SOCIAL CAPITAL AND THE CULTURAL SECTOR

LITERATURE REVIEW PREPARED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE, MEDIA AND SPORT

Dr Siobhan Daly

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Centre for Civil Society
London School of Economics
Houghton Street
London WC2A 2AE

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Executive Summary

Social Capital is typical of concepts across the social sciences in terms of its contestability and the debate which this inspires. With some limited exceptions, it is untypical in terms of its broad appeal to multiple disciplines within the social sciences; its popularity with policy makers and its relevance to the everyday experiences of individuals ranging from their involvement in voluntary associations to their social circle.

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the contribution of the cultural sector, as defined by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) to building social capital. It will review the academic literature on the relationship between social capital and the cultural sector, focusing on four key domains or areas:

(i) Sport
(ii) Arts
(iii) Heritage
(iv) Television

Data on the cultural sector

- Data gathered by the Arts Council (Skelton et al 2002) and by Sport England underline the extent and nature of participation in the arts and sports in the United Kingdom.
- This data does not tell us why certain age groups are more likely to attend or participate in certain activities over others, or what are the likely implications of participation in these activities.
- The concept of social capital and the ever-growing volume of literature that has developed around this phenomenon offer one way of exploring these types of questions.

Social Capital

- Three traditions, which are associated with three particular authors underpin the articulation of the concept, and the analysis of social capital:
    - Pierre Bourdieu
    - J.S. Coleman
    - Robert Putnam.

- There are a variety of measures of social capital. Foley and Edwards (1999) identify two principal ways in which the concept of social capital is operationalised:
    - First, the analysis of social capital by political scientists as well as some economists and psychologists, following Putnam tends to focus on *trust, norms* and *values*.
    - Second, by contrast, Foley and Edwards argue that sociologists in particular tend to conceive of social capital as present in the structure of social relations between individuals and among individuals, which is

operationalised as (both formal and informal) social networks, organisations or connections between individuals and/or organisations.

- Finally, and in a related way, Foley and Edwards (1999: 146) argue that it is important to consider how social context affects the production of social capital.

The cultural sector

The analysis of existing research in the key domains or areas that make up the cultural sector revealed the following findings:

Sport

Despite the positive links that have been identified between sport and social capital, it is also necessary to consider the underlying problems and issues that risk compromising the benefits of this relationship (Dyreson 2001: 24-28):

- Sport has created institutions that have proved conducive to division and disengagement, (e.g. divisions along gender lines, racism). What is more, the constraints that people perceive in relation to participation in leisure activities such as sport should be viewed as important as actual rates of participation in developing our understanding of the relationship between sport and social capital.

- Sport generates social connections that may be more associated with markets and consumers than with democracy. There is a need to explore in greater depth the impact which participation in 'public leisure', on the one hand and 'commercial leisure', on the other has on the development of social capital (Hemingway 1999).

- Finally, the links identified between associational membership and social capital also suggest the need to further explore how membership of sports clubs and associations contributes to building social capital.

- The impact of early-life sports participation, in an informal or formal (e.g., school) setting also represents a future avenue for research.

The Arts

- The links between social capital and the arts, particularly the unincorporated (or citizen/community-based) arts are widely touted through case studies and anecdotal evidence of successful arts projects and initiatives in communities (e.g., Better Together Report 2000; Matarasso 1997; Gould 2001).

- This may be attributed in part of course to the absence of systematic data on community based arts – as well as the difficulties encountered in "quantifying" what are often quite informal activities (Peters and Cherbo 1998; Cooalter 2001).

- Nonetheless, this research does provide us with valuable insights into how different activities and/or organisational forms engender different forms of social capital: whilst some have bridging effects, other are associated with the sometimes negative implications of bonding social capital.

- We are still left with open questions about the importance of attendance at arts events and other forms of cultural activity for the development of social capital. From a theoretical perspective, we seek to know more about how, and in what way (if at all) attending events matters for building social capital. From the practical perspective, theatres, galleries etc. face the challenge of broadening their appeal beyond the stereotypes that have come to be associated with the arts.

Heritage

- The potential for institutions (or cultural services) such as museums and libraries to contribute to building social capital is broadly acknowledged by research, policy makers and cultural services professionals alike.

- For example, libraries are seen to be ideally placed to provide both the resources and space for fostering increased civic participation and engagement across all sections of a community. However, we still lack comprehensive evidence of the ability of libraries to conform to these expectations.

- Similarly, increasing attention is being given to the potential for museums to 'provide a physical and social focus for civic engagement' (Bryson et al. 2002: 26), e.g., through projects within museums and community outreach programmes. There is also an argument in the literature that museums and other similar institutions could also be more inward looking in seeking to contribute to the development of social capital, e.g., in relation to the importance attached to the treatment and recruitment of volunteers.

Television

- Television, much to the chagrin of many observers represents an important part of our culture today.

- For example, Putnam's (2000: 230-231) asserts that the more time people spend watching television correlates with declining civic participation and social engagement. For many researchers of communication studies, the need to consider what people watch and not solely how much television people watch is fundamental to assessing the link between television and social capital (see Norris 1996).

- The debate about the links between social capital and television is underpinned by questions about how people spend the leisure time at their disposal, as well touching once again on the likely consequences of more passive activity for building social capital.

Conclusion

In conclusion, some key themes and questions that may form the basis for future research are outlined. These questions and themes are outlined within the framework of the objectives of the broader project to be carried out by DCMS on the links between the cultural sector and social capital.

1. Introduction

Social Capital is typical of concepts across the social sciences in terms of its contestability and the debate which this inspires. With some limited exceptions, it is untypical in terms of its broad appeal to multiple disciplines within the social sciences as well as to policy makers ranging from local authorities, to government departments, to the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Once the multifaceted nature of the concept is unpacked, it also becomes clear that social capital is both relevant and recognisable in the everyday experiences of individuals ranging from their involvement in voluntary associations to their social circle.

The purpose of this paper is to focus on the contribution of the cultural sector to building social capital. It will review the academic literature on the relationship between social capital and the cultural sector.

- The first step is to clarify what we mean by the cultural sector and to establish the presence and importance of the sector in the United Kingdom (UK) today.
- Second, the focus turns to the concept of social capital. We briefly review the different approaches that underpin the definition of this concept in the literature and also consider the controversy and debate surrounding how social capital should be measured empirically.
- Third, based on our analysis of the literature we explore the question of how important the cultural sector is perceived to be for building social capital, focusing on four key domains or areas of the cultural sector:
    - (ii) Sport
    - (iii) Arts
    - (iv) Heritage
    - (v) Television
- Finally, within the framework of the objectives of the broader project to which this paper seeks to contribute, we suggest some key themes and questions that could be posed by further research.

2. The Cultural Sector

2.1. Definition

The definition of the cultural sector follows that used by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS),[1] which identifies seven cultural domains:

- Audio-Visual (including film, TV, radio, new media and music)
- Books and Press
- Heritage (includes museums, libraries, archives and historic environment)
- Performance (includes theatre, arts and dance)
- Sport
- Tourism (includes gambling and betting activities)

[1] http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/research/det.default.htm

- Visual Arts (includes galleries, architecture, design and crafts)

The Arts and the Creative Industries are not mentioned explicitly in the definition as they embrace a combination of some of these domains or areas:

- Arts (defined as Visual Arts + Performance)
- Creative Industries (Audio Visual + Books and Press + Performance + Visual Arts).

In effect, the DCMS definition of the cultural sector comprises the creative industries, plus sport, tourism and heritage. However, it is necessary to note from the outset that the boundaries between the different categories of the cultural sector outlined in the DCMS definition are not always so clear cut. Some research, such as on the impact of the arts on the economy and urban regeneration takes a broad definition that incorporates the analysis of the economic impact of museums, for example (Coalter 2001: 1). Unsurprisingly, such a broad and all-encompassing definition of the cultural sector is not reflected in the academic literature which forms the main focus of this review. Rather, the analysis of the links between social capital and the cultural sector is normally conducted on a "domain by domain" basis. In reviewing the literature, this paper will follow that pattern but will also seek to identify common themes and issues underpinning the examination of the relationship between specific domains of the cultural sector and social capital.

2.2. Why focus on the cultural sector?

Research on the social impact of the cultural sector remains in the early stages of development. As Matarasso (1997), for example, has noted, studies have tended to underline the *economic* significance of the arts, (e.g., in boosting tourism and creating jobs) at the expense of investigating the *social* impact of the arts. More recently, in the United Kingdom (UK) changes in emphasis in social and urban policy have considered how the arts can contribute to the wider social policy agenda, in particular to the building of social capital (Coalter 2001: 1-2). Although the economic value of sport, for instance has been greatly emphasised, research by Sport England is also beginning to show greater interest in the social impact of sport participation.[2]

Furthermore, Hemingway (1999: 161-164) argues that the links between leisure and democratic social capital have not been explored in great detail despite the potential of such research to 'build bridges' both conceptually and empirically to other areas of social research, as well as presenting 'new challenges for leisure practice'.

