- Income – under \$25,000, \$25,000-\$50,000, \$50,000-\$100,000, over \$100,000
- Household – own it, rent it, or share it?
- Do you like living in this neighbourhood?
 - Is it friendly?
 - Do you feel safe here?
 - What's crime like?
 - What kind of services do you have?
 - How do you use your neighbourhood (street parties, ball games, exchange tools, babysitting)?
 - Generally, what age group lives in this neighbourhood?
 - What types of houses are in this neighbourhood?
 - Have most of the residences of your area lived here for long or is it a new area?
 - Do your children go to school locally (public/private)?
 - Do you go to any community events?
 - Do you feel you belong here?
- Social class – what did you base this on?
- Do you feel you should regularly keep up with the news (if so, how?)
- How do you feel that you meet your needs?
- Would maintaining your network of friends or relatives ever place you under stress? Do you feel you have too many demands on your time or requests for assistance? Can you tell me how or why?
- Do you actively search out new friends and acquaintances?
- What would you consider to be the main focus of your life?
- What are the things you encourage in your children and what expectations do you have for them?
- Would you think multiculturalism in your local area makes it a better or worse place to live?
- Do you think a family should be self-reliant? What role do you think the government should have in supporting families?

To establish who was in a particular social network and details of these relationships, the second section of the interview employed a *name generator*. McAllister and Fischer (1978: 131-148) first used this generator with the aim of mapping social networks. It was used to identify people to whom respondents were linked and to begin to fill in a social resource inventory for their study: ‘Name generators...ask respondents to freely list those persons to whom they have a specific type of social tie’ (Marsden 2003:2). No interviewer specifications are provided. Definitions are left up to the respondent (Marsden 2003: 2). For example, the definition of ‘good friends’ is left up to participants to define, so these terms may vary. Milardo (1988: 34) claimed this method was useful for its simplicity in generating names, but he stressed a more comprehensive method was required to explore specific social settings and role relationships. Similarly, Lin (2004: 14) contends that the number of names people can remember tends to emphasize the stronger ties in a network, limiting this method. Section four of the interview instrument was designed to overcome this limitation. Table 6.2 displays the questions within the name generator.

Table 6.2: Interview Instrument Section 2 - Name Generator

- What do you do to socialize and who do you do it with?

(The following questions are asked for each relationship or group of relationships.)

- How often would you have contact with these individuals?
- How did you meet?
- How long have you known them?
- What role would you assign to them (for example, close friend, brother-in-law, associate, your dentist)?
- Where do they live?
- What do they do for a living?
- Can you tell me about their socioeconomic status (like yours, less, more)?
- Are they of ethnic origin or speak another language besides English?
- Do they have children? Can you tell me about them?
- What interests do you share with them?
- Would you tell me how close this relationship is?
- Would you share special occasions?
- Do you feel they are honest people?
- Do you trust them (with your children, with a secret, to act in your best interests)?
- Do they know any of your other friends? Do you know any of theirs?
- What would you say you get from each other?
- Do you have any conflicts with them?
- Do you feel any obligations towards them?

The third section of the interview was aimed at obtaining a more complete picture of the network and its resources. For this, a *resource generator* was incorporated. According to van der Gaag and Snijders (2003a: 7), the advantage of this method is its focus on the presence of specific resources. It directs the participant to determine the resources in a network and where they are, for example, who do they receive emotional support from; who they might borrow from. Table 6.3 displays the questions of the resource generator.

Table 6.3: Interview Instrument Section 3 - Resource Generator

- Who do you share information with and what sort of information do you share?
- Who would you go to, to talk and listen?
- Who would you discuss a personal problem with?
- Who would you go to for advice? What kind might this be?
- Who would you get encouragement from?
- Who would give you emotional support?
- Who in your network inspires you?
- Who in your network would serve as a model or mentor for you?
- Who would you ask for small favours? What might these be?
- If you needed child minding, who would you ask?
- Who would you borrow from (tools, books, money)?
- Who would help you move house?
- Have you ever shared housing with anyone in your network?
- Who would help in looking for work, securing a job, or work experience?
- Who would help in a crisis (if you were sick - maybe cook a meal, do shopping, washing or ironing, if you are having a baby, in the case of a bushfire and you lost everything)?
- (For each relationship) Do you know any other people through them?
- (For each relationship) Would you use them for an introduction? To whom?
- (For each relationship) Do they have any connections you could use?
- Of the relationships we've talked about, would you have any one who you feel expands your life, opens it up to new and different things?
- Who helps you in getting by in the day-to-day things in your life?

As a final section, a *position generator* was used to elaborate the network, correcting the identified weakness of the name generator used in section two. A position generator directs the respondents to consider anyone who holds a specific position or works in a specific type of occupational area or specific place (Do you know anyone in government? Do you know any lawyers?). The position generator's purpose is two-fold. First, it redirects the memory of a respondent from *who* is in a network to *what* positions are in a network, thereby enlarging the range of individuals that comes to mind. The breadth of access becomes the focus of the interview. The second purpose is to focus on the social resources by concentrating on network members that have certain

occupations. These are thought to provide access to certain resources due to occupational prestige, although Matthews (2005: 5) cautions that while the assumption is made that these resource rich positions will provide access, the truth of this assumption needs further qualitative verification. According to van der Gaag *et al* (2004: 4), the advantage of using a position generator as a data collection method is that it is neutral in terms of strength of ties. It does not have biases in terms of intimate or stronger relationships. Table 6.4 displays the position generator used in this study.

Table 6. 4: Interview Instrument Section 4 - Position Generator

- Do you have other family relationships we haven't talked about?
Are there any other non-related network members you consider family?
Do you enjoy being with your extended family?
Do you have many family get-togethers?
- What about your neighbours?
Do you know many of your neighbours?
Do you socialize with them?
When you go away, do you ask neighbours to mind the house, pets?
- Tell me about the people that you work with?
Are they also friends?
Why do you work?
If money was no problem, would you still work?
Do you like to work?
- What about the people you know through your children, like teachers, parents of children's friends?
- What about groups and organizations? (Where placed – active or just belong?)
Do you know anyone through these?
Sports groups
Education groups (yours or your children's, kindergarten, tuckshop)
Craft groups
Self-help groups (childbirth, parent support, disability)
Professional groups, political groups
Environmental/ human rights groups
Any groups for your children
Any volunteer groups (Meals on Wheels, etc.)
- Do you have any connections overseas?
- Do you have personal ties or know anyone that has connections to the following:
Government or politicians
Police
Doctors/ dentist
Legal system
Church
Media
Unions
University
Big business
- Is there anyone else that is important to you that we haven't talked about?

Each of these instruments directed the participants to consider different aspects of their networks. The *name generator* highlighted individuals within networks and began to

describe relationships. The *resource generator* concentrated on specific resources available to families. The *position generator* extended the networks by emphasizing hierarchical access to occupations and their associated resources.

Pilot Study

To ensure that the interview instrument, which was to be used only as a guideline, provided a means of obtaining the best possible data, a pilot study was performed. Two interviews were carried out with respondents from separate age groups, one early twenties and the other late forties. Each family was in a different stage of life, either early parenthood (preschool children) or later parenthood (children having finished secondary education but still living within the family home). These pilot interviews confirmed that both quality and quantity of data were relevant to the needs of the study. They also highlighted the need for the interviewer to obtain information on groups of people as opposed to asking about individual members in the first instance. For example, when a participant introduced a tennis group, the common elements of this group were quickly ascertained and the informant easily distinguished differences between members. To consider each person in terms of each network characteristic proved too burdensome. The group technique made the interviews easier and also increased the amount of information that was obtained within the interview time.

The Sample

A descriptive study of family social networks in Australia was sought with any participant meeting the criteria being interviewed. Criteria for inclusion included that a family situation must exist and that immediate family members of participating families

could not be close friends of other participating families. These measures were taken so that relatively unique social networks could be mapped.⁴⁸ The informants determined a family situation. Participants were initially located by placing advertisements in fifteen suburbs of Sydney, two places per suburb. Appendix 1 presents the advertisement, while Appendix 2 presents the suburbs in which advertisements were placed.⁴⁹ Advertisements were placed in civic centres, libraries, baby health centres or notice boards in grocery stores. Advertising in fifteen suburbs however only brought participants from four geographically proximate suburbs of Sydney into the study giving it a strong regional focus. Although a larger sample was desired, the limited resources of a doctoral thesis prevented this. In an attempt to overcome this restriction, participation was then sought through requests and through referrals. Rice and Ezzy (1999: 62) contend such 'snowball sampling' may produce a homogeneous sample. Although homogeneity was evident in the sample, there were differences within this similar socio-economic background that still appeared worthwhile to investigate. For example, this type of sampling brought a variety of participants to this study, including one male participant who was unemployed and received social services, unlike most other male participants. Wolfe (1999:4) asserts most people meet the majority of their network members through working situations. This suggested that unemployed people would be less likely to be located by snowball sampling since they would not have ties to these formal associations and would perhaps have limited social networks. Accessing such a participant demonstrated that a relatively heterogeneous sample could be obtained using snowball sampling although it did not totally alleviate the

⁴⁸ Participants from one social network could only be acquaintances within another.

⁴⁹ In the final study, participants were grouped into four general geographical areas (see Chapter Ten).

geographical restriction. Nevertheless, the study may well suggest issues that can be explored later with a more geographic and socially heterogeneous focus.

The interviews were held with either a central adult family member or with both adult partners.⁵⁰ Three other respondents were rejected and not interviewed, two because they were close friends of other participants and their networks were overlapping, the third because an immediate family situation did not exist: the respondent was a single individual with no children. The final sample consisted of seventeen families, which produced information on 9,339 network members. The sample size enabled a deep analysis to be undertaken with the view that it was better to understand a few situations well. Table 6.5 displays the pseudonyms of participants along with their occupations, ages and immediate family members.

⁵⁰ Of the seventeen families interviewed, three were single parents. Of the fourteen partnered families, interviews were held with both partners in eight of these. In the other six, one partner acted as the family informant.

Table 6.5: Family Members Represented in this Study, their Occupations and Ages

Family Pseudonyms	Adult Family Members*		Children Living in Family Home	Children not Living in Family Home
Archer	<i>Alise</i> (22) Florist	<i>Tony</i> (23) Sandwich hand/ Student		
Baker	<i>Nicole</i> (54) University tutor	<i>Mark</i> (61) Retired		Peter (32) Harry (26)
Carter	<i>Sally</i> (26) Music teacher	<i>Harry</i> (32) Sales support	Jack (2)	
Duncan	<i>Sharon</i> (52) Researcher	Fred (60) Psychologist	Jenny (17) Ken (14) Kate (12)	Gail (26) Thomas (18) Michael (deceased)
Erikson	<i>Louise</i> (39) Home knitter	<i>Mathew</i> (47) IT support	John (22) Holly (20) Grace (9) Brook (7) Mary (5)	
Farmer	<i>Zoë</i> (41) Secretary		Stephen (20)	
Grace	<i>Nancy</i> (40) Environmental scientist	<i>Frank</i> (40) Tax consultant		
Hunter	<i>Ashley</i> (37)	Michael (37) Stock broker	Wendy (6) Wanda (6) Franklin (2)	
Ireland		<i>Martin</i> (46)	Beth (13) Julie (12) Connie (9) Francis (8)	Rita (18) Sandy (17) George (15)
Jones	<i>Robyn</i> (55) School counsellor	<i>Hank</i> (57) IT project manager	Bart (15) Jacob (12)	
Knight	<i>Samantha</i> (54) Bookkeeper	<i>David</i> (51) Business architect	Bonnie (23) Joel (21)	
Logan	<i>Meredith</i> (45) Receptionist	<i>Dennis</i> (42) IT support	Simon (13) Terry (11)	
Marshall	<i>Susan</i> (55)		Anna (24) Brenda (19)	Rick (30)
Norris	<i>Laura</i> (47)	Daniel (50) Advertising	Nora (23) Melinda (21) Tori (16)	
Oates	<i>Caroline</i> (56) Childcare worker	Tom (58) Office fit-outs/Driver	Dylan (23) Brandon (20)	
Player	<i>Sarah</i> (50) Receptionist	Paul (58) IT consultant	Donald (24) Jake (18)	
Queen	<i>Pamela</i> (23) Sales staff	James (27) Landscaper		
*Interview informants are in italics.				

Interviews were held in a place chosen by the participants to increase convenience. Consequently, all interviews were conducted in either the participant's or interviewer's home. Interviews lasted between one and four and a half hours. Each was audio taped with the consent of the participants and later transcribed.

Data Display

Based on the Miles and Huberman approach, the next step after data collection is the display of data. In my study this was accomplished through five steps. The recorded interviews were: 1) transcribed; 2) coded; 3) a sociogram was developed for each family network; 4) the data was further displayed using numerous sociograms per family, along with other charts to categorize the data; 5) information was then placed into a master analysis sheet to facilitate further analysis. Each step is discussed below.

Step 1

Recorded interviews were transcribed, amounting to a total of 125,246 words. To ensure a greater knowledge of each interview, the researcher transcribed all interviews. Microsoft Word Document was used.

Step 2

The data in the recorded interviews were coded or categorized to put the information into a useful form. Data was coded using NVivo software (a software package for qualitative data). According to Richards (1999: 4), this software is based on the assumption that qualitative data is not a fixed body of data. In this study data was originally gathered through interviews, but items from the literature review, from

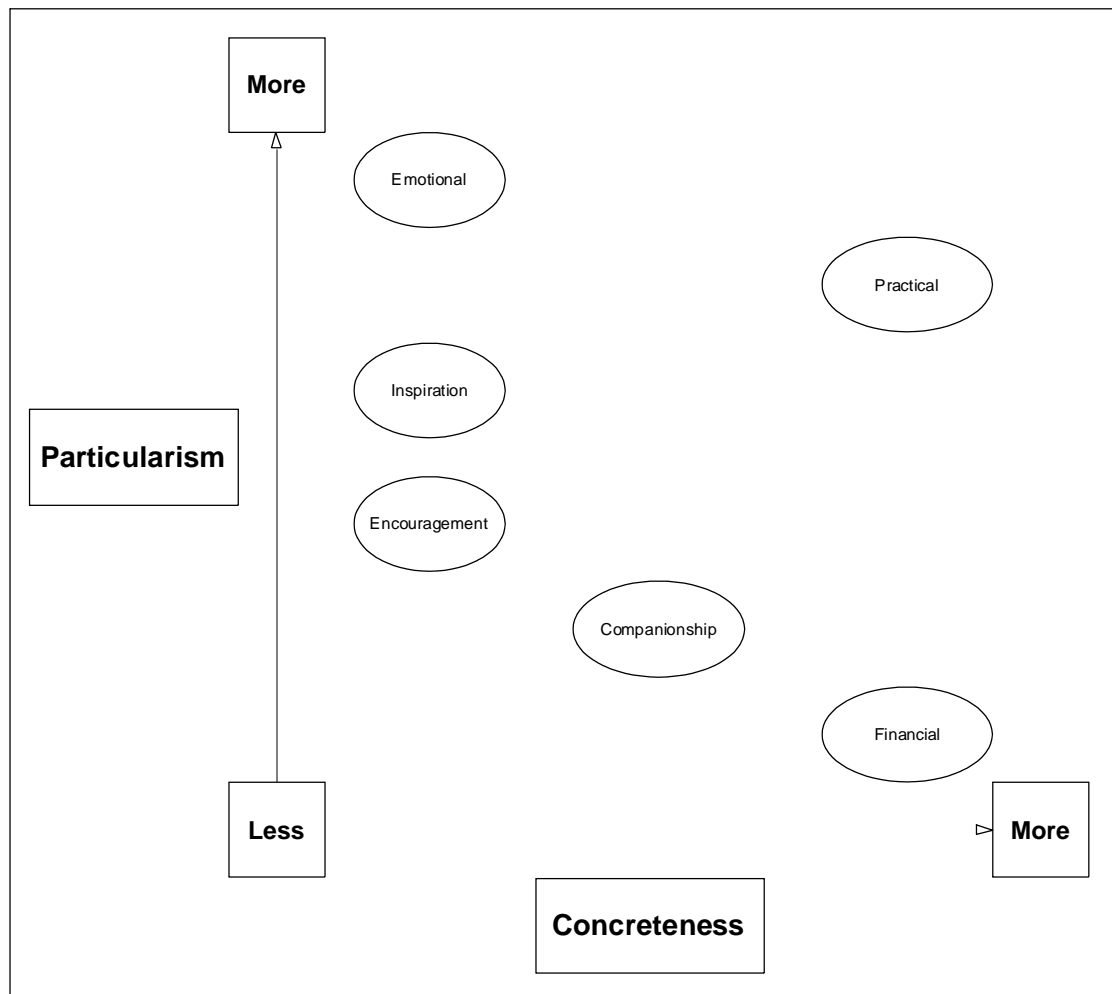
research events and reflections on all of these were included. NVivo presented the tools for handling this fluid body, allowing ‘data’ and ‘interpretation’ to be connected. It also enabled the many forms of data display used in this thesis to be easily accessible. In order to encode the data, a format for analysis was developed based on SNA and the literature review. Using the general areas of demographics, network qualities, structure, resources and network types, 195 codes were used. Qualitative information from the interviews were categorised into these codes. Appendix 3 summarizes these codes.

The coding of *resources* into a final set requires further elaboration. While the interviews elicited several generic types of social capital, the analysis was open to any the participants claimed to have. The analysis categorized *all* the resources into a final set. In both the interview construction and the analysis, consideration was made to Foa and Foa’s (1974) resource theory, where classes of resources were plotted along the dual dimensions of *particularism* and *concreteness*. Particularism sees resources on a scale between particular (resources provided by those that are close) and universal (resources provided by people with varying degrees of social distance). Concreteness concerns the meaning and value of a resource depending on its social context.

Tornblom and Nilsson (1993: 82) illustrate this notion by comparing the meaning of a picture drawn by a son and given to his father, and the payment for a bag of candy given to a clerk. The picture has a more symbolic meaning while the payment has a more concrete value. A range of resources that covered both of these aspects (particularistic vs. universalistic and symbolic vs. concrete) was needed when identifying resources within a social network. With this in mind, the resources identified by the participants in this study were coded into six distinct dimensions: companionship; practical; emotional support; encouragement; inspiration and financial support. Figure 6.3

presents the placement of these resources using Foa and Foa's (1974) scale to ensure various aspects of particularism and concreteness were included.

Figure 6.3: Diagram of Resources from this Study Using Foa and Foa's (1974) Scale

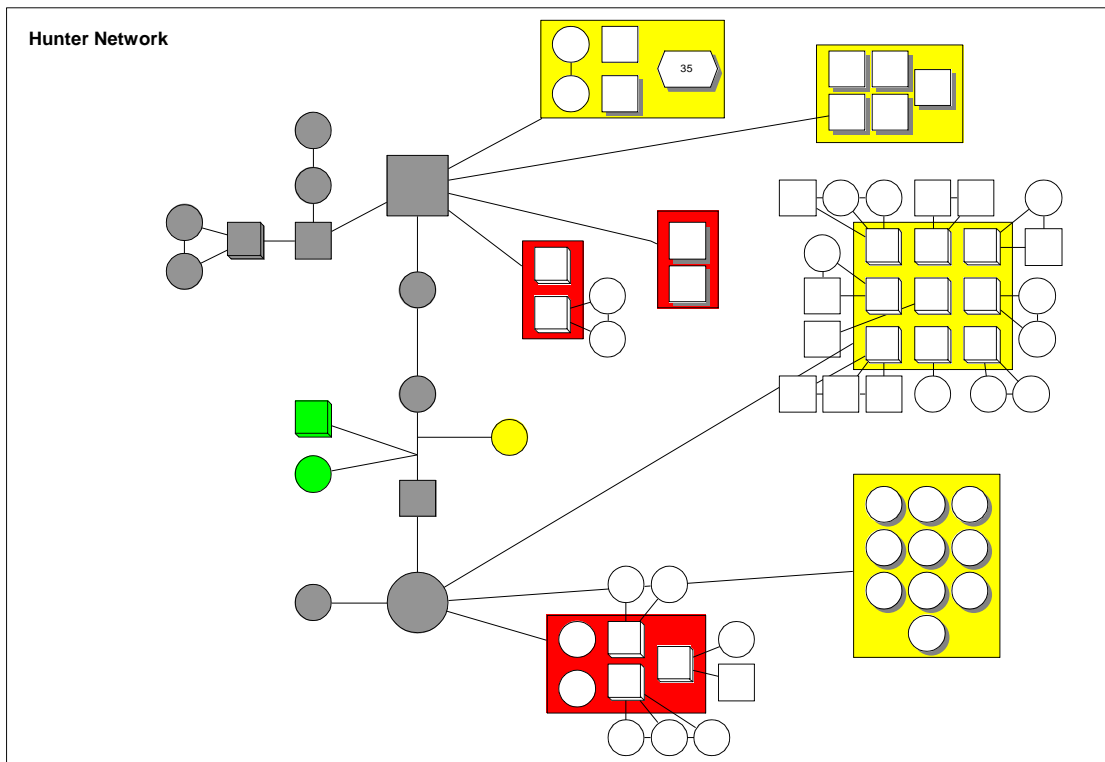


Step 3

The sociogram, a tool supplied by SNA, enabled the mapping of social networks for each family. Sociograms are visual tools that map patterns of interactions and enable analysis. A sociogram consists of a focal node or circle that presents the central individual/s and other nodes for all individuals connected to that person. Lines connect

these nodes and represent the ties between individuals. The sociogram of a network can then be enhanced to represent other factors such as the strength of each tie (by adding a colour scale to represent strength of measures) or direction of exchange (by adding arrows to the lines). Figure 6.4 displays a sociogram from this study.⁵¹

Figure 6.4 Sociogram of the Hunter Network from this Study



The visual representations of networks enable the complexity of relationships to be disentangled and allows patterns to emerge. The sociogram visually identified members of the networks and by using the alter profile of each individual network member it became possible to establish patterns.⁵² For example, different colours represented different strengths of ties, displaying the configuration of closeness in a network. In

⁵¹ The full legend for the sociograms in this study can be found in Appendix 4.

⁵² An 'alter' is an individual the participant has identified as being a network member.

Figure 6.4 for example, red represents the closest ties outside of family members (in grey), yellow their next closest relationships and green those with neighbours, who in this case were not close. Other sociograms displayed how each person contributed resources. In other words, they displayed what each participant said they received from each member of their network.

Step 4

In order to show the total family network, 55 sociograms for each family were produced, each displaying a different aspect of the analysis. For example, one sociogram might display the ages of the network members, while another might show the closeness of associations. These were used to help reduce and specify information.

Step 5

The data was classified to a further degree in order to begin to understand the relationships in each family's network. The information in each of the 195 codes was placed on a Master Analysis Sheet. Using a Microsoft Excel worksheet, a matrix was constructed that contained a column for each code and a row for each family within each code. Information from the qualitative NVivo codes was scaled using a method similar to a Likert scale. A Likert Scale is a scaling technique that forms a unidimensional scale (Marshall 1998: 371). Each code was scaled using a three, four, five, six or seven-point bipolar category depending on the coded information. For example, where most codes were scaled using a very high to a very low scaling, such as 'Leadership' for a family, 'Mobility of the Neighbourhood' was scaled by long term, mixed, short term, very new. Each code used a scale relevant to the category of data

(Appendix 5 displays the scales for individual codes). At the same time, to reduce and begin to compare the information, various charts and diagrams were prepared. For example, pie charts were produced showing the types of associations in each family network. In total 935 sociograms, diagrams and charts displayed the data relevant from the interviews. Other charts and diagrams were used to show results.

Data Reduction

With information collected on seventeen families and placed into 195 codes and categories within five groups: 1) demographics; 2) content; 3) form; 4) resources and 5) network types (3,315 bits of qualitative data), a reduction of relevant information was needed. In order to accomplish this, a quantitative method was initially employed. Quantitative analysis can be used to give an indication of the usefulness or relevance, in a quantitative form, of one group of information to another (a correlation of one group to another). According to the United Nations (2003: 1-3), this is meant to give a clue to the link between objects, rather than to measure them.⁵³ Again, using a Likert-like scale, the information on the Excel Worksheet was transformed into quantitative data. Generally within each measure, the 'highest' scaled data was given the integer '5', the 'high' rated data was given a '4', the 'medium' a '3', the 'low' a '2' and the 'lowest' was given the integer '1' (occasionally 0 was used for 'Not applicable' or 'None').⁵⁴ Using computer software Excel Correl, the correlation between these sets of values was

⁵³ The qualitative data was used to 'measure' while the conversion to quantitative data was only meant to reduce the data by showing the relevance or correlation between one group of information and another.

⁵⁴ For example, in the measure of 'type of housing in neighbourhood', the five categories of qualitative data were transformed into integers as follows: '1' was an area dominated by rented homes and units; '2' was an area dominated by veneer and fibro houses or housing commission homes; '3' was an area dominated by more upmarket units and townhouses; '4' an area of homeowner where the houses were brick and '5' represented an area with either big new homes or elaborate houses with pools and tennis courts.

determined; that is, each array of qualitative measures was turned into a set or array of integers (now quantitative data) that represented the categorical variables for that set. The software compared each set with every other set. Correlation shows the strength of a relationship between two or more variables (in this case, between 195 sets of arrays).

This method was chosen because it did not depend on specific measurement units but showed the proportion of one to another. The correlation value between each set was in a range between +1 and -1. The correlations close to +1 would be very closely related, correlations near zero would be fairly random and correlations near -1 would be inversely related (Excel Correl 2005: 1-4). For example, in a comparison between age and occupation, +1 meant the higher the age, the higher the occupation, 0 meant there was a random correlation between these two categories and -1 meant that the younger the age the higher the occupation. This analysis produced 24,649 correlations.

Still using Excel Correl, two specific bands of correlations were highlighted in the matrix. The first band highlighted correlations over +0.7 and under -0.7 as these reduced the data to the arrays most correlated and most inversely correlated. These values were based on the notion of 'goodness-of-fit' as identified by McNeil (2006: 239). McNeil points out that an acceptable value depends on the situation. A general verbal summary is that if the fit is 'poor', the correlation would be between 0 and 0.3 (positive or negative), if the fit is 'moderately good' it would fall between 0.3 and 0.7, 'very good' between 0.7 and 0.9 and 'excellent' would be greater than 0.9. Based on this, the first band in this study had a goodness-of-fit that was 'very good' to 'excellent'.

A second band was also highlighted with correlations between +0.5 and +0.7 and between -0.5 and -0.7. This allowed information to be specified where the correlation was in the higher levels of 'good'. By highlighting these bands, the important relevancies became evident, reducing the information. Figure 6.5 displays the correlation formula used by Excel Correl.

Figure 6.5: Correlation Formula used by Excel Correl

$$\rho_{X,Y} = \frac{Cov(X,Y)}{\sigma_X \cdot \sigma_Y}$$

where:

$$-1 \leq \rho_{XY} \leq 1$$

and:

$$Cov(X,Y) = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n (x_i - \mu_X)(y_i - \mu_Y)$$

(Source: Excel Correl 2005)

From this standpoint, using social capital as the starting point, measures that were relevant to social capital could be ascertained (noting that these were mathematical correlations only); that is, the measures that showed a 'good' to 'excellent' correlation to measures of social capital could now be determined. From the reduced standpoint obtained by the quantitative mathematical correlations, the qualitative data could be perused to determine what was actually happening in relation to each of these relevant measures.

Up to this stage, the level of analysis was the network of each family. However, some *types* of networks could be expected to be more advantageous than others because they

contained higher levels of resources. To examine this expectation, different typologies of networks were constructed, with similar networks grouped together. This enabled an exploration of specific characteristics of networks to determine if they facilitated or constrained social capital. In this study, network types were initially based on the similarity of configurations of bonding, bridging and linking ties within the networks. As well, diversity in the number and types of groupings within networks were considered (formal vs. informal). These affected whether networks contained primarily close or wide associations and whether ties were mainly weak or strong.⁵⁵ Networks types were classified as heterogeneous, balanced, homogeneous, insular and truncated. The construction of the typologies in this study is discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Drawing Conclusions

Drawing conclusions was undertaken in two steps. The first was to determine levels of social capital and whether these levels varied by network types as expected. Using network typologies, the relative levels of resources were determined. With typologies based on aspects that should influence levels of resources, it was expected that these relative levels should vary. Heterogeneous networks could be expected to have higher levels of resources due to their weaker ties. Balanced, homogeneous and truncated networks could be expected to have lower levels due to their lower levels of these ties. Truncated levels would be even lower due to specific circumstances within the networks. Chapter Eight discusses the levels of social capital found in these typologies in detail and the way in which these expectations were met.

⁵⁵ A wide or open network was when most individuals (or nodes) within the network did not know each other. A closed or dense network was when many people within the network knew each other. Weak or strong ties referred to strength of ties or closeness of association.

The second step was to examine the relevant network characteristics of content and form to determine if these ultimately influenced levels of social capital in typologies. The characteristics examined were those highlighted by the quantitative analysis and included participation and the groupings within networks, the location or place in which the network was embedded (neighbourhood), and the norms of independence and reciprocity with consideration of network conflicts. Although discussed briefly below, these characteristics and how they influenced the social capital of typologies are discussed further in Chapters Nine through Eleven.

6.3 Network Characteristics

Network Participation

As a network characteristic identified by the quantitative analysis as relevant to social capital, participation was investigated in terms of being a meeting place for interactions. The thesis examined the identified typologies to ascertain the connections that came from varying types of participation and the levels of social capital that could be attributable to these. The analysis aimed to demonstrate the effects of different types of participation on levels of social capital.

Using the compatibility definitions in the ABS Social Capital Framework network participation was viewed as either social, community, civic or economic participation. As the aim was to see which type of participation was more beneficial in generating social capital, ties were taken back to where they entered the network to see what type

of participation generated the vital connections that produced social capital. Within each type of participation, engagement could be through either formal or informal interactions. Based on the definitions of Boissevain (1974), formal interactions were within a formal corporate group while informal interactions were with cliques, kin groups, alliances, gangs and action sets.⁵⁶ By attributing resources to each tie, both for types of participation and whether engagement was formal or informal, the impact of each on the generation of social capital was determined.

With Boissevain suggesting that involvement with a network is generally associated with frequency of contact, both formal and informal intensity were combined to obtain an overall measure. Where the intensity of informal engagement was based on frequency of contact, to determine the roles and intensity of formal participation in this study, the executive positions held by participants were ascertained. Measures also included whether participants actively engaged in group functions (active participation) or whether they had membership only. 'Membership only' included belonging to an organization or attending meetings. The relationship between activity levels and social capital is not as explicit as with participation and types of groupings. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that more active participation makes exchanges easier and more frequent and that higher levels of intensity with network members will equate to higher levels of social capital, based on this assumption.

⁵⁶ Participation in alliances was later considered to be *formal* participation as the alliances found in this study were all connected to formal corporate groups.

Embedded Location of Networks

As the second characteristic identified by the quantitative analysis, the embedded location of a network or the effects of ‘place’ was examined. Based on Warren and Warren (1977: 74-81), a profile of each area in the study was developed. Each profile included how a family *could* be tied to vicinity, how they *were* connected and their *perceptions* of their area. These profiles were then viewed as to whether and how they influenced social capital.

To ascertain how families *could* be tied to an area, a community profile was developed of the services and facilities that existed, the community associations and events that existed and the crime and safety of an area. These community profiles were subsets of the area profiles. They represented the opportunity structure of each neighbourhood. As the development of these was conducted as a separate subset of the overall thesis project, they are discussed in section 6.4.

Using Massey and Jess’s notion of activity spaces, it became possible to explore how families *were* connected to their locales. Each tie was deemed as local or non-local based on the place of residence of each network member in relation to a 10-kilometre diameter around each participant’s place of residence to ascertain whether each network member live within five kilometres of a participant. This arbitrary boundary was chosen to correspond with those used in the community profile as discussed below. By then attributing the social capital that was derived from each tie, a spatial examination of social capital was possible.

The final aspect of place, a sense of belonging to an area, was taken directly from the interviews. Each participant was asked to elaborate on their perceptions and sense of belonging to their area of residence.

Taken together, these three aspects provided a profile of each of the areas in this study and it was possible to view how an area could constrain or facilitate levels of social capital.

The Norm of Independence

To explore the connection between the final characteristics identified by the quantitative analysis, the norm of independence (including reciprocity and the influence of conflicts), the proposed continuum of independence was developed. Placement was based initially on attitudes to independence which were deduced from the interviews *and* an analysis of whether participants *used* network connections.

Placement on the continuum was reinforced through an analysis of reciprocity and network expectations. Reciprocity was measured in five ways: 1) the support the family *provided* to their extended family with the expectation of reciprocal support; 2) what they *provided* to non-kin with the expectation of reciprocal support; 3) the donation of time and money by the family within a generalised expectation of societal support; 4) the family's perceptions of the honesty of network members (as reported by the participants) in relation to the likelihood of returned favours; and 5) whether network members were perceived to have the best interests of the family at heart. Each of these measures has a direct link to the resources a network can expect in the future as a result

of a measurement now. Support to family and non-kin with the expectation of reciprocity tallies the resources participants *felt* they provided to others, resulting in an indication of the level of resources that might come back to them in the future.

Donating time and money by the family represents a more formalized notion of giving at a level outside the family. This measure ties reciprocity at the individual or family level to the level of society (they contribute now with the expectation that society will look after them in the future should the need arise). The perception of the honesty of networks members has the implicit assumption that resources received by network member will eventually be returned. When this measure is high, the networks contain a high percentage of members that are trusted to eventually return support and resources can be expected in the future. The perception that network members have the best interests of the ego-centred family at heart indicates that network members believe that they should try and help the family if they are able to do so because the family will help them if needed. This suggests a general willingness throughout the network that should be shared. When this measure is high, there is an implicit expectation that help will be available if it is needed, as well as that help will be given if necessary.

Conflicts in a network were also investigated as these might override both norms and influence the 'use' and 'expectations' of resources. Conflicts were assessed according to the intensity of feelings of affection, admiration, deference, loathing or hostility felt between network members as well as the amount of contact they had. Stone and Hughes (2001: 33) claim that the closer people are, the more contact they have. With more contact, exchanges become easier and generally happen more often.

This combination of measures enabled the matrix of attitudes interacting in the norms of independence and its effect on reciprocity to be explored to see whether and how social capital was influenced.

6.4 Community Profiles

To investigate 'place', a more objective approach was taken than in the rest of the study. A Community Profile was constructed to capture how a family *could* be tied to a locale (the place aspect of network form). This was a separate subset of the overall thesis project and was produced to explore the opportunity structure within a local area. This was deemed important because opportunities, or the lack thereof, could influence local interactions. Local interactions may be quite different for a family which has virtually no local services available to them than for one which has many. Local participation might be very different where there are few local associations or local events. People also may not interact in the same manner in areas where crime is low, rather than high. The purpose of this additional profile was to investigate how families *could* be tied to their local communities.

The measure of community used was a physical area, a locale. This was based on a study by Hillery (1995) who compared 94 studies looking for agreement among definitions of community. The assessment revealed that the concept of community resided within the broader concept of social interaction and generally included as important elements: area, common ties and social interaction (Hillery 1995: 119).

While local ties and social interactions could be derived from the interviews in the main study, opportunities within an area could not, necessitating this additional study.

The area of a community was defined as a geographical neighbourhood of ten kilometres in diameter with the centre being the home of each participating family. The decision to use a ten-kilometre diameter was based on a series of considerations. The area needed to meet three criteria: 1) be a useful spatial unit; 2) be comparable; and 3) be convenient in terms of collecting information. As a spatial unit, the area needed to cover the day-to-day activities of a family and these needed to be easily accessible (Carter 1981: 61). That meant it had to be large enough to include general shopping facilities, primary schools, general services such as police, post offices, libraries, transport facilities, petrol stations and day care facilities, as well as religious and entertainment facilities but small enough so these facilities could be easily accessed. The areas in this study also needed to be comparable to be useful. That meant permanent features such as roads or rivers could not define these areas. They needed to have a common spatial basis. The areas also had to be relatively convenient in terms of collecting information due to the additional nature of this extra study, the time constraints of a doctoral thesis and the relevance of the data to the overall study.

In an attempt to conform to the standard geographical classifications used by the ABS, their smallest spatial unit, the Census Collection District (CD) was considered. This unit had many delimitations, but basically covered an urban average of about 220 dwellings (ABS 2005: 3). The CDs were too small to be useful for my study as they did not: 1) provide a wide enough location to cover the day-to-day activities of a family; 2) conform to a comparable basis as they often followed permanent features such as natural waterways; 3) there was no way to determine the boundaries of each area with

regards to a family's location. The next smallest unit used by the ABS was the Statistical Local Area (SLA) (ABS 2005: 5). These conformed to the local government areas within each state. These areas seemed too large to be useful. They undoubtedly covered most day-to-day activities, but some would be too distant to be useful on a day-to-day basis. For example, Baulkham Hills (A) SLA contained 139,404 people on the census night of 7 August 2001 (ABS 2001b: 2) and 43,721 dwellings (ABS 2001b: 8). The facilities needed for this amount of people would not be easily accessible to all of them on a day-to-day basis. As well, the boundaries surrounding these areas were not easily identified on the ground: that is, the researcher could not distinguish if the facilities were within an area. What was needed was a spatial area between the two ABS categories. With this in mind, a ten-kilometre diameter was chosen. It met the criterion for usefulness because it was large enough to contain most day-to-day activities of a family while remaining accessible. A family member that drove a car would take a relatively short span of time to reach each activity. A family member that walked had relatively easy access within approximately a one-hour walk (five kilometres from each family home in any direction). The ten-kilometre diameter was comparable as each family home was the centre point and a circle placed on a local map delimited the area. With this map to guide the researcher, the placement of facilities within each area was achievable.

Three methods were undertaken to determine what was available to a family within an area: 1) an examination of the local newspapers and brochures that came into the participants' homes; 2) a search of the associated council website of each home; 3) a preset checklist of 29 neighbourhood facilities. From these sources, a profile of each family area was generated and these were used in the wider thesis study to establish the

availability of ‘community’ for each family. In the final analysis, these profiles were grouped into four general areas of Sydney. These are discussed in Chapter Ten.

Local Newspapers, Brochures and Websites

According to Guenther and Falk (1999: 54), local newspapers are a source of information about an area as well as affirming the norms and values of a community. Newspapers promote local identities and strengthen ‘bonds’ to communities. With this view in mind, participating families were asked to collect the local publications that came into their homes over a specific two-week period. Publications were collected from 1.12.04 - 13.12.04. This timeframe was specifically chosen as it represented the busiest time of the year for a local area. As well as all the local festivities surrounding Christmas, school holiday activities were advertised over this timeframe. These publications included all the community newspapers and brochures (excluding purely commercial publications such as sale catalogues) delivered to participants’ homes. Appendix 6 displays a list of these publications.

A community newspaper was seen as any publication that was *freely* available to a geographical area. This definition differed from that of the Australian Audit Bureau of Circulation (2003: 8), which defines community newspapers as non-daily, free and servicing the community. It was deemed relevant to include free *daily* newspapers, such as the Manly Daily, because a paper was viewed as a vehicle of community information. In fact, being delivered daily was seen as an advantage in this study because information was provided more frequently to participating families.

An inspection of the local council Internet websites corresponding to family homes was also carried out (see Appendix 7). The inspection sought services, activities and events available within the ten-kilometre diameter of each family home. The website inspection was carried out on 13.12.04 and information was only recorded that corresponded to the two-week timeframe of the Newspaper Study.

This additional study of community newspapers and Internet sites was a separate study from the thesis project, with the results contributing to the 'place' aspect of 'form' in the larger study. A different approach to analysis was needed to obtain accurate results. Instead of the Miles and Huberman approach used in the major study, *content analysis* was chosen. Content analysis 'systematically describes the total output of a newspaper without reference to the individual reader's selective use of a newspaper' (Henningham 1996: 232). Content analysis can be used as a research technique to obtain a description of the content of communication in an objective, systematic and quantifiable manner (Berelson 1952). The categories or framework for the content analysis in this study were directed by the *grounded theory* method of Glasser and Strauss (1967). Grounded theory uses major themes from the literature as a basis of analysis, with more themes and sub-themes added during a study as opposed to categories of interest being established before the data is collated. Using this theory in my additional study grounded the data in a systematic way. New categories were added as needed. Data was treated as unique and no consideration was made for the size or presentation of individual items (articles and advertisements were treated the same). This was because the aim was to gather the type and number of services, associations and events available per local area.

The content analysis of the additional study was undertaken in two sections – *identification* and *description*. Identification entailed classifying the newspaper or website by name, dates, pages in the issue (for printed publications only) and distribution area. Description referred to content variables of the publications and websites (information in the articles and advertisements). The work of Rosa McManamey (2001) was used to construct the initial categories for classification of content. Her paper attempted to identify community social capital resources through local newspapers.

An initial set of categories was tested on a local newspaper to ensure viability. To ensure the consistency of the classification system was maintained, the researcher coded all information personally. This content analysis covered 38 publications totally 2,576 pages and seven council websites, and concluded with 46,623 bits of data. Using the final coding scheme, this data was placed into categories. Appendix 8 presents the final list of codes for the Newspaper and Website Study. This information was reduced to the associations, events, crime and safety relevant to a five-kilometre radius of each participant's home (tables in Chapter Ten present this data).⁵⁷ This reduced data set was incorporated into the information obtained from the checklist of neighbourhood facilities described below, and used to construct the community profiles in the major thesis study.

⁵⁷ This was accomplished by placing each activity or service, etc. on a map and determining if it was within five kilometres of the home of each participating family.

Checklist of Neighbourhood Facilities

To make the community profile as complete as possible, a preset checklist of neighbourhood facilities was developed (Table 6.6). This was adapted from a list produced by Volker (2004: 36) in her community studies in Germany. The checklist considered 29 facilities to ascertain whether they were located within the ten-kilometre spatial area surrounding each home. This was accomplished by several methods. Information from a drive-through of each area with the information gathered through the interviews, and from the newspapers, brochures and websites. This established whether each of these 29 facilities existed within each area. When this was completed, a telephone call to each participant confirmed what was lacking from the list of 29 facilities. These methods produced a profile of the local facilities within an area surrounding each family home.

Table 6.6: Checklist of Neighbourhood Facilities

1. Supermarket	11. Doctor/GP	21. Park
2. Butcher	12. Police station	22. Swimming centre
3. Bakery	13. Church	23. Fitness centre
4. Green grocery	14. Petrol station	24. Post office
5. Fish shop	15. Sports field	25. Bus station
6. Cinema	16. Café	26. Train station
7. Shop for building material	17. Restaurant	27. Concert Hall/theatre
8. Shop for luxury clothes	18. Day care centre	28. Public library
9. Flower shop	19. Neighbourhood centre	29. Playground
10. Snack bar	20. School	

(Adapted from Volker 2004: 36)

Crime in an area may restrict interactions. This is discussed in Chapter Ten, but this aspect needed to be incorporated into the community profiles. This was accomplished in two ways: 1) through information obtained via newspapers and brochures about crime in an area (as previously discussed); 2) through information obtained through the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (NSW BOSCAR 2004). BOSCAR statistics are supplied for nineteen categories of crimes for 50 different geographical areas in New South Wales. The community profiles in my study corresponded to seven of the NSW BOSCAR areas. This allowed a comparison of the community profiles with regards to known criminal activities.

Through this additional community profile study, the embedded location of a family network was ascertained. It was now possible to see how a family *could* be tied to their locale. As well, an idea of the safety of each area was established. This additional study of place was incorporated into the assessment of 'location' in Chapter Ten.

6.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical principles to which all social research should conform include that participation in research should be voluntary, there should be informed consent, that no harm should come to participants and their anonymity and confidentiality should be protected (deVaus 2001: 84-87). To meet these standards permission was obtained from the Ethics Committee of Macquarie University to do the research (Ref. No. HE24OCT2003-DO2637). Written consent was also obtained from each participant.

Appendix 9 provides a sample letter of consent. Participation was purely voluntary with each participant free to withdraw at any time without explanation.

To protect the identity and confidentiality of the participants, family and network members, pseudonyms were used in all cases. These were randomly chosen with the first interview corresponding to a surname using the first letter of the alphabet (Archer), the second interview with the second letter of the alphabet (Baker), and so on.

Pseudonyms for first names, family and network members were chosen at random.

Table 6.5 in this chapter shows the immediate family members in each participating family.

The tapes, transcriptions and all other written material dealing with the interviews were stored in a locked file cabinet in the home of the researcher. Tapes will be stored there for five years after which they will be destroyed.

6.6 Limitations of the Study

When considering the generalizability of the study, a series of considerations were evident. The study concentrated on the urban area of Sydney with no rural representation. In their Canadian study, Enns *et al* (2005: 2), as well as Mihaylova (2004: 83) in her CCE study, each suggest that the composition and form of rural networks may be very different from those of urban dwellers.

Participants, by their own assessment, were overwhelmingly middle class. This corresponds to Michael Pusey's contention that 70 percent of Australians are middle class (Pusey 2003: 16). However, Bekkers *et al* (2004: 4) suggest the norms of middle class are different than those of working-class people. The middle class norms that act as guidelines for behaviour in my study may not reflect those of working-class people, limiting its generalizability.

Although the sample portrayed the culture of Australia as being Anglo-European, several participants (38%) were born overseas. Only one participant in this study had a distinct accent and none 'looked' non-European. In a country dominated by multicultural ethnicities, assumptions about the sameness of networks need to be considered. Any generalizations and conclusions made from my study must acknowledge these considerations.

Part III

Typologies and Social Capital in this Study

Chapter 7

Network Typologies in This Study

This chapter presents the first stage of a three-part analysis of the data in this study.

While this chapter demonstrates the construction of network typologies, Chapter Eight, the second part of the analysis, explores the social capital within these. The final stage of the analysis is presented in Chapters Nine through Eleven which examine the influence of network characteristics on levels of social capital.

Five typologies were constructed in this study. Three were developed based on the literature relating ‘groupings’ within networks (groups of formal and informal connections) to bonding, bridging and linking ties; the other two became evident during analysis. As discussed previously, the groupings within networks should influence the configurations of ties, although most networks have bonding, bridging *and* linking ties. In this study, networks dominated by bridging ties were called *heterogeneous*; those dominated by bonding ties were called *homogeneous*; those with a more even balance of bridging and bonding ties were called *balanced* networks. As well as these three types of networks, two others were evident in the analysis, an *insular* and a *truncated* type. Although the insular typology contained mostly bridging ties, much like the heterogeneous networks, the *total* numbers of all ties were much lower. The fifth and final typology (truncated) included networks that contained specific restricting circumstances. This chapter discusses the construction of these typologies based around

levels of diversity and similarity of network members. It also examines whether the advantages proposed by the literature were evident in these networks.

