

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL ECONOMY:

Mel Evans, ISSR, Middlesex University, UK

m.d.evans@mdc.ac.uk

Paper to the International/European Research Conference on Co-ops and Social Enterprises, *The Social Capital of the Future*, Gävle, Sweden, 6-9 June, 2001.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of social capital has in recent years become increasingly common in debates across Europe about local economic and social development, social exclusion and the emerging third system and social economy. A definition familiar to the European Union through its Article 6 Local Social Capital programme describes it as - "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefits'. Thus, the role of social capital in - "restoring social cohesion, reinforcing local networks and formal and informal groups which seek to facilitate integration of excluded persons into work and start-up businesses and co-operatives" - is increasingly recognised, especially in the development of intermediate organisations under Article 6 Local Social Capital. What is more, the "main drivers of the creation of social capital are people and non-profit organisations that develop initiatives that contribute to the creation of employment and strengthening of social cohesion". But how can we indicate that social capital has contributed or has been created in such ways? This is one key task of the CONSCISE Project - "The Contribution of Social Capital in the Social Economy to Local Economic Development in Western Europe".

The CONSCISE Project is a three year trans-national European partnership carrying out research funded by the European Commission's Framework V programme under its Key Action of Improving the Socio-Economic Knowledge Base. Led by the Institute of Social Science Research at Middlesex University, London the project also involves partners at Community Business Scotland Network, the Technologie Netzwerk Berlin, Gabinet D'estudis Socials of Barcelona and the Natverket for Co-operatives and Social Enterprises in Vasterbottens, Sweden. Work on the Project commenced in March 2000 and has been examining the ways in which social enterprises in the social economy contribute to the growth of social capital for local development. In examining this the Project will also be considering how social capital facilitates the creation of social enterprise and a visible social economy. To examine these relationships and related questions the CONSCISE Project is carrying out fieldwork in 8 localities in the European Regions, specifically:

- Waltham Forest, London, England
- Benarty, Fife, Scotland
- Kreuzberg, Berlin, Germany
- Wedding, Berlin, Germany
- La Vall D'en Bas, Catalonia
- La Mina, Barcelona
- Natsansjo, Sweden
- Umeå, Sweden

However, the key problems in using the idea of social capital in practice have been with developing clear definitions of the concept. Identifying the sources of social capital, pinpointing how it may accumulate and decline, and identifying ways of measuring its impact on development in order to gain knowledge of appropriate ways to perhaps guide

and support its growth, have been key concerns of the Project so far.

SOCIAL CAPITAL DEFINITION:

A starting definition would be that which was cited above and has been used in documentation of European Union programmes: "*Social capital consists of features of social organisations such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.*" This definition has its origin in a number of sources. The current debate on the concept of social capital derives mainly from the work of two Americans: the sociologist James Coleman, writing in the 1980s', and the political scientist Robert Putnam writing in the 1990's. The French Marxist sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, also writing in the 1990's is frequently cited in the literature as a third source of the present theorisation on social capital. The three respectively define social capital in the following way:

- "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence. ... Social capital is embodied in the relations among persons.. [a] group whose members manifest trustworthiness and place extensive trust in one another will be able to accomplish more than a comparable group lacking that trustworthiness and trust". Coleman (1990);
- "social capital refers to features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated actions". Putnam (1993)
- "the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". Bourdieu (1992)

Social Capital as a 'Productive Resource':

Social capital is therefore, like other forms of capital, *productive* and exists as a *stock* or fund of *resources* to which both individuals and groups have *access*. Unlike conventional forms of capital however, the nature of social capital is intangible and centres around the characteristics of social relationships. Social capital is generally seen as a third type of capital supplementary to physical (both natural/biological and manufactured) and human capital. In addition to these forms of capital, it is possible to identify five other types of capital, namely, financial, cultural, organisational and intellectual.

Unlike most of these other forms of capital the stocks of which deplete with use, the stock of social capital will deplete if not used and will increase the more that it is used. This is not to say that social capital cannot be destroyed or fall into disuse. Neither does it imply that a growing stock of social capital will always have positive impacts; social capital can be used for negative purposes. Once produced however, social capital is available for other positive uses; it is, as Coleman suggests, 'appropriable'. Although it cannot be *owned* exclusively by any one person, and its ownership cannot be passed to another group, *access* to it can be restricted by group membership. Examining social capital should also therefore be a way of examining social exclusion.

