

Social capital's imagined benefits in Ardoyne electoral ward

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Abstract

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This study examines how access to social capital impacts on the daily lives of residents in an area of Northern Ireland ranked as one of the most deprived areas in the UK but equally, one that is rich in social networks.

The thesis challenges social capital paradigms that promote social dividends by highlighting the role of power brokers in locally based social networks. The research uses grounded theory to deconstruct the social capital paradigm to show its negative and positive attributes.

Survey and interview data is used to show how social capital contributes to social exclusion because social capital depends on inequitable distribution to give it value and that distribution is related to inequitable forms of social hierarchy access that are influenced by one's sense of identity.

This thesis challenges normative assertions that civil society organisations build trust and community cohesion. The research is unique in that it is focused on a religiously segregated area transitioning from conflict and realising the impact of post industrialisation.

The research is important because it provides ethnographic evidence to explain how social capital functions in practice by not only those with extensive participatory experience but also with those excluded from social networks.

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Abbreviations

ARK, Access Research Knowledge
CES, Community Evaluation Services
CFNI, Community Foundation for Northern Ireland
DfC, Department for Communities
DSD, Department for Social Development
DCLG, Department of Communities and Local Government
ECNI, Equality Commission for Northern Ireland
ESRC, Economic and Social Research Council
ILS, Institute for Labour Studies
NICVA, Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action
NISRA, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
NINIS, Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service
OECD, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFMDFM, Office of First and Deputy First Minister
ONS, UK Office for National Statistics

Chapter 1 - Challenging social capital paradigms

If we are to believe the argument put forward by communitarians such as Robert Putnam (1993, 2000) then Ardoyne ward should be the exemplar model of social cohesion. The ward has a widespread network of more than 70 community and voluntary groups. It has a generally stable residential population and an experiential history of family and neighbourhood support networks. It also has high levels of democratic engagement based on electoral turnout. These social networks and public engagements, according to communitarians (Putnam, 1993, 2000, 2015; Woolcock, 1998; World Bank, 2000; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2001; Harper & Kelly 2003; Siegler, 2014), are positive drivers of social and economic growth because of their “powerful effects on health, happiness, educational success, economic success, public safety, and especially child welfare.” (Putnam, 2015: 207). These social networks, the sense of connectedness and the dividends they produce is known as social capital.

Instead of progressive dividends from connectedness, Ardoyne persistently ranks as one of the worst UK wards in terms of life chances. Instead of having a sense of belonging to a mutually supportive community, many residents feel that they have little or no control or influence in decisions or activities that contribute to their socio-economic and cultural future.

This thesis therefore argues that far from producing social and economic growth, the process of attaining social capital in this ward facilitates and perpetuates social exclusion. This in turn generates a range of theoretical questions that are fundamental to understanding social capital’s role, if any, in social exclusion processes in Ardoyne. For instance:

- Do all residents have equal access to social capital and its attendant social networks?
- Do those who are not in local groups or do those who do not vote, have social capital?
- Is the social capital of some residents more valuable than others?

- Are certain types of social capital linked to types of social exclusion?
- What contexts and influencing conditions determine social networking motives?

This thesis critically analyses and challenges particular communitarian normative assertions that social participation in community and voluntary sector groups embeds and automatically produces pro-social outcomes. Analysis shows how the social capital process in Ardoyne isolates and excludes most of those who do not, or cannot, participate in civil society groups. In addition, we find that, contrary to communitarian thinking around the social capital paradigm, it is the bonding social capital type which generates around family networks that produces altruism and intra-community trust at ward level in Ardoyne. I conclude that participating in locally organised civil society groups produces social capital and positive social outcomes that are limited to a few people who themselves reproduce an exclusively organised and stratified social class.

The findings show how many community and voluntary groups who claim to represent “the community” in Ardoyne ward, masquerade under assumed mandates due to their ability to misrepresent fluid definitions of membership and passive participation as evidence of support and legitimacy. As a result, there is a false image of homogeneity when instead there are multiple insular social networks and greater levels of non-participation than active participation in civil and civic society. This research shows how the views and opinions of elites within this local civil society network isolate the views of most residents to create the illusion of homogeneity. In contrast to communitarian understandings of social capital, the research shows how, in this local context, bridging social capital reproduces intra-community distrust. Finally, the research shows how visible social structures in Ardoyne are also products of wider changes of deindustrialization, global economic forces and political instabilities.

The idea that social capital can contribute to social exclusion is not new. Putnam (2000) presents the paradox of bonding connections as anti-social, where familial-type social networks become limited only to those family members and close friends who can be trusted. As a result, they are insular and anti-social whereas those networks that include different people with similar interests are more diverse and therefore pro-social. Indeed, the need to balance bonding connections with other forms of social capital connections such as bridging with peer driven networks or linking with those with power, resources and authority is alluded to as the equilibrious solution to a fair society, grounded on pillars of fraternity, equality and liberty (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998). The theory however, fails to provide examples of optimum levels of either, or acknowledge the psycho-social drivers, contexts and intervening conditions for change.

Putnam's assertion that an area, socially segregated either by race or class, might be more public spirited because everyone is drawn to a common cause or similar set of experiences is countered by the notion that non-segregated places lack commonality and are more defined by individualistic lifestyles and concerns (Putnam, 2000). This thesis challenges such a contention by highlighting the prominence of intra-community segregation in Ardoyne. Even within family units, individualistic lifestyles are common too.

This study is set within a settled post-industrial and residentially segregated community, transitioning out of conflict. The ward falls within the 10% most deprived areas in Northern Ireland. Ardoyne, with a population of 5,933 people (NISRA, 2016),¹ has a civil society network of 72 locally organised groups or roughly one group per 35 households. Given such coverage, those who promote communitarian benefits of

¹ Latest population estimates by Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency can be accessed at <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/AreaProfileReportViewer.aspx?FromAPAddressMultipleRecords=Ardoyne@Exact%20match%20of%20location%20name:%20@Exact%20Match%20Of%20Location%20Name:%20%20Ardoyne@4?>

social capital (Putnam, 1993; 2000; 2015; ONS, 2003; OECD, 2013; 2016) suggest that such an extensive network would be highly likely to generate trust and reciprocity and other key components of the social capital stocks required for social cohesion and good governance. The expectations of Putnam (1993; 2000) and others have elevated the importance of social capital's role in nurturing social cohesion and trusting behaviour for improved social justice.

“Social scientists often use the term social capital to describe connectedness – that is, informal ties to family friends, neighbours and acquaintances, involvement in civic associations, religious institutions, athletic teams, volunteer activities and so on. Social capital has repeatedly been shown to be a strong predictor of well-being, both for individuals and for communities.” (Putnam, 2015: 207)

If such claims were true then why, according to government statistics,² has Ardoyne remained permanently within the 10% most deprived wards in Northern Ireland with residents recorded as having poorer health than those in all other wards?³ The area is beset with higher than average levels of violence,⁴ suicide,⁵ ill health⁶ and poor educational⁷ performance. In a sense we have a range of indicators that are counter-intuitive. On one hand we know that Ardoyne is a site of numerous civil society groups

² Deprivation statistics were gathered in Northern Ireland from the early 1990s using most recent Census results. Deprivation measures were first published in the 1994 Robson Report. This was followed Northern Ireland Indicators of Deprivation in 2001, Noble Indicators in 2005 and Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measurements in 2010. Between November 2016 and January 2017 Northern Ireland Executive consulted on proposed new deprivation measures.

³ Department of Health. (2015) Northern Ireland health and social care inequalities monitoring system, Life Expectancy Decomposition 2015. Retrieved from : <https://www.health-ni.gov.uk/publications/health-and-social-care-inequalities-monitoring-system-hscims-life-expectancy-0>

⁴ 3 adult males were murdered in three different incidents in the ward during the research.

⁵ 10 people from the ward took their own lives during the research.

⁶ 30.83% of people had a long-term health problem or disability that limited their day-to-day activities. Available at, <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=4065&lh=73&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=> Accessed 17 October 2015.

⁷ 63.76% of the population had no or low education level. Available at, <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=4067&lh=73&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=> Accessed 17 October 2015.

which should indicate the coherent community structures required to challenge marginalisation, socio-economic truncation and the capacity to challenge socio-economic marginalisation. Whereas what we observe is a growth in civil society groups, paralleled by worsening socio-economic and other health indicators. In understanding and examining that counter-intuitive position I examine the links between trusting behaviour and feelings of social cohesion to generate a range of fundamental theoretical questions that explore social capital's role in social exclusion processes in Ardoyne.

1.1 - Definitions of terms

Communitarian theories of social capital depend on participation with civil society. Civil society in this thesis refers to the networks of 72 local community and voluntary groups organizing activities in the ward. These include charities, associations, societies, charitable trusts and companies whose main characteristic is that they are constituted, not for profit organisations that are independent from the state. These networks represent relationships between residents at grassroots level with interest groups organised outside of immediate family circles.

- **Weak and strong ties**

Social capital's claims are defined through the nature of individual and communal connections and Granovetter (1973; 1983) argues the nature of the benefits from these connections is shaped by their strength. Through this interpretation, kinship ties are strong whereas ties with strangers are weak. These strong ties are referred to elsewhere in the social capital *doxa* as bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998) in reference to the exclusive links and ties of solidarity between like-minded people such as family and friends. The properties of these bonds and their interpretation are therefore important because they determine individual and collective values of such connections. But they are equally important due to the inference drawn from Granovetter's conclusion that strong ties cannot be a bridge to unconnected people (1973; 1983). What we find however is that bonding and bridging social capital types are

not binary concepts. They both include a wide spectrum of relationship-based definitions that generate a variety of intensities of trust and confidence (Seligman, 2000). One of the paradigm's weaknesses is that it ignores psycho-social dynamics of personal taste and choice that sometimes prevents participation in civil society groups. It also tends to ignore the power of dominant individuals and civil society groups in determining participation.

- Community and in-group identity

Sometimes communities of interest take on the nomenclature and attributes of families. For example, "the republican family" is a term used to identify 'bonds between' republican activists, political ex-prisoners or ex-combatants. Likewise, there is a community of "victim's families" representing some local residents who lost family members in the recent conflict. Some victim's names are inscribed on a variety of commemorative plaques across the ward. Some civil society groups are known by the strong characters who have established them and have been at their helm for many years. For example, PIPS (Public Intervention for the Prevention of Suicide) is known as Philip McTaggart's group, Flax Trust is known as Father Myles Kavanagh's group, Ardoyne Association is known as Marion Kane's and Elaine Burns' group, the young women's group is known as Colette McCann's group. These examples reflect the fact that if these people were not there then the group would cease to exist. The groups have become extensions of these individuals themselves. Community therefore in this instance refers to a variety of self-defined constructions of communities of circumstance, belief, interest and place and someone could simultaneously be a member of multiple communities or none.

- Social norms

The sense of connectedness is reflected by one's understanding of community. In Ardoyne, there are a variety of different communities within the broader geographically defined community. They adopt unique rules

to govern behaviour. Within this thesis, they are referred to as social norms. They are commonly accepted but unwritten rules that contribute to a sense of belonging to a community and the parameters within which these collectives of people operate. In Ardoyne, social norms are used to reinforce political coercions that prevent full cooperation with government authorities such as police or military, respect for political symbols and Irish culture. They also reinforce intra-community conflicts through protecting group norms. These norms also reinforce shame and sense of betrayal against those who would for instance exploit vulnerable people and are used as a method to protect and uphold the values of the collective.

- Membership and volunteering

Narrow quantitative indicators of social capital that count the extent of support networks, levels of participation in associations, and voter turnout, mask broader interpretations of volunteering, electoral mandates and inequalities, and thereby perpetuate exclusion.

These narrow interpretations allow policy makers to ignore the fluidity of social capital by investing in the power of network brokers to create a pool of participants that reproduces a social elite (Bourdieu, 1986, 1990). As a result, most people find they are forced into a passive role and are not invited into developing their networks into more influential social participation. The research shows that definitions of membership can include active membership, service users, passive participants and even observers. These broad definitions contribute to feelings of belonging to a homogenous group or community even though the extent of that belonging is passive. Standard governmental definitions of volunteering fail to differentiate between those residents who are project employees as well as volunteers in the area, or those who do favours for their neighbours or even those who cannot do any of these due to developing health and education inequalities.

Metrics for social capital ignore the fluidity of interpretation of the above terms and also ignore the power of political ideologies on participation.

More importantly they fail to capture the nature of social exclusion of those who are prevented from participating due to their marginalization from decision-making and their social isolation caused by individuals or organisations using cultural, political, relational and structural forms of control. Just as social capital refers to a sense of or a state of connectedness, social exclusion refers to a sense or a state of disconnectedness.

1.2 - Studying the counter-intuitive

This study examines how social capital impacts on the daily lives of residents living in one of the most deprived areas in the UK but one that is equally rich in social networks. The research argues that the process of acquiring social capital encourages the exploitation of social networking in a competitive process that favours only a few to the exclusion of many. McKnight (2010) challenges social systems that perpetuate exclusion arguing that “community is about the common life that is lived in such a way that the unique creativity of each person is a contribution to the other” (2010:123)

This thesis uses Grounded Theory Method (GTM) to best capture and express the feelings of those who can bear witness to the social role-play in which they are embedded and describe its attendant drivers. In answering the counter-intuitive the thesis argues that social capital contributes to social exclusion because social capital depends on inequitable distribution to give it value and that distribution is related to inequitable forms of social hierarchy access that are influenced by one’s sense of identity. To this end therefore, social capital is individually valorised when deploying variables such as gender, age, social status and in-group membership. The research is important because it provides evidence that explains how social capital functions and challenges normative assertions that champion civil society organisations’ role in building trust and community cohesion.

Putnam finally concluded (2015) that social capital in the US, particularly

in his hometown of Port Clinton, Ohio, is determined by social class and is driven by those who have an unfair advantage because they can more readily convert their network connections into social capital. Middleclass people, who once shared communities with their less well-off neighbours, moved to wealthier suburbs over time and took their social networks with them. This geographical distance reinforced the social exclusivity of their links and created an opportunity gap for those left behind. The subsequent lack of interaction between children and neighbours across social class through shared schooling, work and play diluted and undermined previous and more shared social networks. The process of using social networks to produce social capital created an internal elite that cannot now be bridged due to the fractured social networks it left behind.

Given these caveats, and considering them against Ardoyne ward's distinct context, this thesis demonstrates that social capital's relationship to social exclusion goes much deeper than social networks alone but involves the complex attendant drivers of participation, motivation and understandings of 'self' (Cooley 1902; Berger & Luckman, 1991). Within these contexts the thesis concludes that inequitable social hierarchies within Ardoyne are facilitated by social capital to reinforce processes of social exclusion. Inequitable circumstance, such as gender, age, and sense of connectedness, gifts social capital's conversion to the few – a situation that is exploited by elites and social gatekeepers.

1.3 - The locality context of social networks

The research challenges Putnam's (2000) deductive premise that participating in civil society raises stocks of social capital. In Ardoyne, for instance, not everyone has equal access to social capital and the value of existing, individual and communal social capital is dependent on who has it and in what context.

Research such as McAloney *et al's* (2011), who assert that interface areas have higher than normal levels of bonding social capital, do not fully

capture the contextual intensity of individual identity forged in reaction for example to physical segregation and fear of a Protestant 'other'. By default, religious residential segregation at Ardoyne perpetuates an in-group/out-group communal identity. This research challenges indicators of social capital such as the presence of networks of civil society activity and its promised attendant outcomes of improved life chances by highlighting the external conditions involved in the construction of identity and participation in social structures.

- Ardoyne - a post-industrial urban village

A defining characteristic of the population who reside in Ardoyne is that many people have been resident there for 4 or 5 generations. Some of those who took part in the research can trace their roots back to the late 1800s in Ardoyne when many families were attracted to the city mostly from rural Tyrone and Armagh for economic reasons. This locality study takes advantage of this characteristic because stability of residency provides a richer understanding of shared contexts and experience from which to explore individual choices of involvement in collective and mutual endeavour. In this way it can deeply dive into bonding social capital nuances to better explore assumptions of homogeneity. According to 2011 Census figures there were 5,987 people living in 2,568 households. Almost three quarters of this population were over the age of 18. 46.08% of the usually resident population were male and 53.92% were female (NISRA, 2011).⁸

Since its establishment in the late 19th century the area quickly became a highly industrialised hub. A total of seven major linen mills and factories occupied a half-mile radius and a population settled within three mill villages in close proximity to one another (Liggett, 1994). Each community – Ardoyne, Marrowbone and latterly, Glenard - socially organised themselves around work, religion and sport, and were primarily

⁸ See, <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=4058&lh=73&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=> Accessed July 2014.

working-class in character. Each area is now combined into the Ardoyne electoral ward.

The late 1960s signalled a decline in the linen industry and by 1978 not one of the major employers remained. This slump in manufacturing was felt across Britain and Ireland and its impact was particularly severe in Ardoyne where many of the local mill employees lived. The most notable impacts were on the social connections that were forged within the workplace. While some of these connections were kept alive in the form of local social clubs like the Highfield, for the most part they disintegrated along sectarian lines. By the 1970s one mill had been occupied by the British Army and what was characterised as a low intensity urban guerrilla war (Muldoon, 2004: 459) had soon escalated into daily violence with rising fear and disruption within the immediate geographic area.

- Ardoyne – a collectively organised residential settlement

Ardoyne is a ward with a rich history of civil engagement. Trade union organisers Betty Sinclair and others mobilised mill workers and tenants' groups here in the 1930s to fight for fair wages and rents. Cooperatives such as the Black Taxi Association were established here in the 1970s. These are complemented by cultural engagement through national sport and language movements (the Gaelic Athletic Association and Conradh na Gaeilge have been established in the area since 1907). Originally mill workers lived in rows of purpose built houses beside the mills in Ardoyne and the adjacent area called the Marrowbone. That type of accommodation remained in place until 1937 when modern houses were built in a local mill owner's walled estate adjacent to the mill rows. The housing estate became commonly known as Glenard. In the 1980s the mill houses were themselves replaced by modern homes, but the religious ghettoization of the locality endured. This was facilitated mostly by the militarisation of the area during Operation Banner and its encirclement with physical "peace walls". Ardoyne's history defines its local communal identity which contributes to its uniqueness as a research study.

- Ardoyne - a focus for policy intervention

The ward has been continually defined as an area of high disadvantage and marginalisation and subject to high levels of government intervention (policing, housing, civil society). This sets the location apart from other areas that do not have the same concentration of government-led capacity building support. Neighbourhoods play a central role in the policy directions of the Northern Ireland Assembly. Their flagship policy on Neighbourhood Renewal⁹ is a local regeneration programme aimed at eradicating poverty and has been complemented by a raft of policy interventions in North Belfast, including several in Ardoyne ward such as the Community Empowerment Partnerships¹⁰, Health Action Zoning¹¹, Social Investment Fund¹², Housing redevelopment¹³ and environmental enveloping schemes¹⁴.

⁹ The Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy was first introduced in 2004 and targeted the 36 most disadvantaged areas in Northern Ireland. The strategy's central aim was to support different departments and their local agencies to integrate their programmes more effectively through developing innovative cross-cutting initiatives that involve a range of key partners from public, private and community sectors.

¹⁰ Community Empowerment Partnerships were established across North Belfast in 2001 following an upsurge in sectarian interface violence. The partnerships provided a vehicle for Northern Ireland Assembly to agree land use policies for Girdwood British Army Base and Crumlin Road prison as community assets. They also established cross community structures for dialogue and cooperation.

¹¹ Health Action Zones were established by government in 2007 to integrate statutory private and community services to deliver more effective health outcomes across North and West Belfast. Reducing health inequalities in Ardoyne has meant supporting better linkages between the Health Trust, Ardoyne Healthy Living Centre at the Flax Centre as well as local schools.

¹² While Ardoyne did not directly benefit from this capital build programme, childcare support across North Belfast was supported by capital build projects in neighbouring Glenbryn and New Lodge, while PIPs received capital build support for their Antrim Road premises.

¹³ The Northern Ireland Housing Executive redevelopment programme in Ardoyne began in earnest in the 1980s with the phased clearance of mill houses to be replaced with modern homes. Most of these houses were built on reclaimed land between Marrowbone and Ardoyne. Since then the housing stock has been increased with schemes such as; Flax Foyer opened in 1999 to provide self-contained accommodation and support services for 37 young homeless people aged 18-25; 2 supported schemes in Ardoyne at McCorry House and Holyrood House providing supported accommodation for over 55's; social housing on the Prospect Mill site at Flax Street (2000); the egg factory site at Jamaica Street (2005); Ewatts Mill site (2010) and the Brookfield Mill site (2010); with current proposals to build more houses at the former site of Saint Gemma's School and Holy Cross Boys School.

¹⁴ Ongoing refurbishment schemes to social housing stock in Ardoyne is complemented by wider estate wide enveloping schemes such as tree planting, driveway and garden replacement, and electrical rewiring schemes that incorporate social housing as well as private housing stock.

Empirical research in the ward by North Belfast Community Action Project (2002), Shirlow (2004), McKenzie (2006), Murtagh *et al* (2009) has highlighted that while voluntary and community sector organisations might be the instrument of choice by government to deliver benefits to interface communities and those who are termed 'hard to reach', the efficacy of their capacity to be drivers for change is questionable. Other research by Byrne *et al* (2012) has highlighted a disconnect between citizens and the political class on issues such as interface design or programme delivery, indicating that residents have become observers rather than actors in decisions that affect their lives.

As an example of Ardoyne's priority status, the Northern Ireland Executive, in February 2015, released 'Urban Village' programme funds in an ongoing attempt to help build social cohesion. Ardoyne is different from other deprived areas due to the disproportionate political violence experienced directly by some residents and the reduced life chances of those who live in this ward in comparison to those living in neighbouring wards. Ardoyne's reputation as a location of heightened sectarian conflict with annual violence associated with parades and other sporadic ethno sectarian disputes has created an image of conflict, both nationally and internationally. This research investigates that reputation's impact.

- Ardoyne's Interface status

In 1969, many barriers were erected as temporary barricades preventing vehicular access. When the British Army arrived they replaced these barricades with more permanent barriers (Byrne, 2012). Jarman (2012) identified more than 80 'peacelines' in predominantly urban, working class, republican and loyalist areas across Northern Ireland. Their impact on progress has attracted an international focus where they are comparable to other barriers to progress such as Germany's Berlin Wall

or Cyprus' Green Line and provide a negative image to economic investment (Bloomberg, 2008)¹⁵.

The Nolan Report (Nolan, 2014) notes an increase in the number of peacewalls in North and West Belfast between 2000 and 2012 demonstrating a tangible lack of progress on integration and, more importantly, conflict resolution. Hall (2010) highlights the correlation between the walls and the surrounding communities' access to services, low levels of educational attainment and unemployment. Residents are exposed to a circular nature of purpose, whereby bridging social capital is supported through technical and financial interventions to the voluntary community sector while at the same time, 'othering'¹⁶ is perpetuated and extended through maintaining such walls and barriers (Shirlow, 2001).

Interface areas in Northern Ireland are defined by physical barriers that act as borders dividing geographical areas. McDowell (2008) suggests a variety of negative and positive understandings by interface residents regarding the barriers. A 2007 survey of adults in Northern Ireland interface communities (McDowell, 2008) showed that only 28% felt that walls were not needed and should never have been put up. These surveys were not particular to Ardoyne but to interface areas more generally but what was clear from a more in depth analysis was the near universal support for interfaces to remain (Byrne, et al., 2012).

Ardoyne's status as an interface area gives the study a unique twist because government want to discourage segregation but have simultaneously been central to promoting segregation methods under the auspices of security and safety. The study considers the impact of this built environment's impact on attitudes and opinions in constructing identity.

¹⁵ "Take down peace walls, NY Mayor"
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/7390938.stm

¹⁶ Othering is the process where a group or an individual is considered different or not "one of us" and therefore not part of the mainstream group. The concept is linked to group identity and social exclusion processes

- Transition from armed conflict

Ardoyne is currently classified as an interface area, encircled by a combination of approximately 1km of 18-foot-high peacewalls, police surveillance cameras and industrial buffer zones and has been the site of sporadic sectarian violence since its establishment in 1869. Since 1969 the period known as 'the Troubles' or 'the conflict' has been concentrated in and around this tightly knit area with over 80 deaths (Sutton, 1999) countless injuries and over 400 people imprisoned over the same period for conflict related offences (Private correspondence with political ex-prisoner support group, Tar Isteach, October 2012). Ardoyne's status as an interface area is maintained by it being the site of annual violence and protest around contested space and cultural/political rights.

Ardoyne suffered higher concentrations of trauma and violence than most other wards in Northern Ireland during the conflict where approximately 3,600 people died across a population of 1.6 million people. If the volume of conflict related deaths and imprisonment experienced in Ardoyne ward was scaled across all 582 wards in Northern Ireland it would equate to 46,560 dead and 233,800 imprisoned. Scaled to a UK level¹⁷ this would equate to 761,840 deaths and over 3.8 million UK residents imprisoned. The concentration of experience within the ward therefore has had a profound impact between those who experienced these events directly. These experiences impact on levels of solidarity, rational choice, perceptions of continued danger and ultimately levels of social relations.

- Reshuffling the local civil society landscape

Unemployment and overcrowded living conditions has become one of the main characteristics here but there has been continual community mobilisation for economic and political rights throughout the 20th century (Liggett, 2004). Local parish records show that over the past three

¹⁷ There are 9,523 electoral wards across the UK

decades, church membership has dropped and attendance has decreased significantly. Nevertheless, as a key landholder and service provider they retain considerable local influence. And while there have been declines in religious-related activities there are increases in social justice organisations and alternative service delivery groups indicating a shift change in social networks.

Improving relationships between government and community and voluntary sectors has been a central tenet of local government policy since the late 1990s. The policy is supported by a wide range of strategies that increasingly call for programmes to address poverty and social exclusion alongside promotion of more effective networking between government departments themselves and between civil society and government departments. New organisations have been established in Ardoyne in line with these new government strategies and many established organisations either grew or consolidated and formalised their activities to enable them to be entrusted to manage government funding streams.

Many of the strategies promote tackling individualised need through ensuring that factors that cause exclusion are overcome and do not prove restrictive through bureaucratic five-year government policy planning. This can be best illustrated through current design and delivery of family hubs and commissioning of public health services or through direct family support in schools. Other strategies such as Social Investment Funds aim to "encourage communities in a co-coordinated way, reducing duplication, sharing best practice and enhancing existing provision for the benefits of those communities most in need"¹⁸ (OFMDFM, 2011:4) are another example of the long line of similarly focused social policy implementation, that will eventually be rolled out by voluntary and community sector service delivery agencies in places such as Ardoyne.

¹⁸ <https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/consultations/proposed-operation-social-investment-fund-consultation-document>

There has been a considerable government investment to date particularly through the Executive Office or through the Department of Social Development who have supported salaried workers within around 30 organisations in Ardoyne and provided financial support towards community assets such as buildings and equipment in the voluntary and community sector to complement statutory provision in housing, health and education.

1.4 - Previous social capital research

Previous studies of significance have used some social capital indicators to measure network density and levels of participation in local community groups. These have adapted some of the conceptual frameworks to incorporate typology, dimension, measurement and indicators to the mix.

For example, the Mapping the Spaces of Fear Research team (2000) mapped perceptions of safety and crime and in doing so identified the reasons behind self-exclusion in the greater Ardoyne area. The research was sponsored by North Belfast Partnership Board in 2000 and used an adaptation of some survey questions initially designed by Robert Putnam (2000). The study highlighted the use of fear-driven “avoidance strategies” to facilitate personal safety and a heightened sense of a “collective self/other” – an indicator of high levels of bonding social capital but also of labelling. The study recorded levels of perceived crime and safety, which replicated social capital indicators suggested by Putnam (2000) and others (Onyx & Bullen, 1997).

A case study by Murtagh & Shirlow (2004) of a capacity building project in Ardoyne funded by EU Structural Funds in 2000-2004, questioned some theoretical and policy assumptions about the value of capacity-building and community infrastructure in urban regeneration practice. It used survey questionnaires to research a local population sample. It concluded that more empirical research was required to measure the correlation between social capital and community influence and its impact on addressing people’s needs.

It was the Holy Cross School blockade in 2001, that led to the establishment of a local government task force, the North Belfast Community Action Project Team, to undertake a baseline snapshot survey aimed at identifying spatial problems and designing short, medium and long-term solutions. That baseline research measured levels of inter and intra group participation and their levels of social capital, set within the context of the overarching government policy of tackling social exclusion (North Belfast Community Action Project, 2002). The scope of the research however, covered not only Ardoyne but all North Belfast.

As a result, Community Empowerment Partnerships were formed based on English Neighbourhood Renewal models. These partnerships were designed to marshal ideas and projects identified by voluntary and community sector groups who could represent residents' social, cultural and economic needs within their local areas. The partnership initiative came under the stewardship of North Belfast Community Action Unit. An evaluation (Mackenzie, 2006) of the Community Empowerment Partnership's North Belfast-wide programme delivery indicated low levels of knowledge and understanding at individual household level around formal community participative structures and pointed to an inflated self-promotion by the delivery agencies themselves. The evaluation identified difficulties¹⁹ in identifying robust evidence of causation due to weaknesses in the programme design. This was due to a lack of clarity around definitions of capacity building, community strengths and sustainability, and a weakness in communicating delivery timescales.

A North Belfast-wide evaluation was carried out in 2009 (Murtagh, *et al.*) to evaluate the efficacy of all the Community Empowerment Partnerships. This evaluation measured group participation and collective social capital across three functional realms of bonding, bridging and linking. Each realm was subdivided into dimensional outcomes and indicators such as empowerment and participation, quality of engagement with other

¹⁹ "The difficulty in seeking to evaluate the extent to which capacity and empowerment have been enhanced in the communities of North Belfast as the direct result of the work of the Unit is that these concepts are not conducive to straightforward measurement."

communities, added value of additional resources and achievement of public policy influence. The research approach identified weaknesses in validating reported data for the measurement framework. It also revealed that most respondents were not familiar with the Community Empowerment Partnership nor most of the groups involved with it.

There has been other research carried out locally using the Social Return on Investment models (See reports produced by the Women's Support Network, 2011) and the North Belfast Interface Network (Leatham, 2008) but these later examples, whilst placing a monetary value on service delivery by the groups, did not place a quantitative value on social capital either privately or publicly.

This study adds to these reports by providing empirical social research into processes of participation and a better understanding of the role of third sector organisations within local social hierarchies and whether they are creating clients and customers or empowering citizens to be part of a democratic collective. This locality study exploits my own networks and associations as a life-long Ardoyne resident and community activist there. This has allowed me access but equally allowed for an intimate understanding of the nuances revealed through research dialogues. A limitation of such access has been respondent bias but these are mitigated to an extent through using Grounded Theory Methodology.

1.5 – Chapter summaries

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on social capital and identifies the underpinning positions of Robert Putnam and Pierre Bourdieu and to a lesser extent, James Coleman and others, against which contemporary understandings of social capital are drawn. A common limitation of the concept highlights that “as a theory of everything, social capital can end up explaining rather little – especially when it functions simply as a quasi-technical proxy for talking about the ‘social’” (Tonkiss, 2000:72). Social exclusion is an equally complex concept. Literature on the subject suggests that the work of Murray (1990) and others (Auletta, 1982; Brown,

1989) has ensured the dominance of a neo-liberal perspective. How one values one's role and position is examined by Bourdieu's (1977) field theory and understandings of how gaps and changes in the wider society can disrupt previously accepted norms in social roleplay. While the literature review provides a general overview, it is complemented by areas and phenomenon that needed to be explained through exclusions that are more grounded in feminist theory (Butler 1990; Young, 1990; Lowndes, 2004; Cornwall & Goetz, 2005) and psychosocial theories of deviance and the self (Maslow, 1943).

Chapter 3 explains the mixed research methodologies used. Data was collected in several stages between 2011 and 2015. The first was primarily desk based and used focus groups to help map out the extent of civil society networks in Ardoyne (See Appendix 1). The next stage explored social capital question-banks to design a survey aimed at measuring the various indicators of social capital. This survey gathered information across 10% of homes in the ward to address how social capital is distributed across dimensions of family, community and wider civic institutions. Preliminary findings from the survey were used as a baseline to inform the design of semi-structured qualitative interviews with 24 local residents.

Once these surveys and interviews were complete, constructive Grounded Theory Method (Charmaz, 2006) was used to interrogate data. This allowed concepts to emerge from the data, identifying social phenomenon in each social capital dimension, to produce theoretical questions. Grounded Theory Method therefore, was a useful method for exposing individually experienced phenomenon through facilitating the emergence of concepts without the constraints of *a priori* knowledge of social theory (Charmaz, 2006). Constant comparison of interview dialogues, memoing and observations of context and conditions, provided for rich interpretation and allowed the dialogue free reign to describe attitudes and opinions on motivation and strategies and capture these in a series of concept maps (See Appendices 3,4 and 5). Using grounded

theory mitigated against response bias exposure from the embedded nature of the research. The dimensional framework of family, community and civic networks alongside cognitive dimensions of trust, reciprocity and identity provided a focus for findings chapters.

Chapter 4 examines how the phenomenon of participation impacts on those in the sample frame. Indicators for social capital (McAloney, *et al.*, 2011) highlighted strong support networks between family members, friends and neighbours that one could turn to in crisis. The claims for social capital are that these types of networks minimise feelings of social isolation, or threat and reduce wariness of people from differing ethnic, religious or political backgrounds. The findings suggest that behind this positive indicator of social cohesion is a hierarchical distribution of network support. Communitarian claims that bonding social capital leads to negative and regressive characteristics (Putnam, 2000) are not borne out by the evidence which shows an elevated disposition towards doing favours for neighbours. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that it is hierarchical systems of patriarchy and elitism that control the benefits of support networks.

Chapter 4 examines some larger social network organisations in the area such as Crumlin Star Sports & Social Club and examines how its gender specific rules currently contribute to feelings of inequality that do not reflect the capabilities of their current female clientele. The examination exposes how exclusion from decision-making and gender streamlining, reaches into family units through patriarchal norms and how even invisible economic forces, such as the impact on local house prices through economic changes, provides the dynamics for changes to local social hierarchies. The chapter challenges Putnam's (2000) social capital paradigm by showing that trust and altruism can be produced not only through connectedness to local groups but through strong bonding social capital too.

Chapter 5 looks at participation and predispositions to participate in civil society organisations. Indicators of social capital in civil society dimensions include participation levels of volunteering as well as the extent of group membership. The findings show how the appearance of high level participation masks clusters of smaller group activity. The analysis of localised data suggests claustrophobic influences of neighbourhood ties inhibit social engagement but also shows that locally organised civil society groups have protectionist characteristics. This is a direct contradiction to Putnam's (2000) assertions, that suggest an extensive civil society network is evidence of social cohesion and mutual co-operation. One key finding was how lack of awareness and knowledge of civil society networks and activity plays a key role in accessing participation opportunities and shapes perceptions of identity and individual interpretations of community inclusion.

Seventy-two voluntary and community sector organisations who provide services in the ward were divided across nine thematic areas. An overview of membership trends of these groups was mapped over individual lifecycles of survey respondents. The findings highlight the lack of membership and lack of awareness of service provision. Six organisations proved to be most popular in terms of membership but even the definition of membership proves to be a fluid concept that makes its measurement even more difficult and unreliable. As pointed out, the 63.1% aggregated membership figure (n=255) is not as dispersed as initially assumed. It shows clearly how accessibility challenges exist across gender and age attributes. The chapter challenges the membership hypothesis effect (Putnam, 2000; Anheier and Kendall, 2002) that asserts that membership reproduces trust, reciprocity and altruistic behaviours. Instead it highlights how participation in community structures is practiced and draws conclusions around community power and control to show how some people are not made welcome or invited to participate.

The findings challenge communitarian understandings by using qualitative analysis to demonstrate the fluidity of participatory definitions and how these are misconstrued as evidence of membership and mandate.

Several groups such as Ardoyne Association, Grace Womens' Group, Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum, Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective, Concerned Ardoyne Residents Association or Marrowbone Community House, all have an influencing role insofar as they can be described as drivers of social change. Their mandate from the 'community' however, is in many instances circumstantial and open to challenge. Claims of membership of these groups is quite low, with the largest number of respondents claiming membership of the Credit Union movement.

The chapter highlights how some residents are reticent to join groups or even to partake of their services due to the label they may attract.

Personal strategising drives the practice of associationalism over and above the quality of actual services provided. The chapter argues that collective participation therefore is a mirage and the findings shine a light on this anomaly.

Chapter 6 examines social capital indicators in civic society dimensions where Putnam (2000) claims the impact of trusting and reciprocal exchanges at the family and civil society networks bear fruit. Some indicators report on the extent of contact between local residents and representatives of public and political institutions. While there are strong bonding ties to political activists there is no strong evidence of confidence in their representativeness. Other indicators report on the preponderance for voting but highlight a lack of ownership of individual voting activity alongside subtle forms of coercion in this civic engagement process. This coercion and subtle surveillance activity is layered upon similar instances in previous chapters - the outcome of which highlights a lack of confidence in decision making locally and a general feeling of exclusion across issues such as social justice, community regeneration and community safety. The chapter argues that these incidents of exclusionary practice are facilitated, at a more local level, through

competition for social capital as individuals vie against each other for position within local social hierarchies. The chapter concludes that it is these key brokers of social capital who wittingly or unwittingly prevent its redistribution by reinforcing a dependency culture and an acceptance of negative labelling. This creates high levels of mistrust in civic society structures. These brokers' actions reflect their lack of confidence in others and an overconfidence in their own roles to implement social good.