7.1 Development of Network Typologies

To construct typologies that reflected the configurations of ties proposed by the literature, the first consideration was the diversity in the number and types of groupings within a network (formal or informal associations, consequently influencing the types of ties). Network typologies were then based on the number of two types of distinct ties (bridging and bonding) noting that linking ties may be either. The first possible network configuration is dominated by weak, bridging ties. This configuration ensures a high degree of heterogeneity (in relation to similarity) because these bring anchoring members into contact with more diverse groups of people. The second configuration has high levels of close bonding ties. This ensures a high degree of similarity (close ties are generally to similar others). The third configuration contains networks with a more even distribution of bridging and bonding ties. These have a more even spread of dissimilar and similar network members. The networks in all three configurations also have linking ties. These ties are entwined with either bonding or bridging ties. A linking tie is either a close bonding tie or a weak bridging tie but it also links to a formal institution of power (another advantage).

Extrapolating from these ideas, network typologies can be constructed reflecting these different advantages and configurations. In this study, five steps were used in separating networks and placing them into typologies. The first step was to determine whether networks were wide or dense. Wide networks contained high levels of formal

group memberships, which enabled bridging ties to develop. Dense networks contained more informal groupings of network members. These ties tended to be closer. To determine whether networks were wide or dense, the number and types of groupings were ascertained. Memberships in formal associations and informal groupings were considered. The second step was to determine whether networks contained predominately weak or close ties (bridging or bonding). Third was to determine whether or not configurations of ties resulted in relatively high heterogeneity (containing predominantly dissimilar or similar ties). Fourth, ties to institutions were identified. Finally, evidence was located of supposed advantage for the dominant type of ties within the networks. Once aspects of networks were identified, three initial typologies were formed based on the criteria in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Criteria for Heterogeneous, Homogeneous and Balanced Typologies

Typologies	Heterogeneous	Homogeneous	Balanced
Criterion 1 – Dominate groupings within networks	Formal associations	Informal interactions	Even balance (formal/informal)
Criterion 2 – dominate closeness of ties	Weak ties	Close ties	Even balance (weak/close)
Criterion 3 – Relative heterogeneity	Relatively high heterogeneity (dissimilar)	Relatively low heterogeneity (similar)	Relatively mid level heterogeneity (dissimilar/similar)
Criterion 4 – Linking ties	High levels of total linking ties to institutions with high levels of diversity	Medium to low levels of linking ties to institutions with medium levels of diversity	Medium to low levels of linking ties to institutions with medium levels of diversity
Criterion 5 – Evidence of the advantage proposed by the literature for the dominate types of ties in a network	Evidence of ties that expand the networks as reported by the participants	Evidence of ties that help in day-to-day living as reported by the participants	Evidence of both

To determine whether formal or informal ties dominated networks, the categories used in 1974 by Boissevain were employed. In the first instance network members were categorized as those known through formal corporate groups or informal groupings of cliques or kinship. Most network members could be categorized using these distinctions, yet several could not. To ensure all network members were included, Boissevain's additional categories of 'action sets', 'gangs' and 'alliances', were employed. Using his definitions, the relationships within action sets and gangs were both considered informal associations, while those in alliances were considered formal.

While this differed from Boissevain's classification, alliances tended to be based around a group of formal associations in this study.⁵⁸

To ascertain whether network connections were weak or close, the interview transcripts were evaluated. The orientation of the interview elicited the participants' perceptions of their relationships, with ties classified as intimate, very close, close, friendly, acquaintances or problematic. Ties from intimate to friendly were deemed 'close' for this measure. The category of acquaintance was deemed 'weak'. Weak ties were further differentiated into those that were 'weak' and those that were 'too weak' to carry any advantage. These 'too weak' ties were eliminated from consideration for this measure because they carried no resources, hence no social capital. Eliminated ties were always in the context of a large formal corporate group or within a church. For example, by going to church, an individual may have acquaintances, which may be advantageous at a later date. There may also be other members that the individual sees almost every week but to whom they have never spoken. These types of ties were deemed too weak to carry advantages and were therefore eliminated from classification. Ties that participants identified as carrying resources were *not* eliminated. Problematic ties were also eliminated from the evaluation of close or weak ties because although these were generally closer ties, their advantages were often compromised.⁵⁹

After classifying ties as either weak or close, the relative heterogeneity of a network was determined. The literature associates weak ties with high heterogeneity and close

⁵⁸ For example, an alliance may be those known through the environmental movement with individuals coming together from The Wilderness Society, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and Greenpeace, all formal associations.

⁵⁹ Problematic *weak* ties often tended to be eliminated from the network (people no longer had contact) so those that remained were *close*. Due to their problematic nature, they did not have the same advantages as other close ties. This was not investigated in this thesis due to space limitations.

ties with network similarity. Yet they may not be mutually exclusive. High levels of weak ties may not mean high levels of network diversity. For example, a network may have a high level of weak ties but all of these may be similar in age. As this association *cannot* be assumed, an analysis of heterogeneity was warranted. Consequently, each tie was evaluated in terms of ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and the variations of occupations within a network.

As the study was based on interview data, ethnicity was determined by the participants and often varied in its definition. Those not born in Australia were usually considered as a different ethnicity, yet this was not always the case. For example, an interviewed couple where one partner was English rarely saw other English born individuals as a different ethnicity even though they were non-Australian.

Age was the second measure of network heterogeneity. The ages of all network members were classified within six age groups and compared with the ages of the anchoring individuals. Age groupings were: 1) under 18 years; 2) 18-29 years; 3) 30-49 years; 4) 50-64 years; 5) 65-80 years and 6) over 80 years. The seventh category contained network members where age was unknown. These categories were based on the combined works of Erikson and Gruen (Peterson 1984: 51), Basseches and Huhler (Peterson 1984: 53), Commons & Richards (Stephens-Long 1988: 51), Malsow (Stassen Berger 1984: 44) and Havinghurst (Troll 1985: 11). A dissimilar network would contain many age groupings.

Socio-economic status, the third measure, was determined by the participants' perception of class, and resulted in five categories. These categories were: 1) upper class; 2) upper-middle; 3) middle class; 4) lower-middle and 5) working class.

Diversity of occupations within a network was the fourth measure of network heterogeneity. Using the *ASCO Australian Standard Classification of Occupations* developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 1997), the diversity of occupation was determined. The ABS classification system uses nine categories of occupations.⁶⁰ In this study, a tenth category included individuals that were not in the paid work force. From this combination of measures, an overall determination of each network's heterogeneity was developed.

Bonding and bridging ties often involved ties to institutions of power. The literature suggests these linking ties are advantageous in a distinct way. For example, when a person needs to obtain council approval and is held up by bureaucratic red tape, knowing someone at the council to approach for help is advantageous. From a preset list of nine institutions, the participants identified their number of links to each institution. The total number of linking ties, as well as the diversity of these, were used as linking measures in this study. The nine institutions were: 1) government; 2) police; 3) medical; 4) legal; 5) religion; 6) media; 7) unions; 8) higher education and 9) business.

⁶⁰ The nine categories used in the *Australian Standard Classification of Occupations* are: 1) Managers and Administrators; 2) Professionals; 3) Associate Professionals; 4) Tradespersons and Related Workers; 5) Advanced Clerical and Service Workers; 6) Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers; 7) Intermediate Production and Transport Workers; 8) Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service Workers; 9) Labourers and Related Workers (ABS 1997: 23).

Before the final placement of a network into one of three typologies (heterogeneous, homogeneous, balanced), the participants' transcripts were reviewed to determine whether the advantages proposed by the literature existed. To be placed in the heterogeneous typology, participants had to indicate that their networks included individuals that expanded their lives (bridging indicators). For the homogeneous typology, participants needed to indicate that individuals helped them get by in day-to-day living (bonding indicators). To be placed in the balanced typology, networks needed to exhibit both. The final analysis resulted in four family networks being placed in the heterogeneous typology, five in the homogeneous and three in the balanced typology.

While 12 of the 17 networks in this study easily fell into these three typologies, five did not. These exhibited other influencing factors with two additional typologies being evident. The insular typology was closely associated with the heterogeneous type, yet the overall number of ties was greatly diminished. These networks had predominately weak ties, but fewer than the heterogeneous networks, as well as very few close ties. While linking ties existed, they were at low levels, restricting advantage. The final typology, referred to as truncated, was not based on configurations of ties. It consisted of networks that contained a specific constraint where individual circumstances limited the participation within the networks. For example, a person who spent most of their time looking after sick parents would have significant time constraints on their participation, and would be likely to exhibit a truncated network. These constraints meant that advantages through these networks were also likely to be restricted.

7.2 The Typologies in this Study

Figure 7.1 Summaries of Network Typologies in this Study

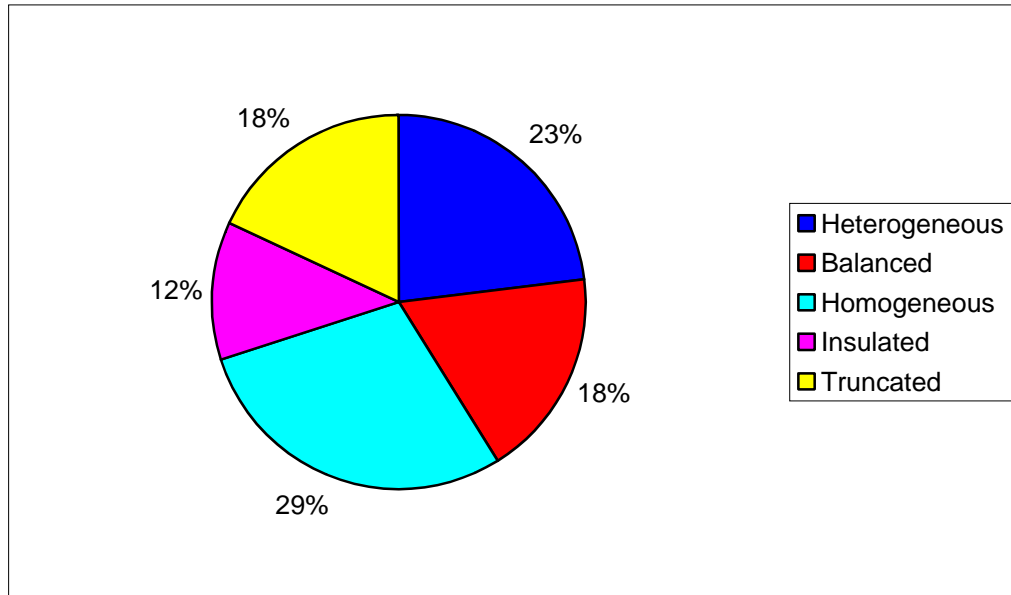


Figure 7.1 displays the distribution of networks within the typologies in this study. It reveals that the seventeen families were distributed relatively evenly. Four families had heterogeneous networks, three balanced and five homogeneous networks. There were two families in the insular typology and three in the truncated. Table 7.2 summarizes the data on three of the five criteria used to place each into a typology. The first criterion, groupings within a network, and the final criterion, evidence of advantage, will be discussed in later sections of this chapter. Case studies will demonstrate the placement of networks into typologies.

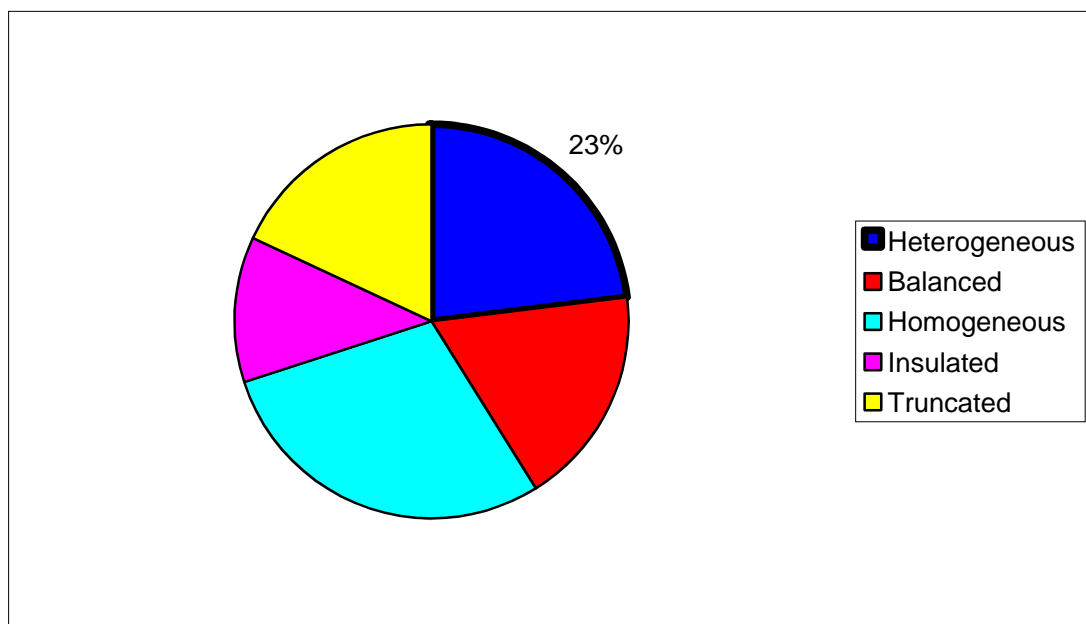
Table 7.2 Summary of Three Criteria for Placing Each Network into a Typology

Typology	Networks	Total number of network members	Criterion 2 Percentage of weak ties	Criterion 3 Combined heterogeneity	Criterion 4 Number of ties to institutions
Heterogeneous Typology	Four networks	23 percent of study	Dominated by weak ties to dissimilar individuals		
Type 1: Large Networks	Archer	644	88	High	37 ties to 9 institutions
	Duncan	611	86	High	44 ties to 9 institutions
	Knight	3,357	99	High	44 ties to 9 institutions
Type 2: Small Networks	Grace	83	72	Balanced	48 ties to 9 institutions
Balanced Typology	Three networks	18 percent of study	More even distribution of weak and close ties with similar and dissimilar individuals		
	Hunter	125	58	Balanced	8 ties to 5 institutions
	Logan	* 705	91	Balanced	17 ties to 5 institutions
	Norris	139	61	Balanced	25 ties to 8 institutions
Homogeneous Typology	Five networks	29 percent of study	Dominated by close ties to similar individuals		
Type 1: Ties mainly to friends	Jones	77	34	Low	9 ties to 8 institutions
	Oates	146	72	Low	3 ties to 3 institutions
Type 2: Ties mainly to family and friends	Baker	111	30	Low	20 ties to 7 institutions
	Carter	* 1,161	99	Low	18 ties to 6 institutions
	Queen	64	37	Low	7 ties to 5 institutions
Insular Typology	Two networks	12 percent of study	Dominated by weak ties to dissimilar individuals and few close associations		
	Erikson	73	50	Balanced	8 ties to 6 institutions
	Farmer	256	97	High	5 ties to 3 institutions
Truncated Typology	Three networks	18 percent of study	Restrictions of some form existed in each of these networks		
	Ireland	* 1,443	97	Low	39 ties to 8 institutions
	Marshall	154	61	Low	9 ties to 5 institutions
	Player	62	45	Balanced	24 ties to 5 institutions
* Ties in these networks were so weak that many of them did not carry social capital.					

The Heterogeneous Typology - Dancing to Many Tunes

The heterogeneous typology consisted of wide networks dominated by weak bridging ties and high levels of heterogeneity. Linking ties were high due to the diversity of network members. There was evidence that these ties expanded the lives of anchoring individuals.

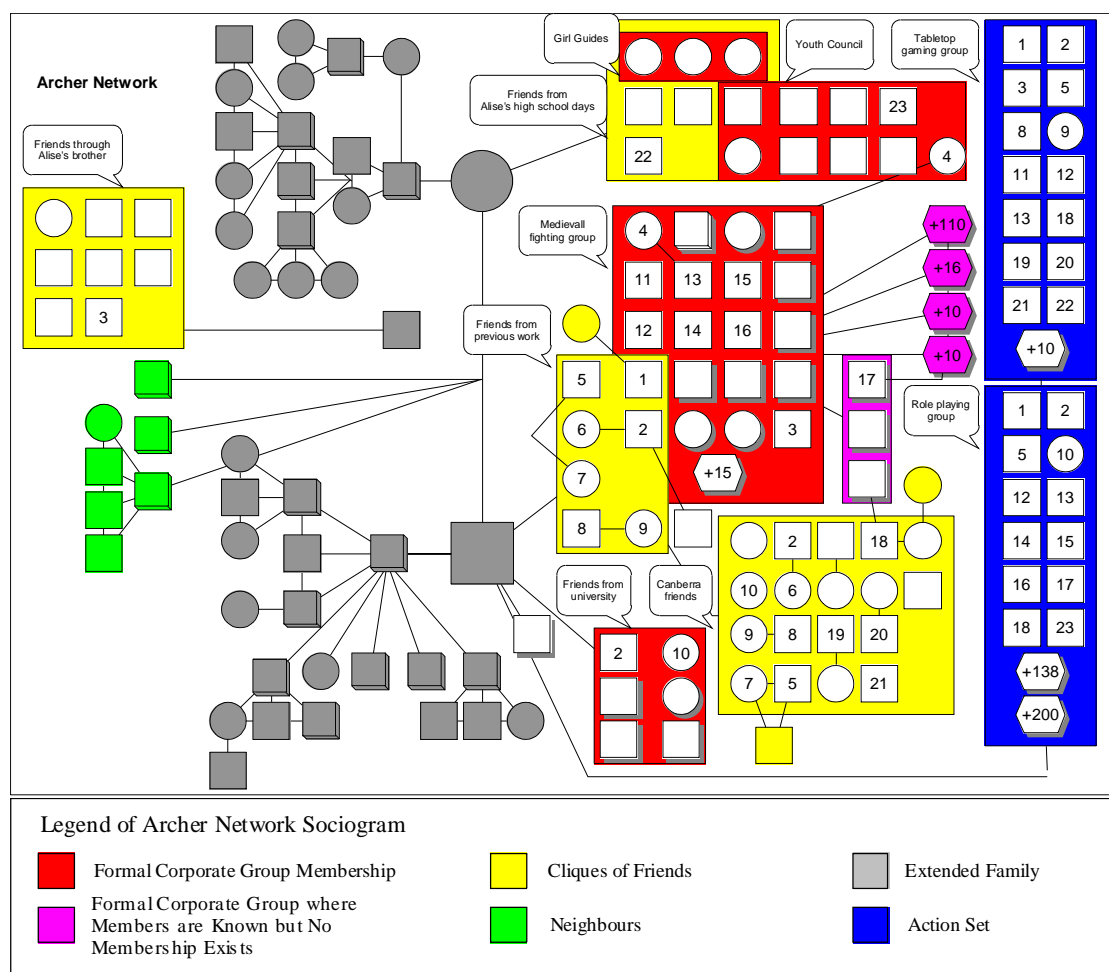
Figure 7.2 The Heterogeneous Typology in this Study



Four families had *heterogeneous* networks (23 percent of the study) with two distinct groups being evident: large networks and small networks. In the large networks, each anchoring family had a core of close associations with family and friends. They also participated in four or five formal corporate groups. As a result of these wide associations, most of their ties tended to be weak. The networks had high levels of heterogeneity because they were connected to diverse groupings of people. The networks of the Archers, Duncans and Knights exhibited these qualities. The other

network in this typology was small and belonged to the Grace family. Nancy and Frank Grace had fewer formal corporate group memberships but many single-stranded relationships (a relationship between ego-centred family members and only one person or couple and in this study, their children). Yet it still met the criteria for this typology because the ties in the network still tended to be weak ties with dissimilar people.

Figure 7.3 Sociogram of the Heterogeneous Archer Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



The Archer family network is used to represent the large heterogeneous networks.

Although any of the three large networks could be used, Tony and Alise Archer had the most diverse types of relationships within the typology. The Archers were a young

couple in their early 20s. Their network consisted of 644 members (see Figure 7.3). They were active members in four formal corporate organizations (red). Through these group memberships they were associated with a further five formal groups (pink) (these associations were made through formal groups but they were not members of these five groups). They also had four informal groups of friends (yellow), a group of neighbours (green), extended family (grey) and two action sets (blue).⁶¹ The Archer network had a wide configuration of links with predominately weak ties. Acquaintances accounted for 79 percent of the network.

The Archers' wide network suggests they also had high levels of heterogeneity: there should be diverse types of people within this network. In order to ascertain if this were so, diversity of ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and occupations within the network was determined. Ethnicity was high. Non-Australians accounted for 36 percent of the known network.⁶² One out of every three people in this network was not born in Australia. Although Tony Archer was born in South Africa, he had been in Australia since he was two (twenty one years ago). Tony considered all of this extended family to be a different ethnic background, with his father and his father's extended family being South African, while his mother and her extended family were English. Alise Archer was the daughter of an American immigrant so her extended family was mainly American. She considered this different from her own ethnicity. As well, the couple had friends from Malaysia, Wales, Indonesia, Greece and New Zealand (Maori) with neighbours from Sri Lanka. Their network was also very diverse in terms

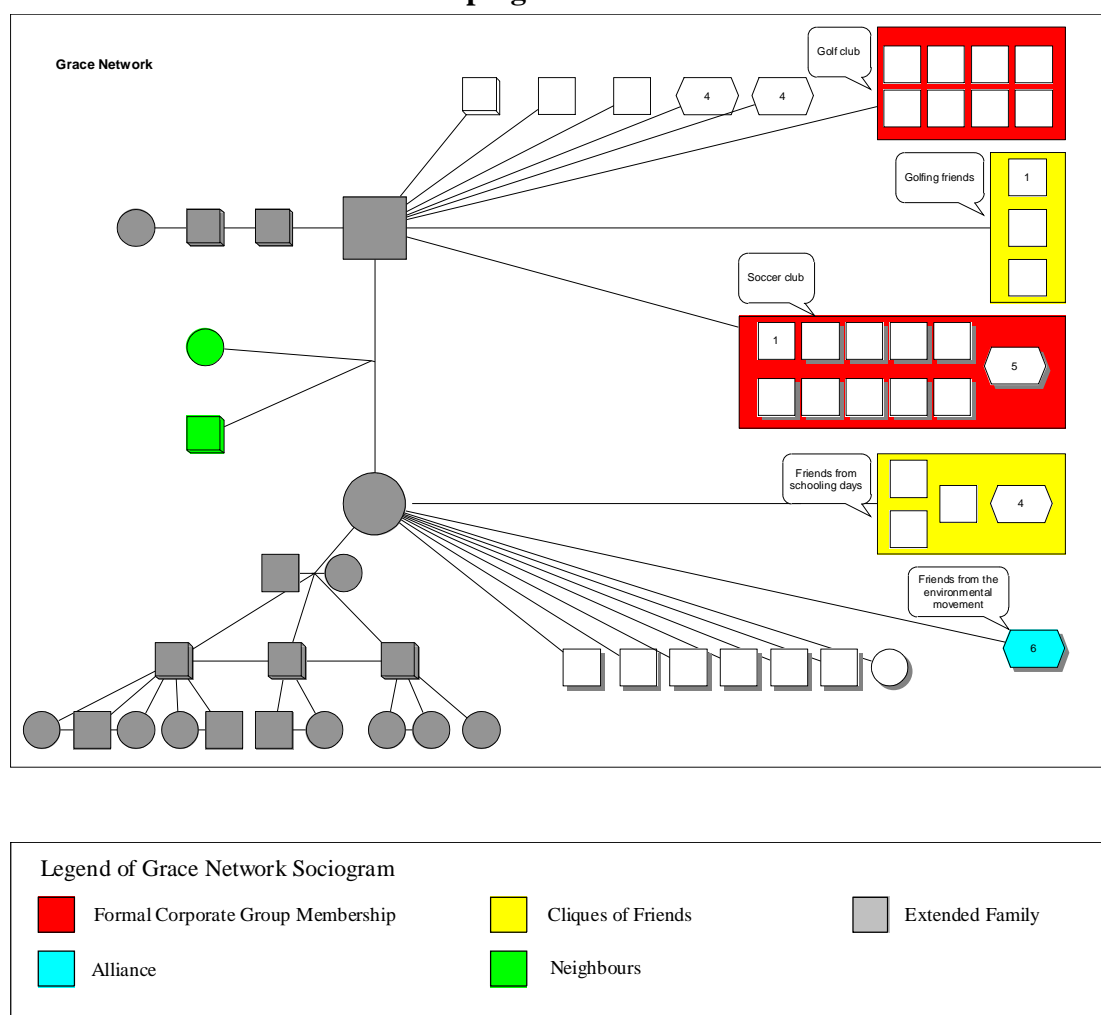
⁶¹ For definition of 'action set' see Glossary of Terms.

⁶² When a family belonged to a large formal group, information on network members often only covered specific members of that group. For some measures the entire number within the group was important (number of weak ties) while for others, only the information on specific individuals were included as the participants did not have knowledge of all members (ages, occupations and such).

of age, the second measure of heterogeneity. Ages within this network covered all five categories. Although 57 percent of their known network fell within the Archers' age group (18-30 years), the range within the network covered from under 18 to over 80. Socio-economic status, the third measure of heterogeneity, was also diverse, covering four of the five categories. In fact, this network had one of the highest ranges of socio-economic status in the study. The diverse range of occupations of network members, the final measure of heterogeneity, was also one of the highest in the study, covering all nine occupational classifications.

As well as this high overall level of heterogeneity, the wide Archer network also had high levels of diverse linking ties. Alise and Tony had connections to all nine institutions investigated in this study. They had connections to government, police, doctors, the law, religious organizations, the media, unions, institutions of higher learning and to big business with a total of 37 linking ties in all.

Figure 7.4 Sociogram of the Heterogeneous Grace Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



The other type of heterogeneous network found in this study was the small Grace network displayed in the sociogram in Figure 7.4. Although the network of Nancy and Frank Grace, both in their early 40s, had predominately weak ties, their network configuration was very different from the other three heterogeneous networks. The Grace network comprised one alliance (aqua), two formal corporate groups (red) and two informal groupings of friends (yellow), as well as one small group of neighbours (green) and extended family (grey). The Graces identified 83 relationships. Like the other heterogeneous networks, they had a close core of friends and family, but the majority of their links were weak and to dissimilar individuals.

Table 7. 3 Comparison of Heterogeneity in the Heterogeneous Typology

Networks	Ethnicity (Dissimilar) Percentage of known network	Age Categories: 6	Socio-economic Status Categories: 5	Occupational Access Categories: 9	Connections to Institutions Categories: 9
Archer	36	6	4	9	9
Duncan	21	4	3	5	9
Knight	22	5	5	9	9
Grace	30	3	2	5	9

The Grace network was not as diverse as the large heterogeneous networks (see Table 7.3), yet still presented a picture of overall high heterogeneity. Ethnicity in this network was high, with 30 percent of the known network being non-Australian (almost one in three). Network members were born in the U.S.A., Hungary, England, Scotland, New Zealand (Maori), Italy, Portugal and Thailand. The ages were more condensed than in the other heterogeneous networks, with 76 percent of members known to be in the same age group as the Graces (30-50 years). Nancy and Frank Grace placed most network members into two socio-economic categories, middle-class (59 percent) and upper-middle (41 percent). Five of the nine occupational groupings were identified. What is significant is this network had the highest number of linking ties in the study (48 ties), including links to all nine institutions, with multiple ties to the medical profession, the legal profession, universities and big business.

The final criterion for inclusion in this typology was evidence of the advantages proposed by the literature. According to Lin (2001a: 75-76), the major advantage associated with heterogeneous networks is that weak ties allow individuals to get ahead or expand their lives. All participants in the heterogeneous typology reported individuals who expanded their lives. Several talked of specific mentors who helped them get ahead. Tony Archer identified individuals at university who helped him obtain volunteer work in the university's museum and sponsored him for overseas study. Sharon Duncan and Samantha Knight also identified mentors. Frank Grace typified the attitudes of this typology. When asked who in his network helped to expand his life, he replied:

Pretty much all of them. I mean they are all doing something different than I'm doing. Maybe not in a major way, but I think that's why I see them, because they do things different than I do.

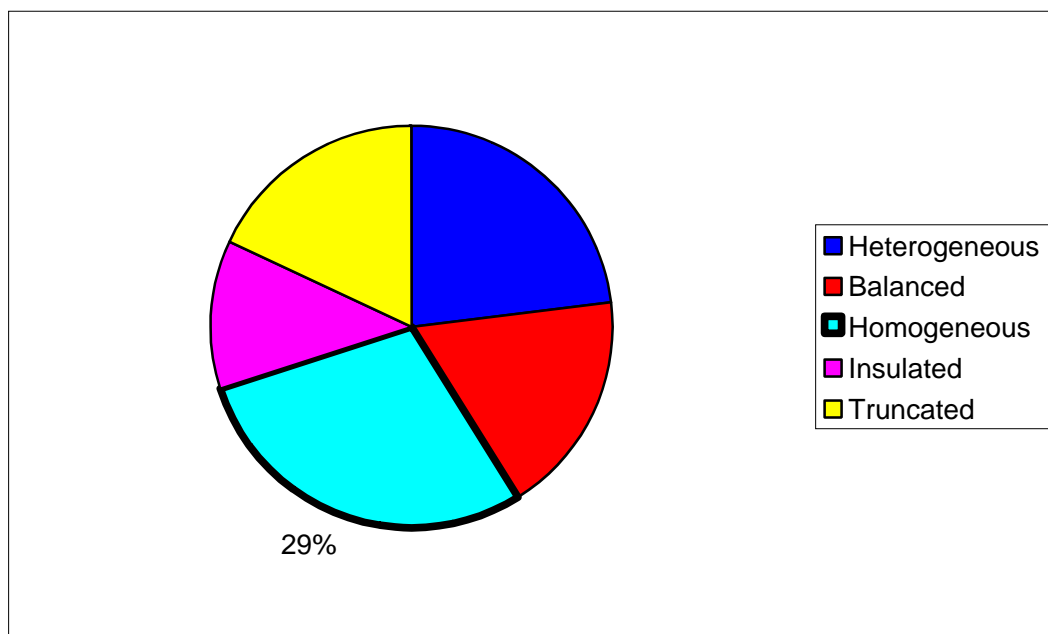
In this study, heterogeneous networks had a predominance of formal, weak ties to dissimilar others. They had high levels of linking ties and there was evidence that network members expanded their networks. In the next chapter, I argue that heterogeneous networks carry a vast variety of resources due to connections to many dissimilar people. This variety offers further advantage: when a family has a base of various available resources, this is more likely to be advantageous than fewer resources or many of the same type.⁶³

⁶³ The social capital of heterogeneous networks is examined in the next chapter to see if the suggested advantages existed.

The Homogeneous Typology - Peas in a Pod

Homogeneous networks were evident when close ties dominated networks. According to Healy et al (2002: 2), close ties tend to be based on personal closeness and common identification and are often thought of as family ties. Bonding ties dominated these networks, and their memberships in formal groups were by and large lower. Ties were generally to similar people in terms of ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and occupations. According to Cattell (2002: 1510), ties based on similarity foster mutual understanding and support so they should help in day-to-day living and in ‘getting by’.

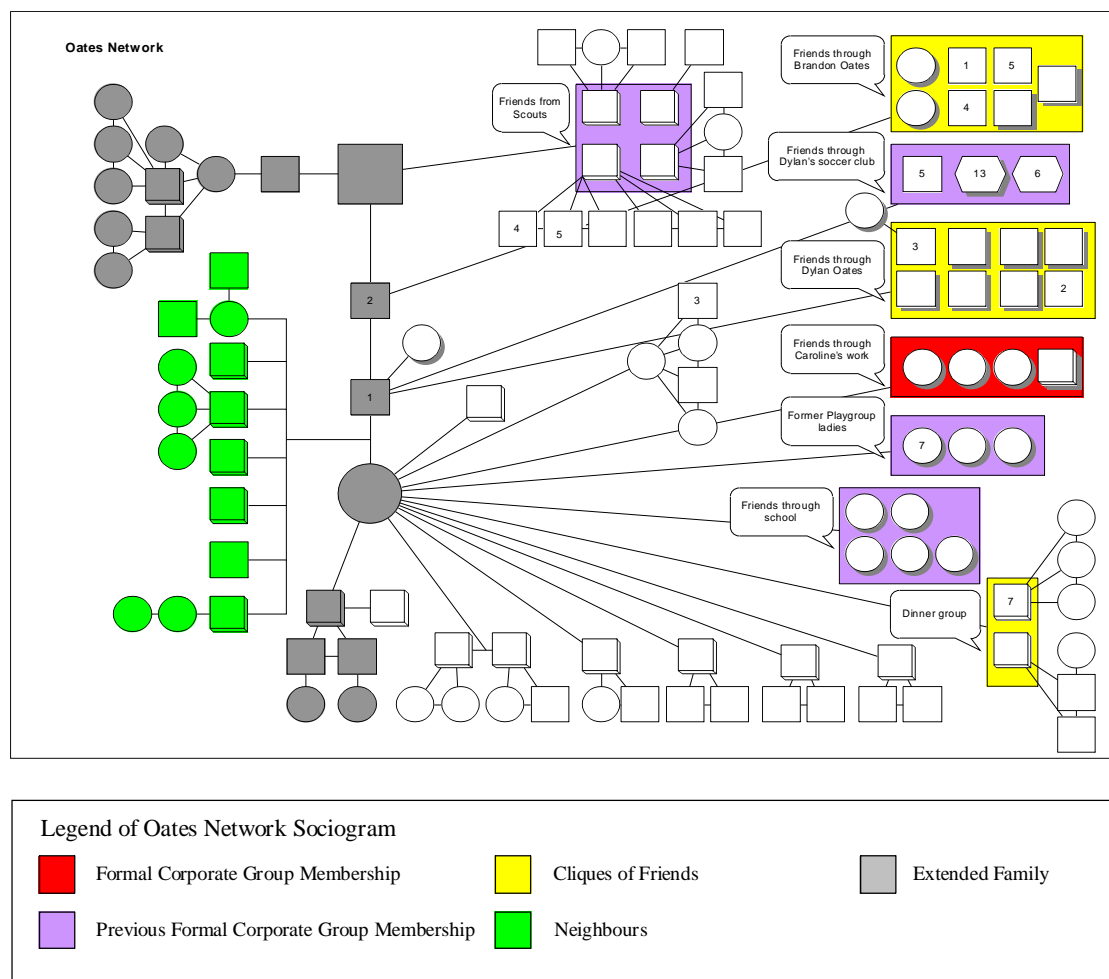
Figure 7.5 The Homogeneous Typology in this Study



Five families had homogeneous networks (29 percent of the study) making it the largest typology in the study. Although three distinct groupings were possible within this typology, only two were evident in the study. The first envisioned group included networks with the majority of their ties to family, the second to close friends, and the third to both family and friends. In my study, two networks had ties primarily to close

friends, three were dominated by close ties to both extended family *and* friends, while no network had the majority of their ties to extended family members. The Oates and the Jones families had ties primarily to close friends, while the Bakers, Carters and Queens had them to both friends and extended family.

Figure 7.6 Sociogram of the Homogeneous Oates Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



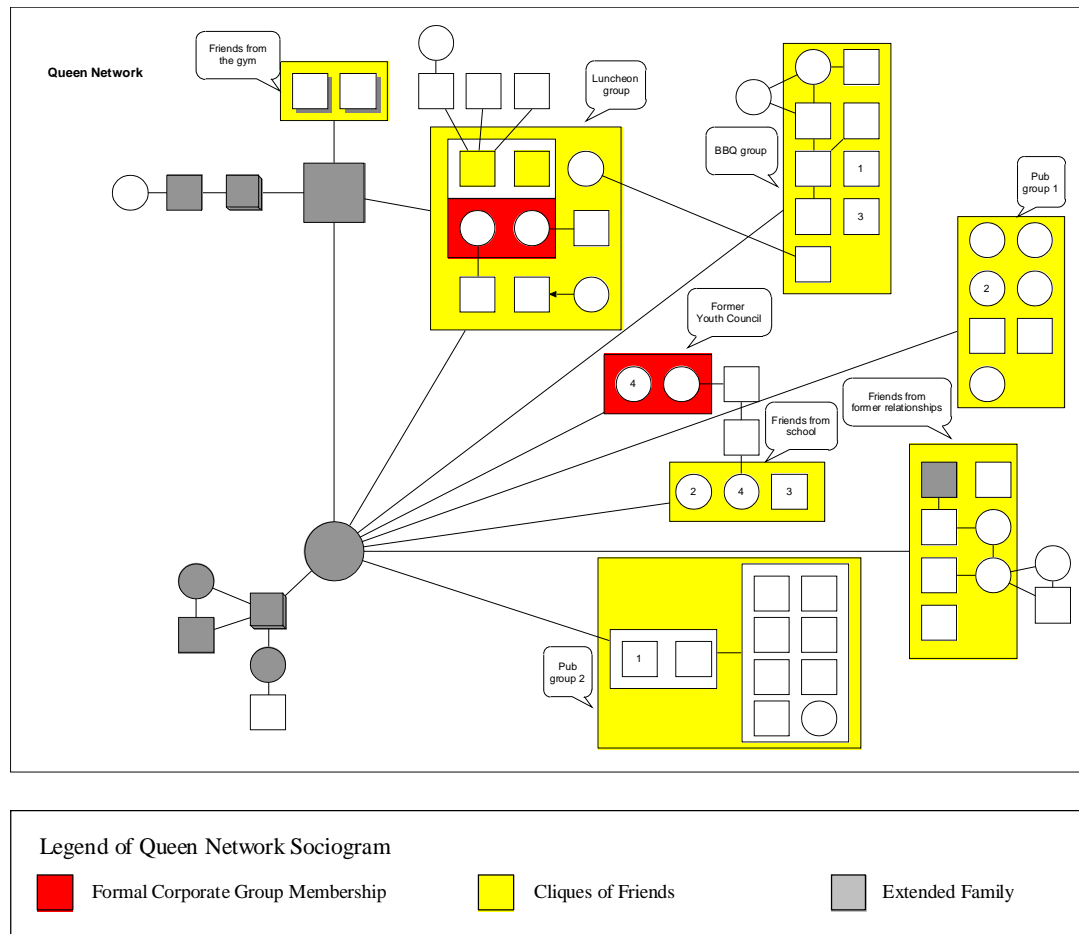
The Oates network demonstrates the homogeneous networks, with ties to predominately friends. Although Tom and Caroline Oates had extended family (grey), they had major conflicts with them. They seldom saw their relatives, so friendships were their major form of association. This network had more cliques than the Jones network (the other

homogeneous network where friendships dominated). With 146 network members, connections were through one current formal organization (red) and seven informal groups. Four of these were clusters of friendships made through previous formal group memberships (lilac) and the others were grouped around interests or people (yellow). For example, two groups were close friends through their adult sons (who still lived at home). Caroline and Tom Oates not only socialized with them, but Caroline considered that they were now their friends as well. The Oates's also socialized with their neighbours (green). This overall configuration of ties was primarily based on informal friendships, with only three percent of the network coming from current formal organizations. A further 36 percent came from past memberships.

Network members generally had similar characteristics to Caroline and Tom Oates. Ninety eight percent of the network members were born in Australia. Three couples were English, one Canadian and one Russian. While 74 percent fell within the age group of Caroline and Tom Oates (50-65 years) or that of their sons (18-30 years), all five age-groupings were present. Caroline estimated that every member of this network was middle-class. Although occupations fell in eight of the nine categories, 70 percent were within one grouping (Category 6: Intermediate, Clerical, Sales and Service). This was a much more concise network than those in the heterogeneous typology: it had relatively low heterogeneity. As well, the Oates's had one of the lowest levels of linking ties (connections to institutions) in the study. They had ties to only three of the nine types of institutions, as well as having only three linking ties overall.⁶⁴ They had one tie to the police, one to the legal profession and one to higher education.

⁶⁴ As a comparison, all heterogeneous networks had ties to all nine institutions and the lowest total number of linking ties was 37.

Figure 7.7 Sociogram of the Homogeneous Queen Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



Another type of homogeneous network had ties spread between friends and family. Three families in the study had this type of network. The 64-member Queen network exemplifies this group. Figure 7.7 represents their network. The Queens were a younger couple in their mid twenties. They lived together with Pamela's sister and her sister's boyfriend. The configuration of their network included two formal corporate groups (red) and eight informal groupings (yellow). Although their extended family was small, they had close ties to almost all of them and they visited each other often. Like the other networks in the homogeneous typology, most of their network members were similar.

Table 7.4 Comparison of Heterogeneity in the Homogeneous Typology

Networks	Ethnicity (Dissimilar) Percentage of known network	Ages Categories: 6	Socio-economic Status Categories: 5	Occupational Access Categories: 9	Connections to Institutions Categories: 9
Baker	3	6	4	5	7
Carter	0.6	4	2	5	6
Jones	9	4	1	2	8
Oates	2	6	1	8	3
Queen	10	4	2	6	5

Table 7.4 reveals that the heterogeneity in the Queen network was very concise. Ninety percent of network members were known to be born in Australia. Only six were born elsewhere: New Zealand (1); Malta (2); Italy (1); Poland (1); South Africa (1).

Compared to other networks in this study, the ages in the Queen network were the most similar. Eighty six percent of network members were known to be in the same age group as the Queens (18-30 years). The range of ages covered only four of the six categories. In her evaluation of socio-economic status, Pamela Queen placed all her network members within two of the five SES categories, with 91 percent being lower-middle class. Although she classified James and herself as middle-class (not lower-middle), she often spoke of being ‘just working class people’ and identified with the majority of her network (by her assessment, lower middle). This network contained six of the nine occupational groupings, but 56 percent of members were employed in one category (Category 4 Tradespersons and Related Workers). Linking ties connected to

five of the possible nine institutions, with the Queens having only seven institutional ties.

As well as the measure of heterogeneity, evidence of purported advantage was also necessary to categorize networks into typologies. As discussed, the literature suggests close ties help families to 'get by': they help in day-to-day living. To ascertain if the suggested advantage was evident, participants were asked who helped them in general and to whom they turned when they needed help. Those with homogeneous networks all spoke of this help. The younger Carters and Pamela Queen spoke of help from their extended families. The Carters talked of babysitting and getting advice from family members, as well as support from their friends. This was especially true when Sally Carter's mother had cancer. She spoke of their continued support and the meals friends had brought over during the time of her mother's illness. Pamela Queen explained how friends had helped when a car hit her dog by driving Pamela and her dog to the vet. The Jones's, another family with a homogeneous network, reported that their friends had agreed to be guardians to their sons should something terrible happen. Friends also helped out whenever the Jones's entertained. The Oates's spoke of borrowing and sharing, especially with their Scouting friends. Nicole Baker was particularly articulate on network members helping in day-to-day living:

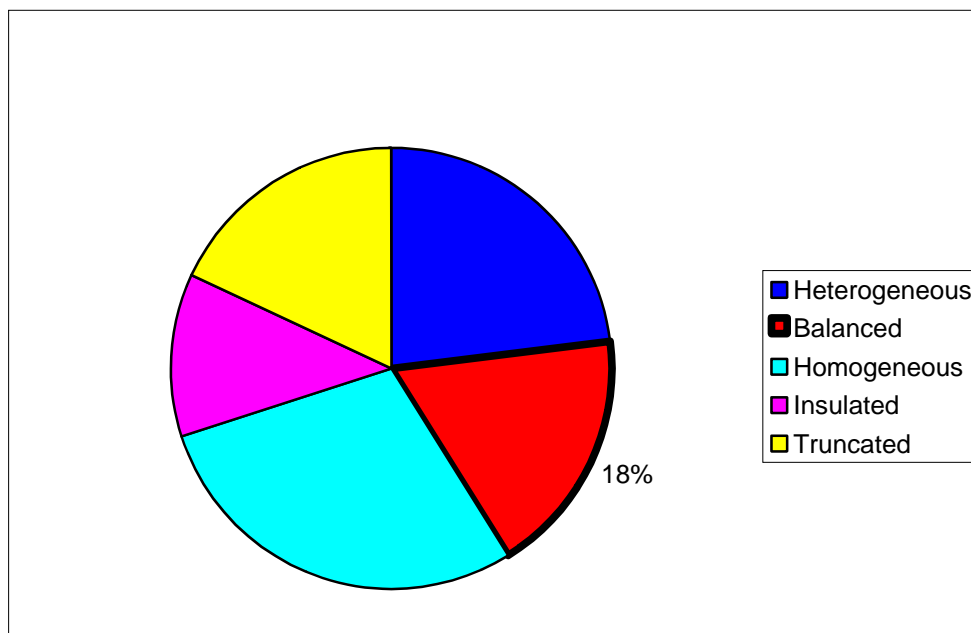
I would expect them to, this is part of having their or your interest at heart, that if you knew something that could help, you would pass it along.

In this study, homogeneous networks had a predominance of informal interactions and close ties, and network members were relatively similar. There were medium to low levels of linking ties and evidence of help in day-to-day living.

The Balanced Typology - Six of One, Half a Dozen of the Other

The balanced typology contained networks with a more even balance of close and weak ties. Enns et al (2005: 31) claim a balance of bonding and bridging ties, along with additional linking ties, is the ideal type of network. It should have a balance of advantages from each type of tie. The closer ties should help in day-to-day living, the weaker ties should bring a diversity of resources and the linking ties should bring advantages from institutional connections. These networks should contain people who both ‘expanded lives’ and those who ‘helped them get by’.