The Key Characteristics of Social Capital in Social Relationships:

Social capital is first and foremost characterised as a form of **productive capital** and like all forms of productive capital we should expect to find that there are varying quantities of **stocks and flows** of such capital. But this form of productive capital is also distinctly social. It is about the quality of social relationships, or rather a set of **qualities of certain characteristics of social relationships**. These can be summed up as being qualities of the characteristics of:

- trust
- reciprocity / mutuality
- norms
- social networks
- information channels
- shared commitment / belonging

Trust and Social Capital: Perhaps the central 'ingredient' of social capital is the quality of trust in social relationships. *Trust* expresses a confidence about the reliability of other(s) and is often the unintended outcome of exchanges and transactions. It is both a medium of and an outcome from a relationship. *Institutional-based trust* recognises that trust is not based on personal relationships (and does not demand personal familiarity) but is embedded in a level above the individual actor. This is clearly linked to the idea of legitimate authority.

Trust involves the acceptance of the reliability of others without qualification, and the reduction in transaction costs this involves (e.g. no necessity for things like 'contracts') is important to economic and community development. This confidence about the reliability of others applies to relations between individuals and groups, and arguably can be extended to institutions, including those of the state. These are questions of the **legitimacy of authority** and this is conceivably also an indicator of social capital and something that can be measured.

Reciprocity / Mutuality and Social Capital: Reciprocity in social relationships is when one actor acts with regard to another in the same way as another acts in regard to the first. At one level reciprocity is simply **instrumental** in that both parties are aware of an 'exchange' of equivalent value and that they are acting out of self-interest. Putnam refers to this reciprocity as **'balanced'** (or 'specific'); the simultaneous exchange of items of similar value; i.e. a favour for a favour. Another type of reciprocity is identified by Putnam which is of great importance to the generation of social capital. **'Generalised'** (or 'diffuse') reciprocity is unbalanced; favours may be given without any certainty of when they will be 'repaid', or at least not in the short term. For Putnam, and Coleman insofar as generalised reciprocity leads to a proliferation of **'credit slips'**, this is important for the production of social capital. A storing up of obligations and expectations of their fulfillment at some unspecified point in the future creates a cohesive or 'social glue' quality of social capital. **Mutuality** can be taken as synonymous with reciprocity. It literally means 'shared' as in commonly owned or experienced, and is seen by some as the highest form of reciprocity. Mutuality implies that social relationships are not governed by self-interest and an over concern for the 'equivalence' of exchange, but out of a genuine concern for the development and well-being of the other or others. Mutuality then is a characteristic of social capital that builds upon but also beyond generalised reciprocity.

Norms and Social Capital:

The main norms and values that enable the growth of social capital are those of reciprocity, mutuality and trust. The separation of 'norms' as a characteristic of social capital is in order to highlight the informality, the shared perspective and world view that is important to the embedding of trust, reciprocity and mutuality within a group. Thus Coleman for instance considers that social capital is most likely to be found in 'closed communities' (whether localised or not) where informal norms and sanctions are particularly strong. Others dispute this idea and there is a strong argument amongst commentators that social capital generated for the exclusive use of a defined group can have a long term negative effect on well being and development.

Social Networks and Social Capital:

A main aspect of the characteristic of networks in social capital is what Putnam refers to as **civic engagement**. Networks of civic engagement (e.g. neighbourhood associations, choral societies, co-operatives etc.) are seen as an essential form of social capital. Co-operation for mutual benefit amongst citizens is likely to be higher where such networks are dense according to Putnam. Putnam also considers it important that such networks are characterised by **horizontal ties** and less by vertical ties, as social capital is more likely to be generated in networks of people of similar status and power. He accepts that "even bowling teams have captains", but that trust, reciprocity and mutuality is much less likely in networks of interpersonal communication and exchange which are characterised by unequal status and power.