In order to unpack both the rationale behind, and indeed the necessity of exploring the relationship between the cultural sector, as broadly defined above, and social capital let us also begin by establishing just how important the sector is in the UK today.

As outlined in Table 1, patterns of attendance at artistic and cultural events provide us with an indication of how, and to what extent cultural activity features in peoples'

[2] As noted below, the Sport England website represents a valuable source of information and documentation on sports participation and its effects. http://www.sportengland.org.

lives (Skelton et al 2002: 15-26).[3] More than three-quarters or 79% of all respondents had attended one of the listed cultural events in the past twelve months. The patterns of attendance also revealed differences in the profile of the age and socio-economic status of respondents.

- For example, younger people were more likely than older people to have been at a film, carnival, street arts or circus, whilst those aged between 55-64 were more likely to have attended craft exhibitions, classical music and plays or drama. Attending a jazz concert, musicals or events linked with books or writing did not reveal any significant differences in terms of age.

- Whilst 89% of those in managerial or professional occupations said that they went to at least one event in the past year, the corresponding figure for semi-routine and routine occupations was 67%.

Table 1

Percentage attending various arts events in last 12 months and four weeks

Event	Last 12 months %	Last 4 weeks %
Film at a cinema or other venue	55	19
Play or drama	27	5
Musical	24	4
Carnival, street arts or circus (not animals)	23	4
Art, photography or sculpture exhibition	19	6
Craft exhibition	17	4
Pantomime	13	..
Cultural festival	10	2
Event connected with books or writing	8	2
Even including video or electronic art	7	2
Base	6,042	6,042

Note: Percentages add to more than 100% as respondents could cite more than one event.

Source: Skelton, A., Bridgwood, A., Duckworth, K., Hutton, L., Fenn, C., Creaser, C. and Babbidge, A. (2002). Arts in England: attendance, participation and attitudes in 2001. London: Arts Council of England.

Although the figures in Table 1 provide us with important data about what may be termed cultural consumption patterns, patterns of participation give us a more in-depth insight into the direct relevance of cultural and artistic activity to peoples' lives. Those who participated in the arts (92%) were also likely to have attended an arts event in the past year. The frequency of participation in arts activity (Skelton et al. 2002: 30) reveals that:

[3] Between July and November 2001, the Social Survey Division of the Office of National Statistics (ONS) was commissioned to carry out a survey by the Arts Council of England, with support from Resource: The Council for Museums, Archives and Libraries. 6,042 people were interviewed in total in England.

- 62% of respondents played a musical instrument for pleasure at least once a week; with 81% doing so monthly.
- 57% of respondents read for pleasure once a week with 77% reading monthly.
- The following activities revealed higher levels of weekly participation than others: crafts (37%); painting, drawing, making prints or sculpture (36%); using computers to create artwork or animation (31%); singing, performing in operas, plays or drama (30%); ballet or other dance (28%).
- Taking photographs, making films are likely to be monthly activities.
- Performing in a play or helping to run an arts events tend to feature most often as yearly activities.

Sport England[4] also represents a valuable source of information on sports participation, which allows us to underline trends in sporting activity. First, data derived from the 2002 General Household Survey, carried out by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) identified the following trends in participation:

- Since the previous survey conducted in 1996, overall participation in sport and physical activities has decreased. In 1996, 46% of adults reported taking part in sport (excluding walking), whereas by 2002, the figure was 43%.
- The most popular sports overall were:
  - swimming (14% in last four weeks);
  - keep fit/yoga (including aerobics and dance exercise 12%);
  - cycling (9%); and
  - cue sports (9%)

- Men were more likely than women to take part in sport with 50% of men participating (excluding walking) in the past 4 weeks compared with 36% of women.
- Individuals who were 'economically inactive' had lower rates of participation than those who were in work or unemployed: 40% of women who were economically inactive had participated in one sport or physical activity, compared to 64% of women in full time work.
- 38% of participants in sport activity in the previous 4 weeks had been a member of a club.
- 4% of adults reported that they had been a sports volunteer in the previous 4 weeks.

Research has also been conducted which focuses on the extent of sports activity and involvement among young people. Sport England (2003) commissioned research by MORI to survey over 3,000 young people aged between 6-16. Some of the findings of the research include:

- The percentage of young people who do not take part in any sport in school lessons regularly has risen from 15% in 1994, to 17% in 1999, to 18% in 2002.

[4] http://www.sportengland.org

- Young people are participating in a broader range of sports in their leisure time: in 1994 an average of 10 sports were played outside of school lessons. The figure was 11.2 in 2002.
- Between 1999 and 2002 there was a rise in the percentage of young people participating in sports in youth clubs from 51% in 1994 to 55% in 2002.
- Membership of sports clubs has decreased since 1999; football clubs have the biggest club membership with 15% of all young people, followed by swimming with 10% and judo/martial arts with 6%.

This data marks an important starting point as it establishes the presence and prominence of cultural activities, including sport in Britain today. Yet, by itself, this data does not tell us why certain age groups are more likely to attend or participate in certain activities over others, or what are the likely implications of participation in these activities for developing social connections and levels of trust, for example. As we will proceed to explore, the concept of social capital and the ever-growing volume of literature that has developed around this phenomenon offer one way of exploring these types of questions. Focusing on social capital at the very least offers one way of giving attention to the social significance of the cultural sector.

3. Social Capital

3.1. What is Social Capital?

The concept of social capital has proved to be as much a source of controversy and debate as the analysis of the sources and consequences of this phenomenon. Nonetheless, there is a broad degree of consensus that three distinct traditions underpin the concept and analysis of social capital (Adam and Rončević 2003: 158-160):

- *Pierre Bourdieu*

The first school of thought is associated with the work of Bourdieu (1984; 1986), who conceptualised social capital as the 'actual or potential resources' that an individual has at his/her disposal as a result of 'a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition', i.e. membership in a group. Overall, the concept of social capital has been judged to remain underdeveloped in Bourdieu's work, particularly when the primacy awarded to other forms of capital, notably economic capital and cultural capital is considered (Schuller et al. 2001: 3-4). The definition must be viewed as part of Bourdieu's broader concern with developing the different types of capital in order to explain the means by which the social stratification system is preserved and the dominant class-reproduction strategy is legitimised (Adam and Rončević 2003: 159).

- *J.S. Coleman*

Second, there is the school of thought that has developed around the work of J.S. Coleman (1988; 1990). He mainly viewed social capital as a way of understanding

the relationship between educational success and social inequality (Schuller et al. 2001: 5-8) as well as the relationship between families and the community (see Seamann and Sweeting 2004). Coleman's work marks an important change of emphasis from the results social capital has for individuals, as underlined by Bourdieu, to the results for groups, organisations, institutions or societies (Adam and Rončević 2003: 159). Coleman chooses to define social capital in terms of structure and the functions attributed to these structures:

> It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure (Coleman 1988: S98).

Coleman's efforts to refine the concept of social capital underlined the links between social capital and access to resources. In relation to the educational context, Coleman defined social capital as

> [T]he set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person. (Coleman 1994: 300, cited in Schuller et al. 2001: 6).

Social relations were viewed by Coleman to make up important 'capital resources' for individuals by means of processes such as setting 'obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, creating channels for information, and setting norms backed by efficient sanctions'. These resources may be influenced by factors such as generalised trustworthiness which ensures that obligations are met, the extent to which a person is in need of help and differences among cultures as to whether aid should be requested or given (Schuller et al. 2001: 6-7).

- *Robert Putnam*

The third tradition has emerged around the work of Robert Putnam (1993; 1995a; 2000), who proposes the following definition of social capital:

> Social capital here 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: 167).

Or rather,

> "Social capital" refers to features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (Putnam 1995a: 67)

Underpinning the concept is the notion that social networks encourage norms of reciprocity, ideally generalised rather than specific reciprocity, i.e. that 'I'll do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road' (Putnam 2000: 20-21). Whilst acknowledging that there are different forms of social capital (e.g. involving 'multi-stranded networks', formal organisation or 'public-regarding purposes'), he argues that forms of social capital vary (more or less) along two key dimensions: between bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive):

> Some forms of social capital are, by choice or necessity, inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous

> groups. Examples of bonding capital include ethnic fraternal organizations, church-based women's reading groups, and fashionable country clubs. Other networks are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages. Examples of bridging social capital include the civil rights movement, many youth service groups, and ecumenical religious organizations. (ibid.: 22)

There is some disagreement in the literature as to the usefulness of this distinction. On the one hand, Warde and Tampubolon (2002: 158) argue that the distinction has proved difficult to operationalise. On the other hand, distinguishing between bonding and bridging social capital is considered to be pertinent to explaining the impact of the relationships in which people become involved (Ravanera et al.: 2003: 161; see also, Gittel and Vidal 1998; Granovetter 1995). Ravenera et al., for instance posit that bonding social capital is likely to have a notable impact on participation and an individual's sense of belonging, as it facilitates identification and involvement with a particular group (ibid.). Yet, it can favour rather narrow and specific forms of reciprocity (Putnam 2000: 22-23). Woolcock (1998: 168) argues that we should pay more attention to the various 'levels, dimensions and combinations' of social capital at the micro and macro levels. Of particular relevance, reflecting the distinction between bonding and bridging social capital, at the micro-level, he suggests that it is necessary to distinguish between Integration (or, intra-community ties) and Linkage (or, extra-community networks).

