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London School of Economics

CASEreport 38

June 2007

Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion

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Executive Summary

1. Pen-pictures of the two urban neighbourhoods, Kirkside East and The Valley

The two areas in which this study is based are located in Northern cities. The first area, Kirkside East, is a large council estate four miles from the centre of Leeds. It is predominantly council rented, housing low-income, mainly white residents, many of whom have strong local connections and at least three quarters have other relatives living on the estate and immediate area. It has had considerable upgrading, repair and the development of a new large supermarket, a Sure Start and other interventions.

The second area is an inner city mixed-tenure area close to the centre of Sheffield called The Valley, with a population mix of many different origins, including Somalian, Yemeni, and Pakistani among others, and a significant white population. It too is dominated by council housing but to a much lesser extent and has a considerable amount of private terraced housing. It is part of the New Deal for Communities programme, as well as Sure Start and is undergoing significant regeneration with the demolition of some council estates.

2. Methodology of the Neighbourhood Study

This short study of social capital is based on our eight year longitudinal study tracking 200 families in four representative low-income areas, two in East London and two in the North (outlined above). The families were visited every year and have completed seven rounds of interviews. 60% of the original respondents were in the survey at the end. All are families with children and we interviewed the main carer, or most present parent. We asked them about a very wide range of subjects related to how neighbourhood conditions affect their family and bringing up children. Within this framework, they talk extensively about community, social networks, family relations and supports within the area.

3. The Social Capital of the localities today and the story of its development and deployment

3.1 How the Neighbourhood Study Sought to Explore Social Capital

The Neighbourhood Study sought to explore what kind of social capital exists, at the individual level, in the four areas and how it is operating – whether it is at neighbourhood or area level, or whether it is nothing to do with geographical areas, instead stemming from family or work for example. The study was also designed to explore how area conditions impact on social capital formation or depletion. Distinct forms of social capital – bonding and bridging - were identified and explored through the range of interview topics covered throughout the seven rounds of interviews. Whilst it is recognised that social capital is not always purely positive, the focus is on positive forms and aspects of social capital within the data.

3.2 The Findings on Social Capital

a) <u>Bonding Social Capital</u> – meaning strong, intense personal relationships, offering mutual support, understanding and exchange - was explored in three ways:

(i) People to count on
The vast majority of the respondents felt able to be themselves with key trusted individuals, felt appreciated by others, and felt that they had people both to talk to generally and to turn to specifically when upset. Most commonly, family, friends and/or neighbours were cited. A few

respondents cited professionals such as Sure Start employees, health visitors, and a local doctor, as providing this sort of support, but the vast majority relied on family and close friends.

(ii) Family links
Family contact and support is common amongst the respondents, especially in Kirkside East. Help with child care was the most prevalent form of family support received, either as an on-going arrangement or on an as-and-when-needed basis, facilitating paid work. For some respondents, family help with child care provided as much an emotional support system as a practical one, drawn on when mothers felt unable to cope. For many of the respondent who receive help from family with child care, it is knowing that support is there that matters most to them, suggesting again a form of emotional support. The importance of reciprocity of family support was raised by some respondents, as were the sanctions that followed from not reciprocating.

(iii) Friends
Approximately 60% of the respondents had at least weekly contact with friends and explained that practical support exchanged with friends formed an important part of their role. A large majority of these friends were within the area. As with the findings on family support, a dominant theme in the respondents' narratives on friends was the importance of knowing that support is there, thus giving a sense of emotional well-being, forming a part of the value added by the support networks of friends, along side more obvious practical benefits such as being able to work due to receiving help with child care and with DIY. Simply chatting with friends was important to many respondents and is a form of emotional support. Some of the respondents talked about the relationship between family support and support from friends, and in some instances, support from friends was thought to be a back up to support that was expected from family.

b) <u>Bridging and Linking Social Capital</u> – meaning broader membership of groups working within the area or linking the local areas to wider services and structures - was also explored under three headings:

(i) Social trust and the role of neighbours
A high level of social trust emerged from the respondents' accounts of their relationships with neighbours, as did the prevalence of favours exchanged with neighbours, which were wide ranging and encompassed both long-standing, on-going arrangements and more urgent, one-off favours. The most common value added by social trust and neighbourliness was feeling safe in ones own home and not being robbed. For some of the respondents, social trust was seen to be a basic human need. However neighbours were not often close personal friends.

(ii) Regeneration initiatives: Sure Start and New Deal for Communities
By the end of the Neighbourhood Study, the majority of the respondents had had contact with or been involved with regeneration initiatives and groups in their neighbourhoods, including Sure Start and also, in The Valley, New Deal for Communities.

Sure Start was known to a third of the respondents as a total support network, offering wide ranging services and forms of both practical and emotional support for all aspects of their lives. For some respondents it was a source of help with a specific problem and for others it provided a form of linking social capital, as it proved to be a route out of dependence on benefits and into paid employment with all the benefits that this brings. It also helped parents link up with each other.

New Deal for Communities in The Valley provided grants, help with child care and advice. The respondents who had received advice from a Lone Parent Advisor were particularly enthusiastic about New Deal and gave a sense of having been helped not only at the practical level, with finding work, but on an emotional level too, due to the kind service such local professionals provided. New Deal also supported community involvement in local activities, the park and other developments.

Whilst some problems with Sure Start emerged from respondents' stories, concerning, for example, poor publicity and rigid boundaries. One respondent's story illustrates the way in which a

caring local social development initiative such as Sure Start can work via building highly beneficial social capital amongst residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Through Sure Start, the respondent moved into paid work via a voluntary role, having never worked before and always lived on benefits. This has been a life changing experience for the respondent, not only in financial terms but also in the way in which she feels it has positively affected her sense of self and thus how she is perceived by others.

(iii) Involvement in children's schools
Our study illustrates the power of parent–school links in helping parents to cope, and in reinforcing social resources within families and communities.

(iv) Participation in community events and groups
The high level of participation (around 85%) in entertaining community events, especially the annual multicultural festival, in one of the neighbourhoods, The Valley, provided the respondents with a sense of community togetherness and unity. Across both of the neighbourhoods, respondents were involved with, and in some cases had set up, local groups and initiatives that helped the community and provided links to wider networks.

Involvement in short term local campaign groups provided some respondents with a chance to 'make a difference'. Participation in ongoing informal neighbourhood crime tackling initiatives actively reduced crime, and respondents' work setting up mother and baby groups filled a gap in the provision of local family services.

4. The Pertinence of the Social Capital Evident in the Neighbourhood Study for Social Policy

Our in depth study of social capital in two low income Northern urban neighbourhoods shows, first hand, how important it can be to families on low incomes; how families recognise it in family, friends and local programmes; and how it can be damaged by interventions such as demolition that are not tuned to local needs. This is best illustrated by a respondent from The Valley.

The respondent experienced relocation from The Valley to a new neighbourhood during the Neighbourhood Study, due to the demolition of the maisonettes that she lived in. She is very dissatisfied with the move. What lies at the heart of her dissatisfaction is the loss of the interaction, communication, and social networks of her old neighbourhood. At the end of the study, the respondent remained without local groups and networks, describing the neighbourhood as selfish, small-minded and cliquey.

Conclusion: Social Capital and Social Policy
The two detailed stories included in this report, along with the findings on social capital more generally, taken from the Neighbourhood Study, contribute to the argument within social capital scholarship that policy-makers should recognise, consider and definitely protect local social capital; and devise social policy which helps to build social capital in areas where it is lacking, and not destroy it.

1. Introduction to the report

The Defra Rural Evidence Research Centre in the School of Geography at Birkbeck College is carrying out a short study on social capital in rural areas. It was agreed in 2006 that two urban case studies exploring social capital in a very different context should be added to the study in order to uncover common ground in relation to policy and delivery of services as well as to uncover distinctions. We were asked to provide the two urban case studies and proposed the two Northern urban neighbourhoods from the Neighbourhood Study which has tracked families for seven years, with much of the enquiry being around the subject of social capital. Inevitably, as a study with the data collection completeI it is constrained by the study boundaries:
- it is a study of disadvantaged urban areas
- it is a study of families' experience of neighbourhood conditions
- it is a longitudinal study tracking the experiences of a particular group of families who are ordinary residents within those areas.

This report therefore stands as somewhat distinct from the rural report. It is important to stress that cities are very different social structures from rural areas. They are large, diverse, changing, noisy and under constant pressure and tension. This leads to very different forms of social relations and social distinctions. It also leads to much stronger hierarchies of neighbourhoods, more rapid decline of poorer areas and greater concentrations of affluence in richer areas. We can learn from disadvantaged areas by the sheer concentration of people, by the need those people feel for a sense of community and by the very different ways that people relate in an urban context. Typically urban neighbourhoods would be classed as more frightening, more unpleasant, less friendly places than a smaller, calmer rural community. However, below the surface social relations have more in common than they have separating them. It is also the case that most anchor services such as schools, health, transport have the same infrastructure, funding and provision mechanisms in both types of area. A final important point is that we can learn a great deal from families, whether they are based in a rural or an urban community. This is because mothers and children spend disproportionate amounts of time in social contact with other families, they are heavily reliant on more immediate support networks, and without these they struggle. Therefore, this short study of social capital among families in two urban areas will shed some light on the value of social capital to both policy makers and service deliverers. It should also reinforce among citizens the extremely valuable role that social networks and community play in modern cities as well as in the countryside.

The main lesson for policy makers to take from our urban study, which relates strongly to the rural case studies, is that policy cannot be divorced from social links between people and social links between people's own community and the wider institutions on which they depend. Very little emphasis is placed on this, except in an instrumental sense of using people's good will to extend the remit of service delivery. However, service structures should be adaptive, open and flexible so that they can add value to, and extend, the extremely important but generally invisible mechanisms that people use to survive as members of a shared community.