Chapter 7 explores personal feelings of trust and social embeddedness and challenges arguments that they are generated by membership of civil society organisations. When Putnam (2000) discussed tolerance in *Bowling Alone* he presents the hypothesis that those who are engaged in groups are less inclined to be intolerant than those who are not. The findings challenge these claims to show that the intolerant can include the engaged as well as the disengaged. It suggests that trusting behaviour is more related to frequency and extent of contact than it is with the social capital type or dimension in which it is practiced. What is interesting is that 42.3% of respondents don't really trust their neighbours even though 85.9% of respondents do favours for one another. This shows that additional conditions are preventing the expansion of trust and that trust is not a prerequisite for the predisposition of doing social good. The chapter also explores the extent to which reputation and labels contribute to social capital's deficit focused approach to communal identity.

The final chapter argues that social capital and the alleged benefits it produces are imaginary. Instead it highlights how social capital is a governance architecture that distracts people into social processes so those with power can insidiously manipulate people to become more compliant "by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things" (Lukes, 2005: 28)

Conclusion

This thesis challenges inferences drawn from indicators that quantify engagement in civil and civic society as drivers for social good. Instead it highlights the coercive nature of social networks and the elitism inherent in hierarchical structures. The accountability of opinion is based on flawed indicators that ignore the fluidity of social processes and fails to acknowledge broader definitions of volunteering, membership and motivations for participation, all of which are shaped by hierarchical systems.

Themes emerging from the data are consistent with Bourdieu's (1986) hypothesis on the power of elites and rising levels of individualism (Wakefield and Poland, 2005). Social capital is accessed and converted differently and has different values depending on gender, age, social status, identity and reputation. The insecurities this process produces, creates a privileged role for power brokers within social hierarchies in Ardoyne.

The close-knit nature of networks in Ardoyne suggests an abundance of bonding social capital. Fear and anxiety of change, created by post-industrial dispersal of community and community roles alongside post-conflict challenges of overcoming wariness, permeates through all aspects of life here. It is that atmosphere of mistrust and surveillance that restricts bridging social capital from developing further than immediate informal networks except for those who have managed to manoeuvre themselves into advantageous positions in social hierarchies.

The hypothesis that trust, tolerance, altruistic and reciprocal behaviours are produced by engaging in civic society groups alone (Putnam, 1993, 2000), is challenged by this research. This is especially so with local voluntary and community sector organisations. It suggests Putnam's perspective on bonding social capital pathologises the behaviours of close-knit community structures and fails to recognise the legitimacy of engaging in more informal social networks. Instead, the communitarian

approach legitimises hierarchical systems that facilitate power brokerage processes and makes inequality of access acceptable and exclusion inevitable.

The research shows people feel excluded from those groups who are at the same time recognised by government as decision makers in Ardoyne. The findings also show that people lack confidence in wider civic society's ability to best represent their needs. As a result, most people take the path of least resistance and organise themselves in more informal ways. The thesis argues therefore that social capital contributes to social exclusion in this locality study.

Chapter 2 - Positioning social philosophies

The literature review examines social capital and its connections to social exclusion. The overarching view of that literature suggests two key theories of social capital that are examined herein. One is driven by a liberal individualist philosophy (Bourdieu 1998), the other, a communitarian one (Putnam, 2000).

Policy makers in UK and Northern Ireland as well as funding organisations, generally follow the communitarian approach. Northern Ireland Government's policy drivers for instance include developing the third sector's voluntary and community organisations to act as the vehicle to strengthen existing supports for delivery of social change. The government acknowledges the role of the sector through a partnership agreement known as 'the Concordat'. This agreement sets out the parameters of their shared vision as social partners to build "a participative, peaceful, equitable and inclusive community in Northern Ireland" (DSD, 2011:2)²⁰. Departmental strategies such as Together: Building a United Community Strategy (DfC, 2015)²¹ or the Volunteering Strategy (DSD, 2012)²² embrace theories of participatory democracy through "developing the all-important social capital within our society" (Northern Ireland Executive, 2013:83) to drive community cohesion initiatives that build mutual relationships and community infrastructure.

²⁰ The Concordat was established in 2011 to ensure that the close relationship between Voluntary and Community Sector and government in Northern Ireland See <https://www.communities-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/dsd/consultation-concordat-for-relationships-between-govt-vc-sector.pdf>. The Joint Forum reports annually to the Northern Ireland Assembly. A previous similar agreement known as the Compact was in place since 1998.

²¹ Together: Building a United Community Strategy represented a key building block in the implementation of the Programme for Government 2011-2015. See <https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/publications/together-building-united-community-strategy>.

²² The strategy was published in March 2012 and sets out the framework for volunteer development in Northern Ireland. See <https://www.communities-ni.gov.uk/publications/join-get-involved-build-better-future>

Similar language is used at local authority level²³ and with agencies responsible for distributing public funds such as Community Relations Council or lottery funders. Big Lottery Fund is a major UK funder and has invested in partnership working and support for social networks of people and communities most in social need since 2006. Their current 2015-2021 strategic plan focuses on catalyzing social capital through strengthening civil society networks to create more vibrant communities (Big Lottery Fund, 2015).²⁴

According to Putnam (2000) social capital is based on the quality of relationships people have with their family and communities and ultimately with civic society more generally. Community groups, charitable associations, football clubs or even church groups, and community events, also provide opportunities for these relationships to develop for mutual and communal benefit. Mixing with people outside the family circle allows people to understand their obligations to one another and engenders social responsibility.

The literature highlights challenges in accessing these networks, presenting divided opinion on who should be invited to participate or who has the right to self-exclude from collective processes. Whether participation generates trust and reciprocity or if these attributes are there to begin with, is also presented in the literature.

A vast swathe of literature critiques social capital's evolution towards its current application. This informs debates around agency, ideological understandings of the deserving and undeserving poor (Auletta, 1982; Brown, 1989; Murray, 1990, Perry, 2001), alongside definitions of those who exploit the benefits of other people's hard work in building relationships and social connections (Hardin, 1968; Ostrom, 1999). These understandings build a picture of how the concept of social capital can be used to explain rules and principles of social exchanges.

²³ See for example Belfast City Council's community development strategy <http://www.belfastcity.gov.uk/nmsruntime/saveasdialog.aspx?IID=616&slD=31>

²⁴ See <https://www.biglotteryfund.org/copy-of-about-big/vision-and-strategy>

This chapter first describes social capital in its broadest sense and goes on to outline social capital theory's genesis from 18th century social philosophies to the present-day understandings of social exclusion and marginalization, as definitions of capital evolved. Section 2.3 examines the policy adaptation of social capital across the UK, while examining social exclusion's genesis. The chapter examines communitarian claims and counterclaims across dimensions of family, civil and civic society, alongside claims for the generation of trust, reciprocity and cultural norms.

Putnam's (1993, 2000) communitarian claims, that greater participation in existing social networks could contribute to a reduction in intolerance and provide governance solutions through building a healthier community, is explored by examining theories on social access and the various challenges they pose. Section 2.4 presents social capital as a liberal individualist philosophy through claims made by Bourdieu (1986) and those (Lin, 2001; Lowndes, 2004) who assert that while social capital is shaped by one's social connections, hierarchical structures of social networks can also serve to exclude rather than include. This perspective acknowledges the practical complexities of structural inequalities into which individuals are embedded. Section 2.5 examines challenges presented by the common measurement framework in capturing different types and dimensions of social capital, to provide meaningful evidence for analysis. Section 2.6 examines how notions of homogenous communities and intent, mobilized by sentiment, solidarity and conflict-related fear in Ardoyne (Shirlow, 2001), provide a unique research framework where communitarian claims for social capital are challenged. The final section concludes with a discussion on how communitarian types of social capital perpetuate social injustice and contributes to social exclusion.

2.1 - A definition of social capital

In its broadest sense, social capital refers to the value of social connections in improving various aspects of peoples' lives whether that is

at an individual level or at the level of society or nations (Putnam 1993, 2000; Coleman, 1988, 1991; Woolcock, 1998). The concept articulates the idea behind the old cliché “It’s not what you know but who you know that matters”. From an economic perspective, the concept expands Becker’s (1993) argument that economic utility maximization is dependent on an individual’s level of education, skills, talent, experience, health and ability, by acknowledging benefits accrued through participation in, or access to, social networks. The language of social capital draws on mutual collaboration and trust. Its basic characteristic is that “a person’s family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called on in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake, and leveraged for material gain” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000: 226). This suggests that the more social contacts you have with potential support networks, the less emotionally, or socially isolated you will be. Access to and participation in these supportive social networks builds resilience amongst its members to the challenges of everyday life. Unlike financial capital, the value of social capital increases the more it is used, since it only exists whenever it is shared (Narayan & Cassidy, 2001). This power relationship with others constitutes the actual source of each other’s advantage or simultaneous disadvantage, within a social framework. One communitarian theorist (Putnam, 2000: 23) compares this mutual collaboration as the “social glue” necessary to prevent societal collapse. He defines social capital as “the features of social organisations, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating co-ordinated action” (Putnam, 1993: 169). Social capital’s promotion has been adopted internationally as one method of community development (Green & Haines, 2015) and is reflected in recent government policy discourse through UK-wide strategies and neighbourhood interventions.

The research literature outlines differing definitions of social capital, but a typology of social capital has evolved that incorporates social networks, norms and sanctions as three core components within micro, meso and macro-level analytical dimensions (Halpern, 2005).

The first of these dimension is at the micro-level and includes relations between family, circles of friends and close neighbours where there are strong interdependent linkages – these are defined as bonding social capital and are characterized by mutuality and reciprocal action. The second dimension is at the meso-level of community and includes social networks of shared locality or interest. These horizontal linkages are defined as bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) and are characterized by collaboration and mutual solidarity across community projects. The third dimension is at a macro level. These resource and power/influence-rich networks are described as vertical in nature, and include connections between individuals or communities, and state institutions or government. These are defined as linking social capital (Woolcock, 1998; Halpern, 2005).

The three broad structural categories of bonding, bridging and linking social capital are complemented by cognitive categories such as trust and reciprocity, values and norms and their overarching application to formal and informal networks of everyday life (Woolcock, 1998). Communitarians such as Putnam (1993; 2000) argue that this process of exchange creates and nurtures trust which is then increased and engendered through the practice of civil and civic association. The premise of the argument contends this social engagement causes trust, reciprocity and altruism.

But it is also a resource for groups and associations to enable resolutions to community problems (Fukuyama, 1997; Brehm & Rahn, 1997; OECD, 2001). In Northern Ireland this measure of societal progress from generating trust and nurturing neighbourhood attachment²⁵ is also a measure of peace building across ethno-sectarian cleavages (Morrow, 2006; McAloney, *et al.*, 2011; Murtagh, *et al.*, 2009; Morrissey, *et al.*, 2008; Leonard & McKnight, 2011).

²⁵ Since 2009, Community Evaluation Northern Ireland provides outcomes measurement solutions to several Northern Ireland government departments, agencies such as Big Lottery Fund and Non-Governmental Organisations incorporating social capital indicators. (See <http://www.ceni.org/news/ceni%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98measuring-change%E2%80%99-approach-provides-new-solution-outcomes-measurement>)

Social capital has subsequently been linked to a variety of benefits including wealth, education and health and has grown to become an internationally recognised prosperity indicator²⁶ alongside indicators of wellbeing in the UK²⁷. Just how to measure the net gains of social capital however, has been a focus of ongoing debate among academics. This debate is made more complex by the contextual circumstance of inequality. The debate is also flavoured by the imbalance of individual capabilities, influences such as gender, age and class, as well as whether it should be measured at micro, meso or macro levels or, if it should be measured at all (Fine, 2010). It is also made more complex by the idea that social capital is not only the glue that binds people and communities together, it can also be the oil that allows communal dynamics to flourish (Putnam, 2000).

Social capital's definition is broad and can encompass using one's social network to get a job (Wilson, 1987; Granovetter, 1983; Green, *et al.*, 2000), for instance, or benefitting from neighbourhood safety. The differing notions between social capital as a public good that can be shared by everyone compared to a resource that only provides advantage to an individual forms a fundamental divide in its interpretation.

Three main theorists have articulated the baselines from which current literature evolve. Robert Putnam (1993; 2000) and James Coleman (1988) describe social capital as a good governance architecture designed to bring improvements in social structure. Pierre Bourdieu (1977; 1986), in contrast, describes social capital as a method of social exclusion by elites and those privileged with access to resource-rich social networks. In his more recent work Putnam (2015) acknowledges social

²⁶ The Legatum Prosperity Index is based on 89 different variables analysed across 110 nations around the world and using a range of source data. The 89 variables are grouped into 8 sub-indexes, one of which is social capital.

²⁷ In the UK the Office for National Statistics uses social capital framework to measure national well-being (See An Analysis of Social Capital in the UK: 29 January 2015, [online] Available at: <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/wellbeing/measuring-national-well-being/analysis-of-social-well-being--social-capital--in-the-uk---2013-14/art-measuring-national-well-being---an-analysis-of-social-capital-in-the-uk.html#tab-Introduction>)

inequality's impact on social capital distribution in North America. Putnam concludes that the rising gap in political and economic inequality means that young people from the same town where he grew up, will not have similar opportunities for success that were afforded him – a situation he declares is morally unacceptable. The lack of state responsibility to redress inequality gaps between rich and poor will, he believes, lead to a crisis in democracy, particularly as the class gap continues to widen. This flies in the face of the foundational documents of the state that espoused “the fundamental precept that all humans are of equal worth (Putnam, 2015: 241).” His resolution is to reinvigorate the approach to universal education opportunities for children from an early stage to overcome the negative impacts inherent from the segregation of social classes in America.

There are conceptual crossovers between social capital and social exclusion. Daly and Silver (2008) frame the difference between both when they state,

“social exclusion comes out of a debate about the factors that make for social fragmentation, disaffiliation, and downward mobility, while social capital is rooted in concerns about status attainment, upward mobility and social progress.” (2008: 545)

Daly and Silver capture the co-variation between both concepts in a social capital matrix illustrating the relative distance between the socially included and the socially excluded. The concepts continue to attract those with an interest in better understanding society, especially those drivers that act as a barrier to progressive social change through creating privileged elites and power brokers.

2.2 - Historical evolution of social capital theory

Putnam (2000) suggests social capital theory evolved from 18th century definitions of fraternity (deTocqueville, 1969) and the definitions of societal changes brought about through the restructuring of families and communities. These ideas were set against the backdrop of individual rights-based theories. Challenges to the precedence of individual rights

over collective rights of the community provide the context to understandings of an evolving communitarianism (Etzioni, 1999). The governance challenges of post-industrial societal change have elevated methods of social participation into high relief and, by default, a governance discourse to explain conflicting philosophies of the political left, right and centre. Social capital provides a political architecture to categorise societal relationships and exchange at micro, meso and macro level through which to best understand trust and reciprocity as governance tools in this delicate balance.

While societal networks focus on generalisations and aggregations, individual notions of 'self' and the role one plays within such networks are expressed by Maslow (1943) through a hierarchy of merged physiological and physical needs. One of the most fundamental needs of a human being, he argues, is the necessity for relationships that are underpinned, not only by feelings of security and safety, but ones that are also embedded in identity of belonging and feeling good about oneself and one's place in the world. In many ways Maslow's drivers for good governance are aligned with concepts promoted through social capital theory, which require trustworthy exchange and a sense of belonging that is greater than the self but which simultaneously contribute to individual wellbeing (Scrivens & Smith, 2015).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943) at micro level is a development of previous theories on social exchange except he introduced what McKnight (1995) and others (Kretzmann, 1995; McKnight & Block, 2010) term an "assets based" approach. This focuses on existing personal and community strengths, in comparison to a deficit based approach that looks for faults and weaknesses and seeks out solutions to fix them. By the 21st century the exploration of social relationships and in particular, common themes of trust and reciprocity as a necessary determinant of their quality and measureable outcomes, have come to be known as "social capital". Recent changes in family structure, the changing role of women in UK

society (Big Lottery Fund, 2015, 2016)²⁸, the rise in technological capability requirements for social inclusion, reductions in civil and civic democratic participation and the rise of individualism (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; McKnight, 1995; McKnight & Block, 2010), growing economic inequalities (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010) and the drive for social equality and human rights, have each created policy drivers to produce and contribute to social capital's theoretical development.

Many commentators on social capital (Putnam 1993, 2000; Portes, 1998; Lin, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Brodie, *et al.*, 2009; Fine, 2010) point out that social capital's core concepts find their genus in the intellectual ideas asserted over the last centuries by many social, economic and political philosophies such as Max Weber, Adam Smith, Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, and Karl Marx, as they explain the encroachment of modern society on civil/civic society and the negative impacts of the disintegration of social ties on the production of public benefits through collective action.

The danger of losing social benefits within a more contractual society is illustrated by Ferdinand Tönnies' (2002) theory of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. These terms translate as "community" and "society" and reflect the evolution of modern industrial societies (*Gesellschaft*) and their impact on the breaking down of tight social and family networks that were characteristic of rural communities (*Gemeinschaft*). His study on the differences within social relationships between strong familial bonds and the looser bonds between non-kinship-type relations highlight the importance of "connection not affection" as their defining characteristics (Bowles & Ginitis, 2002: 3). Similar challenges can be found in sociological observations by Durkheim (1893) premised on the notion that humans are much more effective in groups. As these groups have expanded and become more complex and contractual, quality of life

²⁸ The Big Lottery Fund is a UK grantmaker whose aim is "to improve the lives of people and communities most in need". They conduct annual research to help identify current and future trends to inform the reach of their support. See, <https://biglotteryfund.org.uk/research/emerging-social-need>

(individually and collectively) has been linked not only to individual resources but also to the strength and stability of social networks (Kadushin, 2012; Christakis & Fowler, 2011; Rowson, *et al.*, 2010). It is these social networks and the relationships between them that produce what has become known as social capital and it is social capital that is promoted by communitarians like Putnam as the antidote against societal fragmentation.

The evolution of social capital as a third way political discourse of the UK government in the 1980s can also be interpreted as a governance framework between the rights of an individual and community rights. This utilitarian third way focuses on the responsibilities and obligations of each for the greater good.

The idea that people can be valorised through a broader definition than just physical or economic attributes has been embedded in evolving debates on the definitions of capital for many years. The 18th century social economist, Adam Smith (1937) believed that the individual capabilities of workers such as their level of education could be considered a type of human capital. It was Gary Becker's research (1993) that signalled the expansion of capital metrics from a purely financial sphere into more private dimensions of human capital to include an individual's stock of knowledge, talents, skills, habits and even their socialising and personality attributes.

The reconstruction of capital to include human and physical capital evolved to recognise the value of social capital derived from strong and weak connections within social networks. Granovetter (1973, 1983) defined strong ties as links between people who know each other and can call on each other for support. Weak ties are their connections to those resources outside of immediate circles of family and friends. Emery and Flora (2006) suggest that up to seven capitals inter-relate to contribute to an assets-based community development perspective. These include not just financial, human and social capital but also natural, cultural, political and built capital. These debates moved the interpretation of capital from

the private and economic realms into the public realm of community and society. In so doing, it provides a framework for academic debate on motives that balanced the rights of individuals with the right of communities.

Robert Putnam (2000: 19) cites the first use of the actual term 'social capital' to Hanifan in 1916 but mainstream academic interest in the theory did not start until the late 1980s (Halpern, 2005: 6). Putnam (1993, 2000, 2015) went on to promote a communitarian version of social capital that in turn instigated a broader debate around social exclusion and the drivers for marginalisation. These debates have complemented ongoing social policy strategising that are reflected, for instance, in current policy commitments to the Voluntary, Community & Social Enterprise sector and Big Society strategies²⁹.

- Social exclusion discourse

Like social capital, social exclusion can be defined simultaneously as a framework to understand participation and an outcome of the actions of actors. Social exclusion can be individual or locality-based and include those who are passive victims of exclusion alongside others who may be agents or architects of their own exclusion (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986; Edwards & Foley, 2001; Lin, 2001, 2008; Lowndes, 2004). The genus of the social exclusion concept is closely related to debates around the deserving and undeserving poor and today's debates in the UK on welfare reform, based on the balance between the need to provide support for the poor against the need to maintain the incentive to work.³⁰

The term 'social exclusion' found its way in the 1990s into UK policy discourse in place of anti-poverty strategies. Social exclusion's popularity as a framework to understand social welfare lies in its loose definition and

²⁹ The Big Society was launched as a flagship policy of the UK Coalition government in 2010 which would put "people power at the heart of government". Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/big-society-speech>

³⁰ Northern Ireland Department of Employment and Learning, launched the *Pathways to Success Strategy* in 2012 to target young people who were not in education, employment or training

conceptualisation that allows an understanding of the causes and consequences of poverty in spheres where there are strong governance and welfare systems in place or none. Byrne (1999) argues that those who had lobbied to keep the UK policy focus on poverty and inequality regarded the adoption of the term social exclusion as a threat. This reflected earlier concerns by the International Institute for Labour Studies who, meeting in 1996, raised concerns about global, political and ideological ramifications of creating policies whose main focus were on social exclusion and a subsequent shunting of poverty and destitution from centre-stage focus. They argued that while someone on low income may always be living in poverty, they need not necessarily be socially excluded, whereas someone who is socially excluded may not necessarily be poor and can be excluded for a variety of reasons that could include, for example, ethnicity or mental ill-health. Social disconnectedness and poverty are both forms of social exclusion (Jackson, 1999: 126) and while the term is used to understand various forms of inequality in contemporary post-industrial capitalist societies, Byrne (1999:1) describes the concept as “something that is done by some people on others”. Mandanipour (1998) defines social exclusion as,

“a multidimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political processes, access to employment and material resources and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods.” (Mandanipour, 1998: 22)

The link between access to social networks and inherent social capital play an important role in social inclusion. People can be socially excluded in a variety of ways and their vulnerability has been identified and targeted by Northern Ireland government policies over the years to enable access

to public services such as employment³¹, health services³² and education³³. Nevertheless, the challenge to reconnect the socially excluded is an ongoing process in Northern Ireland and despite the introduction of anti-discrimination legislation and strategies to reduce poverty, promote social inclusion and underpin the peace process, the challenge of exclusion remains³⁴. Current social inclusion and neighbourhood renewal policies resonate with original EU policies that saw inclusion and access to the benefits of the state resources as, not only the government's responsibility to mend fractures in the social contract, but understood that any such breach could only have negative consequences on governance responsibilities of the state. From the perspective of social conflict theory it is precisely this continual quest for inclusion that drives societal progress and survival through constant struggle, compromise and negotiation.

While there is an argument that social policy discourses on social exclusion made financial poverty invisible (Byrne, 1999), the local context of a social class approach to its understanding has also been subsumed by a discourse that effectively reduces exclusion's focus to the ethno-sectarian power sharing paradigm in Northern Ireland (Nolan, 2012).

The contemporary social exclusion/inclusion concept has its genus in the work of René Lenoir (Levitas, 2006; Silver & Miller, 2003) when he was Secretary of State for Social Action in the French government *in 1974*. He estimated that 10% of the population in France at that time were beyond the reach of the state's welfare system. It was the subsequent exploration

³¹ *Success through Skills – Transforming Futures* strategies were complemented through initiatives such as *Pathways to Success Collaboration and Innovation Fund 2012*, *Steps to Work* (2008-2013) and *Steps to Success* (2014)

³² Health policy driver *Transforming Your Care* (2012) has a prevention and early intervention focus to avoid high costs of family care. These were linked to DHSSPS *Families Matter* (2010) strategy of Northern Ireland Executive focused on early intervention to offset costs of family support.

³³ Education policy drivers of OFMDFM in 2012 were delivered through the *Delivering Social Change* strategic framework which included initiatives such as the *Literacy and numeracy initiative* (2012), *School Enhancement Programme* (2013), *Learning to Learn – A Framework for Early Years Education and Learning* (2013)

³⁴ See footnotes 20-23. *The Delivering Social Change* framework sought to coordinate key actions across government departments on priority social policy areas such poverty and health

of the causes and consequences of that marginalisation which expanded the definition of the term to include a wider range of people on the margins of society but also a recognition of the 'rupture of the social bond' which was considered central to the social contract between the French state and its citizens (Daly & Silver, 2008:539). The term's prominence in French policy discourse in the mid-1970s was later adopted by the European Economic Community in the late 1980s as a key concept in social policy.

- UK Social exclusion discourse

In the UK, the concept is rooted in the critical social policy of the 1980s (Levitas, 2006), particularly in the work of Peter Townsend (1979). Townsend developed a broad definition of poverty to include relative deprivation and incorporated the role of social participation in the customary activities of society:

“Individuals, families and groups in the population can be said to be in poverty when... resources are so seriously below those commanded by the average individual or family that they are, in effect, excluded from the ordinary living patterns, customs and activities” (Townsend, 1979: 32).

Levitas (2006) suggests that social exclusion was the concept that increasingly captured the consequences of material deprivation in terms of restricted opportunities to participate in wider social and cultural activities. By the time the UK government established the Social Exclusion Unit in 1997 they had already begun to explore the poverty cycles of social exclusion in relation to levels of social participation.

In the 1990s, Graham Room's research added to the academic literature on social inclusion by highlighting its multi-dimensional attributes to not only include income and expenditure, but also other dimensions of disadvantage (Room, 1995; 1999). In particular, social exclusion (Murray, 1990) uses aspects of the concept of an "underclass" to differentiate it from a concept that is purely based on poverty. Room (1999) expanded

the definition's dynamic characteristics to illustrate how the duration of social exclusion need not necessarily be static and could also include relational characteristics,

“to use the notion of social exclusion carries the implication that we are speaking of people who are suffering such a degree of multidimensional disadvantage, of such duration, and reinforced by such material and cultural degradation of the neighbourhoods in which they live, that their relational links with the wider society are ruptured to a degree which is to some considerable degree irreversible. We may sometimes choose to use the notion of social exclusion in a more general sense than this: but here is its core” (Room, 1999: 171).

To further the understanding, Silver (1994) provided three political ideological paradigms for the concept. The first, an EU Republican paradigm of solidarity, views exclusion as a breach of the social contract between the state and the citizen. The second, a liberal paradigm, views exclusion in terms of specialisation and is typical of the Anglo-American viewpoint whereby social exclusion is a type of discrimination with the emphasis on causes of economic exclusion. The third, the Social Democratic viewpoint of the European left, interprets social exclusion as a monopoly paradigm whereby social exclusion is a deliberate act to prevent outsiders gaining full access to resources. Goodin (1996) summed up social exclusion in a similar framework explaining it thus: the sociological thesis – those left out; the moral underclass thesis – those who opted out; and the power thesis – those who were kept out.

The central argument of social exclusion's causal or consequential definition has been constantly perplexed due to its multidimensional and individualistic nature and its links at individual and household level to human capital theories of functionality or capability (Sen, 1992). Silver & Miller (2003) argue that social exclusion now offers a broader, more holistic understanding of deprivation, whereas the poverty discourse was 'exclusively economic, material, or resource-based'. By 2015 the UK

Cabinet Office's preferred definition is still the one provided by Levitas *et al.*, (2007).

“Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole” (Levitas, *et al.*, 2007: 9).

The perplexity of social exclusion is driven by how it is objectively defined and how it has been subjectively interpreted. In the UK, Peter Townsend's (1979) work informed the first of three different discourses by Levitas (2005) to understand social exclusion. The first is the redistributionist discourse which suggests social exclusion is caused by poverty and that poverty can be rectified by wealth redistribution and raising the income levels of the poor. This is addressed through policies in the Northern Ireland that address welfare payments and protections for vulnerable children and adults through various benefits such as Disability Living Allowances and child benefits. Other policies focus on financial advice and minimum wage requirements for employers.

The second approach, the social integrationist discourse argues that social integration can be achieved through labour-force attachment and is driven by indicators such as unemployment or economic inactivity. Government policies in Northern Ireland focus on those people who are in danger of becoming marginalized by providing them with a variety of training schemes and incentives to work such as free or subsidised childcare, recognising education as the main gateway to employment and labour market integration.

The third approach, the moral underclass discourse, shifts responsibility for social inclusion from the state and society to the individual. It focuses on the dependency of the socially excluded as the architects of their own exclusion. The focus here is not on the socially excluded as victims of

free market forces, capability or circumstance. Instead attention is focused on their potential for criminality characterised by allegedly idle and irresponsible behaviour that led to their exclusion in the first place. Policies focusing attention on greater parental responsibility such as the ‘Troubled Families’ programmes³⁵ or coercive programmes linked to welfare benefit rights are examples of developing policy discourses that fit within this area.

Perry (2001: 192) explains how normative discourse shapes how society treats the included and excluded as an objectified state. The hegemonic norm, is defined by those who conform to production pathways of school through employment with allegiance to government authority. Anything that deviates from this linear model becomes the ‘excluded’. This type of thinking has an impact on how the excluded are treated by the included through separating out the “deserving poor” (Katz, 2013; Murray, 1990) from those who allegedly choose to malingering (Brown, 1989).

The moral debate is further fuelled by individuals and groups who voluntarily exclude themselves from civic society. The idea that two distinct social groups exist side by side, is one that both perplexes and challenges the democratic system and governance objectives of social control. Some examples of this type of exclusion include groups and individuals who are diametrically opposed to the political system and either deliberately do not vote or spoil their vote. Other individuals and organisations in Ardoyne (see chapter 5), for instance, reject the notion that the state will provide adequate answers to eradicate drugs, tackle

³⁵ The original *Troubled Families* programme targeted 120,000 families in England and ran from 2012 to 2015. Its aim was to change repeating generational patterns of poor parenting, abuse, violence, drug use, anti-social behaviour and crime in order to reduce £9 billion costs on the public purse. The programme was continued to work with 400,000 families between 2015 to 2020. For more information see <https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/support-for-families>

organised crime³⁶, or prevent parades³⁷ and have attracted varying levels of protest support, some of which is borne out of historical experience. Such groups have clear political reasons to self-exclude from some aspects of civil society.

Social policy has measures and methods to identify vulnerable groups in society based on the absence of their strong participative ties to services such as education, health or civil networks and have developed strategies and policies to address barriers to their exclusion (ECNI, 2015).³⁸ Those groups have included ethnic minorities, lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, older people, women and children. Many strategies addressing these issues have been delegated to the community and voluntary sector for delivery, due to the alleged density and reach of their social networks. The work of integrating individuals into civil society and the labour market remains a key government objective through the Programme for Government 2011-2015. The delegation of power to local authority level also embraces asset-based community development principles (Russell, 2015) that advocate the co-production of services with citizens to replace rhetorical design and consultation approaches previously adopted by government.

The governance challenge is to manage this promise of participative opportunity by balancing the need to support the poor and vulnerable

³⁶ *Concerned Families Against Drugs* have organised flash mobs to picket homes of alleged drug dealers and have also seized drugs and handed them over to the local Parish Priest. (See BBC report http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/8403069.stm)

³⁷ *Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective* have organised annual protests against loyalist parades and mobilised member to participate in illegal pickets. (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-14128807>)

³⁸ Section 75 of the 1998 Northern Ireland Act places an equality duty on public authorities with regards to nine vulnerable categories of persons of different religious belief, political opinion, racial group, age, marital status or sexual orientation; men and women generally; persons with a disability and persons without; and persons with dependants and persons without. In addition, the *Good Relations* duty, requires that public authorities in carrying out their functions relating to Northern Ireland have regard to the desirability of promoting good relations between persons of different religious belief, political opinion and racial group.

while maintaining the incentive to work, against a growing culture by some to adopt the moral underclass view of an undeserving poor. That social capital theories encourage individuals to take responsibility for bridging social divides, is seen by some (Mac Leod & Emejulu, 2014) as the method whereby government can absolve themselves from their duty to care for vulnerable people and communities by tackling poverty head on. Wakefield and Poland (2005) denigrate this neo-liberal approach to social relations with community organisations, in particular those groups whose role has been reduced to “harnessing grassroots empowerment for the competitive workfare state” (Wakefield and Poland, 2005: 20).

Understanding the balance of power between citizens and the State from a participation point of view are the cornerstones of community development theory (Arnstein, 1969; Alinsky, 1971; Freire, 1970) and challenges notions of legitimacy and equality across society. More recent communitarian philosophies on asset-based community development literature challenges the role of those organisations who reproduce dependency on service (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; McKnight & Block, 2010) and argue against hierarchical top-down relationships and the rhetoric of community empowerment.

The relevance of theories of both social capital and social exclusion are evident throughout contemporary social policy discourse. For example, improving relationships with the voluntary and community sectors has been a central tenet of local government policy in Northern Ireland since the late 1990s through ‘the Compact’ and then currently through ‘the Concordat’³⁹. That policy is supported by a wide range of strategies that include programmes to address poverty and social exclusion alongside the promotion of more effective networking across government departments as well as better networking between civic society and government departments. Better networking is also promoted between communities that are segregated along socio-political and ethno-cultural

³⁹ See footnote 20

lines. This contract with government creates a gatekeeping role for the voluntary and community sector as a buffer between policymakers and the citizens upon whom social policy ultimately impacts⁴⁰.

2.3 - Communitarian claims for social capital and their counterclaims

The communitarian argument for social capital was hypothesised in the 1990s by Robert Putnam, a US political scientist using associational theories to highlight the importance of civic society in stabilizing governance (1993; 2000). Through empirical research he undertook in Italy he contended that the least civic areas were the southern Italian states whereas partnerships and mutual government cooperation existed in the Northern more modern conurbations. He argued that the characteristics of the more industrial and capital intensive economies of northern Italy enabled social cohesion and democratic efficacy. Putnam promoted his communitarian approach through his book, *Bowling Alone*, which detailed his analysis of over a century of US social data to observe declining levels of individual participation in civic life along with declining levels of trust and voting. He concluded this growing disconnection from civic society could have drastic implications for the political democracy's survival.

Putnam (2000) defined social capital as the,

“connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (Putnam, 2000: 19).

He eventually acknowledged (2015), however, that changing ecological determinants such as family function and typologies of class are important intervening conditions of social mobility.

Putnam's communitarian approach promoted associational networks as important drivers for societal progress, thereby encouraging investment in

⁴⁰ Northern Ireland Executive Programme for Government 2011-2015
<http://www.northernireland.gov.uk/pfg>. Accessed 17/11/2015)

the voluntary and community sector whose sole purpose is to marshal the work of voluntary activity across society. One of his important contributions to the theory are his methods of measurement which combine metrics on community organisational life, participation in voluntary associations, engagement in public affairs, informal sociability and social trust (Putnam, 2000: 291).

Associational theories argue that associational engagement produces social capital by engendering collective norms of trust, neighbourly attachment and altruism. Putnam equates social capital to the fraternity principles declared by 18th Century French revolutionaries and defends social capital's triadic character along similar ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity where social capital, equality and liberty are mutually reinforcing (2000: 358). As a result, Putnam's bonding social capital hypotheses postulate that strong social connections can result in a lack of privacy and forced conformity to social norms whereby citizens will be more insular and protective of their own group and more reluctant to tolerate people from outside their network. From this perspective, high levels of bonding social capital are evidenced by indicators that reinforce social stratification and intolerance norms. Bridging social capital by contrast will loosen these bonds to allow cultural diversity and social mobility to flourish. Lin (2001) asserts that,

“a system that does not provide sufficient opportunities for heterophilous exchanges reduces the opportunity for mobility and will experience fragmented populations with strong intra-level solidarity”. (Lin, 2001: 180)

Furthermore, it is suggested by Putnam that high levels of homophily⁴¹ can stifle innovation because people characteristically share similar traits and service rules, that restrain freedom for mobility. Communitarian perspectives of social capital are also informed by empirical research in

⁴¹ The homophily principle asserts that persons with similar characteristics, attitudes, and lifestyles tend to congregate in similar residential, social and work environments that promote interactions and associations. Similarly, frequency and intensity of interactions increase similar attitudes and lifestyles. (Lin 2001: 244)

the 1960s into education and human capital by James Coleman (1961) in the US. He was especially interested in the role of the family, close friends and the church, in social control. He concluded that the family was the keystone of society and without it he doubted the efficacy of social control (Coleman 1991:9). He believed in creating family-centred institutions to mitigate potential disintegration of the family's role within the modern society and the subsequent loss of moral values.

Coleman (1988) underlines three crucial components of social capital as: obligations and expectations; information sharing in social networks; and sanctions and norms in social networks. He argues that social capital is used to complement human capital as a public rather than a private good. Coleman fully acknowledges the influence of individual reasoning or history but asserts social capital's causation of improved educational outcomes, is a direct result of the influence and control of family and religious moral values.

By contrast Putnam (1993, 2000) expands Coleman's (1988) ideas, arguing that promoting 'weakened' social connections with unfamiliar networks creates elevated levels of trust, tolerance and diversity because they allow an expansion of exchange beyond insular networks of family, friends and neighbours. He argues that "kinship is less important as a source of solidarity than acquaintanceship and shared membership of secondary associations" (Putnam 1993: 175). This increase in social trust, he argues, can only be made possible through participation in civil society, with assumed pro-social effects. Not only that, but he argues that it is the process of participation that produces the generalized trust necessary to nurture community cohesion. The attractiveness of such a solution to community and national governance is not lost on those with a vested interest in stabilizing not only markets but post-conflict solutions to age old animosities between Britain and Ireland.