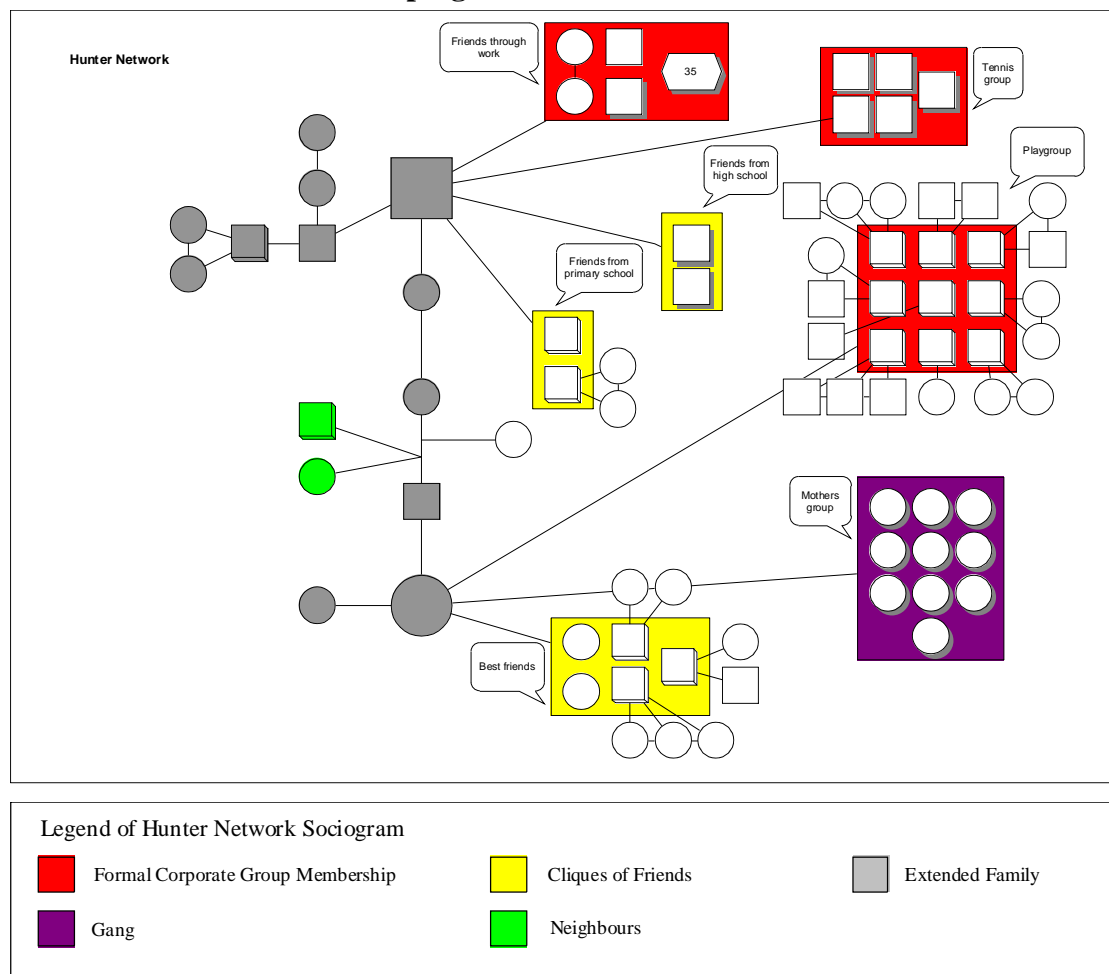
Figure 7.8 The Balanced Typology in this Study



Three families in this study had balanced networks (18 percent of the study), the Hunters, the Logans and the Norris's. The networks were medium to large in size. Participants had both weak and close connections with ties to between three and five formal corporate groups as well as many informal ties.

The Hunter family network typifies the balanced typology. It contained the most even balance of weak and close ties, with the network consisting of 125 individuals. The sociogram of the Hunter network is displayed in Figure 7.9.

Figure 7.9 Sociogram of the Balanced Hunter Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



The Hunters belonged to three formal groups (red), three informal groups (yellow) and a gang (purple). The network also included a few neighbours (green) and a small extended family base (grey). Playgroup (a formal group), a mothers' group (a gang) and the extended families of both partners brought them into contact with people very similar to themselves. Their other groupings brought them into contact with people who were very different.

Table 7.5 Comparison of Heterogeneity in the Balanced Typology

Networks	Ethnicity (Dissimilar) Percentage of known network	Ages Categories: 6	Socio-economic Status Categories: 5	Occupational Access Categories: 9	Connections to Institutions Categories: 9
Hunter	0.8	4	3	7	5
Logan	19	5	2	5	5
Norris	10	5	3	5	8

The more balanced networks had lower levels of heterogeneity than the heterogeneous networks, with levels for the balanced networks detailed in Table 7.5. Michael Hunter was co-owner of a stock brokerage business and his business partner was born in Malaysia. This was the only person in the Hunter network who was not born in Australia. Ages covered four of the six categories, with 61 percent being in the same age group as the Hunters (30–50 years). Another 33 percent (28 individuals) were under 18 years old, resulting in only six percent of the network outside these two age categories. Socio-economic status within the Hunter network covered three of the five

class categories. Ashley Hunter reported that her friends from primary and high school as well as her main group of friends were in a very different class orientation than she and Michael. She claimed her friends were working-class while she and her husband were middle class. Ashley explained that the reason they remained friends was because of their past history and their stage of life. Occupations in the Hunter network covered seven of the nine occupational categories. What stood out in this network was the high percentage of non-employed people. Fifty four percent were not employed including stay-at-home mothers, retired individuals and children. The Hunter network had a low level of linking ties. Ashley and Michael Hunter had connections to five of the nine institutions, with eight linking ties in total.

The advantages of balanced networks are that they act to both expand lives through contact with dissimilar individuals and help in day-to-day living through contact with similar individuals. To be included in this typology, evidence of both was necessary. Ashley Hunter showed examples of expansion when she claimed she liked people that were employed in different industries because they helped her to 'learn something new'. Dennis Logan, also with a balanced network, liked people from overseas: he 'enjoyed talking to them'. As well, the participants in this typology reported numerous instances of receiving day-to-day help through their networks. There were examples of extensive babysitting, of giving children lifts, borrowing small items and emotional exchanges, all helping in day-to-day living.

In this study, balanced networks had a relatively even spread of formal and informal interactions, a more even distribution of weak and close ties and network members who

were both dissimilar and similar. There were medium to low levels of linking ties and evidence of both expansion and help in day-to-day living.

The Insular Typology - A Little Bit of Love

Along with the three types of networks suggested by the literature, the analysis for this study also found another two types of networks, *insular* and *truncated*. Mainly weak ties and very low levels of close ties distinguished insular networks. Although they had some ties to institutions, their overall number was very low. Truncated networks contained an obvious restriction on participation.

Figure 7.10 **The Insular Typology in this Study**

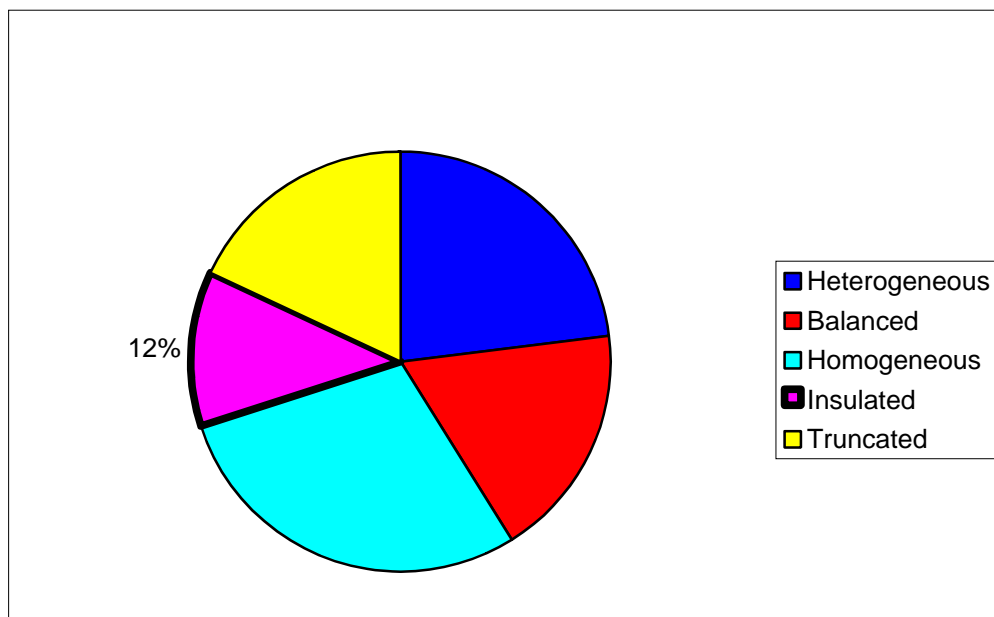
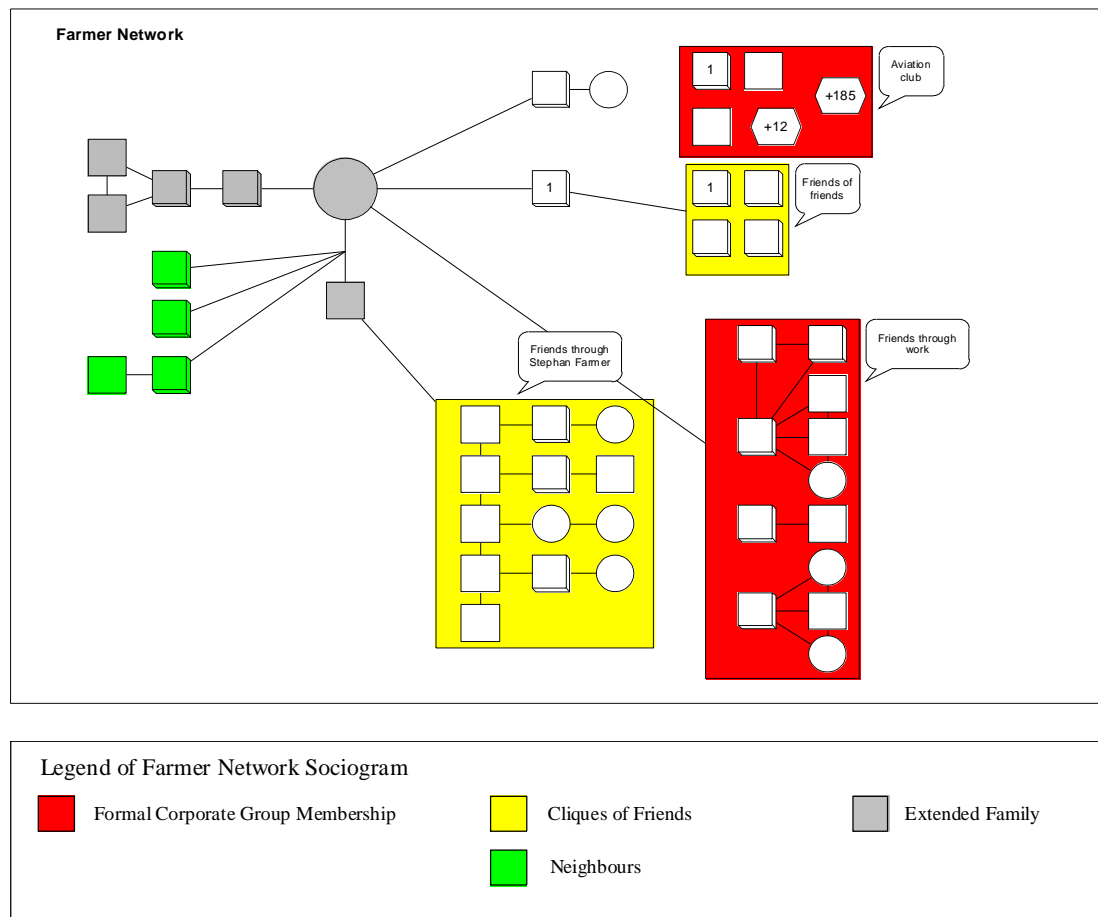


Figure 7.10 reveals the insular typology as the smallest in the study (12 percent), represented by just two families, the Eriksons and Farmers. These were medium to small networks each with connections to only two formal groups. These groups brought

them into contact with dissimilar individuals, but it was to a much lower extent than in the other typologies. There were also few close associations. Zoë Farmer reported only ten ties were close (four percent of her network), while Louise and Mathew Erikson claimed 19 were close (26 percent of their network). These should connect them to similar individuals where resources are more accessible, but the total level of resources would still be diminished due to the small number of connections. The analysis in the next chapter will investigate this claim.

The insular typology is typified by the Farmer network because it had formal connections which were active. The only formal connections in the Erikson network were two soccer groups and they were yet to start practices. Zoë Farmer was a single parent in her early 40s and her network consisted of 256 individuals. The sociogram in Figure 7.11 displays her network.

Figure 7.11 Sociogram of the Insular Farmer Network Showing Formal and Informal Groupings



Zoë Farmer belonged to two formal groups (red). One was an aviation club with members flying into Sydney from all over the country. The other revolved around her work. She was employed by Italian accountants. These weak associations accounted for the majority of her network ties (218 of 256 ties). She had two informal groups of friends (yellow). One included friends of her best friend's husband, while the other included parents and families of her son's friends (Stephan). Both contained individuals who were similar to Zoë Farmer.

Table 7.6 Comparison of Diversity in the Insular Typology

Networks	Ethnicity (Dissimilar) Percentage of known network	Ages Categories: 6	Socio-economic Status Categories: 5	Occupational Access Categories: 9	Connections to Institutions Categories: 9
Erikson	19	6	4	4	6
Farmer	41	5	NA	6	3

Table 7.6 displays the heterogeneity of the insular networks. It was higher than in the homogeneous and balanced typologies. This was undoubtedly due to the dominance of weak ties. Besides seventeen Italian network members, Zoë Farmer knew three Americans, one English couple and one Chinese person. Fifty nine percent of her network was Australian. Ages covered five of the six age categories, with 46 percent in her age range (30-50 years). Socio-economic status could not be ascertained as Zoë claimed this was not applicable in Australia. She claimed, ‘We do not have a class system in Australia’. Network occupations covered six of the nine occupational groupings. Although weak ties accounted for the majority of links, the heterogeneity was lower than in the heterogeneous networks. Linking ties were also lower, with Zoë connected to only three institutions (a total of five ties), whereas all the heterogeneous networks were connected to nine. This lower level of diversity was mainly due to the lower level of formal group memberships. In heterogeneous networks, participants belonged to an average of four or five groups, while Zoë belonged to only two. As well as the lower heterogeneity, she had a small core of close or intimate relationships. Of the ten individuals identified as being close, six were extended family members.

These ties still provided advantage. Zoë confirmed members of her network both expanded her life and helped in day-to-day living. When asked who expanded her life, she replied:

Everybody you meet, you get something out of. That's why I like talking to people...If you never take things in then you'll never learn anything. They do change you, you get new ideas...or people just inspire you to do things...I get that out of people, like everyone.

In terms of day-to-day living she turned to her family: 'The immediate family always helps in day-to-day'.

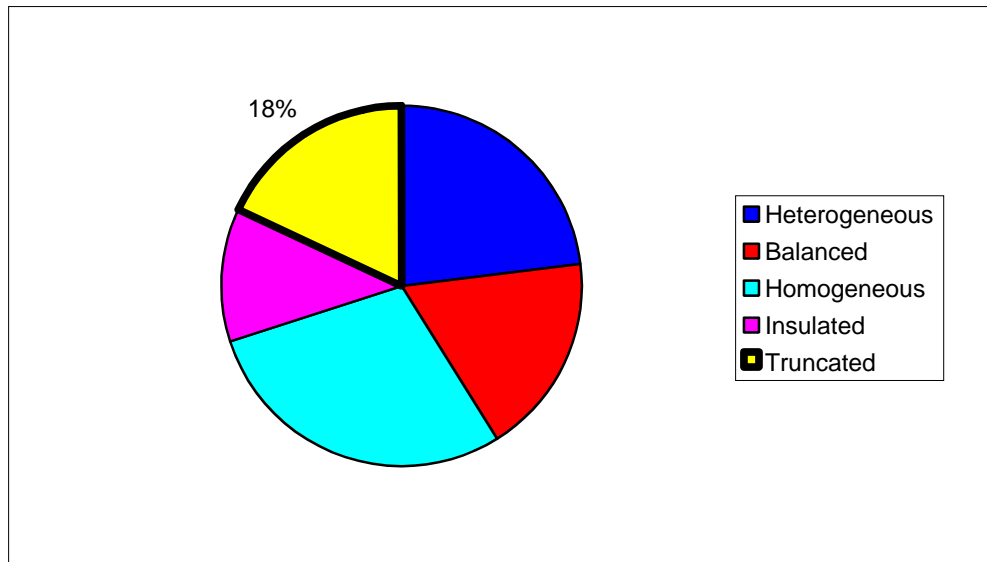
The networks in this typology had low levels of weak *and* close ties. Lower levels of heterogeneity were likely to result in a lower range of resources. The lack of close ties might affect their availability. Both of these could be constraints on social capital and are investigated in the next chapter.

The Truncated Typology - A Fractured Affair

All of the typologies examined so far were based on configurations of bonding, bridging and linking ties. The truncated typology contained networks where an obvious restriction was evident. These restrictions affected network participation to such an

extent they could not be classified with the others. This restricted participation could be expected to affect levels of social capital in these networks.⁶⁵

Figure 7.12 The Truncated Typology in this Study



Truncated networks accounted for 18 percent of the study. The Irelands, the Marshalls and the Player family had truncated networks. These varied from large to small, and the configurations of ties were mixed. Each was different and no network could represent the typology, as particular circumstances restricted participation. Mr. Ireland was unemployed and stayed at home to take care of four of his seven children. Instead of employment, he did voluntary work with the fire brigade. Due to lack of money and severe time restrictions, he almost never socialized. His ties through the brigade were so weak that little social capital could be expected. Susan Marshall was also unemployed, but she had no need to be employed. Her network was well established and she seemed to have no recent contacts. She had almost no bridging or linking ties

⁶⁵ Participation is discussed in Chapter Nine and social capital in Chapter Eight.

and few close ties. Outside of her few intimate friends, her only regular activity was a choir. Yet she was adamant she did not socialize through this, claiming she hardly even talked to the other choir members other than the friend she went with. She stated, ‘I only go to sing’. Participation was so low in this network that levels of social capital could be expected to be restricted.

Sarah Player’s situation was very different. Her network had recently undergone severe changes, leaving her with fragments of her former network. Her father had recently passed away. Her eldest son was newly married and had left home while her youngest son had finished high school, obtained a full-time job and formed a relationship. These limited her role as a mother. Her husband had started working in New Zealand and was only home every other weekend, so her social relationship with him was also limited. Besides these, she had discovered that her best friend was having a very explicit affair over the Internet, unbeknown to her friend’s husband. Sarah’s husband, Paul, was quite upset by this situation and did not want Sarah to associate with her friend. Thus, her duties as a daughter, a mother, wife and best friend had all recently changed, fracturing her network. Sarah was consciously trying to remedy this, but at the time of the interview her network remained restricted. Once again, her social capital could be expected to suffer due to these drastic changes. These three networks were placed into a separate typology due to their restricted connections.

7.3 Summary of Typologies in this Study

The *heterogeneous* typology contained networks that were open and included a variety of people in terms of ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and occupations. Although

these networks contained a close-knit group of friends and relatives, they were dominated by weak ties which resulted primarily from formal group memberships. Low bonding ties, very high bridging and high linking ties characterized these networks. As a result of high levels of association with a variety of dissimilar people, the benefits that were available through the networks, the social capital, are expected to be the highest in the study.

The networks in the *homogeneous* typology were more closed and included ties to predominately similar people. High bonding ties, low bridging and medium linking ties characterized these networks. Clustering was based on personal closeness and common identification and less on involvement in formal groups. Informal groups of friends and kinship should provide the major advantages within these networks.

Networks in the *balanced* typology contained a more even number of bonding and bridging ties. More even levels of similarity and dissimilarity characterized them. The advantages of these network should relate to this more even spread of ties. A diversity of resources is expected due to weak ties and easier accessibility is predicted due to close ties.

The *insular* typology also contained networks that were dominated by weak ties but these were fewer than in the heterogeneous networks. This typology should have advantages from these weak ties, yet their lower overall number of ties may limit their social capital.

The *truncated* typology contained networks with severe restrictions on participation. Although their configurations of ties were similar to those in other typologies, the restrictions could be a unique, major detriment to social capital. They were gathered together into a specific typology to investigate if such obvious restrictions on a network, do in fact constrain social capital.

Placing similar networks into typologies enables the orderly investigate of social capital in relation to contemporary families. It also allows the exploration of the question of whether some network types might be more advantageous than others: that some network types may contain more social capital. The next chapter examines the typologies that have been constructed here, and explores the resources that flow through the networks. As has been suggested at various points, it can be expected that different levels of social capital can be tied to each typology, suggesting that some network types will be more advantageous than others.

Chapter 8

Levels of Social Capital

This chapter explores the levels of social capital within each typology in this study to ascertain the benefits families received from different types of social networks. Each group of similar networks is investigated in terms of mobilized and accessible resources, determining overall levels of social capital. Mobilized resources are those *used* by the anchoring family, while accessible resources are those that remain in the network to be used in the future (Lin 2005: 3). These accessible resources (those that are yet unused) can be measured in two separate ways. The first measures the expectations of networks: resources that are *expected* from the network. The second considers the position of individuals within networks. These network positions determine what is at the end of a link, the resources available (Flap 2002: 35). The aim is to achieve indications of the *levels* of resources. It is not possible to make a precise measure of social capital, yet counting social capital is intrinsic to a model based on assessing perceived value.

8.1 Social Capital in this Study

Mobilized Social Capital

According to Lin, mobilized resources are the first part of a complete measure of social capital. Mobilized resources are the social capital that has been activated within networks; the resources already ‘used’. In this study, six types of mobilized resources were identified: 1) companionship; 2) practical support; 3) emotional support; 4) encouragement; 5) inspiration; and 6) financial. These six categories were used in the interviews as a starting point of discussion to draw out the most complete picture of network resources possible. For example, participants were asked who in a network gave them emotional support. Participants were encouraged to speak of other network benefits but in the final analysis these categories covered all the resources identified.

Participants identified *companionship* as a generalized type of support. This was derived through dinners, visiting and chats, through having coffees and drinks, lunches, picnics and barbeques. Companionship was also received through playing social sports together and through telephone conversations. For example, Mathew Erikson, whose network was typed as insular, identified companionship coming from his main clique of friends:

For me it's strictly social. Our social things are built around the kids and the family and they [this group of friends] are in similar circumstances so I want to talk to someone at a level without them being kid related or family related.

Practical support related to specific instances of support (other than financial support), generally associated with an action. Participants identified this first as support received in a major crisis, such as the death of a family member. For example, Sally Carter identified practical support when people brought meals during her mother's illness. Samantha Knight spoke of friends babysitting her children so she could attend a funeral. Practical help was also identified in everyday activities. Participants spoke of borrowing small items, doing chores such as shopping, washing and ironing, providing short-term accommodation and giving advice. Providing professional services and receiving help when moving house were other examples. Receiving information was also considered practical support. Participants identified receiving information pertaining to jobs, personal information and education. Tony Archer, with a heterogeneous network, identified practical support as something as simple as this, coming from his best friend:

He gave me a lift home from the pub last night because I wasn't able to drive. He has let me stay on his couch on numerous occasions. He looks after the house when we [Tony and Alise] go away.

Martin Ireland claimed practical support came from his friend Tara:

Tara looked after my children for the first three months after my separation.

Participants seemed to differentiate *emotional* support from companionship based on its more specific nature. Participants identified emotional support as affecting their well-

being. They claimed to receive emotional support when comfort was given in a crisis and when they confided in a network member. This involved talking, listening and sharing advice. Samantha Knight, with a heterogeneous network, claimed she received emotional support in this sense:

At some stage, this group [her clinic group], the women were my best friends and they were lifesavers. We all had our first children together so we shared all the experiences of first children. When do they walk? Is this wart bad? Why doesn't she move? We talked about our relationships, how we felt about staying at home, virtually everything.

Nicole Baker, with a homogeneous network, explained how important this type of support was to her:

Gladys, I met her through work, a very good friend to me when I was sick and a friend to John (her son). She is very important to me in that I wouldn't have survived without her.

Participants also made a distinction with regards to *encouragement*. This was identified as occasions when network members actively urged or promoted them in some manner. Samantha Knight, with a heterogeneous network, spoke of receiving encouragement from her mother:

Definitely from my mother. She is my biggest fan. She would be as supportive as she could be.

Inspiration was also distinctive. Several participants said they were inspired when network members instilled thought or feeling or motivated them. Nicole Baker explained about specific network members:

You come away and just feel that your brain has been expanded a long way. They're the kinds of people I can spend hours having a really stimulating conversation with.

Often these people were identified as role models or those that overcame difficulties.

These two friends are role models. They are strong independent women and I find that an inspiration to me (Samantha Knight).

My parents are actually building this bed and breakfast. It is going to be their home and their retirement and they are doing it themselves so that is pretty amazing stuff, so I would say that is pretty inspirational. They inspire me (Pamela Queen, with a homogeneous network).

Where participants were asked specifically who in their network inspired them, several claimed that no one did. Caroline Oates replied: 'I don't think anyone does'. Susan Marshall said:

Inspiration, well I would think it was the other way around. I think the inspiration I have to give to myself.

Financial support was economically based. Instances found in the study included a house given as a graduation present, help in obtaining a job, providing professional advantages such as advice or tickets to events, and the provision of long-term accommodation. Financial support also included network members acting as referees, loaning both small and large sums of money and giving items of household furniture. One example from the study is from the interview of Zoë Farmer. Her mother and father help her financially: 'like when I'm running short'.

Table 8.1 presents a summary of the mobilized support participants claimed to receive in this study. As it is based on the number of ties in each network that provided each type of support, the total number of instances of support received may be greater than the number of ties in a network. Theoretically, it is possible to have each tie providing all six types of support. Although there were no networks where *all* ties did so, there was evidence that some ties provided each of the six types.

Table 8.1 Mobilized Resources Based on Claims by Participants of Ties through which Support was Received

Types of Resources	Companionship	Practical	Emotional	Encouragement	Inspiration	Financial	Total
Heterogeneous Networks							
Archer	75	46	51	33	10	41	256
Duncan	*507	58	10	2	7	45	629
Grace	61	36	32	29	39	32	229
Knight	*3,325	34	24	10	9	7	3,409
Total in the Heterogeneous Typology	3,968	174	117	74	65	125	4,523
Balanced Networks							
Hunter	57	26	36	8	0	0	127
Logan	47	*623	22	34	8	10	744
Norris	43	20	15	3	2	6	89
Total in the Balanced Typology	147	669	73	45	10	16	960
Homogeneous Networks							
Baker	63	10	48	38	34	0	193
Carter	30	22	32	16	20	3	123
Jones	62	29	17	19	19	1	147
Oates	69	28	4	2	4	2	109
Queen	48	24	27	12	12	9	132
Total in the Homogeneous Typology	272	113	128	87	89	15	704
Insular Networks							
Erikson	43	19	9	8	6	1	86
Farmer	*223	4	4	4	*248	5	488
Total in the Insular Typology	266	23	13	12	254	6	574
Truncated Networks							
Ireland	0	12	12	12	0	0	36
Marshall	53	9	18	9	2	9	100
Player	14	6	3	0	1	1	25
Total in the Truncated Typology	67	27	33	21	3	10	161
* see discussion							

Table 8.1 is meant to give an *indication* of the participants' claims of the support they received through their networks; the mobilized social capital gained from others. Yet several specific instances need elaboration to establish credibility (those marked * in the table). The starred figures always represented a large group where each participant felt some type of support was received from belonging to the group, as opposed to individual ties from which support was gained. Support was seen as coming from all of the members of the group, rather than individuals in the group, whose names were often not know. For example, Samantha Knight said:

There are about 3,174 people in our chapter of which about 200 I know well but I think I get companionship from all of them. We talk together online, there's always a discussion going on and we come together at conferences and I find this very supportive.

Dennis Logan felt he received practical support from all 600 members of his church. Zoë Farmer said she received companionship from all members of an aviation club (201) and that she received inspiration from *everyone* she met:

Everyone you meet you get something out of. You get new ideas and take new things in or people just inspire you to do things. I get that out of people, like everyone.

While it is important to acknowledge this larger body of support, it could be considered to be of a much more general nature than the support received through a specific tie, for example receiving money from a sister. When considering the total

mobilized social capital of the typologies, these larger bodies of more generalized support must be considered as they reflect the perceived value of the networks. However, classifying types of support was only designed to draw out the nature of each type.

Accessible Social Capital

As well as mobilized resources, Lin suggests social capital should be viewed as resources still embedded within the network, yet to be utilized. These are viewed as *accessible* social capital. There are two dimensions of accessible social capital: the expectations of resources from network members and a positional measure (Lin 2005: 3). Expectations in this study were measured similarly to mobilized resources. Participants were asked what they expected from each network member in terms of each type of support. There was also a general discussion of network expectations. These were then categorised into a final set recounted in Table 8.2.

When using Lin's theory of social capital, a measure of accessible resources based on network positions also needs to be included. The notion of occupational access attempts to capture the occupations of network members, providing an indication of the associated level of accessible resources. This attempts to access 'who' participants know. Table 8.3 displays the occupational access of each network. Four individual measures were combined to give an indication of the total occupational access. The first represents the highest prestige level of occupational grouping within each network, using the ANU3_2 scale (McMillan & Jones 2000). This measure was based on Granovetter's (1973: 1369-1373) 'reaching up principle' where the highest

occupation accessible should have a better view of the resources within a network and thus have better access to them (see Chapter Two). The second was the range of occupations within each network. A wider range of occupations should be advantageous as it increases the range of accessibility (for example knowing both a labourer and a CEO of a multinational company would give one a wide range).⁶⁶ The third measure was the total number of occupational groups within a network. This was meant to measure the diversity of network occupations. While occupational range is important, knowing individuals in many occupations would also increase the range of accessible resources. The fourth measure was total accessible prestige rating of a network. This measure would account for circumstances where participants knew many people within occupations, so if one was not able to supply what was needed, another may be able to do so. By combining the results of these measures into a total occupational access rating, an indication of the levels of resources still within the networks based on network position was possible.

These two sets of measures give an *indication* of the level of accessible resources, those that are still within the networks yet to be utilized. Expectations measure what the participants feel they should be able to gain in the future. Once again several participants thought in terms of a very generalized type of support which they could expect from large groups (indicated with a * on Table 8.2). Occupational access indicates the value of varying positions within networks which may influence resource accessibility.

⁶⁶ Occupations were classified using the *ASCO Australian Standard Classification of Occupations* (ABS 1997). Appendix 10 summarizes the network occupations and prestige rating for this study.

Table 8.2 Number of Ties from which Support was Expected by Participants

Types of Resources	Companion-ship	Practical	Emotional	Encouragement	Inspiration	Financial	Total
Heterogeneous Networks							
Archer	73	69	32	32	13	18	237
Duncan	16	478	14	2	7	0	517
Grace	61	32	0	0	0	0	93
Knight	*3,227	21	22	*3,193	0	1	6,464
Total in the Heterogeneous Typology	3,377	600	68	3,227	20	19	7,311
Balanced Networks							
Hunter	57	14	42	8	0	0	121
Logan	47	*629	22	34	8	0	740
Norris	43	30	15	3	2	6	99
Total in the Balanced Typology	147	673	79	45	10	6	960
Homogeneous Networks							
Baker	63	27	2	2	0	2	96
Carter	20	18	18	16	15	3	90
Jones	62	24	30	17	19	0	152
Oates	69	23	4	2	4	0	102
Queen	48	24	27	12	0	9	120
Total in the Homogeneous Typology	262	116	81	49	38	14	560
Insular Networks							
Erikson	43	21	9	11	6	6	96
Farmer	*207	8	4	4	0	2	225
Total in the Insular Typology	250	29	13	15	6	8	321
Truncated Networks							
Ireland	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
Marshall	53	9	18	9	0	9	98
Player	14	2	3	0	0	0	19
Total in the Truncated Typology	67	12	22	9	0	10	120
* indicates group rather than individual support (see discussion)							

Table 8.3 Occupational Access in this Study

Occupational Measures	1) Highest Accessed Prestige Level	2) Range of Accessible Occupations	3) Total Number of Occupational Groups	4) Total Accessible Prestige	5) Total Occupational Access (Sum 1-4)
Heterogeneous Networks					
Archer	65.7	58.2	16	2,507.8	2,647.7
Duncan	68.1	55.6	10	3,780.6	3,914.3
Grace	68.1	53.5	12	1,187.7	1,321.3
Knight	68.1	64.4	20	3,394.1	3,546.6
Total in the Heterogeneous Typology	270	231.7	58	10,870.2	11,429.9
Balanced Networks					
Hunter	65.7	42.3	12	889.0	1,009.0
Logan	68.1	37.4	8	1,004.0	1,117.5
Norris	68.1	43.7	11	1,064.0	1,186.8
Total in the Balanced Typology	201.9	123.4	31	2,957.0	3,313.3
Homogeneous Networks					
Baker	65.5	43.6	7	1,521.1	1,637.2
Carter	68.1	43.7	8	736.6	856.4
Jones	65.7	12	4	1,883.0	1,964.7
Oates	65.7	62.0	15	966.7	1,109.4
Queen	62.2	47.6	12	800.6	922.4
Total in the Homogeneous Typology	327.2	208.9	46	5,908.0	6,490.1
Insular Networks					
Erikson	65.7	41.3	9	769.3	885.3
Farmer	65.5	45.3	11	833.2	955.0
Total in the Insular Typology	131.2	86.6	20	1,602.5	1,840.3
Truncated Networks					
Ireland	68.1	31.5	5	294.5	399.1
Marshall	65.5	25.8	4	316.0	411.3
Player	65.5	58.0	14	773.7	911.2
Total in the Truncated Typology	199.1	115.3	23	1,384.2	1,721.6

8.2 Levels of Social Capital in the Typologies

A comparison between each typology's associated level of social capital is a mathematical process. This process is made possible by obtaining an average of resources for each typology, allowing a comparison between averages. Yet this study was relatively small and averages in some cases, for example in the insular typology, only related to two networks. Due to the qualitative and complex nature of network social capital, to achieve the necessary statistical power a much larger and more time consuming study would be necessary. The purpose of this part of the chapter is to only ascertain *levels* of social capital, with higher levels indicating more advantage for a network. This average becomes an indicator of the level of social capital, which allows further qualitative analysis.

By analysing the sociograms of the heterogeneous Duncan network in terms of mobilized resources (those already activated), the process of obtaining levels of social capital is elaborated. This network is chosen because it is easy to observe the distribution of social capital. The transparencies in Figure 8.1 display the ties that Sharon and Fred Duncan identified as providing mobilized resources. Each transparency demonstrates a different type of resource coming from each tie. For example, Figure 8.1a displays all the ties from which Sharon and Fred Duncan reported they had received financial support, while the transparency in Figure 8.1b demonstrates from whom they gained inspiration. In these sociograms, the yellow ties of Figure 8.1a demonstrate financial support, the aqua ties of Figure 8.1b, inspiration, pink represents encouragement (Figure 8.1c), green, emotional support (8.1d), red, practical support (8.1e) and blue shows the companionship received (8.1f). From

these sociograms it is possible to see which ties provided which type of support.

When these ties are added together for each type of resource, it demonstrates a level of activated or mobilized social capital for this network. These are summed together for each network in a typology and divided by the number of networks to obtain averages.

Table 8.4 summarizes the total *mobilized* social capital for the Duncan network.