This disagreement is rooted unsurprisingly in the absence of consensus not only as to how social capital should be conceptualised, but also as to its usefulness, and in the contentious debate concerning how social capital should be measured.

3.2. Measurement

The variety of measures of social capital that exist are evidence of the underdeveloped nature of the relationship between theoretical and empirical research on social capital (Adam and Rončević 2003: 163-164; see also, Sandefur and Laumann 1998; Paxton 1999: 90). At the same time, attempts to measure social capital empirically have at least reduced the circularity of some arguments whereby, for example, 'social capital is said to lead to better governance and more effective policies, and its existence is simultaneously inferred from the same outcomes' (Portes 2000: 4-5).

According to Foley and Edwards (1999), there are two principal ways in which academic scholars operationalise social capital for the purposes of empirical investigation. By including their own approach which emphasises the importance of social context for social capital, we can consider three approaches in all:

- First, the analysis of social capital by political scientists as well as some economists and psychologists, following Putnam tends to focus on *trust, norms* and *values*. According to the Healy and Côté (2001:43):
  > His [Putnam's] measures of social capital are typically based on a composite index containing the following elements:
  >
  > (i) intensity of involvement in community or organisational life.

(ii) Public engagement (e.g. voting)
(iii) Community and volunteering
(iv) Informal sociability (e.g. visiting friends)
(v) Reported levels of interpersonal trust.

The use of aggregate measures of social capital derived from survey research (e.g., 'generalised social trust', membership in organisations and norms such as reciprocity, cooperation and tolerance) has been criticised for overlooking how the norms and attitudes of individuals may be affected by the different social contexts in which they find themselves (op. cit.: 148; 149) .

- Second, by contrast, Foley and Edwards argue that sociologists in particular tend to conceive of social capital as present in the structure of social relations between individuals and among individuals, which is operationalised as (both formal and informal) social networks, organisations or connections between individuals and/or organisations. The presence of social capital is viewed to be connected to local social structures (e.g. community social organisations), which in the tradition of Coleman has benefits for particular individuals or groups.

- Finally, and in a related way, Foley and Edwards (1999: 146) argue that it is important to consider how social context affects the production of social capital:

> The specific social context [e.g., community, organisation or network] in which social capital is embedded not only influences its 'use value' [e.g. the potential for building links across different social groups]; it also shapes the means by which access to specific social resources [e.g., informal and formal and social organisation] is distributed and managed.

The distinction between different forms of social capital, such as bridging and bonding social capital is viewed as complementary to assertions about the relationship between context and the value of social capital (ibid: 148). For example, as discussed in relation to the research produced by Eastis (1998) below, following Foley and Edwards, 'context proved to be important once we ask under what circumstances what sorts of social capital are produced' (op. cit.: 161)

As will become clear in the next section, given how Putnam is associated with the "popularisation" of the concept of social capital, the influence of his approach to the analysis of social capital is evident in the literature which focuses on the cultural sector. However, an underlying trend is also emerging, in the vein of Foley and Edwards whereby scholars seek to explicate the importance of the access of individuals, groups and communities etc. have to social capital as well as their ability to translate this access into positive benefits.

4. How important is the cultural sector for building social capital?

The cultural sector, as defined above (such as membership of choral societies and football clubs) is an integral part of the 'norms and networks of civic engagement' which Putnam (1993; 2000) identified as fundamental to increasing "stocks" of social capital.

As Maloney et al (2001: 213) also note, sports clubs and cultural associations, in addition to neighbourhood and community associations and voluntary organisations are often identified as 'potential sources of social capital generation'. However, similar to Foley and Edwards (1999) they are sceptical of broad ranging assertions regarding the potential benefits of these forms of civic engagement for democratic governance and policy areas such as education and health.

The analysis of the relationship between culture and sport and social capital is at a relatively early stage of development. For instance, Hemingway (1999: 164) asserts that 'we simply do not know enough about what forms of leisure are associated with the development of social capital in general'. In other words, what *types* of activities that we are engaged in for recreation purposes lead, for example to increased levels of interpersonal trust and broaden our social connections? Clearly, the way in which the literature is developing suggests that whilst we cannot make broad generalisations about the relationship between the cultural sector, as defined by DCMS and social capital, we can garner some valuable insights from the analysis of different domains of the cultural sector.

4.1 Sport

The positive contribution sport can make to the success of democracy through the creation of voluntary associations and strengthening communities has long been recognised in the United States by academic scholars and political figures alike (Dyreson 2001: 20-21). The proposed link between sport and social capital is exemplified by Putnam's (1995: 70) lone American bowler as representative of declining levels of social engagement in American society. Bowling as a sport remains popular among Americans, and has not suffered the patterns of decline in participation endemic in other sports (e.g., softball, volleyball, football, and swimming). The disintegration of traditional organised bowling leagues is seen to be illustrative of 'another vanishing form of social capital':

- Between 1980 and 1993 the total number of bowlers in the United States increased by 10 percent, but league bowling decreased by more than 40 percent.
- The decline is all the more marked by the fact that in the mid-1960s, at its peak 8 percent of all men and nearly 5 percent of all women were members of bowling teams (ibid.: 112).

Despite the broad consensus about the links between sport and social capital, it is also necessary to consider the underlying problems and issues that risk compromising the

benefits of this relationship. Second, the emphasis which Putnam places on the importance of the bowling league raises a separate but related issue of the relevance of forms of associational membership for social capital. We will proceed by considering each of these points.

In the first instance, we will give consideration to the following arguments:
(1) Sport has created institutions that have proved conducive to division and disengagement, and
(2) Sport generates social connections that are more associated with markets and consumers than with democracy (Dyreson 2001: 24-28).

- *Division in Sport*

Sport has historically emphasised divisions along the lines of gender and race. As Dyreson points out, even the traditional organised bowling leagues were divided in accordance with gender and race into the American Bowling Congress, the Women's International Bowling Congress and the National Negro Bowling Association. Despite the continued erosion of racial divisions in bowling leagues, gender divisions remain prominent here and in other sports, where competition and participation remain separated. Harris (1998: 146) also argues that sexist, racist and homophobic themes are often present in accounts of sporting events in the media. In the UK, studies conducted in the 1990s also documented the persistence of racial stereotypes among players, supporters and club officials within the professional rugby league (Long et al. 1997) and the extent of the taunting and harassment endured by black footballers (Holland 1997).

The consideration of divisions in sport is also important as it raises fundamental questions about who has access to leisure activities and who is excluded, and of course to the factors that contribute to the exclusion of some individuals. The constraints that people perceive in relation to participation in leisure activities such as sport should be viewed as important as actual rates of participation and involvement in developing our understanding of the relationship between sport and social capital.

Alexandris and Carroll (1997) demonstrate that significant demographic differences can be identified in relation to sport participation. Although their research focuses on Greece, they argue that their findings underline the comparisons to be made across countries (notably North America and England) regardless of differences in cultures and recreational provision (ibid.: p. 117). Specifically, their research not only reports differences in sport participation in terms of demographic profile, but also underlines demographic differences in perceptions of constraints on participation in sporting activities (op. cit: 114-117).

- *A higher proportion of men than women participate in sport*

  The differences in how men and women perceive barriers to participation in sport are consistent with findings in other countries which have found that 'intrapersonal constraints' (e.g., shyness, self-consciousness, and lack of skills and knowledge) underpin low rates of sport participation among women.

- *Participation increases in accordance with levels of education*

For example, people educated to primary level had the highest scores in relation to perceptions of constraints. In particular, scores pertaining to lack of knowledge (e.g., not knowing where to learn; where to participate; not having 'anyone to teach me'; not being skilled enough or fit enough) and individual/psychological reasons (e.g., health problems, lack of confidence, not being comfortable in social situations and the prospects of fatigue) account for the most significant differences in perceptions of constraints between individuals educated at the primary level and the other educational groups.

- *Participation decreases with age*

The low rates of participation in sport by individuals in the 45-65 age bracket may also be linked to the barriers they identify, which as above pertain mainly to a lack of awareness or knowledge and individual/psychological reasons, as listed above. Time constraints were the most significant barriers to participating in sports activities amongst 26-35 and 36-45 age groups.