Information Channels and Social Capital:

The channels of information in the kind of networks and social relationships we have thus far considered as being high in social capital should be characterised by fast transmission time and the content of information be more readily understood and consumed by individuals and groups on such networks. In large measure this is due to the presence of trust. Time does not have to be spent checking out the accuracy of the information. Coordinated actions are thus more likely and transaction costs reduced. The wider impact of this in a 'knowledge economy' does not go unnoticed. It is one of the main productive benefits of social capital promotion for a socio-economic formation, which leads Szreter (1999) to suggest that "from a normative economics viewpoint, social capital can be briefly defined as that general set of relationships which **minimises the transaction costs of information across the whole economy.**"

Information channels characterised as high in social capital are available as a resource for both groups and individuals, and as such can constitute **support** capital (e.g. advice on how to behave in job interviews) or **leverage** capital (e.g. help on where to get a job).

Shared Commitment / Belonging:

Social capital is likely to be high when people in social relationships share a commitment and a sense of belonging to a common cause, group or (most often) place. This can be expressed in terms of solidarity (mutual support), and shared local or civic identity.

SOCIAL CAPITAL - A RE-DEFINITION:

The various contributions examined in the work of the project have led us to arrive at the following re-definition of social capital :

"SOCIAL CAPITAL consists of resources within communities which are created through the presence of high levels of:

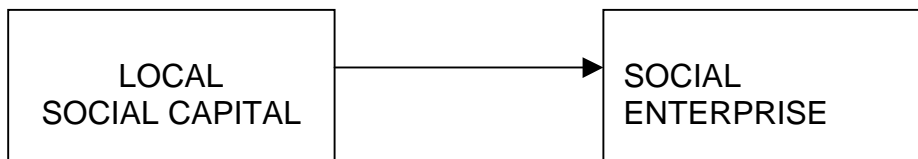
- trust;
- reciprocity and mutuality;
- shared norms of behaviour;
- shared commitment and belonging;
- both formal and informal social networks; and
- effective information channels,

Which may be used productively by individuals and groups to facilitate actions to benefit individuals, groups and community more generally."

This definition enables us to identify that social capital can be both a *cause* of certain actions and at the same time an *outcome*. In terms of the project we can establish two different *contexts* in which the generation and mobilisation of social capital may be understood.

Context 1:

Local social capital may be used to *develop* social enterprises:

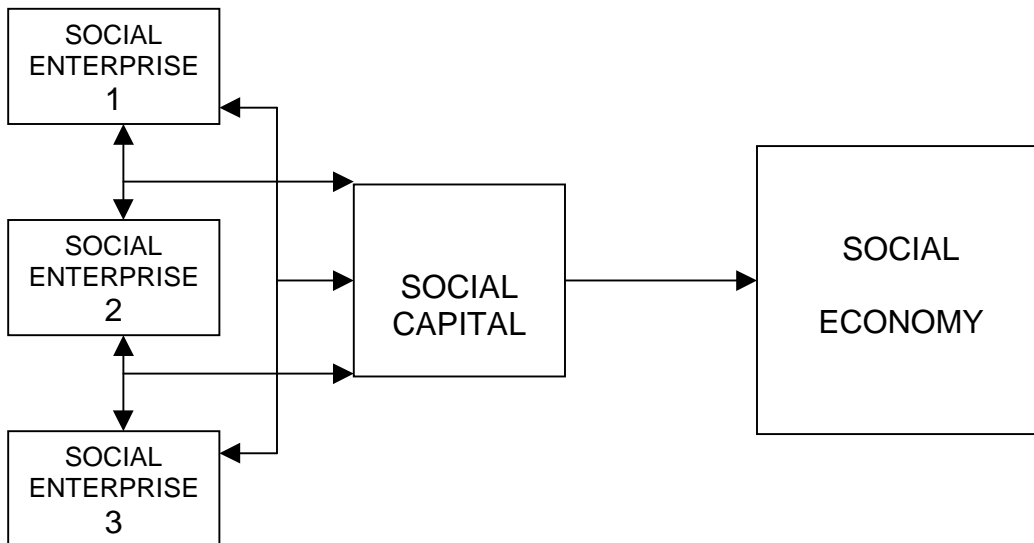


And social enterprises may develop social capital:



Context 2:

In co-operating social enterprises may generate social capital which enables the development of a social economy:



It should be noted that the social capital generated in Context 2 does not derive from a particular social enterprise but from relationships between social enterprises 'co-operating'.