Figure 8.1a **Financial Support from the Duncan Network**

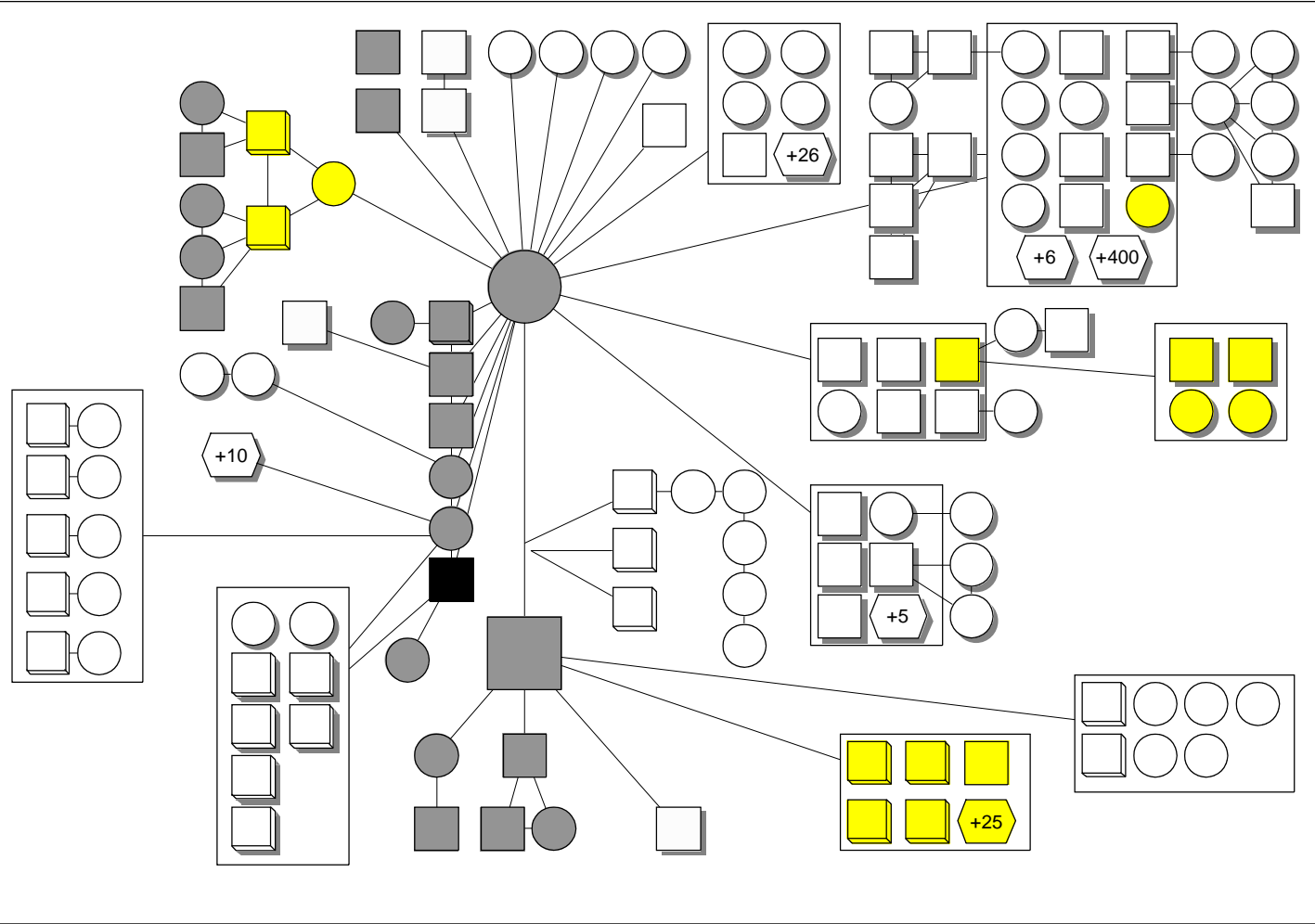


Figure 8.1b **Inspiration from the Duncan Network**

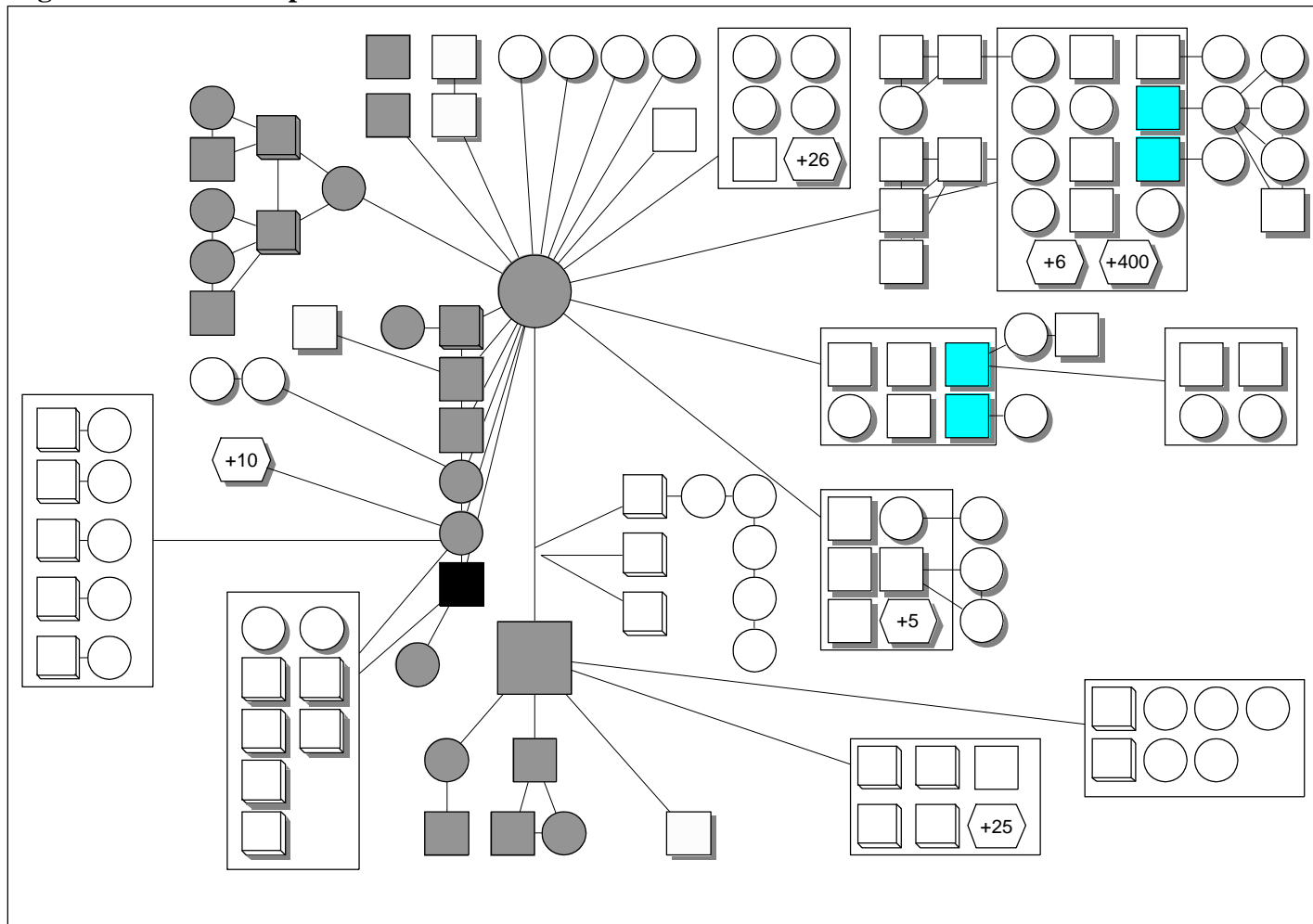


Figure 8.1c **Encouragement from the Duncan Network**

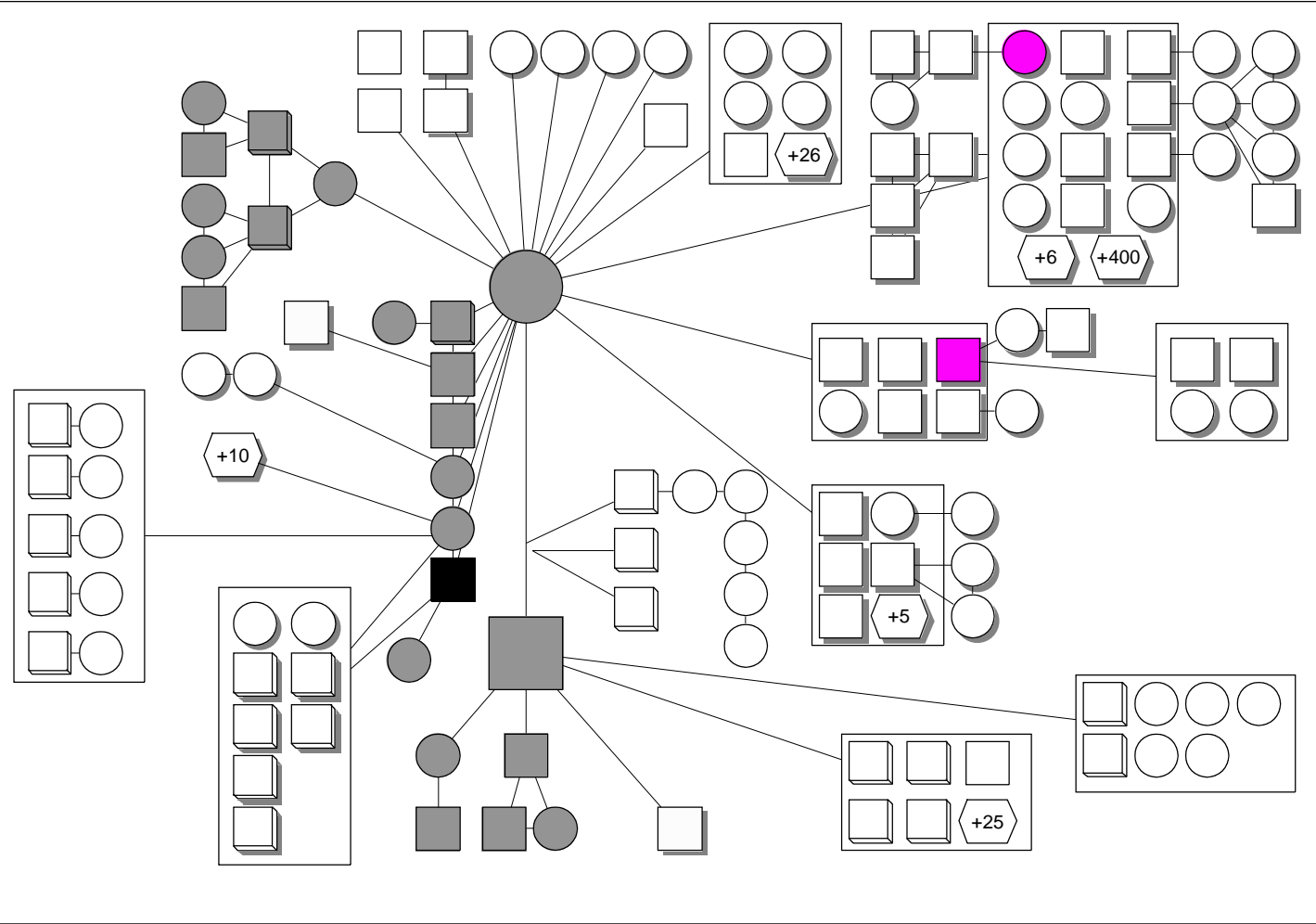


Figure 8.1d **Emotional Support from the Duncan Network**

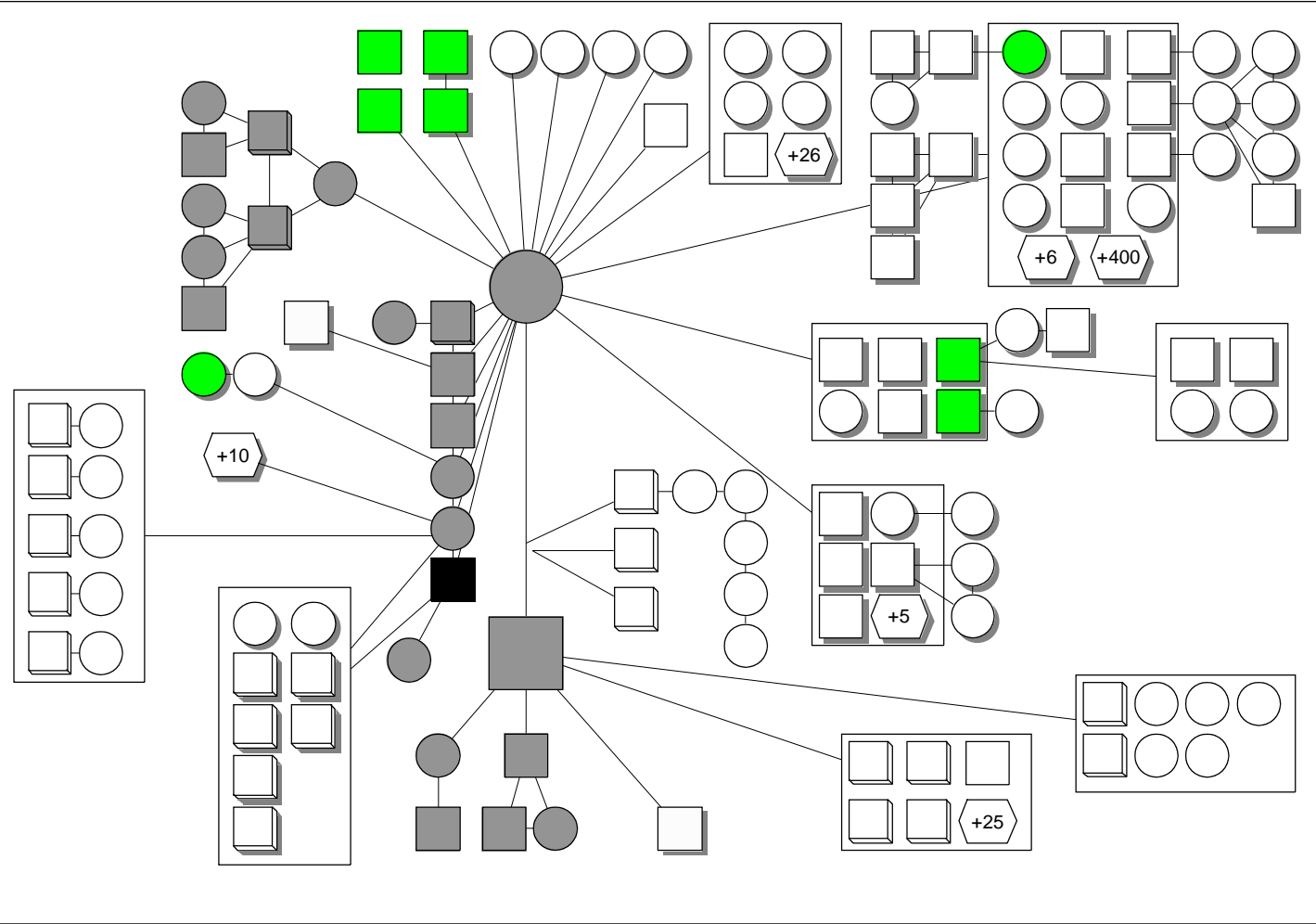


Figure 8.1e **Practical Support from the Duncan Network**

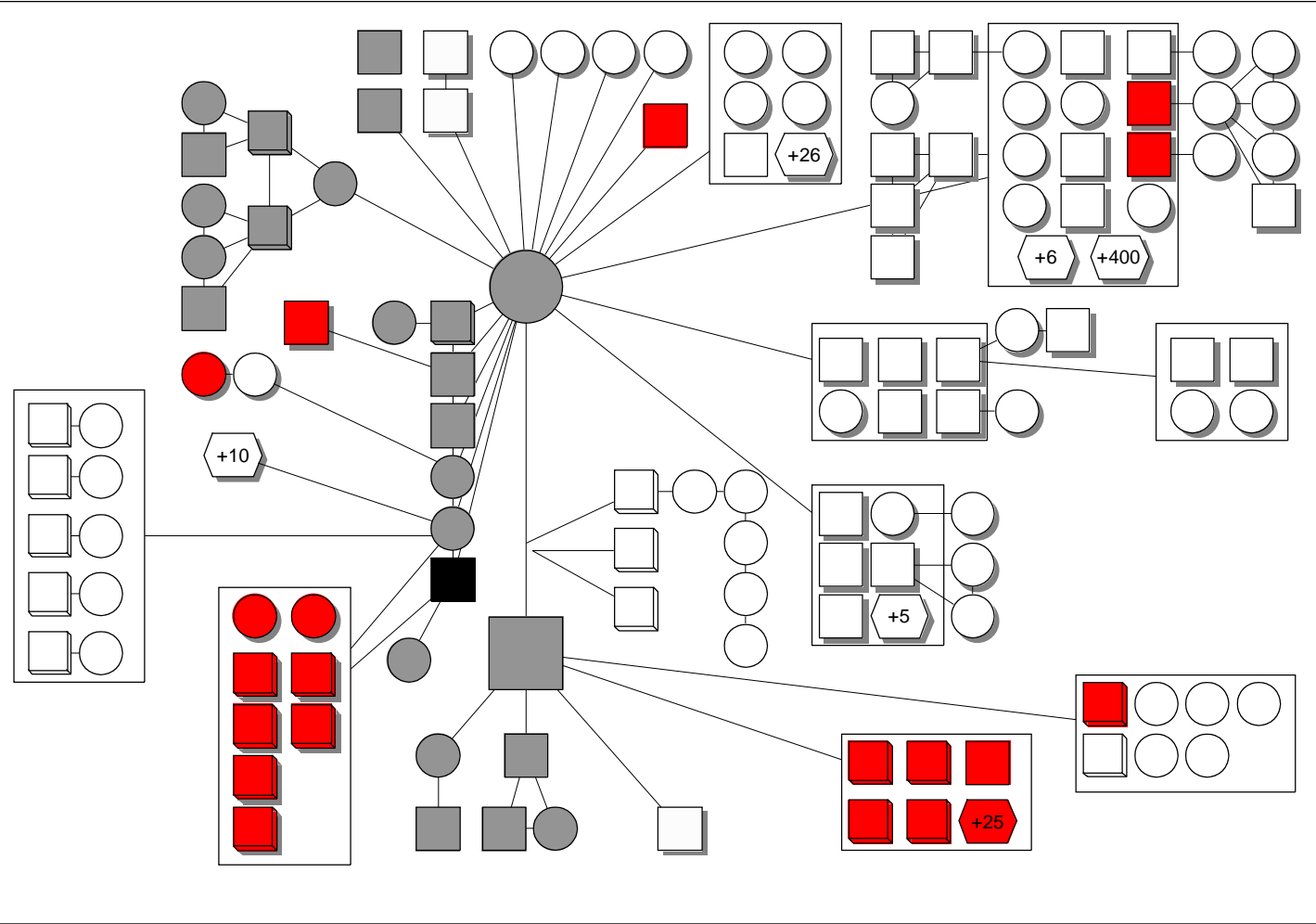


Figure 8.1f **Companionship from the Duncan Network**

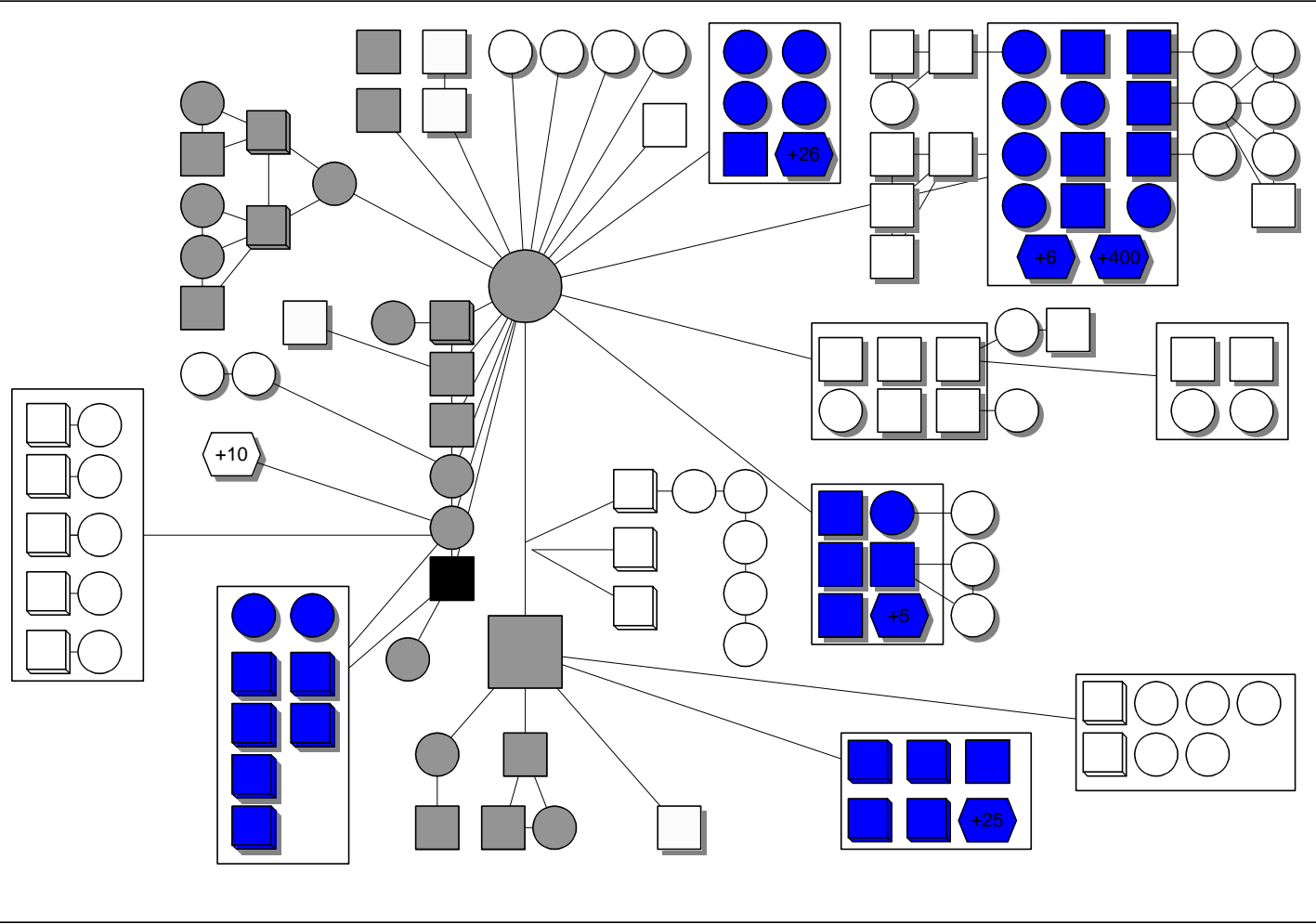


Table 8.4 Total Mobilized Social Capital in the Duncan Network

Financial Support (yellow)	Inspiration (aqua)	Encouragement (pink)	Emotional Support (green)	Practical Support (red)	Companion-ship (blue)	Total Mobilized Social Capital
45	7	2	10	58	507	629

To elaborate this discussion, an example will be provided. The largest group of people in the Duncan network is a formal corporate group, a university honour society. The Duncans knew 418 in this organization (they knew 12 well, 6 fairly well and 400 were ‘acquaintances’). They associated with an additional 14 family members of these people. Sharon Duncan claimed that she had received companionship from all of these members, but she received emotional support and encouragement from only one of these, practical support and inspiration from two members, as well as financial support from one of these two. That meant from this group, Sharon felt she gained 425 instances of support.⁶⁷ This type of analysis was done for every tie in the network and was added together to get a sum of the Duncans’ mobilized resources.

Similar sociograms could display the same for expectations and occupational access (measures of accessible social capital), but a summary presents a better picture of the *overall* social capital level of the Duncan network. Table 8.5 presents this summary. This analysis gives an indication of the total social capital for this network.

⁶⁷ In this study, an instance refers to one type of support coming from one network member. The Duncans had received from this group 418 instances of social support, 2 of practical, one of emotional, one of encouragement, two of financial and two instances of inspirational support.

Table 8.5 Total Social Capital in the Duncan Network (from Tables 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3)

	Mobilized Resources	Expectations	Occupational Access	
Companionship	507	16	Highest Occupation Accessed	68.1
Practical	58	478	Range of Accessible Occupations	55.6 (68.1 less 3.7)
Emotional	10	14	Total Number of Occupational Groups	10
Encouragement	2	2	Total Accessible Prestige	3,780.6
Inspiration	7	7		
Financial	45	0		
Total	629	517		3,914.3

After the resources for each network were determined, they were combined with those for each network within a typology (Table 8.1). A brief discussion of one type of social capital, companionship, demonstrates the difference between the heterogeneous typology and others. Participants in this typology talked of gaining companionship from 3,968 of their 4,695 network members (85 percent). The next closest typology to this was the homogeneous networks that gained companionship from only 272 of their 1,459 network members (19 percent), while the insular networks gained companionship from 266 of their 329 network members (81 percent). The balanced typology received companionship from 147 of their 869 network members (17 percent), while the truncated typology received it from 67 individuals (four percent of their 1,659 network members). Each of these typologies had different numbers of networks within them, so

averaging the levels within a typology allowed these figures to be compared. On average, expectations of companionship were more than seven times higher in the heterogeneous typology than the next closest typology (companionship being received from an average of 992 network members in the heterogeneous typology compared to 133 in the insular typology). These averages also revealed the levels of companionship in the heterogeneous typology were even greater when compared with the other typologies. The average for the homogeneous typology was 54 network members supplying companionship, 49 for the balanced typology and 22 for the insular typology.⁶⁸ Adding together the average for each type of support, Table 8.6 displays the average social capital of each typology.

Table 8.6 Average Social Capital in each Typology

Type of Social Capital	Average Mobilized Social Capital per Network	Average Expectations per Network	Average Occupational Access per Network	Total Average Social Capital
Typologies				
Heterogeneous	1,130	1,828	2,857	3,245
Balanced	320	320	1,103	1,743
Homogeneous	141	112	1,298	1,551
Insular	244	160	920	1,324
Truncated	54	40	574	678

⁶⁸ All support indicated by the participants was included in this analysis (including that from large groups) as this reflected the perceived value of the networks.

It is important here to reiterate that the measures are meant to reflect the resources *perceived* by the participants. Differences in perceptions undoubtedly occur yet, as Spellerberg (2001: 17) observed, perceptions reflect people's views of their worlds (see Chapter 5). For example, Samantha Knight belonged to a very large formal organization. She did not know the names of most of the members yet she said she received companionship from all the members (3,170 of them). For her, companionship referred to the support that came from belonging to the group and she equated this with each member of that group. On the other hand, Martin Ireland also belonged to a large formal organization of 1,409 members. He said he received companionship from nine of these. His perception of companionship was of a more personal nature. Perceptions of what they gained through their networks for the same type of support were quite different for these respondents. As the purpose was to ascertain value as reflected by perceived resources, the analysis demonstrates that Samantha Knight *felt* she received more companionship than Martin Ireland: she perceived her network as more valuable in terms of companionship from this large group.

The *heterogeneous* typology had the most reported social capital per network by far. The four networks in this typology, with their wide assortment of diverse ties, had the highest levels in this study, rating higher in mobilized resources, expectations and occupational access on average. Their perceptions of resources gained through their social networks were 35 times higher than the average of the next closest typology (the balanced typology). Their expectations were 57 times higher. Overall occupational access was also the highest by far in this typology. The range of occupations was the highest (57.9), but as they generally had the largest networks, their total accessible prestige ratings were also the highest. It is through this variety of resources and the

types of social capital (mobilized, expectations and occupational access) that advantage can be seen to occur. Numerous resources were reported to flow through these networks and provide benefits, with high expectations that these should continue in the future (see Chapter Ten). Due to high levels of occupational access, the interview data indicates there should be resources in the network to fulfil these expectations, suggesting that this typology had the highest level of benefits in this study.

The *homogeneous* and *balanced* typologies rated lower than the heterogeneous typology on all measures. Yet both had levels of resources above the other two typologies. The homogeneous networks, with dense and close ties, were third highest in terms of average mobilized resources (Table 8.6). Much like the heterogeneous typology, companionship was the most frequent type of resource received (Table 8.1). These families reported that they gained companionship from 272 of their 559 network members. Expectations varied greatly, especially in regards to companionship and financial expectations. Expectations of companionship ranged from 69 instances in the Queen network to 20 in the Carters' (see Table 8.2). This appeared to reflect their circumstances, with the slightly younger Queens being a childless couple who liked to socialize, while the Carters had very young children, which could have acted as a restriction. Harry Carter also travelled often due to work commitments, and this could have restricted socializing for the couple. The Jones and the Oates families reported no expectations of financial support, whereas the Queens spoke of nine people from whom they expected this (see Table 8.2). Again, this seemed to reflect the circumstances of the families. The Jones's and the Oates's were older and well established in their lives, while the Queens, with the highest expectations, were the youngest couple in the

typology. They had just started building a life together so there was a possibility that they had a greater need for financial support and thus more expectations than the others.

Occupational access varied as well. The *highest occupation accessed*, the first of the four measures of occupational access, varied from the positions of science, building and engineering professional in the Baker network (a prestige rating of 68.1) to the position of health professionals in the Queen network (62.2 – see Table 8.3). The Queens' rating was the lowest rating in the study for this measure. Interview subjects in every other network reported that they could access a network member with a higher occupational prestige rating. The *range of occupations able to be accessed*, the second measure, also varied considerably. The Jones's had the most condensed range in the study going from a specialist manager (a prestige rating of 65.7) to a social, art and music professional (56.1) (a range of 9.6). This highly condensed network contrasted to that of the Oates's, who could access occupations between a specialist manager and a cleaner (prestige rating of 3.7) (a range of 62.0). This combination of levels suggested homogeneous networks had received many resources even if they were at lower levels than the heterogeneous typology. They should also have many resources in the future, due not only to their expectations but also their occupational access.

The *balanced* typology had the second highest level of resources. Mobilized resources were slightly higher than the homogeneous typology, with practical support being the most widely received resource (623 ties or from 58 percent of their network members – Table 8.1). This typology had the greatest variation in expectations, the first measure of accessible social capital (Table 8.2). This was due to the Logans having the highest level of expectations of practical support in the study. Dennis Logan expected practical

support from *all* of his church members (600 members) even though they had little contact. He explained that this was very much what the church tried to do not only for members, but for others as well. He stated:

Church is very much into trying to help through not only sponsoring children, but trying to help people in other countries. They set up groups that try to reach people who need help.

As he felt his fellow church members all subscribed to this doctrine, he expected practical support to come from all of them. However, the total level of occupational access in this typology, the second measure of accessible social capital, was below that of both the heterogeneous and homogeneous networks, Table 8.3.

8.3 Summary of Analysis

This analysis has shown that the heterogeneous typology had the highest level of social capital, with the balanced and homogeneous typologies having much lower but similar levels. These three types of networks met the expectations of the literature. Further analysis identified two additional typologies, insular and truncated. Within these typologies, the total level of social capital per network dropped dramatically (see Tables 8.1, 8.2, 8.3), although the *insular* typology was higher than the truncated typology in each of the three dimensions of social capital. What was noteworthy in the analysis of the insular typology was that the Erikson network was rather small, consisting of only 73 people. It also had high levels of extended family (41 percent of the network) and

high levels of children (50 percent). Almost all of the network's support came from three couples and a handful of extended family, placing the Eriksons in a very vulnerable position in terms of resources. There were so few network members to provide support that it was not unexpected there were fewer resources. The network's levels of expectations reflected a similar position, with lower levels than the first three typologies. Although both families in this typology, the Eriksons and the Farmers, echoed each other in indicating that family was the first point of call if help was needed (family before friends), their overall levels of family support were low. The Eriksons in particular did not appear to have high expectations from their extended family. With a large family base, only companionship was generally expected. On the other hand, Zoë Farmer received most of her overall support from her extended family, and she had more expectations of them. Yet, her extended family represented a very small base, consisting of only four adults and two children. She too seemed to be in a vulnerable position. Although occupational access was the highest of the three measures of social capital within this typology, it was still the fourth lowest in the study. As this reflected access to resources associated with positions, future resources should be forthcoming yet even this future level was likely to be lower than the three typologies discussed so far.

Total social capital was the lowest in the *truncated* networks. In every dimension, the resources per network were lower (see Tables 8.1, 8.2, 8.3). These levels seemed to reflect the circumstances of the families. Due to his heavy family commitments, Martin Ireland claimed to not socialize. Consequently, very few resources flowed through his network. Susan Marshall had a close network of friends whom she had known for over 20 years, yet she reported few resources coming from these connections. The resources

from these had appeared to ‘dry up’ and she had virtually no new connections in her network. Sarah Player had recently had the circumstances of her network completely change. She had lost contact with many of her old acquaintances, with resources being lost as well. Connections and resources were yet to be replaced. Occupational access in the truncated typology was also the lowest with total accessible prestige exemplifying the vulnerable nature of this low rating. Using averages, this rating was 461 compared with the second lowest typology, a rating of 801 (insular networks – see Table 8.3). This is well behind the average of 2,717 in the heterogeneous typology.

8.4 Levels of Social Capital: Findings

The analysis identified particular levels of resources by viewing these as mobilized and accessible resources as per Lin’s resource theory of social capital. It demonstrates that family networks do indeed supply high levels of resources to most families.

Extrapolating from this, family can be seen as engaged and active in contemporary society since engagement and activity are the ways networks are forged, maintained and renewed. The extremely high levels of engagement in the heterogeneous networks bring in valuable resources to their families. Both the homogeneous and balanced networks with still high levels of active engagement, bringing in important resources as well. These accounted for 12 of the 17 families (71% of the study). This suggests that most families are indeed active and engaged, and warrant being viewed as such.

The analysis of different types of networks indicates that social capital varies, with heterogeneous networks providing the most social capital, followed by the balanced networks and then the homogeneous. Further analysis identified that both insular and

truncated typologies had lower levels of social capital. This suggests that some configurations of networks are indeed more beneficial than others. This is an important finding because it identifies configurations that are not only vulnerable but also those that provide the most value.

Part IV

Factors that Constrain or Enhance Access to Social Capital

While the first step in the analysis was to construct typologies based on similar networks and then to identify and associate levels of social capital with these, the final step is to examine the characteristics of networks within the typologies to see *why* social capital levels varied. What affected these levels? Which characteristics helped in the generation of social capital? How did the characteristics act differently in the various typologies? Part IV of this thesis attempts to address these questions. These characteristics were distinguished via the quantitative analysis which indicated their relevance to social capital. Chapter Nine views participation levels in the typologies. Participation can be seen as one way a family might build and maintain its network and resources. Chapter Ten presents the findings on ‘place’ (the embedded locations of networks), stressing the importance of opportunity structures for building local social capital and highlighting the value of ‘interest based’ communities. Chapter Eleven explores the characteristic of independence, its relationship to reciprocity and how conflicts affect how participants view this cultural norm, in turn affecting the accessibility of their social capital. Independence can be seen as a norm which might conflict with the easy use of a family’s resources.

Chapter 9

Participation and Social Capital

The ABS Social Capital Framework suggests that different *types* of participation bring people together in a network and that each type may influence social capital differently. Each type of participation may therefore have a different value in terms of generating social capital. Although the ABS Framework, which was generated to make studies of social capital comparable, refers to social capital in terms of community resources and not personal networks (ABS 2004b: 5), it still poses the question of whether various types of participation in personal networks might also generate different amounts of social capital. As each type of participation can occur within either a formal corporate group or as an informal interaction, several other important questions also seem relevant. Do various kinds of groupings (formal/informal) within differing types of participation generate different levels of social capital: that is, within each type of participation, does belonging to formal organizations, groups of informal friendships or kinship groups, generate different levels of social capital? Do the roles people take within groups and their intensity of involvement influence levels of social capital?

The aims in this chapter are to use the secondary source of the ABS Social Capital Framework to determine the types of participation that bring network members together, to explore the groupings formed within each type, and to uncover the roles and levels of involvement that families take in these groupings. This will assist in

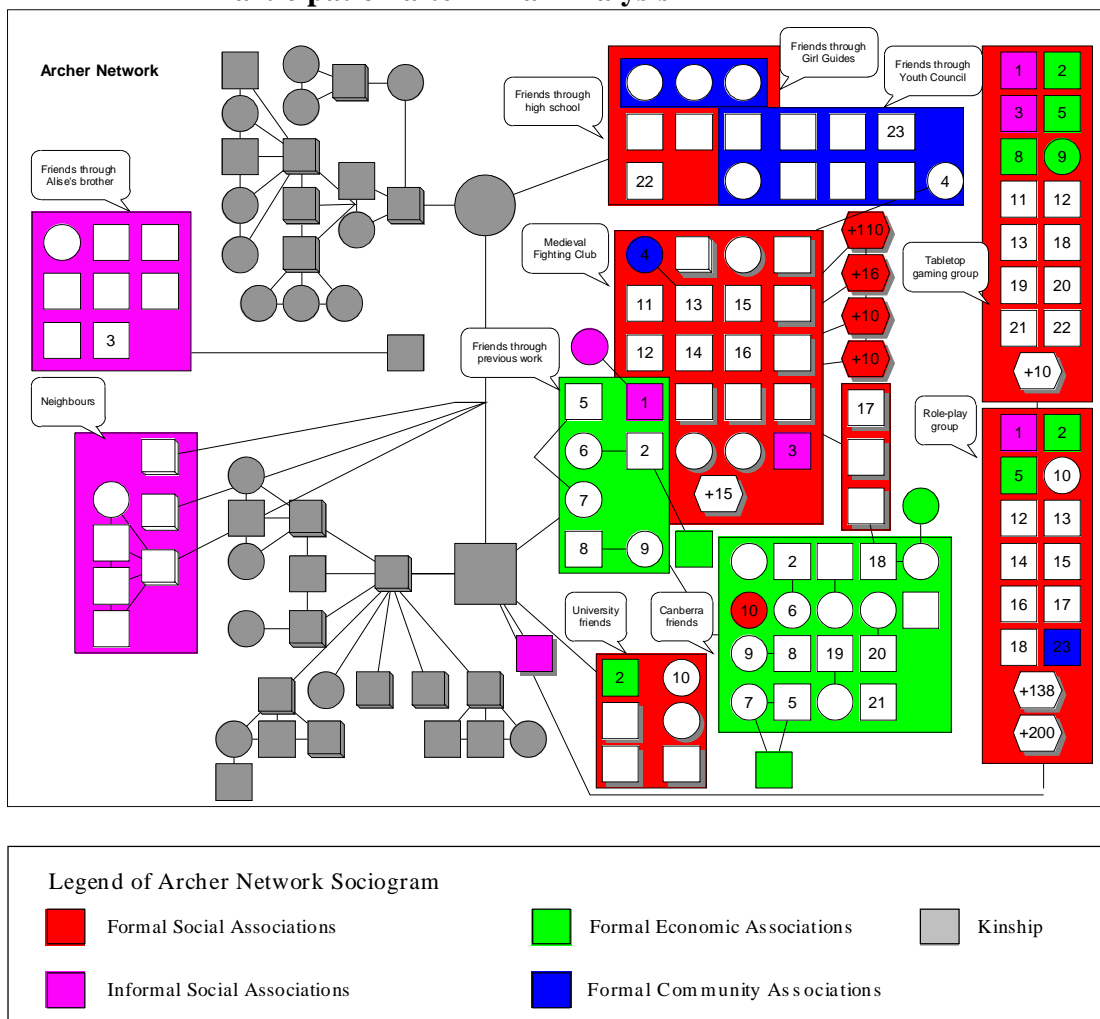
determining whether participation is indeed key to social capital and in what way. Case studies from each typology will be used to investigate the milieu of association found in this study and this will be tied to social capital. Participation will be drawn back to the type of participation that existed when members entered the network to see which type generates the vital connections that produce social capital.

9.1 Network Participation in this Study

Participation in the Heterogeneous Typology

To examine participation in the heterogeneous typology, a case study of the Archer family was undertaken. Each family in this typology exhibited similar types of engagement and all were extremely active, each with very high levels of social capital. The Archers, a young couple in their early twenties with no children, exemplified this typology. The sociogram in Figure 9.1 displays their network.

Figure 9.1 Sociogram of the Heterogeneous Archer Network Showing Types of Participation after Final Analysis



The Archers' most common form of participation was *social* engagement. This was why they came together with the majority of their network members. The resulting pattern of connections entailed three major distinct types of groupings: formal, informal cliques and kinship. Tony Archer had friendships that evolved from memberships in several corporate organizations. He was very active in a medieval fighting group and through this he had made friends with four other fighting groups that met frequently for competitions. Furthermore, he had a group of acquaintances and friends that specialized in making the equipment used in these games (such as chain-metal, bows and arrows). Tony also had a group of friends that he had met through university

(which he still attended). Although this was not a formal group to which membership was possible (one does not consider going to university as a membership), the university itself was a formal corporate group. His university friendships were therefore considered formal social associations. He also belonged to an Archaeology Society and an Egyptology Society but these involved memberships only, not active participation, with no connections tied to these. Alise Archer had no current, *formal* social participation.

The informal social clustering within the Archers' network was not only unique but also complex as it included 'action sets'. The action sets in their network were two gaming groups that Tony organized and ran, with both communicating over the Internet almost daily in string emails and meeting face-to-face at regular intervals. As these action sets were not formal corporate groups, they were originally considered informal interactions and counted like clique relationships. Yet many of these members were originally friends of friends that Tony had met through former employment or through his medieval fighting group (formal corporate groups), so the original connections were made through both formal social and economic participation. These connections had therefore to be considered as formal interactions (they had met through formal participation). Besides these, the Archers had a group of friends through Alise's brother (informal), friends from Alise's former high school (originally formal participation) and a small group of neighbours they socialized with to a limited extent (again, informal). Most of the informal social engagement in this network had originated from formal connections. Rounding out their now small segment of *informal* social participation was a very active relationship with a large kinship network.

Connections made through *community* participation were a result of former formal memberships by Alise Archer. She had two groups of friends she retained from memberships in the Girl Guide Association and Youth Council. As she no longer belonged to either of these formal groups, these relationships were now informal cliques, originating from formal connections. Therefore, they were considered as formal community associations.

Civic participation consisted of one membership to a trade union. Tony Archer was quick to say he had never attended a meeting of the union and was a card-carrying member only. He met no network members through this participation

In terms of *economic* participation, Tony worked part-time as a sandwich hand and Alise was a florist with her own shop. Although no connections resulted from their current employment, they had two groups of friends who were tied to previous working situations (informal cliques that resulted from formal participation). One was the group of 'mates' who Tony met through working at a gaming shop and the other was a group who lived in Canberra who became friends through one of Tony's 'mates'. Several of these individuals were currently in Tony's action sets so these were considered formal economic associations.

To analysis this data, it was necessary to determine whether the various types of participation actually affected levels of social capital. Of the 644 members in this network, 610 were met through social activities, 22 through economic participation and 12 through community involvement. There were no network members met through civic participation. Through information supplied in the interview, the six types of

social capital that had been received (mobilized social capital) could be attributed to particular individuals (theoretically in this network $6 \times 644 = 3,864$ instances if every person supplied each type of support). This was also possible for the expectations in the network (part of accessible social capital). Using six categories of both mobilized social capital and expectations of support, from this analysis a combined measure of social capital of 257 instances was attributable to *social* connections. The Archers reported on 257 resources attributed to network members they had met through social connections. One hundred and twenty five could be attributed to *economic* connections and 60 to *community* connections. This suggests types of participation affect social capital. More social capital was attributed to social participation than any other because more network members came together for social purposes. Only about half that amount of social capital was attributed to economic participation, which contained a fraction of the connections, and almost half again to community participation with even lower levels of connections. This suggests that those connections made through social types of participation carried more social capital on an individual basis.

The same type of analysis was completed using formal and informal connections. There was a tension within this analysis as some links which had been made through formal connections had progressed into informal associations. Since the purpose of this analysis was whether formal or informal participation enabled more social connections, connections were drawn back to when they were originally made. For example, the two cliques (informal groupings) where friendships continued from former employment (formal participation) were considered formal participation for this measure, as formal participation was the original type of engagement when members entered the network. From this analysis 574 network members were met through formal group participation

(even if engagement was now informal) and 70 were met through informal connections. Using the six types of resources that represented mobilized social capital and expectations, this network obtained a measure of 359 for social capital that could be attributed to formal associations and 61 that could be attributed to informal connections. This finding very much supported Putnam's (2000: 27-28) and Sobel's (2002: 152) claims that formal participation provides wider access to other individuals and leads to more exchange.⁶⁹ This case study suggests that formal participation is by far the dominant way that most network connections are originally made and that more resources, what is called social capital in this thesis, come from this type of interaction.

The final dimension of participation was to look at the roles and intensity of involvement with network members. Tony was very active in his medieval fighting group and he ran his two on-line gaming groups with almost daily contact, representing an extended level of activity. He worked five days a week (active participation) and Alise ran her own business (extended activity level). Their instances of contact were very high.⁷⁰ Overall, this presented a picture of a family that was very actively engaged with their network members. Although no direct translation between these levels and social capital was possible, their very high activity levels could be considered to account, at least in part, for their extremely high levels of social capital.

⁶⁹ Remembering that this thesis is only investigating one side of this exchange, those resources received by the participants (except in the case of reciprocity).

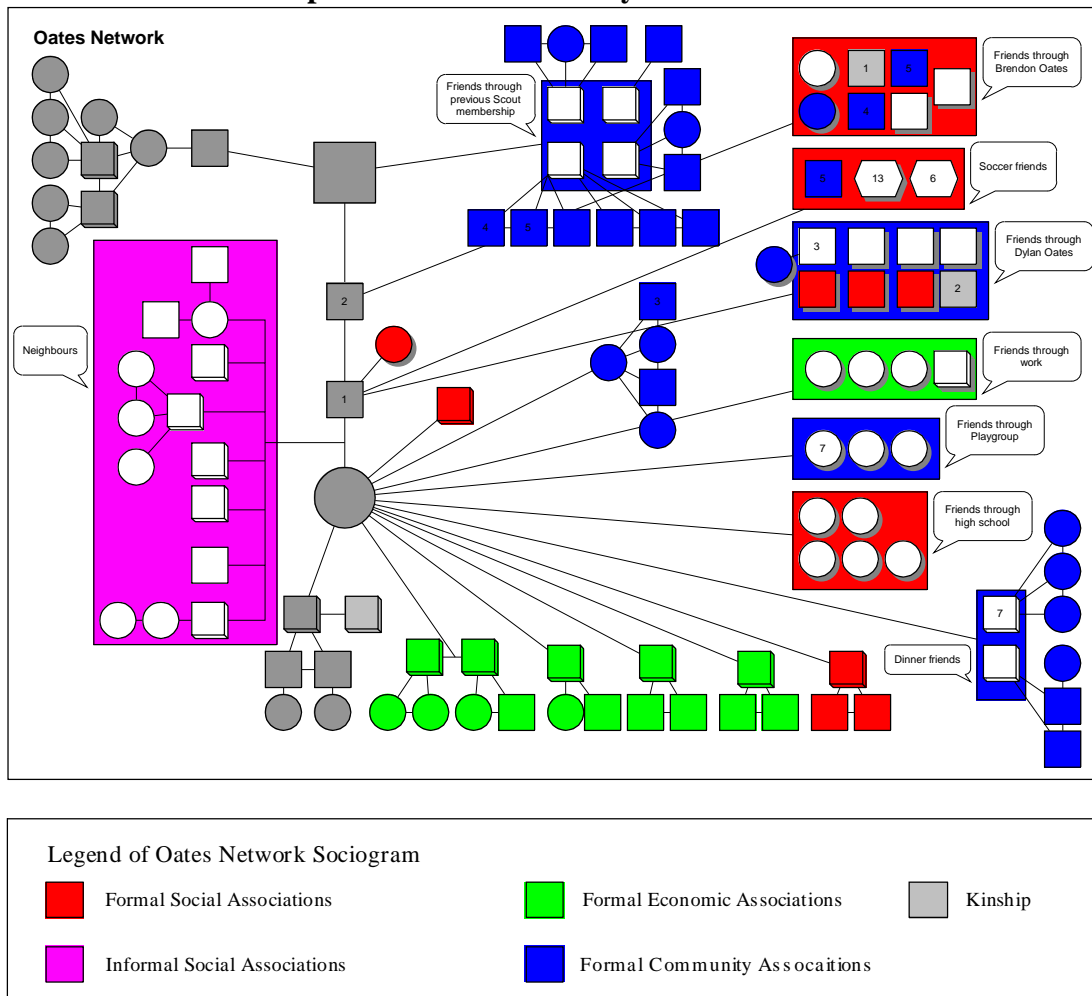
⁷⁰ Frequency of contact was a subjective measure based on the participants' estimation of how often they associated with every network member in a one-year timeframe. These figures were then combined for a network total. Based on the overall figures for this measure, five categories were devised: 300 instances of contact and under was deemed very low, 301-500 was low, 501-700 was medium, 701-1,000 was high and over 1,000 was very high. The Archers' rating was 1,816 instances per year and was the highest in the study.

In the heterogeneous typology social engagement was the most dominant type of participation and thus most advantageous for making network connections. More social capital was attributed to this type of participation (of the four types examined), with these higher levels resulting from the higher number of connections. Similarly, more connections and social capital were attributed to formal interactions than informal. Although unable to make direct links, there also appeared to be an association between the extremely high levels of participation and the social capital within this typology.

Participation in the Homogeneous Typology

The case study that exemplifies the homogeneous typology is the Oates family. Although all families in this typology were suitable, this family was chosen because their participation levels were the highest. Caroline and Tom Oates were in their early 50s and their two adult sons lived with them (23 and 20 years old). The sociogram in Figure 9.2 represents the types of participation in their network.

Figure 9.2 Sociogram of the Homogeneous Oates Network Showing Types of Participation after Final Analysis



Once again, social engagement was the most common type of participation that drew the network together. Although the Oates's belonged to no current formal corporate groups, most social interactions stemmed from previous group memberships. The only exceptions were family and neighbours. These former groups crossed various types of participation. Their main group of friends came from former membership in the Scout Association (community participation). They had been on their local Scouting Committee for many years when their sons were smaller and still remained friends with several Scouting families. This configuration of friends was now a clique, as it comprised four couples that interacted together. The Oates's also remained friends with

another family from Scouts, yet they were not included in this clique. Caroline was also a member of a clique with friends who remained from her Playgroup days when her sons were small (former community participation). As well, the Oates's participated in an informal dinner group with two other couples, one of which they had met through Scouts and the other through Playgroup (both former community groups). Their network contained three other cliques comprised of their sons' close friends, with Caroline and Tom interacting with these network members as well. They had barbeques, played cards and attended movies with them. One group was associated with each of their two sons and included individuals that the boys had met through Scouts or from school days. The other group was family and friends associated through a soccer team. Whilst their eldest son, Dylan, played on this team, they were part of a group of players and their families that met on a social basis. The last social clique in this network was a group of friends that remained from Caroline's own high school days.

The Oates's also have several single-stranded relationships (a couple and their children). Caroline included four couples in the family network whom she had met through travel (she was a travel agent many years ago – economic participation), another from the bank (another of her former jobs – economic participation) and one couple who were friends from her sons' former school. All of these connections were traced back to where they entered the Oates network, resulting in most associations being made through formal social, community and economic participation. As well as these, the Oates's also socialized with an extensive group of neighbours and a small kinship group.

The only connections that could be attributed to *current* formal participation were those from Caroline's employment at a kindergarten. She had a group of five friends from this working situation. Tom Oates was employed on a casual basis doing painting and office fit-outs, as well as driving limousines for weddings. The Oates's attributed no network members to his employment.

What was evident in this network was the amount of friendships resulting from activities undertaken for the Oates children. Current friendships endured from the children belonging to Scouts, to Playgroup, from their schools and from playing sports. This was the major way connections in this network were made, supporting Harrington's (2003: 104) claim that the networks of Australians are expanded by formal interactions undertaken for the sake of children. These activities forged the informal friendships that made resources accessible to this network.

To associate various types of participation to levels of social capital, the connections were once again drawn back to their original connections. Of the 146 members in the Oates network, 84 were met through social activities, 37 through community participation and 25 through economic involvement. No network members could be tied to civic participation. By attributing the social capital received and the expectations (part of accessible social capital) to each of these connections, 99 instances were tied to social participation, 52 to economic connections and 49 to community involvement. Much like the findings in the heterogeneous typology, this suggests types of participation affect levels of social capital. In fact, similar percentages of resources could be attributed to some types of participation. More social capital was generated from social participation and dropped to almost half from economic involvement.

Whereas this network's community participation was similar to its economic engagement, in the heterogeneous networks it halved again. Yet these percentages also appear to be closely related to the percentages of participation. This suggests that although more social capital comes from social participation, it may well be due to more connections being made through this type of involvement (with more connections bringing more social capital).

To see if formal or informal associations generated more social capital, each connection was again drawn back to where it originally entered the Oates network. From this analysis 98 network members entered through formal participation while 48 entered through informal activities (these included neighbours and kinship relations). By associating social capital to each type of connection, this network provided 134 instances of social capital through formal connections and 66 through informal. Again, this finding supports the notion that formal connections generate more social capital, but this is due to more connections coming from formal associations than this type of participation carrying more social capital.

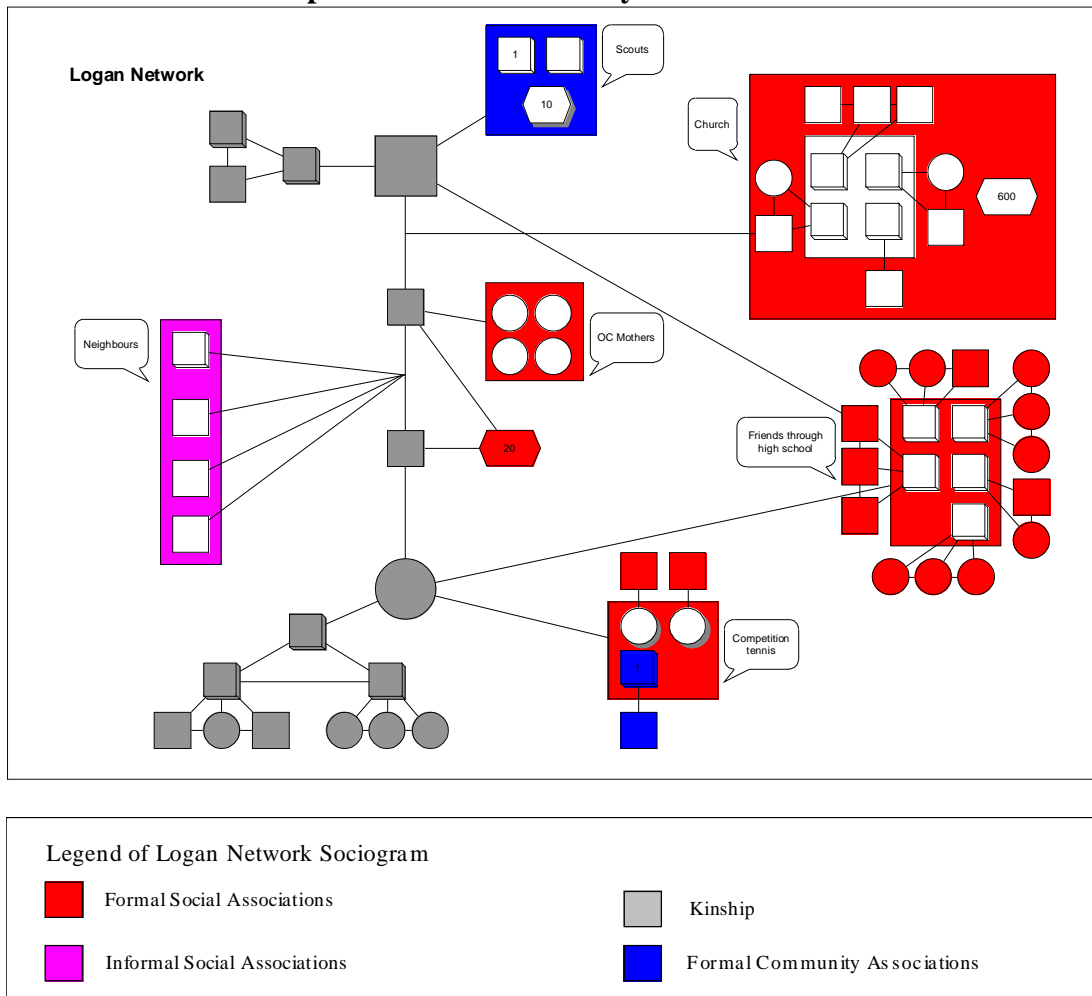
Roles and intensity of network participation were also investigated. This seemed specifically important in the Oates network because many connections originated through previous formal group participation. Caroline Oates indicated that she and Tom had been very active in their local Scout Committee (extended activity level). Non-executive memberships formed most of their other formal involvement (active levels of participation). Informal contact was regular but not necessarily active. Caroline Oates, in her interview, recounted information that totalled 613 instances of network contact over a year. This overview of participation was close to mid-range for the study, with

several networks having much more participation and several much less. Tom and Caroline Oates were active in their network yet not in the same overt sense as the heterogeneous Archers. This was reflected in their levels of social capital, with several being higher and several lower. As previously suggested, this finding supports the argument that higher levels of network participation make exchanges easier and more frequent. When activity levels go down, social capital decreases as well.

Participation in the Balanced Typology

The case study that exemplifies the balanced typology is the Logan family. This typology is made up of networks that have a more even balance of bonding, bridging and linking ties. The Logans had the most evenly balanced network of informal and formal connections. Meredith and Dennis Logan were in their early forties with two sons (13 and 11) both in high school. Figure 9.3 displays the participation in their network.

Figure 9.3 Sociogram of the Balanced Logan Network Showing Types of Participation after Final Analysis



The dominant type of association in this network was formal social participation. Although Meredith and Dennis Logan were active members of their church, they had only been involved with their current church for about 18 months. Most of their church associations were through a cell group where members came together for home instruction. Dennis Logan explained that the church tried to mix families together with similar aged children so that they had an understanding of the common needs of the group. Their cell group consisted of four other couples along with their children. Dennis said that he and his wife were still getting to know other people in the wider church community. This entailed about 600 people. Another formal social group

membership was through a competition tennis team. Meredith played each week and socialized with her team members.

As well as their current formal social associations, the Logan network contained several informal cliques, with the largest originating from school days (Meredith and Dennis had met through high school). This group of friends still met for barbeques and dinners. Another clique consisted of the mothers of children who had gone to an Opportunity Class with the Logans' oldest son. Meredith kept in touch with these women, going out to dinner with them on a regular basis. The final clique was related to sports and consisted of families whose sons played soccer together. Relationships in these three cliques could be tied back to previous formal social participation. As well as these, the Logans socialized with a small group of neighbours and a small base of extended family (informal social participation).

Community participation was the only other type of engagement resulting in ties, with no network connections attributed to civic or economic participation (even though both Dennis and Meredith were employed). The Logan network contained a group of friends from the Scout Association where Dennis was a Cubmaster, a leader of boys between 7.5 and 10.5 years old (Scout Association of Australia 2007). The Scout Association is a formal corporate group involved in community activities with Dennis's position as cubmaster representing an extended activity level.