2. Introduction to the Areas and Neighbourhood Studies

The 12 Areas Study underway at CASE is tracking (until 2007) 12 low-income areas across England and Wales. It attempts to establish and explain the current direction of change in the areas, to understand the changing fortunes of such places. Four areas were chosen from the twelve representative deprived areas (from the 1991 Census) for a study of parenting in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The Neighbourhood Study is a longitudinal study of social exclusion that followed the lives of 200 families, 50 living in each of the four different disadvantaged (urban) areas of the country: two in London and two in cities in the north of the country (Kirkside East and The Valley in Leeds and Sheffield). The study has explored parents' changing views and experiences of bringing up children in difficult and unpopular neighbourhoods. It investigated the respondents' perceptions and experiences of their neighbourhoods and of change and regeneration within them. The study aimed to find out how the families experience the

ways in which areas develop or decline, and how conditions directly affect them. A particular focus was on community and how families find support within their neighbourhoods. Many of the findings shed light on social capital in low income urban neighbourhoods.

3. Pen-pictures of the two urban neighbourhoods

3.1 Kirkside East in Leeds

The electoral ward of Kirkside East, a village until the 1930s, is situated approximately four miles from the centre of Leeds. The city is known as the 'boom city of the north', due predominantly to large growth in the business and financial services sector: between 1991 and 1996, job growth was higher in Leeds than in any other major UK city. Kirkside East has a population of approximately 20,000 and is one of the largest Council estates in Europe. Nearly three-quarters of the homes in Kirkside East are Council owned, mostly in need of modernisation. The estate is spaciously laid out, with many stretches of open space and greens, and several shopping parades.

The neighbourhood is divided into two parts by a dual carriageway. The northern part of the estate consists largely of inter-war semi-detached Council houses, with a few tower blocks and some privately owned houses. It also contains the Kirkside East Industrial estate with small factories and warehouse units. Demolition of some of the tower blocks has been carried out during the Neighbourhood Study, as has some visible modernisation of the Council houses, involving the overcladding with brick of those built from concrete slabs (known as 'Airey[1]' houses). The southern part of the estate consists largely of better quality redbrick semi-detached Council houses, but also has some flat roof 'box' dwellings, poorer quality than the 'Airey' houses in the northern part of the neighbourhood. Again, some of the houses are now privately owned, and there are also a few tower blocks.

The southern part of the estate is very different to the northern part, especially since its decline in the 1980s and 1990s. It is far more run-down and dilapidated, with many more boarded-up houses, and many other visible signs of vandalism and decay. These include rubbish and dumped items strewn across roads, greens and gardens, security railings and boulders surrounding community centres, and burnt out cars and scarred patches of road where such items once stood before being towed away. It has had a bad reputation extending back to the 1960s, when some 'anti-social' tenants were re-located there, and it has been an unpopular place to live ever since, with a definite stigma attached to living there. Kirkside East is a relatively high crime area, although it is not worse than other, inner city areas, and it is the southern part of the estate that has a particularly bad problem of crime, such as joy-riding, serious anti-social behaviour, and drug dealing and use.

Between the northern and southern parts of the neighbourhood is what is known as the 'town centre'. This consisted of a run-down concrete shopping precinct and bus station, which opened in 1950, but during the course of the Neighbourhood Study it has been redeveloped and now houses a large new supermarket (the purpose of which was to provide not only better shopping facilities but also a source of employment to the neighbourhood, see below).

The estate is well connected to the city centre and other areas via a number of bus routes. It is rich in facilities and services. These include a girls' secondary school, six primary schools, a new adult education centre, three youth and community centres, and the highest level of youth and community provision in the city. The new adult education centre offers courses from basic skills to degree level, as well as open learning facilities, customised training for employers, and a job placement programme. The new supermarket (see above) worked in partnership with the adult education centre to deliver its promise of local jobs, with training provided.

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[1] Airey construction was a defective industrial construction method used in the 1960s council building boom. Some special funds were made available for its remediation or replacement.

Kirkside East is a predominantly white area, with less than 2% of its population being of ethnic minority origin in 2001. It has always been a working class area and can be described as a deprived inner ward of Leeds. It ranked seventh on the 1998 Index of Local Deprivation for Leeds and second on the Breadline Britain Index. It has a high proportion of unemployed and economically inactive people as well as people with chronic health problems and lone parents, two groups also largely unavailable for work in paid employment. The southern part of the estate has an especially high proportion of households in receipt of income related benefits.

From the start of the Neighbourhood Study, many of the respondents talked about their neighbourhood having a very strong community spirit. Formal structures for community involvement in local decision making were limited; for example the Kirkside East Community Forum, an open meeting, tended to be attended by only a small core of people. However, local community activities, including gala bingo evenings and Christmas celebrations were well supported. Furthermore, a group of residents in the southern part of the estate set up and ran a Credit Union and a group in the northern part of the estate set up and ran a mother and baby group. The available community facilities and strong youth and community team help to promote this sort of community involvement.

A number of regeneration programmes, special projects and initiatives have been rolled out in Kirkside East to tackle the (joined-up) problems of social exclusion, which encompass unemployment, low skills, a culture of worklessness, anti-social behaviour, crime and drug problems. The southern part of the estate was one of the areas included in Leeds SRB 1 programme. Programmes funded under this include extra police officers to tackle anti-social behaviour, a sustained reading intervention programme, small business grants, a youth programme which works with young people at risk of offending, and adult education work. The Leeds SRB programme beginning in 2000, entitled 'Better Neighbourhoods, Confident Communities', involved the development of neighbourhood action plans, including one for the southern part of Kirkside East. At a city-wide level, regeneration has been incorporated under the banner of the Leeds Initiative, a public/private partnership set up in 1990, which evolved to take a holistic approach, going beyond economic development. Regeneration bids are coordinated by the Leeds Initiative. Kirkside East is included in the Leeds Health Action Zone and in the government's Excellence in Cities programme for raising educational standards in deprived city areas. There is a Sure Start programme in the area as well as some innovative local initiatives.

3.2 The Valley in Sheffield

The Valley is an inner city area of Sheffield, defined for the Neighbourhood Study by the boundaries of the Council's local 'action area'. This is slightly larger than the electoral ward going by the same name, which has a population of approximately 21,000. The Valley is a very diverse neighbourhood, in terms of land use, housing tenure, property types and people. Industrial areas sit amongst residential areas which are interspersed with facilities and services including shopping parades, GP surgeries and health clinics, a library, parks, and community buildings. Housing is very mixed, with blocks of flats and maisonettes, high-density modern estates built mainly in the 1970s, and post-war terraces and semis are adjacent to large Victorian and Edwardian terraced houses and smaller nineteenth century cottages. Many of the larger, older houses are privately owned and line attractive, green, leafy residential roads. It is occupied mainly by low income, often minority owners, but also some more affluent and more recent 'gentrifiers' (see below). The vast majority of all of the other housing is Council or Housing Association owned.

Housing is a major problem for The Valley. Whilst the properties in the social rented sector are largely in good condition, the private sector homes are generally in poor condition. Furthermore, the demand for the social rented properties has been very low, reflecting falling demand in the city as a whole over the 1980s and 1990s, which is particularly affecting flats and maisonettes in unpopular inner city areas such as The Valley. The proportion of empty properties amongst such blocks is amongst the highest in the city. During the course of the Neighbourhood Study, a number of blocks have been demolished. Demolition sites within the area give it a run-down feel. Also contributing to the poor appearance of the area are derelict properties - including whole streets and

blocks of maisonettes, dumped rubbish, and boarded up facilities such as pubs, petrol stations, and overgrown gardens.

The Valley has been in a state of gradual decline for several years, linked to the closure of Sheffield's steelworks. The modern Council housing, built as part of Sheffield's slum clearance programme, houses some of Sheffield's lowest income residents. However, the area does include a mix of social classes, as it attracts young professionals who take advantage of the low property prices (half the city average and falling, at the start of the Neighbourhood Study although they are now rising steeply, along with current house prices nationally), proximity to the city, and a cosmopolitan feel. Some of the stone-built attractive Victorian and Edwardian terraced houses are being done up and whole streets have been given a 'face-lift' by the council. The area's cosmopolitan feel stems from its very diverse population. It was the first area of settlement for Sheffield's African Caribbean immigrants, and later became home for many other migrant groups. At the time of the Neighbourhood Study, the population included Pakistani communities (12%), Yemeni and Somali and Afro-Caribbean communities (13%).

Sheffield is a large city with clear social and neighbourhood divisions. It is prosperous towards the south west where it borders the Peak District National Park, and this part of the city contrasts sharply with the inner city and industrial north and east. The Valley is one of many deprived areas in this disadvantaged part of the city which has suffered severe economic decline. On the Index of Local Deprivation, it ranks just tenth out of the twenty-nine wards in the city, but ranks higher (sixth) on the Breadline Britain Index, and on measures of work poverty it ranks fourth. The Valley had one of the highest rates of unemployment in the city (16% compared with 6% for the city as a whole and 4.6% for England, in the early stages of the neighbourhood Study). This is partly linked to the presence of disadvantaged ethnic minority groups. Educational attainment is low in the Valley, with only 11% in 1999 passing 5 GCSEs at grades A*-C, compared with 48% nationally. Adult literacy is an issue too, with nearly a quarter (24%) of the residents in 1995 having low or very low literacy. Health problems are a particular concern amongst the population in The Valley. Compared with other areas in Sheffield, it has the highest rates of infant mortality and low birth weights, amongst the highest rates of teenage conceptions, and high rates of ill health generally. The Valley has a bad reputation for crime with one of the highest crime rates in the city. With the focus of the city's drug dealing located in the area, drug abuse and drug dealing are major problems, with drugs sometimes dealt openly in the streets, and many crimes, such as burglaries, muggings and acts of violence, believed to be drug related. There has been heavy police action on drug related gun crime in the area, as well as traffic calming measures to combat drug dealing by car in the neighbourhood.