LOOKING FOR SOCIAL CAPITAL: DEVELOPING INDICATORS

To examine how social enterprise use and generate social capital has led the Project to choose, develop and adapt tools already in use within the social economy. The way in which social enterprises emerge within localities is being examined by using adapted versions of **local socio-economic profiling methods**. The way in which social enterprises generate social capital is being examined by adapting **social audit techniques**.

USING LOCAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILING TO EXAMINE LOCAL SOCIAL CAPITAL:

There are four objectives in using local socio-economic profiling to examine local social capital. These are as follows:

1. To construct a common **data profile** of each location, which will enable an examination of the nature of the local social structure and the local economy, and the social economy in particular, as a context for the generation of social capital.
2. To describe **local social capital** in each location.
3. To identify elements of the **local social capital which have influenced the emergence and development of local social enterprises**.
4. To examine whether and to what extent **local social enterprises produce further local social capital**.

The project has developed four **research instruments** for compiling baseline local socio-economic profiles and these are as follows:

- 1 Use of existing relevant local data, or **secondary data**. This included relevant government reports and statistics (at local, regional, national and European levels). To some extent this involved a review of what sources of such data was available. This has been most relevant to drafting a **local data profile** and should also prove useful for other elements of the profile.
- 2 A survey of residents of the locality. It is proposed that this survey be used mainly to examine the extent of baseline local social capital in the context of individuals and families in the locality. We therefore refer to this as a **social capital survey**. The survey included both factual and attitudinal elements to test the presence of social capital (mostly using proxy indicators). Many of the items are drawn from or based upon previous and similar questionnaire surveys (e.g. Onyx and Bullen; 1999). There will also be a section of the questionnaire to derive demographic data on respondents.
- 3 A **survey of social enterprises** has also been undertaken in each locality. The intention has been to produce data on the size, nature and extent of the local social economy. As many local social enterprises in each locality as possible have been surveyed in order to get as complete a picture as possible.
- 4 A final research instrument involved the recruitment of what we have called a **Soundings Group**. The purpose of this group is varied. The group was composed of representatives from different stakeholder constituencies in each locality (e.g. representatives from the social economy, politicians, voluntary sector workers and unpaid members, resident representatives, other professionals etc.) who have a commitment to the fieldwork and project. A series of meetings have been held with these groups over the four-month period of the fieldwork. What is more important

have been the various functions performed by these groups as a whole: discussants, informants, gatekeepers, and advisors in different contexts. The Soundings Group have connected closely with the proposed Social Audit working group in most localities. The Soundings Group convened initially for local socio-economic profiling in each locality should in most cases continue to meet at quarterly intervals throughout the social audit phase.

LOCAL DATA PROFILES:

The format for the data profile of each locality covers a range of information that needs to be collected for each locality. This will provide an indicative backdrop for the remaining three elements of the local socio-economic profiling methodology. It should be noted however that this is a format to guide local data collection and it varies from place to place.

In recognition that -

1. For some localities the data will not be easy to collect.
2. Data still needs to be interpreted.
3. Some data has to be constructed from qualitative sources.

- each section begins with a summary of key trends and issues relating to that section (e.g. housing). In most cases these are backed up by suggested statistical and other data where available.

Compiling a local data profile along the lines suggested will take a little time and will need to fit in with the early phases for the Soundings Group.

SOCIAL CAPITAL SURVEY:

The survey of residents has been designed to examine baseline local social capital in our fieldwork localities. There are several items which are designed to indicate local social capital, and these are divided into items about each of the six characteristics of social capital we have identified. Items at the end of the questionnaire request specific details about respondents which will enable us to examine variation of social capital according to gender, age, educational level, marital status, housing type, length of residence, household composition, childcare responsibility, race/ethnicity, and employment.

The items in the survey are to provide indicators of each characteristic of social capital.