- *A higher proportion of single individuals compared to married individuals participate in sporting activity.*

Time was also the main factor suggested to account for lower participation rates in sport, although the impact of family obligations (e.g. dependent children) was not accounted for in the study. This also of course eliminates the possible findings to be derived from the study of non-conventional family units (e.g., single parent families, families and carers etc.).

These findings clearly have implications for policy makers and sports management professionals seeking to increase the numbers and demographic profiles of individuals participating in sport. What is more, the links identified between levels of education and age and sport participation also suggest the need to explore how participating in sports earlier in life, such as within the education system leads individuals to be more active in sport later in life.

For instance, research by Curtis et al. (1999) found that inter-school participation in sports is a relatively strong predictor of adult involvement in sport, although the effect is more diminished among older people.[5] Nonetheless, as Curtis et al. (ibid., 362-363) note there remain gaps in our knowledge of the broader effects of sport participation, that also present potential useful lines of investigation for exploring the links between sport and social capital. For instance:

- There is a need for more information on the impact of *different types of high school participation* (authors' emphasis) on adult sport participation.

[5] It is suggested that older people are likely to focus on sports that are different from those in which they engaged in their high school years. They may not have as much opportunity for participation in sport activity also, due to perceptions of constraints linked with age, and alternative ways of using leisure time. (see Curtis et al. 1999: 362)

- What is more, is it the case that the 'early participant' takes with him/her a love of particular sports such as swimming or tennis or that he/she carries on an enthusiasm for competing in sporting activities?
- Finally, of particular importance, there is a lack of information on the *effects, if any, of other forms of early sport participation* [authors' emphasis] – such as sport that takes place outside of the education system in the community, both of an organised and unorganised nature – and whether the impact of such participation varies by gender and age?

One criticism which Alexandris and Carroll also make of the Greek government pertains to their focus on 'top-level' sports at the expense of investment in recreational sports – reflected in the consensus across individuals of all levels of education that the absence or inadequacy of facilities acts as a barrier to participation. However, Curtis et al.'s research also suggests that investment within the community and in the education system also represent important avenues for the promotion of recreational sports. Alexandris and Carroll suggest a role for the government in this area. But what of the market? This leads us to the next theme of whether the relationship between sport and the market creates opportunities or presents constraints for sports participation.

- Sport and the Market

Second, the argument that sport creates benefits that are more closely linked with markets and consumers than with democracy can be illustrated by the example of the funding of professional sport stadia with public money (Smith and Ingham 2003). These proposals seek to garner support for such projects by outlining the likely economic benefits and the potential advantages "for the good of the community". Yet, Ingham and McDonald (2003) argue that this sort of 'representational sport' only generates a short-term sense of community.

A case study in Cincinatti, Ohio in the United States, where public funding was used to build two stadia revealed that the participants did not view sport as a means of achieving a greater sense of community and mutual affiliation. Rather, despite broad interest and support for professional sport amongst the majority of respondents, they also opposed the building of the stadia for reasons such as the identification of different priorities for the public money and the fact that they could not afford to attend events at either of the stadia (op. cit.: 268).

The case study raises the need for further consideration to be given to how and to what extent participation in public leisure, on the one hand and commercial leisure, on the other affects, the formation and development of social capital (Hemingway 1999: 163).

For example, research tells us that association members tend to have higher incomes, are more educated, more politically active and involved and more trusting. What is more, Stolle (1998: 508) shows that 'the decision of an individual to become an

association member is most likely embedded in the context of higher trust'. By contrast, members of commercial gymnasiums choose to purchase a 'sport service' (e.g., aerobics). They tend to interact less with other gym members and do not seek to form an 'associational bond' with other members. Unsurprisingly, Stolle (ibid.) found that people who had just joined a gym to be the least trusting in the sample, and remained the least trusting over their length of involvement in the gymnasium. We could speculate that similar observations may apply to individuals who pay to avail of specific sports services (e.g., swimming pool) at a leisure centre or gymnasium, without actually becoming a member. Clearly, the potential for developing social capital does not appear as great in this commercially-oriented context.

- *Associational Involvement*

Why should people bowl together rather than alone? According to Putnam (2000: 113), bowling in teams facilitates social interaction and civic conversations over beer and pizza that are fundamental to building social capital, but which are absent in the activity of the lone bowler. Using associational membership as an indicator of social capital Warde and Tampubolon (2002) explored the relationship between participation in associational activities and participation in leisure or recreational activities. The analysis of data from the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS) revealed that people tend to be more involved in a range of leisure activities (including, participating in and watching sport, going to the cinema and/or theatre, eating out or going for a drink) in accordance with the number/range of associations with which they are involved. In other words:

> [I]ncreases in social capital, as measured by volume of associational membership, are indeed related to more extensive and more frequent involvement in the whole range of leisure, cultural, public and even domestic activities (ibid.: 166).

The following tables illustrate these results in more detail.

- Table 2 demonstrates that overall, participation in leisure activities increases in accordance with associational involvement.
- Table 3 illustrates that the frequency of participation in leisure activities increases in accordance with associational involvement, with the exception of going to the cinema or attending a local group on a weekly basis.
- In addition to the findings presented in Table 2 and Table 3, the research also found that people who are active in associations also tended to be active in other areas such as volunteering and local group meetings. Hence, Warde and Tampubolon (op. cit.: 166) also assert that:

  > Greater civic and public participation is associated with greater engagement in private, recreational activities.

- It is not possible to determine whether formal associational membership leads to people being more active, or whether those who are actively engaged in social and leisure activities are likely to become members of associations – Warde and Tampubolon (op. cit.) note that both explanations are possible. This in turn raises questions about the type of person who chooses to get involved in an association. As mentioned above, in exploring the assumption

that 'membership in voluntary associations produces trust and facilitates the learning of cooperative attitudes among members' (see Putnam 1993: 89), Stolle (1998: 498) considers whether people who are more trusting tend to 'self-select' into associations.

Table 2

Participation (ever) in recreational activities (wave 8 [of BHPS], 1998) by rate of involvement in civic and political associations and groups, wave 7 [of BHPS] (1997): leisure activities (percentages)

number of types of association membership	swim/ walk etc.	watch sport	cinema concert	theatre	eat out	drink out
none	70	25	56	50	87	73
1	78	37	62	63	92	78
2	84	40	63	71	96	80
3	88	44	68	79	97	80
4 or more	90	45	71	88	97	77
ratio (4+:none)	129	180	127	176	111	105

Source: Warde, A. and Tampubolon, G. Social capital, networks and leisure consumption. The Sociological Review, 50 (2): p.164. (Note: Only Part 1 of table reproduced).

Table 3

Frequent participation in recreational activities (wave 8 [of BHPS], 1998) by rate of involvement in civic and political associations and groups, wave 7 (1997): leisure activities (percentages)

number of types of associational memberships	swim/ walk etc. weekly	watch sport monthly	cinema monthly	theatre concert monthly	eat out monthly	pub wee -kly
none	45	8	13	4	43	29
1	54	13	15	4	49	34
2	57	13	12	6	50	34
3	63	16	11	9	54	30
4 or more	64	17	11	14	58	29
ratio (4+:none)	142	213	73	350	135	100

Source: Warde, A. and Tampubolon, G. Social capital, networks and leisure consumption. The Sociological Review, 50 (2): p.165. (Note: Only Part 1 of table reproduced).

In summary:

- Whilst the evidence of the links between sport participation and social capital is encouraging, there are also strong counter-arguments to be made about the positive correlation between sport and social capital. The elaboration of Dyreson's arguments underlines the types of broader problems and issues that need to be addressed both by research and in practice in order to enrich our understanding of the relationship between sport and social capital.

- The obstacles to sport participation identified by individuals raise the importance of investigating what prevents people from being active in sport in addition to

examining the extent of sport participation. The exploration of the impact of early participation in sport on adult involvement by Curtis et al. (1999) underlines how school sport participation may have a long term impact on people's involvement in sport later in life. However, this study also underlines the extent of the work to be done in terms of providing a more nuanced understanding of this link. The questions and issues outlined above are also pertinent to future lines of inquiry on the links between sport and social capital.

- As a measure of social capital, associational involvement is particularly pertinent to the analysis of sport. The data and correlations provided by Warde and Tampubolon underline the potential broader impact of associational membership for the recreational activities that form such an important part of our culture. It also suggests a potential avenue for future research to explore the impact of sports clubs and associations in particular on the social interactions and engagement that are so fundamental to building social capital.

4.2 The Arts

As outlined above, 'the Arts' make up two principal domains of the DCMS definition of the cultural sector:

1) visual arts (including galleries, architecture, design and crafts) and
2) performance (including theatre, arts and dance).

The links between bridging social capital and the arts, particularly the unincorporated (or citizen/community-based) arts are widely touted through case studies and anecdotal evidence of successful arts projects and initiatives in communities (e.g., Better Together Report 2000). This may be attributed in part of course to the absence of systematic data on community based arts – as well as the difficulties encountered in "quantifying" what are often quite informal activities (Peters and Cherbo 1998).