The analysis of this data revealed that of the 705 members in the Logan network, all but 14 had been met through social activities (excluding extended family members). These 14 originally entered the network through community involvement, with no ties being

attributed to either economic or civic engagement. By associating mobilized social capital and expectations to these connections, 798 instances were tied to social connections and 56 to community involvement. What was unique in this network was that the Logans had expectations of practical support from all 600 church members (but no other types of expectations from them). Members of other large groups generally had expectations of companionship attached (thus, different types of accessible social capital). Differing expectations may well echo Mitchell's (2004: 3-4) finding that helping others seemed to be a worldview supported by religious organizations. Like the case studies representing the heterogeneous and homogeneous typology, types of participation in the Logans' balanced network seemed to affect social capital. More social capital could be associated with social participation than with any other type of engagement.

Perhaps more telling is the analysis of formal and informal associations affecting social capital. Church members, associations through Scouts and the competition tennis team were current formal connections for the Logans. Although friends from high school as well as those of the mothers' group were currently informal connections, they originated through formal organizations (two schools). The soccer club was also a formal corporate group. This meant that all individuals other than neighbours and extended family entered this network as formal connections. Eight hundred and three instances of social capital were associated with these formal connections, while only 51 were tied to informal associations. This is strong support for the argument that formal participation provides the widest access to other individuals and leads to more exchange.

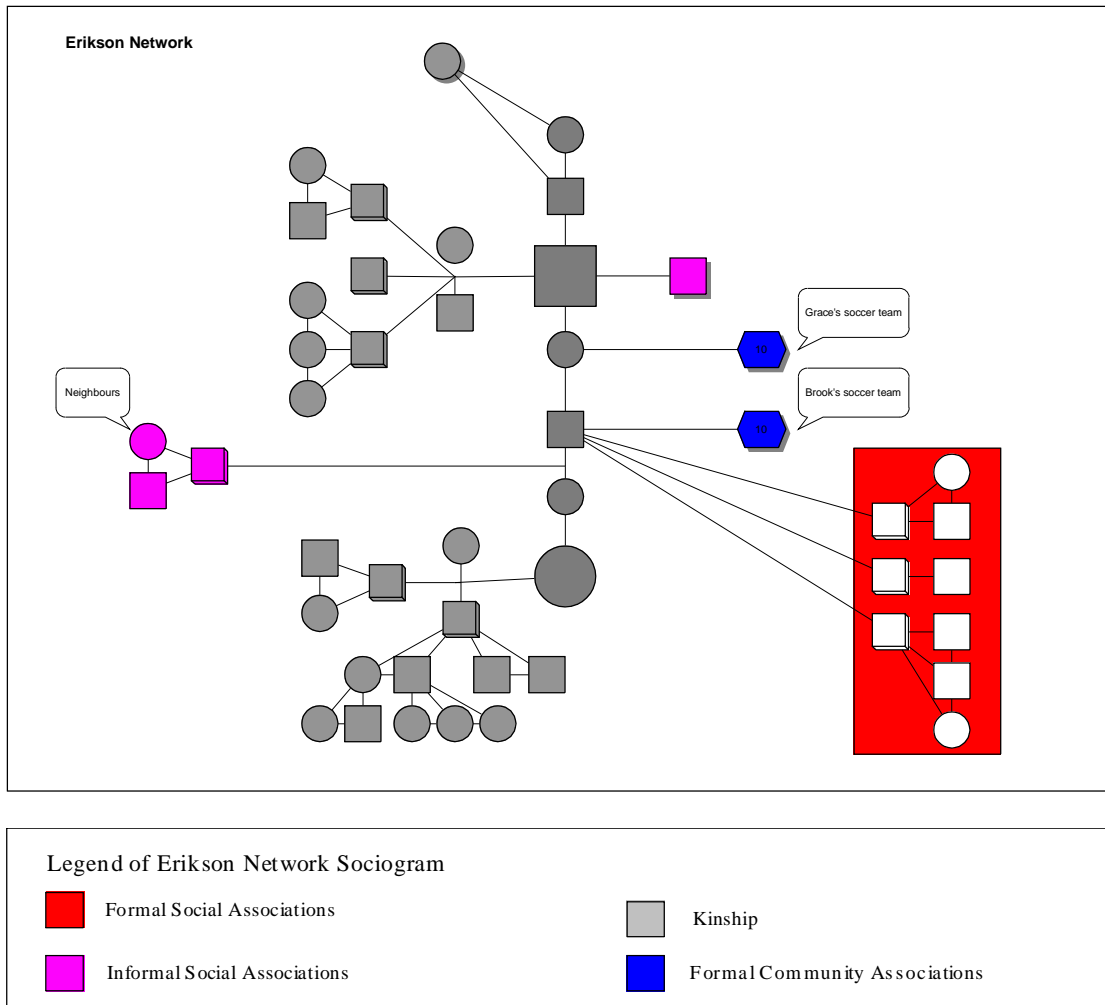
The roles and intensity of involvement in this network were complex. Dennis was a Cubmaster, a role that represented an extended activity level. Both he and Meredith were active members of their church cell group and Meredith was active in her competition tennis group. Yet both activities generally represented only weekly contact. Interactions with extended family members were also low, due to the distance that separated them (most lived in Canberra). Meredith and Dennis estimated their overall contact with network members as only 366 interactions per year.⁷¹ Although this family appeared to be actively engaged with their network, it was well below the levels of the heterogeneous networks, with levels of social capital reflecting this. Based on this finding, it seems likely that the higher the activity levels in a network, the higher the levels of social capital.

Participation in the Insular Typology

The Erikson family was chosen to examine the matrix of participation in the insular typology because they had younger children. The case studies previously examined had either no children or the children were older. Many informal cliques in the other case studies could be connected to former children's activities. Due to this, it was important to see if these connections existed while children were still young. Louise Erikson was 39 while Mathew Erikson was 47. They were the only blended family in the study. Matthew had a son (22) and a daughter (20) from a previous relationship who lived with them, together with the Eriksons' three younger children (nine, seven and five years old). Figure 9.4 displays the types of participation in the Erikson social network.

⁷¹ In comparison with the heterogeneous Archers who had 1,816 instances of contact per year and the homogeneous Oates family which had 613.

Figure 9.4 Sociogram of the Insular Erikson Network Showing Types of Participation after Final Analysis



While the Eriksons had no current formal social participation, their network contained one informal social clique of friends. This clique consisted of three other families that had all become friends through their children. Each family had a son who had gone to the same school, consequently the connections had originated through formal participation (a school). Louise and Mathew Erikson had occasional contact with a friend overseas as well as with a couple who lived next to them. The only other social contact in this network was with a large extended family (31 members).

Community participation was through two soccer teams. The Erikson children played on these teams and Louise Erikson had just become the team manager (the night before the interview), again supporting Harrington's (2003: 1-4) suggestion that parents facilitated organized sport for their children, viewing this as part of their 'parental responsibility'. Harrington claimed that these interactions expanded social networks by forming friendships. Louise Erikson included these team members in the family network.

The Eriksons claimed that there was no other engagement except their informal social participation and their community involvement. They had no civic participation and both Louise and Mathew worked from home (economic participation). Louise ran a machine-knitting company while Mathew ran an IT consultancy. Neither included network members associated with their economic participation. This low level of overall network contact was confirmed by Louise Erikson who stated that 'We just don't socialize'.

In an analysis of the Eriksons' participation, 48 network members were met through social activities while 20 were met through community engagement. However all of the social capital within this network was attributable to social connections. This once again suggests that the type of participation is important to the generation of social capital because more associations come from specific types of interactions.

Analysis of formal and informal interactions revealed that these also affected social capital. The informal friendships with fellow parents from their sons' school entered the network through a formal connection. These 12 members, plus those of the soccer

teams, represented the current 32 formal connections in the Erikson network. All other relationships were informal (36, with 31 of these being extended family). By associating social capital to these relationships, formal connections accounted for 66 instances while informal were responsible for 104. In this network more social capital was attributed to informal connections, with these basically coming from extended family. This supports an 'inside the family' ethic. Extended family was the first point of call for the Eriksons, with these relationships making up a large proportion of this network (44 percent). When asked whom she would call on in a crisis, Louise replied, 'Generally speaking, family before friends'.

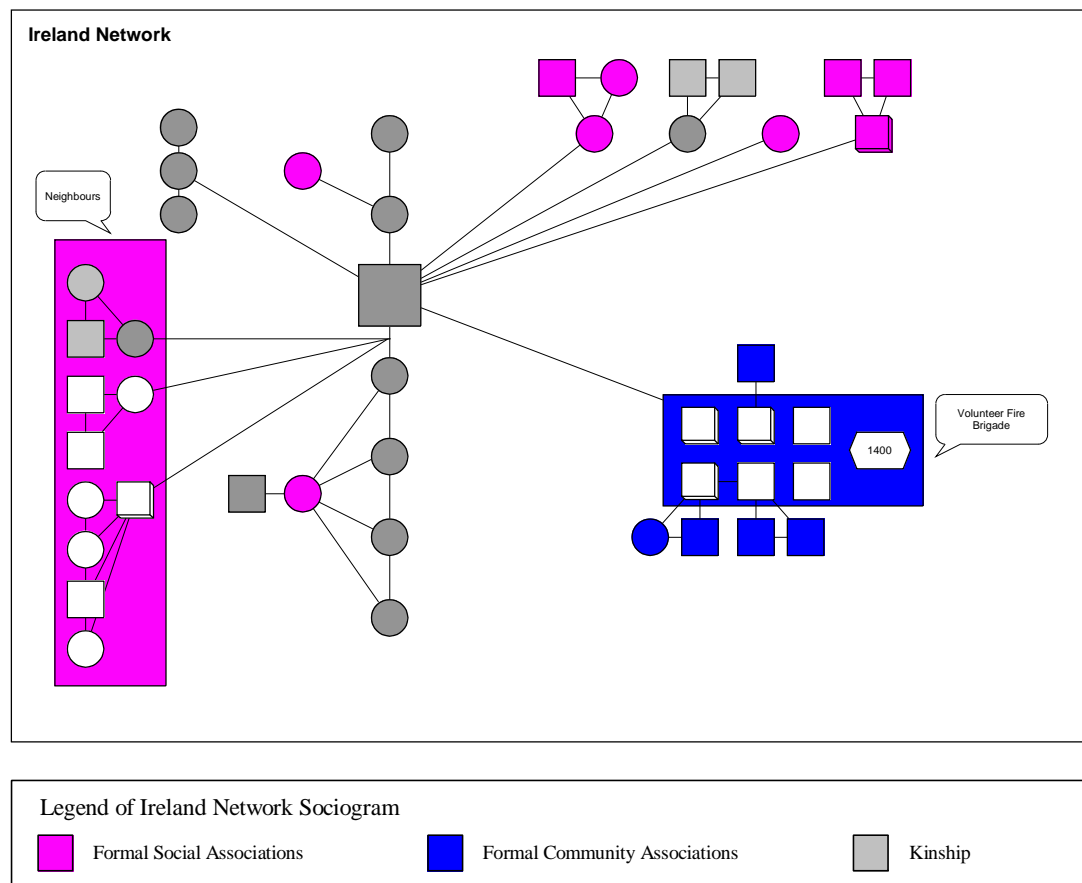
The roles and intensity of involvement were also noteworthy. While Louise Erikson's participation as manager of the soccer teams would normally be classified as extended active, it would be misleading to classify it as such in this study because she had yet to hold a practice. Louise and Mathew estimated their participation with network members as 422 instances per year (relatively low in this study). In their Australian community survey, Hughes and Black (2004: 7) found similar low levels of interaction in families with younger children. They found that having younger children restricted social participation. In this study, these low levels seemed to be related to levels of social capital. Without active association with network members, little exchange was possible, consequently social capital levels were lower.

Participation in the Truncated Typology

In the truncated typology, each of the networks had circumstances restricting overall participation. These specific circumstances seemed to affect their social capital, overshadowing other aspects of participation.

Although all were problematic, the network of Martin Ireland highlights the difficulties inherent in this typology, because it appeared to be the most vulnerable. Martin had been married three times but was now a single parent, with four of his seven children living with him (all girls 13, 12, 9 and 8 years old). He had a stepson who had left the Ireland household and had moved into his mother's home only weeks before the interview. Martin also had two other daughters who lived with his first wife. He saw all his children regularly. Figure 9.5 displays the types of participation in his network.

Figure 9.5 Sociogram of Truncated Ireland Network Showing Types of Participation after Final Analysis



Informal social participation in the Ireland network was the lowest in the study. In fact, Martin claimed to not socialize: 'Socialize? To be honest I don't socialize'. He explained that this was because he had sole responsibility for his four youngest daughters, and 'I don't have time [to socialize]'. His social participation consisted of connections to three extended family members in New Zealand, his stepson and two other single parents who he felt were 'family' (although they were not biological family members). These friendships included younger children as well. He also had a small group of neighbours, two other families and one other person who represented his social engagement. None of these were considered cliques because they were not groups of

individuals who interacted together with a common purpose and on a regular basis.⁷²

The analysis revealed social participation brought him into contact with 14 adults and 15 children.

The only other type of engagement in Martin Ireland's network was community participation. He was not involved in civic or economic activities as he was unemployed and stayed home to look after his children. His community activities were through the Volunteer Fire Brigade which brought him into contact with many more individuals than his social participation. Membership in this formal organization connected him to over 1,400 people. Of these he claimed that only nine adult connections were anything more than 'acquaintances'.

Martin Ireland had the lowest social capital in the study. Measuring both the mobilized social capital and his expectations, he had 10 instances that could be attributed to social participation and 18 to community engagement. In this network, the same results were found for informal (10 instances) and formal (18 instances) engagement. What stood out was that he had very few close ties (informal connections) and many weak ties (formal connections). His formal ties were so weak, they carried little value. In their study of personal communities in Britain, Spencer and Pahl (2006: 205) called this situation 'isolation', a network that lacked both close and weak ties that were valuable. This situation, above all others, seemed to restrict the social capital in the network.

⁷² These family groups did not qualify as a clique in this circumstance as they had to contain three interacting members (Cartwright & Harary 1956: 287) (and in this study they needed to be adults).

9.2 Findings about Network Participation

Different types of participation indeed affected the social capital in the family networks in this study, yet almost all participation generated access to resources. This raises the question of the value of distinguishing types of participation in personal networks. In each case study that represented a typology, with one exception, social participation was the dominant type of interaction that brought network members together. People met and came together through sporting interests, especially for the benefit of their children, through recreational activities, through education and through church. More social capital was attributed to these connections than to any other type. Yet levels of social capital seemed to be related to the higher number of ties generated from social participation than from any direct connection to the type of interaction itself. This differs vastly from some of the literature, specifically the claims of Wolfe (1999: 4). Wolfe suggested that 90 percent of social connections came from the workplace. In these case studies, less than 5 percent *originally* came from economic participation (ties drawn back to where they entered the network). The literature often ties community participation to health, yet in terms of facilitating connections, only a small percentage of network members met through community participation. In the one network where this applied (the Ireland network), the ties were so weak they carried almost no social capital. The literature on civic participation considers that both belonging to civic groups and holding executive positions is beneficial. While this may be true, participants had virtually no civic engagement. Holding executive positions is generally considered to be beneficial, but this tended to affect activity levels in an organization rather than affecting or being tied to types of participation. Social capital flowed from higher *levels* of engagement rather than *types* of participation.

The patterning of groups as *formal* or *informal* interactions was also supported as relevant to the generation of social capital, and indeed seemed a more relevant distinction than *types* of participation. Membership in formal corporate groups was the dominant way of meeting people. Even in typologies that currently had high levels of informal interactions, many of these were made through previous formal memberships. Only in one insular network were there more original informal connections, with these being to extended family. However, these connections dominated this network because it had so few overall ties. With this one exception, more social capital was associated with formal connections than with informal associations, suggesting that networks with high configurations of formal associations are more beneficial to families. More connections come from formal associations and in terms of overall network social capital, more flowed from these connections than from those of cliques and extended family.

The roles and consequently the levels of participation definitely affected levels of social capital. The higher the activity levels, the higher the levels of social capital. The very active levels of involvement in the heterogeneous typology seemed to generate more resources for these families. As this level dropped in typologies, the level of social capital appeared to drop accordingly. From a logical standpoint, this seems germane, as more expectations and resources appear to flow from higher levels of interaction.

While this matrix of participation seemed relevant to levels of social capital in the four typologies based on bonding, bridging and linking ties, lack of participation dominated the truncated networks. Restricted levels of participation overshadowed all other aspects of engagement, resulting in lower levels of social capital.

Social participation was by far why most people came together in my study. It so far outweighed other forms of engagement it hardly seemed necessary to make separations. The distinctions between types of participation did not seem particularly relevant. Any type of engagement helped in the generation of social capital. As well, more people met others through participation in formal groups, although informal friendships and kinship relationships were also valuable means to resources. The distinction between formal and informal engagement seems to be a more important mechanism for investigating participation in family networks because it presents a base from which more valuable networks can be built. If the aim is to increase the social capital of networks, formal group participation should be encouraged, as more people meet in this manner and often continue into informal relationships. With more interactions taking place, more social capital will be generated. Active network participation is the key, whether it is social, community, civil or economic engagement, either formal or informal. Networks rich in participation of any kind have the highest levels of social capital.

Chapter 10

Location and Opportunity

The notion of community capacity building dominant in the social capital literature suggests that place, as the embedded location of a network, is a crucial factor in creating social capital. According to Flap (2002: 39), the physical location in which a network develops sets both opportunities and constraints for meeting others and for belonging. For example, local celebrations provide opportunities for participation and the availability of parks and affordable leisure activities shape opportunities for spontaneous interactions. If these opportunities did not exist, theoretically at least, a constraint would be placed on participation for some networks.

On the other hand, place may no longer be, or perhaps never has been, an essential factor in either facilitating interaction or social capital. As Beck (1999: 16) points out, in a transnational world, mobility rather than location is what is essential. Other forms of community may exist alongside those based on place (Wellman 1999: 17). Delanty (2003: 132), for instance, argues that post-modern communities *are* no longer tied to place, as other forms of connections to people have become possible, for example through the Internet. The Internet and email can sustain and even develop friendship networks over long distances (Spencer and Pahl 2006: x, 24). The Internet may also act as a complement to face-to-face sociability rather than producing a 'mass retreat' from face-to-face interactions.

Challenging the importance of place raises questions about some of the more common uses and expectations of social capital. If networks with the most benefits are those that are *not* generally attached to locales, if locale is *not* important to a vibrant network, then the notion of placed-based community capacity building must be misdirected. The aim in this chapter is to discover whether ‘place’ does increase or decrease social network relations in specific types of networks, enhancing or inhibiting the ability to access resources. Is a physical locale necessary to social capital? Does locale have any explanatory force?

To unravel the issue of ‘place’ or embeddedness in this study, three different aspects of place are explored, based on the work of Warren and Warren (1977: 74-81). The first asks how families in this study *could* be connected to community or place. What did individual localities offer to the families that lived within them? The second asks whether the families in my study *were* connected to place and whether different types of networks were connected in different ways which shaped their social capital. For example, were homogeneous networks more connected at the local level than heterogeneous networks? Did this influence the resources available through their networks? The final aspect explores whether an emotional fit with an area facilitated the use of local connections. Did the feeling of ‘belonging’ to an area encourage the making of local connections rather than more distant ones? How important was their locale to these families?

All participants in this study resided in one of four general areas of Sydney: 1) the Turramurra/St. Ives area; 2) the Peninsula area; 3) the Hills area; 4) the Hornsby Shire area between Mount Colah and Epping. By establishing the opportunities existing in

these areas, and consequently what acted as a constraint, it was possible to evaluate each area's relative capacity for making connections. To explore the extent that each local neighbourhood *could* serve as an opportunity structure or as a constraint, a profile of each area was constructed. Each of these four areas were assessed in terms of the services and facilities provided, the community associations and events that existed, and crime and safety levels.

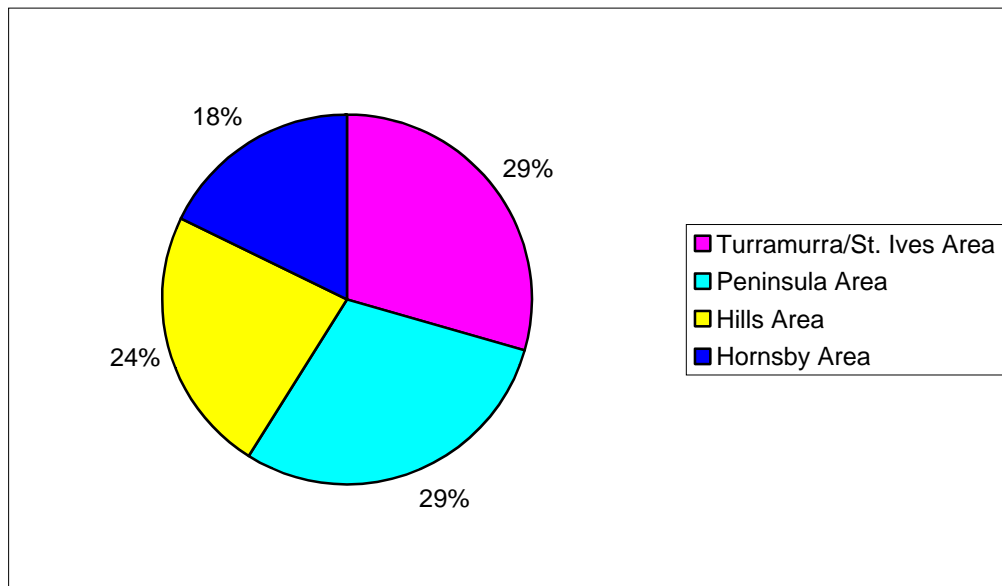
To establish how families *were* embedded in one of the four areas of the study, the activity spaces of case studies drawn from each typology were used. These highlighted the local connections that existed and the social capital that was attributed to these. An exploration of the use of the Internet was also undertaken to establish how this influenced spatial connections.

A more subjective analysis explored the perceptions participants held of their neighbourhoods. The aim was to unravel why some families drew more advantage from local connections than others.

The discussions of the above analyses are presented as a combined picture within each of the four locales: that is, each locale is explored through a study of the opportunities and constraints that exist, the activity spaces of case studies which represented a unique typology within each area and a review of the perceptions of participants.

10.1 Locales in this Study

Figure 10.1 Networks within Each Locale in this Study



Families in each of the four general areas of the study resided no more than 15 kilometres from each other. Figure 10.1 displays the proportion of families from the study that resided in each of these four areas.

Turramurra/St. Ives Area of Sydney

Plate 10.1 Mansion Style Home



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.2 St. Ives Shopping Village



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.3 St. Ives Mountain Bike Club



(Source: MWMTB 2008)

Plate 10.4 North Turramurra Shops



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.5 St. Ives Jewish Community



(Source: Chabad House of the North Shore 2008)

Plate 10.6 North Turramurra



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.7 Single Story Brick Home



(Source: Domain 2008)

Five families in this study resided in the Turramurra/St. Ives area, all living within five kilometres of each other. This locality was an older, established part of Sydney on the upper North Shore. The Socio-Economic Index For Areas (SEIFA) was 1,151.47 for this area, the highest SEIFA index for a local government area in NSW in 2005 (NSW Department of Health 2006: 2).⁷³ This suggests that the area was one of high advantage. The Turramurra/St. Ives area generally had long-term residents and expensive real estate. Older single-story brick homes stood side-by-side with federation-style mansions such as those in Plates 10.7 and 101. Many of the homes in this area had enclosed gardens and elaborate circular driveways. According to the ABS (2001d: 1-9), employment was high, with only 3.56 percent unemployed. Over 60 percent of those employed were upper white-collar professionals most often employed in the property, business, finance and insurance sectors (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type A01).⁷⁴ The ABS snapshot of the area suggests that education levels are clearly a priority. Almost ten percent of the adult population held postgraduate qualifications and a further 25 percent held a bachelor degree. Residents in this area were predominately Australian born, with migrants coming mainly from the United Kingdom, South African or Hong Kong. Consequently, English and Asian languages were the main languages spoken in these homes (over eight percent spoke an Asian language). Traditional family households, comprising a married couple often with older dependent children aged 18-24 were common, with separation and divorce being low (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type A01).

⁷³ The SEIFA Index is an index of relative socio-economic disadvantage in Australia. The average SEIFA index is 1,000 with higher indices representing less disadvantaged areas (ABS 2006: 3).

⁷⁴ Pacific Micromarketing produces *Mosaic Refresh 2006* which is a computer analysis system of Australian statistics for micromarketing.

Opportunity Structure in the Turrumurra/St. Ives Area

Table 10.1: Facilities and Services within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Turrumurra/St. Ives Area (Preset List of 29)

Area	Turrumurra/St. Ives Area				
	Archer	Grace	Jones	Martin	Player
Family					
Facilities					
Supermarket	x	x	x	x	x
Butcher	x	x	x	x	x
Bakery	x	x	x	x	x
Fruit Store	x	x	x	x	x
Fish Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Cinema	x	x	x		x
Hardware Store	x	x	x	x	x
Luxury Clothes Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Flower Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Snack Bar	x	x	x	x	x
Physician	x	x	x	x	x
Police Station			x		
Church	x	x	x	x	x
Petrol Station	x	x	x	x	x
Sports Field	x	x	x	x	x
Café	x	x	x	x	x
Restaurant	x	x	x	x	x
Day Care Centre	x	x	x	x	x
Neighbourhood Centre	x	x	x	x	x
School	x	x	x	x	x
Park	x	x	x	x	x
Swimming Centre					
Fitness Centre	x	x	x	x	x
Post Office	x	x	x	x	x
Bus Services	x	x	x	x	x
Train Station	x	x	x	x	x
Theatre/Concert Hall	x	x	x	x	x
Public Library			x	x	
Playground	x	x	x	x	x
Total per Family	26	26	28	27	26
Total per Area	26 - 28				

(Adapted from Volker 2004: 36)

To explore how families could participate in this area, the services and facilities, community organizations and events, as well as the crime and safety of the area were analysed. The level of services and facilities was very high in the Turrumurra/St. Ives area, with between 26-28 of the preset list of 29 being available. Table 10.1 displays these services and facilities, with an 'x' marking those within five kilometres of each home and grey indicating those not available within this radius. A public swimming

centre was the only facility missing in this area. This high availability of services and facilities was mainly due to a large shopping mall in the area, which contained many of these. The newspaper and website study found only one major additional service. A Swimsafe Programme was being conducted by the State government during the summer months with the aim of teaching young children to swim, however the pool where this was located was not in the area.

Table 10.2 Advertised Community Associations & Events within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Turrumurra/St. Ives Area

Area	Turrumurra/St. Ives Area				
	Archer	Grace	Jones	Martin	Player
Family					
Associations/Events					
Business/Employer	7	7	13	6	7
Charity/Welfare	2	2	3	1	2
Christmas Events	15	15	18	10	15
Cultural/Musical/ Dancing/Theatres	21	21	20	18	21
Environmental	2	2	4	2	2
Exhibitions	1	1	1		1
Health Related	8	8	16	3	8
Humanitarian Aid	1	1			1
Immigrant Org	3	3	7	2	3
Markets/Fairs	21	21	24	15	21
Neighbourhood Org			2	2	
Other Hobbies	4	4	19	4	4
Parents Clubs	2	2	2	2	2
Pensioners/Retired	4	4	11	4	4
Religious Org	2	2	3		2
Sports/Outdoor	3	3	6	1	3
Youth Groups	1	1	2	1	1
Total per Family	97	97	151	71	97
Total per Area	71 - 151				

(Source: Newspaper & Website Study)

As Table 10.2 reveals, many organisations and local events were available in this area. Using a five-kilometre radius of each participant's home as a distance measure (a ten kilometre circle with each home as the centre), there were between 71 and 151 advertised organizations and events including sports clubs, youth associations,

pensioner groups, business and environmental groups. There were also cultural activities, markets, fetes, fairs and many local Christmas activities in November and December.

Table 10:3 Comparison of BOSCAR 2004 Statistics which Cover the Turramurra/St. Ives Area to Statistics for Sydney

BOSCAR Area	Ku-ring-gai		Sydney
	total	per 100,000 pop	per 100,000 pop.
Homicide	0	0	6.7
Assault	160	147.7	933.2
Sexual Offences	39	38.0	118.1
Abduction/Kidnapping	1	.09	5.6
Robbery	37	34.2	209
Other Offences against Person	10	9.2	16
Theft	2,832	2,614.6	5,592
Extortion/Blackmail	1	0.9	1.2
Arson	21	19.4	84.2
Malicious Damage Property	631	582.6	1,219.4
Drug Offences	74	69.3	285.5
Offensive Behaviour	18	16.6	38.1
Prostitution Offences	1	0.9	7.1
Betting/Gambling Offences	0	0	1.1
Against Justice Procedures	64	59.2	361.5
Other	1,139	1,051.6	261.9

(Source: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004; 2008)

The BOSCAR crime statistics for Ku-ring-gai which includes the Turramurra/St. Ives area, were low in comparison to the Sydney Statistical Region.⁷⁵ In fact, Ku-ring-gai was the lowest area in this study in ten of the nineteen categories measured by BOSCAR. As Table 10.3 reveals, theft was the largest category of criminal activity.⁷⁶

The analysis through the newspaper and website study ascertained that the *advertised crime* was also very low. The newspaper referred to only fifteen instances in the two

⁷⁵ The Sydney Statistical Division consists of 14 subdivisions with Ku-ring-gai being one of these (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004: 11).

⁷⁶ Driving offences have not been included in this analysis as they are recorded for owners of vehicles and not drivers.

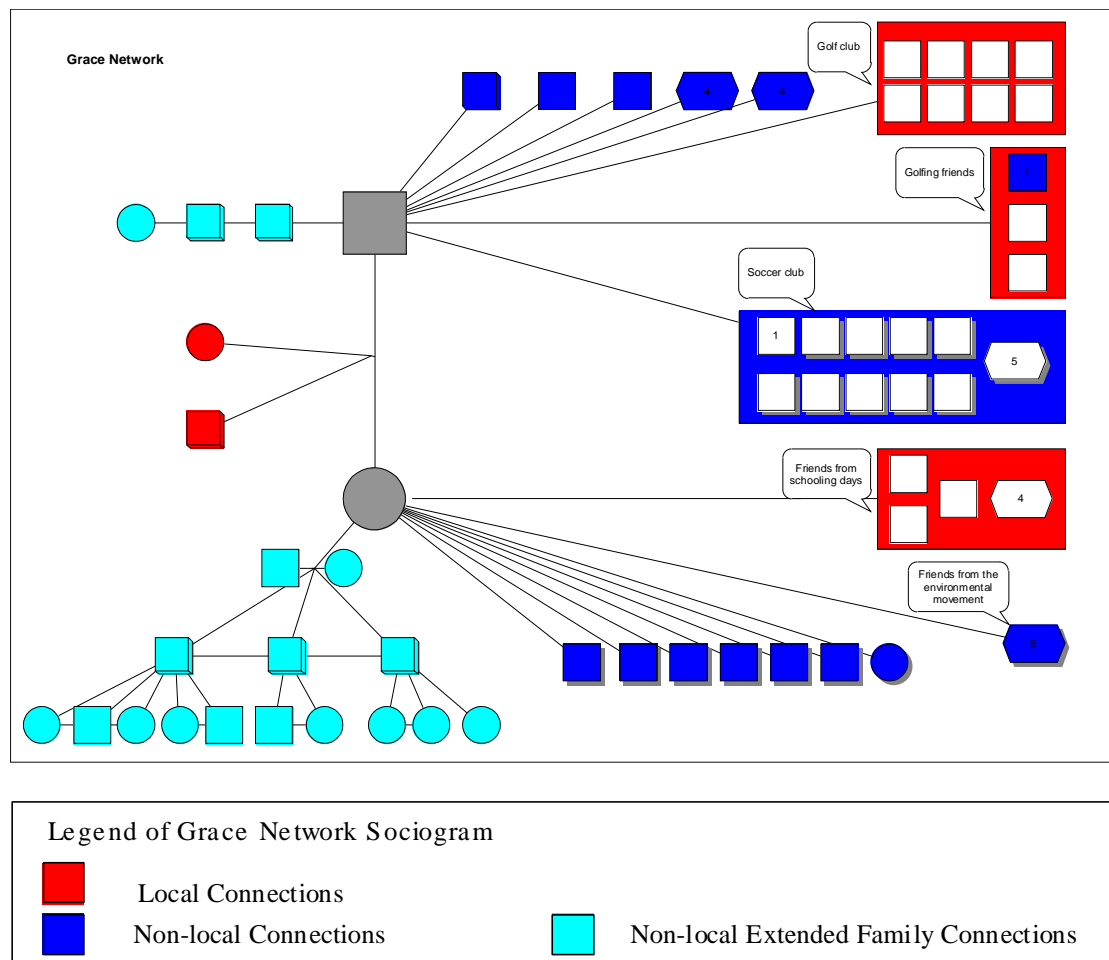
week period: a fight had broken out, a bag had been snatched, drug charges were laid, and an arsonist was sought, as was a child sex offender. On a more positive note, the newspapers also reported on a police dog hero. Both Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House schemes operated in this area.

From this analysis the Turramurra/St. Ives area can be seen as an opportunity structure. The area has numerous services and facilities as well as many local organizations and events, which enable people to come together and connect. It appears to be a safe area and should not act to deter socializing.

Activity Spaces in the Turramurra/St. Ives Area

With an opportunity structure in place that should allow connections to the locale, two cases studies were examined to see how the families in the study were tied to this area. The first was the activity space of the heterogeneous Grace family and the next was the truncated Player network. Each demonstrated a different relationship to the Turramurra/St. Ives area.

Figure 10.2 Sociogram of the Heterogeneous Grace Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



The activity space of the heterogeneous Grace family was the first to be examined, with the sociogram in Figure 10.2 displaying the local and non-local connections in this family's network. Frank and Nancy Grace are each aged 40 and have no children. Nancy is an environmental scientist and works at a university, while Frank is a tax consultant and works from home. Of the 89 ties in this network, 20 were local. All were to individuals with whom Frank Grace played golf or that had known in high school (he had attended a local high school). When asked how they used their local area, Frank Grace replied:

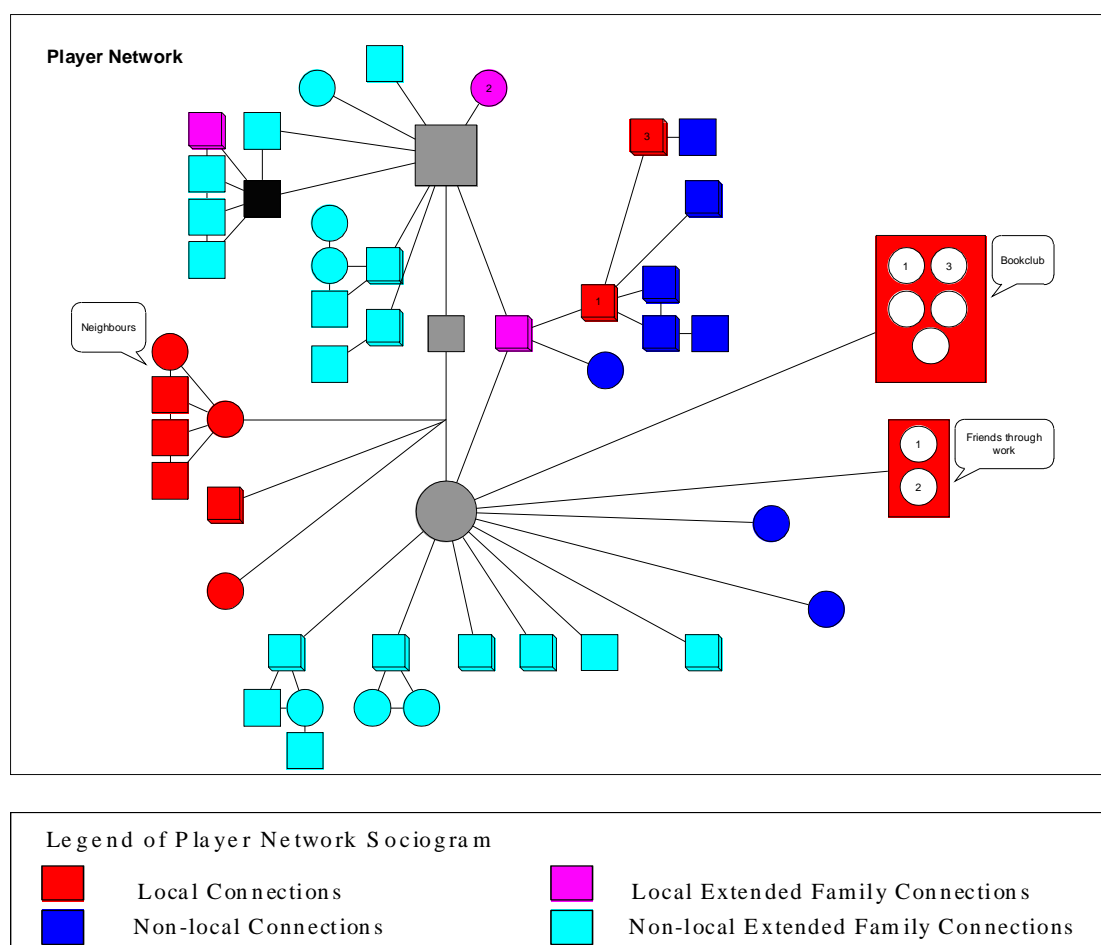
We use the sporting facilities like the park and the bush. We walk in the bush quite a bit and we play games in the oval like tennis but nothing involving other people.

Non-local ties generally revolved around sport, the environmental movement, and extended family. They also had two friends living in the United States and several in Melbourne. Interactions with these long-distance friends were mainly via the Internet.

Their local ties carried 88 instances of social capital (46 percent of their total social capital) suggesting that these 20 local ties carried much more social capital than the non-local ties on a per tie basis, but that more social capital overall was gained from non-placed based connections.

The activity space of the truncated Player network was the second case study examined from the Turrumurra/St. Ives area. This activity space displayed a very different relationship to locality than the Graces'. Paul Player is 58 and Sarah is 50. Of their children, one son is still living at home (18 years old). The sociogram in Figure 10.3 displays their local and non-local connections.

Figure 10.3 Sociogram of the Truncated Player Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



The Player network consisted of 62 members, with local connections made mainly through a book club and through Sarah's work. Sarah and Paul Player also had a few local friends and relatives as well as neighbours and they had their neighbours in for drinks and to share a meal several times a year. Their local connections totalled 20 network members (32 percent of their network) and they received 67 percent of their support from these. Most of their non-local connections were to extended family (86 percent of their relatives lived overseas).⁷⁷ Their local connections were the ones that carried the most social capital, yet these were not related to place in terms of

⁷⁷ Communication with overseas family members was mainly via the Internet but Sarah Player claimed she did not use it for many other purposes.

neighbourhood but more in terms of place as a symbolic community (although the connections were within the Turrumurra/St. Ives area). With the exception of a few neighbours, one friend and five family members (14 network members), all were within the Jewish community (five neighbours were also Jewish). Sarah also worked within this religious community as she was employed as a receptionist at a Jewish retirement home. As well, the members of her book club were Jewish. Sarah Player explained that community for both Paul and herself was the Jewish community and not the place-based Turrumurra/St. Ives area:

For community we go to lots of fairs and fetes, that sort of thing,
more the Jewish community.

We are quite involved with the synagogue up the street. Especially
with the boys, with their bar mitzvahs. They were there every
week, learning and you make the party so you become, well almost
everyday and you become part of the community. We have family
that is part of the community as well.

Further emphasizing their Jewish community connections, Sarah added:

We see our doctor and dentist socially because they are within the
Jewish community. We have known them since we came here.
That is how we met them, through the Jewish community and then
we started using them as our doctor and dentist.

The involvement of the Players reflects the findings of Buckser (2000: 730) in his study of the Jewish community in Denmark. He found that an ethnic group could become a symbolic space from which individuals drew elements of their own identity, from which they drew their sense of belonging. Sarah said that they had moved to this area to be near the Jewish community. Wirth's 1956 study of the Chicago Jewish community made a similar finding. Individuals drifted to an area through a desire to be where religious observances could be easily followed (Wirth 1956: 18). Rather than a connection to locale, the Players appeared to see their local community as the Jewish community. Yet it should be noted this may have not always been so. As previously stated, the Player network was placed in the truncated typology because it had circumstances that restricted it and it was evident that it was not functioning as other networks. Sarah Player confirmed this. She explained that her father had died, her adult sons were seldom at home and her husband had recently started working in New Zealand. In addition she had cut ties with her best friend. Sarah emphasized that in the last six months she 'did not socialize'. She had gone from an involved daughter, mother and wife, as well as a best friend, to being what she termed a 'free agent'. She didn't suggest that this was negative. Rather, she was pointing out that her network at the time of the interview wasn't reflective of her usual. She was actively trying to become 'more involved' and she saw her new job with the retirement village as one way of doing this, again suggesting the importance of the Jewish community as a support system for her.

Perceptions of the Turrumurra/St. Ives Area

Perceptions held of a local area may well influence the use of a locale and the connections that are made. This was particularly evident in the Turrumurra/St. Ives area where perceptions of opportunities were less enthusiastic than in other areas. Sarah

Player claimed the overall area was 'really good' but she suggested services could be better, noting the bus services needed to be improved. She stated she felt safe within the area and minimized the severity of local crime claiming: 'Our neighbours had a break-in but it was only four children'.

The perceptions of the Grace family were more derogatory. Nancy Grace attacked the area in terms of services:

At a basic type of infrastructure level it doesn't like have footpaths. There is poor transportation and footpaths. That sort of thing and then in terms of more direct services, there is just nothing you could walk to, like shops so you can't buy a cup of coffee or a newspaper. You can't get milk within walking distance...I consider it is very underprovided for in terms of convenience and the services I want, recognizing that it is a rich area and seems to have all the services other people want. It's geared towards car travel.

This may well have affected Nancy's connection to the Turrumurra/St. Ives area, as she didn't drive. With facilities and services more and more being centred in large shopping malls and those such as the corner store disappearing, individuals who don't drive can be disadvantaged. This can be compounded when local transport facilities are inadequate.

However, a negative incident appears to have helped shape Nancy's distaste for the area:

I tried to join the local environmental group when I moved here because I thought it would be a community thing to do and they called me up and wanted a briefing on how things worked....then they went into a kind of racist rant about all the Chinese names on the developmental applications as *they're* the ones putting in the DA's [developmental applications] for their huge houses and wrecking the gardens so after that I decided to not to have anything to do with them.⁷⁸

The 'emotional fit' of both families to this area reflected their perceptions. Sarah Player explained that although she and her husband went to the local show each year, their attendance at local events was more in terms of Jewish activities: fetes and fairs. For them, attachment to place appeared to be based around their religious community and not the physical Turramurra/St. Ives area. The Grace's attitudes were also restricted. Frank Grace spoke of the 'standoffish' attitudes of people in the area while Nancy Grace reiterated and was even more adamant about not liking her neighbourhood:

No, I hate it. The people and the social feel of it and the lack of amenities. I agree the people are quite standoffish. On the street they are friendly but there is a kind of coldness about the people I

⁷⁸ Emphasis in the original.

don't like and a bit of the keep up with the Jones's sort of thing.

Like where they don't hassle you, but you do feel obliged to mow

the lawns and bring in the papers and they are kind of looking

down their nose at you if you don't.

The two activity spaces of the case studies in Turrumurra /St. Ives seem to suggest an area that could be referred to as an 'inactive community' (Warren & Warren 1977: 116-123). In this type of locale individuals don't interact with others for a variety of reasons from physical design, privatized lifestyles and lack of facilities. Both Nancy and Frank Grace noted the stand-offish nature of the place, emphasising that the physical design of the area depended on car travel to gain access to services and facilities. Although there were many services and facilities within five kilometres of their home, few were within an easy or short walking distance. For the Grace family, this appeared to restrict their local interactions. The privatized lifestyles of the Players, where community was seen in terms of their religious community, meant they had few other connections with the local area as a 'place'. These situations acted as constraints on the social capital likely to be derived from locality since the social capital of the networks in this area could not be tied to locale in the standard sense of 'place'.

Peninsula Area of Sydney

Plate 10.8 Older Style Home



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.9 Manly Beach



(Source: NSW Visitors 2008)

Plate 10.10 Sailing off Narrabeen



(Source: Taylor 2008)

Plate 10.11 Manly Corso



(Source: Web Wombat 2008)

Plate 10.12 New Units and Apartments



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.13 New Double Story Residence



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.14 Netball at Curl Curl



(Source: Cope 2008)

The five families that resided in the area from the Roseville Bridge through Manly to Pittwater (the Peninsula area) lived further apart than those of the previous area. This area stretched 15 kilometres between families, and covered three local council areas yet the participants all claimed to live ‘on the peninsula’. The average SEIFA index for this combined area was 1,101.51.⁷⁹ Although not as high as the previous area, it was still considered an advantageous region. Most of the area was only slightly more recently settled than the Turramurra/St. Ives Area, although the northern parts of the Peninsula had many new houses. Most families were long-term residents and the real estate was gaining in value. Once predominant single story brick houses (Plate 10.8) were giving way to double-story and new residences such as those in Plate 10.. Almost 90 percent of homes were stand-alone houses, however complexes of units and apartments were starting to appear on some of these older house sites in Manly and Forestville (the middle and southern end of this area) (Plate 10.12) (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type A04). According to the ABS snapshots (2001e: 1-10; 2001f: 1-10; 2001g: 1-10), employment was high, with between 27 to 35 percent employed as managers, administrators or professionals. The Pacific Micromarketing’s Mosaic model also supported this, claiming that the area had a high proportion of executive roles. Yet it stressed that family incomes were lower than areas such as St. Ives. Education levels were the second lowest in the study, with an average of only five percent holding postgraduate qualifications and 15 percent holding bachelor qualifications, although the model stated education was highly valued especially for offspring. According to the ABS, most residents in this area were Australian born, with migrants coming mainly from the U.K., the United States and New Zealand. This made it the most

⁷⁹ The average comes from the SEIFA indices for the Warringah area (1,081.39), Manly (1,116.74) and Pittwater (1,106.42) (NSW Department of Health 2006:2).

homogeneous area in terms of ethnicity in this study. English was the most common language spoken at home with only 2.5 percent of the population speaking Italian and another 2.3 percent speaking Chinese languages. The area was characterised by over 60 percent married couples with dependents aged 0-14 (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type A04).