The facilities and services are relatively poor in The Valley. There are few local shops and there is no bank or petrol station. Towards the beginning of the Neighbourhood Study, facilities for children and young people were low, there was a lack of child care, poor educational provision, and a definite need for community facilities and buildings that cater for the diverse needs of a very diverse community.

The different community origins and allegiances within The Valley has tended to mean community spirit, identity and involvement have been linked to smaller groups within the neighbourhood and religious or cultural affiliations. However, there are tenants associations in the area of varying strength. And in 1996, a Community Action Forum was set up to try to bring together different interests, develop a forum for the exchange and understanding of needs, and be a common voice for the area. It includes residents and representatives of local community and voluntary organisations. The forum worked to develop an action plan for The Valley and works with statutory agencies to shape and implement regeneration proposals. SRB funds contributed to this development.

As in Kirkside East, a number of regeneration programmes, special projects and initiatives have been rolled out in The Valley to tackle its many inter-connected problems, encompassing unemployment, low skills, a culture of worklessness, anti-social behaviour, crime and drug problems. Since 1998, Sheffield has been divided into twelve Action Areas, one of which is The

Valley, and each have action plans encompassing issues such as housing, local public services, and health. The area was included in a small (£38 million, of which £9 million was direct government funding) five year SRB programme, designed to build the aspirations and capacity of local people to contribute to sustainable long term regeneration. The programme has supported community organisations and is attempting to reach the most disadvantaged groups through initiatives such as community literacy campaigns, a family learning programme, and a community health initiative. There are also many important local initiatives in the area. For example, a community project based in an old pub which runs a café, provides a base for services such as employment advice and a Credit Union, and runs a project for disaffected youth.

In 2000, The Valley successfully bid to be part of the New Deal for Communities programme, enabling further, specific regeneration plans to be developed. As well as SRB and New Deal, The Valley has many of the main government-funded, area-based programmes launched since 1997: an Education Action Zone, Health Action Zone, Sure Start, and Excellence in Cities. And one of its main secondary schools has been rebuilt under the 'Fresh Start' initiative. The area is part of the much wider government-funded Housing Market Renewal programme, and more 'facelift upgrading' is happening through this in older streets. Demolition work has been dramatically scaled back as prices have risen, local community opposition has grown and the government has greatly lowered the resources available for demolition. Such a shift would support increased social mixing in the area through rising owner occupation.

The area has received a considerable boost from Sheffield and South Yorkshire gaining, Objective 1 status, entailing significant extra EU funding, for example for the facelift to older streets, the restoration of historic buildings as community facilities and other upgrading and regeneration. The area has gone from being seriously run down to being 'promising' with the fastest rising house prices in the city, albeit from a very low base.

4. Methodology of the Neighbourhood Study

The families were interviewed at approximately nine month intervals, commencing in 1998 in the two London neighbourhoods and 1999 in the two northern neighbourhoods. A total of seven rounds of interviews were completed in all four neighbourhoods between 2000 and 2006; in the North this was funded by the Nuffield Foundation. It was overwhelmingly mothers who were interviewed, although some fathers did participate (2%). Throughout the interviews the respondents were asked about parenting, education and training, employment and income, children's activities and education, child care, health, friends and relatives, local facilities, local groups, services and conditions, community life, area conditions, race relations, the developments and regeneration programmes underway, and the local problems. The final interview schedule (for round seven of the study) was organised around the joined up problems identified by the Government as constituting social exclusion, to ensure that all of the key components of social exclusion were explored a final time at the close of the data collection.

Semi-structured interview schedules were used throughout the study, combining open ended and structured questions. The respondents were thus able to talk around a number of specific issues. Such interview schedules were designed both to explore the respondents' individual perceptions and experiences and to ensure that all of the different aspects of family life and of social exclusion were explored during the study.

City Council employees and others working in local groups were consulted prior to the fieldwork in each area, both to promote the study and to establish meeting points for potential respondents. Meetings were held with people working in the areas including regeneration and planning, youth and community, health, education, adult education, child care, community involvement, housing, and crime prevention. Making such contact also added to knowledge about the areas, enabling local developments, including a community team in Kirkside East and targeted upgrading in The Valley, to be included in the interview schedule. With about 40% of the original respondents leaving the study before the final round of interviews, such official contacts continued to be an

invaluable source of assistance with recruiting new respondents. Retaining 60% of the original sample over 7 years was significant given the demolition activity and the generally higher turnover of population in poorer areas.

The initial study sample was recruited via meetings at schools and nurseries, baby clinics, parent and child groups, adult education centres, and youth and community centres. The initial sample of families was recruited to reflect the make up of the local population. The broad characteristics of the local populations were reflected using a number of variables: housing, ethnicity, age of children, marital/couple status, income, and work. Whilst it was not possible to exactly match the study sample in each area to the areass profile, a close match of families in each of the areas, reflecting all of the area's characteristics aimed for, was achieved.

The use of semi-structured interview schedules throughout the study has ensured a rich body of both quantitative and qualitative data on parenting and social networks in low income neighbourhoods. Analysis of the qualitative data from respondents' responses to the open questions compliments the quantitative data from respondents' responses to the closed questions, analysed using SPSS.

Previous publications include the book *East Enders: Family and Community in East London* by Katherine Mumford and Anne Power (2003) published by The Policy Press, Bristol, and the chapter 'Bringing up families in poor neighbourhoods under New Labour', Anne Power and Helen Willmot, in *A More Equal Society? New Labour, poverty, inequality and exclusion* (eds. John Hills and Kitty Stewart (2005), also published by The Policy Press, Bristol. *City Survivors: bringing up children in disadvantaged urban areas* by Anne Power (forthcoming 2007) explores the life histories of a sample of families, six from each area, on the themes of neighbourhoods, community, family, parenting, incomes and services. A book spanning all seven rounds of the study is currently in progress, due for publication in 2008.

As the respondents were recruited largely in local services and groups, and all are parents and live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, one factor influencing the findings presented in this report is the degree of local 'rootedness' of the families and the extent to which their lives are constrained by childcare responsibility and lack of money to the local area. While in many ways the evidence from our case studies and the methods of collection are vastly different from the rural case studies, the local focus of most families in effect creates an 'urban village' pattern of relationships that is not often found in cities, and which makes for useful comparisons with rural areas.

5. The Social Capital of the localities today and the story of its development and deployment

5.1 How the Neighbourhood Study sought to explore social capital

We were asked to use evidence from the Neighbourhood Study to explore what kind of social capital exists in two of the four areas studied and to describe how it is operating – whether at neighbourhood or area level, or more widely based. We explored how far it stemmed from family or other connections such as work for example. The study also exploreed how area conditions impact on social capital formation or depletion. For example, how crime impacts on trust. Forms of social capital were identified and explored through a range of interview topics, covered throughout the seven rounds of interviews. These topics include: having people to count on locally; support exchanged with family and friends – including help with child care specifically; social trust and help amongst neighbours; contact with and use of regeneration initiatives and groups – with a focus on Sure Start and, in The Valley, also New Deal for Communities; and community participation more widely. As the Neighbourhood Study explored parents' experiences of parenting in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, it is social capital in relation to personal links that was explored rather than the social capital of the neighbourhoods in the form of social institutions. However, the data obviously reveals much about the neighbourhoods' social structure, and the role that this plays in social capital.

Individual level analysis of the social capital emerging from the data is explored in the remainder of this section, beginning with close relationships and networks, then moving on to more extended aspects of the respondents' networks. The 'dark side' of social capital is recognised, for example, its forming "part of a wider structure of systematic inequality" (Field 2003: 90), the flow of the benefits it generates sometimes benefiting a small group whilst simultaneously harming a much larger one (Olstrom and Ahn (eds.) 2003: xxix), and out-group antagonism being created by strong 'in-group loyalty' created by bonding social capital (van Oorschot et al. 2006: 152; see also Baron et al. 2000:10). However, this report focuses on positive forms and aspects of social capital, as this is what our families generally talked about. Overall they reflect a low level of hostility, and desire to generate more 'community spirit', but also anxiety over the sharing of limited resources.

5.2 The Findings on Social Capital

a) Bonding Social Capital (strong ties)

(i) People to count on
In the third and fourth round of interviews for the Neighbourhood Study questions designed to explore the issue of bonding social capital were asked. The supportive qualities of the respondents' intimate social networks were explored with the following questions:
- *Is there anyone you can totally be yourself with?*
- *Is there anyone you feel really appreciates you as a person?*
- *Is there anyone you can count on to talk to?*
- *Is there anyone you can count on to comfort you when you are upset?*

In both of the neighbourhoods, the vast majority of the respondents answered positively to these questions (an average of 90% of respondents across the four questions and the two neighbourhoods), with the respondents' narratives painting pictures of rich networks of people that they can talk to when they need someone to listen to them. In the following extract, this ability to reply on others is considered to be a selling point of the respondent's part of the neighbourhood:

> Interviewer: Is there anyone you can count on to talk to?
> Interviewee: Yes, in the area, because my parents are six doors up, and my Nan
> is opposite, and I've known the neighbours since I was little. These streets are
> sought after. From here to the end of the street are owned by pensioners, they've
> been here since the 1970s and 1980s. [L043]

Another respondent talked explicitly of an intimate network and provided some insight into its workings and limitations:

> I have a good network of friends as well [as family]. And I get different things from
> different friends. It also depends on what is going off in their own lives, in terms of
> what I want to put on them. [S019]

One of the respondents who felt that they did *not* have someone to comfort them when upset offered an explanation for this:

> The friends at college are new. There is probably not a great deal I would discuss
> with them in that way, even though I have discussed things with them. Other
> Asian friends I would not discuss private matters with them. Because my life has
> fallen apart and you just do not talk about it, especially in the Asian culture, it is
> totally different. [S001]

Family members, friends and neighbours were most commonly cited as the main sources of support, although work colleagues and various professionals were cited by eleven respondents. These included health visitors, GPs, teachers at their children's schools, employers and, most

commonly, Sure Start support workers. It is clearly helpful that these respondents have people that they can talk to; but comments from about 10% of families, such as "*there is a Sure Start worker who is really good, just listens*" [L009] suggest a possible lack of people fulfilling this role from within more intimate circles of family and friends, for these respondents.