CHARACTERISTIC OF SOCIAL CAPITAL	INDICATOR / PROXY INDICATOR
Trust:	Personal trust, Safety, responsibility, political legitimacy.
Reciprocity and Mutuality:	Helping others, sense of duty, doing favours.
Shared Norms and Behaviour:	Values, consensus, diversity, tolerance
Shared commitment and Belonging:	Neighbourhood satisfaction, commitment, loyalty, civic duty
Social Networks:	Mixing inside / outside locality, density of acquaintance, opportunities for networking
Information channels:	News sources, support information, awareness / commitment.

TABLE 3: INDICATORS OF LOCAL SOCIAL CAPITAL

Most of the items are **attitude statements** which respondents to the survey are asked to express their level of agreement with. In almost all cases strong agreement with the attitude statements is taken to indicate the presence of social capital. Most of the attitude statements and indicators in general are derived from those used elsewhere - e.g. the UK

Governments' Central-Local Government Information Partnership (CLIP) Task Force and indicators of sustainable development (DETR, 2000), and surveys by Jenny Onyx and Paul Bullen in Australia (Onyx and Bullen, 1999). The idea of this is to create possibilities to contrast our social capital examination to other benchmark indicators.

SOUNDINGS GROUP:

The Soundings Group acts as:

- 1 **Discussants** of the data / reports resulting from the use of other instruments in this workpackage.
- 2 **Informants** in the sense that they provide qualitative data on the nature of local social capital, the impact of social enterprise and the relationship between social capital and social enterprise in the fieldwork localities.
- 3 **Gatekeepers** in the fieldwork localities and for potential sources of relevant local data.
- 4 **Advisors** regarding the direction of the local socio-economic profiling exercise.

The **role** of the Soundings Group covers all four aspects above. The main **output** from the Soundings Group for the research is qualitative data. The **function** of Concise fieldworkers has therefore been both to utilise the advice and guidance of the Soundings Group and to record key points made by Soundings Group meetings as project data (whether by noting key points or by seeking their permission to use recording equipment). The character of the Soundings Group as a research tool is such that its use in local circumstances varies. The selection and recruitment of suitable participants in a Soundings Group was an issue resolved at local level.

DATA ANALYSIS:

The local social and economic profiles enable us to examine baseline local social capital for each location. As a consequence data analysis will focus on the following:

- 1 Deriving overall local social capital survey results.
- 2 Examining the extent of variations of local social capital results according to variables like gender, age, ethnicity, educational level, length of residence, involvement in community organisations, marital/family status, household type and employment within locations.
- 3 Contrasting local social capital results with level (numbers of people involved) of social enterprise activity, derived from the local social enterprise survey.
- 4 Analysis of the social enterprise survey to specifically derive a profile of the local social economy and its consumption, production and reproduction of local social capital.
- 5 Analysing by categories and themes data derived from the local data profile and from Soundings Group meetings.
- 6 Use of the data profile to provide a local socio-economic context for 1-5.

THE USE OF SOCIAL AUDIT TECHNIQUES TO EXAMINE LOCAL SOCIAL CAPITAL:

The roots of social audit method lie in the business world and in the perceived need to make business more accountable to the community, and to ensure that the impacts of business – beneficial and non-beneficial – are understood. Geddes' definition is one of the clearest and fullest:

“Social audit is best understood as a reaction against conventional accounting principles and practices. These centre on the financial viability and profitability of the individual economic enterprise. By contrast, social audit proposes a broader financial and economic perspective, reaching far beyond the individual enterprise....Social audit posits other goals as well as, or instead of, financial profitability....Moreover social audit attempts to embrace

not only economic and monetary variables but also – as its name suggests – social ones, including some which may not be amenable to quantification in monetary terms” (Geddes)

One of the key objectives of the CONSCISE project is to understand the concept of social capital and develop its relevance to the social economy. So the research project will explore the extent to which social enterprises, firstly, need and use stocks of social capital in order to start operations, survive and thrive and, secondly, to what extent they create new social capital.