Opportunity Structure of the Peninsula Area

Table 10.4 Facilities and Services within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Peninsula Area (Preset List of 29)

Area	Peninsula Area				
Family	Farmer	Knight	Norris	Oates	Queen
Facilities					
Supermarket	x	x	x	x	x
Butcher	x	x	x	x	x
Bakery	x	x	x	x	x
Fruit Store	x	x	x	x	x
Fish Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Cinema	x	x	x	x	x
Hardware Store	x	x	x	x	x
Luxury Clothes Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Flower Shop	x	x	x	x	x
Snack Bar	x	x	x	x	x
Physician	x	x	x	x	x
Police Station	x	x	x	x	x
Church	x	x	x	x	x
Petrol Station	x	x	x	x	x
Sports Field	x	x	x	x	x
Café	x	x	x	x	x
Restaurant	x	x	x	x	x
Day Care Centre	x	x	x	x	x
Neighbourhood Centre	x	x		x	x
School	x	x	x	x	x
Park	x	x	x	x	x
Swimming Centre	x	x		x	
Fitness Centre	x	x	x	x	x
Post Office	x	x	x	x	x
Bus Services	x	x	x	x	x
Train Station	x	x		x	
Theatre/ Concert Hall	x	x		x	
Public Library	x	x	x	x	x
Playground	x	x	x	x	x
Total per Family	29	29	25	29	26
Total per Area	25 - 29				

(Adapted from Volker 2004: 36)

The Peninsula had the highest availability of services in the study. It contained two suburban and one much larger shopping mall and was one of the major shopping districts outside the Sydney CBD. All 29 of the preset list of services were within easy driving distance and buses ran regularly to these shopping centres (see Table 10.4). The Peninsula area also had the highest amount of additional services. State services at the time information was collected through the newspaper and website study, included a legal day where residents could consult a lawyer free of charge, a recruitment day for the fire brigade and several state organized hospital rallies to determine the amount of community support and feeling about moving the local hospital. Council services included a chemical clean-up day and a Chamber Challenge for Businesses. Local councils also ran vacation care programs, a course for carers and a coastal open day. The councils were also holding a Summit to determine the future of a local lake area and were opening a Park & Ride service to provide transport into Sydney CBD.

Table 10.5 Advertised Community Associations & Events within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Peninsula Area

Area	Peninsula Area				
Family	Farmer	Knight	Norris	Oates	Queen
Associations/Events					
Australia Day	1	1	3	1	1
Business/Employer	2	2		2	
Charity/Welfare	2	2		2	1
Christmas Events	17	17	11	17	7
Cultural/Musical/ Dancing/Theatres	19	19	22	19	24
Environmental			4		5
Exhibitions			1		
Forums/Workshops	1	1	6	1	1
Health Related	12	12	4	12	10
Humanitarian Aid	4	4	3	4	
Immigrant Org	2	2		2	1
Lodge/Service	3	3	3	3	5
Markets/Fairs	14	14	15	14	12
Neighbourhood Org	2	2	1	2	
New Year's Events			1		
Other Hobbies	12	12	6	12	5
Parents Clubs	1	1	4	1	1
Pensioners/Retired	16	16	10	16	7
Religious Org	3	3	4	3	3
School Reunions	1	1		1	1
Sports/Outdoor	17	17	23	17	28
Youth Groups	3	3	1	3	1
Total per Family	132	132	122	132	113
Total per Area	113 - 132				

(Source: Newspaper & Website Study)

The Peninsula area also had the highest overall availability of organizations and events in the study (see Table 10.5). There were between 113 and 132 organizations and events within five kilometres of the homes of the participants who resided there. This area had much the same variety of activities as in the Turrumurra/St. Ives area, but the local councils seemed more active. They held many additional events such as an advertised Tree Management Forum and a Waste Education Training Day, as well as an Aboriginal Social Day, an International People Disability Day, a Summerfest and several local concerts.

Table 10.6 Comparison of BOSCAR 2004 Statistics for the Peninsula Area to Statistics for Sydney

BOSCAR Area	Peninsula Area						Sydney
	Manly		Pittwater		Warringah		
	total	per 100,000 pop.	total	per 100,000 pop.	total	per 100,000 pop.	per 100,000 pop.
Homicide	5	12.9	3	5.3	5	3.6	6.7
Assault	355	914.3	336	591.7	803	586.1	933.2
Sexual Offences	37	95.4	34	59.9	91	66.4	118.1
Abduction/Kidnapping	3	7.7	0	0	0	0	5.6
Robbery	37	90.2	20	35.1	91	66.4	209
Other Offences against Person	20	51.5	42	74.0	95	69.3	16
Theft	2,336	6,016.1	2,064	3,632.9	4,194	3,061.0	5,592
Extortion/Blackmail	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.2
Arson	25	64.4	20	35.2	88	64.2	84.2
Malicious Damage Property	451	1,161.6	540	950.9	1,228	896.3	1,219.4
Drug Offences	86	221.6	98	172.7	170	124.2	285.5
Offensive Behaviour	130	334.8	36	63.4	72	52.5	38.1
Prostitution Offences	8	20.6	1	1.8	9	6.6	7.1
Betting/Gambling Offences	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.1
Against Justice Procedures	148	381.2	102	179.7	324	236.5	361.5
Other	477	1,228.5	944	1,662.3	962	702.2	261.9

(Source: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004; 2008)

Three different BOSCAR crime regions covered the Peninsula area, reflecting three different patterns of criminal behaviour (see Table 10.6). This included the highest crime region in the study in eight BOSCAR categories, the Manly area. Manly is a major area of attraction within Sydney due to its beaches, with tourists and young adults congregating there for entertainment purposes. It was not unexpected that crime would be higher than in other more residential areas. The second BOSCAR category in this area, Pittwater, was mid-range for crime while Warringah which was a very residential location, was the lowest criminal part of the Peninsula area.

Not unexpectedly, the Peninsula area had the highest reporting of crime and safety issues in the newspaper and website study. Besides being a major tourist location, two other reasons accounted for this high reporting. This area had a daily local paper with a

regular column entitled 'On the Beat' reporting local crime and current court cases. The newspaper also seemed to emphasise warnings and notices about crime. There were warnings of thefts, a discussion of 'Operation Viking' which was a police action targeting drink drivers, notices urging residents to take extra care during the Christmas season and lists of emergency telephone numbers. Besides these there were 41 instances of crime reported in the two-week period scrutinized. These ranged from a man exposing himself, parking fines, teenagers exchanging punches, a dog being shot, a report of a stabbing and an assault, as well as a legal battle over a local development. Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House schemes were in operation.

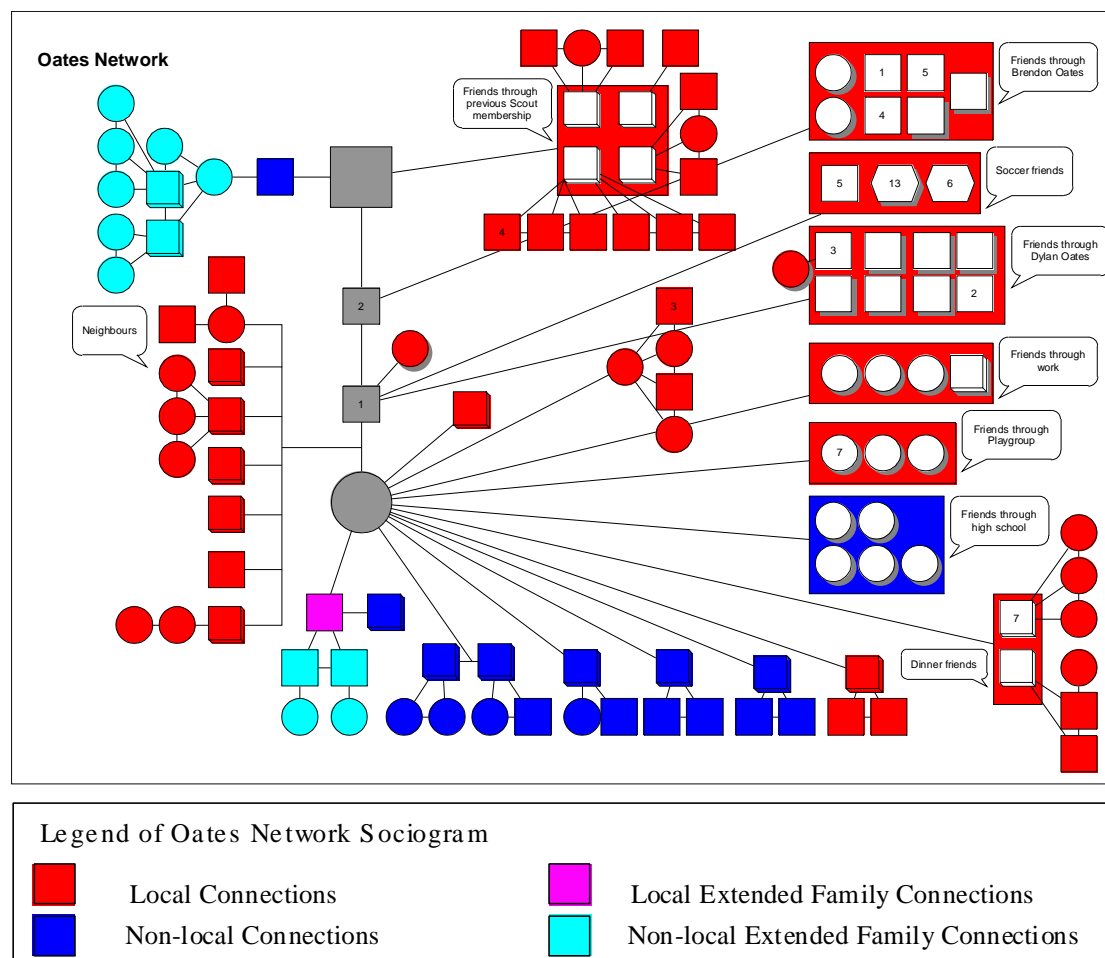
Much like the Turramurra/St. Ives area, the Peninsula can be considered an opportunity structure. There are high levels of services and facilities as well as organizations and events, which present enormous opportunities for meeting others. Although this is the highest crime area in this study, most parts are residential suburbs which are largely unaffected by this crime. Undoubtedly, the tourist precincts of Manly are likely to be risky late on a Saturday night, but the general levels of crime are unlikely to cause undue concern in regards to using the local area for meeting people and making connections.

Activity Spaces in the Peninsula Area

Two activity spaces are used to explore local attachments. The first is the homogeneous Oates family in the very southern part of the area (the Warringah area closer to Sydney CBD), which is a very suburban part of the Peninsula. The second activity space is that of the balanced Norris family who lived in the more exclusive northern part of the area, Pittwater.

The homogeneous Oates family had more local ties than any other network in the study. As previously discussed Caroline Oates was 56 and Tom was 58. They had two adult sons who lived with them. Figure 10.4 displays their sociogram in terms of local and non-local connections.

Figure 10.4 Sociogram of the Homogeneous Oates Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



With a 146-member network, the Oates's previous connections through Scouts, Playgroup, and their children's schooling resulted in local friendships that still existed. Caroline worked in a local kindergarten and her children's local friendships included those in a soccer team. The Oates's had very active relationships with their neighbours,

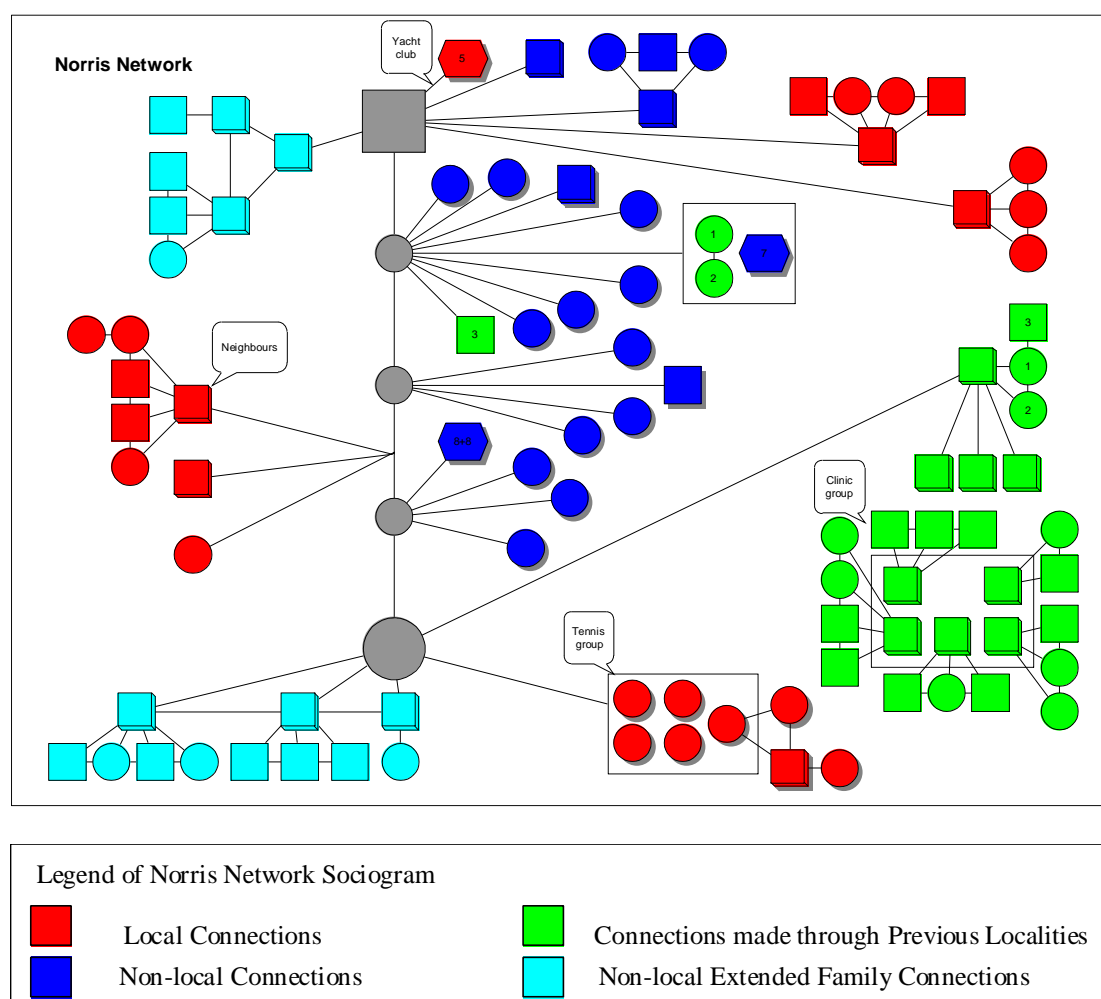
not only socializing with them but also considering them to be ‘really good friends’.

Caroline spoke of going to a local street party twice a year. They attended local school fetes, Christmas carols, local markets and the local Australia Day celebrations. Caroline and Tom went to the local RSL about twice a week and tried to support the local shops. In total Caroline told me about 101 local connections (69 percent of their network). From these the Oates’s received 75 percent of their mobilized resources (152 instances from a total of 204). Not only were most of the connections local, these connections carried most of the social capital for this family. Non-local ties consisted of extended family, old school mates and friendships that had remained from previous non-local working situations.⁸⁰

The activity space of the balanced Norris network demonstrated a different attachment to the Peninsula area. Laura Norris was 47 and Daniel Norris was 50. They had three daughters living with them, 23, 22 and 16 years old. Laura was not employed and Daniel owned a very successful advertising company. The children had always attended private schools. The social network of the Norris’s consisted of 139 members: 35 were connected to their local area, 33 were associated with previous areas in which they had lived and 71 were non-local ties. The sociogram in Figure 10.5 displays their local and non-local connections.

⁸⁰ These were all face-to-face interactions, with Caroline Oates claiming to not use the Internet to stay in touch with friends.

Figure 10.5 Sociogram of the Balanced Norris Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



The main local connections were from Laura's membership in a golf club and Daniel's yachting club. They had two local families that were friends and a few neighbours. They knew one of these families because Daniel had worked with the adult male, while they knew the other because he had met the adult male when they were in high school together. All now lived in the same neighbourhood. Laura said she was not friendly with her neighbours. She said of the neighbours on one side that she would say hello if they passed each other in the shops but she would not even recognize their children. She said she would recognize the neighbours on the other side but 'wouldn't even say hello because we don't get along with them'. The Norris's received 19 percent of their

social capital from these local connections (26 instances from a total of 135). They also had two groups of network members that remained friends from previous residences in another part of the Peninsula (ties that were made locally). One family they had met through a previous good friend of Laura's who had gone to school with the couple (the friend was no longer in the social network). Through them, the Norris's also socialized with three other couples. The other group of network members were a clique of friends met through the local baby health clinic when the Norris's children were younger. The clinic had organized these women to meet together for six weeks with the purpose of supporting each other. Twenty-three years later, all living in different areas of Sydney, they still remained friends. Both of these groups could be tied to local areas (but not where the Norris's currently resided). From these network members the Norris received 37 percent of their support (50 instances), thus tying 56 percent of their social capital to connections made through place-based connections. Almost all of their non-local based connections were to extended family and associations made through the private schools of the Norris children (not in the local area). These provided the remaining 44 percent of their social capital (59 instances).⁸¹

These two activity spaces represented very different forms of attachment to the same local area. The homogeneous Oates network was extremely attached to the Peninsula area, while the balanced Norris network was less so. Yet both of these networks showed more attachment to 'place' than those of the Turrumurra/St. Ives area.

⁸¹ Laura Norris claimed that neither she nor Daniel used the Internet to communicate with people.

Perceptions of the Peninsula Area

The perceptions of Caroline Oates of her local area reflected her attachment to it. She claimed: 'I think everything is here that we need'. Her only concern was that she felt unsafe in her neighbourhood. When asked if she felt safe, she replied:

No, I used to until Ben's (her son) car got broken into three times outside so no I don't. As a house I do but just in the street. You have someone driving down the street and you think what are they doing now?

Her overall perception was still very positive. She demonstrated this by telling me about a hailstorm that had damaged several roofs in the area:

We all hoed in and did things for everyone else. It is sort of a neighbourhood where everybody would clan together and help each other out.

Laura Norris wasn't as positive in her assessment. She stated the services and facilities were 'ok' but recounted an instance where the local bus service, which her youngest daughter had taken to school, had been cancelled. Laura also told me about two separate robberies to her home. In one, her eldest daughter had been home at the time. Laura believed employees of her neighbours, their tree loppers and gardeners, had probably committed both robberies. These instances were reflected in her feelings about her neighbours where she questioned their honesty as well. Laura stressed she was now

very 'security conscience' but that she didn't necessarily feel unsafe. Her guarded perceptions of the services and the crime and safety of the Peninsula area mirrored Laura Norris's emotional fit with the area. They used the waterways and the boat ramps of the area but Laura claimed the Peninsula area was a very unfriendly place:

I put the unfriendliness down to the big blocks of land. You're not on top of your neighbours, you're coming and going without that hi you would hear when you back onto your neighbour. I think because of our block size, you're not going out to your letterbox and seeing the lady across the street.

The portrait of the Oates network was one that exemplified the connection between opportunity structure and place. Their connections reflected what Warren and Warren (1977: 116-123) referred to as a 'localized community'. Local opportunities were available, participants liked their neighbourhoods and used them. Consequently, they had high levels of local connections and most of their social capital flowed from these, emphasizing their association with place. The Norris's painted a very different picture. They seemed to enjoy living near the water and belonged to a few local leisure clubs but mainly socialized with non-placed based network members. Their perceptions of the area were not as positive as the Oates's, reflecting less of an emotional fit. Consequently, most of their social capital was non-placed based.

Hills Area of Sydney

Plate 10.15 Paul The Strawberry Man



(Source: Graham 2008)

Plate 10.16 Tree Planting at Fagan Park



(Source: NSW SES 2008)

Plate 10.17 Newer Double Story Home on Large Block



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.18 Galston Valley Railway



(Source: Discover Sydney Hills 2008)

Plate 10.19 Galston Country Music Festival Awards



(Source: Cowboys in Cyberspace 2008)

Plate 10.20 Newer Single Story Home on Large Block



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.21 Fibro Home on Large Block



(Source: Domain 2008)

Four families in this study resided in the Hills area and lived within 15 kilometres of each other. What was notable in this area was the vast division between the two local councils. Whereas Baulkham Hills Council was rather active and covered much of this area, Hawkesbury City Council appeared less so and covered only a small portion of this area of the study. Nevertheless participants all claimed they were all living within 'the Hills' area, which is why both council areas have been considered as one area.

The SEIFA indices ranged from 1,109.76 in Baulkham Hills to 1,017.53 in the Hawkesbury section of the area (NSW Department of Health 2006: 2). Both were higher than the 1,000 average of disadvantage for the state. The entire Hills area was in transition, moving from rural large acre blocks to more standard suburban blocks. New houses were being built on these. Even on the larger blocks that still existed, the houses were basically new. The area was very mixed. There were large blocks sporting big houses with five and six bedrooms, pools and tennis courts, smaller blocks with big new houses (with fewer bedrooms and no tennis courts and pools) and older veneer and fibro houses that still stood from another era. Almost 95 percent of homes were separate houses (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type B07). Plates 10.17, 10.20 and 10.21 demonstrate the types of houses that dominated this area. According to the ABS snapshots (2001a: 1-9; 2001b: 1-10), there was a high concentration of Australian born residents, between 68 and 80 percent. While English was still the most commonly spoken language at home, over six percent spoke Chinese, almost two percent spoke Italian and almost 2 percent spoke Arabic (including Lebanese) suggesting that many second generation migrants lived in this area. Most residents were employed, with between 23 and 37 percent being managers, administrators or professionals. This area had a high level of females in the workforce. Education levels were the lowest in the

study, with an average of only 3.7 percent of the population holding postgraduate degrees and 11 percent bachelor qualifications. Predominately, the area was made up of parents aged 35-54 (over a third) with growing children mostly aged 5 to 14 (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: B07).

Opportunity Structure of the Hills Area

Table 10.7 Facilities and Services within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Hills Area (Preset List of 29)

Area	Hills Area			
	Duncan	Erikson	Hunter	Logan
Family				
Facilities				
Supermarket	x		x	x
Butcher	x		x	x
Bakery	x		x	x
Fruit Store	x		x	x
Fish Shop	x		x	x
Cinema				
Hardware Store	x		x	x
Luxury Clothes Shop	x		x	x
Flower Shop	x		x	x
Snack Bar	x	x	x	x
Physician	x		x	x
Police Station				
Church	x		x	x
Petrol Station	x	x	x	x
Sports Field	x		x	x
Café	x		x	x
Restaurant	x		x	x
Day Care Centre	x	x	x	x
Neighbourhood Centre	x		x	x
School	x	x	x	x
Park	x	x	x	x
Swimming Centre	x		x	x
Fitness Centre				
Post Office	x		x	x
Bus Services				
Train Station				
Theatre/ Concert Hall	x		x	x
Public Library	x		x	x
Playground	x	x	x	x
Total per Family	24	6	24	24
Total per Area	6 - 24			

(Adapted from Volker 2004: 36)

The Hills area had the lowest availability of services in this study. Only twenty-four of the 29 services were generally available (see Table 10.7). There was no cinema, police station, sports or fitness centre and no bus or train station. What was notable was that one participating family (the Eriksons) had only six of these services and facilities within five kilometres of their house. They resided on the edge of the Hawkesbury City Council area that extended into the Blue Mountains and most of the council services were not available to them. While they had a snack bar, it was located in the local petrol station. Their local playground, park and day care centre were all within the grounds of their local school, which had fibro school buildings. Similarly, while the newspaper and website study revealed additional services existed for others within the area these were not within five kilometres of this family. The additional services included open and advertised council meetings (for Baulkham Hills Council), an expo of the services that the council provided, Young Playwrights Awards and a sports program. No state services were advertised in the Hills area.

Table 10.8 Advertised Community Associations & Events within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Hills Area

Area	Hills Area			
	Duncan	Erikson	Hunter	Logan
Associations/Events				
Business/Employer	2		3	5
Charity/Welfare	2		3	1
Christmas Events	9		20	17
Cultural/Musical/ Dancing/Theatres	14		20	11
Environmental	2		2	8
Exhibitions	1		3	
Forums/Workshops	1		1	1
Health Related	5		5	1
Markets/Fairs	6		16	8
Neighbourhood Org	1		1	
New Year's Events	2		2	1
Other Hobbies	8		14	10
Parents Clubs				1
Pensioners/Retired	8		9	5
Religious Org	2		4	2
School Reunions	1		1	2
Sports/Outdoor	7		3	1
Women's Groups	1			
Youth Groups	1			1
Total per Family	71	0	107	75
Total per Area	0 - 107			

(Source: Newspaper & Website Study)

Although the availability of local organizations and events were very mixed, they were lower than the previous two areas, ranging from none within five kilometres of the Eriksons' home to 107 for the Hunter family (who lived in this area with a balanced network) (see Table 10.8). Cultural and hobby groups and pensioner organizations were especially prominent. This area had the most advertised Christmas activities in the study.

Table 10.9 Comparison of 2004 Statistics for the Hills Area to Statistics for Sydney

	Hills Area				Sydney
BOSCAR Area	Baulkham Hills		Hawkesbury		
	total	per 100,000 pop.	total	per 100,000 pop.	per 100,000 pop.
Homicide	5	3.4	12	11.0	6.7
Assault	506	336.1	568	896.5	933.2
Sexual Offences	65	43.1	83	131.0	118.1
Abduction/Kidnapping	3	2.0	3	4.7	5.6
Robbery	83	55.1	26	41.0	209
Other Offences against Person	40	26.6	97	153.1	16
Theft	3,884	2,579.4	2,190	3,456.9	5,592
Extortion/Blackmail	0	0	0	0	1.2
Arson	69	45.8	93	146.8	84.2
Malicious Damage Property	1,017	675.4	826	1,303.8	1,219.4
Drug Offences	143	95.1	169	266.7	285.5
Offensive Behaviour	22	14.6	67	105.7	38.1
Prostitution Offences	4	2.7	2	3.2	7.1
Betting/Gambling Offences	0	0	0	0	1.1
Against Justice Procedures	133	88.3	300	473.6	361.5
Other	383	254.4	748	1,180.7	261.9

(Source: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004; 2008)

The Hills area covered three BOSCAR regions but one was a very small portion of another area, a few streets that belonged to the Hornsby BOSCAR area (not shown in Table 10.9). These streets were included as part of the Hills area in this study because the family representative considered the Hills area their neighbourhood. A gorge divides the landmass between Hornsby and the Hills side, although it is considered all one BOSCAR region. The Duncan family did not consider they resided in Hornsby but in the Hills area. Crime in this small section of the study was at medium levels as per the Hornsby area.

The Baulkham Hills BOSCAR region ranked 49th in the top 50 criminal areas of the state in terms of robberies. It also had some of the lowest crime rates in the study especially in offensive behaviour. Six other categories ranked near those of the safe

Turrumurra/St. Ives area. In fact, this part of the Hills area rated lowest in the study in terms of overall criminal offences (see Table 10.9).

The final BOSCAR region in the Hills area, the Hawkesbury region, was very different from the others. As discussed, it lay at the start of the divide between Sydney suburbs and the outskirts of the city that ran into the Blue Mountains. Much of this section of the Hills area tended to be more rural in nature with the corresponding BOSCAR region being one of the largest areas in the state. Percentages of crimes per 100,000 of the population were the highest in the study in several offences (see Table 10.9).

Next to the Peninsula area, the Hills district had the second highest level of crime reporting. Thirty instances of crime were documented in the newspaper and website study ranging from a rape trial, break-ins, drink driving charges, stolen trailers, to a trial on sexual assault and child pornography. This area also had reporting on fair trading breaches and on a scheme to obtain money by deception. On a positive note, the newspapers prominently displayed emergency contact numbers, a warning on safety for school formals, as well as a message of thanks to those who had helped a man who had been injured in a shopping centre (by being pushed and robbed). According to the interviews, Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House schemes did not seem to exist in the Hills area.

While much of this area can be considered an opportunity structure, part must be viewed as a constraint. For the Erikson family, residing on the edge of suburban Sydney, services and facilities as well as local organizations and events were by far the lowest in the study. These were almost non-existent within five kilometres of their house. There were no foci for meeting others and little incentive to do so. To add to

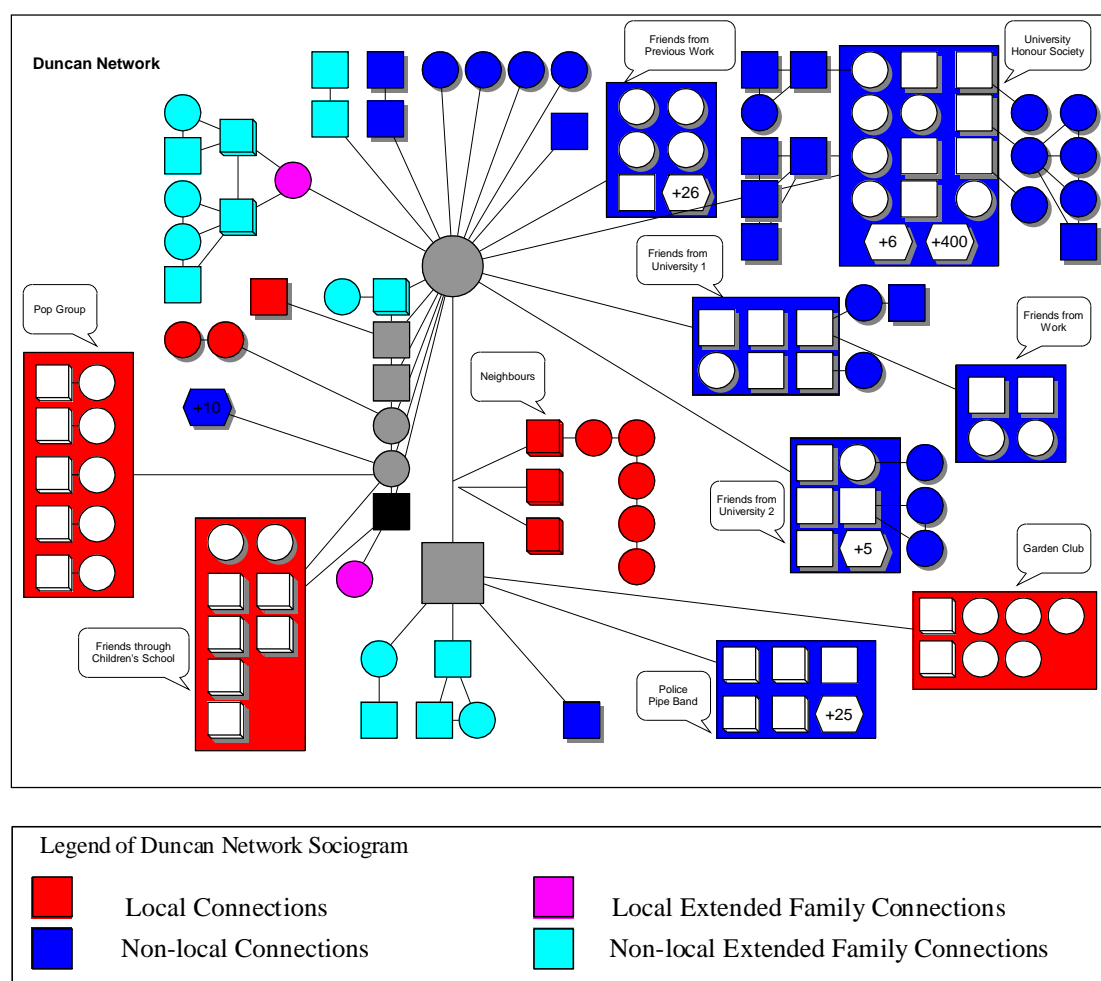
this, crime in this part of the Hills area was also high. This raises a question as to whether people would feel safe gathering at local events and activities. All of these suggest that this part of the Hills area should be viewed as a constraint and not as providing an opportunity for meeting and connecting.

Activity Spaces in the Hills Area

The activity spaces of two families will represent this area, as there were two very distinct patterns of association. The Duncan family, with a heterogeneous network, resided in the eastern part of the area while the Eriksons, with an insular network, lived in the more rural area to the west.

Sharon and Fred Duncan (52 and 60 years old) formed a stepfamily with six children from Sharon's previous marriage. Four of these currently lived with them. The couple had no children between them. Figure 10.6 displays their network in terms of local and non-local connections.

Figure 10.6 Sociogram of the Heterogeneous Duncan Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections

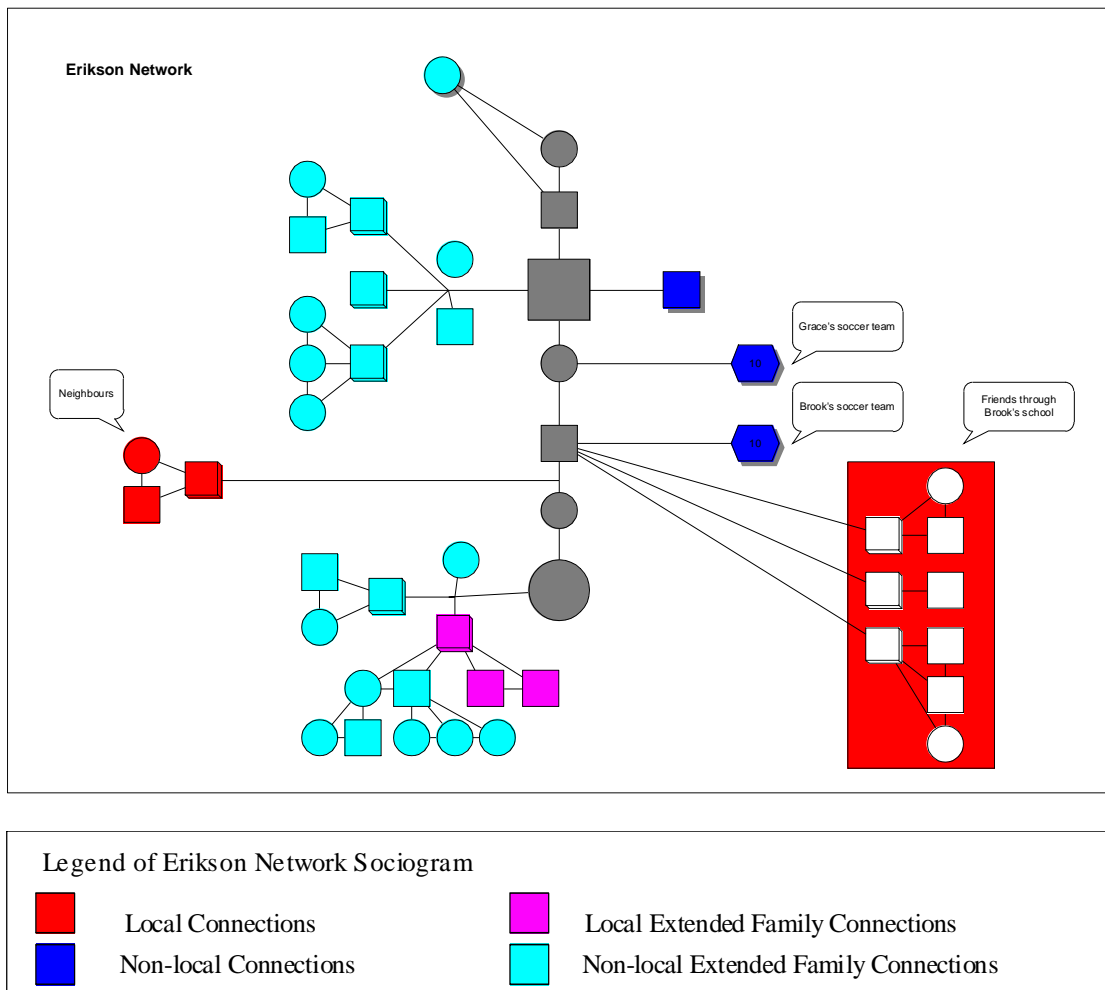


Although the Duncans used their locality to a degree, local connections were a minimal part of this network. Sharon Duncan spoke of going to the local café for coffees, to garden expos in Fagan Park, of attending a music festival in Galston and enjoying the farm trials in the area: 'You go along and follow the trial and buy jams and scones and whatever they make'. Neighbours represented local connections but Sharon Duncan claimed she 'deliberately maintained a distance and a screen between us [between her family and their neighbours]'. When her next-door neighbours had moved in, they had been in and out of her home all the time and she did not want to encourage this. Contact with them was now negligible. Members of the garden club were all local

residents, as were the mothers who were friends through her children's private school, which was local. The other major local connections were through a pop group to which their youngest daughter belonged. The families in this clique each took turns driving when they went to concerts and performances. Two extended family relationships were local contributing to a total of 54 place-based connections. Of the Duncans' mobilized social capital, five percent could be tied to these local connections (60 instances from the 1,164 recorded from the interview). All other connections in this network were outside the neighbourhood – 503 (82 percent of their network). Sharon Duncan said most of these were maintained through regular emails. Although the Duncan network was predominately made up of ties that extended outside their locality, they still had ties to their local area, reflecting Warren and Warren's notion of an 'integrated community'. Families in this type of community have contact with each other and share concerns but they also participate in the larger society (Warren & Warren 1977: 116-123).

The Eriksons' network is the second case study to represent the Hills area. Their local connections were extremely different. Louise and Mathew Erikson had a blended family with three younger children between them and two older children from a previous partnership living with them. Figure 10.7 displays their network in terms of local and non-local connections.

Figure 10.7 Sociogram of the Insular Erikson Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



The Eriksons' use of their local neighbourhood was the lowest in the study. Local connections totalled 20 (30 percent of their network). This included a group of friends met through their younger son's private school within the neighbourhood. Their other local connections included one family of neighbours and a few extended family members who lived nearby. From these local connections they received 48 percent of their resources (80 instances from a total of 166). Their non-local connections included two soccer teams and extended family as well as one overseas friend.⁸² Louise Erikson

⁸² Communication with their overseas friend was maintained via the Internet while others were face-to-face connections.

had just agreed to be manager of her children's soccer clubs but these were not within the local area. Louise found the concept of a 'local area' very amusing, as the local soccer games were almost thirty minutes away by car. When speaking of being involved in safety schemes, Mathew Erikson explained these would be impossible in their area because home blocks were five acres.

Whereas the heterogeneous network of the Duncan family was attached to the Hills area, their connections extended mainly into the wider society. The insular network of the Eriksons had fewer connections to place, but their network was also much smaller and they had fewer connections radiating to outside this area.

Perceptions of the Hills Area

The perceptions of this area were also very different. Sharon Duncan stated she was well informed by the local newspapers, crime was minimal and she felt safe in her neighbourhood. She had had her jewellery stolen three years previously yet she had not changed her perception of safety, 'I still feel safe even when I'm in my back yard'. Of the overall neighbourhood, she said, 'everyone seems to know one another but that can be bad as well. If something goes wrong, everybody knows about that too'.

With a much lower level of services and facilities in her part of the Hills area, Louise Erikson was adamant local services were not good. When asked about these, she replied:

None, almost to the point of being non-existent. We can't get broadband, we can't get cable TV, we don't get water and no

annual council cleanups. The only regular bus services are the ones to transport kids to school, no public transport at all.

Whereas the official crime rates were high, these seemed to represent the overall Hawkesbury City Council Area and Mathew Erikson spoke of feeling safe in his locality. Both Louise and Mathew agreed their area was 'really good' to live in. They claimed it was a friendly place but Mathew Erikson was ambivalent about belonging. He stressed he had no need to belong to an area and explained his sentiment in this way: 'Living on five acres is very different because you're not in each other's face'.

The Eriksons had the lowest usage of place in the study but they also had the fewest opportunities by far. The low level of local opportunities can definitely be seen as a constraint. With few opportunities to interact with locale, it would be unreasonable to expect that local network connections would be established. The Eriksons' low level of connections reflected this lack of opportunity. The mixed results of services, community events and crime in the area, both support and challenge the argument about opportunity structures. If opportunities do not exist, then of course they cannot generate the local connections that lead to social capital. The Eriksons reflected this type of situation. Yet the existence of opportunities does not automatically mean local connections will be instigated. In the first instance opportunities to meet must exist, but local connections must also be established to be of any benefit in terms of generating social capital. The Duncan family reflects this situation. Their local area can definitely be seen as an opportunity structure, yet most of their connections were outside their locality.

Hornsby Shire Area of Sydney

Plate 10.22 Hornsby Train Station



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.23 Hornsby Girls High School



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.24 Hornsby Country Fair



(Source: Australian Heritage Dancers 2008)

Plate 10.25 Single Level Brick Home



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.26 Older Fibro Home



(Source: Domain 2008)

Plate 10.27 Park in Hornsby



(Source: Watkins 2008)

Plate 10.28 Pacific Highway, Hornsby



(Source: Watkins 2008)

The Hornsby Shire area, the fourth locality in this study, was an older area of Sydney. The SEIFA index for this area was 1,103.88 (NSW Department of Health 2006: 2), suggesting it was not a disadvantaged area. Most of the residents had lived here for a long time and they tended to be aged 45-64 (29 percent) and had reached a comfortable stage in their lives (Pacific Micromarketing 2006: Type B06). The area included single story brick homes (Plate 10.25), veneer and fibro houses such as in Plate 10.26, as well as sections of assisted housing. According to the ABS snapshot (2001c: 1-10), most of the population was employed, with 40 percent holding management, administrative and professional positions. Educational qualifications were high with over seven percent holding postgraduate degrees and 35 percent holding bachelor degrees. Over 65 percent were Australian-born, with most immigrants coming from the U.K., Hong Kong or China. Although English was the most common language spoken at home, over ten percent of the population spoke variations of an Asian language. Typically, married couples headed families in this area, supporting dependent children.

Opportunity Structure of the Hornsby Area

Table 10.10 Facilities and Services within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Hornsby Area (Preset List of 29)

Area	Hornsby Area		
	Baker	Carter	Ireland
Family			
Facilities			
Supermarket	x	x	x
Butcher	x	x	x
Bakery	x	x	x
Fruit Store	x	x	x
Fish Shop	x	x	
Cinema	x	x	
Hardware Store	x	x	x
Luxury Clothes Shop	x	x	
Flower Shop	x	x	
Snack Bar	x	x	x
Physician	x	x	x
Police Station	x	x	
Church	x	x	x
Petrol Station	x	x	x
Sports Field	x	x	x
Café	x	x	x
Restaurant	x	x	x
Day Care Centre	x	x	
Neighbourhood Centre	x	x	
School	x	x	x
Park	x	x	x
Swimming Centre	x		
Fitness Centre	x	x	
Post Office	x	x	x
Bus Services	x	x	
Facilities – continued			
Train Station	x	x	
Theatre/ Concert Hall			
Public Library	x	x	
Playground	x	x	x
Total per Family	28	27	16
Total per Area	16 - 28		

(Adapted from Volker 2004: 36)

Although many services in this area were further than five kilometres from some participants' houses, only one service from the preset list of 29 was missing from the area (see Table 10.10). There was no theatre or concert hall. The high availability of services was due to a major shopping centre close-by. Additional services by the state and council were low with the local library conducting a few talks and activities, with no others advertised.

Table 10.11 Advertised Community Associations & Events within Five Kilometres of Each Participant's House in the Hornsby Area

Area	Hornsby Area		
Family	Baker	Carter	Ireland
Associations/Events			
Business/Employer	3	1	
Charity/Welfare	2	2	
Christmas Events	10	4	2
Cultural/Musical/ Dancing/Theatres	15	2	1
Forums/Workshops	1		1
Health Related	8	5	2
Immigrant Org	4		
Lodge/Service	3		
Markets/Fairs	5	1	
Neighbourhood Org	5		1
Other Hobbies	17	3	6
Parents Clubs	1	4	
Pensioners/Retired	10	1	1
Political Parties	1		1
Religious Org	1		1
Sports/Outdoor	5		
Youth Groups	2	2	
Total per Family	93	25	16
Total per Area	16 - 93		

(Source: Newspaper & Website Study)

This area had the lowest overall number of organizations and events available in the study. These ranged from 16 to 93 local organizations and events within five-kilometres of any participant's home (see Table 10.11) and mainly revolved around hobby and pensioner groups, sporting teams and Christmas events. There were also many health related support groups as well as resident and housing groups within the area.

Table 10.12 Comparison of BOSCAR 2004 Statistics for the Hornsby Area to Statistics for Sydney

BOSCAR Area	Hornsby Area		Sydney
	total	per 100,000 pop.	per 100,000 pop.
Homicide	5	3.2	6.7
Assault	524	338.7	933.2
Sexual Offences	105	67.9	118.1
Abduction/Kidnapping	4	2.6	5.6
Robbery	79	51.1	209
Other Offences against Person	32	20.7	16
Theft	3,905	2,524.3	5,592
Extortion/Blackmail	0	0	1.2
Arson	50	32.3	84.2
Malicious Damage Property	1,241	802.2	1,219.4
Drug Offences	376	243.0	285.5
Offensive Behaviour	77	49.8	38.1
Prostitution Offences	2	1.3	7.1
Betting/Gambling Offences	0	0	1.1
Against Justice Procedures	209	135.1	361.5
Other	2,456	1,587.5	261.9

(Source: NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004; 2008)

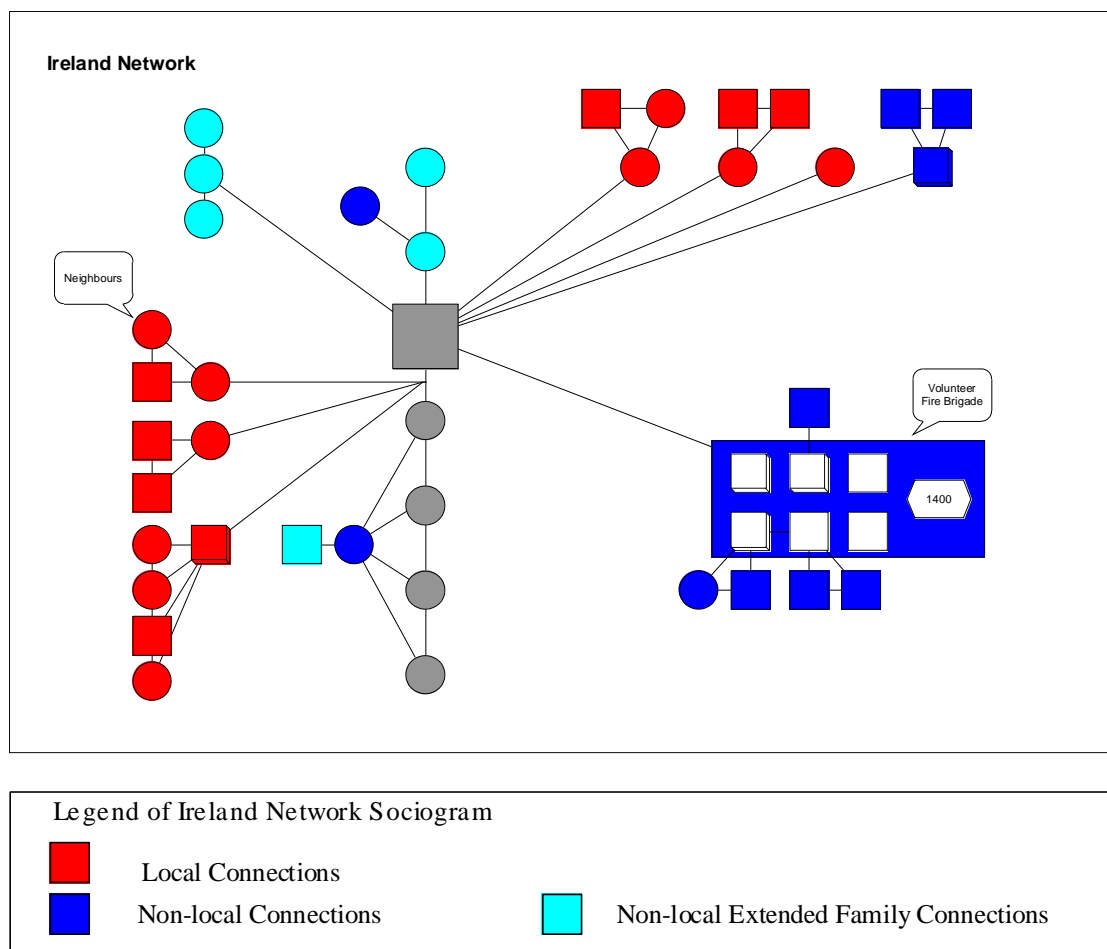
The BOSCAR statistics for the Hornsby area, shown in Table 10.12, proved mid range for the study. Figures were neither the highest nor the lowest in any of the offences and the area was not in the top 50 criminal regions for the state. Reports of crime were the lowest in the study. Only 15 instances were recounted within the two weeks of the newspaper and website study, all being minor in nature. Both Neighbourhood Watch and Safety House were active here.