In highlighting cultural differences between the UK and US, Peter Hall (2000) demonstrates yet another layer of complexity in measuring social capital across continents. He suggests that Putnam's (2000) research

could not be replicated in the UK. Hall shows how social networks in Britain are in comparatively quite good shape, a situation he attributes to three factors: significantly expanded access to higher education; a less rigidly stratified class structure; and government action supporting community involvement. His findings nevertheless, identify a paradox of robust levels of participation alongside declining social trust and reinforces the idea that social capital measurement cannot be blind to local context and cultural norms. Putnam's approach to defining civic participation through the likes of male dominated bowling leagues and fraternities attracts criticism in feminist literature (Lowndes, 2000; Lister, 2005) while other British writers (Hall, 2000) indicate that US civic participation bears little resemblance to long-established charitable and philanthropic society that exists in Britain and suggests that other key arenas for sociability and the generation of social networks had been overlooked. Hall's conjecture to the possible link of other external factors which may have contributed to the decline in social trust, whilst participation levels appear to be maintained, is reflective of similar anomalies in local ward level data at Ardoyne where physical and religious segregation, the long term impact of conflict in the area, along with excessive familial ties characteristic of Northern Ireland communities (Daly, 2003) could be among the contributing factors to a variety of types and levels of social capital.

Of particular importance in Northern Ireland is the role social networks have in facilitating the complex web of exchanges that are vital for building trust and reciprocity and their central role in peace building (Morrow, 2006). While interpreting social capital's outcomes and fully understanding the concept's indicators continues to drive the debate on its usefulness, the concept continues to inform many UK government policies and strategies and has an important role in identifying societal progress (Morrisey, *et al.*, 2008; Savage, *et al.*, 2013).

2.4 - Liberal individualized claims and network theories

Bourdieu's (1977) theoretical position of individualism superceding collective aims as a motivation for network connections, provides a counterargument to the idea that social capital alone creates the common

appetite for intra or inter community trust in its current form. Instead, he argues that benefits are accrued privately from social connections. This is the antithesis of Putnam's communitarian approach. This individualized approach defines social capital as a private good (Bourdieu, 1984; Burt, 1992; Portes, 1998; Dasgupta, 2005; Boxman, *et al.*, 1991).

Bourdieu (1986) argues that social capital is deliberately constructed by actors for their own self-interest, advocating as Field (2003) suggests, that social capital is manipulated by elites in a social/individual-strategising approach that ensured the exclusivity of their club for economic outcomes. Bourdieu's analysis concludes that social capital reproduces economic capital. While highlighting unsavoury outcomes of social capital for the oppressed and exclusive gains for the privileged, Bourdieu (1986) also develops an understanding of the concept to include cultural, human and symbolic 'capitals'. These are defined as, style of dress speech and etiquette, but also includes those social and personality attributes that are culturally inculcated. Bourdieu saw social capital as something reproduced by actors' intent on recreating social and economic inequality.

Bourdieu's (1990) structuralist approach to social positions demonstrates how actors, within the boundaries of social fields, follow the rules and pecking orders of domination based on the differences, quantity and quality of different types of "capital". This includes economic, human, and social capital, but can be deconstructed further to include cultural and informational capital. Bourdieu suggests that social networking is a game and the hierarchies in which that game is played can be interpreted as the field of play. The field is the parameter and structure in which social struggles are played out. Each individual interpretation of that social struggle is shaped by habitus. Bourdieu describes *habitus* as **how** someone instinctively plays the game based on experience and what they have been taught through life. These influences are brought to bear when someone makes a decision to further their own best interest. Cultural norms are subsequently influenced by *doxa*. This sets psychological limits on social mobility through the construction of an individual's notion of

one's own place within the pecking order and rules of engagement, depriving them of more deliberate consumption (Jenkins, 1972). Bourdieu concluded that social capital resources could accrue both privately and publicly (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)

Additional counter arguments to a communitarian perspective, promote alternative discourses suggesting that elevated levels of participation expose vulnerabilities inherent in social capital measures and support claims that social networks have characteristics that encourage elites and individuals to undertake brokerage roles (Fyffe & Milligan, 2003: 408). This ultimately promotes social exclusion and competition for scarce resources and privilege and undermines mutuality and collaboration for collective benefit. It is the exploitation of these vulnerabilities that lead to social exclusion (Lin, 2001).

The bridging social capital hypotheses put forth by Putnam as leading to positive outcomes for communities, is challenged by Bourdieu and others who postulate that too many weak ties results in collective alienation whereby citizens do not feel they have any influence over decisions that affect their lives. Bridging therefore, leads to an atomized community of individuals. High levels of bridging social capital would consequently diminish social responsibility and the sense of collective community and deliberative democracy approaches to participation roles.

Putnam's hypothesis is further challenged by Granovetter (1973, 1983) and others (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001; Erickson, 1996) who present a network theory analysis to articulate how bridging social capital fails to fully address structural inequalities – an underlying driver of neo-liberal society (Lin, 2001; Lowndes, 2000; 2004). These definitions deconstruct the causes of social exclusion and link them to the intensity of social relationships and their contextual influences on access and participation from an individual perspective. Edwards and Foley (2001) note that social capital is not equally available but neither is it created equally.

- Densities of social connection

The nature of homophily and the density of relations between people in social networks has been deconstructed by Granovetter (1973, 1983) and others (Burt, 1997; Lin, 2001) to demonstrate the influence of strong and weak ties and their obligations. The effects of strong or weak ties upon social closure were also the subject of sociological research by Coleman (1998) with similarities to Simmel's (1950) research on triadic social network connections. In 1973, the American sociologist, Mark Granovetter, expanded on social network trends, particularly between those people at the centre and those on the margins of social networks. He realised that social connections made up of any individual and his/her acquaintances will constitute a low-density network (weak ties), whereas a connection consisting of the same individual and his or her close friends will be densely knit (strong ties). The density of the network ties themselves influences the advantages to be gained from such ties. He explains social capital's value as a function rather than a resource because one's position within a network correlates to one's advantages or disadvantages in terms of benefits that can be extracted from such connections.

Granovetter's theory was further expanded to show how individuals and/or groups could exploit and control bridging social capital opportunities by providing network brokerage (Burt 1997, 2000). Burt (1997) explains how:

“discontinuities between exchange relations (structural holes) are entrepreneurial opportunities to broker the flow of information between people on opposite sides of the structural hole and control the form of projects that bring together people on opposite sides of the structural hole.” (Burt, 1997:355)

Network analysis challenges the virtuous nature of Putnam's hypotheses by evidencing the inequitable nature of its function. Social networks come in a variety of formations. Some networks are centralized, where everyone is connected to a central person or organisation but are not connected with each other. If the centre is taken away, the structure of such a

network is in disarray and will collapse unless someone else steps in to fulfil that coordinating role. In contrast, some networks with multiple connections between all members of a network mitigate against such centralized weakness by spreading out the network into multiplex connections. The downside with this multiplex model is that the connectivity is restricted only to those connected within the network itself and is restricted to only attract others of a similar status. It is argued that in the absence of connections to other network clusters, these basic models may not have ample access to other resources (Granovetter 1983; Burt 2000; Lin 2001). In both instances a connection to other networks would be beneficial and the role of someone within these clusters with links into other clusters is in an advantageous brokering/bridging position.

Lin (2001) asserts that the ability to access one's social capital depends on proximity to brokers or bridges between a social network. Social network location therefore, not only determines the subsequent outcomes but is a more robust measure of a connection's strength. In this context, Lin (2001) argues that hierarchical social networks, by their very nature, perpetuate inequality and are unable to convert resources for public benefit. The invisibility of gender or social class determinants (Lin, 2001; Lowndes, 2000) impede social capital's equitable distribution and access creating differing levels of social capital that cannot be offset by participation alone. It is further argued that Putnam's definition renders notions of privilege and power invisible (deFilippas, 2001; Lin, 2001). Smith (1998) argues that participation without power is merely tokenistic and used to legitimize disempowerment (Smith, 1985; Pearse & Steifel, 1980).

There are clear correlations in the theories between Putnam's internal focused bonding and externally focused bridging, described in Granovetter's (1973; 1983) concepts weak tie strength. But while weaker ties to strangers might help people break out of their insular familial networks to avail of employment opportunities, exposure to diversity and ties with strangers can also bring negative aspects such as the lack of

loyalty and honour, traits that are characteristic of closer kinship ties. There are checks and balances to the benefits that can be derived by types of connection. For example, in domains such as health, weaker ties do not contribute to similar levels of information sharing as close ties can. The downside however, shows that close ties provide networks for contagion that medical experts struggle to contain. The contradictions of social networks in this regard are highlighted by Halpern's (2005:88) observation that strong bonding ties within the Amish community in Pennsylvania are held to be the reasons for low levels of mental ill health.

While social capital has been used to explain reductions in crime (Halpern, 2001), it is also argued that close ties allow for social control within families and neighbourhoods. This can also encourage a 'negotiated coexistence' (Browning, 2009: 1556) where close ties within clandestine organisations themselves can bring negative outcomes on their victims but self-preservation for organised crime networks and elites. Equally, there are clear links between the individual focus of Bourdieu's elites and the darker side of bonding social capital that are highlighted by Portes (1998) who reminds us of the difficulties in teasing apart and demonstrating not only social capital's private and public outcomes but also barriers to social capital access and its ties to social exclusion more generally.

Bourdieu (1977, 1986) views social capital as no more than the accumulation of personal assets to placate a selfish individualism that is typically privately owned and consumed, just like capital itself. He takes a class-based approach to describe the unequal nature of status and distribution of resources that encourage the reproduction of selfish individualism and competition for the acquisition and retention of power. By introducing the concept of cultural capital as an important element of exclusionary processes inherent in the social capital framework, he allows the concept's expansion across the many domains that define social exclusion.

The main question Bourdieu poses, is whether the value created by social

capital accrues primarily to society as a whole, or to private individuals. His idea that one's choices are not free but are the result of a combination of historical norms and values, projected into an individual's present and are determined by social context is a departure from the communitarian notion that individuals are free to make independent choices. The selfish notion of excluding others describes a competitive system rather than a collaborative notion put forward by Coleman (1998) or Putnam (1993; 2000). In many ways, Bourdieu is expanding the communitarian and rational choice claims of social capital that the successful succeed. Unlike the others, he is consistent with regards to the reasons behind not just the success of elites but also the barriers to gaining an equitable share in that success and he provides empirical evidence and theory to explain why some forms of social capital are exclusionary (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984; 1986; 1990).

Other critics of Putnam's communitarian approach question the cognitive aspects of its utility, particularly the role of trust and reciprocity and their causal direction. While Putnam and others (Brehm & Rahn, 1997) assert that trust is generated by people being involved in networks and associations, Stolle (1998) and others (Paxton, 1999; Tonkiss, 2000; Uslaner, 2002) find that joining organisations can also be a result of homophilic characteristics of individuals to gravitate towards other trusting individuals.

Trust is further complicated not only by definitions of familial trust, generalised trust and institutional trust but on the type of commitment required through associational membership. Buchan, Croson, and Dawes (2002) maintain that people tend to trust people they know before they trust strangers but conclude that the more people you know, the more you trust and the more memberships we have in groups, almost any group, the more trust we have in our lives. Sønderskov (2010) asserts that generalized social trust can enhance cooperation but not necessarily associational membership.

Torche and Valenzuela (2011) argue that trust only applies to weak ties and reciprocity to strong ties. The risk is based on the amount of time it takes to build up a close relationship in comparison to those who have a one-off or less intense relationship. There is less to lose with weaker ties with strangers than stronger ties with those people you know.

More recent literature (Lin, 2001; Fine, 2010) highlights the challenge of confusing social capital and benefits derived from it, suggesting that it leads to a circular argument that merely reaffirms that the successful succeed. This issue of tautology highlights some of the challenges of using social capital frameworks to measure social networks or indeed the issues of social inclusion and demonstrates the need to get beyond superficial definitions and explore why people participate in networks and create relationships, why others do not and, what could be the net benefit from such connections that can possibly impact on democracy, health, education and wealth as some commentators claim. These benefits are not readily apparent in wards such as Ardoyne even though they appear on the surface to have a rich tapestry of social connections and by implication, valuable social capital – hence the purpose of this research.

In conclusion, Putnam's claims for social capital's benefits has many weaknesses however, the idea that people instinctively gravitate towards other human beings "in spontaneous fellowship" is a questionable premise that infers the lack of reason or choice. Paul Hirst (1994) sees this as one of the most damaging assumptions associationalists make, stating that;

"there can be no ready proof of this assertion, there are no strong arguments for it in the pluralist texts, and the rise of voluntary associations implies definite social and historical conditions rather than any natural propensity among humans." (Hirst, 1994: 46)

2.5 – Challenges of measurement

Putnam (2000) evidenced levels of social capital through quantifying participation in associations, newspaper reading and voter turnout. These

indicators are complemented by network analysis theories that recognise the value of stratification as well as the impact of strong and weak social networks (Lin, 2001; Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1983; Kadushin, 2004).

The literature suggests that social capital's vague definition is its main weaknesses which in turn compounds attempts to agree a common measurement framework. This is partly because social capital has been used to measure market and government performance impacts at a macro level (Putnam, 2000; Knack & Keefer, 1997; Eurofund, 2014; Scrivens & Smith, 2013) through to individual impacts on health and wellbeing (Lochner, *et al.*, 2003; Helliwell & Putnam, 2004) or educational achievement (Coleman, 1988). Nevertheless, Putnam (2000), and others (World Bank, 2000; Stone & Hughes, 2002) have created measurement frameworks that have formed the basis of question-banks and diagnostics to assist research.

Fine (2010) and others (Portes, 1998; Durlauf & Fafchamps, 2005; Kadushin, 2004) argue that the subject is so broad that measurements have become meaningless. While some commentators are satisfied with demonstrating the presence of social connections *per se*, Portes and Landolt (1996) and others (Fine, 2010) argue that this approach has led to a circular argument that promotes social capital benefits as social connection alone instead of the returns of benefit such connections produce. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development working papers (OECD, 2013) conclude that the challenges centre on the difference between measurements of social capital's structural aspects and its resource aspects.

“While closely linked, the structural and resource-related aspects of social networks are not one and the same, even though they are often treated as such. For example, it may be more likely that someone who knows a lot of people and socialises often with them (i.e. has a solid network *structure*) is also able to easily call on his or her friends for emotional, material and professional support (i.e. has access to a large variety of positive network *resources*).

However, this is not always the case. On an aggregate level, it may

be more likely that a society characterised by strong community and collective network *structure*, as evidenced through high levels of civic engagement, also benefits from strong collective resources stemming from high levels of trust and cooperative norms, but again, this is not necessarily the case.”

(Scrivens & Smith, 2013:19)

The UK Office for National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003) have harmonised many of the measurements into a common framework to reflect the main social capital indicators across five dimensions. In the structural dimension of family support structures, some indicators include frequency of contact with neighbours or proximity of relatives and friends. The civil society dimension includes indicators such as levels of volunteering or levels of participation in civil society associations. Social capital indicators at macro level of civic society are evidenced through voter turnout, and perceptions of influence. Cognitive dimensions examine feelings of trust with friends, neighbours and strangers as well as fear of crime and views of the local area.

Social capital has been measured in Northern Ireland by proxy through surveys and questionnaires, most notably through The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey (ARK, 2001), the Understanding Society survey (which replaced the Northern Ireland Household Panel Survey) and the Omnibus Survey. Community Evaluation Northern Ireland has also measured levels of social capital at ward level across Northern Ireland in 2008 (Morrisey, *et al.*, 2008). Levels of social capital has not been empirically measured at locality level in Ardoyne. The social capital framework is a diagnostic tool that can be used to get to the underlying causes of inequality and social capital's role as a pedagogy of the oppressed.

2.6 – Challenges of interpretation

Empirical research on social capital and social exclusion in Ardoyne is scarce but inferences can be drawn from broader research in interface areas across Northern Ireland (Jarman, 2004; Leonard, 2004, 2008, 2011;

Byrne, *et al.*, 2005; Morrisey, *et al.*, 2008). The phrase “It’s not what you know but who you know” is countered in an Ardoyne context because despite having access to civil society and participative norms for many years, these connections do not produce the access to wealth, health or happiness as expected from communitarian arguments put forth by Putnam (2000) and others. The permanence of high levels of deprivation evidenced by government statistics (NISRA, 2012) suggest the opposite is the case⁴². At the same time, desk research suggests that over 70 locally based organisations deliver services and social activities across around 2,500 households.

Fine (2010) suggests the hierarchical nature of civic participation can give rise to a pathology of good and bad social capital resulting in the socially excluded being seen as problematic and deviant. Not only that, but the advocacy of linking social capital (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Woolcock, 1998) fails to challenge the role of the state in perpetuating social injustice (Fine, 2010).

Previous research (Shirlow, 2001; Makenzie, 2006) indicates high levels of bonding social capital in Ardoyne Ward and across North Belfast more generally. While ‘bonding social capital’ can produce positive consequences such as solidarity and social support and a sense of belonging (Coleman, 1988), Putnam (2000) also infers that it can lead to negative outcomes when it curtails diverse bridging social capital to flourish. The inherent dangers in excessive community bonds were previously identified by Edward Banfield (1958) as;

“amoral familialism” with characteristics such as “fierce loyalty and familial attachment, [where]... members are discouraged from

⁴² Robson and Noble created deprivation indices to rank all of Northern Ireland’s wards and although there have been changes in ward and deprivation definitions over the years, Ardoyne ward remains one of the most deprived wards not only in Northern Ireland but also in the UK. Robson 2001 indices ranked Ardoyne as 12th most deprived in Northern Ireland. Noble 2005 ranked it as 7th most deprived. Noble 2010 it is ranked as 9th most deprived.

advancing economically, moving geographically and engaging in amicable dispute resolution with outsiders.” (Banfield, 1958: 10)

It is argued (Coleman, 1988) that such restrictive networks, where socially deprived people mix only with people facing the same restricted social chances, leads to a downward spiral of negative outcomes and lack the contacts to enhance social chances. Even though small world theorists like Milgram (1967) argue that the social web of the entire human race is only separated by six degrees, such ties seldom reach beyond the poor settings where they are located (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998; Portes & Landolt, 1999).

Government-led social inclusion strategies and programmes are nevertheless, grounded in social policy committed to upholding the UN Convention for Human Rights and are manifest in delivery models such as Ecological Systems Theory models (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Such models focus on familial ties as essential core networks within communities (Daly, 2004) and identify factors that expose families to vulnerability so as to prevent problems arising through early intervention. Current data (NISRA, 2012) indicates the importance of familial ties in Ardoyne. 12 percent of the population there provide voluntary care to family, friends and neighbours. The 2011 census however also records an increase of single parent families and the diminishing role of marriage both of which suggest family cohesion is undergoing demographic change.⁴³

The closed nature of family networks also play a role in endorsing community values and social norms but Kelly (2002) argues that these private networks are sometimes responsible for reinforcing in-group norms and social exclusion along sectarian lines. Deuchar and Holligan (2008) and others (Savage, Li, & Tampubolon, 2006) argue that high levels of bonding social capital actually go to reinforce sectional attitudes and create the definition of outsiders. This is of particular importance

⁴³ 86% of all births in Ardoyne ward (n=110) in 2009 were to unmarried mothers.

when exploring interface areas such as Ardoyne that have experienced long term locality based social conflict that continues to recreate definitions of insiders and outsiders.

Putnam (2000: 358) argues that it is civic engagement not disengagement that produces tolerance. This fails to acknowledge the inequitable conditions and contexts in which intolerance and exclusion is nurtured. McAloney *et al* (2011: 122) posit that “areas subject to higher levels of residential segregation, report lower levels of tolerance of diversity social capital” suggesting that locality trumps individual choice when it comes to tolerance and diversity. NISRA (2012) statistics presents Ardoyne ward as highly segregated along ethno-sectarian cleavages in addition to being situated among the top 10% most deprived wards in Northern Ireland. The wider social capital literature suggests that people in deprived areas have low levels of trust and bridging capital (DCLG, 2010). Theoretical expectations (Seligman, 2000) suggest varying degrees of trust aligned to ecological divisions of social networks (Bronfenbrenner, 1979)⁴⁴ with stronger bonds within families and kinship networks than with strangers or institutions.

Putnam’s definitions of social capital attainment through normative actions such as participation in civil society groups and voluntarism is contextualized in Ardoyne through historical experience and negative perceptions of the State (Ardoyne Commemoration Project, 2002). While there is historical evidence of participation in community or church led activity, it is relative to the environment and social conditions of that time. Local residents had established one of the oldest social clubs in Belfast in 1875, even if it was for the exclusive use of males. Branches of other national organisations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians and cultural organisations such as the Gaelic League and the Gaelic Athletic Association were also set up locally at the turn of the 20th century (Liggett,

⁴⁴ [Families Matter: Supporting Families in Northern Ireland. Regional Family and Parenting Strategy](#) (2009: 20) adopts a whole child approach to developing a family support strategy across Northern Ireland.

1994). Some of these organisations continue to be organised locally. Others have served their purpose and dissolved. The roots of community activism using a rights-based approach can be evidenced through the 1930s with the organisation of tenants against local landlordism (Liggett, 2004).

Putnam's version of social capital puts the onus on individuals to conform to social norms. There is a scarcity of data to reflect the challenges to social norms by those individuals who do not legitimise bad governance. Some current organisations have been established in Ardoyne in response to social injustices in welfare, health and wellbeing, housing, education and civil life, reflecting the demographic and economic changes forming new local policy priorities as well as policies drivers for government. The trajectory of participation has also changed relative to individual lifecycles across the UK.⁴⁵

In Northern Ireland, bonding social capital's homophilous attributes have been used to describe communities of similar political and religious backgrounds (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2004, 2006; Makenzie, 2006; Murtagh, Shirlow & Copeland, 2009), but civil society organisations within localities like Ardoyne also consist of more broadly focused communities of interest⁴⁶ such as groups that deal with universal health issues. Bridging social capital, in contrast, is externally focused on heterophilous networks and has also tended to be focused on links that stretch across and ethno-sectarian boundaries. The physical nature of "peace walls" however reinforce in-group/out-group definitions to perpetuate perceptions of fear (Jarman, 2004). Shirlow (2001) highlighted how fear is one cause for self-exclusion at Ardoyne. This is supported by more recent research by

⁴⁵ Trajectory Research Report, Big Lottery Fund 2013 is an ongoing monitor of social change across the UK. https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/-/media/Files/Research%20Documents/Foresight/Foresight%201%20Jan%202014_FULL.pdf

⁴⁶ See Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust research on communities of weak infrastructure. NIVT supported a demonstration project at Marrowbone in Ardoyne ward, Big Lottery Fund research on communities and places, <https://www.biglotteryfund.org.uk/research/communities-and-places>, Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action publication State of the Sector is an ongoing monitoring report on voluntary, community and social enterprise activity across Northern Ireland.

Leonard (2008) demonstrating how interface walls continue to impact on teenagers living in interface areas. Other subtler examples of self-exclusion include capability issues influenced by illiteracy, self-esteem or Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (1977) which has inculcated expectations based on historically established psycho-social and cultural norms.

Cultural norms such as trust, reciprocity, altruism, volunteering and civil and civic participation are all elements of social capital used by Daly and Silver (2008) to describe a trajectory of social attainment, upward mobility and social progress. Bauder (2002) highlights the impact of pathologising social traits such as self-exclusion and non-participation as evidence of social dysfunction. The outcome of such pathologising results in alienation and marginalization from the 'mainstream' (Daly & Silver, 2008) and feeds into notions of the social underclass, referred to by Murray (1990) and others (Aluetta, 1982; Brown, 1989). One perception highlighted by a local 2004 evaluation by Shirlow and Murtagh (2004: 58) reported "a series of negative attitudes among many neighbourhood residents in Ardoyne who believe that the community sector is self-serving and opportunistic," suggests elitism and gatekeeping have a role within broader social capital frameworks. It is within this context that empirical research into non-participation in social networks within a segregated interface area such as Ardoyne furthers our understanding of social capital's links to social exclusion.

Section 2.7 – Conclusion

Social capital's relationship with social exclusion follows several routes in the literature. Burchardt *et al.* (1999: 241), after trying to define exclusion/inclusion into core activities and indicators concluded, "there was no clear-cut category" of socially excluded people that could be constantly categorised within one homogenous group. In Northern Ireland, the results and possible sites of social exclusion are reflected in multiple deprivation measures⁴⁷ that are produced by government

⁴⁷ Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure (NIMDM) are collected from a variety of data sources and presented as open data. NIMDM covers seven deprivation domains and is available at:

showing levels of unemployment, educational attainment, health and population trends. These along with both structural and cognitive perceptions of exclusion demonstrate how constructions of participation are subject to the power of brokerage and other mechanisms of social advantage.

The literature highlights some negative impacts of adopting Putnam's social capital hypothesis without challenging power structures and those with a vested interest in resource governance. Edwards and Foley (2001) note that social capital is not equally available nor is it created equally and the premise of its acceptance as a civic virtue is widely challenged in the critical literature.

The policy promotion of social capital as a civic virtue belies the exclusionary nature of the competition for social resources in hierarchically structured society. The competitive nature of privilege and advantage within social networks perpetuate social injustices for those who cannot compete on an equal footing (Bourdieu, 1986; Burt, 1992, 1997, 2000, 2002; Lin, 2001; Lowndes, 2000, 2004).

Furthermore, the notion that social capital can also alienate and marginalize those who are excluded from such structures and resources (Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 2001; Lowndes, 2004) frames the extent of the arguments around impact by presenting social circumstances in such a way as to further social stereotyping, labelling and zero-sum measures of social inclusion within the societal mainstream.

Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

Researching the potential negative role of social capital is challenging given its broad acceptance as a tool for social good (Putnam 1993; 2000)⁴⁸ particularly by those who promote its use in a post-conflict situation such as Northern Ireland (Morrow, 2006; Cairns & Williamson, 2004), and those who use social capital promotion as a more general community development method (McKenzie, *et al.*, 2002; Aldridge, *et al.*, 2002; Anheier & Kendall, 2002; Green & Haines, 2016). Despite the extensive advocacy for such an approach, ward level data from Ardoyne on health outcomes, violence and community cohesion, suggests that the predicted benefits of social capital are not produced through associational engagement (NISRA, 2011).

As noted previously social capital is applied to so many of the academic sciences that its meaning and measurement is complex (Fine, 2010). As a fluid concept, it is easily morphed into structures such as social hierarchies to be a theory of everything (Tonkiss, 2000). However, when faced with post structural analysis of social networks by Bourdieu (1986) or Lin (2001) it becomes more obscure and its definition more slippery to categorise. This is particularly challenging in a post conflict locality such as Ardoyne given the impact on the inhabitants of ritualised commemorations, the perpetuation of fear through segregation, ethno-sectarian norms (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006) and the long-term tenancy characteristic of the residents. Bourdieu (1990; 1995) contends that social capital is driven by selfish intent leading to anti-social and oppressive outcomes, where the individual's competitive edge is shaped by structural, cultural and environmental factors. These conflicting interpretations of social capital set the context for data analysis herein. This thesis set out to test these assertions by eliciting individual opinion on the value of

⁴⁸ Local government strategies in Northern Ireland have promoted social capital models in the development for instance of Community Empowerment Partnerships in North Belfast and have gained leverage from capacity building projects and social networks that had been developed through the European Peace 1 and 2 programmes funded projects using social capital promotion such as that at Ardoyne Focus Group to promote social inclusion and cohesion.

joining and participating in civil/civic networks and the conditions that would support any perceived pro or anti-social outcomes. What was required therefore, was a method to draw first hand opinions from those who participate in these networks and those who do not. The social capital literature provided a tested generic question-bank and a variety of techniques to robustly gather valid data in this regard (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Siegler, *et al.*, 2015). These questions provided the basis for my locality based Social Capital Questionnaire (See Appendix 2).

There are enough clues in recent research literature about the extent of social exclusion (North Belfast Community Action Project, 2002; Shirlow, 2001; Makenzie, 2006; McDonnell, *et al.*, 2008; Murtagh, *et al.*, 2009) that cannot be explained by communitarian based social capital narratives, to justify further research into social capital's impact in Ardoyne in particular. Ardoyne is a ward in Belfast of less than half a square km. It is defined as an interface area in that it is, for the greater part, encircled by a 18ft high barrier which restricts movement in and out of the area and reminds people on either side this barrier of the security threat, real or imagined, to their lives (Byrne, *et al.*, 2012). These walls are not only a legacy of past conflicts between the IRA and other republican groups and the State⁴⁹ but have been added to over recent years to reinforce segregated religious living and added safety from perceived potential attack by Loyalist paramilitaries (Jarman, 2012). The area is self-contained with a health centre, leisure facilities, shopping, pubs, and a network of more than 70 civil society organisations (See Appendix 1). Nonetheless it has remained one of the most deprived areas in the UK (NISRA, 2011) since government began official recording of deprivation measurements⁵⁰. Understanding why the ward remains at the bottom of social wellbeing scales even though it appears to have a functioning internal network of

⁴⁹ The Irish Republican Army's (IRA) ongoing political violence included a prolonged period of guerilla warfare from 1970-1994 with the purpose of forcing the UK Government to renegotiate the terms of the Government of Ireland Act 1921 and withdraw from Northern Ireland.

⁵⁰ See footnote 42.

social supports and healthy levels of social capital, raises a series of valuable questions that the thesis identified as worthy of examining.

- Is social capital contributing to social exclusion in Ardoyne?
- Is it the way social capital is produced and converted that contributes to that exclusion?
- And if it is the latter could the research identify the key missing components?

The research is focused on the need to establish validity across research paradigms to come to a theoretical position about the data that would generate a plausible explanation about why social capital's benefits do not appear to overcome social exclusion in Ardoyne. This chapter begins with defining the aims and purpose that shape the research paradigm and its ontological drivers, alongside a reflection on the ethical drivers to "do no harm" (Brewer, 2015). This is complemented by identifying some of the main issues and risks that shaped the final research design. Following that is a rationale for choosing a mixed methods approach and the challenges therein with regard to balancing etic/emic calls on the research and possible impacts on validity. The chapter goes on to outline various research instruments and critically reflects on their robustness. To conclude, the chapter explains how grounded theory techniques were used to analyse the data and generate theoretical categories to explain social phenomenon.

3.1 - Research aims, purpose, ontological premise and ethics

Social capital's evolution and discussions on determinants of health and wellbeing (Marmot & Wilkinson, 2006; Elvidge, 2012) have also influenced and informed the approach adopted. Not only have these expanded the understanding of poverty and deprivation to include disparities of health, education, environment and social inclusion but have produced more mixed method approaches to measure and understand areas of complex social interactions (Douglas, *et al.*, 2010; Baum, 1995; Ragin, *et al.*, 2004, Vega, 2005). It is within this complex mix that social capital and social

exclusion is positioned (Dudwick, *et al.*, 2006). The purpose of the research therefore was not simply to provide objective deduction to fill a knowledge gap but instead to solve the problem of why individuals who live in an interface area are motivated and influenced to make choices that determine their role in society.

Previous studies about social relationships in Ardoyne (Burton, 1978; Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006; Ardoyne Commemoration Project, 2002) have employed a mix of etic/emic approaches, whereas the approach herein is based upon examining the attitudes and opinions of current local residents and not solely the views of community representatives or their proxies. The research aim explores why social capital is not converted by local people into the promised benefits alluded to by academia and community development practitioners. To do this, methods were designed that could move beyond merely interviewing community leaders, to one that would also reach those on the margins of society. This meant designing a framework that could provide rich descriptions (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011) that reflect the lived experience of residents as well as encapsulating the ethical principle of “doing no harm” (Brewer, 2000; 2003). Such a methodology needed to focus on social relationships, and the subjective meaning of individual feelings. The nature of the enquiry was determined then by its purpose, which was to survey existing conditions and understand phenomenological outcomes. While the research provides a historical and situative insight and context, it does so with the intent of understanding individual attachment and relative interaction with these concepts.

I have lived in Ardoyne for more than 40 years and have worked as a community development practitioner amongst my friends, neighbours and colleagues there, using a variety of methods to challenge social injustice over the past 30 years. For the last 10 years, I have been working at a macro level with a government arms-length body, distributing funds to good causes across Northern Ireland and the UK. Due to the embedded context of my researcher role there were potential challenges when

exploring some uncomfortable truths that exposed the research to social desirability bias. I also had to manage feelings of betrayal and obligation with those who earn a living promoting community or providing patronage locally. Gathering opinions of those who feel they are marginalised also contextualised social inequalities and its impact on them personally. My research approach was steered by these transactional and subjectivist narratives and allowed me to adopt a more locality based and constructivist ontology for the research (Charmaz, 2000; 2006). I was nevertheless minded of O'Connell *et al's* (1994: 215) advice that cautioned that "virtually all social research is intrusive and exploitative to some degree". With this in mind, getting informed consent of interviewees was central to protecting the needs of both myself and interviewees (Diener & Crandall, 1978; Lundy, 2012. See Appendix 2).

The main rationale was to explore the lived experience of social participation and centred on a concern that social capital rhetoric was masking social injustice at an individual level. While there is consistent agreement on general definitions of social capital, and dimensions, there are no clear definitions at operational level to its benefits and outcomes or the methods of measuring its impact more generally (Li, *et al.*, 2005; Halpern, 2005; Patulny & Svendsen, 2007; Kadushin, 2012). This paradigmatic difference between process and impact has influenced giving primacy to qualitative methods to investigate any distribution barriers to social capital's benefits (Shirlow & Murtagh, 2006; Makenzie, 2006) and the nature of basic social processes.

Miles and Huberman (1994: 42) suggest that both quantitative and qualitative methods can be "productive for descriptive reconnoitring, exploratory, inductive, opening up purposes", while Bryman (2001) suggests that a mixed method approach can be justified by the particular context of the research purpose. Quantitative data can, in this instance, be useful to help the choice of questions to be explored by qualitative methods. (Punch, 2005). Jones and Woolcock (2007) point out that;

"Social capital readily lends itself to a mixed-methods research approach [as it] allows researchers to construct a more

comprehensive picture of the structures, perceptions and processes of social capital in a given locality.” (Jones and Woolcock, 2007: 16)

Adopting a mixed methods strategy addresses the theoretical variables of micro/macro and individual/collective continua by investigating not just when phenomena occur but by providing a wider picture critiquing traditional narratives of locality and communitarian perspectives of social capital more generally. The mixed method approach adapted was also prompted by the literature to date on the development of standardised instruments to measure social capital (Onyx & Bullen, 1997; Putnam, 2000; Stone, *et al.*, 2002; Veenstra, 2005). One of the weaknesses in coming to an agreed standard has been the inability to bridge the gap between measuring density of social networks and measuring the quality of the networks in terms of durability, access and peoples’ perceptions of them (Li, *et al.*, 2005). Using surveys to collect baseline information that can be subsequently validated at an individual level, provided the type of relative information required to generate theoretical comparison.

3.2 - Multiphase approach.

Data collection was iteratively gathered in three phases. The first phase scoped out the current literature on social capital, social networking and social exclusion to ensure the interview agenda addressed various types of social capital and their indicators (Harper & Kelly, 2003).

The data collection phases began with a coproduced a map of 72 locally organised civil society organisations to inform the scope of data collection (See Appendix 1). This proved to be a useful relationship building exercise to encourage interest and support for the research subject and overcame barriers that would otherwise have been constrained by a cold calling approach of an outsider. The second phase focused on designing and implementing a doorstep attitudes survey to establish a baseline of familial, civil and civic society networks across the ward (See Appendix 2). A final phase employed the qualitative research paradigm *via semi*

structured person-centred interviews whose questions were focused by the preceding doorstep survey and scoping exercises.

While this level of design has etic characteristics, the later *in vivo* categories, created by interviewees, transcended forced categories and helped deconstruct some existing motivations for participation. These concerns were mitigated by adopting constructivist grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2009), described in greater detail below, but is focused on the main principles of constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling, saturation of data and memoing, while always recognising multiple standpoints of both the theorist and the research participant.

3.3 - Identifying a representative sample

Being a passive beneficiary of social capital and controlling social capital is not the same thing and the purpose of this research strategy was to explore the complex rules that motivate and influence individual choices that determine individual roles in society.

Two of the key data collection phases focused on collecting survey data across the ward and collecting more qualitative data through interviewing. The focus of study was geographically determined by ward boundaries containing a resident population of 4,229 people over the age of 18, dispersed across 2,568 households and reflects demographic census data (NISRA, 2011)⁵¹ at the time. Four variables were used to track disparities in participation trends. Previous research in interface areas (McAloney, *et al.*, 2011; Leonard & McKnight, 2011) identified age and gender as important research variables to ensure participants have had exposure to the education system and labour market and to the social/civic participation opportunities that have emerged since the 1980s. Four age ranges were incorporated into the survey: 18-24; 25-40; 41-64; and 65 plus. The range of UK doorstep response rates are estimated

⁵¹ Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service provides a data analysis at ward level of deprivation indices. (See www.nisra.gov.uk)

between 75% (Healey, 1991) and 90% (Neuman, 2000). To ensure a 95% confidence level, the strategy aimed to access 255 actual responses at the doorstep, giving a margin of error of 6%. It was necessary to plan to collect 304 household surveys to achieve this quota.