Despite the availability of empirical evidence that demonstrates how the arts affects individuals and communities, the systematic evaluation of the social impact of the arts has presented some difficulties, both methodological and practical for researchers. As Coalter (2001: 2-5) outlines, these include:

- The difficulty of quantifying the long term social impact of the arts, particularly in the absence of previous data on participants.
- The reluctance of arts workers to be involved in evaluation, given the perception that measuring the social impact of the arts will be given precedence over more abstract benefits of the arts, such as creativity and improved self-expression.
- The nature of evidence used to assess the social impact of the arts remains 'indicative rather than definitive' (ibid.: 4), thereby limiting the prospects for generalisation. Yet, there is some disagreement as to how much of a problem this actually poses. Whilst some commentators underline the need for more definitive quantitative evidence to demonstrate the social impact of the arts, others emphasise the need to illustrate social impact 'on the balance of probability rather than on the elimination of reasonable doubt' (Matarasso 1998: 5).

There is also evidence to suggest that we must avoid sweeping assertions of the positive relationship between the arts and social capital. Rather, it is also necessary to consider the challenges facing the arts in reaching out to communities and the different forms of social capital to which different types of arts activities give rise.

- *Bridging potential of the arts*

The arts are viewed as important for building social capital as they have the potential to:

- consolidate informal social ties through shared experiences;
- to enhance individuals' sense of pride in their community, and
- to provide a means of discussing and resolving divisions and conflicts within a community (Better Together Report 2000).

Matarasso (2000) underlines how participation in the arts in the United Kingdom has led to increased social engagement and understanding between citizens; as well as encouraging them to be more active and to have more pride in their own neighbourhoods, through the celebration of local cultures and traditions, for example. An earlier study based on case study research in nine UK cities, in addition to Helsinki and New York similarly found that participation in the arts broadened the social networks of individuals as well as contributing to community development and social cohesion (Matarasso 1997). For example:

- Participation in the arts provided people with an opportunity to make new friends, thereby reducing the sense of isolation felt by members within a community and between communities. 92% of participants in the case studies stated that they had made new friends as a result of their engagement with the arts.
- Through participation in arts activities, people developed the skills, confidence and contacts to encourage them to play a greater role in their communities. 63% of adults indicated that they would like to be further involved in local projects as a result of their participation in arts activities.
- Overall, 54% of participants felt that their participation had facilitated learning about different cultures, but the levels of agreement in this regard vary from project to project. There is ample evidence of specific cases and events in the literature to suggest that arts events and activities, such as festivals may be important to bridging divides across ethnic groups.

In January 2000 Studio Ijambo in Bujumbura, Burundi organised a peace festival of music, dance and cultural celebration to bring people together in a peaceful atmosphere. … In organising the festival Studio Ijambo's intention was 'to help create an atmosphere in which exclusion is banished, an atmosphere of tolerance where people try to understand each other and to understand the concept of live and let live, to help find common ground in Burundi, by giving voice to everyone; rich and poor, young and old, and of all ethnic and political leanings'. (Gould 2001).

However, the potential of projects to facilitate contact and improve understanding about different cultures depends on the specific aims of an initiative. What is more, some assessments of the HOME festival in the city of Portsmouth, for instance which seeks to provide a platform for celebrating and increasing understanding about cultural diversity, underline the need to sometimes curb expectations about the broader impact of such projects:

> Most respondents agreed that the festival had improved contacts, confidence and understanding between cultures, but several felt that it was important to recognise that community cultural activities, networks and organisational capacity had existed a long time. People agreed that the festival was of high quality, and had encouraged further interest in the arts, though it was felt that some events had not succeeded in reaching far enough into the city's white community…[S]ome respondents stressed that there was still a long way to go in tackling racism (see Matarasso 1997).

As discussed earlier, reflecting the importance of social context underlined by Foley and Edwards (1999), it is important to recognise how different types of cultural activity may give rise to different forms of social capital. Participation in the arts does not guarantee wholesale increases in social capital, nor the more "positive" effects associated with bridging social capital. As Eastis (1998: 67) argues, 'even the presence of different forms of social capital vary across organisational settings'. Drawing upon a four-month participant observation study of two choral societies, The Collegium Musicum and The Community Chorus, she found that the different organisational features of each society had an impact on the nature of the social capital produced.

Recruitment for the collegium was restricted to experienced singers of early music from the university community. This restrictive recruitment procedure of the collegium meant that the society gathered together people of similar backgrounds thereby failing to expand the social networks that may be useful to participants outside of their normal environment. The collegium did not require participants to be actively involved in organisational duties which Eastis argues denies participants the opportunity to develop skills that may be useful for collective action on other occasions. However, within the society itself the procedures followed in rehearsals which encourage contributions from participants, facilitated the encouragement of norms of 'shared understanding' of the benefits of cooperation.

By contrast, the Chorus provided opportunities for people to develop broader social networks by inviting unrestricted participation from individuals of varying abilities and backgrounds. Members of the society were also given the opportunity to develop their civic skills by volunteering for additional organisational duties such as fundraising. Nonetheless, Eastis did not find that singing in the Community Chorus, where participants were less involved in direction etc. enhanced bonds or trust between participants.

- *Attendance and Participation*

The emphasis on participation in the arts in the studies examined above raises questions about the likely effects of more 'passive' or consumption-oriented arts participation, e.g. attending the theatre or going to see a film. The distinction between participation and attendance is made by the data obtained from the Arts Council (Skelton et al. 2002). The distinction is less obvious in some academic works where attendance at cultural events is presented as a form of cultural participation that may have an impact on social capital. However, the different notions of participation in the arts are not our main concern here. Rather, we are concerned with exploring the likely effects of attending an event on creating social capital.

Let us consider the following example. Increased community activism as a result of cultural activities may lead individuals to take a more formal role in their area, such as in a volunteer capacity (Jeannotte 2003). This finding gives some substance to the hypothesis that cultural capital is likely to have an impact on the collective well-being of society – not simply at the level of the individual or particular social fields as Bourdieu suggested.[6] Drawing upon the Canadian 1998 General Social Survey (GSS), which analysed how Canadians spent their time, Jeannotte (ibid.) explored how individuals who possessed cultural capital (as evident in their patterns of attendance at arts events, visits to heritage institutions and active involvement in cultural activities) were also likely to be more involved in their communities.

As illustrated on Table 4 and Table 5, Jeannotte's results found that people who participated in any type of cultural activity and cultural events were more likely to engage in volunteerism (her single measure of social capital) than people who did not participate in cultural activities. Giving some support to claims about the importance of active participation (Better Together 2000), Table 4 shows how active cultural participation is associated with high rates of volunteerism. There are higher rates of volunteerism associated with certain activities than others, which suggests that the

[6] Bourdieu (1984) defines cultural capital as 'the disposal of taste' or 'the consumption of specific cultural forms that mark people as members of specific classes'. Jeannotte (2003: 38) condenses the concept into three elements: '(1) embodied capital (or habitus) the system of lasting dispositions that form an individual's character and guide his or her actions and tastes; (2) objectified capital, the means of cultural expression, such as painting, writing, dance, that are symbolically transmissible to others; and (3) institutionalised capital, the academic qualifications that establish the value of the holder of a given qualification.

propensity to volunteer may be linked with the type of cultural activity in which the individual participates.

Table 4

Cultural participation and volunteer rates – Canada 1998

Activity	Volunteer Rates % Participants	Non-participants
Acted or did theatre activity	64	33
Sang in a choir or solo	55	32
Wrote poetry, stories, non-fiction	48	32
Did choreography	47	33
Did artistic photography	47	33
Played a musical instrument	45	32
Did visual arts (e.g. painting)	43	33
Did crafts	41	31

Original Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.
Source: Jeannotte, M.S. (2003). Singing Alone? The Contribution of Cultural Capital to Social Cohesion and Sustainable Communities. *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 9 (1), p. 45.

However, Table 5 also demonstrates the correlations that can be identified between rates of volunteering and different types of cultural and media consumption activities. We cannot draw too many concrete conclusions from these findings given that they are based on a single indicator of social capital that does not address the concerns of some analysts that spectatorship does not generate as high levels of trust and civic engagement as participation in arts activities. On the one hand, given the high rates of attendance at arts events and their corresponding high rates of volunteerism, these findings raise questions about whether 'spectatorship is a poor substitute for participation' in building social capital (Better Together Report 2000). On the other hand, we must be mindful that there are different ways of attending a cultural event, i.e., alone or as part of a couple that may reduce the quality of social capital to be derived from such activities.