The value of being able to "*be yourself, feel appreciated, and have someone to talk to and be comforted by*" reflects a sense of emotional well-being for the respondents. In the following extract there is a strong suggestion that social gathering among friendly people can do this, but that practical support received directly from people in the community is also important:

> *Interviewer: Is there anyone you can count on to comfort you when you are upset?*
> *Interviewee: I very rarely get upset but I have had a rough six weeks and the community got me together and helped. I just gave up. They came round for my birthday and gave me a surprise party when I came out of hospital. They were all asking if I was ok. Everybody heard. They gave me loads of books. I couldn't feel on my left side, I had a stroke and they have said it is MS. Last week I am back driving. I try to get on with it. The children went through a hard time but the community came around and helped out. [S006]*

In the following sections, the networks of family and friends highlighted here are explored in more detail.

(ii) Family links
Also at round 3 and 4 of the Neighbourhood Study, family contact was explored. The respondents (98% mothers) reported high levels of contact with their own mothers. In Kirkside East, 20% of the respondents see their mother on average once a day, 22% more than once a week, and 10 % once a week, a total of 52% weekly or more. Similarly, in The Valley 22% of the respondents see their mother on average once a day, 24% more than once a week, and 10% once a week, a total of 56%. And in Kirkside East 38% of the respondents speak to their mother on average once a day, 18% more than once a week, and 8% once a week, a total of 64%. And in The Valley 34% of the respondents speak to their mother on average once a day, 26% more than once a week, and 18% once a week, a total of 78%.

Round 6 of the study further explored family networks, addressing the issue of family support. Accompanying the high level of family contact reported at rounds 3 and 4 were the high levels of family support received. 54% of the respondents in Kirkside East explained that they receive direct support from local family members, with 30% receiving such support regularly. And in The Valley, a smaller but still significant 32% received direct support from local family members, with 14% receiving such support regularly.

By far the most common form of support received from family members was help with child care. This took different forms and thus provided different added values. For many of the respondents who received help from family members with child care, this was an organised, long-standing arrangement, whilst for other respondents, family stepped in to help with child care on a semi-regular or as-and-when-needed basis. The value added by this form of social support tended to be the ability to work (and in some cases study too) and thus earn. The following extracts illustrate these two different sorts of child care arrangements:

> *My Mum in law and Father in law have Susan [18 months old] four days a week when I am work, and the third Thursday of each month I work and my Mum has her. [L055]*

> *Interviewee: They are fantastic. Best parents in the world. They help with child care when I do work for the business.*
> *Interviewer: How regular is this?*
> *Interviewee: Depends on how much work I have on, varies.*

[S012]

For two respondents, family support with child care was a there-if-needed last resort, when things got on top of them. For these respondents, the value added by this social support seems to be not simply practical support, but rather emotional support, stemming from knowing that there is support on-tap whenever it is needed, which facilitates emotional well-being:

> *If I am struggling with my son, they [Aunt and Uncle] will take him for a few hours. [S030]*

> *My daughter is over at my Mum's now. No buses in the city at the moment and I am finding it hard to get anywhere at the moment. She is driving me mad. So I am having a break. And my in laws will have her at the weekend. [S048]*

Reflecting the very positive findings on having people to count on (see above), what many of the respondents who received support from family talked mostly about was their knowing such support was there. Thus, again, emotional well-being seemed to be the value added by such social capital. Typical comments about such support included;

> *"If I need it, yes, they are always there" [L001]*

> *""If I need it, it will be there" [L015]*

> *"I just know they are there whenever I need them" [L017]*

> *"I just make a phone call if I ever need them, and they are there" [L023]*

> *"They are there if I need them, as and when"[L036]*

> *"Both lots of family are there 24 hours a day, if ever we need them" [L055].*

The issue of reciprocity was raised both by respondents talking about actual family help received with child care and respondents talking more generally about as-and-when-needed family support on a pooled and reciprocal basis, as the following extracts illustrate:

> *Interviewer: Do your family provide you with any support?*
> *Interviewee: I suppose, yes, and it is mutual, sort of moral support, you know they are there, and you can ring them to collect the kids or to have them, et cetera.*
> *[S069]*

> *I help her [Mum] a lot because her legs are bad with arthritis. I just decorated her house and I shop for her. And she baby sits if I want to go out. [S043]*

> *We all back each other up, support each other. [L031]*

Whilst family support with child care was common amongst the sample, it is important to highlight here that not all accounts of such support were straightforward. For example, one respondent's account of a family network of child care support highlighted the related norms or expectations concerning reciprocity, and also the sanctions that followed when these were not met:

> *Interviewer: Do you help look after other people's children?*
> *Interviewee: Not any more.*
> *Interviewer: Whose children did you help with?*
> *Interviewee: All my nieces and nephews.*
> *Interviewer: How often did you help?*

> *Interviewee: Very regularly. But I was doing it all. And none did it for me. So I knocked it on the head.*
> *[L063]*

As well as the problem of a lack of desired reciprocity with family support, other problems were highlighted with this area of support. For example, one respondent explained a barrier that she faced because of her children's special needs:

> *Interviewer: What help/support do your family provide you with?*
> *Interviewee: Child care, occasionally, they struggle because of the children's behavioural problems. They took all four kids…, when I had to go into hospital this year. They struggled because the children were so difficult. [L012]*

Family relationships were often not straightforward and sometimes were actually negative, but on the whole mothers particularly were often dependant on relatives (including in laws) for different kinds of support)

(iii) Friends
Networks of friends who provide support were suggested in the findings on having people to count on, in the discussion above. At rounds 3 and 4 of the Neighbourhood Study, approximately 60% of the respondents in both of the neighbourhoods saw their closest friends at least weekly, and all of these respondents explained that such friends provide them with various forms of help and support. The help exchanged with friends encompassed babysitting, help with the school run, help occupying and entertaining children, help with decorating and DIY, sharing information, and giving advice.

As well as all of these forms of practical support, some respondents' narratives suggested other forms of value added by such social support, including receiving emotional support from friends. The following extracts nicely capture this added value. A theme running throughout the majority of the respondents' narratives on support from friends was the importance of simply chatting with them, and the third of the following extracts illustrate the great emotional support that can stem from this seemingly simple activity:

> *We have a coffee and chat at each other's houses. None of us can afford to go out and socialise. It is good to have people to talk to that are in the same boat.*
> *[L048]*

> *They help with the child care, my sanity. Just help in that I do not feel isolated, which you can feel after working all of your life and then having kids. [S075]*

> *Six of us friends go out every couple of months. One lost her husband and we steered her through that, for example, called her on the phone for a chat. [L030]*

In many of the respondents' narratives, support received from friends was more something that they knew they had and could draw on, than something they actually expect to exchange. Thus, as with the findings on family support (see above), what emerges as most important here is knowing there is someone to count on. The support that these respondents value is the knowledge that support is there to tap in to. The value added by such social capital concerns emotional as well as practical support that enables mental well-being. Typical comments included the following:

> *"she [closest friend] would be there if I wanted to talk" [L012]*

> *"I know she [closest friend] is there if I need her, but I don't really" [L036]*

> *"If I said I needed help, they [friends] would" [S071]*

> *"We are always on the phone. It is the kind of relationship where we don't need to see each other to just know we are there" [L061].*

One respondent explained that this is precisely what friendship is all about, for her, when she said:

> *"If I asked I am sure I would get [support] but I don't tend to ask. I think the sign of a good friend is they are always there when you need them, and vice versa" [S048].*

Four respondents talked about support from friends being something which takes second place to that received from family, essentially providing a back-up to this support when family are not available to give it. Two of these respondents talked in a matter of fact way about this explaining:

> *"If I needed someone to talk to and I cannot get in touch with my family, I can talk to them. And if I had a problem they would help" [L026],*

> *"My husband works away a lot and I get a lot of emotional support [from friends] when he is away" [S034].*

The third respondent explained that her friends successfully provide her with things that her family cannot, and she seems therefore to be less troubled by the fact that she can only get more direct and by implication more practical forms of support from her family:

> *They give me the confidence that I need at times. They understand me on a higher level than my family. They [my family] are quite working class, down to earth, so meaningful conversations about life and soul searching are no good with them. [L061]*

However, the fourth respondent made it clear that she feels let down by her family, because they did not provide the support that she needed at a specific, and difficult time in her life:

> *She [closest friend] has been the one who has got me through the last year [the breakdown of her relationship with her husband], done what a family should do. I stayed at her boyfriend's house when I had to get away from their [the children's] dad. [S029]*

Taken together, these four cases illustrate how reliance on local friendship can develop in fairly intense ways in times of need where there is a lack of, or too limited, family support.

b) Bridging Social Capital (weak ties)