In total, random samples surveyed 255 individuals on the doorstep by visiting every 8th home. These had been previously assigned a generated number and surveys were completed until the sample variables were represented. Each survey averaged approximately 20 minutes. Survey respondents were given the opportunity to volunteer to take part in a follow-up tape-recorded interview. They were also given the opportunity to stop the survey at any time.

The sample frame generated a secondary sample of 30 local residents each of whom consented to a follow-up face-to-face interview in 2015. Using a grounded theory approach had resource implications for the study in terms of diary planning. I was intending to conduct the research single handedly to minimize response error and therefore had to balance time and resources to good effect. Representative samples during the interview process were based on data saturation (Morse, 2000; Charmaz, 2009) more than demonstrating quantity. Each interview was tape recorded and lasted approximately one hour. The research literature estimated that one hour's worth of electronic recording can take up to ten hours to transcribe (Robson, 1999). All these considerations informed the research approach and the risks to data collection management.

In order to reduce participant error or bias and increase the representativeness of the sample, the research method needed to balance gathering data from not only key community stakeholders and their networks but also include those not in social brokerage roles. The lack of data on membership or even on the extent of social networks provided further challenges. Desk research, conducted in 2013, identified nine key areas for civil participation - education, health, social, community, sport, culture, housing, politics and religion and these categories

determined the distinct sampling frames for residents and organisation members and staff. That research mapped 72 locally organised groups in the ward (See Appendix 1).

Initial discussions indicated that representatives from each of these thematic groupings were amenable to helping with the research. Community groups were asked to deliver envelopes to their members through which they were asked if they wished to participate in the study to return these self-addressed envelopes to me and an interview date was organised. Tape-recorded interviews were completed in the participant's homes or a neutral venue. Using both cold calling at doorstep with surveys and recruiting respondents through their organisations, a total of 255 surveys and 24 interviews were eventually completed. Twelve of these interviews were completed with members of groups and twelve interviews were completed by residents who were not members of groups.

3.4 - The quantitative survey

Maintaining objectivity using a survey to collect attitudinal data had its challenges. The survey allowed me to take a snapshot of quantitative data (Marsh, 1982) but it also had the potential to impose a biased structure on the data that could compromise its overall emic intention.

As such my role as the researcher distanced my influence on the research outcomes to an extent, but my presence as a male and my familiarity with some of the interviewees meant that there was room for error and response bias. Kanuha (1999) reminds us of Hayano's (1979) cautionary advice against over estimating the value of an emic perspective by reminding us that "an insider's position is not necessarily an unchallengeable 'true' picture; it represents one possible perspective" (1979: 102). Using constructivist grounded theory overcame some of these concerns in the data analysis phase.

Even though Hakim (1987) suggests using surveys because their transparency strengthens their validity, the literature also cautions that

surveys do not necessarily overcome a social desirability response bias, as people like to respond in a way that shows them in a good light (Robson, 1993; Paulhus, 1984; Dillman, 2000; Rahman & Dewar, 2006; Krumpal, 2013). An awareness of these issues informed follow-up interviews and probes but reinforced ethical requirements around guarantees of anonymity, data protection and providing clarity on the purpose of the research to encourage frankness, assure privacy and manage perceptions of risk (Krumpal, 2013; Lundy, 2012; Wood, 2006).

The purpose of the social capital questionnaire was to capture the extent of neighbourhood and family support networks across a social exclusion spectrum. To do this some questions explored the cognitive indicators of social capital by questions around voting propensity and attitudes towards race, religion or political difference. Nominative techniques were used to complement enquiry questions about such sensitive issues where social desirability could influence self-reporting. Nominative technique is where interviewees serve as informants on general groups instead of providing responses that relate directly to their own experience (See Sirken, 1970; Sirken, *et al.*, 1975; Krumpal, 2013).

3.5 - National and International Social Capital measurements

Measuring social capital continues to evolve. The World Values Survey was conducted from 1981 to 1995 and measured cultural factors in economic development to be integrated into the Global Social Capital Survey. Similar work has been conducted internationally in places such as New South Wales (Onyx & Bullen, 1997), Colombia (Sudarsky, 1999), the USA (Putnam, 2000), Greece (Kristatokis, *et al.*, 2008) and Northern Ireland (McAloney, 2011). These surveys have identified locally based factors and dimensions that capture rural and urban culture and the adaptations necessary to compare or contrast baselines. The questions used in these surveys have been both quantitative and qualitative using open ended and closed questions. As social capital theory developed the frameworks to understand its measurements and unique factor analyses designs began to gather pace. The Office for National Statistics (Harper

& Kelly, 2003) eventually harmonised the social capital measurement framework in the UK into five dimensions. Three structural dimensions explored participation at family and neighbourhood level, at civil society level, and at civic society level. Two cognitive dimensions explored attitudes on trust, reciprocity and views of the local area in which they live.

Dimension	Examples of indicators
Social participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of cultural, leisure, social groups belonged to and frequency and intensity of involvement • Volunteering, frequency and intensity of involvement • Religious activity
Civic participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceptions of ability to influence events • How well informed about local/national affairs • Contact with public officials or political representatives • Involvement with local action groups • Propensity to vote
Social networks and social support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frequency of seeing/speaking to relatives/friends/neighbours • Extent of virtual networks and frequency of contact • Number of close friends/relatives who live nearby • Exchange of help • Perceived control and satisfaction with life
Reciprocity and trust	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trust in other people who are like you • Trust in other people who are not like you • Confidence in institutions at different levels • Doing favours and vice versa • Perception of shared values
Views on the local area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Views on physical environment • Facilities in the area • Enjoyment of living in the area • Fear of crime
Source: ONS framework for measurement of social capital Harper & Kelly 2003	

In contrast to social capital measurements across the world it was clear that Putnam's (2000) work was US-centric (See Hall, 1999) and local measurement needed to reflect local contexts. In Northern Ireland, social

capital has been measured by proxy through surveys and questionnaires, most notably through The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey in 2001/03 and other ongoing surveys such as the Understanding Society survey (which replaced the Northern Ireland Household Panel Survey) and the Omnibus Survey.

Most of these social surveys pick up on elements of social capital such as questions on the experience of crime or participation in political/voluntary organisations. At national level, the UK Social Capital Survey is collected by the Office of National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003) and covers five dimensions to explicitly measure the concept.

Onyx and Bullen's (2000) work to develop a standardised approach to survey questions and dimensions has been complemented by other researchers such as O'Brien *et al* (2004), Veenstra (2005) and Kristotakis *et al* (2008). Community Evaluation Northern Ireland mapped social capital levels at super output area across Northern Ireland and validated their findings through independent moderation (Morrisey, *et al.*, 2008). Their conclusions showed that aggregated social capital was strong in Ardoyne ward but that predicted benefits did not flow from this strength. In 2011, McAloney *et al* designed a Northern Ireland version of the questionnaire for use in "religiously segregated areas". Using factor analysis they conducted a comparative study between two independent samples. As a result, they designed a 26-item Northern Ireland Social Capital Questionnaire. They identified a gap in the previous SCQs measurements for political trust and engagement. Their conclusions showed that social capital was lower among individuals from religiously segregated areas and found that females play an important role in bridging and maintaining bonding social capital.

The research framework adapted elements from McAloney *et al*'s (2011) questionnaire along with the ONS 5-dimensional framework (Harper & Kelly, 2003) to produce an Ardoyne social capital questionnaire that used a range of Likert-type questions. (See Appendix 2). Data from desk

research on the existing groups operating in the ward provided the local context to the survey.

3.6 - The qualitative interview

Interview questions were generated from initial survey findings and focused within the main five-dimensional structure suggested by ONS (Harper & Kelly, 2003, Siegler, 2015). Questions sought to elucidate opinions on motivation and rational choice. The semi-structured nature of the interviews were intended to control timeframes and resource capability but were flexible enough to allow interviewees to take me down paths that opened up new theoretical categories (Powney & Watts, 1987). I believed I had enough experience in carrying out such interviews over the past 10 years that I could control such a method.

Interviews were conducted between January and June 2015 at people's homes and lasted approximately one hour. Three were conducted at community group premises. The flexibility in choosing interview venue was aimed at maximising privacy and bringing extra reassurance about confidentiality of data and its final analysis. These assurances replicated previous ones given during quantitative survey data collection and were aimed to manage expectations around disclosure (Krumpal, 2013). Concerns about social desirability remained, but ensuring I had enough knowledge about the locality sample prior to starting my research (Lofland & Lofland, 1984) meant that probing secondary questions were meaningful. The iterative method of constant comparison allowed me to be led by *in vivo* codes as they emerged from interviews.

My research role as an insider, whilst giving me the advantage of access to residents and community groups that would otherwise been closed to others, also came with the potential disadvantage of overestimating that position. Kanuha (2000) cautions about making homogenous assumptions from "intimate knowledge of the particular and situated experiences of all members of the group or that generalisations can or should be made about the knowledge the researcher holds about her own

culture” (Kanuha, 2000:443). I overcame this by reinforcing my objective researcher role from the outset of both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. Validation of these challenges was supported by using Grounded Theory Methods in data analysis which mitigated subjective interpretation.

One critical learning point taken from my approach was the need to marshal my over ambition which resulted in a refocus and a narrowing of the scope of the research to cope with limited time available and access to interviewees. Many interviews resulted in a ‘no show’ and some withdrew their consent at the last minute. Others ignored my attempts to call them back. From an original planned sample of 44, I ended up with 24 face to face interviews.

3.7 - Data Analysis – developing coding paradigms

The research puzzle used grounded theory as the mechanism to analyse the multi-layers of data generated through all phases of the research. The method was used to blend deductive doorstep survey data with qualitative data from person-centred interviews to inductively reason and explain participation trends in social networks in line with Glaser’s edict “All is data” (Glaser, 2001:145). Baseline social capital indicators were calculated from a sample of 10% of households in the ward by using SPSS to cross tabulate quantitative survey data.

The constructivist research paradigm allowed interviewees in the second phase of data analysis to explain how processes of participation were enacted and how members of the various social groups interpreted the world around them (Bryman, 2001; Hesse-Biber, 2010).

A qualitative analysis framework generated hypothetical questions from comparative coding analysis leading to the testable deductive assertions about the area, the value of its social networks, and the extent of its perceived benefits across different groups and individuals. By using Grounded Theory techniques the research was able to avoid forcing categories on the data but instead allowed the data to generate tangible

and non-tangible properties of the categories (Dey, 1999). This process of coding was facilitated through constant comparison of data and its categories (Diagrammatic presentations of the final data coding categories can be examined at Appendices 3, 4 and 5). These theoretical questions helped deconstruct a communitarian narrative by providing an insight into the characteristics of participation, trust and reciprocity to show how these characteristics interrupt the flow of social capital's benefits.

3.8 - Choosing grounded theory for data analysis.

Grounded theory is defined as a language oriented research method that finds its roots in symbolic interactionism and multivariate analysis. There are several styles used that have been shaped by the thinking of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978; la Rossa, 2005). Both theorists parted ways over a fundamental difference in methodological approach around the independent neutrality of knowledge. Glaser advocated approaching a scientific problem without preconceived ideas around theories and did not advocate developing a literature review until after the data collection has begun. Strauss questioned the possibility of beginning with a *tabula rasa* given that the researcher is also embedded in the same social structures which they are observing. This influenced my own rationale given my awareness of the conflicts of interest that I needed to manage and the ethical principles that should guide such social research tasks. Herbert Blumer (1973) asserted that the act of scientific inquiry begins with a problem and pointed to the absurdity of defending a problem's definition without a requirement to consider how and why it had become a problem in the first place in order to begin resolving it through empirical inquiry. I concluded that adopting a Strausserian approach would ensure a more sophisticated interpretation of the theoretical problem based on my personal insight of relevant data elements for theoretical development.

I was interested in Kathy Charmaz's (2006) work on constructivist grounded theory which is a development from the original advocates who

gave primacy to the opinions of the research participants in order to clarify emerging theoretical categories. This constructivist perspective follows an interpretivist tradition (Mead, 1934) that unpacks the consequences of phenomenon in order to consider all possible theoretical conditions that are individually experienced and interpreted. Iterative critiques of each theoretical category ultimately filters to my own interpretative explanation of social phenomena.

Strauss (1987) argued that grounded theory method is simultaneously inductive, deductive and abductive. He believed the method is inductive when it builds up to a theory through analysis. It is deductive when it filters down to a conclusion and it is abductive by making horizontal comparisons simultaneously with the former and the latter. Abduction was defined by Bryant and Charmaz (2007) as;

“A type of reasoning that begins by examining data and after scrutiny of these data, entertains all possible explanation for the observed data, and then forms a hypothesis to confirm or disconfirm until the researcher arrives at the most plausible interpretation of the observed data.” (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007: 603)

My choice of Grounded Theory was informed by current literature on qualitative methods and case studies in which it had been employed. Citing Annells (1997) Cooney (2010: 25) states, “A focus on social process, social structure and social interactions is appropriate for grounded theory” and has several advocates (La Rossa, 2005; Beber, *et al.*, 1992). In addition, the choice of method was influenced by its potential to

- generate theory and provide an explanation of the phenomena
- eradicate the problem of sampling errors
- overcome issues around generalization
- facilitation of application and systematic approach to coding

3.9 - Constructivist grounded theory coding process in practice

Constructivist Grounded Theory requires the researcher to get close to people and discover how they interpret the world around them before explaining why they interpret it in that way. It also acknowledges that the interpretation of those individual realities “depends on the researcher’s view. It does not and cannot stand outside of it” (Charmaz, 2006: 130). La Rossa (2005: 847) explains that grounded theory’s overarching characteristic is a “constant awareness and explanation of power and politics in social networking.” This resonated with my own conclusions and was reaffirmed as the method was applied and theoretical themes began to emerge from *in vivo* codes. These characteristics are supported by the theory’s most common three-step coding process - open, axial and selective (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; 1998). Transcribed text from person-centred interviews began with open coding. The process uses constant comparison to develop a concept from what Glaser (1978) calls ‘indicators’. These indicators are drawn from raw transcription in the form of common words, themes or sentences and were grouped into abstract indicators called ‘concepts’ in a process known as the ‘concept-indicator model’ (Glaser, 1978: 62-63). The emergence of pattern in the dialogue evolved into different social phenomenon within the data generated within each social capital dimension (See Appendices 3, 4 and 5). The first interviews took 2 males, one who was a member of a group, another who was not in a group and followed a semi-structured interview script which provided the parameters for discussion within each social capital dimension. This process was then continued with two females with similar membership status. The dialogue was transcribed and analysed line by line. Categories and similarities began to emerge from the dialogue. The first four interviews and emerging phenomenon were further explored with the next four interviews, and so on until the phenomenon yielded no further evidence.

Harper and Kelly’s (2003) 5-dimensional framework provided areas where codes emerged from the transcriptions and were categorised through each data collection phase. Interview opinions varied but the semi-

structured nature allowed respondents to discuss processes for such things like motivation and their feelings and opinions on why they made choices or accessed opportunities to network. Each iteration was observed and memoed for theoretical comparison and arranged for the next stage of the process - axial coding.

At the axial coding level, concept maps were developed to help filter concepts into theoretical frameworks through which to test emerging hypotheses. Strauss and Corbin (1990: 153) suggest using theory-generating questions, referred to as 'the 6 C's' (causes, contexts, contingencies, consequences, covariances and conditions). Morrow and Smith (1995) advocate methods to assist data analysis process that explore the properties of sentences and phrases and identify conditions that led to the emergence of the properties (Appendices 3, 4 and 5). It is at this stage that coding paradigms in the form of theoretical models begin to emerge that outline the connections and patterns within categories that can be tested hypothetically (See Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998; Charmaz, 2006).

For instance, some patterns began to emerge across the coded categories within the familial support dimension, relating to brokerage roles. Theoretical concepts tested for example, whether participation in civil society is dependent on the power of brokers. It involved examining who these brokers are, how they developed this role, how this impacts on interview respondent's feelings and what strategies they adopted to endure and accept such phenomenon (See Appendices 3, 4 and 5). Filtering out redundant concepts, categories and hypotheses during the coding process is known in the Grounded Theory process as theoretical sampling. The process of theoretical sampling of these final categories and the refinement of concepts is subjective and did not finish until theoretical concepts had been saturated and could not elicit further data to verify the relationships between categories. These concepts and their explanations are presented in forthcoming chapters along with their findings.

In the final stage, selective coding aimed to integrate across the core categories in order to build and refine the theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Core categories were compared back across the data supported by recorded memos. The elements of the concept were escalated into abstractions to identify a global phenomenon or framework. Some common concepts began to emerge across the five social capital dimensions, from the dialogue and respondent vocabularies around social acceptance, rational choice, and stereotyping. These were more related to psychological forces of the self than collective concepts of community and are presented in final chapters.

Chapter 4 - Social capital indicators in family networks and their determinants

This chapter shows how social capital contributes to social exclusion by demonstrating how relationships within families and between their extended friends, relatives and acquaintances are determined by an inequitable distribution of power based on gender, age and proximity of residence. Social capital draws on the language of relationships and affiliation and their impact on social wellbeing. In this regard, the widespread civil society network in Ardoyne gives the appearance of social cohesion. Communitarian theories of social capital, while acknowledging the important role of the individual within the family unit, also promote the idea that family networks are insular and eventually lead to negative social outcomes of selfish individualism if they are not connected to wider civil society networks. It is only when they are connected in this way, that they contribute to interlocking ties and obligations of community (Putnam, 1993, 2000, 2015; Coleman, 1991).

The importance of family interconnections with wider civil and civic society is recognised through social policy in Northern Ireland, particularly where it positions the individual at the centre of a wider interdependent series of networks and influences. Some current government strategies in Northern Ireland for instance, lean on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of a child's ecological development, and the importance of kinship networks in the development of cooperation of individuals and wider societal networks (Berger, 2012).⁵² From this viewpoint the strongest ties exist between individuals, siblings and parents that eventually expand to close friends, neighbours, relatives and then with strangers through to school and wider society. These social networks evolve through an individualised process and are impacted by a wide range of influences to provide opportunities for people to define themselves according to societal perception of them

⁵² The Families Matter Strategy was formally launched at the Dry Arch Centre, County Derry, on 12 March 2009 and adapts Bronfenbrenner's ecological environment model to define the whole child approach of future family social policy. www.dhsspsni.gov.uk/families_matter_strategy.pdf

(Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Strauss, 1969). In recognition of the importance of these kinship networks OECD (Scrivens, *et al.*, 2013), ONS (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Siegler, 2014; 2015) and others (Stone, 2001; Stone, *et al.*, 2003; Onyx & Bullen, 2000; McAloney, *et al.*, 2011) have developed social capital indicators at that localized level of the home. They include metrics that capture:

- Frequency of seeing/speaking to relatives /friends/neighbours
- Number of close friends/relatives who live nearby
- Extent of exchanges of help
- Perceived control and satisfaction with life

Connections between close relations and friends are referred to by Putnam (1993; 2000), Woolcock (1998) and others as bonding social capital. The paradox of bonding social capital, is that strengthening ties within the family unit alone, without broadening and diversifying into wider social networks, encourages greater insularity and reduces opportunities to establish weaker heterogeneous ties (Gans, 1961; Granovetter, 1973; Putnam, 2000). It is further implied by social scientists in Northern Ireland that these close ties negatively impact on efforts to encourage inter-community exchanges designed to mitigate intercommunity conflicts. Since Ardoyne ward continues to be a site of ethno-sectarian tensions (Heatley, 2004; Nolan, 2014) this phenomenon of fear-related bonds was examined in interviews. This is important to note because what we see is the challenge of individuals who are reacting to the post-industrial, post-conflict context in which they are embedded. This context shapes the forces of social change that emanate from these events to affect their lives. Social capital acquisition is promoted therefore by communitarian's like Putnam as one way of building resilience to the negative consequences of these wider social changes.

Research survey questions explore the extent and quality of family and friend networks to better understand levels of available social support

within Ardoyne ward. Responses indicate that far from being homogenous, family connections are diverse, their strength is relative and neither do they fit rigidly into Putnam's social capital hypothesis of manufactured insularity. Moreover, the attributes of these family connections are determined by structural drivers such as gender roles, age and individual positions within social hierarchies (Lin, 2001; Bourdieu, 1977) and are not easily stereotyped through generality.

Discussion areas were generated from initial survey data analysis to form a framework for semi-structured interviews. Other areas for discussion emerged from *in vivo* codes to bring greater clarity around intervening conditions and contextual challenges faced by individuals. These discussions and their analysis are presented in this chapter to demonstrate how the ability to strengthen and weaken ties, advantages some people at the expense of others. It also challenges the bonding social capital *doxa* that asserts that such ties are negative in character and curtail collaboration and cooperation with others who are different, such as those within Ardoyne who hold differing views and opinions or who have only moved into the area and do not contribute to existing social networks, or those who have no familial linkages and are regarded as strangers.

This chapter explores these brokerage roles alongside gender, age, proximity and length of residency to demonstrate the complexity and different properties of micro networks. In this way, the research illustrates the multiple conditions influencing choice and ability to produce social exchange. It is these social interactions at micro level that underpin wider exchanges with others to develop social networks and convert this into capitals for public and individual benefit. The findings show how networks and motives for participation are contextualized by locality, rituals of commemoration and family traditions to reproduce networks of solidarity and support in a time of post-industrial and post-conflict change. The fact, however, that they need to be reinvented through constant rituals demonstrates the artificial status of their projected image of social

cohesion. The exploration of social dynamics at an individual level suggests a more fluid reality of functioning social hierarchies. This idea is a hugely significant perspective for those tasked with gathering evidence to inform social change policies at a more strategic level and it highlights some of the challenges in defining the fluid nature of social hierarchies in these circumstances.

Maslow (1943) suggests that belonging to a group is a psycho-social driver towards an individual's perception of a meaningful life. From this perspective interdependence has value in comparison to the deficit of social isolation whereby an individual declines to collaborate with others and even spurns the notion of mutual benefit as a result of social forces. The absence of positive social outcomes of good health, education or living standards in the ward however, challenges Putnam's (2000) social capital paradigm on the communal benefits of mutual relationships alone. This research shows however, that smaller kinship networks are the norm in Ardoyne and that they are not exclusively anti-social.

4.1 - Defining local social hierarchies

The research findings suggest that close bonds between family, friends and acquaintances allow for a power dynamic at local level which, in some instances, influence participation in broader social activity outside the immediate family unit. Definitions of acquaintance can refer to the relationships of attachment to neighbours and others in comparison to the closer kinship bonds of direct family relations. These levels or degrees of acquaintance can be based on knowing someone as a school friend or as neighbours living beside one another. It can even be based on ties between extended families. It is these multiple attachments through acquaintance that form the social hierarchy in Ardoyne. Within this hierarchy, family members have different rules for those considered as an in-group of trusted similars and relatives in comparison to those they consider an out-group which comprises strangers and those of whom they are wary. This stratification is important to note because it forms the parameters of perceived homogenous social relationships in Ardoyne.

The ward is made up of a multitude of different ‘communities’ of friends, relatives and strangers that are not easily defined within the broad term, ‘community’. This observation is reflected on by R14⁵³, a married university graduate with grown up children and lifetime resident in the ward. He has a prominent role in the local community where he is involved with conflict resolution initiatives. He believes any perceptions of homogeneity are misplaced.

“I don’t hold with the idea that this is one big community. Obviously, there are different people with different spheres of influence and people who are engaged in different ways but I don’t see it as this idealistic Ardoyne community where everybody looks after everybody. I don’t see it in that way at all.” (R14)

Desk research demonstrates a rich tapestry of support and help across the ward provided by a wide network of diverse groups. These services for example, include those who provide emotional as well as practical support to those who have been diagnosed with cancer, or those who need benefit advice or training in IT through to groups who lobby local authorities for better housing or living conditions.

Nevertheless, current civil society networks do not bridge current social needs of local people by tackling communal problems of social inequality. Instead it appears to operate in isolation of larger communal needs. The social dissonance evidenced through continuing high levels of poor mental health and long-term limiting illness (NISRA, 2011), set alongside more recent policy decisions to provide sporting excellence facilities in the ward,⁵⁴ further demonstrates the inability of civil society groups to enable residents to mobilise and lobby for improvements to their life chances.

⁵³ Each of these codes is a descriptor for 24 respondents who were interviewed between 29 April 2015 and 28 July 2015.

⁵⁴ The Millennium Park on Oldpark Road was refurbished in 2013 to include a floodlit enclosed synthetic soccer pitch. A centre for sporting excellence and community hub buildings were opened at the former Girdwood British Army Barracks in 2015.

This lack of mutual collaboration at civil society level results in the duplication of resources in Ardoyne. This is evidenced by the existence of 3 political ex-prisoner groups (two IRA and one INLA⁵⁵), 2 welfare rights services, 3 women's groups, education services run by local organisations next to schools and a lack of sharing of existing resources to assist with extra-curricular demands and needs. Statutory resources do not effectively enable mutual collaboration either. As a result, local service providers rely heavily on alternative limited sources of finance from charitable funders, trusts and foundations such as Big Lottery Funds which are insufficient to meet extensive local needs. The scarcity of support results in a competition for funding resources between organisations which, in turn, distracts from a common plan to meet locally prioritized need.

Interviews reveal a perception that mutual collaboration was previously a more common feature of everyday life in Ardoyne among families and close neighbours. This has been replaced by a more competitive-type characteristic. Respondents believe the homogenous place-based supportive community perception is something that is only understood *via* an external rendition of community in Ardoyne.

The growing sense of individuality or loss of collective responsibility is partly explained by the finding that people are simply supporting people of a similar status and background. This is important to note because it suggests that despite the extent of diverse community networks, there does not appear to be an appetite for collaboration between civil society groups. Instead, it points to a preponderance of competing networks. Interviews point to the presence of families and cliques with strong bonds, working for the exclusive goals of their own narrowly focused collective.

⁵⁵ As part of Northern Ireland's peace process, hundreds of political prisoners were released by the British government. These former prisoners established self-support structures that were aligned to the republican organisations with whom they were aligned in prison. The organisations in Ardoyne were the Irish Republican Army and the Republican Movement along with the Irish National Liberation Army and the Republican Socialist Movement.

The competitive nature of these bonds are reflected in comments on nepotism and favoritism that endure across all aspects of social life in the ward.

R20 is in his late 40s and has lived for 30 years in Ardoyne. He is estranged from his partner and children, is self-employed and left school with no qualifications. He does not participate in civil or civic society but at one time was a member of two local social clubs. His perspective is important because it highlights how individual experience of micro power influences complex personal choices. This is an aspect of social interaction that social capital theorists such as Putnam fail to explore to any great extent. These processes demonstrate how smaller clusters of people can dominate organisations that purport to have a community ethos and instead turn them into mini empires. It is not the case that R20 has no desire or a preponderance to join community collectives but instead it demonstrates how self-exclusion from some networks are based on individual judgement, experience and a sense that some social economy type enterprises are nepotistic. R20 explains how certain powerful families residing in the ward control some of the licensed premises and how this influences the application of rules and hierarchies of power.

“I couldn’t be annoyed...I just keep myself to myself. They pick and choose who is allowed in and who isn’t, who is barred and who’s not barred...because it’s his brother he is not barred. But he may have done worse, you know, it’s all mad. That’s why I just don’t take anything to do with them all. They just take over. It’s all family oriented. Two families run the XXX Club. If I lift my hand I’ll get barred, but if one of their brothers does the same it’s alright because it was only a family dispute. The XXX club is the same.”(R20)

Other interviewees share similar opinions about other social groups and clubs being controlled or heavily influenced by dominant families. This clustering of power and influence is at the crux of larger questions on

motivational drivers and interpretations of broader social values that influence outcomes and choice. The micro power of families and certain groups of individuals reinforce perceptions of individualism instead of an ethos of collectivism to the extent that some extended families in Ardoyne have come to be regarded as collectives in their own right. Putnam and other communitarian promoters of social capital theory, assert that mutuality is incubated and nurtured in fraternal social club environments. The findings challenge this assertion by evidencing instances where social forces, inherent in dominant families, serve to undermine fairness, trust and equality in such circumstances.

The idea that this singular and perhaps self-serving activity and subsequent impact on public benefit might actually undermine altruistic reciprocity elsewhere in the ward, is contradicted by instances that occurred during this fieldwork. Grief and sympathy with families of suicides has galvanized public support at rallies in the ward. These public displays were replicated when a woman was victim of an attempted rape when returning home at night from a local social club. Social media was used by her friends to mobilise several hundred local people to a rally demanding the right to live without fear.⁵⁶ Other rallies include those organised by Concerned Families Against Drugs⁵⁷ who have used similar communication methods to mobilise their members and supporters to assemble outside homes of alleged drug dealers. Greater Ardoyne Resident's Collective have also used social media to organize protests around Orange Order parades. While this tells us how some people are using social media channels to mobilise friends and supporters in flash-mob style, it also highlights the lack of broader information sharing and collaboration by local groups to challenge more entrenched issues of health and education inequality, poverty and deprivation. This dearth of collaboration and information sharing between civil and civic society

⁵⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-25010630>

⁵⁷ <http://cfadardoyne.blogspot.co.uk> and http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/8403069.stm

networks suggests there is a lack of motivation, interest, capability or will by those responsible for communicating how they are tackling structural inequalities. This secrecy and lack of accountability contributes to the broader feeling of exclusion and despondency. Whether its attending a rally or providing direct help, the nature of participation cannot be readily valorized - an idea that is explored further in later chapters.

The quotes above demonstrate how closed family networks can inform some people's motives towards helping their neighbours or to self-exclude in public spheres. But what is interesting about the solidarity-type street rallies is the predisposition for people to get involved in the first place given the disparate connections between different groups.

4.2 – Interpreting historical perceptions

A range of intervening conditions and contexts influences how individuals make decisions to help others but their interpretations are individual. The idea that motivation to help by previous generations was influenced by different sets of circumstances and poverty impacts, or the notion that their particular investment of help and interdependence with and between neighbours are different from today, reoccurs across most of the interviews. Historical milestones such as the 1994 IRA Ceasefire, or the 1998 Belfast Agreement, are quoted as major turning points in perceptions of safety and collective support. While these agreements transformed the nature of politics onto an international stage, at a local level in Ardoyne they also changed the status of those who supported or participated in militant republicanism. Ideological alignments such as this have fractured people's perceptions of shared community and support. The changes have also impacted on people's views of the area.

More generally these changes in the wider political arena reduced the sense of siege felt by respondents who drew a sense of safety by limiting their social activity to within the boundaries of Ardoyne. Others believe the property boom provided social mobility opportunities for some local people to sell their homes and move out. Similar social impacts are highlighted

by Lynsey Hanley in her analysis of post-industrial housing estates in England (Hanley, 2007) whereby changes to accessing the housing market disrupt working class communities by readjusting the make-up of social networks at a greater pace than the more traditional lifecycle speed of change.

These influences are important to note because they support the concept that the changes outside one's social network can shape ideas and thoughts that influence choice and motivation. R12 is a local community activist. He explained concerns among some long-term residents of youth behaviour, as follows:

“One of the things that prompted us in the Safer Neighbourhood Ardoyne Project (SNAP) was based on my conversation with a resident from the Jamaica/Havana area. She had been living in Ardoyne for fifty odd years. Her reality now is seven o'clock, blinds shut, door locked and she was looking for a quick sale of her house. So, I had been talking to this woman and she broke down and said “I feel, absolutely intimidated around here. My husband went out and tried to remonstrate with them and they more or less told him where to go”. So, based on this type of thing I think there is almost a growing sense of frustration because for years the IRA⁵⁸ basically operated as the authority in the area. When that stopped, there was a vacuum. Community Restorative Justice⁵⁹ was never equipped to deal with that because they do what it says on the tin, they're a mediation service.” (R12)

⁵⁸ Irish Republican Army. This secret organisation were engaged in a campaign of violence directed at achieving Irish independance within an island-wide unitary state. This campaign disrupted the criminal justice process of formal policing and courts and provided an alternative justice system in areas were they recieved support from residents. This summary form of justice lasted from 1970 through to 1998 when the organisation declared a ceasefire and lent their support to more formal and legally internationally recognised standards and procedures for criminal justice.

⁵⁹ Community Restorative Justice Ireland provide a locally based negotiation service that facilitates a mediated restituion agreement between offenders and victims. The service was established in 1998 and is delivered from offices in the main shopping precinct and works closely with other criminal justice agencies across Northern Ireland.

4.3 - The importance of personality

Many explain how they use their extroversion to develop weak ties with those of influence. These initiations led to introductions into different social networks providing an example of conversion that is based on psycho-social determinants. One ex-political prisoner explains how her involvement with the republican movement introduced her to other women with feminist interests but it is her outgoing personality which helps her not only to maintain her existing networks but helps her to develop these through building acquaintances. Other interviewees who are actively involved in networks beyond the family unit and their close neighbours replicated this example. The fieldwork identified individuals who are not in groups but who help their neighbours while yet others help others privately.

4.4 - Reliance and interdependence

Reliance on others and the role of interviewees in the family support networks was explored in the survey and in face-to-face interviews. The survey sample shows that respondents can rely on support from a median of 5 family members in time of need and a median of 4 close friends to whom they could turn in time of crisis. This reveals the existence of multiple circles of friends and relatives. It also indicates that research respondents are similar to the norm (Dunbar, 2010)⁶⁰. Perceptions of homogeneity prevail through close knit generational ties of acquaintance and residency, with its attendant experiential solidarity. R14 explained how that “feeling of belonging” means more than acquaintance but really an investment in one another’s future that can be relied upon to withstand both lifecycle and economic change. The fluid nature of any sense of common bond means this “feeling of belonging” is under constant review and reconstruction. Different people deal with this in differing ways. He explains:

⁶⁰ Dunbar asserts we tend to have 5 best friends, 15 good friends, 50 close friends and family, and 150 total friends.

“I don’t know about reliance or even if it is interdependence but I think there is that sense of something. I don’t think there is an expectation that they should get something back. I don’t think there is that, I think that maybe that was the case in the past where there was a need maybe where if people ran short [of money] during the week then they could get some help but I don’t think that same need exists to the same degree as it maybe did then or how it’s being dealt with but I don’t know whether it is interdependence in that way.” (R14)

When family relations are deconstructed we find that females have a median of 5 close relations within the family but males have less with 4. Beyond family units, females have a median of 4 close friends whereas males have 3 close friends. These gender differences suggest that females are in a more advantageous position having more network capital however this advantage is not readily converted into social capital when it comes to linking with strangers. The findings provide a deeper understanding of social networks showing how male respondents have weaker intimate support structures. 2.7 percent of the total survey sample (n=255) claimed not to have any close friends or relatives who they can call upon in times of crisis. The research findings highlight the role of school networks and of child rearing in social interaction and this presents further differences with regards to gender imbalance. For instance, some parents who were interviewed spoke about how their children’s networks had provided opportunities to build relationships with other parents. These then developed into sharing favours or knowledge about local events that would otherwise not have happened. Some mothers explained that because they monitor their children’s friendships they were more involved in these types of relationships than fathers. These are a few examples of how, even in families, social divisions are determined by social context and intervening conditions.

4.5 - Inculcating social norms

The research shows how social norms are perpetuated by established processes based on family and institutions whose role is to perpetuate and promote the value of conforming to social norms. The concept of good parenting is reflected in a range of social policies across the UK. Daly (2014) suggests that the idea that of “parenting classes” challenges traditional concepts of family, liberty, and equality. Social policy on family behaviour brings debates on social exclusion into high relief⁶¹. One position in that debate acknowledges the role of external events in creating unforeseen challenges for vulnerable families. The other sees family’s vulnerability as the product of their own deficits in which they are willing architects. The result of this tension between Liberalism and Communitarianism is that structural inequality is accepted as the social norm and any challenge to that dominant narrative becomes a deviance. It is this individual process of inculcation and standardizing of behaviour that challenges individuals own perceptions of vulnerability and capability.

Some parents believe that it is their responsibility to instil a set of behaviours in their children because that is how their own parents passed on social values and norms. This is complemented by the moral authority of churches, schools, community organisations and inter-related services in the ward. R15 is a mother of four who has a wide social connection, across family, friends and work colleagues. She believes social norms should be instilled in children from a young age to turn them away from the dangers of idleness;

“If you are a good parent and you want your children to be involved and to keep their minds active and you don't want them to be annoying maybe elderly people or maybe falling in with a bad crowd or whatever. So I think that it is essential then that after schools your children are either involved in sport, and I don't care what type of

⁶¹ See the UK Troubled Families programme that focused on a deficit based interpretation of challenges faced by 120,000 families England. Big Lottery Fund launched two programmes to support families across the UK (Positive Futures) and across Northern Ireland (Reaching Out Supporting Families Programme) which took a rights-based approach to the issues.

sport it is, whether its Jujitsu, Gaelic, soccer, Irish dancing, music, Irish language, you know, even volunteering or working with the local church group, I think it is essential that your children are involved in after schools because it not only brings a sense of connection within your own community and you are making new friends, you know because they are maybe playing in a sport that keeps them fit and healthy but they are also at a far less risk of engaging in inappropriate behaviour or bad behaviour I think it would be a bit of a disadvantage if you have no sporting connections but my own opinion is that our schools, and we have some very good schools, but I think that when children come home from school, there's a lot of hours where, you know, an active mind would be getting into all sorts of trouble." (R15)

The ongoing control of young people's minds and the inculcating role of parents and guardians, ensures kinship and community bonds are corralled into conformity, and an acceptance of a standard or acceptable behaviour. Bourdieu (1977) suggests that it is these inherited and inculcated values and norms which skew people's logical choice to instead, accepting some of the systems and procedures that guide neighbourhood or collective norms that reproduce inequality and elites.