Table 5

Selected cultural participation and volunteer rates – Canada 1998

Activity	Volunteer rates (%) Participants	Non-participants
Attending children's performance	61	42
Attended choral music performance	57	43
Attended dance performance	55	43
Attended classical music performance	52	44
Attended theatre performance	51	38
Attended opera	51	45
Visited commercial art gallery	51	46
Visited science museum	51	44
Attended cultural heritage performance	48	32
Attended popular stage performance	48	32
Attended cultural or artistic festival	47	30
Visited historic site	47	27
Used library	46	29
Accessed the Internet	45	29
Visited nature park	42	26
Read book for pleasure	36	22
Went to movie theatre	38	26
Read magazine	37	24
Read newspaper	36	22

Original source: Canada, General Social Survey, 1998.
Source: Jeannotte, M.S. (2003). Singing Alone? The Contribution of Cultural Capital to Social Cohesion and Sustainable Communities. *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 9 (1), p. 45.

Overall Jeannotte argues that the greater the number or quantity of cultural activities in which people were involved (as measured by the total number of cultural events attended), the higher the rate of volunteerism. The results suggest the need to give greater attention to the relationship between cultural capital and social capital (ibid.: 47). What is more, the findings may help to allay the concerns of some commentators that the likely benefits of "spectatorship" are more short-term than long term (Better Together 2000). However, they do not provide us with a more detailed understanding of *why* individuals who are involved in cultural activities, be it as consumers or participants also tend to be actively involved in their communities as volunteers. Moreover, is it the case that volunteering facilitates the broadening of an individual's social circle and leads to a more active social life that can manifest itself in cultural activity? The extent to which this volunteering activity facilitates links across social groups or divides, or simply reinforces established connections is also unclear. For instance, do people who are actively involved in a church choir volunteer in another role within the choir or within the church? Needless to say, such activity diminishes the opportunities for creating bridging social capital.

- *Bonding Potential of the Arts*

Despite the broad bridging potential of the arts, it has also traditionally reinforced divisions of race and class, for example that are associated with the negative effects of

bonding social capital (Better Together Report 2000). What is more, this is also reflected in profiles of people who attend cultural events. In the United States, for example, Larson (1997) found that one of the main challenges facing the non-profit arts was to broaden the demographic make-up of their audiences from the older, wealthier, better-educated and whiter sections of society. Similarly, in the UK, Evans (1999: 102) found that higher income groups tend to dominate the profile of 'arts attenders' – with some audience groups having been priced-out or unwilling to pay higher prices for tickets.

The perceived exclusivity and perhaps elitism of the arts is also reflected in people's attitudes towards the arts. In the United States, many Americans do not see the arts as being relevant to their lives, but rather as 'belonging to someone else' (Larson 1997: 13). Similarly, in the United Kingdom, research conducted by the Arts Council (Skelton et al 2002: 50-55) illustrated how although people broadly believed that the arts make a valuable contribution to the country as a whole, they were less likely to attach importance to the role of the arts in their own lives:

- An almost unanimous 97% of respondents agreed that all schoolchildren should have the opportunity to learn how to play a musical instrument or to be actively involved in other arts activities.
- 73% of respondents agreed that the arts play a valuable role in the life of the country.
- A further 62% agreed that something of value would be lost if their area lost its arts and cultural activities.
- Nonetheless, only 37% of respondents agreed that the arts played prominent role in their own lives.

Similarly, a separate study of ethnic minorities and the arts found that people tended to conjure up an image of the arts as opera, ballet, Shakespearean theatre etc. which many found 'off-putting and elitist, and assumed that such events were mainly for "posh" people, those over 35, and White people'. Unsurprisingly, 'feeling out of place' was listed among the factors which influence arts attendance. Nonetheless, despite the lack of identification with mainstream definitions of the arts, representatives of ethnic minorities did identify strongly with arts activities related to the celebration of their heritage (Helen and Desai 2000).

It should also be noted that the problem of exclusivity is not wholly confined to higher income groups attending the theatre. For instance, the rap music phenomenon in the United States has reinforced the prominence of fraternal organisations (or a 'posse') that reinforce links within a group but not between groups:

> [T]he posse is the fundamental social unit binding a rap act and its production crew together, creating a collective identity that is rooted in place and where the creative process unfolds (Forman 2000: 71).

In summary:

- The analysis of the literature surrounding the relationship between the arts and social capital illustrates that it does not address some of the main problems

involved in the systematic evaluation of the social impact of arts participation, outlined at the beginning of this section.

- The analysis of the relationship between the arts and social capital is predominantly dependent on case studies, participant-observation studies and what may be termed 'anecdotal' evidence. Nonetheless, this research does provide us with valuable insights into how different activities and/or organisational forms engender different forms of social capital: whilst some have bridging effects, other are associated with the sometimes negative implications of bonding social capital.

- We are still left with open questions about the importance of attendance at arts events and other forms of cultural activity for the development of social capital. From a theoretical perspective, we seek to know more about how, and in what way (if at all) attending events matters for building social capital, e.g. through volunteerism (or vice versa). From the practical perspective, theatres, galleries etc. face the challenge of broadening their appeal beyond the stereotypes that have come to be associated with the arts.

4.3 Heritage

The potential for institutions (or cultural services) such as museums and libraries to contribute to building social capital is broadly acknowledged by research, policy makers and cultural services professionals alike. According to Coalter (2001, cited in Bryson et al. 2002: 25) this is rooted in the nature of the cultural services and in the nature of policy:

> The 'people oriented' nature of cultural services, concerned with personal and social development, can make a substantial contribution to the 'people-centred' policy agenda, which aims to develop both social capital (strengthening community networks/capacities) and personal capital (developing skills and confidence).

Although we find that the potential for heritage institutions to contribute to the development of social capital is in evidence, both research and findings from practice remain in the very early stages of development. Here, we consider the (potential) social impact of libraries and museums.

- *Libraries*

Goulding (2004) has argued that greater recognition must also be given to the role of public buildings such as libraries in contributing positively to the development of social capital. They are seen to be ideally placed to provide both the resources and space for fostering increased civic participation and engagement across all sections of a community. This is based on the rationale that:

- Libraries are used by a broad cross-section of the population – more so than any other public institution.

- They provide space and facilities that can be used for group meetings, which is also seen to provide the opportunity for users to interact with individuals from outside their normal social circle.
- As a source of printed and electronic information on citizenship that may lead individuals to increase their political and community participation, libraries have a key role to play in civic participation (ibid.: 4-5; see also Kranich 2001).

As yet, we lack evidence of significant breadth and depth that allows us to critically assess these claims. However, some tentative indications of the potential for libraries to develop social capital can be identified:

- For example, in the *Our Millenium* project supported by the Community Foundations of Canada, libraries initiated youth projects with the aim of encouraging an interest in reading or to commemorate events of historical importance in the community (Jeannotte 2003: 42-43).
- Kranich (2001: 41) suggests that libraries must work to do more than 'educating and informing' individuals and place more emphasis on building social capital for the whole community and society. For instance, for university librarians this may involve working with initiatives that seek to involve students in community service. For a school librarian, it may be about participating in civic education projects, whilst for public libraries it may involve creating public space that facilitates discussion and action between different members of a community.
- Lowe's (1998) study of the relationship between community art and community development partly focused on a project which took place in the 'Showtime Public Library'. The library provided the venue for the production of a permanent mural celebrating part of the neighbourhood's history, which was produced by participants in a community art initiative. Lowe found that the project had led to the formation of friendships and connections across social divides and increased levels of mutual support, in addition to serving as a forum for discussing shared concerns in relation to the community.

Although we lack comprehensive evidence of the ability of libraries to conform to these expectations, we are aware that there are challenges to be overcome in seeking out such a role, such as the perceived homogeneity of users as white and middle-class. They also of course face competition from developments in technology – some findings suggest that although reading for leisure is a popular pastime, people prefer to obtain their reading material from the internet and the bookshops as it is more convenient (Bryson et al. 2002: 27). Libraries, by virtue of their location may be associated with other local authority services which carry negative connotations for potential users – thus even the location of the library requires thoughtful consideration (Goulding: 2004:5). Yet, there is also a perception that local authorities tend to ignore the importance of libraries to a community's heritage (op cit.: 26). These challenges need to be addressed if libraries are to be effective in developing social capital.

- *Museums*

Museums are viewed as essential to building a sense of community identity. Projects that take place within museums are seen to be valuable for facilitating interaction between individuals and building social networks:

> They [the projects] were perceived as repositories of public knowledge that can be returned to as and when they are needed, and provide a physical and social focus for civic engagement (Bryson et al. 2002: 26).

What is more, visiting a museum or a gallery is also perceived to provide a means by which individuals can identify with particular groups or communities- 'the building blocks of community identity and cohesion' (ibid: 27). Recent research on museums in the UK (Burdett 2004) has also shown that museums are actively exploring new ways of creating social capital. Through education, outreach and community development programmes, for example museums have sought to establish better links and partnerships with local groups and organisations. They are also involved in the promotion of new initiatives and projects that encourage greater engagement between museums and the socially excluded. Whilst the case studies contained in the report, and the research conducted by Bryson et al. point to the potential of museums in generating social capital, there are still many challenges to be overcome. For some observers, this involves addressing fundamental questions about whether museums, in some sort of unconscious way actually contribute to the exclusion of certain groups of people? As Matarasso (2000: 4) argues:

> [W]e have to consider whether everyone has an equal stake in their museum, in the sense of being able to contribute to how it represents them and their community. Does the public museum today reflect all the people of the city? Did it ever? Or is the reality more a case of museums reflecting the values, identity and interests of a substantial majority at the expense of marginalizing difference, cultures or dissent?