(i) Social trust and the role of neighbours
One of the basic measures of social capital - the question of social trust, of whether people feel that they can trust others on a broader basis, such as neighbours, acquaintances and 'contacts' - was explored in the third round of The Neighbourhood Study, along with the issue of exchanging favours. The respondents were asked how many people in their neighbourhoods they felt that they could trust, and the findings were largely positive. In both of the neighbourhoods, the majority of the respondents explained that there are a few people locally that they feel they can trust. 68% in Kirkside East and 48% in The Valley feel there are a few such people. A significant proportion of the respondents (16% in Kirkside East and a quarter of the respondents in The Valley - 24%) explained that there are *a lot* of people in their neighbourhood that they feel they can trust. One respondent who had moved out of The Valley drew a comparison between it and her new neighbourhood on these grounds. She explained how the sorts of criminal activity that existed there had made it important for her to live somewhere where it would be easier to trust neighbours, and this was part of the reason for moving:

The question of what such social trust means to the respondents was explored in the third round of the study. The respondents were asked whether their feelings about trust in the neighbourhood were important to them, and 84% of the respondents in Kirkside East, and 82% in The Valley, explained that such feelings were important. The most dominant reason given by the respondents for attributing importance to social trust (given by 34% in Kirkside East and 30% in The Valley) concerned security and the prevention of crime, chiefly burglary, and related feelings of safety. These respondents talked about the importance of being able to leave their homes, and belongings, for any length of time, without the fear of being robbed, or of simply feeling safe in their own homes. This underlines the value added by social trust, which comes across clearly in the following typical comments from respondents on this aspect of social capital. In the first extract, the respondent refers to the reciprocity involved in social trust, argued by Baron et al. to be "the touchstone of social capital" (Baron et al. 2000:11):

> *Interviewer: Are your feelings about the amount of trust in the neighbourhood important to you? If so, why?*
> *Interviewee: Yes, we had a lot of good support when we were burgled – and if car alarms went off. You are all in the same boat, and in your house and car, you want to be safe, so you did look out for everybody else [the respondent lived in The Valley, she now lives elsewhere]. [S009]*

An extract from another respondent illustrates the importance for many of the respondents of the sense of security that social trust generates:

> *Interviewer: Are your feelings about trust in the neighbourhood important to you? If so, why?*
> *Interviewee: Yes, so you can feel safe in your own home, and not be watching your back every five minutes. And to feel safe for your children. [L050]*

One respondent went beyond the personal level of value added by social trust and talked of its benefits for the community:

> *It [social trust] increases your sense of safety, physically and emotionally. It enables you to relate to people more openly and work together for things to get better in the community… you can talk about issues in the area and feel that people are up front and you can genuinely discuss those things quite honestly and* openly. [S034]

There were echoes of the saying 'keep your friends close and your enemies closer' in the responses of four of the respondents (two each from the two neighbourhoods). They talked about social trust as a matter of security and crime prevention. Their comments included:

> *"You have got to trust people, or they will rob off you"* [L056]

> *"It is nice to live alongside people you can trust, not thinking they are going to break into the house as soon as* your back is turned" [S014].

For these respondents, getting to know and to trust ones neighbours is very important as failure to do so runs the risk of their stealing from you. Avoiding this outcome, through social contact, is thus the value added by social trust for these respondents.

Another reason given by the respondents for attributing importance to social trust, given by a significant proportion of the respondents in Kirkside East (16%), but a much smaller proportion of those in The Valley (6%), concerned such trust being viewed as a basic human need. The following extracts nicely illustrate this:

> *"You need to trust one person, you need to have someone, it's human nature"* [L009].

There was also a sense of social trust being a fundamental human need in one respondent's detailed explanation of its importance:

> Interviewer: Are your feelings about trust in the neighbourhood important to you? If so, why?
> Interviewee: Yes. I don't want to be robbed and beaten. It is important to my sense of well being and self worth, to live in an area where I feel safe and secure and liked and trusted, and that I can trust other people. [S042]

For these respondents, social trust is a necessity, something they simply could not imagine living without. In this sense, the value added by this social capital could be considered immeasurable.

When it comes to the question of how many people in their neighbourhoods the interviewees *actually* exchange favours with, that is, when the issue of neighbourhood trust and support is less hypothetical and more about lived experiences, the findings remain very positive. In Kirkside East 70% of the respondents, and in The Valley 68%, explained that there are one or more people with whom they actually exchange favours. Furthermore, approximately a fifth of the respondents in both of the neighbourhoods (18% in Kirkside East and 20% in The Valley) explained that there are more than four such people in their lives. Favours exchanged encompassed immediate, momentary ones and more long-term, longstanding arrangements, including the giving of time as well as other resources.

The value added by this social capital is practical support. The following extracts illustrate the typical sorts of favours talked about by the respondents. In the final extract, the respondent talks generally of favours from neighbours and there is a sense in which emotional support is the value added by this social form of capital for this respondent, stemming from their knowing that support is there, should it be needed:

> They take parcels in next door. I lent my phone to a woman over the road and to my neighbours on the other side. I asked the chap next door to get a big dog out of my garden. And I sorted some baby clothes out for some next door. [L001]

> There's one neighbour who is great, and another with a key and the code to the alarm. When we were away for a week the neighbour came in and locked up again. [S038]

> I've lived here so long that if I am ever in trouble I can pick up the phone or go to someone's door. [L030]

(ii) Regeneration initiatives: Sure Start and New Deal for Communities
Contact with and use of the key regeneration initiatives in the two neighbourhoods – Sure Start in both neighbourhoods and New Deal for Communities in The Valley– was explored throughout the Neighbourhood Study. In the first round of interviews, many of the interviewees spoke positively and hopefully of neighbourhood problems being tackled and needs beginning to be addressed in their neighbourhoods, via both local initiatives and the launch of Government and Local Authority regeneration initiatives. In the two northern neighbourhoods Sure Start had been introduced, and in The Valley a local community forum was actively working to improve the image of the neighbourhood and the local environment, helped by a local glossy magazine funded through New Deal for Communities. In the two London neighbourhoods, approximately half of the interviewees felt that their neighbourhood was improving and cited positive changes which included the regeneration efforts underway.

At the third round of the study, the respondents' awareness of and involvement with key regeneration efforts was explored more directly. Respondents were asked about whether they had any knowledge and/or any involvement with Sure Start. There were positive findings in both of the neighbourhoods (86% in Kirkside East and 84% in The Valley were involved). New Deal for

Communities (present in The Valley but not Kirkside East) was similarly investigated, with three quarters of the respondents having heard of and had contact with it (74%). At the final round of the study, the interviewees were asked about their experience with regeneration programmes generally. They were asked whether they had used any regeneration programme service and the majority of the respondents in both of the neighbourhoods explained that they had (63% of the interviewees in Kirkside East and a considerably larger 85% in The Valley).

In both neighbourhoods, contact and involvement with Sure Start encompassed receiving vital equipment such as child safety gates and reading books, receiving advice on parenting issues, attending events, and participating in groups run by Sure Start. Thus the value added by this social capital concerns practical help related to children's safety, education and entertainment.

Halpern (2005: 295) argues that greater support for families and parenting is one strand of action by policy-makers that can boost the social capital of people starting from a particularly impoverished social capital base, and cities Sure Start as an example of policy which does this. In-keeping with such an argument, in their narratives on Sure Start, the interviewees' most commonly revealed that its strength and importance lies in the way in which it provides general support and means that parents are not on their own, giving a sense in which the value added by Sure Start is also emotional support, which fosters emotional well-being. Typical comments included:

> "You're not on your own. You've got someone to turn to" [L067]

> "You've got someone to support you, when friends and family aren't enough!" [L068]

> "It would be a lot harder [without Sure Start]. Even before the baby comes you get £500 maternity grant. Then after, all drop ins and stuff, and a really good support system"[L007].

What the final extract above conveys is the way in which many respondents were involved with and supported by Sure Start in a range of different ways. It thus emerges from the data that participants have a sense of involvement in Sure Start's various initiatives and these schemes draw the respondents into a support network. This comes through particularly strongly in the following, lengthier comments on Sure Start:

> Interviewee: I accessed a lot of groups for my daughters [now ages five and seven] when they were younger. I attended lots of groups from when my eldest daughter was six months until she was five years old, with my second daughter from birth until she was to five years.
> Interviewer: What did it mean for you and your family?
> Interviewee: I think it meant a lot because, not having a parent figure myself, and my partner being at work all day then, it meant I felt I had some support. And I got depression with my first child and I knew I had the support when I had my second so I didn't get depressed.
> [L025]

> I had a little bit of support when my son [now age two] was quite small. And I have done some of their courses, like First Aid. They do Christmas parties for kids too. It is another group of people you can go to and to a lot of extent it is just another group of people I know, you know they are there. [S070]

> Interviewee: I went to massage. And hypnotherapy for stopping smoking. And they've knocked on the door a few times in the last year, telling you what is going on.
> Interviewer: What did it mean for you and your family?
> Interviewee: it was more for me than my son. Umm, it gave me confidence to get back into work, because I'd talk to the man who ran it, and when I was going

through behavioural problems with my son, they supported me. Just a support network really.
[L050]

As well as feeling supported generally as parents by Sure Start, many of the respondents explained that further, specific benefits have stemmed from their involvement with Sure Start. As in the final extract above, many respondents explained that Sure Start had helped them and their family with a specific problem or concern relating to their child or children. The following examples illustrate the broad range of issues, from serious medical ones, through behavioural problems, to the less severe issue of general shyness (child and adult), highlighted by the respondents as having been helped via Sure Start. The value added by the social capital found around Sure Start for these respondents is the eradication or at least alleviation of specific parenting problems:

> *The main thing I will love Sure Start forever for is they were brilliant about my son [age 4], helped me to get him diagnosed [with autism], for a speech and language therapist to see him, and that started the whole diagnosis process. I just feel they take parents very seriously. [S056]*

> *Interviewee: I used Sure Start services, the speech therapist. They helped my little girl with speech and language and feeding, all to do with the mouth you see. She still sees them a bit but not so much now she is older [age 4].*
> *Interviewer: What does it mean for you and your family?*
> *Interviewee: If it hadn't been for Sure Start it would have been a lot more trips to the hospital. Good to see someone local.*
> *[L019]*

> *I have seen Sure Start for my son's [age 10] behavioural problems. We go to a class together with Sure Start, once a week. I rang Sure Start and asked if they had anything at all. They were helpful. We've only started last week. Second class this week. It is a 6 week course. An experiment class. So they're not sure what the results will be. He took part.[L044]*

> *Interviewee: My daughter was so shy I knew I needed to get her somewhere before school, to build her confidence, to mix and play with other kids. She'd go nowhere without me.*
> *Interviewer: Sure Start was a transition between home and school then?*
> *Interviewee: Yes [L071]*

> *It came at the right time [Sure Start]. He wouldn't mix with other kids at all. I was at the end of my tether. They advised me to go to parent and toddler group and I did. I was shy, so he suffered. But Sure Start got me to go to groups and to mix and he benefited from it. [S073]*

It is argued that bridging social capital "is quite essential to the achievement of economic development and growth" (Ostrom and Ahn (eds.) 2003: xxix). This is reflected in the way in which a number of respondents (for example, see extract above) explained that their involvement with Sure Start has led to their securing paid employment. One respondent in Kirkside East explained that she does two hours voluntary work at a local family learning centre and that her tutors want her to do it in a paid capacity, and another, in The Valley, explained that she had gained work experience via volunteering for a New Deal initiative and that this was a catalyst for movement into paid work. For these respondents, the value added by the social capital related to gaining paid work

Sure Start provides many of the respondents with a strong and reliable source of parenting support, with involvement in Sure Start's various initiatives and schemes especially enveloping the respondents into a support network that helps with a range of issues and problems. In some cases Sure Start proved also to be a catalyst for moving into paid work, as was also addressed above.

These respondents' stories were of bridging social capital of the linking variety, in that moral equality and mutual respect underlay the initial voluntary work undertaken, and that it can be argued there is an inequality in status and resources between Sure Start and those who volunteer for it (Halpern 2005: 25). One of these respondents' stories describes a life changing support network, illustrating the huge impact regeneration initiatives such as Sure Start can have on the parents that they reach.

Sure Start and Increased Social Capital

At round one of the Neighbourhood Study the respondent, a single mother living in Kirkside East with her daughter, had never worked, never earned money. She received three benefits; Income Support, Housing Benefit, and Council Tax Benefit. When asked about her hopes for the future, she said that she had none. By round three/four of the study, she had begun voluntary work with the local Sure Start, taking fitness classes as well as giving talks. When asked whether she felt that Sure Start had made a difference to her or her daughter she explained

> *"Yes, it's made a big difference, it's got me out more, and relating more to people,*
> *and relating to the community" [L016].*

There is thus a sense that it is the social aspect of her involvement with Sure Start that was the most important to the respondent, the meeting people and becoming part of networks such as Sure Start and the community.

By round five the respondent was a paid employee of Sure Start, her work now involving outreach work in the community. At the final round of the study, the respondent continued to work for Sure Start and to undertake study for qualifications relevant to her work, including City and Guilds Adult Learning Support 01 and 02. When reflecting on the effect of her voluntary work experience, which proved to be the catalyst for her movement into paid employment, the respondent conveys a sense of this opportunity from Sure Start being a life changing experience:

> *Interviewer: "Did you like giving your talks?"*
> *Interviewee: "Yes, the feedback was good. I was a single mum, always on the*
> *estate, going to lots of groups, and then doing voluntary work and talks, et cetera,*
> *and it was a big turn around. It was a success, to do nothing then all sorts, and sit*
> *in a room full of 'professionals' and talk. It was a confidence boost. I always was*
> *confident but was defensive too. I'm not so defensive now. Not now. I know just*
> *because I live on a council estate and don't work, well I do [work] now, I am*
> *capable. To see them, their reaction to that, was good." [L016]*

There were five key objectives and targets of Sure Start when it launched, and this included strengthening families and communities, in particular, by enhancing families' opportunities for involvement in the community. This respondent's family can certainly be said to have been strengthened financially via her involvement with Sure Start that has led to paid work, and which has enabled her to work in and thus be involved in her community. The respondent did not simply move into paid work, but did so via a process of being made to feel differently about herself, which in turn has positively affected how she presents herself and thus how she is perceived by others. Whilst some problems with Sure Start emerged from respondents' stories, concerning poor publicity, divisions arising over funding and rigid boundaries, this respondent's story is one that makes a strong case for the Sure Start initiative, illustrating the way in which such a regeneration initiative can work via building highly beneficial social capital within disadvantaged neighbourhoods and transforming individual's lives.

In his discussion of the importance of social capital for economic performance, Halpern argues that the disadvantaged members of society are "held back by their relative lack of access to the helping hands of well-connected friends and acquaintances" (Halpern 2005:70). It might be argued that

Sure Start employees have fulfilled this role for the respondents who have secured work through them.

In The Valley, at the final round of the study, many of the respondents spoke of involvement with New Deal for Communities based groups and initiatives. As with Sure Start, the respondents were involved with New Deal in many different ways and received different sorts of support. The most common connections and forms of support received were after school and holidays child care, security devices for the home, grants for home improvements or for community groups such as mother and baby clubs, and links into advice from Lone Parent Advisors in the New Deal for Communities. Thus, as with Sure Start, the value added by this social capital encompassed practical help with a range of parenting supports – child care, safety, and entertainment. It was the respondents who had received advice and help from Lone Parent Advisors, on returning to or moving into paid employment, who spoke with the most passion of their experiences with New Deal. Thus reflected here are other findings on New Deal programmes which have highlighted the usefulness of "the systematic use of personal contacts, including schemes of personalised guidance and support" (Field 2003: 130) for enhancing job placements. The following extracts from two of the respondents capture the strong sense of surprise at how helpful the service/advisor was; this came through in the respondents' narratives:

> *Interviewer: "Have you had any dealings with New Deal?"*
> *Interviewee: "A New Deal Lone Parent Advisor. And she was very helpful about the hours I wanted and the sorts of jobs. And she didn't even shout or tell me off when I said I didn't like a job"! [S016]*
>
> *Interviewer: "Have you had any dealings with New Deal?"*
> *Interviewee: "Yes. At the Job Centre. A Lone Parent Advisor, linked to New Deal, is helping me sort out training and employment."*
> *Interviewer: "What does this mean for you and/or your family?"*
> *Interviewee: "It means a lot. Makes it more understandable, benefits, courses, jobs. They are really, really helpful. I came out of the Job Centre feeling helped and supported. I came out smiling, not looked down at because [I am] on the dole. They are more like career advisors, not just doing it to get you off the social. They don't expect you to take any old job. They look at your capabilities. You can train and then work. Not pushed into any old job."*
> *[S076]*

The respondent in the second extract above makes clear that it is not only the desired outcome of the advice that is the value added by this social capital (paid work that she enjoys), but also the very experience of receiving the advice. This gives a sense of the value added by such New Deal for Communities based social capital being not only paid work but also emotional well-being stemming from kind and thoughtful treatment by the advisors.

(iii) Involvement in children's school
Many of the respondents were active in their children's schools, with some respondents working in before or after school clubs, including breakfast and sports clubs, and others taking on the role of parent governor. One respondent's explanation for why she became a school governor captures a theme that emerged in the final round of the Neighbourhood Study - following the question of how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with their children's schools – teamwork between teachers/ schools and parents:

> *"The school has been marvellous, since I voiced my concerns, they help. I am now a governor. Because they are so committed to us, I wanted to be committed to them." [L061]*

Many respondents spoke of instances of overcoming problems that their children were experiencing in schools, for example involving school work or relationships with other children, via approaching and then working with teachers. These sorts of interactions were not always

straightforward and smooth, as the following extract illustrates. What seems most significant in this example is that the respondent concluded that team work was involved despite the initial difficulty that she experienced when approaching the school:

> *"I am quite satisfied [with the primary school]. I mean, if there is a problem, like, once I got called in because she was being a bit of a shit, and the teacher had found me abrupt before, and had an idea of me when I was going on. But I don't do attitude, I said, and I don't accept it from my daughter. I think she was taken aback at my attitude to my daughter's bad behaviour. And they've been good since [the school]. It was a team effort."* [L016]

Two respondents, one from each of the two northern neighbourhoods explored by the Neighbourhood Study, explained that they were pursuing studies to better enable them to help their children with homework and schoolwork more generally. As the following passages illustrate, these respondents spoke in very positive terms about such pursuit of study, and were both thinking ahead and working with a long term time scale:

> *"It is a really good [primary] school. It has changed a lot since I went. He gets a lot of homework. I never got homework at reception [at age 4]. He has hand writing to do and library books [to read], does sounds work and reading and numbers work. He nags me as soon as he gets in to do it. I am doing some studies so I can help with his homework as it gets harder."* [L062]

> *"Very happy with both [the primary and secondary schools]. No problems. And I attend classes, like Family Learning, Reading, Maths, PC. You learn how they teach in schools, and then can help by teaching them at home. I have learnt loads from it. I attend classes in both schools, to help teach my kids. There is a good take up rate. You get a certificate at the end."* [S062]