4.6 - Gendered roles of engagement

The importance of recognizing the role of gender in any study of social networks is supported by many commentators (Lowndes, 2000, 2004; Lister, 2005). While Putnam (1993; 2000) and Hall (1999) may hint at "changing gender roles" in their explanation of aggregate trends for 'national' social capital in the US and UK, their narrative falls short of situating gender as a key determinant in the access and distribution of social capital. Vivien Lowndes (2004: 49) argues that neither are concerned, "with documenting absolute differences in the level of social capital possessed by women and men – nor with differences in the nature of that social capital or the uses to which it is put."

The gendered nature of access to social networks and therefore the different access to the social capital resources that accrue from these networks has been demonstrated by many social researchers (Erikson, 2004; Lin, 2008). Mapping gendered participation in an interface area such as Ardoyne reveals how it is linked to social exclusion in post-conflict society. R17 and his family have just moved to another part of the area. He explains how childrearing roles have enabled them to make links with neighbours in a similar position.

“We always just closed our door and kept ourselves to ourselves but now we have got to know some neighbours and with the kids growing up and toddlers growing up, well you know you help each other out.” (R17)

This presents an interesting question of advantage and the disadvantage of childrearing roles and how it facilitates making initial bonds with friends and neighbours that can then be scaled across community networks. Changing demographics in Ardoyne towards a population of more single mothers suggest that female roles are being reinforced in this regard⁶². This possibly puts them in a more advantageous position than males to expand their networks towards others who are in similar role by providing opportunities for interaction.

R15 is a working mother who perceives childrearing to be a more gendered role.

“I think that very much depends on the age bracket of your neighbours, you know, if there is someone elderly beside you they can't get out. If they are a young family and you have young children then generally people start to connect a bit quicker cause the kids start to connect and want to play and they're saying

⁶² 2009 NISRA statistics show that 86.4% of births in the ward were to single mothers which suggests the importance of marriage as a method for family stability has changed. This is reflected in other communities across the UK. In Northern Ireland, lone parent households with dependent children (where the lone parent was aged 16 to 74 years) increased by 27 per cent between 2001 and 2011 (See http://www.nisra.gov.uk/Census/key_stats_bulletin_2011.pdf)

Mammy my wee friend next door, then mummies start to talk and people connect that way.” (R15)

So if there are opportunities to build networks and acquaintances through children then smaller families and age variables have a direct impact on the duration of this contact.

- Gendered access to services

Due to the extent of services in Ardoyne some males are served by the proliferation of football clubs and sports and social clubs⁶³. Two such venues are private membership working men’s clubs (Ardoyne Working Men’s Club and the Crumlin Star Sports and Recreation Club). The economic market and the developing peace process however has put exceptional pressure on these institutions to relax their rules for associate members and guests to enable their financial survival. With the cessation of armed conflict within the city people from Ardoyne are now venturing outside the area into city centre venues that they now consider neutral and safe. The relaxation of local rules to entice female customers from the area to use local clubs provides an example of how long established structural gender barriers endure but are now subject to economic pressures to change. R15 explained her feelings of discrimination.

“Monday, that’s the day me and my husband go out. So we go to the Star. But my husband is privileged because he has a yellow membership card. Every time he goes to the bar to buy a drink he gets 10p on every pound back on his purchases on this card. But if I go to the same bar to buy a drink I could take his card and let him get the discount but because I am not allowed to be a member I cannot get a card. But my pound is the same value as his pound and I am an equal person to him. Why can I not apply for or even be

⁶³ In 1975 there were ten social clubs operating licenced premises in Ardoyne. Crumlin Star, The Shamrock, Ardoyne Kickhams GAA club, Ardoyne Working Men’s Club, The Jim Saunders Club, Ancient Order of Hibernians Club, Highfield, Glenpark, Ex-servicemen’s club and the Hole in the Wall. By 2015 the first four had survived. By 2016 Ardoyne GAA club had also closed.

considered for membership? I cannot be a member because apparently, they have it in black and white in their constitution that it's a men-only, male member club.

It is now a public bar, open to men and women. In fact, they would be in financial diffis if they didn't. So maybe they are letting women in to protect themselves financially. Maybe they are all are doing it because of finances. I think the only club that done it was the GAA because we have a different ethos and we are different type of people. There were men, you know, who were members of the GAA and because it was GAA they were also allowed to be a member of other drinking clubs. So, if you were a male member of the GAA it didn't preclude you from being a member of the Star. But if you are a member of the Star you couldn't be a member of the Shamrock, did you know that? In fact, I would say that quite a lot of the males in the GAA all had Star membership." (R15)

The gender contradictions in service provision demonstrate the normalization and acceptance of inequality as well as the weakness in homogeneity assumptions of community. This is important when we consider the purpose and relevance of the various women's groups in the area and their ability to, or their motivation to challenge such inequalities. It also reflects broader acceptance of patriarchal family structure. R24 has a senior role in a local women's group, an organisation she feels she can share an affinity with other women. Her membership of the Grace Women's Group confirms the homophily theory that asserts people bond with others who are similar (Lazarsfeld, *et al.*, 1954; Lin, 2001; McPherson, *et al.*, 2001; Christakis, *et al.*, 2011). The womens group facilitates a safe environment for women to meet and learn. While R24 is employed by the group and promotes the empowerment of local women, she feels that challenging membership rules of the Crumlin Star was not one of her own priorities. The irony is that the group have held fundraising events at the venue to support their work in challenging inequality.

The example demonstrates how adherence to strict regulations and institutional laws created for a different era continue to control people's lives. Some of those interviewed, who are involved in the governance of the Crumlin Star, did not talk of reviewing and improving their governance documents but instead spoke about innovative workarounds to existing structures. This is important to note because it is an example of excluding some of those they hope to include as future customers.

The survey results and interview examples reinforce the complex and gendered nature of social connections of kinship and friendship ties that underpin streamlined patterns of weak and strong ties at civil and civic society spheres. Females are more strongly connected with friends, with 40.4% of all females socializing more frequently with friends in comparison to 34.2% of all males (See Table 2). While many women visit each other at home, opportunities for men to socialize with other men are concentrated through venues outside the home such as sport, drinking clubs, pubs, and gambling outlets⁶⁴ even though survey results reveal that males are more suspicious/cautious than females, in creating ties outside of the family. Instead they are drawn to form relationships to people like themselves such as neighbours and other people in the street. There is little evidence to support the notion they have an ability to expand this much further than immediate close networks in Ardoyne.

Table 2: Scaled frequency of social interaction

Survey question 2.6b: "I socialize with other people outside of my family"							
		Never	Rarely *	Occasionally **	Frequently***	Always****	Total
female	Count	3	16	19	38	65	141
	% of Total	1.2%	6.3%	7.5%	14.9%	25.5%	55.3%
male	Count	7	9	11	44	43	114
	% of Total	2.7%	3.5%	4.3%	17.3%	16.9%	44.7%
	Count	10	25	30	82	108	255
	% of Total	3.9%	9.8%	11.8%	32.2%	42.4%	100.0%

⁶⁴ There are four licenced betting shops in the area, complemented by licenced gambling machines situated in the various pubs and clubs.

* Rarely is defined as annually

** Occasionally is defined as more than twice but less than monthly

*** Frequently is defined as at least monthly

**** Always is defined as at least once a week

Women such as R10 who believe that the social order in Ardoyne is patriarchal, feel their gender prevents them from attaining decision-making roles based on competency. She is a single mother and a former political prisoner. Although she believes she is well connected to the same support mechanisms as her male colleagues she claims it was only the males who could move on to more important positions in their careers. From this perspective, social capital value is gender streamed. Other female interviewees such as R4 or R18 did not believe gender has hindered their employment pathways.

4.7 - Physical proximity conditions

The stratification of strong ties in an area where 70.9% of respondents live within a five-mile radius of family members could explain the strength of ties and indicate bonding social capital. But it also provides an indication of how social capital is clustered, provoking questions on how and when it is acquired and how long this acquisition lasts. The strength of female bonding ties provokes further exploration of gender roles in brokering those new connections characteristic of bridging social capital (Gans, 1961; Granovetter, 1983; Burt, 1992; Lin, 2000, 2001) and subsequent inherent social advantages and disadvantages within a broader social context. Granovetter argues that 'individuals with few weak ties are unlikely to mobilise effectively for collective action within their communities' (Granovetter, 1983: 224) which implies that females have less of a collective role and a more individualistic role or one that is more home based. In some instances, it is dependent on personality traits that are more proactive in creating interaction in comparison to those who may be more introverted. Differing levels of familial bonds based on gender suggests aggregated kinship ties and bonding social capital do not necessarily hold at household and individual level. The results

demonstrate that family resources are not shared equally regardless of kinship connection and for some people status attainment is more likely to be achieved independently than ascribed from a kinship connection alone.

The research findings suggest that social support does not expand much further than the next door neighbour but the predisposition to help is present whether or not people are members of organisations outside the family circle. What is not so clear is whether this was always the case and if the passing of time confuses or blurs the lines between acquaintance with neighbours more generally with the trusting bonds that build up between a narrower network of neighbours. These reflect similar criticisms of Putnam's (1993) assertions on the predisposition of those who join organisations. Are people already predisposed to join a group because they already had trusting behaviours (Stolle, 1998), rather than having developed such traits after joining a group?

For many respondents, there is a perception that these previously stronger networks have been dispersed by housing redevelopments in Ardoyne in the 1980s. Surprisingly, people who have continued to live in the area for 20 years or more do not necessarily know everyone in their street and do not appear to have the strong bonding connections expected in an interface area with so-called high levels of social bonding as described by McAloney *et al* (2011). This is reflected in their sense of neighbourhood and how doing favours for one another does not expand much farther than their immediate geographic network.

“I suppose that I am lucky in that I live in a part of Old Ardoyne that is relatively quiet. Where I live is the place where they took all the neighbours from the old streets pre-redevelopment and moved them into newly built homes. So quite a bit of that area contains quite a lot of the older residents who would have been neighbours all their lives. There is nobody in the near vicinity of where I live that I would be reluctant to help and there are some here who would have a bit of a bad reputation and that includes some of the younger ones as

well. So it's not that I wouldn't help them at all but I know some in the wider area who I would not help at all." (R14)

In other parts of the ward this is not the case. The property boom expanded a buy to let trend in the area which itself dispersed some of those longtime acquaintances and networks.

R12 is a community activist in his late 40s who has lived in Ardoyne all his life. He has been involved in establishing and maintaining the activities and focus of some resident's groups.

"I think broadly speaking there's goodwill but I do think over the past number of years the demographics of Ardoyne have changed. People who were here who I would have known maybe...I'll give you an example. Brompton Park, I could have told you, particularly on the left-hand side, who lived there, who their kids were, where they went to school, where they worked. So, it was almost that intimate relationship between people. I don't think it is that intimate now. I think that people from different areas have come in, so there is just a different dynamic at play." (R12)

These observations suggest that the perceived weakening of social bonds in the ward is related to spatial redevelopment and/or the loosening of conflict related perceptions of social control. People are now less acquainted with their neighbours in the wider area but as these have decreased family ties continue to be strong. The strength of connection and obligation to others, decreases with distance from the family unit. Within the context of conflict however, many perceive themselves at equal risk of death or injury. This reinforces a shared sense of caution and protection in numbers as people concentrate their movements and social interactions within a smaller geographic space. The removal of that threat forces people to reassess their relationships not just with people but with place. R12 observes,

“I think most people before the ceasefires would not have frequented the town (city centre), young people would not have been as quick to do similarly. There were issues around mobility and there were issues around fear that sort of kept everybody looking out for everybody, and us, collectively constantly looking over our shoulder. I think that as that sort of fell away and dissipated, harsh realities came to light. Somebody is all of a sudden doing well for themselves because they’ve got a good job and there is begrudgerly and all that. I think we are a unique wee area.” (R12)

4.8 – Frequency of contact

Whether it is newcomers building a network from scratch, or whether they inherited social connections from family or groups, these connections only endure if they are sustained. To do this requires energy and motive. Requirements, which by their very nature for instance, exclude those with no family or those with poor mental or physical health. R17 explains,

“I think it is actually going and visiting people makes you well connected. One of my sisters has two young kids. My younger brother has one and another one on the way. She would complain that we don't really come to see her much. They all go to another sister’s house or she goes to their house. Two of my cousins visit one of my sisters. So, it has kind of developed into their own wee clique. You need to work at it, but even when you ask one of them why they don't come round they would say, ‘well you know where I live’. My oldest brother says the same thing, ‘Sure you know where I live why don't you just come round and visit me’. So, they have their own wee cliques going on.” (R17)

The survey results support some of R17’s claims. The rate of familial bonds is higher (29%) among female respondents (n=141), than male (21.2%) respondents (n=114) when comparing the regularity of social visits amongst family members (See Table 3). This is perhaps reflective of the influence of rearing children. The gendered nature of these weakening bonds is strongly illustrated through the rate of those with least

familial association. 13.3% of all male respondents (n=114) had contact with family members either once per year or less in comparison to only 5.1% of female respondents (n=141), supporting a gendered interpretation of the network position principle advocated by Lin (2001) where position within a network determines the social capital benefits to an individual.

Table 3: Scaled frequency of social interaction within family units

Survey question 2.6a: "I get together with members of my family/extended family for social events or family occasions"							
		Never	Rarely *	Occasionally **	Frequently ***	Always ****	
female	Count	1	12	54	23	51	141
	% of Total	0.4%	4.7%	21.2%	9.0%	20.0%	55.3%
male	Count	7	27	26	25	29	114
	% of Total	2.7%	10.6%	10.2%	9.8%	11.4%	44.7%
	Count	8	39	80	48	80	255
	% Total	3.1%	15.3%	31.4%	18.8%	31.4%	100.0%
* Rarely is defined as annually							
** Occasionally is defined as more than twice but less than monthly							
*** Frequently is defined as at least monthly							
**** Always is defined as at least once a week							

4.9 - Duration and proximity of residency

So, while Putnam (2000) asserts civil society connections are an indicator of social capital, data on weak and strong connections in the familial and acquaintance sphere provides an insight into social stratifications that indicate how these connections and their benefits are subject to a range of intervening conditions and contexts.

The study tests shared commonalities such as duration of tenure, in the assumption that it could be related to strong bonding ties. 75.7 percent of all respondents (n=255) have lived in the local area for more than 20 years. This common long-term residency and strong familial interconnections, specifically among females, could help explain the nature of social capital and provide a possible explanation of both exclusion and inclusion based on gendered norms.

Several questions explore the relationships between people and their immediate neighbours as well as the relationship between people and the wider neighbourhood (defined as being within 10-minute walk from their home). Once again the question uses Likert (1932) scaling and ranges from an acquaintance of most people, many people, a few people and no one, to determine the strength of connection.

Whilst females are closer to their families than males this is counterbalanced by survey evidence showing that males know more people in their street and in their wider neighbourhood. This suggests that males are more advantageously positioned to develop relationships immediately outside the family unit than females. This demonstrates how social exclusion is reinforced by social and cultural conditioning based on gender.

4.10 - Educational and employment conditions

Cultural and social conditioning shape how social capital is used (Bourdieu, 1977) and the survey results show that employment and education status also influences rates of acquaintance. A higher percentage of those with a third level education know more people in their street than those with no formal education. Unemployed people know twice as many people in their wider neighbourhood than the percentage of those who are employed. This suggests that people initially have access to or a role in these networks but that diminishes as people enter employment outside the area and build other relevant networks. This was the case for R17's sister. She had to reduce the frequency of contacts with childhood friends to build her networks with work colleagues. The fracture of these primary or initial social bonds enable people to expand into other collectives, but have a knock-on effect on these initial existing networks.

R5 is a single mother with a disability. She believes employment and education status broaden your horizon as well as your networks and acquaintance for support opportunities.

“You are going to get a wider scope. If you are out working, depending where you are, the people you can reach out to is going to magnify considerably. So I do believe that the more people you know, the better chance of finding somebody that’s going to be able to help you. And by being better educated, sometimes you are able to articulate more clearly what you want to say.” (R5)

R6 is a 22-year-old male university student. He agrees with the benefits of education to broaden opportunities but more importantly how exposure to third level networks allows for critique on your own perceptions.

The survey data suggests that males are in a more advantageous bridging position than females, supporting Lin’s claims about the importance of location within the social network where “structure [does] provide opportunities for some and constraints for others” (Lin, 2001:52).

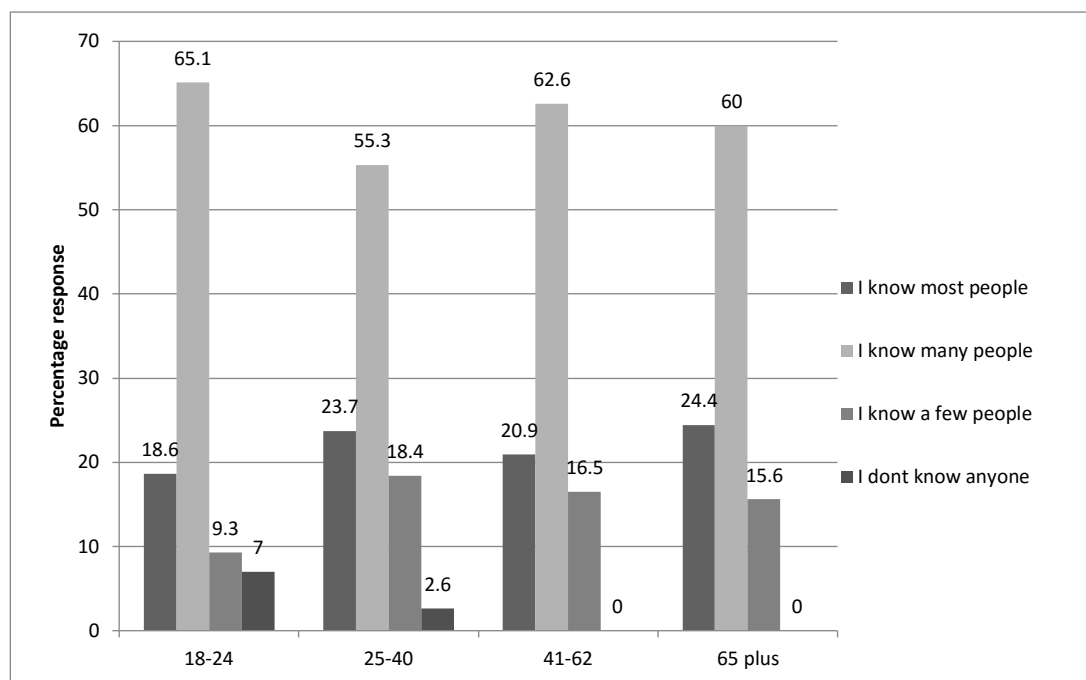
Strengthening investments within and out-with familial networks provides context for motivational questions answered in later chapters through qualitative analysis. Daly and Silver (2008: 545) claim, “relations and interactions with others serve as assets or media of exchange that are convertible to other forms of capital”. The unequal nature of capability and difference in social and cultural capital means some will be more connected than others. This is compounded by the strength of familial networks in Ardoyne and the possibility that some families may have more prestige in comparison to their neighbours.

4.11 – Relationship lifecycle

Understanding the context of relationship lifecycle introduces age as a conditional context on choice and participant motivation. The survey findings suggest that young people aged 18-24 have weakened family connections than any other age cohort in the study, being half as likely to “always engage” with family. This suggests that the strengths of familial connection have already been interrupted before this stage, possibly

freeing them from the constraints of family or community network sanctions and control and norms.

Figure 1: Extent of acquaintance with neighbours by age group (n=255)



Young people in Ardoyne network through the local primary schools. Only two of which are secular and 'co-ed' - Bunscoil Ben Mhadagain and Cliftonville Primary. The most popular schools in the ward are those segregated by religion and gender (Holy Cross Boys, Holy Cross Girls, Deanby Gardens and Convent of Mercy). These schools act as feeder schools to a range of post primary schools outside the immediate area. Before 2008 most children from the area went to St Gemma's (Catholic post primary for girls) or Saint Gabriel's (Catholic post primary for boys). Both schools have since closed due to a declining intake as parents increasingly chose to send their children to schools beyond the periphery of the ward. The impact of these closures on the social networking ability of young people has yet to materialize but the role of after-school clubs through youth provision in the area has not diminished. By the time young people are 18 they have had exposure to neighbourhood networks as well as the services designed to provide further employment, education, health and leisure activities. Nevertheless, despite the wide range of services available to young people the survey results indicate that it is the 18-24-

year-old age bracket (n=43) who feel most isolated (See figure 1). That isolation can be linked to a sense of marginalisation, in that they are not part of the decision-making conversations by adults that impact on their lives. Decision making processes are not designed to include young people much further than endorsing other people's ideas. Although attempts have been made in the past to move beyond traditional governance models that included young people in decision making roles – ideas such as the establishment of a youth congress did not manage to gain popular traction in the ward.⁶⁵

R1 believes that the failure of engagement with more formal structures lies with people themselves rather than it being a failure of the social networks of civil society groups. He accepts that some people maybe do not know how to get involved in activities but he also claims a lot of people resort to stereotyping and simply self-exclude because they incorrectly believe some groups and those within them share similar political ideologies.

“Sometimes people associate you with a different group. For example, for me, people thought I was in Sinn Féin for years or people thought I was in politics or had different views on politics. But people don't know that about me. I'm just there for the community, to work for the community and I am part of the Fleadh but because you have people who were in Sinn Féin and were involved in the Fleadh, then people will associate you with Sinn Féin when people don't know really that I am not part of Sinn Féin”.

(R1)

These labelling processes are the main influences in self-determining roles and associations within social networks and subsequent leverage of benefits.

⁶⁵ Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum was established in 1996 to better coordinate local youth provision. Their research identified more than forty youth provider groups operating in the area at that time including youth clubs, schools and resident's groups. One project they supported was an Ardoyne Youth Congress which ran youth elections in the area through the NI Electoral Commission in 2006.

Putnam (2000) suggests that, in the US at least, those born before 1940 “constitute a long civic generation” (2000: 132) and this begins to fall into a downward spiral of non-participation in community projects with increased church and club debility. Glaeser’s (2001) research suggests older people’s involvement and investments in networks reduce exponentially with age. Survey findings however, show that those aged over 65 in the sample (n=45)⁶⁶ volunteer at the same rates as all other age groups. This suggests that individualist characteristics have not materialized to the same extent as predicted by Putnam with this age cohort.

Levels of volunteering in Ardoyne ward suggest the transition to individualism has not manifested itself to any great degree as allegedly evidenced by a transition away from traditional face-to-face groups to professional staff-driven organisations (Coleman 1991; Putnam 2000). In fact, strong civil society networks and social organisation is evidenced through the extent of enduring social movements within the ward – 63.1% of the survey sample (n=255) were currently in some kind of a group. 82.4 percent had previously been in a group and, in the 2011 Census, 12.01% of people stated that they provided unpaid care to family, friends, neighbours or others, which is higher than the 11.9% NI average (NISRA, 2011).

4.12 - Family brokerage roles and social rituals

Despite close family ties, some respondents say they are dependent on others with wider connections to help at times of crises. One local mother explained her own predicament when her son was kidnapped in 2008;

“When A was shot, I didn’t know what direction to go. I didn’t know who he had been taken by, you know. Anything, and I sort of felt a bit at sea. But then I found very quickly, people came and said,

⁶⁶ 12.8% of the 2011 population in Ardoyne n=5,904 were aged over 65 according to 2011 Census data.

look I'll phone here or here to see if we can get any information on where he is."

Her vulnerability was only exposed when her son was kidnapped and shot by gang members. She relied on relatives and friends to unlock the puzzle and advise on what to do next. The example demonstrates how vulnerable people depend on not only strong links for emotional support but weak ties to provide practical advice and information in times of crisis. But the incident also allowed for self-evaluation of safety and security and the realization that while she may be connected to family and close friends she does not feel as if she is connected to the wider community in Ardoyne and depends on brokers for this type of support.

One of the most noticeable activities across local social capital networks is the use of social rituals. R9 is a married mother of three children. Her siblings and mother live nearby. Another brother was shot dead in 19XX. R9 explains how their mother, broke with their father's decision to participate in an annual community ritual after he died. Every year on Easter Tuesday since 1976, the Republican Movement organise a parade and wreath laying ceremony for invited families at a local Republican memorial. This provides an opportunity for relatives of victims of the recent conflict in Ireland to meet and to share emotional support. R9 provides testimony of how her mother's decision has helped her make further decisions around voting and self-exclusion in broader community networks. This demonstrates the power, not only of rituals within a social network, but also the power of individual brokers within family networks.

R15 suggests that this is more to do with perceptions that electoral politics was acceptable directly after 'the ceasefires' because it had a fast-paced dynamic to it and people believed that elections would rubberstamp the purpose for the IRA campaign and that their demands would be quickly conceded. However once constitutional politics took hold it became bureaucratic and not what people had thought. Instead it appears that those in government are now part of the problem.

“I think people are more aware now. I have to be honest and say, I think for years, because of ‘the troubles’ and stuff and the shit that was dumped upon people in Ardoyne. Ardoyne was a very strong Republican area and you voted Sinn Féin even though you didn't know what their policies were... Years ago it wasn't about policy. It was because they were connected to the RA⁶⁷, and was gonna try and get us a united Ireland. Sin é⁶⁸. That is what you were voting for. Times have changed and we are now in post-conflict and we now have these people as politicians and they have to do the job that politicians have to do and I don't envy their job at times because I know you have to make tough decisions at times. You have to manage budgets and you have education, health, all these departments. So, when the reality starts to hit people and hits their pockets, and I think one of the big things will be when welfare reform, because we do live in one of the most deprived areas, that when people start...and I mean already this year alone we have a food bank serving around 300 people.” (R15)

The research provides examples of drivers for non-participation and self-exclusion from social networking where people simply do not bother with their next-door neighbours either because of disputes or through respect for their privacy. R9's example demonstrates the challenges facing those still suffering personal tragedy in their lives. She explained how her family had eventually chosen to shake off claustrophobic support networks that surround them, realizing that the support is part of their problem and that family power brokers, and feelings of obligation to other members of the community had been controlling their choices before that point. Breaking free from rituals that manage grief and remembrance through annual commemoration processes requires an individual to break network ties

⁶⁷ The RA is the colloquial term for Irish Republican Army, a clandestine militant organisation. Sinn Fein is a political organisation which argues that people's violent reactions to State militarism could be stopped by recognizing republican aspirations for a unitary state.

⁶⁸ “Sin é” is a Gaelic term that translates as “that's it” in English.

and self-isolate – a process that is common control mechanism among those interviewed. R9 explained the situation as follows:

“Easter Tuesday was like Christmas Day in our house, I mean you lived for Easter Tuesday, my daddy would have went to Marksies on the Monday got all the cooked meats as he called it and all fresh bread and after the memorial and the wee march and the laying of the family’s wreath we’d have come down and my mummy’s house was bunged. There was no drink, never. My mummy and daddy never drank. There was never alcohol it was just tea and coffee, wee SXXX MXXXX would have been there, JXX MXX, all big characters and that was great. You see now, on Easter Tuesday I’m never here, we don’t even participate in that. My brother still gets his wreath, but it’s brought to the cemetery. And that was going on for years till my mummy made that decision, and we just backed her. She just sort of went, no he’s not, no I’m doing no more, no let them run on. So she’s very much still the backbone of us all you could say. But Easter Tuesday, I’ve seen even taking themuns (reference to her children) to the zoo, not even wanting to be in this area when they’re happening.” (R9)

The result however creates a further feeling of emptiness in trying to escape from the past that is forever the present but it is an example of the power of one person to change a ritual that continues to reproduce strong ties within the area. These instances of changes in social norms highlight the continuing dominant role of the father figure within the family. This instance demonstrates the extent of that power to suppress individual ideas and the social rituals that form part of the process of socialization. For some these are possible at key transitions such as entering employment or education but they are examples of how bonding social capital and the production of strong ties are subject to constant change. The quote demonstrates the power of hierarchies within families and shows how one person can effect change within their own family circle. The consequences of breaking with tradition mean self-exclusion and developing strategies for resilience such as leaving the immediate area.

The outcomes produce deep psychological challenges around identity and the value of belonging to an in-group.

The research suggests that it takes a crisis such as a death or crime to have been committed for people to self-evaluate their own vulnerabilities in terms of social isolation and the strategies required to strengthen connections for support. The death of a parent for instance refocuses a family to review their family relations. In R3's instance he was the youngest in a family of ten. He took on the role of peacemaker and networker within the family for instance. This brokerage role has meant he is also called upon for advice and support across multiple relationships within the family. Local examples are also provided in the interviews where people take unprecedented risks anonymously to help neighbours. Such offers of help are more difficult to quantify in Bourdieu's framework of reciprocity/self-motive because they are selfless and introduce empathy to such situations in examples of "genuine" people's offers of help.

4.13 - Manufacturing support networks

While much of what has been discussed has looked at families and their connections, the research also examines the process of helping and how it differed from the more formal concepts or contractual forms of volunteering which will be dealt with in the next chapter. Respondents in Ardoyne contact their immediate neighbours by helping through small favours. The common favour includes taking in the mail undertaken in a reciprocal manner as is putting out or taking in rubbish bins. For some people this developed into more trusting behaviour such as leaving house keys or car keys for short or long periods. Length of acquaintance is a determinant of these exchanges but the quality of the exchange is determined by the developing process of trust and is dependent on the individuals involved.

It was common benefit that allowed R3 the opportunity to engender trust among his immediate neighbours due to his circumstance and shift work

patterns. This fulfilled his own desire to fit in and be accepted by his neighbours and share their political and cultural outlook. He believed he was competing with other neighbours in this regard who he believed did not fit in as well as him because they had Loyalist tattoos and flaunted British flags and other symbols. His desire to align his political beliefs was further reinforced by a generational bond with Ardoyne and a republican pedigree that he was actively trying to build upon by reinforcing the role of his grandfather in establishing local organisations and participating in the IRA and Sinn Féin in the early 1900s. The example demonstrates that for some people who do not have a long-term connection in the area, building these connections is more competitive than collaborative but extremely important components for in-group acceptance and managing perceptions.

Building trust and acceptance is an ongoing process in this regard and is especially intense for newcomers or those who have not been born in the ward. Suspicion of outsiders is a common theme. This is important because the in-group/out-group dichotomy is closely linked with identity and in particular, feelings of being part of a common purpose. This is developed further in Chapter 7, but some respondents believe that the nature of strong kinship networks serve as a barrier preventing bonding or bridging beyond these closed networks. These types of social networks are stronger than geographical bonds. Thus, newcomers find it increasingly challenging to be accepted and trusted beyond their immediate neighbourly ties. They need to conform to perceived local norms. Bourdieu (1977: 1986; 1990) argues that the difficulty in doing so is that these are invisible social forces inculcated over generations. The “habitus”, as he calls it, influences how networking evolves and access to this knowledge is a form of social capital. The influence of bigger families therefore, and those with historical attachment, alongside those with political or social organising capabilities, provide added protection and pedigree purely by association. Many of these extended family networks have remained in this area, despite industrial, political or even global

changes have decimated similar settlements elsewhere in the UK (Hanley, 2007).

R16 grew up in the area and when he returned, after 20 years living in England, he thinks nothing has changed in terms of social networks. Many of his previous acquaintances still lived in the area, as do most of his own family. He does not consider himself as a newcomer but can recognise the difficulties strangers might face in being accepted by the local neighbours. Unlike some of those who have not left the area and who believe that the sudden increase in the pace of change has created an unrecognizable demographic, R16 thinks nothing has fundamentally changed. He believes,

“People are always dubious about new people coming into the area I suppose, until you get to know them”. (R16)

He feels well connected but like many others he differentiates between those of similar ethno-sectarian background from other areas of Belfast - “blow-ins” - and those from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds. It is difficult to see that the latter’s integration into the community expands much further than school gates. No matter the type of newcomer, the cultural norm is not to proactively welcome people to the area, but instead to allow people to blend in at their own pace. As R17 suggests, local people “just watch” and see how they progress at their own pace. Ringing the doorbell to greet them into the area is “something out of the question.”

This approach of watching and waiting however, reveals a level of informal surveillance that pervades among those people who feel they are part of a well-established community of settled families. This idea of covert surveillance as an element of social control will be deconstructed in a later chapter, particularly when it comes to voting and secrecy but reinforces the in-group/out-group dichotomy.

Those residents who have a longer generational historical attachment to the area such as R14 and R17, and are therefore well established,

recognize they do not proactively welcome neighbours. R17 does point out that neither does he go out of his way to do them any harm or prevent them from trying to integrate.

The research elicits examples where people refuse to gravitate towards those who sought to do harm to them or their family or, who wanted to exploit vulnerable people. R13 describes how he deals with having a reputation with neighbours based on his past actions of drug addiction and criminality growing up in Ardoyne. When asked had he helped a neighbour recently he makes the following interesting reply.

“No. I don’t really know anyone that does this sort of thing. I would consider helping a neighbour if they asked me but half of the neighbours in this street tried to get me put out of the country. The other half think I am a junkie. So I wouldn’t help them, wouldn’t piss on them if they were on fire, they have ruined my life and blackened my name for the rest of my life in this place.” (R13)

While he continues to mirror his neighbours’ perceived expectations, other young men who were involved in similar activity, explain how they also use self-exclusion to escape reputational insult and damage.

Understanding the motivations to help neighbours or just make friends is explained by R19. Four generations of her family have lived at various addresses in the Bone and Ardoyne. She is reluctant to help neighbours who can help themselves, especially those neighbours who have hurt people belonging to her, stating,

“I would not help them if they needed it and I would be reluctant to help anyone associated with that person..... I am talking about a political group.” (R19)

R14 expresses similar views;

“Well if they had a reputation of exploiting people or being underhand about their dealings then obviously, I would not be offering them any help. And I know there are different people who

have different reputations about the different things that they do.”

(R14)

What is interesting in all these social relationships is that what you get is not what people themselves necessarily feel or believe. Instead their response is based on what they think other people expect. This is an interesting concept to understand when we are interpreting the choices people make and the social forces that combine to influence choice.

Strauss (1969:9) claims,

“everyone presents himself to the others and to himself, and sees himself in the mirrors of their judgements. The masks he then and thereafter presents to the world and its citizens are fashioned upon his anticipations of their judgements.” (Strauss, 1969:9)

These interpretations of mirroring are captured by R17 who grew up in Ardoyne in a politically active republican family. He has a family of his own now and still lives in the area. When one of his parents died, he rejected their political ideals and befriended other local teenagers who shared an antipathy not only to the Republican Movement⁶⁹ and their supporters, but to the community in general. R17 also rejected any

⁶⁹ The republican movement is a broad term, used here to describe what became the largest group of republican political activists, the Provisionals. This political movement has undergone several ideological splits in their history. The biggest impact of these changes was the formation of “Provisional” Sinn Féin who played a central role in recent negotiations with the British and Irish governments to agree an ending to hostilities between the IRA and the State. The remainder splintered into organisations such as The Workers Party and the Irish Republican Socialist Party. These fractures were replicated by various clandestine militant groupings aligned to the overt political ideologies. In Ardoyne, these included the Provisional IRA and the INLA. Once formal hostilities ended these groups fractured again into an array of militant clandestine groupings such as the New IRA, Continuity IRA, Óglaigh na hÉireann and others attracting support of residents who were dissatisfied with the outcomes of political and criminal justice arrangements negotiated by Sinn Féin. Some local people formed groups that organised around populist themes such as stopping drug dealing, opposing sectarian parades and campaigning against anti-social behavior. Their support was also unsuccessfully channeled electorally against Sinn Féin.

Other splits that affect Ardoyne involve the current and more traditional electoral battle between Republicanism and Constitutional Nationalism of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. These splits are deeper and more damaging to establishing a shared framework for community benefit and community development approaches locally. The main financial resource for parish-based business comes from Flax Trust which is headed by influential business leaders in Ireland and in the US. The Flax Trust and their subsidiary companies, are some of the major property owners in Ardoyne ward.

notions of joining local community groups based not on his own choices but in context of what his peers might think of him. He prioritised impressing his peers by distancing himself from his family's community values. One local man who was regarded locally as a prominent community activist with influence within the republican movement, tried to dissuade him from engaging in anti-social activity and asked him to 'lend a hand' in the community but as R17 reflects,

"I built my perceptions based on what other people might think. I really wanted to join, but there was just that barrier and fear of what people thought of me. That's all it was the whole time. That's what kept me back. If I could replay it all again I probably would have joined a group." (R17)

It is interesting how the perceptions of others influence actions of individuals and how managing these expectations shape people's roles in family and wider social hierarchies. This example reveals the dynamics at play within social hierarchies that force individuals into responsive roles based on managing other people's expectations. It shows how individuals make decisions and where the power of these decisions lie, both at a personal and at group level.

Conclusion

There are several learning points that emerge from these findings. The first is that we get a more complex picture at individual level than at the meso level that reinforces the heterogenous character of families, of kinship networks and even of individuals as they progress through the lifecycle. Second is the formation of hierarchies and how individual roles constructed within them are internalized and projected onto others to manipulate connection and manufacture benefits.