Each social enterprise has been involved in planning and implementing a social audit using the New Economics Foundation / Scottish model adapted in the light of research experience in Scotland and Liverpool. The model has been further adapted to include an added component to explore social capital. The social capital component includes consultation with the social enterprises’ stakeholders about the nature, use and creation of social capital. The social audit overall retains its focus on how the organisation has performed and the process will be very much one of the organisation preparing its social accounts for its own purposes of planning and improving on performance and reporting to stakeholders. The social capital component is designed to a common format across the selected social enterprises, while the remainder of the social accounts have been tailored to each individual enterprise’s requirements.

The CONSCISE programme team has collaborated with local people and paid staff attached to the social enterprises, and they have been made aware of the value of their active participation in the project and also of their level of input and commitment. In carrying out a social audit, the social enterprise has to want to do it, understand the process, realise the commitment required by volunteers and staff, be prepared to allocate a social accountant(s) to the tasks and understand the implications that may arise from the social audit.

CONSCISE team members have been responsible for guiding the social audit through the five stages and for providing information and techniques on the concept and procedures. The social enterprise will be responsible for working closely with the CONSCISE personnel in gathering the quantitative and qualitative data, helping in the analysis and writing a proportion of the social audit accounts and final report.

The primary benefit to the social enterprise, arising from its participation in this project, is that it will have a full and verified social audit. At the same time the CONSCISE project will have benefited as it will use part of the social audit process to examine specifically the creation and use of social capital.

In addition the social enterprise will benefit by having a clearer idea of social capital and how their activities might be assessed in terms of the amount of social capital that they generate in an area.

Social Audit Method: The Five Stages:

The Conscise Project adopts the New Economics Foundation / Scottish model of social audit which proceeds by 5 main stages. However, there were three key preliminary tasks which had to be carried out beforehand.

Task 1: Identifying the social enterprise

In selecting the social enterprise, the criteria below has been applied. The social enterprise must:

- Earn at least part of its income from commercial trading;
- be “pivotal” to the process of local economic development in the chosen area;
- be of sufficient size to employ paid staff;
- have contacts and a range of stakeholder groups;
- be aware of the resource implications of carrying out a social audit, and
- be willing to take part in the CONSCISE project and allocate some effort to it.

Task 2: Initial meetings with the Social Enterprise

Meetings with the key people in the social enterprise to explain the CONSCISE project; the social audit methodology and process; the outcomes and outputs; and gaining agreement for their participation.

Task 3: Briefing meeting on CONSCISE and the Social Audit

Inviting key people within the social enterprise to a briefing meeting on:

- the CONSCISE project;
- definitions, concepts, measures, indicators of social enterprise, social economy and social capital;
- the five stage process of the social audit;
- the expected outcomes and outputs of the CONSCISE project and in particular of the social audit;
- the division of work between the CONSCISE personnel and the social enterprise staff and volunteers;
- the expected timetable, dates of meetings and milestones in the project.

This meeting in most of the 8 localities has been combined with the first meeting of the Soundings Group.

The Five Stages:

This section will outline the recommended five stages in carrying out a social audit. There are a number of tasks which need to be carried out within the five stage process and they are summarised as follows:

Stage 1: Introducing Social Accounting and Audit

- Task 4: Introducing the social enterprise to the process

Stage 2: The Foundations

- Task 5: Completing the Social Audit framework (mission, objectives, activities and values)

Stage 3: The Social Book-keeping

- Task 6: Agreeing on the social book-keeping methods (quantitative and qualitative)

- Task 7: Collecting quantitative and qualitative data
- Task 8: Consultation with stakeholders
- Task 9: Monitoring progress

Stage 4: Preparing and Using the Social Accounts

- Task 10: Drafting the social accounts

Stage 5: The Social Audit

- Task 11: Social Audit Panel and the Social Audit

Social Capital Elements of the Social Audit

The five stage process of carrying out a social audit is a tried and tested model. What is new to the model in this project is the addition of two further objectives. To ensure that the aims of the CONSCISE project relating to social capital are fulfilled there are two additional objectives in each social audit process:

Social Capital Objective 1: to use social capital in sustaining our social enterprise by...	
Building and using relations of trust with social economy and other organisations and with relevant individuals	Evidence, nature and frequency of links/relations with organisations and relevant individuals Examples of trust in action (or distrust) where the organisation is the recipient Evidence of trust reciprocated
Engaging with social enterprises and other local organisations in order to receive help on a reciprocal and mutual basis	Examples of reciprocal help received Examples of mutual action which benefit the organisation
Receiving support from a strong local network of support	Size of local membership Involvement of and participation by members Evidence, nature and frequency of links with local organisations and relevant individuals Evidence, nature and frequency of links with organisations and relevant individuals outwith the local area Examples of positive action arising from networking and contacts
Building on and using a sense of shared commitment and belonging to(insert name of area)	Examples of how shared commitment/belonging has been important to the work of the organisation
Building on shared values and norms of behaviour in the local social economy	Examples of shared values/norms contributing to the work of the organisation (or the converse)
Building up and using extensive information channels	Extent and nature of information channels established and used, formal and informal Frequency of use

Social Capital Objective 2: to create and generate social capital for the benefit of the local community by....	
Building relations of trust with social economy and other organisations and with relevant individuals	Evidence, nature and frequency of links/relations with organisations and relevant individuals Examples of trust in action (or distrust) where the organisation is the giver Reputation amongst other social economy and local organisations, and amongst key individuals
Engaging with social enterprises and other local organisations in order to offer help on a reciprocal and mutual basis	Examples of reciprocal help given Examples of mutual action which benefit other organisations Reputation amongst other social economy and local organisations
Contributing to and supporting local networks	Membership of other organisations/networks (local and non-local) Level of active participation in these Evidence, nature and frequency of links with these Examples of positive action arising from participation in networks
Contributing to a sense of shared commitment and belonging to(insert name of area)	Examples of how the sense of shared commitment/belonging has been strengthened (note: some enterprises may have specific activities which relate to this – eg: generating positive press coverage, holding regular social gatherings etc)
Strengthening the shared values and norms of behaviour in the local social economy	Examples of how the organisation has contributed to strengthening shared values/norms
Building up information channels and sharing information	Number and nature of inquiries dealt with Number and nature of visits received Reputation amongst those organisations seeking and receiving information/making visits Examples of positive outcomes deriving from the giving and sharing of information

CONCLUSIONS:

The profiling period of the fieldwork is coming to an end in June 2001 and the Project is in the process of drawing up profiles of the eight localities. There will also be a consolidated report produced before the end of 2001. The social audit fieldwork is ongoing through to 2002 when social audit reports, including reports on the social capital objectives, will be prepared. The outcome of the research should be a better understanding of the contribution of local social capital to the formation of local social enterprise, and the ways in which local social enterprises generate social capital. The final report will be prepared early in 2003.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bourdieu, P and Wacquant, L (1992) *Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Coleman, J (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Conscise (2001) *The Contribution of Social Capital in the Social Economy to Local Economic Development in Western Europe*, Report 1: Key Concepts, Measures and Indicators (www.conscise.mdx.ac.uk)

Conscise (2001) *The Contribution of Social Capital in the Social Economy to Local Economic Development in Western Europe*, Report 2: Baseline Socio-Economic Profiles: Methodology (www.conscise.mdx.ac.uk)

Conscise (2001) *The Contribution of Social Capital in the Social Economy to Local Economic Development in Western Europe*, Report 3: Social Audits of Social Enterprise: Methodology (www.conscise.mdx.ac.uk)

DETR (2000) *Local Quality of Life Counts* DETR (available at www.detr.gov.uk/environment/sustainable/localind/appendix/append.html)

Groundwork / NEF / Barclays PLC (2000) *Prove It! Measuring the Effect of Neighbourhood Renewal on Local People*, Groundwork / NEF /Barclays PLC (see www.neweconomics.org.uk)

Onyx, J. and Bullen, P. (1999) *Measuring Social Capital in Five Communities in NSW: An Analysis*, CACOM: University of Technology: Sydney

Putnam, R. (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, NJ: Princeton.

Szreter, S. (1999) "A New Political Economy for New Labour: The importance of social capital" in *Renewal*, Vol.7. No.1 pp.30-44