The issue of teamwork with teachers and schools was summer up in a comment from a respondent at the fifth round of the Neighbourhood Study. When asked what she liked best about her children's primary school she replied:

> *"The fact that the school has an emphasis on responsibility, that you all have responsibility [teachers and parents and pupils]"* [S071]

A dominant theme in the respondents' answers to this question of what they like best about their children's primary schools concerned strong parent-teacher/school relationships or communication. It was largely, but not exclusively, primary schools that were being talked about, reflecting the well documented trend for parental involvement in their children's school lives to diminish after primary school due to secondary school encouraging this less. One respondent spoke, in the first round of the study, of finding it harder to participate in her children's school lives as they got older because they themselves stop liking and wanting such parental involvement:

> *"I used to join in with my eldest daughter, with her reading, and then used to take it in turns with my [grown-up] son, and I used to enjoy it. But not they don't need it. When my youngest daughter gets to that stage I will go in. They get to that stage when they don't want their Mammy going up to the school."* [L047]

The following extracts capture the diverse ways in which the respondents talked about parent-teacher/school working relationships:

> *"It is difficult to pick one thing. Just overall attitude and performance of the school. They want your involvement."* [L010]

"The fact that the kids are happy and doing well, and they pick things up very quickly, if there is a problem. And the communication between home and school is very good." [L033]

"It is a very nurturing school and there is a good parent teacher relationship, good communication, very much a partnership." [L048]

"I just like how they run things, they are very good with parents, parents are involved." [L049]

"I think it is the homework, the English and the Maths. And the communication between the parents and teachers." [S001]

"The encouragement of parents and capacity building with parents" [S038]

"Homework. And they keep you informed with constant communication" [S045]

The respondents in the Neighbourhood Study talked about working and taking roles on in their children's schools, about sorting out children's school problem's with teachers, and about schools facilitating high levels of parental involvement and communicating well with parents. They also talked about the social activities, parent's evenings, parenting support groups and other chances to meet with parents. Several referred to how the school brought people of different backgrounds together. Their narratives thus illustrated their involvement in another social network, of parents and teachers, resting on a shared interest in the education of their children.

(iv) Participation in community events and groups
At the fifth found of the study the respondents were asked about involvement in local organisations. 52% of the respondents in The Valley were involved with a local organisation, as were a smaller 36% in Kirkside East. The respondents were also asked about their participation in community events in this round. Participation in community public meetings was low in both of the neighbourhoods, with only 28% of interviewees in The Valley saying that they had attended such events in their neighbourhoods, and, again, a smaller 12% in Kirkside East. Participation in entertaining community events was also explored with very positive findings in The Valley - enjoyed by 74% of the respondents. In Kirkside East, however, such participation was much less common, occurring amongst 40% of the respondents.

These different findings from the two neighbourhoods on entertaining community events in part reflect the annual organisation of the multicultural festival in The Valley. Virtually every respondent that talked about attending local entertaining community events talked about this festival. The neighbourhood is extremely culturally diverse (see section (i) above: Pen-pictures of the neighbourhoods), and the focus of the respondents' very positive comments on the annual festival concerned the way in which it brings the community and thus the many different cultures together. Typical comments on the value added by the festival included:

"It brings the community together" S011]

"It gets the community together" [S022]

"[It helps] bring people of different interests together" [S018]

"[It is] a real show of unity" [S038]

"It is multicultural and everyone got involved, all cultures got involved, singing, dancing, so it raises awareness of different cultures" [S049]

The Valley not only has this annual festival, but also many other community events. The respondents talked about A Women's Health Day and Eid Celebration, an International Women's

Day, a Humanitarian Aid Day for Iraq, plays by community groups, and another local festival. One respondent nicely summed up the value added by all of these different entertaining community events, for her own family and more broadly:

> *They create a positive feeling about our community. And demonstrate appreciation in the area of different cultures. And [they] give people a sense of involvement and achievement. And [makes a difference] to out family too, because we can get involved and appreciate other cultures and get to know others in [the] community. [S034]*

As well as these findings on participation in local organisations, meetings and events,
a diverse range of groups and networks that many of the respondents are part of and actively involved with emerged from rounds five and six of the study. These include some permanent and some more temporary groups and networks, some recreational and some more serious, agenda based ones, and some formal and some very informal ones. In the remainder of this final section highlights the groups and networks concerned with three areas - education, crime/safety and parenting – and illustrates some of the different groups and networks that the respondents talked about, some of which they set up themselves.

In Kirkside East at the fifth round of the study, four respondents (8%) talked about their participation in campaign groups to save local schools under threat of closure by Education Leeds. One of these respondents was awaiting the verdict and explained that she was hopeful that the parents group which she is involved with would be listened to because of the sheer volume of work that they had done. Another of the respondents felt that the group she was involved with could never achieve anything because discussion of their points at meetings was "*just a procedure*" [L030]. However, the remaining two respondents spoke very positively of their groups' work paying off. The following extract from one of these respondents captures the range of tasks involved in all four respondents' participation in such local parent campaigning groups:

> *Interviewer: Have there been any community public meetings in the neighbourhood since the last interview?*
> *Interviewee: The last meeting was to do with closures of the local school. 'Save Our School', we had T-shirts and it worked because the closure is on hold now. They were doing it next year, now they're not. And we worked with the school to write a paper of kids' work and posted it off to Education Leeds, older kids set that up.*
> *Interviewer: Who organised them?*
> *Interviewee: Education Leeds did, the big meeting, and also parents set up a parent action group.*
> *Interviewer: Did you attend them?*
> *Interviewee: Yes*
> *Interviewer: Do meetings such as those make a difference to you and/or to the neighbourhood?*
> *Interviewee: Yeah, we obviously achieved something because the plans are on hold.*
> *[L025]*

The value added by such involvement for these respondents was about knowing you were making a difference, to the lives of your children, and those of other children at the schools, by ensuring that their education was not disrupted and thus negatively affected by the school closure.

Also at the fifth round of the study, there were two examples of "collective efficacy… neighbours trust[ing] one another to join together to enforce everyday norms of acceptable behaviour" (Halpern 2005:136). Three respondents, two in The Valley and one in Kirkside East, talked about being part of informal local neighbourhood watch systems. These networks of neighbours looking out for each other's houses were born of necessity, occurring on streets with particularly high rates of burglary and theft, and the respondents spoke positively of their achievements. The following extract

illustrates the sorts of stories told of specific crimes being prevented by such networks, which is the value added by this social capital:

> Interviewer: Do you know of any local groups that try to reduce crime and make the area safer?
> Interviewee: Yes our street does an informal 'phone tree' to deal with crime, a good community this street, people look out for each other and their homes
> Interviewer: Do these groups make a difference to the area? If so, how?
> Interviewee: Yes. Stopped a bloke knocking on doors trying to con his way in and burgle
> S075

Two respondents in Kirkside East, at round five, and one in The Valley, at round seven, explained that they had set up their own mother and baby groups, in their neighbourhoods, the value added by such groups concerned filling a gap in local provision. The respondent in The Valley explained how neighbourhood regeneration funding had helped her develop the group:

> I run a playgroup. People pay £1 and we applied for New Deal money for more toys and trips and stuff and got it. Just over £4,000. Got it really quickly. They were really helpful. It was brilliant. Long application form but straightforward. [S075]

c. Summary of the findings on social capital

Many forms of social capital emerged from the findings of the Neighbourhood Study, encompassing bonding, bridging and linking social capital, all of which adds value to the respondents' lives in a wide range of ways. We looked first at bonding social capital. The majority of the respondents felt able to be themselves, felt appreciated by others, and felt that they had people both to talk to generally and to turn to specifically when upset. Family contact and support is common amongst the respondents, with help with child care being the most prevalent form of family support received.

Approximately 60% of the respondents had at least weekly contact with friends and explained that practical support exchanged with friends was an important part of their lives. A dominant theme in the respondents' narratives on friends and family was the importance not so much of the actual support received from them, as *knowing it is there to draw on when ever it is needed*. This gives a sense of emotional well-being forming a part of the value added by the support networks of friends and family, along side the more obvious practical benefits such as help with DIY or being able to work due to receiving help with child care.

A high level of social trust emerged from the respondents' accounts of their relationships with neighbours more broadly, as did the prevalence of favours exchanged with neighbours, which encompassed both long-standing, on-going arrangements and more urgent, one-off favours. We refer to this type of bridging social capital as social trust. The most common value added by social trust was feeling safe in ones own home and not being robbed.

By the end of the Neighbourhood Study, the majority of the respondents had had contact with or been involved with regeneration initiatives and groups in their neighbourhoods, including Sure Start and also, in The Valley, New Deal for Communities. Sure Start was experienced by many of the respondents as a total support network, offering wide ranging services and forms of support for all aspects of the respondents' lives. For some respondents it provided a form of linking social capital, as it proved to be a route out of dependence on benefits and into paid employment and all the benefits that that brings. Sure Start and New Deal for Communities added value to the respondents' lives in the form of practical support as well as emotional support that generates a sense of emotional well-being.

The high level of participation in entertaining community events in The Valley, especially the annual multicultural festival, provided the respondents with a sense of community togetherness and unity. And across both of the neighbourhoods, respondents were involved with, and in some cases had set up, local groups and initiatives. Involvement in short term local campaign groups provided some respondents with a chance to 'make a difference', participation in ongoing informal neighbourhood crime initiatives actively reduced crime, and respondents' setting up mother and baby groups filled a gap in the provision of local parenting services. The Neighbourhood Study respondents' "everyday fabric of connection and tacit co-operation" thus comprises a wide range of formal and informal support groups and networks (Halpern 2005:8).