Although the emphasis on outreach activities has much potential, there is also a sense that museums and other similar institutions could also be more inward looking in seeking to contribute to the development of social capital. The consideration of the way in which heritage institutions treat volunteers also represents one such opportunity.

We can gauge the importance of volunteers to heritage institutions from research carried out by Holmes (2002). In 1998:

- 55% of museums used volunteers for 'guiding and interpretation, whilst 53% museums used volunteers for 'research'.
- 43% of volunteers were aged over 61.

The dominant profile of the museum volunteer was that of an older, retired person, educated to a high level with a high socio-economic status. For many, one of the continuous motivations for volunteering was the prospects for social interaction as well as learning and keeping active. The importance of the profile of the museum volunteer should not be underestimated as researchers are beginning to give greater attention to the involvement of the elderly in communities.

For instance, Liu and Besser (2003) explored the links between participation of the elderly in community improvement initiatives and social capital and sense of community. Their study focused on data gathered from 99 Iowa communities with populations ranging from 5000 to 10,000. Although the narrow focus of the study compromises the potential generalisability of their findings, the research produces interesting results that may be fundamental to future research on the contribution of the elderly to building social capital within communities.

- They found that people within the 'young-old' (65-74 age bracket) and 'mid-old' (75-84) brackets were as active in the community as those below the age of 65.
- They also identified the strongest links between community involvement and formal social ties, i.e., that individuals who belong to more groups and organisations are also more likely to be more involved in the community:
  [F]ormal organisations may represent interpersonal invitations to get involved and provide direct links to the community. (ibid.: 361)

Yet, Holmes (op.cit.) also found that volunteers remain under-appreciated by museum managers: 42% found them 'time consuming' but 69% did identify them as a source of skills. Unsurprisingly, this echoes Liu and Besser's (op.cit. 263) conclusion that in rural communities at least, the elderly represent an 'under-utilised resource' in the community. On a practical level, this suggests that in seeking to build social capital museum managers need to review the recruitment and treatment of volunteers. From a research point of view, it indicates the need to further investigate the opportunities for developing social capital within heritage institutions, and in a less direct way between heritage institutions and the broader community.

4.4 Television

Television, much to the chagrin of many observers represents an important part of our culture today. Putnam (1995b) pinpoints television as one of the major "culprits" of prevalent trends towards civic disengagement in United States. He argues that this medium has led to decreases in the numbers of people participating in social, recreational and community activities; encourages passivity and pessimism and is likely to have negative affects on child socialisation (ibid.). By contrast, he claims that those who obtain the news from the print-media tend to be more civic-minded and socially engaged, as well as more aware of what is going on in the world around them (op. cit.; Putnam 2000: 218).

Determining the nature of the links between social capital and television is complex due to different levels of analysis; whilst some scholars favour the use of aggregate data, others prefer individual-level analysis. What is more, although the positing of correlations between the presence of social capital and television is feasible, the positing of causal relationships is once again much more complex. According to Jeannotte (2003: 43), despite the postulations of media researchers, there has been no 'conclusive refutation' (nor indeed confirmation) of Putnam's hypothesis.

The essence of Putnam's argument is rooted in the assertion that the more time people spend watching television correlates with declining civic participation and social engagement. Although people who watch television for information purposes, i.e. news and current affairs programming (7% of Americans) tend to be more 'civic-minded' than other citizens, those who watch television mainly for entertainment (41% of Americans) tend to be both civically and socially disengaged. In other words, they are not only less likely to be volunteers or members of clubs, but are also less likely to attend social occasions and to sustain communication with others, be it by telephone, email or letter (Putnam 2000: 230-231).

For many researchers of communication studies, the need to consider what people watch and not solely how much people watch is fundamental to assessing the link between television and social capital (see Norris 1996).

The extent to which the *content* of the entertainment programmes has a diminishing effect on social (and political) capital is explored by McBride (1998). He argues that television programmes convey life situations in their characters and storylines that undermine group connections and social/political commitment. Television programming, Mc Bride argues displays a cultural bias towards individualism whereby conflicts, for example are centred around an individual, or differences between individuals, rather than groups or institutions and the resolution of a conflict or dilemma normally involves the efforts of an individual, rather than collective action (ibid.: 545-546).

Drawing upon a secondary analysis of the 1995 DBB Needham Life Style Study, Shah (1998) demonstrates that the amount of television people watch is not nearly as important as what people are watching. Different types of programmes reveal different relationships with two key components of social capital pinpointed by the author; civic engagement and interpersonal trust.

- Friendship sitcoms and science fiction, it is claimed have 'positive associations' with interpersonal trust.
- Newspaper reading and viewing social drama programmes are also positively associated with civic engagement, although viewing science fiction programmes has negative associations with civic engagement.

These claims are rooted in theories of media use and gratifications which suggest that people use media to fulfil different functions ranging from simple amusement, to information/motivation, helping them to identify issues and problems to which they could devote more attention (ibid.: 474-477). Yet, the potential links between television viewing and social capital remains in many ways an open question, with some commentators arguing, for example that television viewing along with other media activities such as the internet chat rooms and computer games give rise to a form of *ersatz* social capital, rather than 'real' social capital (Green and Brock 1998).

In summary:

- The debate about the links between social capital and television is underpinned by questions about how people spend their time, and indeed about how much leisure time people have at their disposal (e.g., see Hemingway 1999: 158-159). Yet, some

commentators, contesting Putnam's assertions about the impact of television also underline the need to be open to alternative explanations to why people are less trusting or less likely to be more civically engaged (e.g., see Uslaner 1998).

- Exploring the relationship between television and social capital is related to debates about the impact of other more recent features of our culture, such as the impact of information and communication technologies, notably the internet (e.g., see Norris 2003; Hampton and Wellman 2003).

- It is also linked to debates we explored in relation to the arts about the potential benefits (or lack thereof) to be derived from more passive or consumption activities, compared to active participation.

4.5 Conclusions: Social Capital and the Cultural Sector

- *Methods and Measurement*

The use of aggregate data is central to mapping trends in social capital in Putnam's work (2000) as well as to challenges and further explorations that have followed on from this work, e.g. Stolle's (1998) research on the relationship between associational involvement and the development of (generalised) trust.

What is more, as the literature reviewed in this paper has shown the measures of social capital typically used by Putnam underpin the bulk of the analysis of the impact of the various domains of the cultural sector on the development of social capital. However, it is also important to consider the use of measures of social capital within the context of broader concerns that underpin different approaches to the analysis of social capital.

For instance, our review of the literature in relation to the cultural sector has also shown how the use of aggregate data may tell us as much, perhaps more about the *quantity* of social capital than it does about the *quality* of social capital.

- We know from Warde and Tampubolon's study that the more associations to which an individual belongs, the more likely they are to be more extensively and more frequently involved in a range of recreational activities.
- Similarly, we garner from Jeannotte's analysis that the number of cultural activities in which individuals are engaged is correlated with rates of volunteerism.

Some commentators are increasingly sceptical of how aggregate data does not give sufficient consideration to 'the differential ability of groups and communities to access social capital' as well as the 'distributive dimension' of social capital (i.e., that some may be included and others excluded by the same developments) (see Maloney et al. 2001: 218).

- Eastis's (1998) participant-observer study of different organisational forms of choral societies demonstrated the potentially varied impact of how activities are organised on expanding social networks, providing people with skills that

may be useful for collective action in other situations and enhancing bonds or trust between participants.

- Alexandris and Carroll's (1997) study of demographic differences in sports participation in Greece revealed significant differences in the obstacles to participating in sport individuals of different ages, marital status and levels of education identify.

In considering appropriate measurements for examining the contribution of the cultural sector to building social capital, the trade-offs involved in the approach to be taken to measuring social capital should be considered in accordance with the goals of an analysis – one approach cannot be automatically assumed to be "better" than the other. Indeed, Coalter (2001: 3-4) for example notes how recent research into the social impact of the arts has tended to adopt a 'multi-method' approach, combining small-scale surveys, interviews and observation of workshops and events. In relation to the arts, for example this represents one way of addressing the perceived absence of systematic evaluations of the social impact of the arts on individuals and communities.

- *Dimensions of the Cultural Sector: Commercialism, Non-profit and Unincorporated*

In addition to the domains of the cultural sector pinpointed by the DCMS definition, other dimensions of the cultural sector emerge in the analysis of the literature, which are likely to have an impact on the development of social capital.