Concepts emerging from data analysis reveal how individuals construct perceptions about their roles in society and what influences them to make such choices. Constant comparison of research codes and subsequent theoretical concept maps (See Appendices 3, 4 and 5) provide an

explanation of the controls that are at play in shaping social exclusion locally. There are network roles that are more conducive to bridging and manufacturing connectedness than others and these are determined by a wide range of conditions and context that are both structurally determined and subject to personal interpretation.

2014 survey responses suggest the presence of strong kinship ties and high aggregated levels of bonding social capital. Putnam (2000) and others (Granovetter 1974; Lin 2001), argue that the stronger these ties, the more insular the social network becomes, whereby privacy and individual liberty is subsequently compromised to collective norms of conformity.

However, while not necessarily collaborating to achieve a ward-wide common purpose, residents' appetite to help immediate neighbours exemplifies their bridging social capital characteristics. This is interesting because it challenges perceived stereotypical homogenous image of residents without acknowledging their diversity. I argue that the inability of kinship networks to bridge diversity, undermines any attempt to galvanise support for more social solutions that may increase better life chances for many those living in the ward. The inability to call to account the array of institutions, with a remit for poverty reduction and improvements to local well-being, is reinforcing their insular tendency to look after themselves.

When more qualitative drivers of participation and motive are deconstructed at individual level a more complex process emerges that is worth noting. The cohesive family and neighbourhood structures are instead characterized as clusters of individuals and families, competing for access to information and supports from others outside the immediate family unit. What we see, is that trust and reciprocity determine the potential development of family networks but that families themselves are structured hierarchies and this stratification impacts on power dynamics therein.

The research shows that the dynamics of trust-building behaviour begins at the home and is tested with neighbours. For example, mothers building friendships through their children, parents building relationships at the school-gate, or neighbours accessing one another's homes to take in mail or checking homes in each other's holiday absence. These exchanges are fluid in that they are random and change over an individual's lifetime. Indicators and metrics fail to show this fluidity and/or the extent of diverse motivations for participation.

These research findings suggest that the balance of exchange at family level is determined by individual ability to create connections and subsequently convert them into social capital and a role for themselves in the family unit and to neighbours and friends. In Ardoyne, some people are not only better connected than others but are better at converting those connections, simply because of capability and structural inequality. This creates an imbalance of power and shows how social capital is rooted in hierarchies of social exclusion. For some people, this conversion of social capital puts them in a more advantageous position within social networks. For instance, when R5's son was shot she depended on the social connections of other family members with clandestine groups in Ardoyne to provide meaningful help and support. In comparison, others who do not have similar links and are faced with similar scenarios are more socially isolated and vulnerable.

The indicators of social capital within family networks includes individual contact with and support from family and friends, along with perceived control and satisfaction with their lives. Local family support structures are strong. High levels of volunteering evidences that people care for their immediate neighbours and this also provides an element of satisfaction to the benefactor, particularly in those instances when there is no expectation that these good deeds will be reciprocated due to the beneficiary's ill health or other limiting conditions. Motivation to help a neighbour is influenced by context as well as perceptions of reciprocity, revealing the selfish characteristic for social exchange. Social capital

measurement through standard indicators fails to capture these motivating drivers to participate in broader networks.

The findings reveal powerful forces at work shaping motives for exchange and the manufacture and distribution of social support. The extent of dominant family networks suggests that there are exclusive practices at play in Ardoyne. There is no solid or consistent evidence of a cohesive community despite perceptions of how residents are portrayed by those who do not live there. Instead, there are multiple clusters of close neighbours who are caring for one another, confirming Bourdieu's theory of indebtedness (1997). But it also demonstrates Burt's (1992) assertions that individuals are self-centred and compete for their own self-interest rather than for someone else. What we are witnessing in Ardoyne is that family level networks generate trust and reciprocity with unthreatening others and do not expand much further than immediate neighbours.

The nested nature of clustered strong bonding ties also highlights weaknesses in the homogeneous character of the area, particularly with regards to the challenges faced by newcomers trying to develop social connections. The appetite for social integration with strangers is quite low, with a common perception that newcomers to these locally based networks need to take their own counsel regarding social supports. This suggests that local people here are not advocates for social change and maybe do not see that as their role. They do not invite newcomers into their networks and even though there is evidence of ritual "meet the neighbour" events⁷⁰, these events only promote access or participation to in-groups who share a similar ethno-sectarian and cultural sense of purpose. The findings therefore challenge homogenous perceptions of family and community connections showing that while there are strong familial and neighbourhood ties, they are relative and subject to variation,

⁷⁰ Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil is a community initiative that organises events throughout the year culminating in an annual week long programme of cultural, leisure and social events for local residents. Other events include commemorative Republican events on Easter Tuesday, and the last Sunday in June, and a public Catholic celebration in June in Holy Cross Parish of the Feast of Corpus Christi.

depending on gender, age, duration and proximity of residence, family type and individual personality.

There are clusters of people - all different - who are socially disconnected from groups that are not in contiguous proximity. Relationships across both Holy Cross and Sacred Heart parishes for instance or between three historic and geographically distinct communities in the ward clearly demonstrate the presence of other networks thereby questioning the strength and extent of bonding connection beyond families.

The importance of identity and symbolic roles, in building connections between people within families and with their neighbours, plays a key part in understanding the nature of social inclusion within Ardoyne ward and I argue that these two processes are in constant flux. It is the ability of those who can convert their social connections into a form of private capital at the expense of its public benefit that creates a series of opinions on motive. This reflects previous local comments captured by Shirlow and Murtagh (2004: 58) that those in the community sector in Ardoyne are “self-serving and opportunistic”. Issues of opportunism and maneuvering for social advantage is repeated through the empirical research by Healey *et al* (2008) who suggests that the reluctance to share benefits interrupts the efficient development of social capital in Ardoyne ward.

And it is these crises of identity and roles that continue through the lifecycle, impacting on not only personal needs of belonging to a collective (Maslow, 1943) but subsequent feelings of role anxiety (Piff & Wilkinson, 2014) when subject to social exclusion in all its subtle forms. This I contend is what we are witnessing with young people, for instance, as they attempt to construct and determine their role in social hierarchies. This constant assessment of self-identity runs across the findings.

Can familial networks in Ardoyne ward be described as cohesive? I contend that familial networks in Ardoyne are complex in character and strength and are not cohesive. This is evidenced by the variations in the

data that reveals that few people are connected to the same people and those who are connected, are connected in different ways. Some people within collectives have a unique brokerage role that allows them to identify and sustain links between groups of people and in so doing cultivate an important influencing role for themselves in social exchanges locally. How they use these roles and what makes them meaningful in terms of their role in perpetuating social exclusion is explored in the next chapters.

Chapter 5 – Exploring social capital indicators in civil society

Social capital's central hypothesis revolves around enhanced mutual value of building and maintaining social connections between people. The research evidences how some respondents are motivated to participate in local grassroots organisations. While externally it appears that there are high levels of participation with civil society groups, closer examination reveals that this participation is mostly concentrated around the two local credit unions. Membership of the remaining 70 groups is sparse. What the research finds is that many of the exaggerated claims for representation by civil society groups in Ardoyne cannot be verified. Furthermore, many of these local groups do not generate trust and reciprocity. Instead, as the previous chapter argues, these attributes are mainly generated at the level of family through more informal connections between neighbours due to the perceived insular characteristic of the groups themselves.

Survey and interview questions sought to get a better understanding of not only motivations but knowledge and awareness of what these groups offered and the extent of their mutual connection. This chapter argues that some civil society groups disempower individual participation through developing elitist service provision, prejudice and insularity of purpose. It goes on to suggest that many connections to local civil society networks are based on a patron/client relationship. This type of patronage disempowers and creates dependency on services because it can only be provided by these service delivery groups. While the civil society network in Ardoyne consists of 72 locally organised groups, only a few of the respondents are involved directly with citizenship building activity. From the perspective of a resident in Ardoyne, these groups do not provide communal solutions necessary to control or improve their life chances. What we are witnessing instead are civil society groups working in isolation from the broader community it claims to serve, with no real accountability or sense of communal purpose for its service delivery

approach. It also is working in isolation from the institutions, tasked with tackling health and education inequalities.

In a broader sense this chapter highlights the importance of families in providing the resilience networks that maintain trust and reciprocity between neighbours in a more informal setting. What we are witnessing is a post-conflict social shift towards the individual. This is demonstrated by the personalisation of those groups with a citizen building role such as Flax Trust, Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum, North Belfast Interface Project, Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective, Crumlin Ardoyne Residents Association, Ardoyne Association, and Grace Women's Group. Each of these groups are locally referred to, not with their official title, but as the property of, or the brainchild of the high profile local characters who have been at their helm for many years.

This chapter explores the attributes of bridging social capital through its definitions in the civil society dimension. Social capital's claims are defined through the nature of individual and communal connections. Granovetter (1973, 1983) argues the nature of the benefits from these connections is shaped by their strength. Kinship ties are interpreted as strong whereas ties with strangers are said to be weak. These strong ties are referred to as bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998) in reference to the exclusive links and ties of solidarity between like-minded people such as family and friends. Weak ties are referred to as bridging social capital and include communities of interest, or locality based networks expressed in the form of associations, clubs, or charitable groups – and referred to in this thesis as civil society.

The extent of civil society networks in Ardoyne ward includes 72 locally established groups, which at first glance appear to provide a rich selection of networking opportunities (a ratio of 1:83 residents in the ward). If Putnam's assertions are accepted, then we would expect the extent of this network to generate high levels of trust and collaboration (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993; Putnam, 2000) and by default, an attractive place to live due to the associated benefits of health, wealth and

happiness that such social cohesion allegedly produces. The research findings suggest the relationships between these civil society organisations however, are not mutually reinforcing. Furthermore, the preponderance of disparate groupings indicates that such diversity generates and reproduces mistrust and competition. This chapter explores some UK Office of National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003) indicators for bridging social capital to see just how people chose to participate, how they evaluate social connections and what barriers to such participation are. These indicators measure the frequency and extent of participation in cultural, leisure and social activities as well as frequency and intensity of volunteering. Subcategories that emerged from the data are presented in this chapter under subheadings to reveal underlying conditions and context for actions and opinions. The research concentrated on the role of 72 locally based organisations that were active in the area in 2015 and looked beyond participation trends to explore the relevance of participation in this civil society network to respondents' everyday lives.

The findings reveal how clustering of social networks has formed cliques and elites in what are supposed to be popular shared interest groups. Further examination reveals that the process of othering⁷¹ inhibits the expansion of civil society activity in any coherent form. Instead of mutuality these social forces replicate non-collaboration and the curtailment of bridging social capital. The findings demonstrate that indicators of social capital at civil society level, such as frequency and extent of associationalism⁷² appear to be strong when aggregated to ward level. However, when individual motivations for participation in these social networks are examined more closely, their aggregated cohesive community image does not stand up to scrutiny.

⁷¹ Othering refers to the exclusion of those people or groups of people who do not share similarities. Othering creates an in-group among those sharing similar beliefs or interests but by default creates an outgroup of those who do not share similarities.

⁷² Associationalism is a political concept where human welfare and liberty are both best served when as many of the affairs of a society as possible are managed by voluntary and democratically self-governing associations. (Hirst, 1994; de Tocqueville, 1969)

Several theoretical questions evolve from examining personal motivation within this context of social hierarchies. These questions centre on one phenomenon - Why does obligation or motive to help or care for your neighbour not expand much further than family and close neighbours and does this matter or contribute to social exclusion?

This phenomenon is prompted by the observation that while 63.1% of those surveyed (n=255) participate in civil society groups, 32.3% of those participants (n=161) are solely members of credit unions and not the organisations who publically claim to represent the majority of residents when it comes to social justice issues such as the rights of assembly of Orange parades, consultations for local planning permissions for services, or the various women's groups who claim to be advocating for equal rights. The nature of organisational membership differs between those who see their members as clients or customers such as Crumlin Star, in comparison to those who see their activities driven by the demands and needs of their members such as residents' associations. From this perspective, ontological drivers for participation drive the attributes of trust or reciprocity. What we see here is the absence of mutual collaboration as demonstrated at family and the grassroots level of neighbourhood. These exclusive membership traits are then reflected in the high levels of wariness (42% n=255) of neighbours. The findings align with Hall's (2002) comments when he asserts that it is the characteristics inherent in associations that prevent mutual collaboration to flourish. In Ardoyne, these groups have isolated themselves but continue to exaggerate claims of community mandate.

This chapter examines the depth of these barriers and is divided into three sections. The first explores volunteering rates as a social capital indicator and the challenges of definitions between formal and informal variations of the term. The second explores the extent of group membership and the implications this has on participants and non-participants alike. The third section explores the extent of awareness in the existing resources and

support networks currently active in the ward and asks if this has an impact on perceptions of exclusion. The chapter concludes with a summary of the implications of these dynamics on civic society and value of civil society networks against the broader theories of social exclusion.

5.1 – Measuring rates of volunteering

The communitarian assertion made by Putnam (1993; 2000), that bridging social capital, through the formation of exchanges by people who are not familiar with each other leads to wealthier and healthier outcomes, is not manifest in Ardoyne ward. Non-familiarity in this instance is defined as connections to those who are not family members and only have a shared interest in a thematic issue such as sport or in developing better social conditions for themselves and others. The research first explored the extent of formal volunteering to better understand the evolution of choice beyond family and immediate neighbourhood bonds.

Volunteering is a central concern of the UK government and social policy influencers who measure the fundamental levels of trust and analyze its subsequent impact on governance. In this regard, volunteering is measured through the Census. The 2011 Census for Northern Ireland for instance, asked all those over 16 years of age who in the previous year had “helped with or carried out any voluntary work without pay”. The regional average is calculated as 14.9%. At ward level the Ardoyne percentage average was 8.5% (NISRA, 2011). Measuring volunteering is also included as one of the main indicators of social capital by the UK Office of National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (Scrivens and Smith, 2013). This thesis also measured volunteering rates through asking had survey respondents *donated their time to do any volunteer work of any kind in their community over the last 12 months*. 45% of all respondents (n=255) agreed⁷³.

⁷³ The 2014 social capital survey targeted respondents over the age of 18 to meet ethical requirements and so is at odds with official measurements which have traditionally captured data on volunteering from all those over the age of 16.

The rates of volunteering in Ardoyne ward in the survey findings suggest strong network ties and motivational drivers. This is corroborated by Lin's (2001:94) assertions around obligation and commitments driven by proximal trust such as that between family members in comparison to distal trust between strangers (Seligman, 2000). The different findings on volunteering rates do raise questions around the informed understanding of survey questions around definitions of volunteering and voluntary work. What is more interesting is that 28% of those in Ardoyne who said they had volunteered also stated they were not a member of any of the groups in the area which challenges the assertions of those who promote participation in civil society as the sole cause of altruism. This is important because it highlights that other contexts and conditions have a role to play in voluntary behaviour in Ardoyne. Low *et al* (2007) defines volunteering as,

"any activity which involves spending time, unpaid, doing something which aims to benefit someone (individuals or groups) other than or in addition to close relatives, or to benefit the environment." (Low *et al*, 2007:10)

The 2005 Home Office Citizenship Survey defines informal volunteering as,

"giving unpaid help as an individual to someone who is not a relative"

and defines formal volunteering as,

"unpaid help given as part of groups, clubs or organisations to benefit others or the environment." (Home Office, 2006: 4&6)

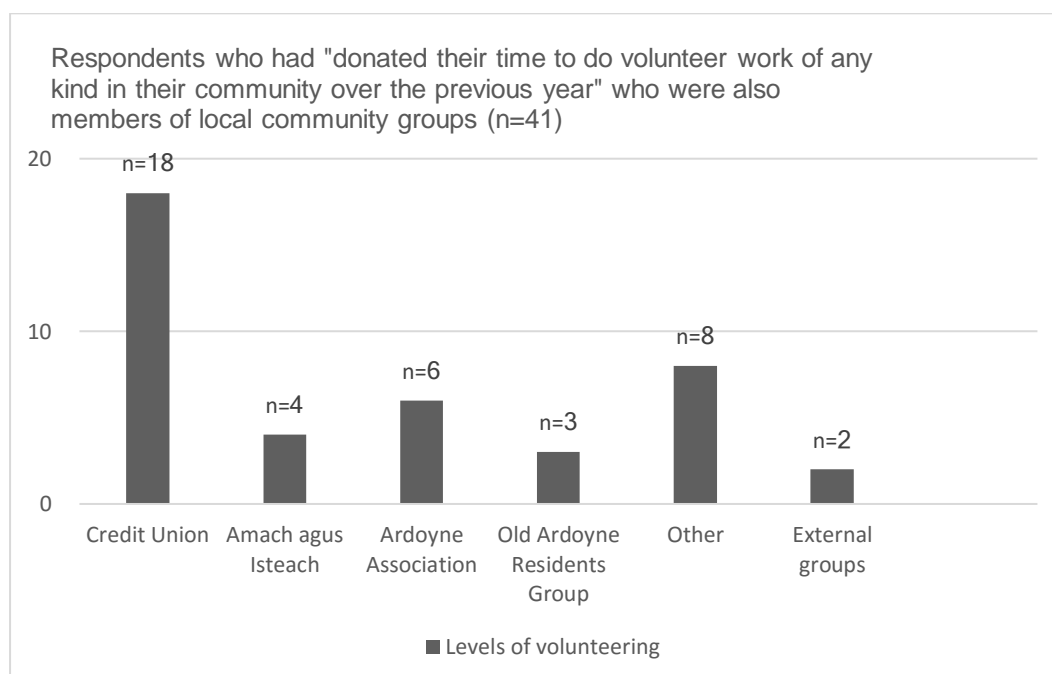
In keeping with the latter definitions, the recent 2011 census in Northern Ireland asks a separate question, wherein voluntary work with kinship beneficiaries are linked directly to caring. In that question 12.01% of all residents in Ardoyne ward over 16 years of age stated that they "provide

regular unpaid personal help for a friend or family member with a long-term illness, health problem or disability" (NISRA, 2011) - slightly higher than the Northern Ireland average of 11.82%.

The influence of close familial ties on social outcomes and definitions of volunteering is an element of what Coleman (1991: 10) describes as 'primordial social organisation', characterized by network closure and simple rules, where the incentive to participate is generated by the relationship itself. By comparison, socially constructed organisations are characteristically dependent on a third party for their continued relevance to those who participate in them. When the issue or need has been satisfied or wanes then the group dissolves. The findings suggest that some groups in Ardoyne use commemorative rituals to reinvigorate their relevance and mitigate against dissolution.

While the findings suggest possible differences in the interpretation of informal or formal volunteering, it is interesting to note the high levels of volunteering in Ardoyne in the survey sample and the fact that 36% of those who volunteer (n=114) also participate in civil society groups although the range of groups is narrow.

Figure 2: Frequency of volunteering



While there is a critical mass of local people doing favours and caring for immediate neighbours (86% of all respondents had done a favour for a neighbour in need over the previous 6 months), this does not translate into similar intensities of collective action at group level and neither does it translate into high levels of trust and engagement with civic institutions. Analysis of the survey data shows that 55.3% of all respondents (n=255) had not donated their time to do any volunteer work in their community over the previous 12 months, but 84% of these same respondents (n=141) had done a favour for a neighbour in need over the previous 6 months. 34% of these had visited a neighbour in an average week. The findings produced several conditional reasons for such anomalies.

- Conditional reasons to volunteer

Those who have the time to participate in local committees and groups express a variety of motivations for participation. For example, R1 volunteers because firstly he had the confidence to make connections with community organisations but secondly, and more importantly, he was given development opportunities to progress because some of these opportunities are conditional on membership of a group.

“There’s lots of other young people who would want to get involved but they can’t because maybe they’re not part of the likes of the youth club. You have to be a member of the youth club. Maybe a young person doesn’t know how to go about that process where they join youth clubs and stuff, so there’s young people I know that would want to get, maybe to go to Africa, but don’t get the opportunity because they’re not involved or don’t know how to get involved.” (R1)

In line with Maslow’s (1943) theory of need, R1’s needs for connection are met by building his networks and reinforcing acquaintance through daily dialogue with neighbours.

“One of the things I sort of enjoy [is] you live in the community. You know what’s going on. You’re speaking to people every day of the

week. You're up and down the road. You see them, speak to them and you know you're on the ground chatting to them. You know, when you work voluntarily within a community, and you work with different groups, you do get that sense that you feel part of it. You want to do more, you want to help more and people do come sometimes and approach you and say 'can you help me do this, do this and do this and lets do this?' I've always been heavily involved in helping any groups that come along and particularly recently all the homeless work I've been doing" (R1)

R10 is a 40-year-old mother of one. She explains,

"if I am being remotely honest, I would say, years ago, not so much now, but when I was younger, the reason I joined committees was prestige....I would be very much in the background now". (R10)

For some people, age has a bearing on how they orient themselves within a social network as the lifecycle progresses. They gain experiential knowledge of relationships throughout this lifecycle. The focus is not so much on self and how others see you but instead focuses on the inverse. This is reflected by R9 who explains that her mother has now dispensed with responding to her neighbours' expectations. She now conducts herself as she now sees fit. Power and role domination by patriarchs or those who are members of groups permeated the interviews with some respondents stating how they bow to peer pressure. Others talk of coercion by those with dominant brokerage roles in the family and others such as R9's mother conformed to expected social norms.

R11 is a 20-year-old female undergraduate. Her attitude to getting involved in local committees is different from R10. She does not formally volunteer on committees because she feels it restricts her own ambitions in establishing networks that are much wider than the locality networks available in Ardoyne.

R13 is a 27-year-old unemployed male and does not get involved with civil society groups or associations. He dismisses voluntary and community sector organisations as groups operating simply for their own members. He has no affinity with their aims and objectives, even though he has lived in the area all his life and his parents have a long-running role in local community development. R13 does not mimic his parent's commitment to community-type activities, nor does he value their network connections. As stated:

“None of them [community groups] have really helped everyone in the wider area that I am aware of. They are always helping ten or twenty people each. I suppose the boxing club could be one that would help a lot of people I know, males my age, but I don't know how to take the boxing club or how it is funded. I wouldn't trust them.” (R13)

His experience of social network participation however, alludes to an intense informal surveillance. This is cited by Putnam and others to be the negative characteristics of areas with high levels of bonding social capital. Due to his drug addiction and his perceptions of the dangers faced by those who do not conform to local social norms, he reveals how he manages risks of violent attack by using self-exclusion as a strategy for self-preservation. As he explained:

“Even when you come to using health service such as drug rehab.⁷⁴ It's a good thing to be on a programme. But, on the other hand, it's a bad thing because it spotlights you. Others know you are receiving their services and then target you – especially dissident groups.⁷⁵ So some people want to support you for getting

⁷⁴ Belfast Community Addiction Team provide ongoing support for individuals who request detoxification or who wish to reduce their use of substance(s) Drug rehabilitation services are provided at the Everton Centre which is situated on the fringes of Ardoyne ward on Crumlin Road. Referral to the drug rehabilitation service comes through General Practitioners.

⁷⁵ Dissident groups in Ardoyne is a reference to smaller militant groups that have broken away from mainstream republican grouping such as the Irish Republican Army. The establishment of breakaway groups was caused by their disapproval of elements of negotiated political settlements to the recent conflict in Northern Ireland. They have continued to target UK police and military for assassination but have also been

your life back on track but it's a dangerous path because others use it to target people for attack who are addicts. So I wouldn't want to join some or most of the political groups but there are some people in the groups round here that I don't trust so I wouldn't get involved." R11)

Not only is there a perceived permanent threat of violent reaction to deviance in Ardoyne ward, but there are other exclusionary practices associated with participation. Political/ideological alignment is a common challenge running through many interviews between not only those who self-exclude but also from those who play an active role in civil society organisations. The political and ideological rivalry is not just between mainstream and dissident republican groupings but also between republican and constitutional nationalist groups. R1 explains about how such rivalry impacts on volunteering in Ardoyne Fleadh project;

"What you find as well in community work, and no matter, every group has its own aims and objectives and what they want to achieve. But sometimes the politics becomes involved. And I've found that as well, in terms of this group won't speak to this group and for whatever particular reason. My sort of stance on it is, and I've always said this, everybody working together. We should all be singing from the same hymn sheet. We live in this area. We're all trying to achieve something. We're all trying to help people, whether its young people, whether it's the elderly, you know. Leave politics at the door. I mean you know, let's just work together for the betterment of everybody." (R1)

By the same token, R16 believes that ongoing rivalry of "Church versus Chuck"⁷⁶ has adversely affected community development in Ardoyne. The

responsible for killing and intimidating local people in Ardoyne whom they deem to be engaged in anti-social behaviour. They have also targeted those local community groups who work with state criminal justice agencies. Dissident groups are suspected to have been responsible for killing two men and for shooting several other males in the ward during the compilation of this thesis.

⁷⁶ The intra-community tensions reflect the battle for dominance of ideas between the Catholic Church in Ardoyne and republicans who are nicknamed "the Chucks", a

narratives demonstrate the relativist nature of participation based on an individual sense of purpose or moral position, but they are made more complex when set in the context of perceived motivations of private or public gain and ideological alignments. The findings suggest that individual motivations for volunteering are not place-based but personal. Burt (1992) asserts that participation outcomes are driven by private motivations and it is this perception of private gain that engenders mistrust even in those voluntary and community sector organisations who have public benefit objectives.

What is important here is that individual motive is often superseded and suppressed by political ideologies and neither are strong enough to convert social capital into a shared co-produced plan to publically benefit all the local residents. The main barriers to cultivating social capital for positive good in Ardoyne are the cross purposes of individual participation.

The closed nature of some local structures was brought into focus by R11's attitude to social exclusion. When pressed, she revealed that it was more to do with people knowing your business. Reinventing yourself where you are not known, possibly provides an escape from claustrophobic networks where attitude and actions are curtailed. The duality of both internal and external networks and the methods of self-control and conduct to manufacture others' impressions, defines the social dynamics at play in Ardoyne.

R14 is a 40-year-old married woman who has lived in Ardoyne all her life. She states "I wouldn't help people who can help themselves". This attitude to sharing is important to consider in understanding barriers to participation. Wariness of exploitation influences the predisposition to volunteering. This sentiment was echoed by others who are wary of being exploited by free riders.

phonetic English term derived from the popular Gaelic republican slogan, "Tíocfaidh ár lá!" which translates into English as "Our day will come."

“I would not participate in some groups whose activities, and how they are run, is questionable. Some of their members seem to have come into a lot of money all of a sudden since they became involved with managing these groups. I wouldn't really want to be associated with a group like that in case people around here thought I might also be involved or that I was making money from a charity.” (R14)

This opinion reflects the perceptions of surveillance within a close-knit community where people who are acquainted live near one another. It is another example that demonstrates how people make decisions strategically and consider the possible reaction of others whose opinion is considered a valuable asset, and exposes community-type activity as the site of expectation management. R14 explains,

“People basically get involved with groups to give them another interest and by volunteering you are helping the people in the area. I think people do it because they would like somebody to do that for you if you needed it.” (R14)

The concept that those working in paid roles within the community and voluntary groups locally are somehow part of the exploitation of those who voluntarily help their neighbours is a subject that was raised during the research. Some people do not have an issue of having paid professional support. During interviews however, those who hold these jobs expressed their concerns about how they think they are perceived by those they serve.

“There are a couple of different things that stop, actually there are any number of different things that stop people from getting involved there's the 'why do I need to bother? Somebody else is going to do it for me' attitude, you know 'there's enough people out doing that' or there's the 'what do I need to do it for, sure he's getting paid to do it, isn't he on the big fat community wages?' and everyone thinks we're on these huge exorbitant wages” (R2)

Moreover,

“One of the big failings of community development in Ardoyne, that as community groups professionalized themselves and moved on, a lot of people got left behind. You had also that thing where a lot more people done this on a voluntary basis than there was in a paid capacity. I think there was a growing begrudgery around that, which was sometimes justifiable. But that is the nature of the community sector.” (R15)

For many people who took part in this research, it was their prioritisation of time that determined participation in associations and volunteering. That prioritisation was related to a range of intervening conditions such as caring responsibilities, working patterns and a range of other conditions. While Putnam (2000) and others focus on the virtues of voluntary action, Bourdieu (1990) provides us with an interesting perspective that suggests that perhaps an ulterior domination motive is at work.

“A man possesses in order to give. But he also possesses by giving. A gift that is not returned becomes a debt, a lasting obligation; and the only recognised power – recognition, personal loyalty or prestige – is the one that is obtained by giving.”
(Bourdieu, 1990: 126)

Disaggregation of ward data reveals a definitive difference in volunteering across genders that masks exclusionary practice at individual level. The findings affirm the deterministic values of gender and age on differing levels of investment in volunteering and reciprocal help to neighbours. This highlights how those who participate in locally organized groups, engage with social capital in different ways. Females aged 18-24 for instance, engage in three times as much voluntary work than males the same age but people in this younger age group volunteer more than any other age ranges. This could be explained by their lack of employment or domestic responsibilities, which contributes to their free time for such commitments. Free time was identified by Putnam (2000) and others as a main determinant of participation in civil society. It is posited by Putnam

(2000) that television has won the battle for audiences of this free time in the US. His suggestion that females have more free time at their disposal due to 'timesaving domestic appliances' (Putnam, 2000: 372) in comparison to the free time available to males, is refuted by those who assert that females have less free time due to greater domestic responsibilities, especially in terms of childcare (Frederick, 1993; Lowndes, 2004). The idea that some people or groups have more free time than others is used as a determinant for access to social capital, but it also influences concepts about idleness and social exclusion particularly with those who are unemployed (Murray, 1990; Levitas, 2005; Hanley, 2007)⁷⁷.

- Gender related conditions

The importance of gender in social network studies is supported by many commentators (Lowndes 2000, 2004; Lister 2005; Erikson 2003, 2004; Lin 2008). While Putnam (1993; 2000) and Hall (1999) may have explained "changing gender roles" in their explanation of aggregate trends for 'national' social capital in the US and the UK, their narrative falls short of situating gender as a key determinant in the access and distribution of social capital. Vivien Lowndes (2004: 49) argues that neither are concerned, "with documenting absolute differences in the level of social capital possessed by women and men – nor with differences in the nature of that social capital or the uses to which it is put." But while findings highlight gender impacts on participation trends, they reveal how some activities are identified by the key brokers within them. This definition of groups not by their work but by the personalities who established and currently drive them⁷⁸ was another reason to self-exclude.

⁷⁷ See also similar arguments by Shildrick *et al* (2012) and Tracey Jensen (2014) cited by Mike Savage in his book *Social Class in the 21st Century* (2015:355-357 and 433).

⁷⁸ The personification of groups reflects some of the characters who are their main promoters. Flax Trust for instance is linked to Father Myles' a local Catholic priest. PIPs is known as Philip McTaggart's group. Ardoyne Association is known as Marion and Elaine Kane's group, The young women's group is referred to as 'Collette McCann's wee group'.

Johal *et al.* (2011) highlighted some male attitudes about volunteering and community work more generally in the UK. Their participation could in many instances only be assured if they had a functional role as leader and power broker in Northern Ireland. Survey findings reveal that the percentage ratio of those volunteering is 57:42 female to males. Females are also more predisposed to do a favour for a neighbour (54%) or visit a neighbour (56% n=255) compared to their male counterpart.

- Other motivating influences

Non-participation motives include apathy, education or employment status or more frequently, lack of awareness;

“People can't be bothered I suppose. Or maybe they don't even know that there are opportunities there. The likes of the youth clubs and stuff like that, from doing voluntary work with them myself, I think they need to advertise it a wee bit more. They need to be saying that they need voluntary workers here. People just don't know. For instance, do you see the groups you have mapped out currently in the district, I don't know half of them. (R16)

Other motives for non-participation include personal safety, lack of knowledge, or perceptions on the levels of required knowledge for participation. It is also influenced by personality type;

“Obviously different people are going to have different opinions on different groups and determine that it is not their “cup of tea” and obviously there are people who wouldn't get involved in church based stuff or there are people who wouldn't get involved in ex-prisoner stuff, so there are lots of people who would not get involved in different things. Even if you look at the idea of people who are offering advice and support about abortion or any of those types of issues well it's clear that there are people who would be saying ‘there's no way would I be involved with that’ or would let others be involved...and then if you take it at a political level then there is exclusion to some degree but I think they exclude people

who don't hold the values of the group, that's what I would imagine it to be." (R19)

- Summary of informal and formal volunteering

There are two interesting contexts for the findings in this section for comment. Firstly, the findings suggest there is a predisposition to volunteer in Ardoyne, but there are a range of barriers to participation. Besides the structural barriers such as age and gender, knowledge and capability also have a significant influencing role. Young people volunteer more than any other age cohort in the survey. Paradoxically young people feel loneliest. Furthermore, the growing professionalism of the voluntary and community sector alienates some people who would otherwise like to volunteer. Analysis of volunteering therefore, reveals a broader disposition towards volunteering behavior and highlights some of the local barriers that interrupt this predisposition.

Secondly the assertion made by Putnam (1993; 2000) and others that being in a group engenders the trust and reciprocity necessary for volunteering does not hold up to scrutiny in this situative context. The findings show that some individual behaviour is conditional on the contexts of space and place and an individual's anxiety around their perceived position within them. Hall (2002) and others (Savage, *et al.*, 2015) suggest that this anxiety has been spurred by a social change process, in the UK at least, and has disrupted previously accepted norms of social class. It is this changing role in gender, age and the rise of individualism and government's policy shift towards a Big Society Agenda⁷⁹ across the UK more recently that has contributed to this change. In Ardoyne, social change has witnessed church attendance in steady decline, the reduction of pubs and clubs as sites for social interaction, a reduction in the intensity of political violence that in turn has

⁷⁹ David Cameron's Big Society Initiative was launched in 2012 and is that people and communities should be encouraged to take responsibility for raising themselves out of poverty by ending the "culture of entitlement" (2012, 25th June speech).

allowed people to broaden the scope of their social interactions, the displacement of alcohol with drug dependency and an increase in the number of voluntary and community sector organisations. Wider changes across UK society because of health and education benefits alongside changing economic demands are impacting on population profiles and contributing to social exclusion of those most in need (Big Lottery Fund, 2014). In deprived wards like Ardoyne residents are faced with ongoing health inequalities. Residents in Ardoyne are 10% more likely to die from cancer and have a life expectancy that is 10 years shorter than the Northern Ireland average (NISRA, 2011).

Economic consequences of deindustrialisation have already led to the closure of factories and subsequent fracture of work-based networks. Evolving digital demands of new knowledge economies are focused on education which present even greater challenges on those poorest people who are furthest away from labour and education markets. Those people from Ardoyne who do not get opportunities to be educated alongside those from more affluent backgrounds will find themselves at a disadvantage. According to the 2011 Northern Ireland Census results, 63.76% of residents had no formal qualifications or 4 GCSE qualifications at most (NISRA, 2011).

5.2 - Mapping civil society networks

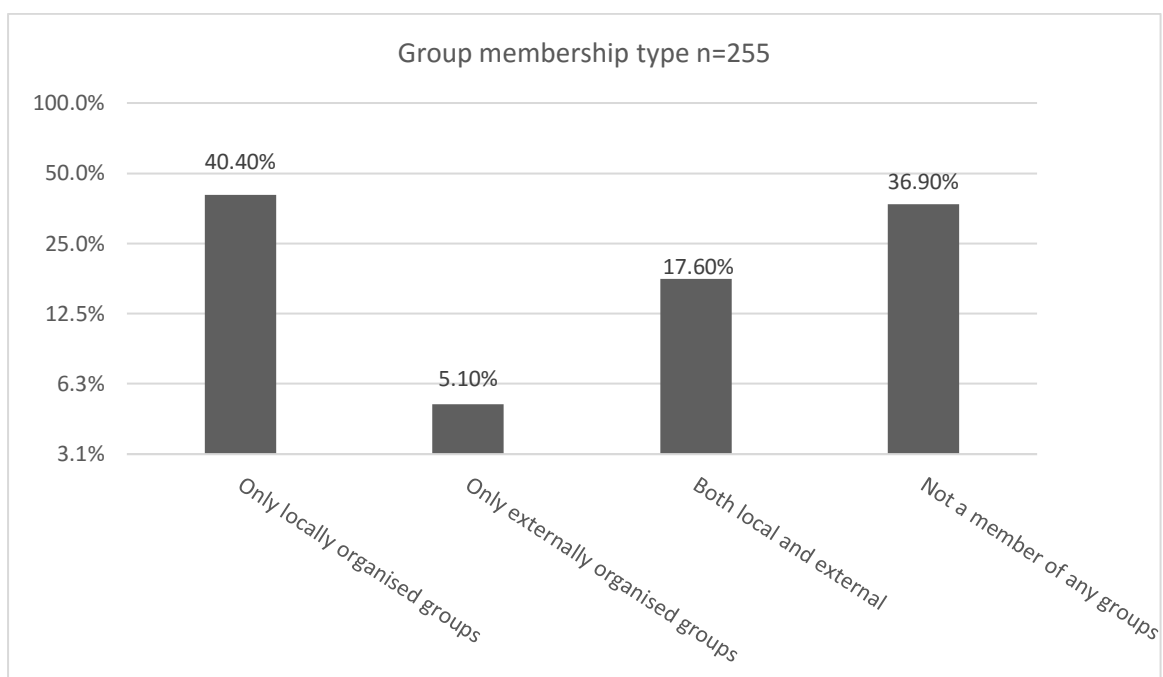
To provide some context for the present analysis, the research mapped the social organizations that compose the civil society network in Ardoyne ward. The doorstep survey measured current and previous participation and current knowledge of 72 locally organised groups and the services they provide. Groups were divided into six general thematic areas, identified from stakeholder meetings in 2013. They covered: sports and social clubs; health; youth; culture and arts; church based organisations; and general community development organisations. Survey respondents described their overlapping participation and knowledge of these networks and the cognitive drivers for participation.