While the Hornsby area did not present the vast array of opportunities of other areas, it can certainly still be considered an opportunity structure. Services and facilities as well as local organizations and events, were available and safety was high. There were opportunities for meeting and connecting with others and with high levels of safety few reservations should exist in this regard.

Activity Space in the Hornsby Area

The activity space of Martin Ireland demonstrates his connection to this area. A single parent with four of his children living with him, Martin was not employed and was currently on social services. The sociogram in Figure 10.8 displays his local and non-local connections.

Figure 10.8 Sociogram of the Truncated Ireland Network Displaying Local and Non-local Connections



Martin used his neighbourhood extensively. He participated in a local street Christmas party; he knew his neighbours and socialized with them often, having coffee and a chat with them almost daily. Yet he had very few local connections, only seven adults and

twelve children. These connections carried twelve instances of social capital. Although this was a very low level, it represented 33 percent of his social capital. The majority of his network was involved in the voluntary fire brigade, yet he rarely socialized with any of these members. Consequently, social capital from these connections was also minimal (27 instances).

Perceptions of the Hornsby Area

Although not one of the higher serviced areas in the study, Martin perceived his local services to be good:

Shops, trains two minutes up the road, school five minutes up the road, a butcher, a restaurant, a takeaway, a hairdresser, five minutes by car.

It did not seem to matter to him that the services were not within a five-kilometre walking distance.

His perception of crime seemed to match the statistics. He claimed to feel safe and minimized the severity of local crime:

Obviously it fluctuates depending on who comes through here. It's not really noticeable [the crime]; there haven't been any murders. It's generally kid related.

His overall perception of the Hornsby area was that it was ‘really good’:

It’s a small community where everybody knows everybody. We all know of or are acquaintances with everybody. Everybody will wave or say hello.

The Hornsby area challenged the notion of opportunity structures. The level of Martin Ireland’s opportunity structure was relatively high. He used his local area and perceived it to be a good area, yet few resources resulted from his placed-based connections: ‘the weakest ties are clearly not useful...since a tie with no strength offers no incentive for exchanges’ (Lin 1999: 474).

10.2 Influence of Place on Social Networks and Social Capital

The importance of ‘place’ is a hotly contested notion throughout the social capital literature. In trying to determine why some networks are more embedded in place and gain benefits from this, the notion of opportunity structures was developed. This looked at some of the general features of a neighbourhood such as the physical design, as well as the services and facilities, organizations and events and the safety in areas to see if these influenced local connections, consequently generating social capital. As well as these features, the perceptions of families about these were explored to see if they influenced the use of local areas. All except crime were found to have a role on how families were attached to place, consequently affecting their social capital. Crime did

not seem to impact on local participation for any of the families in this study, but fear of crime was generally at low levels in all areas explored.

The design of an area had a direct affect on how families connected in their locality. For example, the larger blocks in both the western section of the Hills area and in the northern parts of the Peninsula meant neighbours rarely communicated, limiting the opportunity for participation. There was often a sense of general distrust when interactions with neighbours were low. This was evident in the case of the Norris's who appeared to have a general distrust of their neighbours.

With one exception, all areas in this study had numerous opportunities for both formal interactions through local groups and clubs and casual meetings through easy access to local shops and events. The role of services and facilities as well as community organisations and events was more notable when they were *not* available. For example, in the western part of the Hills area there were so few services and organizations, participants *had* to go outside their area for most of what was needed. This meant chances for both casual meetings as well as local formal participation were almost non-existent. However, what seemed to have the biggest impact on how participants interacted with their localities were their perceptions of neighbourhoods and their sense of belonging. These perceptions were often inconsistent within an area. Positive perceptions of locality appear essential to propagate local interactions, which generated social capital. For example, the Oates's in the southern part of the Peninsula identified with their area. They seemed to see it as a type of extended family where neighbours supported each other, resulting in plenty of local interactions from which they received

most of their social capital. The neighbourliness appeared to be a source of stability and they had a commitment to place. Yet this high sense of attachment could also act in an insular fashion, as this family showed little interaction outside their locality. The same situation appeared to exist in the Player family. Sarah Player had high perceptions of her local area but for her, locality was seen more in terms of her religious community. She rarely separated the physical location of the Turramurra/St. Ives area and that of the symbolic Jewish community. Her attachment to place was through her religion with almost all of her interactions tied to this form of community, which consequently generated most of her social capital. And again, this type of attachment seemed rather insular, with little association outside this specific community.

Positive perceptions of locality could also be tied to a more integrated type of participation, one where both community attachment and interaction with the wider society existed. This was evident in the Duncan family in the Hills area. Sharon Duncan had positive perceptions of her area and her family participated in local events and organizations. According to Sharon, they enjoyed living in their area and some of their social capital could be tied to local connections. Yet they also had many contacts and associations outside their locality. These were based more on interests and involvement with wider social structures such as employment and education. If place is seen in regards to these places of work or places of learning as well, then the significance of place becomes even more important, however when seen as a type of community or locale, place becomes just *one* of the structures of society which generate social capital. Integrated type of community involvement, where both local connections and those with the wider society exist, seems to generate the most social capital. This seems to reflect both the importance of bonding with similar others (assuming

neighbourhoods attract like-minded individuals) and bridging to those across other social divides.

The more negative perceptions of localities also appeared to affect community ties and the generation of social capital. The distrust of the Norris's in the northern part of the Peninsula, and the outright dislike of the Turramurra/St. Ives locale by the Grace family, each seemed to generate types of privatized lifestyles rather than community attachment. In both of these families, connections to locality were based around sporting groups or what Willmott (1987: 308) terms 'communities of interest'. Where these do generate social capital, there seems to be no attachment to place *per se*. Most of the social capital in these families came from connections outside their local residential areas.

There also exists a situation where perceptions of an area can be positive, connections can exist both locally and to the wider community, but social capital can still be low. An example of this is the Ireland network. Martin Ireland had positive perceptions of the Hornsby area and had local connections through neighbours. He was also connected to the wider society through his involvement in the fire brigade. Yet due to his understanding of his obligations to his family, he had so little time to maintain these connections that he gained virtually no social capital. This suggests that attachment to network members, both those integrated in place and those outside, need to be actively maintained to be beneficial. Martin's lifestyle had become so privatized that not only place-based connections but his connections outside the local area provided only minimum value.

10.3 Place-Based Connections and Social Capital by Typologies

Discussions of place from a social capital perspective generally try to determine if location enhances the resources flowing through a network or if connections outside an area do so better, yet in the level of analysis required by this thesis, the question becomes whether *types* of networks use locality to enhance resources. Do the typologies in this study have more ties to local or to outside vicinities, and which type of network is more beneficial in terms of generating social capital with regards to place?

Table 10.13 Summary of Place-Based Connections and their Social Capital

Typologies Represented by Case Studies	Percentage of Network that is Local	Percentage of Social Capital Local Ties Carry
Heterogeneous (Duncan network)	18	5
Heterogeneous (Grace network)	21	46
Balanced (Hunter network)	40	56
Homogeneous (Oates network)	69	75
Insular (Erikson network)	20	48
Truncated (Player network)	32	67
Truncated (Ireland network)	.01	33

Table 10.13 allows conclusions about place-based connections to be drawn for typologies using the previous case studies. Determining where connections are made, either local or non-local, allows a comparison between the connections where social capital is generated. The *heterogeneous* typology had the widest range of social

connections. Their activity spaces reflected the ‘stretched out’ spaces found by Massey and Jess (1995: 57) in which the spatial reach of social relations seems to be expanding. With the highest levels of social capital by far, these networks obtained most of their social capital from non-place based connections. Both the Duncans in the Hills area and the Graces in the Turrumurra/St. Ives area exemplified this. In the Duncan network, 95 percent of social capital came from ties outside their local area, while 54 percent of the Graces’ social capital was non-place based. Instead of communities of place, Willmott’s (1987: 308) communities of interest appeared more important in this typology. The activity space of the Duncans revealed that of the nine ‘groups’ of people within their network (not including neighbours and extended family), six of these were non-local. One was a pipe band, two groups were friends from work, one was an academic honour society and two were university campus based friendship groups. For the Graces, both members of Frank’s soccer club and members of the environmental movement for Nancy were non-place based groups of interest. In this typology, ‘place’, in terms of residence, becomes just *one* ‘community’ to generate social capital. This typology also supports the findings of Matthew’s team of researchers in their Canadian study: the ability to access resources both inside and outside the community is an important benefit, yet both strong and weak ties outside the community are generally unrelated to activities inside the community (Enns *et al* 2003: 8). Although both the Duncan and Grace families were tied to their communities in terms of interests (the Duncans mainly through their garden club and the Graces through their interests in sport), their interests also took them outside their local area, with most of their connections and their social capital coming from these non-place based ties.

What was also notable in the heterogeneous networks was that most of their connections were maintained through the Internet. In the bigger organizations in these networks, this was the main method of contact. Once email begins to be used for communicating in these larger organizations, individuals seem to also come to use it to communicate with others outside these groups. As found by Spencer and Pahl (2006: x, 24), this type of communication appears to complement face-to-face interactions rather than replace them. Sharon Duncan claimed she had contact with most individuals in her network by email and for the largest group, this was generally the only way of communicating. Yet she reiterated she still saw many of her friends on a regular basis. Daily or weekly interactions were by email but these only kept them in touch until they could see each other in person. The Graces demonstrated a similar situation where communication was maintained via the Internet but face-to-face interactions also occurred. Although communicating with large groups may instigate the use of emailing, Perrons (2004: 169), in discussing the digital divide, cautions that Internet access is differentiated by education and this may be relevant in this typology. High Internet users were also in the most highly educated typology in the study. Of the four families in the typology, three ego-centred adults held post-graduate degrees, there were three bachelor degrees and the younger Archers were studying at university.

The *homogeneous* typology, still with high levels of social capital, had a much closer attachment to place and most of their social capital was generated through local ties. The Oates family exemplified this. Most of their network members came from participating in local activities, with these connections generating most of their social capital. Whereas this was beneficial, localized attachment to place seemed to stunt their connections to diverse groups of individuals, limiting the diversity of resources

available to them. Lin (2005: 5) contends that a diversity of embedded resources is the constitutive element of social capital, suggesting that whereas local connections can undoubtedly be beneficial, a diversity of connections appears to be essential in maximising social capital.

Balanced networks, also with high levels of social capital, were generally not as tied to place as the networks in the homogeneous typology. As demonstrated by the balanced activity space of the Norris network, they had both local ties and connections outside their area. The social capital provided by these were more evenly spread between place-based and non-place based connections. In terms of generating social capital, place was clearly not as important to them as to those in the homogeneous typology, yet neither were their networks as wide and open as the heterogeneous typologies. It is these wide-open networks that Lin (2004:5) suggests are most beneficial in producing social capital as they provide a more diverse range of connections. The findings in this typology support this position.

The *insular* typology had far less social capital, with networks embedded in places where opportunity structures were relatively low. With lower levels of services and facilities and few community events or associations available, it was not unexpected that local connections were not made. Families in this situation had to go outside their local areas as there were few opportunities for connecting locally, yet non-place based connections in this typology also appeared to be rather limited, further restricting their social capital, suggesting that other factors may be at work.

The *truncated* typology, with the lowest level of social capital, had mixed connections to locality. The Players were deeply immersed in their local area but community for them was in terms of their religious community, with this providing most of their social capital. For the Ireland network, there were connections to locality but these carried relatively low levels of social capital. Yet social capital was also low from the non-placed based connections in this network. As suggested earlier, specific circumstances in these networks seemed to override the characteristics that influenced social capital in other typologies. Sarah Player's network had changed so rapidly, she was yet to adjust to these changes, falling back on the support she had from her religious community. Martin Ireland had enormous responsibilities in terms of his family which mitigated socializing with members of his network, consequently ties had become so weak, they carried little social capital.

The de-emphasis of the importance of locale suggests by Wellman (1982) and Larner (1990) seems to be supported by this study. Wellman argued that 'In Western industrialized societies, community is based on a network of significant social ties that extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood' (Wellman 1982: 116). Similarly, Mary Larner contented that 'Social participation is not dependent on cohesive local communities or on lively neighbourhood networks. The networks established by urbanites are diverse' and include associates 'who are not likely to live nearby' (Larner 1990: 214). As demonstrated by the heterogeneous networks, instead of communities of place, *communities of interest* appear to be more important for social participation and thus more important for generating social capital. This finding seriously challenges the importance of community capacity building stressed by many in the discussions of social capital. Instead of attempting to build ties at the local level, it is likely to be more important to concentrate on building ties based on interests, where individuals can be

connected with a wider range of others. This should provide the diversity of resources Lin suggests is most beneficial. Yet to downgrade the importance of place to social capital would be a mistake as clearly many networks, such as the homogeneous type, obtained much of their social capital from local interactions. Much like Matthews' (2005: 2) Canadian study, social networking in this study appears to have the ability to bond people within communities as well as bridge them to other people.

Both participation and the embedded location of networks clearly affect levels of social capital. SNA suggests that the content of networks may also act to facilitate or constrain the flow of resources. Based on the quantitative analysis of the data which shows a correlation, the next chapter explores the relationship between the norm of independence and levels of social capital.

Chapter 11

Independence and Social Capital

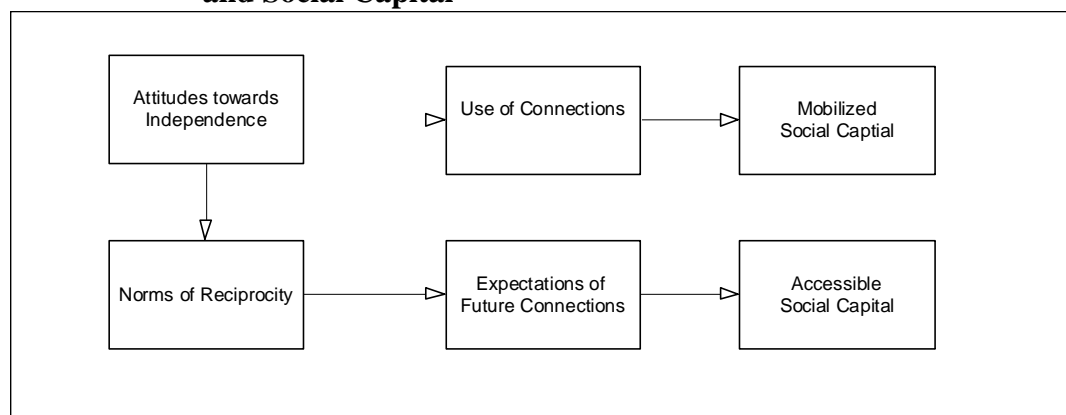
This chapter explores the tensions and implications of attitudes to the norm of independence in relation to families in this study. While various norms are likely to affect the access to social capital in a network, the norm of independence appears likely to be the one with the highest impact. Most participants in this study reported that their families were independent. However differences in conceptions of independence seemed to influence reported network exchanges. When participants spoke of their families as being independent, while all seemed to be referring to the self-determination or autonomy of the family unit, some appeared to situate independence within the domain of an interactive and mutually supportive society. Here family responsibility was shared between society and the family and no conflict was seen between interdependency and autonomy. Others saw independence as a more definitive concept of individual/family responsibility. Here *any* support, even network support, was seen as compromising autonomy. Using social connections was seen as a weakness which threatened independence. These differing views of independence pose the question of how social capital can be differentially affected by what appears to be the same norm, and raises the question of whether programs aimed at increasing social capital should also aim to influence views on independence. If social capital can be compromised by specific views of independence, then arguments about how a family can be independent and still use social connections need to be made. The case studies reported here

indicate that using the resources gained through social connections could be seen as a way of being independent as much as they can be seen as a threat to independence.

Attitudes towards using connections which are influenced by views of independence, can be reflected in attitudes towards the norm of reciprocity because these views will influence network expectations (an aspect of accessible social capital). When the norm of reciprocity is high, using connections is likely to be viewed positively. Resources would then be expected based on those already provided. The norm of reciprocity reveals itself in expectations. When views of independence reinforce negative attitudes to *using* network connections, the norm of reciprocity would be lower or qualified. Resources would not be expected because connections would either not be used or would be seen as entailing an intolerable burden or consequence.

The proposed relationship between the norms of independence and reciprocity and how they are thought to affect social capital are displayed in Figure 11.1. Exploring the reciprocity evident in this study may reveal whether and to what degree independence influences network expectations and thus social capital.

Figure 11.1: Proposed Relationship between Norms of Independence, Reciprocity and Social Capital



Yet conflicts in networks may override both the norms of independence and reciprocity and influence network exchange. Networks are in reality multifaceted, containing supportive ties as well as obligations and conflicts (Oakley 1993: 113). These may influence normative behaviour with regards to using and expecting resources with specific relationships influencing the social capital derived from these connections. Conflicts, therefore, also warrant investigation.

To investigate the connection between independence and reciprocity, attitudes towards using network connections and reciprocity were examined in each network which professed a commitment to the norm of independence, factoring in any identified conflicts within the networks which were considered to impact on the use of connections. This combination enabled the placement of typologies along a continuum of independence similar to that of the Sutherland Institute (2002: 2). At one extreme of the continuum is a view of the norm which incorporates the rhetoric of individual self-reliance and should align with a negative view of using network connections. At the other, the view of self-reliance within the context of a mutually supportive society should align with the positive view that network exchanges are commonplace. This continuum can be compared with the levels of social capital in the typologies, based on the information examined in Chapter Eight. Comparisons should show how attitudes to the norm of independence influence views of using network connections and in turn show what can be expected based on what is provided according to the norms of reciprocity. Tempered by conflicts, these combinations of attitudes should reveal the influence of independence on levels of social capital.

11.1 Independence as a Norm for Particular Families

Based on a mixture of associated measures highlighted by the quantitative analysis, a further qualitative analysis indicated that the norm of independence was the most likely norm to influence access to social capital.⁸³ The first task then was to establish whether independence *was* indeed a norm held by participants and how this was perceived.

All respondents in this study irrespective of typology claimed that their families were independent. For example, Sharon Duncan had a large, heterogeneous network that linked her to many diverse people. She actively used her personal connections, but claimed that her family was ‘very much self-reliant’. Nicole Baker had a smaller, homogeneous network that revolved around much closer connections and was adamantly against using social connections. She too emphasized that she and her husband were independent. Sarah Player had a much smaller truncated network that revolved almost entirely around extended family. She also claimed that she and her husband were highly independent while Ashley Hunter, with a balanced network that had a more even number of weak and close ties, concurred: ‘One of *my* philosophies is to be quite independent’.⁸⁴

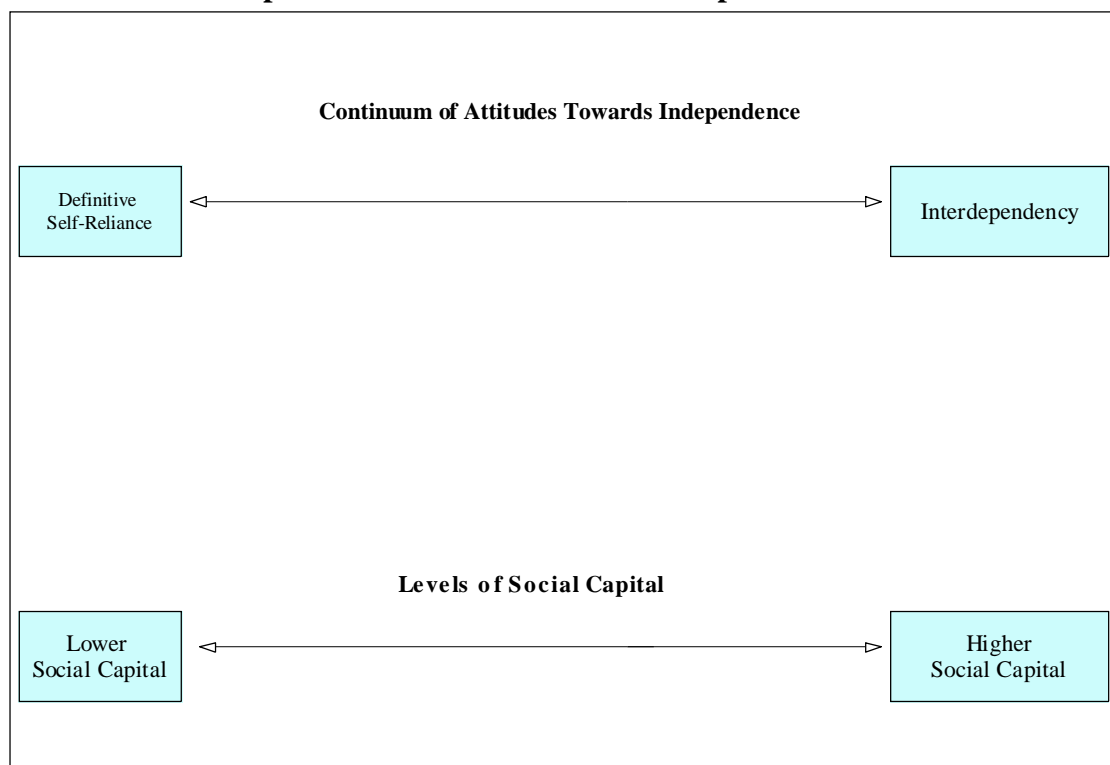
This insistence on independence across the full range of typologies was a clear indication that independence was culturally normative for the families involved in this study. However, it was also evident that there were very different ways of understanding this norm. Some participants viewed independence within the narrow

⁸³ These quantitative measures included self-reliance, efficacy, total reciprocity, the ability to access resources and support the family supplied to others.

⁸⁴ Emphasis in the original.

framework of a definitive family responsibility while others appeared to have a broader understanding similar to that of Burbidge (1998: 24), where the daily benefits of exchange through social networks did not interfere with the notion of independence. This dichotomy suggested that attitudes towards *using* one's network would reveal the degree to which independence was likely to constrain social capital. Based on how participants *felt* towards using connections as part of their daily lives, as independent-minded people, families could initially be placed along a continuum ranging from the view of independence as a definitive concept compromised by the use of social connections, to the view of independence as a more interactive form of responsibility. In this latter view using social connections would be recognized as one of the ways of exercising independence rather than as a barrier to independence. Ultimately, the aim of the continuum was to determine whether independence influenced levels of social capital.

Figure 11.2: Suggested Continuum to Show a Link between Attitudes towards Independence and Levels of Social Capital



Final placement of families along this continuum could be determined by also establishing whether resources were used (mobilized social capital) coupled with an associated expectation of return through their network: whether families *used* their social capital *and* expected it to be available in the future. Such expectations would indicate the presence of the norm of reciprocity. It is this norm which reveals the link between independence and the accessibility of a network's social capital, for it depends on an understanding of connections as being both available for use and connected to an obligation on the user to return the favour at some time. The recognition of the mutuality of reciprocity, where the norm of independence is also insisted upon, may serve as an indicator of an inter-subjective view of independence.⁸⁵

11.2 The Norm of Independence, in Relation to the Norm of Reciprocity, and Conflicts in Networks

Using case studies that represent typologies in this thesis, varying attitudes toward independence can be explored as reflected in participants' views towards *using* their social connections. The norm of reciprocity arises when an adult family member who *provides* a resource also expects a resource in the future as a reciprocal exchange. As explained in Chapter Six, reciprocity is thought to be measurable in five ways: 1) the support *provided* to extended family with the expectation of reciprocal support; 2) the support *provided* to non-kin with the expectation of reciprocal support; 3) the donation of time and money by the family with the expectation of future support; 4) the

⁸⁵ There is a fine line between an inter-subjective view of independence and a relaxed communitarian attitude. As well, participants may pay lip service to the norm of independence without being committed to it.

perceptions of the honesty of recipients of support in relation to reciprocal expectations; and 5) whether network members were perceived to have the best interests of the giver at heart. Each of these measures could be seen as having a direct link to the resources a network can expect in the future as a result of a measurement now, but these expectations will be qualified by attitudes towards independence.

Independence, Reciprocity, Conflicts and Social Capital in the Heterogeneous Typology

Using One's Connections

The high access of diverse resources in the heterogeneous networks, those dominated by wide, weak ties, could indicate a view of independence that incorporates using social connections. Certainly family informants in this group were adamant that people *should* use their social connections: 'I wouldn't hesitate to use them if I needed them' (Samantha Knight); 'I would definitely call on my connections' (Tony Archer).

However, although acknowledged, independence itself was not seen as an issue for these families. Rather *interdependency* was the norm, and the high measures of reciprocity in their networks amply demonstrate this. This reciprocity was most strongly focused on kin, but was also evident in non-kin relationships. The factor that most influenced reciprocity in this typology was not independence but conflict.

Reciprocity in the Heterogenous Networks

Attitudes to using connections were quite pronounced when relationships with extended family were examined. Indeed, in spite of their wide and varied social connections, family was the first point of call for both the Archer and Knight families, demonstrating what Gunnarsson and Cochran (1990: 12) called an 'inside the family ethic'. If support were needed, it would initially be the province of their kinfolk:

I know I can rely on them...we would all want the best for each other...they would all do whatever was needed or whatever we wanted them to do (Samantha Knight).

The Knights detailed many resources they supplied to their adult children, ranging from helping to set up a business by providing financial support as well as labour, to allowing their children to live rent-free in their home, paying for university fees and supplying emotional support. In return they believed they could expect to receive support in the future from these children. Indeed, the children had expressed that they were conscious of and prepared to return the favour when necessary. David Knight said:

We've discussed this as a family and our children know we expect help from them when we get older if we need it. They've joked about who we will live with [indicating one of their children] but both say they will help. This is what a family should do.

Although conflicted relationships within these networks limited the resources that were likely to be offered and that might be gained through these connections, they did not appear to affect the way participants felt about using their connections. Rather when the ‘costs’ of maintaining the ties became a burden (the emotional trauma of a conflict might be a cost), the relationship was downgraded or even eliminated (Larner 1990: 196). Tony Archer’s relationship with his father’s stepfamily demonstrated this - the costs of maintaining ties were too high and the relationships were eliminated from his network. Samantha Knight revealed that due to conflicts with her sister-in-law, she and her husband only saw her brother ‘about twice or three times a year’. These conflicts appeared to alter relationships in the network, and were likely to affect what might flow from them. However they did not seem to deter or impact negatively on feelings about using family connections in general, largely because the conditions of the relationships were altered to maintain the reciprocity of the network.⁸⁶

In this typology, participants unabashedly felt they should use their network connections. They typified the idea of ‘networkers’ and appeared to have a notion of common interdependence in relation to using social connections. They seemed to view interdependency as a good thing, indicating that people should rely on others and vice versa. People who could not be relied upon were generally dropped from the network. Interdependency appeared to come from the ability to connect the interests of others with self-interest as a generalized belief about how society should work. Tony Archer indicated this when speaking of his best friends: ‘I would do anything for them and they would do anything for me. This is how it’s supposed to be’.

⁸⁶ This suggests that reciprocity was a stronger norm in these families than any ethos of family support, since family connections which were likely to interfere with reciprocity were eliminated.

Such a notion of interdependency has been attached to self-esteem. Flap (2002: 48) reports that both giving *and* receiving appear to be status enhancing. These sentiments reverberated in this study. Most respondents claimed they felt good about being able to help others, being able to do something beneficial for others. Yet those within the heterogeneous typology seemed to feel more than this. They recognized the flip side of giving, that of receiving. People in the heterogeneous typology *acknowledged* interdependency. The expectations of giving and receiving, of reciprocity, were perceived as a win-win situation. Participants in the heterogeneous typology actively supported this notion as part of their view of the generalized interdependence of society. They saw this as a fundamental method of solidarity and interaction with other human beings where support was exchanged as part of day-to-day living. This was not evident in the other typologies in this study.

These families had the highest levels of mobilized social capital, suggesting that these attitudes positively influenced social capital. While these families recognized reciprocity as a norm across all their connections, they also appeared to appreciate that repayment of a 'debt' could not always be direct. Consequently, especially in relation to social connections, they saw an obligation to return the debt in other more indirect ways. Donating time and money, the third measure of reciprocity, represented this more indirect notion of giving; a more formalized notion but more indirect in terms of their social connections. The families in the heterogeneous typology presented a continuing pattern of volunteering and giving with an awe-inspiring array of activities undertaken.

Members of the heterogeneous typology were actively engaged in helping others in an enormous number of both formal and informal ways. They not only provided support to members of their individual networks, but also to the wider community. This seemed to support their attitude of interdependence and the belief that it was ‘proper’ to help others, and added credence to the suggestion that this was how they felt society ought to operate. Giving in this context became a more generalized aspect of reciprocity where there was an implicit expectation that resources should be available to those in need, including themselves if the need arose.

The fourth and final measure of reciprocity, the honesty of network members and having their best interests at heart were also high. In fact the final measure was the highest in the study.⁸⁷ These measures are important as they suggest a willingness throughout the network to share responsibilities. They suggest that these families feel their networks *will* provide future resources if needed. By ‘having the best interests of the family at heart’, network members were also expected to do what was best for the family, if they were able. This again suggested a general willingness to share responsibilities for families. When this measure was high there was an implicit expectation that help would be available if it was needed.

The measures of reciprocity were highest in the heterogeneous typology. These networks should bring in future resources in greater numbers than in other typologies because they have provided more support to their network members in the past with the

⁸⁷ ‘Honesty of network members’ was the second highest in the study for the heterogeneous typology being an average of 77 members that were thought to be honest (excluding those of large groups where this was unknown). The highest rating was an average of 109 in the insular typology. ‘Best interest of family at heart’ for the heterogeneous typology rated an average of 97 network members that had the families’ best interests at heart. The next closest typology was the homogeneous network with an average of 45 network members.

expectation of a return. Members saw themselves as interdependent and saw that this led to benefits for the entire group. This finding could be expected given the high correlation in the literature regarding reciprocity and social capital. However, these norms of *interdependency* could not be easily tied to an equally strong commitment to independence. Although this would place the heterogeneous typology on the other extreme to self-reliance on the continuum of independence, the lack of an equally clearly expressed commitment to independence could also suggest that this typology in fact adhered to a more communitarian or societal norm rather than a modified version of independence.

Independence, Reciprocity, Conflicts and Social Capital in the Homogeneous and Balanced Typologies

Using Network Connections and Conflicts

The Bakers and the Queen family demonstrated clear and unequivocal attitudes of independence in the *homogeneous* typology. Attitudes towards using social connections in this typology were contentious. When asked if she would use her connections, Pamela Queen listed several she felt existed and indicated that she *might* use them, although this indication was expressed in vague terms which did not seem to involve notions of reciprocity:

Well, Tom is a mechanic and I am under the impression we can have quite cheap work done on the car.

Catherine is in real estate, she could probably help me there.

[Indicating a group of male friends] These guys are all tree loppers and landscapers, so any garden or tree work I could probably get them to do.

The Bakers were adamant about *not* using their connections: 'We tend to not ask for favours. We're very independent' (Mark Baker); 'We're very much against using connections' (Nicole Baker). When asked whether she would use her tennis group for introductions Nicole replied:

I wouldn't use them, I would find other ways to do it. I tend to not use the connections that my friends have...I'm not a network kind of person. I feel quite uncomfortable making connections in that respect.

The attitude of *not* using connections carried over to extended families. Although she claimed they were close, the only connection Pamela Queen said she might use was that of her parents who knew 'some lawyers'. She claimed again vaguely, that they might be useful someday.

Nicole Baker spoke of serious conflicts with her extended family. These limited the associations of her and her husband to extended family and altered some of the connections they once had, although their commitment to independence also indicated that these connections may not have been used in any case. However, Nicole did

indicate that she would turn to her son in a crisis and even to her mother-in-law if needed, so some extended family connections were seen as possible to use.

While the families in the homogeneous typology actually did use their connections, it was not in the active, overt sense of the heterogeneous 'networkers'. The networkers used connections as a fundamental way of life while the homogeneous typology tended to view using connections reluctantly and thought of these as 'receiving help' or 'favours'. Using them was not seen as positive. Rather, it was seen as impinging on independence, introducing a negative connotation towards receipt of support. These participants felt they needed to support themselves rather than rely on others.

The Logan and the Norris families represent the views towards using social connections in the *balanced* typology. All informants for these families proclaimed to *not* use their social networks. Dennis Logan indicated that whereas many network members *would* probably help in a crisis, he did not have connections he felt he *could* use. Network members would help, but he would not call on them for help. He professed that only his wife helped him in day-to-day living and not his social network. Laura Norris's stance on using connections was even stronger: 'I wouldn't burden anyone...I'm not one to ask anyone for a favour'.

Attitudes against using connections seemed to apply to extended family as well. Laura declared that she 'would never ask for anything'.

Meredith Logan indicated that her extended family would help if needed due to a 'sense of family' but she said she 'would not ask for help, even from family'.

Unlike in the heterogeneous typology, attitudes towards not using connections did not seem to come from conflicts. Indeed, no serious conflicts seemed to exist in this typology, perhaps because contact with relatives was low for other reasons. For example, most of the extended family of the Logans lived in Canberra, and distance prevented them from seeing each other. In the Norris family, some were ill and unable to socialize. Time was limited due to running a business, and this impinged on social time with relatives. Whereas extended family connections were not how the families in the balanced typology generally gained resources, conflicts did not appear to influence their attitudes towards using them.

Rather, the balanced typology seemed to resemble the homogeneous networks in that exchanges and accepting support were seen in a negative fashion because of their impact on norms of self-reliance. Participants spoke of using extended family connections in terms of 'obligations' and they could not imagine asking for 'favours'. These negative connotations also shifted these families further along the continuum away from interdependent notions of independence, and closer to a definitive attitude towards independence. Levels of social capital appeared to reflect this. Both their use of resources and their expectations were lower than the heterogeneous networks, although at high levels. When using connections conflicts with views of independence, not only will connections be used less (mobilized less) but future resources will also be less (expectations will diminish). This is not to say that the resources are not in the networks, but that they will not be used because they will not be seen as accessible.

Accessibility is an essential part of Lin's notion of social capital. Under the above conditions, the availability of resources is limited by attitudes towards independence. Families will not be able to use resources because doing so will make them feel dependent. Consequently, participants who hold these views necessarily *expect* less from their network members. As expectations are one part of the measure of accessible social capital, lower expectations equate to lower levels of social capital. It must be stressed however, that while reciprocity was lower than in the heterogeneous networks, this norm was still evident at high levels for both the homogenous and the balanced typologies. However the obligation it expressed was seen as burdensome or negatively consequential.

Reciprocity

According to the five measures of reciprocity, the homogeneous typology rated in the middle of the study. Table 11.1 reveals that of the total support these participants provided (support to kin and non-kin), families in the heterogeneous and balanced typologies provided more, while those with insular and truncated networks provided less. Using the implications of the norm of reciprocity, these measures indicated fewer resources could be expected in the future than in the heterogeneous and balanced typologies (less accessible social capital), because fewer were provided to network members. However, more resources should be returned in the future than in the insular and truncated networks because more resources were provided.

Table 11.1 Total Support Reported as Provided to Network Members

Typologies	Instances of Reported Support Provided to Network Members	Average Instances of Reported Support Provided to Network Members	Percentage of Total Support Provided to Network Members
Heterogeneous	4,188	1,047	77
Balanced	344	115	6
Homogeneous	470	94	8.5
Insular	305	152	5.5
Truncated	159	53	3
TOTAL	5,466		100

The third measure of reciprocity was donating time and money with the expectation of a generalized reciprocity rather than tit-for-tat. While this measure of reciprocity was similar across the heterogeneous typology, it varied within the homogeneous networks. Although the Carters and the Queens gave no indication of donating time or money, the Oates's collected money for the Salvation Army, and the Bakers and the Jones's participated in many voluntary activities. For example, Robyn Jones produced a magazine for a cancer support group and ran their counselling sessions. She also volunteered at a tuckshop once a term and was a team leader for the Safety House Scheme. She and her husband also organized the cleaning roster for their local Scouts. In the past they had participated in the aircraft noise lobby in their area, running meetings, organizing rallies and writing letters to people about excessive noise. Nicole Baker had worked at her son's school canteen when he was young; she had been a Pink Lady at Hornsby Hospital and had mentored a child through Red Cross for over twenty

years. Both she and her husband currently distributed their local Neighbourhood Watch leaflets. While the levels of volunteering were lower than in the heterogeneous networks, informants in the homogeneous typology still participated in activities that integrated society and where helping others was valued, although these activities were unlikely to be expressed in terms of even generalized reciprocity.

Members of the balanced typology also engaged in a supportive society through the donation of time and money but once again, not to the extent of the heterogeneous networks.

The homogeneous typology had the third highest measure of 'honesty of network members' in relation to expectations of reciprocity, the fourth measure of reciprocity, yet what stood out in both this typology and the balanced typology was not so much how many people participants felt to be honest (honest enough to return support), but how many they felt to be 'less than honest'. When participants felt network members were 'less than honest', it is likely they would not expect resources to be returned. These lower expectations would again lower accessible social capital.

The final measure of reciprocity, having the best interest of the family at heart, was close to that of the heterogeneous typology for both the homogeneous and balanced networks.⁸⁸ This indicated an expectation that others would act on the family's behalf and would help if needed, despite the commitment to independence.

⁸⁸ Participants in the heterogeneous typology indicated 291 network members had their best interests at heart (and average of 97 per network). The homogeneous typology had 226 members (an average of 45 per network). The balanced typology identified 97 network members (an average of 32 per network).

While both the homogeneous and balanced typologies had overall high levels of reciprocity, they had lower levels of interdependence compared to the heterogeneous networks. Based on Mauss's theory (1954), resource levels in the future may well be lower. The more independence is seen within the context of mutually supportive networks, the more readily resources appear to be used. As self-reliance moves along the continuum away from the context of interdependence, the use of resources seems to be lower. Both typologies indicated these lower levels of usage. As well, with questions being raised as to the honesty of network members and having the families' best interests at heart, participants reported less expectations from these members. When they did not trust them to return resources or to help when needed, their expectations were lower. Both the *use* of resources and *expectations* of resources are dimensions of social capital. Attitudes towards independence in these typologies are further along the continuum away from interdependency, and reflect not only less use of social capital but also fewer expectations.

Independence, Reciprocity, Conflicts and Social Capital in the Insular and Truncated Typologies

Using Network Connections and Conflicts

The two families in the *insular* typology seemed to have a different attitude again towards independence. They saw the well-being of their families in terms of their wider extended families (and not within each individual family unit). The insular typology consisted of networks that had predominantly weak ties at greatly reduced numbers compared to the heterogeneous networks. They also had few close ties which

may account for their placement of independence within the responsibilities of the extended family.

Attitudes to extended family support emphasized this notion of a wider family responsibility. Zoë Farmer listed an array of support provided by her parents from allowing her and her son to live in their house, to giving her money when she was running short, to providing child minding and emotional support. The Eriksons claimed their extended family could be expected to help whenever needed: 'Oh yes, they would be there with bells on' (Louise Erikson).

Even family conflicts did not appear to affect these attitudes. Zoë Farmer claimed she was treated as a young girl at home and had interference from her parents with raising her son, yet she stressed, 'You learn to cope'.

Attitudes to using non-kin social connections were markedly different. Zoë Farmer had not thought about whether she used any connections other than those of her family.

Louise Erikson was very adamant about her immediate family *not* using non-kin ties: 'We don't do that. We've never use people as a network of connections'.

This assertion was re-emphasized by an example:

[Speaking of one of her acquaintances] He is a vet and his kids are in Brook's class [her son]. I would not choose him as a vet because I know him.

Attitudes towards independence changed within the insular typology. A negative view of using wider network connections was held, as this appeared to impact on the independence of these families. Extended family support was viewed as the only acceptable use of social connections, with no negative connotations attached to using these. Interdependence with relatives seemed acceptable, yet the same did not apply with non-kin. This moved the placement of the insular typology much further towards definitive independence on the continuum than for any of the typologies so far.

The stance on independence in the *truncated* networks appeared to be softer than in the insular typology. These networks tended more towards interdependency, yet these attitudes could not be tied to social capital. Although the use of social connections was almost non-existent, this was due to specific circumstances in each network and did not appear to result from attitudes. The Ireland family illustrated this lack of use. The Irelands were the only family to use social services in the study. Martin Ireland felt he had no choice but to rely on government welfare, maintaining that this was in the best interest of his children because he was able to be home with them instead of having a changing roster of carers. His attitude towards accepting welfare was that of mutual obligation. He saw his obligation absolved by his commitment to voluntary activities such as the fire brigade and helping at his children's school. Although he used social services, there was little evidence of using the connections in his network. He claimed, 'It's always better to concentrate on family'. The only evidence of using network connections was when he asked a colleague in the fire brigade to act as a referee for a job, and when friends watched his children when he did work. Extended family exchanges were almost non-existent in terms of support coming to this family. Compared to the overt use of network connections by the heterogeneous typology, the

resources coming to this family were minor. Yet Martin was not as adamantly opposed to using connections as those with insular networks. This placed the truncated typology more towards a mutually interdependent society on the continuum of independence than the insular typology.

These two typologies were situated separately on the continuum. The insular was furthest towards independence as a definitive responsibility, while the truncated was closer to the interdependency of a mutually supportive society. Negative views of using social connections were common in the insular typology and their practices reflected these. They used less social capital and provided less as well. This resulted in diminished expectations of resources, adding even more support to my argument that independence impacts on levels of social capital. The truncated networks showed interdependent attitudes, but as suggested, each network was constrained in a very specific way. Due to these constraints, the interaction of their attitudes to independence and social capital could not be demonstrated.

Chapter Eight revealed that the social capital for insular networks was at a low level. The networks were smaller, with fewer weak ties and few close ties. Low levels of social capital were also to be expected from networks where participants claimed to not use connections. When they felt this was not the ‘proper’ way to gain resources, when self-sufficiency was definitive, social capital was also necessarily low. Looking at the reciprocity in the insular networks also suggests that not only would the use of social capital be restricted, but the expectations of their networks would be as well.

Reciprocity

Overall, the insular typology was lower on all five measures that indicated reciprocity when compared to the three typologies discussed so far. Support provided to kin and non-kin varied, with almost all support going to extended family. This situation was not unexpected, as Zoë Farmer indicated that people should rely on their families and not on others. The third measure, donating time and money, was extremely low with only one instance being reported. Louise Erikson was manager of her children's soccer team. More than any other, the insular position indicated a move further along the continuum, away from a mutually supportive society. Volunteering was undertaken only when tied to family support. In this typology the honesty of network members was also questioned although these networks still had many members who they considered had their best interests at heart.⁸⁹

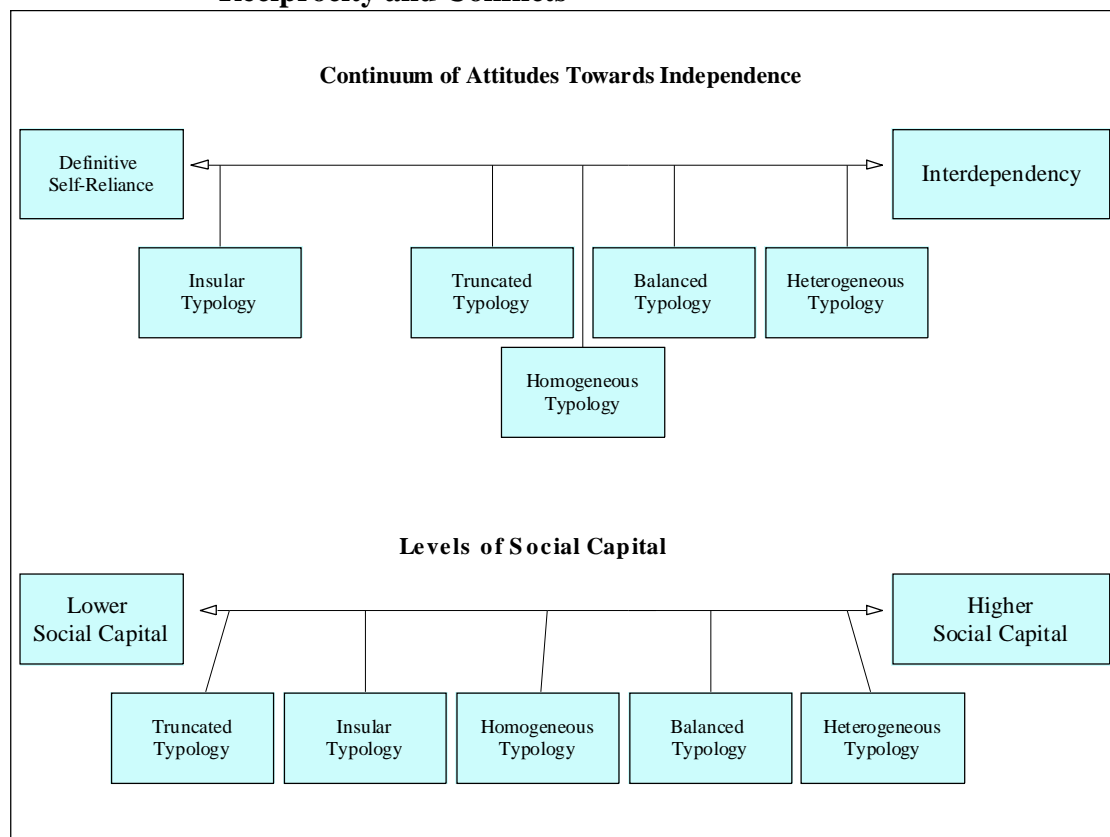
The insular typology appeared to move further towards self-sufficiency within an extended family context. Instead of viewing the daily give and take of interactions as the way society should work, interactions were mostly restricted to the extended family circle. Wider interactions were generally only in response to children's leisure activities. Reliance within families was paramount and wider interdependency appeared to be shunned. From this viewpoint, not only would non-kin resources go unused, but also few expectations would exist. When it was felt that it was not 'proper' to use non-kin resources, there would be no expectations that they would provide future support limiting their accessibility.