- First, there are commercial, non-profit and informal (or 'unincorporated') dimensions to cultural activity. Our analysis of the Arts demonstrated how the unincorporated sector is broadly associated with increasing levels of social capital within communities. However, it has been argued that the systematic evaluation of the social impact of the arts has been hindered by the absence of quantifiable data, coupled with the perceived difficulties of gathering such data due to the informal organisation of many groups (Peters and Cherbo 1998).

- The non-profit domains of the cultural sector, including theatres and galleries in relation to the arts and museums and libraries, in relation to heritage, face the challenge of demonstrating where their potential for developing social capital lies. The tendency by some researchers to place particular emphasis on the importance of participation for developing social capital has meant that the social benefits to be derived from the provision of cultural services and the more 'passive' activity they involve has been overlooked.

- Finally, according to Hemingway (1999: 163) it remains an 'open question' as to whether the commercial provision of leisure activity generates social capital. It is clear from the analysis of the literature that this is an underdeveloped area of the literature. On the one hand, it could be argued that two people who attend an exhibition, a film, a sports event

or a play and then discuss the occasion afterwards over coffee or a drink have build social capital through their shared experience (see Better Together 2000) – and it does not matter as such whether the event was a non-profit or commercial venture. On the other hand, the case study of the stadia built in Cincinnati showed how the commercial goals of leisure venues and activities may exclude certain elements of the population. Similar observations were made by Evans (1999) in relation to theatres. Costs, one could argue of both time and money, may also influence whether people choose to participate in cultural activity, be it as a participant or spectator. Overall, Hemingway (op. cit.) argues that the comparison of commercial, public and private leisure and the different effects they have on generating social capital presents a fruitful opportunity for future research.

- *Importance of Community*

The role of local communities and neighbourhoods in building social capital is rooted in the social interactions between neighbours and friends, which in turn lead to the ability to work together for the collective good (Healy and Côté 2001:46). As illustrated in the previous section, participation in community-based arts gives people the opportunity to make new friends, thereby widening their social circle; to develop the skills and confidence to be more involved in the community and, in some cases, to improved understanding and links across ethnic and social divides. In this way, the cultural sector is complementary to the importance of local community as a source of social capital.

The provision of services has also proved to be fundamental to developing social capital. Investigations of community cohesion have found that youth work for instance can aid in the promotion of better community cohesion through the generation of bridging social capital (Thomas 2003). Similarly, cultural services such as museums and libraries serve as important venues for increasing stocks of social capital through volunteering, for example, whilst organised projects facilitate the broadening of social networks and an enhanced sense of community identity and cohesion.

The situation of these cultural initiatives and institutions in close proximity to the various neighbourhoods within a community presents a particular opportunity for the development of social capital. According to Leydon (2003), for example, "walkable" neighbourhoods where people can avail of facilities such as schools, shops, restaurants, local parks and places of worship on foot encourage informal interactions between people. In these neighbourhoods, people are more likely to know their neighbours and to be engaged socially, as well as being more likely to trust people, to vote regularly and to voice their concerns to elected officials (ibid.: 1548-1550). There are more underlying problems to be addressed concerning how to broaden the appeal of theatre attendance and involvement in museums and libraries, to be sure. However, at least one study has shown that 'the number of arts and cultural groups in the respondent's zip code was the best single predictor of participation at arts events'

– despite the rather usual correlations between attending arts events and higher levels of income and education also being in evidence (see Jeannotte 2003: 41).[7]

- *Public Sector*

In Putnam's (1993) study of Italian regions, prevalent traditions of civic engagement (e.g., voter turnout, newspaper readership, membership in choral societies, soccer clubs and literary circles) formed the most reliable predictors of good government (see also Putnam 2000: 336-349). The following quotation from the Healy and Côté (2001: 47) helps to unpack the rationale that underpins this argument:

> Public governance based on commitment to public welfare, accountability and transparency provides a basis for trust and social inclusion, which in turn can strengthen social capital. The political, institutional and legal conditions prevailing in a country can underpin networks and norms for social co-operation. These two categories can complement and reinforce each other in promoting well-being.

How is this relevant to the cultural sector? According to Maloney et al (2001: 222), the literature has neglected the 'role played by political structures and institutions in shaping the *context of associational activity* and hence the creation of social capital' [authors' emphasis]. This means that the role of political institutions in shaping and encouraging voluntary associations and the promotion of volunteerism, or local authorities seeking to enhance public participation is in need of further investigation. As Maloney et al (op. cit.: 223) conclude from their own research:

> Our survey of voluntary associations in Birmingham illustrates the high levels of contact between the public and the voluntary sectors; the importance of information flows between the City Council and associations; the high level of financial and other informal support given to voluntary and community associations. Research on social capital should not only focus on the effect of community-level social capital on government performance, but also the effect of government-associational relationships on social capital.

The obvious implications of this argument for the cultural sector are rooted in the importance of volunteers to sustaining projects in the arts and sports as well as heritage institutions, such as libraries and museums. The part or whole dependence of voluntary associations and heritage and arts institutions on public funding also underlines the importance of cultivating good working relationships with local authorities and other political institutions. In short, as some local authorities appear to be placing increased emphasis on demonstrating the value of cultural services to the attainment of key public policy goals we need to give further consideration to the role of local authorities in fostering the voluntary associations, community initiatives and volunteers that are so fundamental to the role of the cultural sector in building social capital.

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[7] This finding emerged from a project in Philadelphia: Social Impact of the Arts. See Stern, M.J. & Seifert, S.C. (1994). Individual participation and community arts groups: a quantitative analysis of Philandelphia (Working Paper #1). Social Impact of the Arts Project (University of Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Also available at: http://www.ssw.upenn.edu/siap/workpapers.home.html).

5. Conclusion: Prospects for Further Research

By way of concluding this paper, we will set out the types of key questions and themes that could be addressed by further research into the contribution of the cultural sector to the development of social capital. The questions are outlined within the framework of the objectives of the broader research project by DCMS, to which this paper seeks to contribute.

Objective 1. To better understand who participates in community based arts/cultural/sporting activities.

- As the analysis of constraints relative to participation in sport (Alexandris and Carroll 1997) and the homogeneous profiles of theatre audiences (Evans 1999) illustrates, the exploration of what prevents individuals from getting involved in cultural activities deserves as much consideration as why people participate.

- There is an underlying issue here as to whether attendance at cultural events as well as participation is important for building social capital.

- Maloney et al's (2001) research also suggests that there are important questions to be posed about who (or what organisations) encourage greater participation in communities, specifically in cultural activities and events.

Objective 2. To explore the motivations of participants and the specific appeal of the activity in which they are engaged.

The themes that arise here are also relevant to Objective 3:

Objective 3. The extent to which they are or have been involved in wider voluntary and community sector activities.

- Volunteerism clearly emerges as an important measure of social capital and, indeed as the backbone to the functioning of heritage institutions such as galleries and museums as well as to voluntary associations in a community such as sports clubs. This suggests the need to explore why people choose to get involved. However, it is also necessary to be mindful of other extensive research which has been carried out into what motivates volunteers so as to avoid treading over old ground (e.g., see Wilson and Musick 1997; Hodgkinson 1995).

  From the point of view of exploring the contribution of the cultural sector to social capital addressing questions of 'self-selection' are perhaps more appropriate. As Stolle (1998), for example sought to explore: are people who are more trusting more likely to get involved in a voluntary association or does membership of a voluntary association lead to people becoming more trusting?

On the one hand, participation in cultural activities, such as the arts may prove attractive to people who are likely to benefit from the associated impacts, whereas individuals who could particularly benefit from such experiences may not be likely to participate. On the other hand, there may be positive benefits associated with self-selection as cultural activities such as the arts may appeal to people who find other areas of activity unappealing (see Coalter 2001: 11).

Objective 4. To explore the impacts which engagement in cultural, arts and sporting activities has on their relationship with the wider community, particularly exploring the impact against established measures of social capital, e.g. does it increase bonds of trust, and act as a bridge to other community groups with whom they may not otherwise engage with?

- Addressing this objective requires further consideration of the different approaches and measures of social capital prevalent in the literature, as discussed above.

- What difference do different organisational settings make to the benefits to be derived from cultural, arts or sporting activities?

- What impact does the commercial, non-profit or community-oriented status of an event or initiative have on building social capital?

- In addition to participation in activities, what is the likely impact of engagement with cultural services for the development of social capital? How can the facilities offered by cultural services be utilised in a way that maximises the potential contribution of cultural activities to building social capital?

- Can we establish links between engagement in cultural, arts and sporting activities and other areas that correlate positively with social capital, e.g. health, lower levels of crime, better government and general life satisfaction?

- What types of activities/domains, notwithstanding constraints, have exhibited the most promising potential for bridging social capital rather than the negative effects of bonding social capital?

- Given that much of the research reviewed tends to examine the contribution of the cultural sector to building social capital, it is also important to pose the following question: To what extent does social capital contribute to the development of the cultural sector?

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