Figure 3 illustrates the breakdown of participation in civil society groups among respondents (n=255) showing that there are several categories of membership. 63.1 percent of the sample is in some type of group, either organised locally (from one of the 72 identified in the civil society network map) or one that is organised outside the ward. 36.9% are not in any type of group.

- 103 respondents are members of **only** local groups (40.4% n=255)
- 13 are **only** members of groups organised outside the area (5.1% n=255)
- 45 are members of both (17.6% n=255)

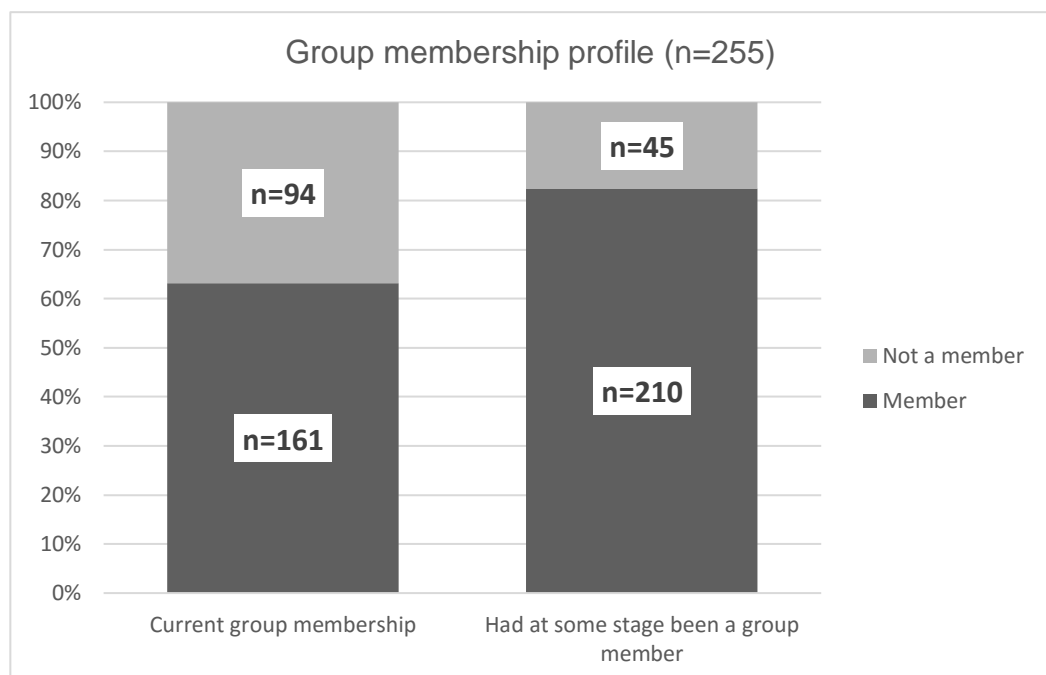
The popularity or relevance of civil society participation can also be drawn from the data analysis which reveals that out of 103 respondents who are only members of locally organised groups, just over half are in a credit union. This is a significant point to note because firstly it deconstructs of homogeneity of participation but more importantly it highlights that participation is not as relevant to local residents as the extent of networks suggests.

Figure 3: Extent of locally and externally organised civil society participation



Trend data from Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action (2014) and data presented in evaluation reports (North Belfast Community Action Project, 2002; Morrissey, *et al.*, 2008; Murtagh, *et al.*, 2009) and locally produced directories demonstrate a plethora of civil/civic engagement opportunities across Ardoyne ward. This is the social ‘superglue’ that Putnam (2000: 23) argues is a core attribute of a functional and healthy society. In 2008, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency estimated there were 20 organisations officially registered in the ward (Their statistics drew on NICVA membership datasets at the time). In a 2013 desk survey five of the largest local VCS organisations in Ardoyne reviewed these estimates as part of this thesis and identified more than seventy organisations formally operating within the ward. Participation in these organisations fluctuates between core and peripheral roles across a wide range of small, medium and ephemeral organisations through to well-established larger groups. The presence of formal and informal groups across UK society is acknowledged by McCabe & Phillimore (2009) and others (Hall, 2000; NICVA, 2014) in studies of civil society.

Figure 4: Extent of participation membership



The 2014 doorstep survey data reveals that 17.6% of those surveyed had never been members of any type of group (See figure 4). This is

important to note given the importance given to financial and political investment into manipulating social exchanges through the voluntary and community sector⁸⁰. Alternatively, the findings also suggest that these VCS groups are not attracting participation because knowledge of their activities is limited to a few people. The services provided are irrelevant to most survey respondents. For others, the groups are exclusive.

This exclusivity can be witnessed in the reactive approach to service delivery. R6 believes that it is the duty of newcomers to find out what services are provided in the area by “visiting the community centre” and “asking about.” He does not believe it is the duty of the service providers to seek out beneficiaries. These opinions are important because accessibility is a major barrier to participation and it was clear from interview responses that service information was not readily available. The approach suggests groups are reactive and not proactively inviting participation. The proactive inclusion of others is an approach to participation and connection that Pratchett *et al* (2009) and others (Maslow, 1943; Lowndes, *et al.*, 2006; Elvidge, 2012) assert, lead to improved quality of relationships and network outcomes.

Some respondents found the bureaucracy of the voluntary and community sector groups restricts participation in governance activities. Others do not feel they are welcome to participate or that the conditions for participation inhibit their involvement and thus makes them feel excluded. The survey data (See figure 4 above) reveals that more people were previously engaged in groups than are currently members, suggesting engagement is declining.

Table 4 below illustrates the percentage membership of the top twenty groups by popularity and shows that youth clubs and sport also play a prominent role in people’s social lives. Other locally organised groups are less relevant to respondents. The most popular groups were credit unions

⁸⁰ The ‘Concordat’ between Northern Ireland government and the voluntary and community sector is a contract between government and civil society and represents the importance of connections between the two.

(Oldpark and ABC Credit unions) with 91 participants in total. The Credit Union Movement plays a prominent role in respondents' lives given the necessity of managed finances to individuals in an area that suffers from relatively high deprivation. There has been no other access to a formal banking facility in the ward until the more recent introduction of online banking.

Table 4: Percentage of membership greater than 3% over respondent lifecycle

Organisation name	Percentage previous and current membership from total sample n=255
1. ABC Credit Union	39.2%
2. Ardoyne Youth Club	23.9%
3. John Paul II Youth Club	16.9%
4. Gaelic Athletic Club	12.6%
5. Oldpark Credit Union	12.6%
6. Ardoyne Association	10.2%
7. Ardoyne Working Men's Club	6.3%
8. Shamrock Sports & Social Club	5.9%
9. Slimming World	5.9%
10. Ardoyne Amateur Boxing Club	5.9%
11. Legion of Mary	5.5%
12. Survivors of Trauma	5.1%
13. Public Initiative in Preventing Suicide	4.3%
14. Cancer Lifeline	4.3%
15. Crumlin Star Sports & Social Club	4.3%
16. Amach agus Isteach	4.3%
17. Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil	3.9%
18. New Life Counselling	3.9%
19. Marrowbone Youth Club	3.6%
20. Ardoyne Judo Club	3.1%

What the findings show is that 52 groups have less than 3% current and previous membership scores. This is revealing and supports the claim that the civil society network has a more diminished character than initially presented. The network is not dominated by rights-based or citizenship promoting activity, hence its inability to move relationships beyond the informal connections at the family level.

- Management Committees and governance roles

The local civil society network includes 72 organisations divided across 6 thematic categories: sports and social clubs; health organisations; youth groups; culture and arts groups; church-based groups; and community groups. Respondents were asked if they were on a management committee or an organizing committee in any of the 6 thematic areas.

- 13 respondents were on a sports or social club committee (4 respondents were on two committees in this category)
- 8 respondents were on a health group committee
- 6 respondents were on a youth group committee. One person was on two different youth committees
- 5 respondents were on a culture and arts group committee
- 1 respondents was on a local church-based group committee
- 12 respondents were on a local community group committee. One person was on 3 different committees in this category.

The findings supported concepts of the advantages inherent in social network position (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001) and revealed participation trends across gender and age.

Males dominate governance of sports and social clubs - 10 out of 13 respondents were male. Governance roles in this category include people from the entire spectrum of economic status and education level. One area however where this male gender dominance is reversed is within health-related category where 7 out of 8 respondents on these committees were female. Men also dominate decision-making roles in the community group category (n=12) which are further characterized by those with no formal education (42%).

There is a noticeable lack of participation by the 65-plus age group from overall participation on committees. This suggests age is an alienating factor that could possibly be related to well-being in effecting choice. What is interesting however is that in each thematic area most respondents with a governance role were unemployed, and had either no formal or a secondary level education. This is at odds with feedback from interviewees who attributed non-participation in governance roles to capability and a lack of enabling conditions for social exchange and interaction. It suggests that educational ability is associated more with organisations outside the area rather than those organised locally and this

would contribute to insular characteristics. R6 believes the issue lies with both internalized perceptions and the expectations of elitism.

“You go to these funding events and you realise everyone else is different from you – you’re like, you’re working class and you’re from Ardoyne...and you go to these meetings and it’s all middle class people talking.....You are consciously aware that everyone is different from you. They all wear suits and because you’re in a more professional environment you have to speak a bit differently.”
(R6)

R6’s feelings of awkwardness with rituals of language and dress codes are an example of the subtleties of social exclusion based on elitist capability and management of image. As a result, only those who feel they can adapt, can fully participate.

“You’re not going to speak as you would talk to your friends, you have to be more professional.” (R6)

R6 has a third level education but still felt his capability was challenged in these settings. This is important because shirking away from such “professional” arenas reinforces in-group/outgroup divisions as another barrier to participation. The conditions necessary for access to social capital differ, but are driven by hierarchies predicated on one’s ability to adapt to elitist networks.

- Organisational governance models

The governance arrangements for the formal groups operating in Ardoyne can be categorised into four general legal structures demonstrating the skills and capability to not only organise in an ad-hoc basis but use governance models that are aligned to national and international governance standards (See Table 5).

Table 5: Governance models used by local civil society organisations

	Governance type
1	Company limited by guarantee with no shares and company limited by guarantee and not registered as a charity
2	Charitable not for profits such as trusts, charitable unincorporated associations and companies limited by guarantee with no shares and registered with the Charity Commission
3	Profit distributing structure such as non-charitable unincorporated associations
4	Mutual societies such as cooperatives and industrial and provident societies

Coleman (1991) argues that these ‘constructed social organisations’ unlike previously mentioned spontaneous relationships between neighbours need to be ‘built’ and are characteristically complex. However, these descriptions are challenged by social constructivists like Shapiro & Lang (1991) who argue that notions of primordiality and spontaneity can be interpreted through all types of social organisation, rejecting the homogenous categorisation of the social organisation. Some of the organisations in Ardoyne try to challenge barriers such as confidence and capability through capacity building programmes and networking events with other organisations across the city but these courses only become available to those already in groups who express the confidence to engage in self-improvement. There is an issue that these networks are not seen to be enabling and are instead building on the strengths of the enabled because of their inaccessibility.

The mapping of civil society locally revealed a spectrum of informal and formal groups that address individual as well as collective needs. R19 is a 65-year-old community activist who challenges the ability of the majority of the groups identified in the area to deal with deep rooted causes of poverty and deprivation rather than the effects.

“There are probably more services now offered in the area, but what has really changed? And that is true for a lot that goes on here as well. When I look at the community development infrastructure in Ardoyne I say ‘Christ Almighty’ what does it cost to resource all those groups and services never mind what the outputs are. And then ultimately what is the output and do they

create any significant change? So there is a quandary.... are we simply a showcase where there appears that something is being done but in reality we are dealing with the same problems now as we were dealing with 20 years ago. Those difficult problems in our communities are not really being addressed in any way. We deal with the effects of the problem but never really get down to dealing with the problems themselves and we find that it is very difficult to deal with because of the problem itself.” (R19)

This goes to the heart of similar concerns about single class estates across Britain, highlighted by a Joseph Rowntree Foundation report on Bradford’s white working class estates (Pearce & Milne, 2010) and explored by others interested in social exclusion on UK social housing estates (Turnstall, 2011). They suggest that the support for VCS infrastructure was merely an attempt to ameliorate the damage caused by deindustrialisation and the Right to Buy policies. The outcome of such policies they argue, enabled those with the resources to leave urban villages across the UK and abandon those without financial and human capital to fend for themselves (See Hanley, (2007) who relates similar commentary on post-industrial communities in England). These economic changes and opportunities coincided with key political arrangements in Northern Ireland to facilitate peace negotiations and resulted in European social and structural funds being provided to invigorate the voluntary and community sector.⁸¹ For some observers such as R19, much of the community sector effort is ineffective. There are many other reasons for not participating in these associations. For many it comes down to prioritising time. The busier life becomes, the less time there is for altruism. For many others, the demands of working life means less time for neighbourliness or building local connections through associational membership.

⁸¹ This reinvigoration of the voluntary and community sector in Ardoyne created a competitive environment between those who held resources in the area such as the Flax Trust and those groupings who challenged their mandate to represent all the residents.

The civil society network reaches into all aspects of social life. Nevertheless, the membership evidence suggests that except for credit unions and youth clubs, these 72 organisations do not play a prominent role in the daily lives of the local residents. It is claimed by some respondents that several of the listed organisations exist only nominally or in some cases notionally⁸². The findings also show that some groups have a greater presence than others and that presence was conditional to lifecycle and individual interest. Over 60% of respondents had never heard of at least 10 of the organisations listed in the network map and some interviewees identified alternative groups they believed should have been included.

22.7 percent of all those who responded to the doorstep survey are members of organisations outside the area, demonstrating a level of bridging social capital that is not constrained by spatial boundaries and could also be interpreted as an indication of the richness of social participation among the sample frame. It also demonstrates a potential link between membership and bridging. More importantly it also suggests that people are strategically choosing to reinvent their image among strangers due to the claustrophobic sense of surveillance that exists within strong kinship ties.

Putnam and other communitarians argue that associational activity is a positive attribute based on the assertion that diversity will free insular networks from in-group constraints and allow ideas and networks of information and support to flourish (Putnam, 2000). According to this theory, people who are exposed to associational networks cooperate with those of differing opinions, experiences and needs, and are enabled to practice compromise within a multiplicity of dyadic relationships.

⁸² This issue of groups existing in name only was the focus of a 2014 local election campaign by Independent candidate, Dee Fennell and even though he failed to get elected the idea of the existence of nominal groups persisted across the perceptions of some of those interviewed.

The findings in Ardoyne ward show that Putnam's analysis might be true for some, but others chose to join external groups because of a lack of trust with immediate neighbours. This perspective shows that bridging social capital has complex attributes based around the strategic management of self-image. Some of these attributes may involve bridge building but at the expense of destroying ties back into community networks where they are familiar. For many, it is their inability to find compromise with local collectives or associations that causes alternative bridging social capital models to develop. These instances can also allow individuals to create alternative self-images to gain and maintain access that would otherwise be beyond their reach. Rather than interpreting these forms of bridging as evidence of altruistic behaviour they are instead evidence of coerced reconstruction of networks and resilience against oppressive hierarchies of power.

R1 insists that political alignment is a major consideration for managing self-image and is an impediment to community development. This is echoed by others such as R18 (who is employed by a Northern Ireland-wide NGO). He also takes into consideration how his political alignment might be interpreted by others when participating with local organisations. This is not so much an issue when it comes to sports or health focused activities. But he certainly sees community development activity as labelled with a variety of republican and nationalist political ideologies. He believes that inferred "political" labels inhibit participation that can impinge on future opportunities outside the area. Strauss' (1969) asserts that people are constantly attempting to orient themselves within society's "temporal matrix". The examples show how motivational drivers for participation are the result of continual individual assessment of external expectations. Generalizations of motivational drivers fail to capture the social dynamic of these social forces in shaping participation choices.

- Reasons for disengagement

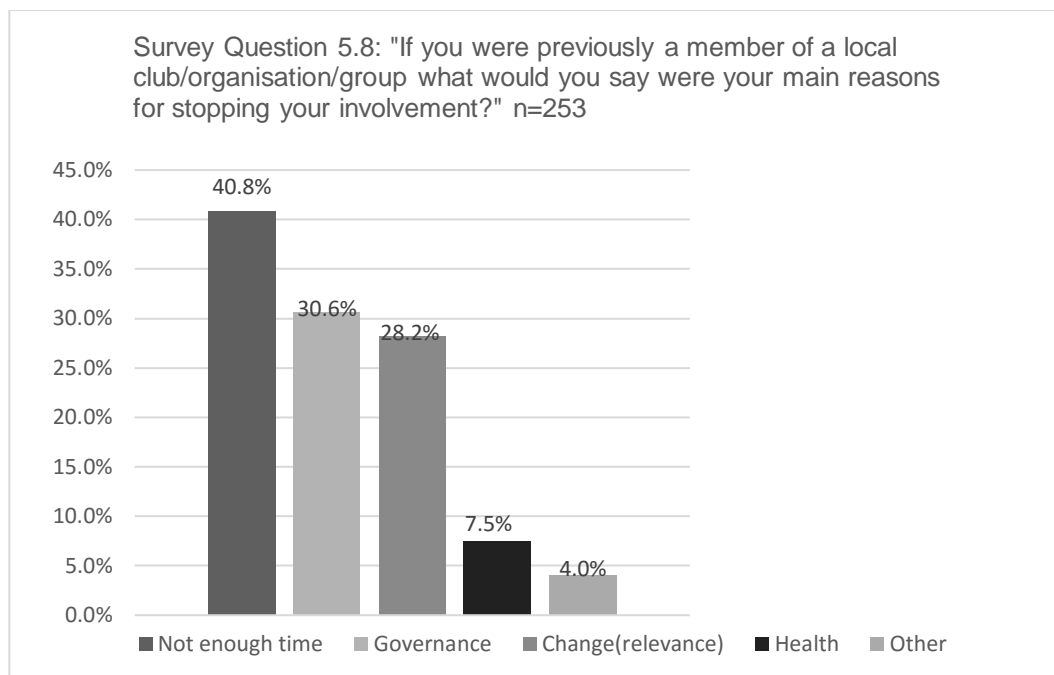
Hall (2002) was curious as to whether the declining trend towards social participation as suggested by Putnam (2000) was purely a North

American phenomenon. He suggests that changes in the type of people joining voluntary associations should provide one of the best indicators of social capital, but he accepted this type of analysis is dependent on close monitoring. Declines in membership of organisations can be influenced by a variety of issues. Many types of groups such as football teams are conditional on age and health that change with time. They are however, also based on relevance and changing social trends. The survey questionnaire collected data about previous membership during an individual's lifecycle across the same network to provide the rate of throughput. The difference between the two indicates the nature of connection over time and allows reasons for changing motivations for participation to be explored over an individual lifecycle. This approach also explains why members of one group were previously members of another.

To better understand the durability of participation, and by default, social connection, those who indicated they had been previously been members of a group (n=104) were provided with suggestions of why they may have left organisations. These suggestions were based on discussions with key stakeholders who have had experience of conducting exit interviews. Not everyone provided an answer and some selected several answers. Figure 5 provides an illustration of responses.

- Almost half (40.8%) of those who responded (n=253) claimed that scarcity of free time was the main reason for leaving.
- Governance issues, citing bureaucracy, personal opinion being ignored and/or general governance concerns, account for 30.6% of responses.
- 28.2 percent indicated change as their reason. This ranged from respondents feeling the organisation was no longer relevant due to them getting older, losing general interest in the organisation or one opinion was that it was time to let someone else get involved.
- Personal health issues factored in 7.5% of reasons selected
- and 4% indicated that it was a one-off activity

Figure 5: Multiple choice exit interview frequency response



- Sports and social club membership trends

Sixteen of the organisations are clustered within a sport focused thematic group. These include sports and social clubs, four football supporters' clubs, golf, running, martial arts, racing pigeon and weightlifting clubs. All use a variety of governance methods such as association rules and company structures. Four organisations in this category - Crumlin Star Sports and Social Club, Ardoyne Working Men's Club, Shamrock Social Club and the Glenpark⁸³ - are private membership organisations who use their governance rules to exclude females from decision making committees. These four organisations collectively attract 44 past and present members from the research sample. Working men's clubs and similar institutions are a hangover from the pre-1960s era when industry was prominent in the ward. Four sports and social clubs still operate

⁸³ Membership of the Glenpark has been defunct since the mid 1990s although the premises is now owned privately and run as a public bar.

licensed premises in the ward⁸⁴. 58 percent of those who are club members are unemployed suggesting that these clubs are not an effective pathway to employment. Furthermore, education attainment is dispersed throughout the organisations and is not a barrier to the membership sample. Table 6 illustrates the membership frequency over time for respondents of the survey in sports and leisure category.

Table 6: Frequencies of membership across 16 locally organised sports and social themed organisations (n=255)

Sports and leisure theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Ardoyne Working Men's Club	4.3%	n=11	2%	n=5	16
Glenpark Social Club	-	-	0.8%	n=2	2
Gaelic Athletic Club	5.1%	n=13	7.5%	n=19	32
Crumlin Star Sports & Social Club	4.3%	n=11	-	-	11
Shamrock Sports & Social Club	5.5%	n=14	0.4%	n=1	15
Man United Supporters Club	0.4%	n=1	0.8%	n=2	3
Liverpool Supporters Club	-	-	0.4%	n=1	1
Celtic Supporters Club	1.2%	n=3	1.2%	n=3	6
Cliftonville Supporters Club	0.4%	n=1	1.6%	n=4	5
Ardoyne Amateur Boxing Club	0.8%	n=2	5.1%	n=13	15
North Belfast Harriers	0.8%	n=2	-	-	2
St Gabriel's Weightlifting Club	0.4%	n=1	-	-	1
Wheatfield Pigeon Club	0.4%	n=1	-	-	1
Ardoyne Bowling Club	-	-	1.2%	n=3	3
Flax Trust Golfing Society	-	-	0.4%	n=1	1
Ardoyne Judo Club	-	-	3.1%	n=8	8

The most popular organisation in the sample, based on current and previous membership, is the Gaelic Athletic Association with a total of 32 past and present members. The range of activities that the club engages in includes a considerable investment in youth work and this could explain its ongoing popularity. Sports such as camogie and women's football are well-established leisure activities in the area alongside the martial arts type sports such as judo which continue to attract female participation. There is growing female participation in boxing and weightlifting tournaments locally. While the segregated nature of these activities can be construed as negative, they are counterbalanced by more pro-social benefits such as teamwork, collaboration, and hierarchies of control and governance. These are skills that can be transferred into civil and civic society more generally.

⁸⁴ Ardoyne GAA ran a licensed bar at their clubhouse premises at Flax Street until November 2014

Some of those interviewed such as R8 and R2 people believe some clubs are not so much predicated on gender, age or capability norms, but instead are dominated by well-established families, inhibiting participation by others and conceding control to a select few in closed clusters. As stated;

“Even the Gaelic club, you know for volunteerism within it, it’s still very much to this day seen as the super Gaels and it’s a wee dynasty of a couple of families and if you’re not one of those families then you’re not in the big clique and, you know, you’ll not get first team football, I know that would impede on people who would actually go and turn out” (R2)

Members of local organisations such as R17 believe the growth of cliques was and still is the downfall of many such institutions and the reason why many people self-exclude.

“There needs to be somebody within that organisation to be big enough or if you have good governance to say there is something not right here and we are now excluding more people than what we are bringing in and then that is something they need to look at it. but I think it’s a bit sad if you don’t engage. Because it isolates you. But at the end of the day you need to, if you operate as a group, ... you do need to make sure that it doesn’t become a clique. And it’s sad when you see cliques because it actually is the demise of something and that can be sad because there are some brilliant projects out there.” (R17)

The acceptability of elite memberships based on blood ties, or gender is not a phenomenon that R24 considers relevant when strategizing for self-exclusion. For her, participation is conditional on time and personal interest. As explained;

“You know it’s down to the individual whether they want to access what’s there. You see, I couldn’t understand why somebody would want to join them if they weren’t interested. I mean I’m not going to

go and join a fishing club, because I've no interest in fishing. You know, to me if you've an interest then...but that's just my opinion. I wouldn't get involved, simply because I think time is very precious and you want to put it in the direction it's going to serve you best.”

(R24)

Pubs and clubs were once the characteristic of working class areas according to the Hall (2002). As economic changes impacted on post-industrial society, the pub, as a main social space, was replaced by alternative outlets. Despite wider changes, social clubs and pubs continue to provide a social outlet for many local people, particularly males.

Crumlin Star for example attracts 450 local male members and Ardoyne Working Men's Club continues to have 150 males from the local area on their books.

While some of the organisations are exclusively male or female according to their governance documents this is not the same as organisations where individuals barred themselves due to stereotypical gendered norms. For example, every respondent who claimed membership of the various locally organized Irish dancing schools were female even though there are no barriers to participation based on gender in this activity. This is important to note because it highlights how gendered social roles become normative behaviour.

- Health cluster membership trends

In the 2011 Census 30.83% of Ardoyne residents stated they had a long-term health problem or disability that limited their day-to-day activities compared to 20.69% which was the Northern Ireland average (NISRA, 2011). Local deaths by cancers was almost twice the Northern Ireland average. More current local records show that deaths by suicide⁸⁵ and murder⁸⁶ also form part of the contextual background of health inequalities.

⁸⁵ There were ten deaths by suicide during the research.

⁸⁶ Three murders were committed in the ward during the research. Eamonn Ferguson was murdered 15 March 2014; Conor McKee was murdered in his parent's home at

There are five groups within a health category theme. The most popular health group for overall participation is Survivors of Trauma, with 2% of respondents claiming membership and 3.1% claiming previous membership. Survivors of Trauma provides education and alternative therapy services to those bereaved or effected by the recent conflict. R22 claimed membership of Survivors of Trauma but states,

“I don't think you can become a 'member' as such, but regardless of that, I would consider myself one. I am not on the committee or anything like that. I don't really know how that happens.” (R22)

Feeling part of something for him was just the same as the formal definition of membership but is an example of the limitations of measuring membership as an indicator of social capital. 2.7% of all respondents are currently members of Public Initiative in Preventing Suicide (PIPS), a suicide awareness group. Trends in membership show no previous members are unemployed suggesting the pressure of managing time to engage in these activities could be a determining factor for membership commitment. Table 7 maps out the membership frequency over time for respondents of the survey.

Table 7: Frequencies of membership among all respondents across 5 locally organised health themed organisations (n=255)

Health theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Ardoyne Shankill Healthy Living Partnership	2.4%	n=6	-	-	6
Public Initiative in Preventing Suicide	2.7%	n=7	1.6%	n=4	11
Cancer Lifeline	1.6%	n=4	2.7%	n=7	11
Survivors of Trauma	2.0%	n=5	3.1%	n=8	13
New Life Counselling	-	-	3.9%	n=10	10

Overall, low levels of direct membership in health-related organisations (11.4%) hide the reality that many respondents are health service clients. The National Health Service is one of the social policy tools used by the UK government to deliver health changes at individual level. The extent of

its implementation is served locally by three pharmacies, a dentist and a community health centre. The ward is also served by at least an additional three GP practices, up to four pharmacies and three dental practices on Cliftonville and Oldpark Roads. Despite this, levels of ill health have remained stagnant since the 1990s. On Census Day, 27th March 2011, in Ardoyne Ward, 30.83% of people had a long-term health problem or disability that limited their day-to-day activities (NISRA, 2011). In the previous 2001 Census, when asked about their general health⁸⁷, 20% stated they did not consider themselves to be in good health. Among the 2010 Noble measures of multiple deprivation, Ardoyne ward was ranked 10 out of 583 Northern Ireland wards, where 1 was ranked the worst score for health and disability deprivation. Similar measures in 2005 saw Ardoyne ranked 12 out of 566 wards on the same health related measure.⁸⁸

The blurring of participation status hides a subtler definition of relationships in civil society networks within the data. These differences between voluntary memberships in comparison to that of a service user is highlighted by McKnight and Block (2010) and others (McKnight, 1995; Elvidge, 2012) as more disempowering than empowering. They argue that service delivery can sometimes encourage a culture of dependency instead of empowerment and undermine an individual's self-determination as a citizen. Promotion of service delivery within communities elevates those with expertise to respond to the effects of problems without tackling the root causes of ill health.

- Youth cluster membership trends

Eight organisations have a youth focus. They include four locally-based youth clubs and fora using various governing legal structures such as articles of association and trust deeds. The most popular organisation is

⁸⁷ <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/SearchResults.aspx?sk=health;2001;>

⁸⁸ <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=1167&lh=38&yn=2005&sk=137&sn=Deprivation&yearfilter=>

the Ardoyne Youth Club. 23.9% of respondents had been a member of this particular organisation at some stage in their life. John Paul Youth Club is also well established with 16.9% of respondents with similar connections. The high incidence of membership is an established community norm that streamlines civil participation into adulthood and confirms some of the constructed behaviours highlighted by Bourdieu's (1986) explanation of 'inculcation'. 30.7% went on to participate in local sporting groups and 34.6% currently participate in one of the listed community groups. 58 respondents are current members of organisations based outside the ward with more than 40% previously a member of one of these youth clubs.

Controlling for economic status shows that membership of one of the youth clubs is not strongly correlated to employment status with similar levels of employment among those with membership connections to youth clubs. Table 8 maps out membership frequencies over time for respondents of the survey. Respondents recorded their non-participation in three organisations listed in this category.

Table 8: Frequencies of membership across 8 locally organised youth themed organisations (n=255)

Youth theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Ardoyne Youth Club	0.4%	n=1	23.5%	n=60	61
John Paul II Youth Club	-	-	16.9%	n=43	43
Ardoyne Breakdancers	-	-	-	-	0
Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum	-	-	2%	n=5	5
A&B Gateway Club	-	-	-	-	0
Ardoyne Youth Congress	-	-	-	-	0
Club Óige	0.4%	n=1	1.6%	n=4	5
Marrowbone Youth Club	0.4%	n=1	3.1%	n=8	9

- Culture and arts cluster membership trends

There are eight organisations in a culture and arts themed category including a festival group, Irish language groups and dance academies. Their governance structures include articles of association and company limited by guarantee with no share capital frameworks. Membership of the Irish Dancing schools are exclusively female. Ardoyne Fleadh is the most popular organisation attracting 3.9% membership of respondents. Table 9

maps out the membership frequency over time for respondents of the survey. Respondents recorded their non-participation in two organisations listed in this category.

Table 9: Frequencies of membership across 8 locally organised cultural and arts themed organisations (n=255)

Culture & Arts theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Conradh na Gaeilge	0.4%	n=1	0.8%	n=2	3
Glor an Tuaiscirt	0.4%	n=1	1.2%	n=3	4
Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil	0.4%	n=1	3.5%	n=9	10
Reid School of Irish Dancing	-	-	2.7%	n=7	7
Mulvenna School of Irish Dancing	-	-	0.4%	n=1	1
Blake School of Irish Dancing	-	-	-	-	0
Lawrenson School of Irish Dancing	-	-	2.0%	n=5	5
Reid School of Irish Dancing	-	-	-	-	0

- Church-based cluster membership trends

There are nine religious and church based organisations in the fifth thematic category. They use a variety of governance structures such as articles of association to enable them to legally deliver services. Table 10 illustrates the membership frequency over time for respondents of the survey in religious and church-based groups. Respondents recorded their non-participation in five organisations listed in this category.

Table 10: Frequencies of membership across 8 locally organised religious and church-based themed organisations (n=255)

Religious and church-based theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Legion of Mary	-	-	5.5%	n=14	14
Bereavement Group	-	-	-	-	0
Corpus Christi Group	-	-	-	-	0
Spread Group	-	-	0.8%	n=2	2
UAS Music School	-	-	-	-	0
Ardoyne Parish Council	-	-	-	-	0
Ardoyne Scouts Troop	-	-	-	-	0
Slimming World	0.8%	n=2	5.1%	n=13	15

Slimming World is the most popular group in this category with 5.9% of respondents partaking in their services out of Sacred Heart Parish Centre. When controlling for gender, twice as many females have had membership than males. There is very little participation in church-based groups, but the Legion of Mary is the most popular, with 5.5% of respondents having been a member.

- Community cluster membership trends

Finally, twenty-seven organisations were categorized within a broad ‘community’ theme and include credit unions, women’s groups, residents’ groups and single issue groups. They are governed by a mixture of legal structures, such as mutual societies, companies, trusts and associations. Table 11 illustrates the membership frequency over time for respondents of the survey in community groups. Respondents recorded their non-participation in five organisations listed in this category.

Table 11: Frequencies of membership across 27 locally organised community themed organisations (n=255)

Community theme	Current membership		Previous membership		Total
Grace Women’s Development Group	2.0%	n=5	0.4%	n=1	6
Unite Women’s Group	-	-	-	-	0
Marrowbone Women’s Group	-	-	1.2%	n=3	3
Ardoyne Association	5.5%	n=14	4.7%	n=12	26
Flax Trust	-	-	0.4%	n=1	1
Marrowbone Community House	0.4%	n=1	2.4%	n=6	7
Safer Neighbourhood Ardoyne Partnership	-	-	0.4%	n=1	1
Community Restorative Justice Ireland	1.2%	n=3	1.2%	n=3	6
Marrowbone Residents Association	0.4%	n=1	0.4%	n=1	2
Jamaica Havana Residents Group	0.4%	n=1	1.6%	n=4	5
Old Ardoyne Residents Group	1.6%	n=4	-	-	4
Ardglen Residents Group	-	-	-	-	0
Prospect Residents Group	-	-	-	-	0
Ardoyne/Marrowbone Community Forum	0.4%	n=1	2.0%	n=5	6
North Belfast Cooperative	0.4%	n=1	-	-	1
ABC Credit Union	29.0%	n=74	10.2%	n=26	100
Oldpark Credit Union	6.7%	n=17	5.9%	n=15	32
Sean MacDiarmada 1916 Society	-	-	-	-	0
Amach agus Isteach	2.4%	n=6	2.0%	n=5	11
Bone Ex-prisoners Group	0.4%	n=1	0.4%	n=1	2
Crumlin Ardoyne Residents Association	0.8%	n=2	0.8%	n=2	4
Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective	1.6%	n=4	-	-	4
ABL Commemoration Committee	0.8%	n=2	1.6%	n=4	6
Bone Memorial Committee	0.4%	n=1	1.6%	n=4	5
Relatives For Justice	0.4%	n=1	0.4%	n=1	2
North Belfast Interface Network	-	-	-	-	0
North Belfast Senior Citizens Forum	0.4%	n=1	-	-	1

Putnam’s (2000) deductive argument of the benefit of associational membership alone is challenged by types of organisation remit and the nature of common benefit that they generate (See table 11). Both credit unions are by far the most popular organisations in the community-themed category. Credit unions are community co-operatives and are governed using industrial provident society rules. These control the levels

of shareholdings. Both credit unions limit membership to those currently living in the ward. Financial shareholders can vote at annual meetings to elect a decision-making committee with power to invest and share savings. These organisations provide a financial function for those who do not qualify for such services from a commercial /private bank. Instead of using a risk based approach based on credit scoring, initial membership and risk assessment is based on a recommendation from an existing member and therefore exploits the strong ties of kinship networks to socially control financial risk and build trustworthiness between members. This is similar to the control and sanction processes of social network closure that Coleman (1957) argues are strongest within kinship connections. All financial transaction processes within both credit union organisations are based on developing trustworthiness through accumulating shares and building commitment to local borrowing and lending. Membership of the credit union is private, with limited interaction between members.

The next most popular organisation is the Ardoyne Association who attract a total of 5.5% membership of the sample. This is a community development organisation whose membership is restricted to those residents of Ardoyne ward who live in Holy Cross Parish. Members have roles as street representatives and volunteers. The organisation's activities are varied. By far their most popular activity is welfare rights support work. This involves helping people claim welfare benefits; representing people at tribunals and negotiating with loan companies and banks to agree money management plans. The group also links with local authorities to lobby for housing and environmental improvements. The organisation publish annual accounts which are presented at their Annual General Meeting in accordance with their governance rules.

The survey findings show that participation levels are related to gender variables. For instance, twice as many females are members of both credit unions than males. In Ardoyne Association there are 3 times as many female members as males. Female participation here reflects the

strong bonding ties exhibited in familial networks that isolate but do not necessarily exclude males.

Unemployment is high across the ward with the 2011 Northern Ireland Census recording rates of economic inactivity at 51.07% (NISRA, 2011). A Northern Ireland Assembly briefing paper (NIA, 2014) showed the regional average for economic inactivity in Northern Ireland at the time was 27.2%. Between 53 and 65 percent of those who are economically inactive are members of the three most popular groups – both credit unions and the Ardoyne Association. 54 percent of those who are members of groups inside and outside the ward (n=161) are economically inactive, so it is difficult to conclude that unemployment determines membership of an organisation, or the reverse.