6. The Pertinence of the Social Capital Evident in the Neighbourhood Study for Social Policy

The two northern urban neighbourhoods explored in the Neighbourhood Study are not representative of urban neighbourhoods generally, thus broad generalisations cannot be made from the findings on social capital presented here. The strength of the study, and thus the data, lies in the way it has followed the lives of 200 families (100 in the two northern neighbourhoods) across seven years, gaining an insight into their lives and the social connections and networks within them.

Morrow writes of positive effects of social capital:

> The protective functions of social networks are well documented for adults, the argument being that social support improves well-being through prevention of isolation, being understood, being valued, and obtaining help and advice when needed that in turn have an effect on self-esteem, feelings of worth, and self-control (Cohen and Syme, 1985). (Morrow 2004: 50).

Social capital is recognised as a complex concept concerning relationships and thus one that is hard to focus on with policy (Field 2003: 123) and the need for policy-makers to consider social capital is commonly argued (Field 2003: 121; Nash 2004: 225-6; Halpern 2005: 288); Halpern puts this very strongly, arguing that

> "Social capital matters for our personal well-being, our economies and our society because we are deeply social beings. It's in our flesh and blood. Policy and debate that fail to address it are doomed to be shallow and unconvincing" (Halpern 2005: 324).

Also commonly argued is the fact that policy-makers do not consider social capital sufficiently in deciding on future actions. Halpern (2005: 288) highlights the way in which policy-makers now have to follow guidelines on the potential environmental impacts of policy options whilst no such protocol exists for social capital, and Nash (2004: 219) argues that policy-makers are failing to consistently take social capital into consideration despite the current focus on neighbourhoods and communities. The simplest objective of social policy should be to not harm or destroy existing social capital (Field 2003: 134; Nash 2004: 223; Halpern 2005: 289). However, some policy decisions have had the unintended side effect of eroding social capital (Field 2003: 121-2), which can be particularly harmful when it concerns the social capital of particularly vulnerable people (Field 2003: 134). Halpern (2005: 288) cites the slum clearance programme of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s as having had this negative effect in the UK, and goes on to describe the effects felt by the individuals concerned:

> The slum clearance programme of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s typically made the mistake of focusing on the poor quality of the physical environment while failing to see the potential value and importance of the social capital of residents. On both sides of the Atlantic, classic sociological studies documented the enormous psychological and social toll these clearance programmes took on the residents who found their social networks and lifetime friendships broken apart by forced relocation (Young and Willmott, 1957; Grans, 1962). These studies revealed than many residents showed severe depression for up to three years after the clearance, reflecting the psychological damage of disrupted or

destroyed social networks. In retrospect, had social capital been considered, renovation and refurbishment would often have been judged a better option. Sadly, thirty to forty years on, some of the same mistakes were still being made" (Halpern 1995a). (Halpern 2005:289).

The story of a respondent from The Valley illustrates Halpern's concluding argument.

Demolition and Relocation and the Loss of Social Capital

The respondent, a single mother living with her two sons and studying having left paid work when she became a mother, spoke fondly and highly of the neighbourhood, explaining "the area is very friendly and I think people recognize me. I feel like I belong here, and I am accepted" [S035]. She also explained that she did not want to move out of the neighbourhood but that she may be forced to because of council demolition plans. By the third/fourth round of the study, she had been relocated to a new neighbourhood, following the demolition of the maisonettes that she and her boys lived in.

The interviewer made the following interview notes regarding the move:

The respondent has moved because her block of maisonettes was being demolished in Burngreave. She doesn't seem to feel that she had a lot of choice or a lot of time to make the choice about where to move to. It was clearly a very stressful time for her and has not ended up feeling like an entirely positive move.

The respondents' comments on her old and new neighbourhoods illustrate what is at the heart of her dissatisfaction with the move - the loss of the interaction, communication, and social networks, resulting from the move:

> *Interviewee: I moved here and there's nothing, it's just flat. There are no notice boards. Where do people go to find out things? There are no wholefood shops there's a library but there's nothing but bring and buy and WI. They feel they don't need it. Definitely round here is very English and 'don't bother your neighbours', and there it was 'talk to anybody'.*

> *Interviewer: What about 'community spirit'?[in your new neighbourhood]*
> *Interviewee: There was a lot more over there. There was more impetus and more need and more people. I see no signs of any round here at all. There probably is just as much need but it's hard to make a comparison. There definitely was over there, if you want to find it. A few individuals and spreading down to include people who maybe wouldn't have become involved in community stuff.*

> *Interviewer: Do you see any divisions within your local community?*
> *Interviewee: Here I can't say. Nothing's presented itself. I've yet to find out… In The Valley it [a sense of community] was partly self-created, for example, through religions and groups with particular needs... People would align themselves with certain beliefs and ways of behaving. There was so much overlap and positive discussions and people went out of their way to be inclusive.*

The comparisons between the two neighbourhoods continued in her interview from round five of the study:

> *Interviewer: Do you feel your area lacks facilities?*
> *Interviewee: The Valley, no, here, yes, no community sense here, more selfish or more self focused here, and there is not much here full stop, and not for kids, no adventure playground, no after school club after [age] 11*
> *Round 5*

As well as general accounts of there being people to talk to, groups to join, and a sense of 'community spirit' in her old neighbourhood, the respondent listed the various groups and networks that she was involved with when living there, referring to them as things that help her as a parent.

Furthermore, she drew a negative comparison with her new neighbourhood on these grounds:

> *Interviewer: First of all, is there anything about this area that you feel helps you as a parent*
> *Interviewee: Here no. In The Valley, friends, the local school, the after school club, toddlers groups and the adventure playground.*

With such references to multiple social groups and networks, when the respondent refers to the demolished maisonettes as 'a resource', in the following extract taken from round three/four of the study, there is a sense that she is not only referring to the physical buildings, but also the social networks that she, as a tenant of the maisonettes and a resident of the neighbourhood, was enmeshed in:

> *I think it was a big mistake probably because it felt like the council were throwing away a resource. They said they had to because they were empty but they were empty because they were run down because they didn't spend any money on them. Yet private developers come in a spit over the river to develop brown field sites to build houses and sell them for millions. There may be architectural reasons but it just seems like bad planning. They seemed to think we made decisions by not living there but there are reasons for that. Now I feel the land will become Brownfield sites and sold off to developers. The people without the power become less powerful and those with power become more wealthy. Going about it the way it has been done seems awful, [it was] what was supposed to be community land, and they made the decision without seriously consulting the tenants and local people. It's not tenant control. [S035]*

At the final round of the study, the respondent did refer to local groups in her new neighbourhood. However, her point was negative, as she listed cliquey 'gangs' in her description of the neighbourhood as:

> *"Too white-only, very car centred, very selfish people, they look after themselves and their own. I'm not in any of their gangs – church, working men's club, park funds group. Small minded".*

At the end of the study, there was still no mention by this mother of local groups and networks that she could join and feel part of. What thus emerges from this story is a very strong sense of loss of social capital due to housing demolition and re-location as part of neighbourhood regeneration work.

Conclusion: Social Capital and Social Policy

The above respondent's story, and the story presented earlier in the report, are stories of the interplay between social policy and social capital, and they have a policy relevance that extends beyond the regeneration initiatives of the two urban areas which the study explored, to apply to social policy more generally. Illustrated in the first story is the potential of social policy which aims to provide networks of support and thus build social capital where it is lacking which Sure Start is shown to have provided. It offers the support base that 'well-connected friends and acquaintances' tend to provide in more affluent neighbourhoods. And illustrated in the second story is the need for policy makers to recognise, and then not damage or destroy, existing social capital. Thus this study's findings on social capital contribute to the ongoing debate about social capital and its relevance to policy-making. Acknowledging the existence of social capital and its importance in people's daily lives would change the equation in some policy decision such as regeneration and would add value to the more obvious returns in other policy decisions such as Sure Start.

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Annex 1:   Neighbourhood Differences in the experience of social capital in the two neighbourhoods

1. Family Support

In Kirkside East, 54% of the respondents explained that they receive support from family, locally, with 30% receiving such support regularly. In The Valley, a smaller number receive family support – 32% with 14% receiving it regularly. The higher levels of family support received in Kirkside East reflect a key difference between the two neighbourhoods. The Valley is a hugely diverse neighbourhood, attracting 'young professionals' who move into the area for its large, Victorian terrace houses and multicultural nature and proximity to the city. Its population is made up of people from many different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, not only those who have grown up on the various estates within the neighbourhood. Kirkside East, however, is, broadly speaking, two large estates – North and South Kirkside East – largely made up people who have always lived there, with some having parents who also lived there their whole lives. Thus in Kirkside East there are more extended families scattered throughout, who provide support for one another. In The Valley, more of the respondents had family too far away to provide much support.

2. Social Trust

Again, the nature of the different neighbourhoods' populations helps to explain a significant difference concerning social capital within the data. The findings were largely positive concerning social trust, although they were significantly more so in Kirkside East than The Valley. In Kirkside East 68% of the respondents explained that there are a few people locally that they can trust, whilst a smaller 48% in The Valley explained that they had such support.

3. New Deal for Communities

This regeneration initiative is present in The Valley but not in Kirkside East.

4. Participation in Community Events

The very multicultural neighbourhood, The Valley, celebrates this diversity each year with a multicultural festival. Virtually every respondent in The Valley talked about this festival when asked about entertaining community events, and talked positively about it and about the way it brings the community together and promotes unity, and the majority of the respondents attended it. With no such festival or large-scale event in Kirkside East, it is not surprising that far fewer respondents in this neighbourhood answered positively to the question of participation in entertaining community events – 40% in Kirkside East and 74% in The Valley.