⁸⁹ Zoë Farmer indicated that 100 percent of her network had her family's best interests at heart and Louise and Mathew Erikson indicated 95 percent of their network did.

Attitudes towards independence in the truncated typology ran closer to interdependency based around mutual obligations. While these networks had the lowest social capital and the lowest measures of reciprocity in this study, to tie these to attitudes of independence is misguided. This typology was created by combining networks that had unusual restrictions rather than configurations of bonding, bridging and linking ties. In each of these networks circumstances existed that directly compromised social capital and these overshadowed other characteristics of the networks.

11.3 Summary of Independence and Social Capital

Figure 11.3: Comparison of Norms of Independence to Levels of Social Capital, Based on Attitudes to Using Social Connections, Norms of Reciprocity and Conflicts



Although the norms of independence clearly affected social capital, this effect was not without tensions. By placing participants' views, represented by typologies, on a continuum between two poles one of which saw independence as a responsibility shared with others, the other of which saw it as a definitive responsibility (Figure 11.3), these views were shown to impact on the uses and expectations of resources obtained through network connections. When independence was seen within the context of an understanding of society as mutually supportive, *interdependence* became a characteristic of the norm, so that self-reliance could be maintained even when using network connections. In fact this became one of the ways of accepting responsibility for one's family. Exchange of resources was an aspect of day-to-day interaction and through the norm of reciprocity, future expectations assumed the continuance of these exchanges. Social capital, seen as the resources that were mobilized and accessible, could, in this way, become a valuable contributor to *independence*. Because of the flows of resources, these networks are seen as advantageous for families.

When independence was seen as more of a definitive responsibility, using social connections impinged on this norm, so that obtaining resources through a social network was thought to reduce a family's independence. Although the resources were still in the networks, they were unused, not mobilized, and might as well not have existed. Since reciprocity was not seen as the norm or what 'ought' to be, and receiving resources was perceived as impacting upon independence, there was little notion of giving with the expectation of receiving, so the expectations of the networks were diminished and accessible social capital was reduced. Social capital in this view is not a contributor to independence, but a threat. Networks where this view is held are seen as less advantageous to a family.

11.4 Concluding Remarks on Independence

Independence could turn out to be the social norm which stands against the extreme individualism of someone such as Ayn Rand (1961). Instead of her view of a self-supporting human being who relies only on self for the pursuit of goals, independence could be considered social in nature. Most of the participants in this study could be considered to be performing their independence as a cultural and social norm which was expressed by helping others because even in the most professedly self-reliant typology, some reciprocity was evident.

The value of this finding is two-fold. On a theoretical level the connection between independence within a mutually supportive society and high levels of network social capital may well represent a link between the macro, meso and micro level concepts of social capital. By tying levels of network social capital (micro) to societal outcomes (mutually supportive societies – a macro concept of social capital), the various societal dimensions of the concept come together. Social capital, as a resource of an individual or a family, becomes a mediator of wider community resources: the exchange of personal resources becomes an aspect of support within a wider community. Lin's concept of network social capital, which can be understood on a personal or family level thus bridges to the more macro levels of understanding portrayed by Putnam and Cox, and supports Putnam's 'internal benefits' and 'external effects' thesis (Putnam & Goss 2002: 7) by showing that the benefits of networks to individuals and families encouraged a view of society as mutually supportive. According to Cox (1995b), this type of society, one that recognizes common humanity, can be seen as desirable and a

public good. The concept of social capital can then also become a more valuable tool in that it is capable of analysing a complex social system.

On the qualitative level of resources, these findings are also important as they indicate that attitudes towards independence are underlying values that drive differentials in exchanges in social networks. These attitudes thus become strong predictors of network exchange. Further, as norms vary between cultures, they suggest a cultural explanation for levels of social capital which is continually overlooked.

Chapter 12

Conclusion: Family as an Active and Engaged Social Entity

Families in contemporary society are quite different from those of the past. There is a diversity of family forms, and variations in the practices of family are evident. This has led social scientists to question the place of family in modern Western society, with some seeing its changing status in terms of social fragmentation and demise, while others view it as being in transition. In this transition, new forms of allegiance based on intimacy are thought to have displaced the family of the past such that it is no longer of value to contemporary society. A further perspective challenges both these viewpoints, claiming that change is overstated. It is my view, based on the research presented in this thesis, that despite their differences, each of these perspectives still sees family as a 'haven', as a private, isolated social unit, and does not fully reflect the current experiences of contemporary families. Family may well be a haven for some of its members but I suggest, much like Litwak, Williams, Hogan and Bubolz, its most significant value lies in its connected nature. Through the webs of sociability to extended family members, friends, neighbours and acquaintances, contemporary families are connected to others and it is through these associations that they are able to mobilize valuable resources. Family is an inter-active, engaged and fluid entity and it is important in contemporary Western society because of this.

The central concern of my research has been twofold. I firstly wanted to establish that contemporary families were indeed active and engaged and that they did access essential resources through their social connections. Further, I wanted to explore why some families were better able to use their networks as a provisioning base than others.

Having identified Nan Lin's conceptualization of *social capital* as the most appropriate tool to highlight the place of family in today's society, and *SNA* as the analytic framework to analyse this, I have suggested that a family's social network is the source of resources. These resources – or social capital – establish the family as an important social entity.

Having established the parameters of this argument, I identified the social networks and the resources available through these of seventeen families living in Sydney, acknowledging the limited social and geographical coverage of the sample. The myriad of resources covered companionship, encouragement, inspiration as well as emotional, practical and financial support. These resources represented both those that were mobilized and those still accessible, with accessibility covering expectations and occupational access. Families in this study received 6,922 instances of support through being engaged with others. They reported a further 9,272 expectations of support, as well as very high measures of occupational access. These engagements with others constitute the necessity of re-imagining the contemporary family.

Yet I acknowledge that all families are not equal in their ability to generate social capital and thus explore the source of inequalities. To do this, I constructed typologies of similar networks where levels of social capital were intended to be similar *within*

each type. By using criteria based on the configurations of bonding, bridging and linking ties, with each type of tie thought to have a specific advantage, each typology was expected to reveal a different level of social capital. In this way, I could explore whether characteristics of networks either facilitated the generation of social capital or restricted it. Based on a quantitative analysis that indicated the relevance of each characteristic to social capital levels, I investigated the impact of network participation, the place or embedded location of a network and attitudes towards the norm of independence on these levels.

As expected, I found the typologies in my study did indeed have different levels of social capital, with the wide, open heterogeneous networks having the highest levels by far. The domination of prolific weak ties ensured both varieties and vast amounts of resources were available to families in this typology. Both the close, dense ties of the homogeneous networks and the more even configuration held by the balanced networks also ensured that they had high levels of available resources. Only two typologies demonstrated a more vulnerable nature in terms of generating social capital. Although the insular networks were dominated by weak ties, the total number of ties was much lower than in the heterogeneous networks (with similar configurations), resulting in lower levels of social capital. Even more vulnerable, the truncated networks each contained a specific situation that actively restricted their ability to generate levels of social capital. This not only represents a reduced level of assets for individual families, but also acts as a mechanism that promotes further inequality (Friedson 2003: 71-71; Hofferth *et al* 1999: 80). The importance of distinguishing less-connected networks is therefore highlighted, so that further research can attempt to address this vulnerability and find ways to build and maintain more valuable networks.

Having established this basis, the thesis shifted focus to consider how network characteristics within typologies might account for the inequalities in the levels of social capital. Based on a quantitative analysis, I investigated network participation. Aiming to make this study comparable with other social capital studies in Australia, the definitions of the ABS Framework of Social Capital were used. My findings supported those of Putnam in relation to external and internal effects. Putnam (1993b: 37) claims *civic participation* is in decline, with this type of participation generating cultural templates essential for democratic and economic growth in a society. Through separating types of participation, my finding was that there was, overall, little *civic* or *community* participation. Yet the families in my study were not becoming disconnected from each other, as Putnam claims. Rather, they came together more for social participation, generating what Putnam refers to as internal effects, or what is called social capital in this thesis. While this exercise was useful for integrating aspects of the social capital debate, dividing participation into types seemed to do little more. The *levels* of participation seemed more important. Those that actively participated with their network members and engaged with others had much more social capital, regardless of the type of participation.

My findings suggest that there are more relevant way of distinguishing participation than *types* of participation. Instead of types in terms of social, civic, community and economic engagement, types in terms of formal and informal participation were more relevant to the generation of social capital in my study. Formal corporate group membership was where most people first made the vital connections that led to social capital. These formal connections often evolved into informal relationships, yet more

people were met within a formal context. This finding supports Putnam's view of associations as generating social capital, but also concurs with Edwards *et al* (2001: 140) that newer forms of association also do this. Evidence supporting this in my study included involvement in the environmental movement and in the many recreational and sport-related associations. Types of participation, in terms of formal and informal involvement, may well be one of the essential elements for future research. When research is undertaken into how to build more beneficial family networks, increasing the social capital to a family, I suggest this should be an area of extreme interest.

Location or the 'place' aspect of networks was the second characteristic investigated. While place is undoubtedly important in bonding people within communities and acting as bridges to others, *communities of interest* seemed to generate more social capital. Those with the most social capital were those that had a *range* of interests that brought them into contact with a variety of people. For example, the multiple interests of the Grace family support Wellman's (1982: 116) claim that in industrialized societies 'community' is based on a network of significant social ties that extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood. The Grace 'community' was predominately non-placed based, with their ties following their range of interests. The social network of the multi-interested Duncan family was both place-based *and* extended out of their local area, supporting Larner's (1990: 214) notion of 'divers', diving in and out of various locations. Within both families it was the diversity of interests that seemed to bring in a range of resources from both local and non-local ties.

Of particular importance to the discussion of location was the use of the Internet. The heterogeneous networks, with their wide diversity of weak ties, used the Internet

extensively as a way of connecting. While other types of networks used this to a much lesser degree, these families relied on this form of communication to maintain their networks especially when large groups were involved. Yet it was not their sole way of interacting, as these networks had multitudes of face-to-face engagements. Although I did not differentiate the types of resources generated between connections where communication was via the Internet or face-to-face, both brought in social capital to the anchoring families and in many ways which enhanced rather than detracted from face-to-face communication. This again may represent an area where future research is warranted.

Elaborated by my additional community study, the importance of location as an *opportunity structure* was highlighted. When a family was unable to participate within a location, family members *had* to go elsewhere to make connections. The Erikson family exemplified a situation where there were so few opportunities within a local area, they were unable to make local connections. These *must* be available within an area or by necessity a family will go elsewhere to make these connections. Without such opportunities, there will be no local interactions and consequently, no social capital generated from a local area. While my overall conclusion about place is that people receive more social capital from non-place based connections, local connections are important in many networks and a vital opportunity structure is essential to this. However, I ultimately dispute the emphasis towards community capacity building, finding instead that non-place based 'communities of interest' generate more connections and thus more social capital. Whereas I would not go as far as claiming this policy direction is not useful, indeed in some cases it is essential to build local connections, I content that the emphasis should be on asserting the value of *any* type of participation, place-based or not.

The final characteristic examined was attitudes towards independence. I argued these may well compromise network exchange. I identified that *all* participants perceived their families to be self-reliant, yet there was a variance in what they seemed to mean by independence and in the strength of commitment to it as a norm. Placing them on a continuum of independence between self-reliance seen within the context of a mutually supportive society and self-reliance as a more definitive responsibility of an individual or family, enabled a comparison of levels of social capital. This emphasized that those who viewed *interdependency* as the way society should work, such as those in the heterogeneous typology, had much higher levels of social capital. As they were actively willing to use their connections, they received more benefits from their social networks and also supplied more to others. Levels of reciprocity reflected this. When people viewed exchange as an appropriate way to interact, they not only supplied more to others but expected more in return. Their networks became a sort of insurance policy. I argue this represents the cultural dimension of social capital. It highlights the notion that norms influence social capital. When attitudes to self-reliance are such that using connections impinges on network exchange, when people do *not* feel they can call on their connections without reducing their independence, then this can be seen as a cultural constraint. The other typologies in this study all demonstrated variations of this constraint. As the attitudes towards independence moved further along the continuum towards self-reliance as a definitive responsibility, network exchange also dropped. Fewer benefits were available to the families, fewer were given by them and expectations decreased. This also brings into question the notion of accessible resources used by Nan Lin. When resources were within a network but would never be called upon due to attitudes towards independence, their accessibility is compromised. To count them as social capital would then be mistaken. Thus, a cultural dimension

(attitudes towards independence) becomes an essential element in the measurement of social capital.

Drawing on my research findings, I conclude that existing perspectives of the changing place of family miss an aspect of family value that is relevant today. By viewing families as a private unit seen in terms of a haven, the engaged, active nature of this social entity is omitted. I have argued that families do indeed have value through engagement with others and that this presents resources to them and to society. In putting this forward, I contend that the approach to families needs to reflect this more engaged nature. This vision of family would place value on families and their connections, and reveal them as essential and essentially social entities, which remains at the core of contemporary life.

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Appendix 1

Advertisement for Participants
For Research Study



ADVERTISEMENT

The Place of Australian Families Within the Social Capital Debate

You are invited to participate in a study investigating the benefits that are available to ordinary families through their social networks. As part of my Doctor of Philosophy postgraduate degree in Sociology at Macquarie University, NSW, I am required to complete a research thesis. The topic of my research is "The Place of Australian Families Within the Social Capital Debate". The purpose of the study is to investigate the benefits that are available to different family forms through the social networks that exist for them. The general themes of the study are the structure of a family, who are the members of their social networks, the relationships that exist in these networks, the norms and values that exist and what is shared between the members of these social networks.

Individual interviews, lasting approximately one hour each, will be conducted with each adult member of your immediate family at a place convenient to each of you. For each interview I will get consent from the participant to audiotape the interviews and at their request I will erase any part of the tape. Each identity will be protected at all times.

Participants can stop the interview at any time, or choose not to answer a question. Participants are given the opportunity to ask questions of any nature pertaining to the research methods or procedure of this project. You may decide to withdraw from this study at any time with no explanation, prejudices or disadvantages.

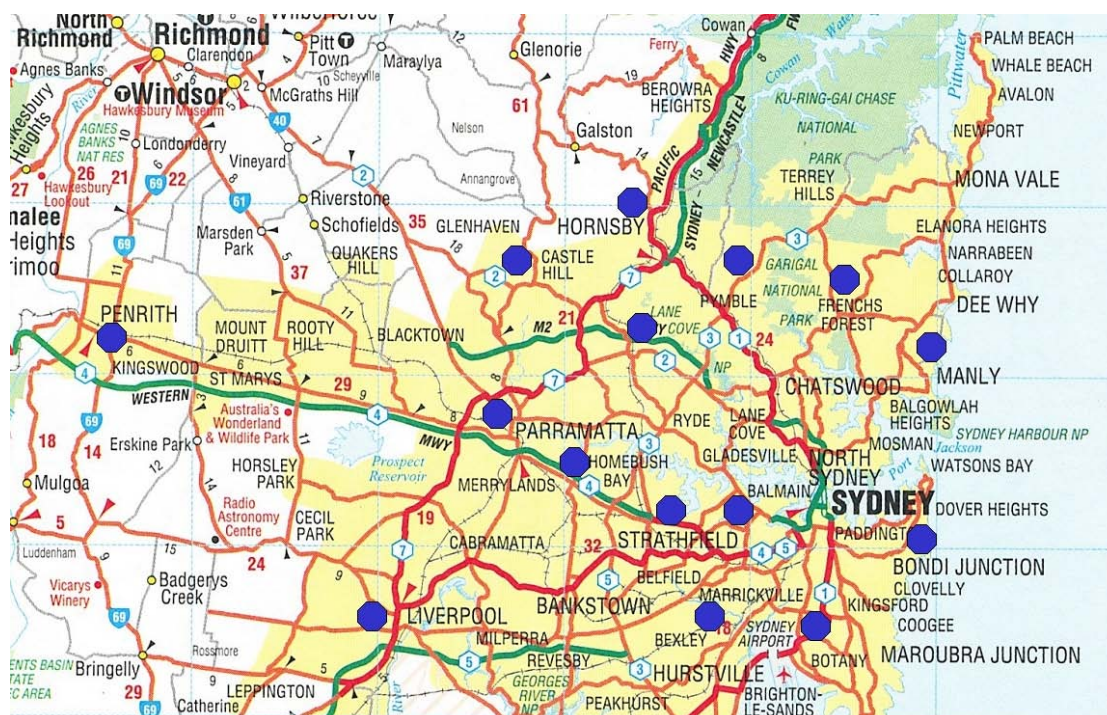
If you are interested in participating in this study, would you please leave a message at 9850 8074 or email me at swatkins@scmp.mq.edu.au.

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
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Appendix 2

Placement of Advertisements By Suburbs in Sydney

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| 1. Annandale | 9. Liverpool |
| 2. Bondi | 10. Mascot |
| 3. Burwood | 11. Manly |
| 4. Castle Hill | 12. Marrickville |
| 5. Epping | 13. Parramatta |
| 6. Forestville | 14. Penrith |
| 7. Homebush | 15. St. Ives |
| 8. Hornsby | |



(Adapted from Claremont Cartographic 1997: 105)

Appendix 3

Summary of Codes


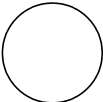





Used in this
Research

<i>Demographics</i>	<i>Network Qualities</i>	<i>Network Structure</i>	<i>Resources</i>	<i>Network Types</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family types Structure Children • Marital information Status Length of time with partner • Stage of life • Ages Children Female Male • Nationalities Female Male • Education levels Female Male • Occupational information Female Male 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Norms of Trust Trust with children Trust with secret Best interest of family • Norms of Reciprocity Support supplied to kin Support supplied to non-kin Honesty of network members Donate time and money Obligations • Efficacy Self-reliance Ability to access resources Community action • Diversity and Inclusiveness Acceptance of different lifestyles Negative attitude to 'others' Network ethnicity Network diversity in ages Network diversity of socio-economic status • Strength of ties Closeness of relationships Share special occasions Enjoys extended family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Network Form Size Composition Distribution Geographic distribution • Patterns of Interaction Frequency of contact – total Frequency of contact – extended family Mode of communication Duration of time known • Density of Network Open-closed Segregation Formal clustering Informal clustering Voluntary groups Kinship groups Bridges • Network Location - (Neighbourhood) Socio-economic status of neighbourhood Ages in neighbourhood Housing Regime 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilized Practical Financial Companionship Emotional Encouragement Inspiration Combined information exchange About children About jobs About sports Personal information Major life decisions About education Other information Total information exchange Total mobilized 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bonding Same first language Same looking ethnic group Similar educational background Similar family income Similar ages Who helps family to get by? Total bonding • Bridging Diversity of ethnicity Diversity of ages Diversity socio-economic status Diversity of occupations Diversity of formal groups Who expands the

<p>Income Working pattern of female Working pattern of male</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social class • Health • Housing information • Ownership • Length of residency • How family meets needs • Main focus of life • Actively searches out friends 	<p>Conflicts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common Purpose <p>Social participation</p> <p>Number of formal memberships</p> <p>Activity levels</p> <p>Informal social activities</p> <p>Community participation</p> <p>Number of formal memberships</p> <p>Activity levels</p> <p>Informal community activities</p> <p>Attendance at community events</p> <p>Civic participation</p> <p>Number of formal memberships</p> <p>Activity levels</p> <p>Individual civic actions</p> <p>Informal civic activities</p> <p>Informed of current affairs</p> <p>Economic participation</p> <p>Labour force participation</p> <p>Highest occupation in network</p> <p>Financial well-being</p> <p>Work colleagues in network</p> <p>Enjoy work</p> <p>Professional memberships</p>	<p>Types of housing</p> <p>Transience</p> <p>Mobility of neighbourhood</p> <p>Services</p> <p>Perception of services</p> <p>Interaction with services</p> <p>Interaction with community events</p> <p>Perceptions of safety</p> <p>Existence of safety schemes</p> <p>Perception of neighbourhood</p> <p>Interaction with neighbourhood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Power Relationships <p>Leadership</p> <p>Direct organizational contact</p> <p>Indirect organizational contact</p> <p>Institutions</p> <p>Diversity of groups</p> <p>People accessed</p>	<p>resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accessible <p>Expectations</p> <p>Practical</p> <p>Financial</p> <p>Companionship</p> <p>Emotional</p> <p>Encouragement</p> <p>Inspiration</p> <p>Combined</p> <p>Occupations</p> <p>Highest in network</p> <p>Range</p> <p>Diversity</p> <p>Total prestige</p> <p>Total occupational pool</p> <p>Total Accessible</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Total Social Capital 	<p>life of family members?</p> <p>Total bridging</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linking ties
--	--	---	--	---

Appendix 4

Legend for Sociograms

	Male Large Square Represents Ego-centred Male
	Female Large Circle Represents Ego-centred Female
	Couple
	Shadow Relationship Primarily With One Individual in Family
	Filled Grey Figure Designated as Family Member (both ego-centred family and extended family)
	A Network Member that Appears More Than Once in a Network
	Group Members Where Little Information is Known (number in diagram represents number of group members)

Appendix 5

Scales for Coding

Five Parts

Part 1 Demographics

Part 2 Network Qualities

Part 3 Network Structure

Part 4 Resources

Part 5 Network Types

<i>Part 1 - Demographics</i>					
Code	Scale	Code	Scale	Code	Scale
Family type (a)	1. Single 2. Couple only 3. Nuclear 4. Stepfamily 5. Blended family	Family Type (b)	2. Never had children 3. Children at home 4. Children no longer at home	Current marital status	2. Single 3. Cohabiting 4. Married
Length of time with partner	0 NA 1. 0-1 years 2. 2-5 years 3. 6-10 years 4. 11-20 years 5. 21+ years	Stage of life	1. Early couple 2. Early parent 3. Primary school age children 4. High school age children 5. Mid-older couple	Ages of children	0. NA 1. 0-5 2. 6-11 3. 12-17 4. 18+
Age of ego- centred female	0. NA 1. 18-29 2. 30-49 3. 50+	Age of ego- centred male	0. NA 1. 18-29 2. 30-49 3. 50+	Nationality of female at birth	1. Australian 2. English 3. American 4. South African 5. Other
Nationality of male at birth	1. Australian 2. English 3. American 4. South African 5. Other	Education of female	1. NA 2. High school or under 3. Certificate/diploma 4. Bachelor degree 5. Post-graduate degree	Education of male	1. NA 2. High school or under 3. Certificate/diploma 4. Bachelor degree 5. Post-graduate degree

<i>Part 1 – Demographics - continued</i>					
Occupation of female	0. NA 1. Manager/administrator 2. Professional 3. Assoc. professional 4. Tradesperson 5. Advanced clerical/sales/service 6. Intermediate clerical/sales/service 7. Intermediate production/transport 8. Elementary clerical/sales/service 9. Labourer	Occupation of male	0. NA 1. Manager/administrator 2. Professional 3. Assoc. professional 4. Tradesperson 5. Advanced clerical/sales/service 6. Intermediate clerical/sales/service 7. Intermediate production/transport 8. Elementary clerical/sales/service 10. Labourer	Income	1. \$25,000 or less 2. \$25,001-\$50,000 3. \$50,001-\$75,000 4. \$75,001-\$100,001 5. \$100,001+
Working pattern of female	0. NA 1. Never worked 2. Not currently working 3. Part-time 4. Full-time 5. Contractor 6. Self-employed	Working pattern of male	0. NA 1. Never worked 2. Not currently working 3. Part-time 4. Full-time 5. Contractor 6. Self-employed	Social class	1. Working class 2. Lower middle 3. Middle class 4. Upper middle 5. Upper class 6. Mega elite
Health	1. Mainly healthy 2. Minor health problems 3. Major health problems	Housing	2. Pay bills only 3. Rent 4. Own	Length of Residency	1. Under 1 year 2. Between 1-2 3. Between 2-3 4. Between 3-4 5. 4+

<i>Part 1 – Demographics - continued</i>					
How does family mainly meet needs?	1. Friends 2. Market 3. Friends/Market 4. Kin/Market 5. Friends/Kin/Market	Main focus of life	2. Altruistic 3. Family 4. Work/no work	Actively search out new friends	2. No 4. Yes
<i>Part 2 – Network Qualities</i>					
Trust network members with the family's children	0. NA 1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Trust network members with a secret	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Trust network members to have best interest of family at heart	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Support supplied to kin	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Support supplied to non-kin	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Honesty of network members	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Donate time and money	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Obligations	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Self-reliant	2. No 4. Yes

<i>Part 2 – Network Qualities - continued</i>					
Ability to access resources	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Community action taken	2. No 4. Yes	Co-ordinate community events	2. None 3. Some 4. High
Accept different lifestyles	1. No comment 2. Very negative 3. Negative 4. Positive 5. Very positive	Negative attitudes to other	2. No evidence 3. Seen 4. Experienced	Network ethnicity	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Network diversity in ages	2. Low 3. Medium 4. High	Network diversity in socio-economic status	1. Very Low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Overall strength of ties	1. Very close 2. Close 3. Balanced 4. Weak 5. Very weak
Share special occasions	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Enjoy extended family	0. NA 1. No 2. Often not 3. Some 4. Yes	Conflicts	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Formal social group membership	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Activity levels in formal social groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Informal social activities	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high

<i>Part 2 – Network Qualities - continued</i>					
Formal community group membership	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Activity levels in formal community groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Informal community activities	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Attendance at community events	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Formal civic group membership	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Activity levels in formal civic groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Individual civic actions	2. No 4. Yes	Informal civic activities	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Informed of current affairs	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Labour force participation	0. NA 1. Social services 2. Part-time/retired 3. Part-time/part-time 4. Full-time 5. Full-time/part-time 6. Full-time/full-time	Highest occupation in network	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very High	Financial well-being	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Work colleagues in network	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Enjoy work	0. NA 2. No 4. Yes	Professional membership	0. NA 2. No 4. Yes

<i>Part 3 – Network Structure</i>					
Size	2. Small 3. Medium 4. Large	Main composition	2. Family 3. Friends 4. Associates	Main Distribution	1. Children 2. Adult females 3. Females/males 4. Adult males 5. Male/female/children
Geographic distribution (20kms)	2. Low 3. Balanced 4. High	Frequency of total contact non-kin	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Frequency of contact with extended family	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Main mode of communication	2. Telephone 3. Face-to-face 4. Email	Duration of time known	0. Unknown 1. Under a year 2. 1-2 years 3. 3-4 years 4. 5-10 years 5. over 10 years	Density of network	1. Very closed 2. Closed 3. Balanced 4. Open 5. Very open
Segregation	1. Dispersed 2. High segregation 3. Balanced 4. Low segregation 5. Integrated	Formal corporate clustering	1. 0 2. 1 3. 2 4. 3 5. 4 6. 5+	Cliques	1. 0 2. 1 3. 2 4. 3 5. 4 6. 5 7. 6 8. 7+
Voluntary action undertaken	1. Nil 2. One off action 3. Group action 4. Regular action	Kinship groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bridges	1. 0 2. 1 3. 2-3 4. 4-8 5. 9+

<i>Part 3 – Network Structure - continued</i>					
Socio-economic status of neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Working class 2. Lower middle class 3. Middle class 4. Upper middle class 5. Upper class 	Main ages in Neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Young couples 2. Young families 3. Older families 4. 30-59 years 5. 60-retirement 	Main type of housing in neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rented homes and units 2. Veneer and fibro homes or housing commission homes 3. Upmarket units and townhouses 4. Brick houses 5. Newer homes or elaborate houses with pools and tennis courts
Mobility of neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Short term residents 3. Mixed residents 4. Longer term residents 	Perception of neighbourhood services	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not good 2. OK 3. Good 4. Excellent 	Interaction of ego with neighbourhood services	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No interaction 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High
Interaction of ego with local community events	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high 	Perception of neighbourhood safety	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Has had burglaries and does not feel safe 2. Has had burglaries but still feels safe 3. Qualified safety 4. Neighbourhood is safe 5. Neighbourhood is very safe 	Existence of Neighbourhood Watch/Safety House Scheme	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Neither NW/SH 2. Unknown 3. Neighbourhood Watch 4. Safety House Scheme 5. Both NW/SH
Perception of neighbourhood	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. NA 2. Not good 3. OK 4. Good 5. Excellent 	Overall neighbourhood interaction by ego	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No interaction 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 	Leadership by ego	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high

<i>Part 3 – Network Structure - continued</i>					
Direct organizational contact	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Indirect organizational contact	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Diversity of formal groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
People accessed through formal groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high				
<i>Part 4 - Resources</i>					
Mobilized resources – Practical	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized resources – Financial	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized resources – Companionship	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Mobilized resources – Emotional	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized resources – Encouragement	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized Resources – Inspiration	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Mobilized resources - Combined	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized resources – Exchange information about children	2. No 4. Yes	Mobilized resources – Exchange information about jobs	2. No 4. Yes

<i>Part 4 – Resources - continued</i>					
Mobilized resources – Exchange information about sports	2. No 4. Yes	Mobilized resources – Exchange personal information	2. No 4. Yes	Mobilized resources – Exchange information about major life decisions	2. No 4. Yes
Mobilized resources – Exchange educational information	2. No 4. Yes	Mobilized resources – Exchange of other types of information	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Mobilized resources – Total information exchange	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Mobilized resources - Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Expectations of practical support	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Expectations of financial support	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Accessible resources – Expectations of companionship	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Expectation of emotional support	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Expectations of encouragement	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Accessible resources – Expectations of inspiration	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible pool of expected resources – Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Occupation – Highest accessed occupation	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high

<i>Part 4 – Resources - continued</i>					
Accessible resources – Occupation - Range	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Occupation - Access to occupations	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Total occupational prestige accessed	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Accessible resources – Total occupational pool	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Accessible resources – Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Total social capital	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
<i>Part 5 – Network Typologies</i>					
Bonding – Same first language	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bonding – Same looking ethnic group	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bonding – Similar educational background	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Bonding – Similar family income	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bonding – Similar ages in network	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bonding – Who helps family to get by?	1. No one 2. Friends 3. Friends/Extended family 4. Extended family

<i>Part 5 – Network Typologies - continued</i>					
Bonding – Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bridging – Diversity of ethnicity	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bridging – Diversity of ages	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Bridging – Diversity in social-economic levels	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bridging – Diversity in occupations	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Bridging – Diversity in formal groups	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high
Bridging – Who expands lives of family?	1. No one 2. Friends 3. Friends/Extended family 4. Extended family	Bridging - Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high	Linking - Total	1. Very low 2. Low 3. Medium 4. High 5. Very high

Note: The coding also contained many scales for groups of codes. While some are displayed due to their importance, many are not.

Appendix 6

Publications Consulted in Development of Community Profiles

Berowra Bush Telegraph 2004, 9 Dec.

Bradfield Briefing 2004, Dec.

Castle Towers Christmas Supplement 2004, Dec.

Cumberland State Forest Brochure 2004, Dec.

Hills News 2004, 7 Dec., 14 Dec. (2 issues)

Hills Shire Times 2004, 7 Dec., 14 Dec. (2 issues)

Hornsby and Upper North Shore Advocate 2004, 2 Dec., 9 Dec. (2 issues)

Hornsby Member of Parliament Letter 2004, Dec.

Kenthurst Community News 2004, Dec.

Neighbourhood Watch Newsletter Area H14 2004, Nov.

North Shore Times 2004, 3 Dec., 10 Dec. (2 issues)

Northern Beaches Weekender 2004, 9 Dec.

Northern District Times 2004, 1 Dec., 8 Dec. (2 issues)

Peninsula Living 2004, Dec.

Sydney Hills Visitor Centre 2004, Dec.

Sydney Observer 2004, Dec.

Sydney Weekly Courier 2004, 1 Dec., 8 Dec. (2 issues)

The Glenorian, Glenorie & District Gazette 2004, Dec.

The Manly Daily 2004, 1–4 Dec., 7–11 Dec. (9 issues)

Warringah Council Directory 2004, Dec.

Warringah Council Waste & Recycling Calendar 2004, Dec.

Whispers Community Magazine 2004, Nov., Dec. (2 issues)

Willoughby Council Letter 2004, Dec.

Appendix 7

Websites Consulted in Development of Community Profiles

Baulkham Hills Shire Council 2004, www.baulkhamhills.nsw.gov.au/home.aspx,
downloaded 13.12.04.

Hawkesbury City Council 2004, www.hawkesbury.nsw.gov.au, downloaded 13.12.04.

Hornsby Shire Council 2004, www.hornsby.nsw.gov.au/whatson/index/cfm?Sta,
downloaded 13.12.04.

Ku-ring-gai Council 2004, www.kmc.nsw.gov.au, downloaded 13.12.04.

Manly Council 2004, www/manly.nsw.gov.au, downloaded 13.12.04.

Pittwater Council 2004, nsw.gov.au/RWP/wh.nsf/allDoc, downloaded 13.12.04.

Warringah Council 2004, www.warringah.nsw.gov.au, downloaded 13.12.04.

Appendix 8

Final Codes Used in Newspaper and Website Study

- News
 - Community problems
 - Other news
- Community figures
 - Awards
 - Obituaries
 - Others
- Crime
 - Reports of crime
 - Prevention/criminals apprehended
- Warnings/notices
- Volunteering/donating
- Services
 - (Articles only)
 - State
 - Council
 - Community
 - Professional/business
 - Retail
 - Products
 - Financial
 - (Advertisements only)
 - Professional/business
 - Retail
- Events
 - State
 - Location of event
 - Council
 - Location of event
- Community
 - Location of event
 - Commercial sales
 - Location of event
 - Commercial other
 - Location of event
- Opinions
- Sports
- Weather
- Television
- Crosswords
- Movies/cinemas
- Books
- Classified
 - Career
 - Sales
 - Travel
 - Personal
- Real Estate
 - Apartments/units
 - Buy
 - Rent
 - Share
 - Houses
 - Buy
 - Rent
 - Share
- Others

Appendix 9

Sample Letter of Consent



(Letter of Consent and Participation)

Name of Project: **The Place of Australian Families Within the Social Capital Debate**

Dear,

I would like to invite you, along with the adult members of your family, to participate in a study of the social networks of Australian families. The purpose of the study is to identify the benefits that result for a family from these social networks.

I am currently enrolled at Macquarie University as a PhD candidate in Sociology and this project is being conducted as part of my thesis work. I can be contacted by email at swatkins@scmp.mq.edu.au. The project is under the supervision of Dr. Michael Fine, Department of Sociology, Macquarie University. He may be contacted at the university on 9850 8037.

If you and your family decide to participate, each adult member of your immediate family will be asked to take part in an individual interview (either face-to-face or by telephone as each participant wishes). Each interview will involve a few brief demographic questions, some questions about family structure, and about the social contacts that this family member has. Questions regarding this social network will focus on the kinds of relationships, the norms and values within the network and what is shared within the network. As well, one adult member of the family will be asked similar questions pertaining to the social networks of any children under 18 years old within your family. With the permission of each adult family member, his or her interview will be audio taped, for later reference.

Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results and no one except myself, as the researcher, and my supervisor will have access to this data. The data will be published as part of a PhD Thesis however the transcript of each individual interview will be made available to the participating family member of that interview in order to review and edit its contents if they so desire. Feedback, in the form of a summary of the collected data, will be presented to your family in an anonymous form after all data is summarized.

If your family decides to participate, each member will be free to withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequences.

I,, have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from future participation in the research at any time without consequences. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Please note: The signature of each participating member must be obtained.

Family name

1. Participant's Name:
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:

2. Participant's Name:
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:

3. Participant's Name:
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:

4. Participant's Name:
(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:

Investigator's Name: Sheila D. Watkins

Investigator's Signature Date

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Ethics Review Committee through its Secretary (telephone 9850 7854; email ro@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

(INVESTIGATOR'S/PARTICIPANTS COPY)

Appendix 10

Network Occupations and Prestige Ratings Used in this Study

Occupational Groupings (ABS 1997: 24)	Prestige Ratings (McMillan & Jones 2000: 70-79)
1. Managers and Administrators	
1.1 Generalist Managers	59.3
1.2 Specialist Managers	65.7
2. Professionals	
2.1 Science, Building, Engineering Professionals	68.1
2.2 Business/Information Professionals	57.5
2.3 Health Professionals	62.2
2.4 Education Professionals	65.5
2.5 Social, Arts and Music Professionals	56.1
3. Associate Professionals	
3.1 Science, Engineering and Related	41.6
3.2 Business/Administration Associates	39.7
3.3 Managing Supervisors (Sales/Service)	36.6
3.4 Health/Welfare Associates	33.9
3.9 Other Associate Professionals	42.2
4. Tradespersons and Related Workers	
4.1 Mechanical, Fabrication Engineering	25.2
4.2 Automotive Tradesperson	30.7
4.3 Electrical and Electronics Tradesperson	34.0
4.4 Construction Tradesperson	21.9
4.5 Food Tradesperson	24.9
4.6 Skilled Agriculture, Horticultural Workers	14.6
4.9 Other Tradesperson, Related Workers	24.4
5. Advanced Clerical and Service	
5.1 Secretaries and Personal Assistants	31.9
5.9 Other Advanced Clerical, Service Workers	32.5

6. Intermediate, Clerical, Sales and Service	
6.1 Intermediate Clerical Workers	26.9
6.2 Intermediate Sales, Related Workers	35.4
6.3 Intermediate Service Workers	24.3
7. Intermediate Production and Transport Workers	
7.3 Road and Rail Transport Drivers	12.8
8. Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service	
8.1 Elementary Clerks	20.2
8.2 Elementary Sales Workers	23.4
9. Labourers and Related Workers	
9.1 Cleaners	3.7
9.2 Factory Labourers	7.5
9.9 Other Labourers, Related Workers	12.5
Others (not included in the ANU3_2 Scale)	
Mothers	
Students/young people	
Retired Persons	

Glossary of Abbreviations, Technical Terms and Policies Used in this Thesis

ABS – Australian Bureau of Statistics

action set - Boissevain describes an action-set as a ‘set of persons who have co-ordinated their actions to achieve a particular goal’ (Boissevain 1974: 186). He claims they have a leader and a measure of internal specialization, however he qualifies the action-set by saying: ‘Working together does not necessarily generate norms of behavior which carry over outside the work situation. This also implies that there is not necessarily a sense of common identity’ (Boissevain 1974: 191).

accessible social capital – the pool of resources of a network to which individuals have access (Lin 2005: 6). In this study accessible social capital is differentiated from mobilized social capital (social capital that has been received) and is seen as both the resources that are expected to be available through a network and a measure of resources based on occupational positions within a network.

activity space – ‘the spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which a particular agent operates’ (Massey & Jess 1995: 54). In this study an activity space differentiates the local and non-local ties within a family’s social network.

alliance or coalition - According to Boissevain, an alliance or coalition is a: 'temporary alliance of distinct parties for a limited purpose'. He states an alliance may accelerate other tasks and may vary over time. Boissevain comments: 'The parties in coalition usually remain distinct, their individual identity within the alliance is not replaced by a group identity, nor is the individual commitment replaced by an ideological commitment to a uniform set of rights and obligations, which is characteristic of corporate groups'. 'Coalitions can vary in size from a few friends who meet regularly with the sole purpose of sharing common interest, to tens if not hundreds of persons who enter into an alliance in order to mobilize support for a particular politician or cause' (Boissevain 1974: 171-173).

alters – individuals that participants have identified as being members of their networks.

bonding ties – the links in a social network between homogeneous individuals or groups of similar individuals (Putnam 2000: 22). These ties are thought to be supportive in 'getting by' (Stone & Hughes 2003: 6). In this study similarity is based on same first language, same looking ethnic group, similar educational background, similar family income and similar age.

BOSCAR statistics – New South Wales quarterly crime statistics published by the Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research. BOSCAR statistics are expressed as both the total instances of crime as well as the rate of crime per 100,000 of the population. Criminal acts are broken down into 19 categories of offences, as

well as a rating of the top 50 areas in New South Wales for criminal offences in each category (NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research 2004: 3).

bridges – network members who are members of two or more groups (Brass 2005: 16).

A bridge is a person who acts to connect sections or sub-groups or indeed, entire networks, to other sections or sub-groups or other networks.

bridging ties – the links in a social network between heterogeneous or dissimilar individuals or groups of individuals (Putnam 2000: 22). These ties are thought to be supportive in ‘getting ahead’ (Lin 2001a: 75-76). In this study diversity is seen in regards to ethnicity, age, socio-economic status and occupations.

clique – a cohesive sub-group within a network. Relationships within cliques are generally thought to be stronger in intensity than other parts of the network (Trotter 1999: 30).

clustering – the delineation of segments of a network which are surrounded by boundaries. These groups of individuals can be considered to be a separate entity (Niemeijer 1973: 57). In this study clustering is categorized into formal or informal clustering with formal participation seen as belonging to formal corporate groups which includes alliances. Informal clustering is bounded by involvement in cliques, kinship groups, action sets and gangs.

common purpose - the shared intention or motivation for participation between an ego-centred adult family member, who anchors the network, and each network member. In this study participation is classified into social, community, civic and economic participation as per the *ABS Information Paper: Measuring Social Capital: An Australian Framework and Indicators 2004* (ABS 2004b: 42-66).

community – in this study community refers only to the local setting in which relationships occur, for example the local area or neighbourhood of participants. As Wellman (1982: 63) suggests, community here is only meant to represent the set of potential relationships that exist on the local level for the ego-centred adult family members.

connectedness – the extent of reciprocal relationships between an ego-centred adult family member and each network member (Trotter 1999: 30).

CSSN – computer-supported social network

density – degree of association among network members. This is the ‘ratio of the number of actual links to the number of possible links in the network $[n(n-1)/2]$ ’ (Brass 2005: 17).

distribution – apportionment, in the context of this thesis, distribution measures the number of adult males, adult females and the number of children within each network.

ego-centred family – the specific focal family on which a network is centred.

embedded location – the nesting of social ties within a community or residential neighbourhood (Kilduff & Tsai 2003: 134). According to Carter (1981:285), the embedded location includes both an explanation of the location and characteristics of the residential area. Massey and Jess (1995: 3) stress that this should include a meaning of place or a ‘sense of place’. Location is meant to represent the set of potential opportunities or constraints that exist for the ego-centred adult network members within their local area of residence.

formal, corporate group – ‘a body with a permanent existence: a collection of people recruited on recognized principle, with common interest and rules (norms) fixing rights and duties of the members in relation to one another and to these interests’ (Boissevain 1974: 171). Boissevain maintains that a common group identity and a uniform set of rights and obligations exist within a formal corporate group.

gang – ‘a leader-centred coalition whose members associate regularly on the basis of affection and common interest and possess a marked sense of common identity’ (Boissevain 1974:181).

generator – a generator is a measurement instrument that is meant to retrieve information from participants (Flap *et al* 2000: 2). In this study, generators are the sets of questions used in the interviews aimed at eliciting the names of network members and network information. Three distinct types of generators are used:

- 1) *name generator* - where participants are asked to think of names of individuals in their networks and describe each relationship (Marsden 2003: 2).
- 2) *position generator* - where participants are asked to identify network members by thinking of their positions and then describing each relationship (van der Gaag *et al* 2004: 4). For example: Who do you know in media? Can you tell me about them?; Who do you work with? What is your relationship like with them?
- 3) *resource generator* - where participants are asked to identify the value or resources within a network that become available through specific relationships with network members. This enables network members to be identified and then describes these relationships (van der Gaag & Snijders 2003a: 7) For example: Who would you turn to in a crisis and why?; Who do you know that would inspire you? How do they do this?

heterophily – the tendency to ‘separate into separate groups with little or no contact between them’ (Kilduff & Tsai 2003: 53).

homophily – ‘The tendency to choose as friends those similar to oneself’ (Granovetter 1982: 114). These ties are thought to be stronger ties than those to dissimilar individuals.

linking ties – the institutional links within a network (Woolcock 2001: 13-14). In this study a tie between an ego-centred family member and a network member who links them to an institution of society. Nine types of institutional links are investigated: government, police, the medical profession, legal, religion, the media, unions, higher education and corporate ‘big’ business.

mobilized social capital – the resources of a network that have been accessed and utilized (Lin 2005: 6). In this study these are seen as those that have been identified by participants as recieved by the ego-centred families.

Neighbourhood Watch – a program organized between local communities and the police force aimed at reducing localised crime, anti-social behaviour and fear (Neighbourhood Watch NSW 2008).

network – in this study, a network is seen as the configuration of ties radiating outwards from any of the ego-centred, adult family members (the focus of the network) to the people they know and the relations involved in the ties. These networks represent the social milieux of the ego-families with ties encompassing all relationships as perceived by the participants.

Safety House Scheme – a community based program that ‘provides a safe place primarily for children; provides children with the skills and confidence to feel safe; provides a network of signed houses and businesses within the community’ (Childsafety Australia 2008).

segregation – the number and connectedness of subgroups of network members.

Networks can be integrated where most members know each other, dispersed where few members know each other or segmented where clusters of members know each other but there is little connection between others in the network (Rands 1988: 129).

SEIFA – an index of relative socio-economic disadvantage in Australia. The average SEIFA index is 1,000 with higher indices representing less disadvantaged areas (ABS 2006: 1).

social capital – in this study, social capital is seen as the value of an ego-centred family network as the family informants perceive it. This is measured as both mobilized and accessible resources.

social network analysis (SNA) – ‘A tool for conceptualizing and measuring the social matrix’ (Surra 1988: 46). It provides a framework which focuses on the interactions of people and the value gained from these interactions, as well as what might influence these.

sociogram – a visual diagram of a network (Moreno 1934: 264-265).

structural hole – a structural hole exists in a network when network members are not connected or where networks are not connected to other networks (Burt 1992: 28). Burt’s theory of structural holes claims an advantage for the individual who brokers or bridges across these holes.

typologies - a classification or grouping of types of social phenomena (Marshall 1998: 676). In this study, typologies are constructed by grouping social networks according to the dominate groupings within the networks, the dominate closeness of ties, the relative heterogeneity, the number and diversity of linking ties and evidence of a specific advantage proposed by the literature on bonding, bridging and linking ties.