As pointed out earlier some social clubs are exclusive to male decision makers and members. This is also the case for the locally organised women's groups. Survey results suggest gender streaming goes through much of the local civil society network. All those survey respondents who claim to be members of Old Ardoyne Residents Group for instance are female whereas all the members of Amach agus Isteach are male. All those survey respondents who claim to be members of the Irish Dancing Schools are also exclusively female.

Another observation of interest regards two of the organisations who receive the greatest media exposure, Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective (GARC) and the Crumlin Ardoyne Residents Association (CARA). These are both groups who lobby in opposition to sectarian marches and GARC's Facebook page⁸⁹ (2016) states that they are "a fully constituted Community Development Organisation, working to improve the lives of people in our community." Both make unsupported claims about membership and are vague about the geographic catchment area from which such membership is drawn. It is within this context that survey data

⁸⁹ https://www.facebook.com/pg/garcabu/about/?ref=page_internal

finds that 36% of those surveyed do not know what these groups do, nor have they ever heard of them. This is an important observation about the populist nature of political lobbying. Resolving Loyal Orders parading challenges, particularly past Ardoyne, has been deemed central to the future success of previous peace agreements. As such they have attracted international negotiators from US, UK and Irish governments. Survey findings show that more than a third of the population in Ardoyne do not even know about the groups who are negotiating on their behalf. Some of these groups grandstand about their negotiating mandate, reinforced with sporadic slogans on publically displayed banners such as that displayed at a protest march through Ardoyne on 30 September, 2016. It stated, “Ardoyne rejects SF/UVF imposed deals” (GARC: 2016)⁹⁰. GARC’s Facebook page claims they are “the largest residents group in the Greater Ardoyne area⁹¹(GARC: 2015)”. These are examples of social elitism and resultant social exclusion through the misrepresentation of community mandates.

The survey findings show many other umbrella groups such as Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum (AYPF), Crumlin Ardoyne Neighbourhood Partnership⁹², The Ardoyne Marrowbone Community Forum, or the Safer Neighbourhood Ardoyne Partnership who receive state funding but are seemingly irrelevant to local people. AYPF were established in 1996 to coordinate better working relationships between youth service providers and statutory agencies. As part of that work the organisation is part of wider Neighbourhood Renewal working groups for Ardoyne/Crumlin Neighbourhood Partnership. They are also part of CO3 (Chief Officers 3rd Sector) network that provides leadership and governance training and

⁹⁰

<https://www.facebook.com/garcabu/photos/a.741687859234042.1073741827.741685782567583/1050856658317159/?type=1&theater> 30 September post

⁹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/garcabu/posts/833953180007509> (See also <http://greaterardoyneresidentscollective.blogspot.co.uk> where GARC claim to have been endorsed by over 11,000 ‘greater Ardoyne residents’)

⁹² North Belfast Partnership Board provide a review of the Neighbourhood Partnerships 2014/15 action plan outlining outcomes achieved and future targets. <http://www.northbelfastpartnership.com/images/custom/pageimages/118/7292/Crumlin%20Ardoyne%20Revised%20Action%20Plan.pdf>

shares learning across more than 500 VCS organisations across Northern Ireland and have been involved in negotiating with Development Trusts Northern Ireland about the asset transfer of Saint Gemma's College. They reconstituted themselves as Ardoyne Youth Enterprises (AYE) in 2017. AYE make a pledge on their website to "Keep residents, young people and youth service providers fully informed of all decisions and policies made by the[se] authorities which may affect their welfare."⁹³ The promise to keep residents fully informed was not evidenced through the doorstep survey or subsequent interviews.

As mentioned previously, there is an ambiguity on formal definitions of membership of those groups who do not hold a membership database that is defined by payments of dues or other regular obligations. The ambiguity allows groups to make unsubstantiated claims for mandates but also allows unaccountable decisions to be made on behalf of wide sections of those living in the ward.

This echoes assertions by McKnight (1995) and others (McKnight & Block, 2010; Kretzmann, *et al.*, 1993; Pratchett, *et al.*, 2009) that excluding people in decisions that affect their lives, coupled with the continued focus on their weaknesses instead of building on community strengths, leads to dependency. The acceptance that decision-making roles can only be done by others more suited to these jobs subsequently becomes normative.

5.3 - Social Network Participation and Awareness

The ongoing provision of and demand for local services can be construed as a reflection of their quality. If we are to believe these services are embedded in the social network psyche then it is important to understand how information flows can control awareness of these services. This section argues that there are multiple disconnected networks in the ward,

⁹³ <http://www.ardoyne.org>

some of which are competing for market advantage. Survey findings reveal a lack of knowledge and awareness of the services provided by local organisations. This lack of awareness is shared by elected representatives and council employees tasked with community development work in the area⁹⁴. Half of survey respondents had not heard of 33 of the 72 groups presented to them. What is interesting is that some of the least known groups are those that have the highest levels of media coverage. This challenges perceptions of the inordinate power of the media to influence people, but can also be interpreted as demonstrating a lack of trust in the media and its objectiveness on local issues.

The connection between awareness and personal participation reinforces the importance of social network connection at individual level but it also highlights some of the gaps in the relationship between the two. Just because you are active in the local community does not equate to being aware of the activities of all other groups. In fact, the data suggests that perhaps the patron/client relationship is different from the membership/participant one within the same network of groups.

R5 is not a member of any local groups but has raised her family in the local area where she was born. She was surprised when shown an infographic during an interview (See Appendix 1), outlining the extent of organisations providing services locally. As explained,

“I’m absolutely astounded that there’s so many. Astounded. Yeah, my goodness. I suppose you really should take more of an interest in what goes on but you tend to get somewhat caught up in your own bits and pieces.” (R5)

R3 and R4 both work 9-5 jobs so have no real time to get involved in community groups. They are equally as incredulous to the amount of activity, suggesting that services are very badly advertised or promoted.

⁹⁴ Private interview in Belfast City Hall in November 2016 with Gerry Kelly, MLA and Carál Ní Chuilín MLA.

As explained by R10, who is on a management committee in one of the local community development groups presented in the infographic;

“I’m surprised there’s over 70. But I would say most people perceive there to be about 4 or 5 groups between Ardoyne and the Bone.” (R10)

Comparative analysis of baseline data highlighted at least two differing perspectives in mapping civil society in Ardoyne. One maps membership or participation over an individual’s lifetime, the other maps their awareness of social support networks and available services. It is interesting to note how people are aware of health support in a patron/client relationship but not as something they might be invited to be involved in a decision-making role in that regard. This could explain non-participation in terms of the sense of individual powerlessness articulated by McKnight and Block (2010) and others (Friedman, 2009). They promote the development of social assets and outcomes as a solution to community exclusion. This approach, they argue, mitigates negative social consequences and Golem effects, whereby client relationships serve to disempower people through deficit labelling (Merton, 1948; Wilkins, 1976; Wolfensberger, *et al.*, 1972; Babad, 1977). From this perspective voluntary/community groups in Ardoyne simply provide services that convert people into passive observers and consumers.

- Social Network Consumer Reach

Measuring awareness of the services that organisations provide, reflects the importance local people place on them in relation to the reach they have into people’s lives. The organisations listed below in Table 12, provide different types of opportunities for social interaction for public and private benefit.

For example, credit unions are a popular service in the ward by providing confidential financial shareholding while the health support organisations such as the Public Initiative in Preventing Suicide or Cancer Lifeline, provide vital wellbeing support networks. Ardoyne Association for instance

provide welfare advice. Social clubs provide social networking and team building opportunities while youth clubs instil team building, group activities and some also provide pastoral care.

It is interesting to observe that respondents do not really know about what the wide range of the listed local organisations deliver, considering the density of the area and the length of time respondents have lived alongside these organisations and civil society networks. This demonstrates that the importance of many of these groups lies more in the relevance of the services they provide at particular points in time, rather than any affinity with them, simply because they are local.

The 255 respondents were asked whether they had heard of any of the groups from a list of 72 and more importantly, if they knew what the groups do. Half of those asked are only aware of 39 groups (See table 12). Less than half had heard of umbrella groups such as Ardoyne and Marrowbone Community Empowerment Partnership, the Youth Providers Forum or Amach agus Isteach. During follow-up conversations it became clear that there are biases against acknowledging many of the 72 groups on the list. Some people are openly hostile to the political ideologies of others and challenged their claims of progressive impact on the life of people in the ward. As a result, they do not interact with those to whom they are ideologically opposed. It also became clear that service awareness is restricted by the ability of organisations to promote their aims and the quality of their services. In most instances service value was only known to its members and service users but did not percolate out into the wider community. The lack of information sharing has consequences for newcomers to the area but also effects the extent of collaborative networking opportunities.

- Duplication or complementarity?

R7 is a trained youth worker and football coach. He works as a mediator in the ward but also provides project management skills to those who need it. He claims many ex-prisoners do not want to engage with the two-

existing political ex-prisoner groups because they do not represent either their own changing political ideologies or their needs. They wanted to set up a group independent of the other two:⁹⁵

“We had 52 political ex-prisoners who didn't want to be aligned to anything. They just wanted to be independent and wanted to have talking shops with themselves. So, we're hopefully in process now of trying to establish that.” (R7)

Politics is a common thread according to R1 who is deeply involved in youth-type activity and in local cultural organisations. He also points to the competition and boycotting of activities between the organisations. The common theme among those who point out the duplication, is the belief that the solution lies in establishing a common working framework for the area that could possibly coordinate and promote the complementarity of work output from all the groups operating in the ward.

“People are competing because they're trying to keep their own organisation afloat in terms of funding and in terms of keeping their own jobs going. Now there are people locally, that are working together which is good you know. For example, the Fleadh is working with the youth club and Ardoyne Association is on board and different other organisations. There's maybe a lot of organisations that we are not aware of. People probably want to do their own thing but really they should be coming together to sit down around the table and have that sort of group where they all sing from the same hymn sheet” (R1)

Lack of awareness of available services and support opportunities is a big issue across the area. This is reflected in the responses at interview, even from those who are participating intensely and have widespread

⁹⁵ *Amach agus Isteach* is a political ex-prisoner support group for local people imprisoned for Provisional IRA activities. *Faite Isteach* is a support group for local people imprisoned for Irish National Liberation Army activities. More than 400 local people were imprisoned by the UK and ROI governments for political conflict related activity between 1969 and 1998.

networks across the ward. The following table illustrates how respondents ranked organisation awareness.

Table 12: Percentage of organisations with more than 50% respondent awareness

Organisation	%(n=255) heard of the group and know what they do
1. Ardoyne Youth Club	96.5%
2. Ardoyne Credit Union	96.1%
3. Public Initiative in Preventing Suicide	96.1%
4. John Paul Youth Club	95.5%
5. Cancer Lifeline	94.5%
6. Crumlin Star SSC	94.5%
7. Ardoyne GAA	94.1%
8. Shamrock SSC	92.1%
9. Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil	91%
10. Survivors of Trauma	89.4%
11. Oldpark Credit Union	87.8%
12. Glenpark Social Club	84%
13. Ardoyne Association	83.9%
14. Ardoyne Amateur Boxing Club	82.3%
15. Ardoyne Working Mens Club	82%
16. Cliftonville Supporters Club	79.6%
17. Marrowbone Youth Club	79.6%
18. Marrowbone Community House	78%
19. Flax Trust	73.7%
20. New Life Counselling	71.8%
21. Celtic Football Supporters Club	71%
22. Lawrenson School of Irish Dancing	70.6%
23. Reid School of Irish Dancing	67.5%
24. Ardoyne Shankill Healthy Living Partnership	64.7%
25. North Belfast Harriers	64.3%
26. Crumlin Ardoyne Residents Association	63.9%
27. Community Restorative Justice Ireland	63.6%
28. Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective	63.1%
29. Bone Memorial Group	62.8%
30. Legion of Mary	61.6%
31. Manchester United Football Supporters' Club	58.4%
32. Ardoyne Judo Club	56.5%

33. Relatives for Justice	55.3%
34. Slimming World	54.3%
35. Liverpool Football Supporters Club	53%
36. Ardoyne Bowlers	53%
37. Marrowbone Residents Group	52.2%
38. Bone Ex-Prisoners Group	50.9%
39. Ardoyne Breakdancers	50.2%

Twenty-nine organisations attract between 25% and 50% respondent awareness. They include most of the residents' groups, six religious based groups such as Ardoyne Parish Council and the Spread Group, community groups such as the Senior Citizens Forum, three womens' groups, all the Irish language organisations, Youth providers Forum, Ardoyne Marrowbone Community Forum, disability groups, and the Ardoyne ex prisoner group, Amach agus Isteach.

Three organisations are ranked between 18% and 25%. These include the social economy group, North Belfast Cooperative, a religious group UAS Music School and the recently established Unite Womens Group.

- Service provision and consumption

Halpern (2005) and others (Schuller, Baron & Field, 2000) have illustrated some of the challenges in establishing reliable social capital metrics. Measuring social capital through formal membership alone does not fully capture the informal social capital networks that are produced through community-based activities (Li, Pickles & Savage, 2005). Many of the community based activity and services provided locally are not dependent on membership. In addition, there is a lot of crossover in activities. There is also a crossover in terms of campaigns. For instance, membership of a particular group does not exclude you from signing a petition. Clusters of community participation could suggest where social capital is important to local residents, giving an insight into where, when and how people convert their social networks into capital and where people place the most value and are prepared to donate their time. Lin (2001) suggests that,

“ego is cognitively aware of the presence of such resources in her or his relations and networks and makes a choice in evoking the particular resources” (Lin, 2001: 25).

A series of questions explored different levels of active and/or passive participation in a range of activities currently delivered locally, acknowledging that social activity is not wholly dependent on membership. Opportunities for social activity were categorised into six general themes of: sport; campaigning; culture & arts; education; parent/youth; and religious/church-based.

- Participation in sports activities

30 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) have attended a local sports event or played in a local team the previous year. Twice as many males (44% n=114) participate in comparison to females (18% n=141). As expected, the data suggests that young people aged 18-24 (n=43) are more engaged with sporting events than their older counterparts with almost half of the cohort attending or participating in events. It could be argued that these activities are best suited to younger people as fitness and good health is a requirement for participation. It is also a school curricular activity and so parents/carers could also participate as an observer. In 2011, almost a third of the ward population had a long-term health problem or disability that limited their day-to-day activities⁹⁶. However, the data also shows a marked increase among males over 41 and a parallel decrease in participation by females over 25. Female participation is most prevalent in the 18-24 age group where they out participate males and this could be related to their socialization with sports through schools, colleges or youth clubs, as well as their transitioning roles into parenthood.

⁹⁶

<http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/AreaProfileReportViewer.aspx?FromAPAddressMultipleRecords=Ardoyne@Exact%20match%20of%20location%20name:%20@Exact%20Match%20Of%20Location%20Name:%20%20Ardoyne@4?>

Those who are employed or self-employed are twice as likely to take part in sports events as those who are unemployed which suggests economics could be a barrier to social participation. Most observation of sporting activities, especially local amateur sports, is free of charge in Ardoyne ward, so it could be argued that this activity is related to relieving work-related stress. It could also be argued that those who are economically active are healthier, both physically and psychologically and so are more drawn to these activities. The unemployed may not be able to afford to participate even as an observer due to stigma of not affording after sports activity, or their unemployment is due to a variety of health reasons that contributes to their isolation and incapability to socially participate. Moreover, the unemployed male is more than 7 times more likely to participate than his unemployed female counterpart which suggests a gender-based reason also prevails. O'Connell (2003: 244) explains that unemployed people were more lethargic about getting involved with sporting activities supporting the theory that health and well-being is a determinant for participation.

More than half of all males with no formal education (n=58) attend or participate in sporting events locally – more than 10 times as much as their female counterpart (n=59). Only 15.6% of people over 65 (n=45) currently participate in sports organisations.

- Participation in campaigning

40 percent of respondents (n=255) state they had attended a local campaign meeting/protest in the previous 12 months or had been involved with a local residents' or community campaigning group. The question defined campaigning activity in its broadest term to include everything from publically supporting a cause, taking part in a commemorative march or event, a public demonstration or helping behind the scenes towards facilitating such activity. It could also include activities such as campaigning for changes such as local improvements or services, signing or collecting a petition, or getting involved with residents' groups.

The 40% level of participation is interesting because it shows the predisposition to take part in more strategically focused activity and evidences the collective solidaristic character of the respondents.

The campaigning activity question was aimed at ascertaining the appetite in the ward to act for common purpose. The percentage of males (48.2% n=114) predisposed to this type of activity is greater than the percentage of females (34% n=141). This could indicate that males consider this as a leadership role into which they have been socialised and streamed by social structures to fulfill (Johal *et al*, 2011). But, as has been previously explained, many people engage in ritualized participation because they feel coerced into participating.

Males older than 41 years of age (n=41) are almost twice as likely as their younger counterparts to take part in campaigning-type activity. This could be related to their exposure to the nuances of violent political conflict and the efficacy of political and community drivers for change. In contrast, 18-24-year-old females (n=23) are more likely than other females or even males in the same age range to get involved in campaigning activities indicating a possible change in the media stereotype of misguided youth participation. While there was a marginal correlation with regards employment, the data reveals that more unemployed males 45% (n=58) are engaged in this activity compared to unemployed females 33% (n=85). When controlled for education status, those with a third level education are three times as likely to participate as those who drop out of school. Even though males dominate this type of activism, educated females and those aged 18-24 clearly have a distinctive niche.

Several female interviewees balanced home life with community activism but some do not consider this as political. R17 has been involved in community after following in the footsteps of her mother and is now a welfare rights worker in the ward while at the same time rearing a family of four. She maintains,

“My mammy was never involved in any type of Gaelic sports, Irish dancing, nothing. Then when she had her kids, there was the Troubles, Internment, the rent and rates strike and all that, that she then became very much involved in the social needs of things, not the political end of things. You know, things like “meals on wheels” scheme, the environmental stuff, and the redevelopment of Old Ardoyne. When the Brits put the lights out, a campaign for outside lights at people's doors for added safety and security. That entrance into community-type life and addressing the needs of your neighbours then I would have certainly got that from my mammy.”
(R17)

R10 is also a community activist, balancing her home commitments with community work. She followed in the footsteps of her mother who was involved in republican politics in the 1970s and 1980s. Her involvement in public participation and advocating for social change is from a feminist standpoint and as a political ex-prisoner her entrance to community politics was a continuation of opposition to inequality for women. She maintains that all the decision makers in the local area are male and in her own experience it is the males who are streamed into managerial positions.

R14 is a married 50-year-old medically retired female with two grown up children. She is not currently a member of any local groups but has a shared perception of gender inequality.

“Well there are certainly more opportunities for men to be connected than there are for women. And to be honest, I don't really know why people tolerate that.” (R14)

While Heenan (1997: 94) cautions that, “women in Northern Ireland have been isolated and excluded from public participation,” Lister (1998) argues that women have been the mainstays of advocacy for social change in deprived communities across Northern Ireland. The data suggests that women are involved at a local level and some are aware of the gender

inequalities of decision-making at local level but there is no campaign organised to address these fundamental differences. As Lin (2001) explains, the extent of change that can be brought to bear on those who hold power is determined by accessibility to those particular levels or openings in social networks. Only those who can gain access to decision makers within networks can influence change. If their connections are at a different level, then the chance for expansion to other key influencers is reduced to these networks simply talking to themselves.

- Participation in cultural/arts activities

There are a range of cultural arts activities organized locally throughout the year through schools and social clubs but the best known and most popular activity is the Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil which attracts thousands of participants, active and passive, across a week-long programme of events so it is not surprising to find that 35% (n=255) of the sample had either attended a cultural arts event or are directly involved in their organizing in the last 12 months. Considering that most of the locally organised cultural arts activities are free of charge then the management of time around other responsibilities is a more likely reason for the non-participation of the remaining 65% of the sample. Given that 55.8% of those not participating are unemployed, ill health and lethargy and other psychological barriers could be reasons for non-participation and could explain why only around half of all the 65-plus age group (48.9% n=45) currently participate in these types of activities. This supports O'Connell's (2003) assertion that economic inactivity is a determinant of ill-health.

Twice as many younger females aged 18-24 (n=23) are engaged in this type of activity. Their participation decreases until they are in their 40s when they begin to re-engage. This then decreases after 65 years-of-age. One reason could be that the transitions in female responsibility into parenthood and caring are more time intensive and could be having a direct impact on their leisure time. It could also be that respondents simply do not have an affinity with these types of activities whether because of

lack of exposure or a perception that these activities are attended by others who are more or even less “capable” or “cultured”.

- Participation in school or education-related activities

22 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) positively answered a general question to measure involvement in school or education related activities in the last 12 months. Females (27.7%) are almost twice as involved as males (14.9%) reaffirming a stereotypical role of ‘schoolgate’ mum with extra domestic responsibilities.

The 18-24-year-old age group are more engaged in the activity than any of the older categories of participants and while employment does not appear to be a requisite, education appears to pose a significant barrier to participation. Almost half as many people with no formal education 33.9% engage in these activities as those with secondary level education 60.9%. This could be more to do with confidence and self-esteem. The number of parents with school age children was not collected through the survey, but it is important in that it provides context to earlier questions about membership of education-related organisations. Not only is there a barrier to participation but this barrier is gender defined. Education is a social policy tool used by government to build human and social capital. Females have greater involvement in school and education activities than males and manipulate their social and network capital to better effect than males in this type of activity.

- Participation in youth or parent activities

Females are also more inclined to be involved in youth or parent activities with 30% of all females having participated in these over the previous 12 months compared to 22% of males. When controlling for age, females aged 18-24 are more than three times as involved in this type of activity as males. This contributes to our understanding of the relationships between neighbours and friends that are strengthened through structured youth activity facilitated by Belfast Education and Library Board youth

clubs, or earlier, through club and school organised activities. Table 13 below outlines the different rates of participation across parent and youth activities, illustrating different trends across gender and age groups.

Those aged 65-plus are least engaged in these types of activity. Males in this category are more than eight times as likely as females to participate. Despite this, parenting is generally regarded as a female activity. The low participation is explained by the fact that not everyone has parenting responsibilities and not everyone has cause to be involved with youth work.

Table 13: Age and Gender Cross-tabulation of participation in youth or parent activities

		female	male	
18-24 years of age	Count	16	4	20
	% within Gender	37.2%	16.0%	29.4%
25-40 years of age	Count	13	5	18
	% within Gender	30.2%	20.0%	26.5%
41-64 years of age	Count	13	10	23
	% within Gender	30.2%	40.0%	33.8%
over 65 years of age	Count	1	6	7
	% within Gender	2.3%	24.0%	10.3%
Total	Count	43	25	68

It is interesting to observe that employed people are more than twice as likely to engage in this activity than the unemployed (a third as many employed males as females) suggesting economics could be a barrier to participation and perhaps those who are successful in employment have a sense of duty to the youth club based on how these activities have been socially inculcated (Bourdieu, 1986). The challenges to participation demand greater time management of free time stocks compared to the unemployed participants. The incentive therefore to participate will be strong, based on the intensity and complexity of these demands. But equally the capability to participate is determined by levels of health and economic status (O'Connell, 2003).

Participation is also related to education success. Twice as many people with secondary and third level education participate in this activity as those who have no formal education. This is in line with employment findings where employment status is related to education success.

- Participation in religious or church based activities

14 percent of respondents participated in religious or church based activities in the last 12 months (n=255). The rate of female and male participation is similar with participation levels rising exponentially with age. No one aged 18-24 claimed to engage in this activity which reflects the decline in church attendance patterns across the western world (Putnam & Campbell, 2010; Olson & Beckworth, 2011)⁹⁷. The perception of a relaxation of commitment to church was reflected across many of the interviews.

R18 who is a mass goer bears testimony to dwindling numbers in church with the observation that it is “now only older people who attend”. This has been noticed by others such as R4. She was a regular mass goer simply because of her grandmother’s insistence. She does not attend as regularly now as she once did and puts that down to recent revelations about child abuse. She eventually went back to attending church with her young daughter but eventually stopped because according to her she, “just didn't have time to go to mass.” By that stage, it had become an inconvenience and she reflects that perhaps the value of religion contributes to instilling social values but its relevance is not as strong as it once was. Instead she believes that it is the absence of violent sanctions that shape people’s behaviour.

“but by not going to mass, I didn't start treating the people like dickheads. You know it didn't change. But you see a big difference with people not going to mass because you don't go.

You see a difference in the young ones coming up. Some of them

⁹⁷

<http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323511804578300284047862800>

are mad, but I don't think Chapels or Schools or whatever, I think that its the RA⁹⁸ not being here and this is why they run amok and do what they want.” (R4)

Just over a quarter of all males in the sample who are older than 65-years-of-age, engage in church-based activities, compared to the percentage of females in the same age bracket (42%). Unemployed participants were almost twice as likely (63.8%) to be engaging in these activities than people who were employed (33.3%).

- Summary of network involvement and awareness

While the membership effect hypothesis (Putnam, 2000; Anheier & Kendall, 2002) supports the idea that general participation is pro-social, the nature of passive receipt of services differs profoundly from being proactively involved in the control of services and activities. Participation from this perspective ranges from tokenism through to citizen control (Arnstein, 1969; McKnight & Block, 2010) where control is correlated to increasing levels of collaboration and coproduction, a concept aligned to concepts of bonding, bridging and linking (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 1998; World Bank, 2000). In this context, passive participation translates to weak connections while proactive participation, particularly in the form of governance roles, to strong ties. Membership of community organisations outside the local area demonstrate even weaker ties, free from locality restrictions.

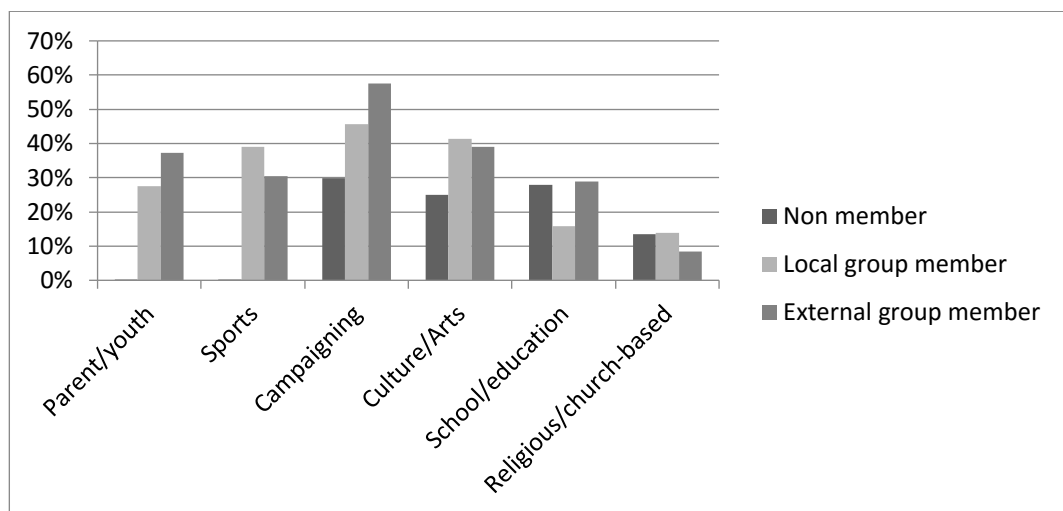
Participation in a range of social activities from campaigning to parenting were mapped to reflect current local services. Not everyone is a member of a group but they could be participants in some common, public services and activities, demonstrating their support but also their knowledge of the local services and social activities. Furthermore, it demonstrates the social nature of some activities that could be organized by some of the groups in the list – particularly those that are gender exclusive. It also

⁹⁸ Colloquial term for Irish Republican Army.

demonstrates the weaknesses in measuring membership alone. Service users are beneficiaries of the social capital benefits such as solidarity and a sense of home.

Current local group members participate in all the six of the social activities. This rate of participation is greater than that of non-members, suggesting that membership could be related to participation in these types of activities. However, when examined in closer detail, non-group members were almost twice as likely to be involved in schools and education as local group members, but not as intensive as people who also had current membership of organizations outside the local area. This latter group was also more involved in campaigning activities, reaffirming Putnam's claims for social capital benefits (2000). Membership is directly linked to sports and parenting activities. Figure 6 illustrates the participation trends across all six themes.

Figure 6: Participation trends across six activity themes



The relationships between people and locally organized civil society organisations are said to provide opportunities for bridging and bonding social capital. Indicators of civil participation are evidenced by the extent of access to cultural, leisure, social groups and frequency and intensity of volunteering, and religious activity. The questionnaire tested the extent of participation and familiarity across these networks and the data collected provides evidence supporting a rich infrastructure of organisational

membership and familiarity alongside a high level of voluntary action. What it has also highlighted is the extent of exclusion based on gender and age variables. It also shows how some organisations contribute to reproducing stereotypes by embracing structural and functional norms of exclusion. What it does not show is why people join and the nature of the pro-social motives involved in these participation choices.

5.4 - Conclusions

The research findings support the observation that intervening conditions and contexts determining the nature of social capital at an individual level also determine social capital networks beyond the realm of the home and immediate neighbours. Moreover, the evidence suggests that the cohesiveness of civil society groups are contextualised by competitions for mandate and importance in which they are embedded. This is facilitated by fluid definitions of membership and participation and interpretations of popularity and the extent of their perceived public benefit. These competitive and conditional frameworks shape levels of collaboration and cooperation into hierarchical systems of capital conversion which contributes to social exclusion.

The findings show certain conditions need to be met to qualify for not only membership of some groups but for participation or even accessing knowledge and awareness of some of the services they provide. The findings show associational membership or participation is not a straightforward freewill decision as suggested by those who assert that participation is a rational choice (Putnam, 2000). The context of hierarchical social structure, driven by elitism and capability demonstrates how choice is determined by place and a person's assumed role within the existing social order (Strauss, 1969).

The findings demonstrate the dualism of social participation across the inclusion and exclusion conditions out of which social capital is manufactured. Satisfying a test for social capital therefore potentially runs the risk of destroying the very social outcomes it was established to

cultivate, by inhibiting feelings of belonging to more complex dyadic structures. The findings suggest that aggregating the benefits of social networking masks this social dynamic by minimizing the roles of dominant behaviours and perceptions of self-confidence. The network dynamics at play in Ardoyne engenders elites and this contributes to the exclusion of others in the ward.

The findings define a multitude of participation variables, highlighting its intensity on a spectrum from a passive consumer of service information through to participation as a consumer or delivery agent. The feeling of a role in that consumption differs because it is conditional on frequency and intensity of purpose. An individual's perception as a client or a consumer is not the same as being fully involved in decision making.

The strategic importance of choosing to link to an organisation and the labels that can be inferred by others through that association, is the consideration made by several research participants. Some people join groups to share in the prestige that came from association, but others' choices are skewed as they try to manufacture an image to satisfy others. Choices are made, not simply based on personal values and opinions, but based on how such linkages are interpreted by others and how it can impact on potential future relationships and opinions. This adds another layer of complexity to participation that is aligned more to Bourdieu's (1993) assertion that social capital is used to protect club membership and retain benefits within those social circle rather than on Putnam's (2000) assertion that social capital is a more externally focused, collective benefit for public gain.

This ability to manage others' expectations determines the extent of bridging social capital and confirms the network position hypotheses of Lin (2001) and Burt (1992) who claim that it is not so much being part of a kinship network but one's position either as a broker or proximity to someone with a brokerage role that influences the value of such connection and reconfirms the common phrase, "Its not what you know

but who you know that counts". Personal strategizing drives the practice of networking in these instances and provides an explanation as to why local networks have remained insular. Instead of widespread participation and support for associations and community organisations we have limited engagement. Instead of opportunities for wider engagement we have closed organisations who compete against each other for recognition and legitimacy. The evidence suggests that engagement is focused on personal benefit rather than communal benefit and this has implications for broader engagement with civic society and the negotiation of power.

The disaggregation of civil participation in this sample reveals distinct gender roles. Females have a greater role in schooling, parental duties and youth work along with a greater attachment to church based activity. Men have a greater role in participating in or attending sporting, arts or cultural events, and campaigns or protests. The results indicate that sporting clubs such as football and boxing continue to be traditional sites of socializing for males whereas female roles continue to be family-centred services, or in dance and the less rough activities. The findings demonstrate not only are there gender differences on how networks and connections are converted into social capital, but that opportunities to do this are different, happen in different places and with different people. In some cases how that social capital is valued by others is determined by age and gender or social status. This is important because it demonstrates that social capital is not a standardized outcome but a process.

The data challenges previous research findings by McAloney *et al* (2011) that claim females in interface areas have greater access to social capital even though males have traditionally undertaken prominent representative roles. The study shows that participation is determined by organisation type and that these power roles and the nature of their inclusivity is a socially constructed norm. Females therefore spend their social capital in different ways than males, meaning they are more likely to be represented on health-based groups rather than general community development or

campaigning groups that do not address issues facing women. The nature of their social capital therefore is controlled by the social construction of local norms. They therefore do not necessarily find a role that is aligned to their strengths, tastes and interests but are instead shaped by circumstance, external environment and structural norms. The research did not find any appetite to rally against stronger social forces of structural inequality but observed that females tend to accept their place within them.

Respondents are generally not aware of the extent of activity delivered through VCS groups at a local level. This is despite the fact that it is the duty of service providers, particularly those delivering government contracts to promote accessibility of what they do and not wait on people to engage. Community development principles suggest that organisations with a community development remit take their lead from the residents (Green & Haines, 2015). Some organisations only represent clusters of people and not the entire population but there does not appear to be a mechanism whereby the impact of their work converts into a public benefit and can be shared more widely as social capital theory suggests. The lack of awareness is interesting given that an examination of membership variables shows that group members volunteer more regularly than non-group members but not so significantly to conclude that volunteering is dependent on current group membership. Based on the ONS indicators, civil participation in Ardoyne ward is disparate and is not driven by group membership alone. However, social capital does not appear to be strong enough to redress gender and age inequalities in the ward. The distribution of membership and decision making around resources is exclusionary. The image of collective participation is a mirage.

While tolerance and trust are focused on external bridging and the presence of weak ties, varying types of social capital are produced despite inequalities and intolerance being socially accepted as normal. The result is the reproduction of distrust in decision making and a

disengagement from civil society networks except for those who provide relevant services at individual level.

Chapter 6 – Indicators of social capital in civic society

This chapter presents the social capital research findings from the civic dimension in Ardoyne to support the argument that the culture of social exclusion at the family and civil society levels have privatized the relationship between residents in the ward to such an extent that it has alienated their aspirations for collective responsibility. Instead their relationships have been reduced to the level of the family. This process of privatization undermines the ability of collective mutualism to negotiate as an effective social partner with the state. Instead, the increasingly privatized relationship with the state has generated high levels of distrust in institutions and the electoral processes of government. Qualitative analysis of local electoral motivation shows that tribalism is a far greater motivating factor than advocacy for social progress. Lack of confidence in the self has also transferred to a lack of confidence in the state. The research findings demonstrate the lack of ownership in mutual governance and highlights the isolated nature of individuals and the inability of civil and civic society and their brokers to connect people to a sense of shared purpose.

The expectation, asserted by Putnam (1993; 2000), is that representative democracy is complemented by participative democracy opportunities. Ardoyne's social network of more than 70 locally organised groups should lend itself to this expectation by providing outcomes such as trust in, and participation and endorsement of, democratic systems of government. However, therein lies an anomaly, reinforcing the idea that perhaps the true nature of civil participation in Ardoyne reveals a more fractured and exclusive reality that in turn impacts on behaviours of civic participation. In Ardoyne ward social norms or change are dominated by only a few influential individuals/families. Based on the extent of civil society networks, the propensity of participation in democratic processes should be high, and by default, mistrust across the various vertical trust-building ties to institutions should be low (See Putnam 1993; 2000; 2015). Social capital measurement indicators used by the UK Office for National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Siegler, 2015) measure individual

involvement in local and national affairs, and their perceptions of ability to influence. The research argues that these indicators, used in isolation, are an ineffective measure without context.

The research shows that while some people in Ardoyne have strong bonding ties with politicians these relationships do not catalyse into trust in civic institutions. Instead survey responses reveal high levels of distrust in the political system and its representatives, suggesting that links to influential people might not bring personal or even communal benefits to either.

The chapter analyses the interaction with electoral processes and people's propensity to vote. More people indicated they were going to vote when directly asked through a doorstep survey in comparison to actual voter turnout. This highlights not only survey data limitations but raises interesting questions around motivational drivers to electoral participation which were explored in interviews.

Finally, awareness of decision making at ward level was measured to best understand their relevance to respondents as well as levels of actual involvement in decision making processes if any. Baseline levels of knowledge and awareness from the 2014 local doorstep survey revealed levels of social exclusion that challenge Putnam's (2000) communitarian bonding and bridging social capital hypotheses. Responses confirmed a variety of exclusive participant practices, which corroborate Bourdieu's (1993) assertions that individuals constantly strategise in order to gain and maintain access to the social pecking order. The findings explain previous observations by Makenzie (2006) and McDonnell and Healey (2008), that allude to a disconnect between macro and meso level organizational knowledge and its micro level distribution for public benefit. Furthermore, the findings suggest that linking social capital belies the depth of engagement with individuals and is interrupted by some groups who advocate on their behalf without legitimate mandates. This chapter demonstrates how social capital's inequitable function, produced through

individual, familial and extra-familial networks in Ardoyne, produces mistrust which perpetuates exclusion and disempowerment.

6.1 - Measuring contact with public officials or political representatives

The findings examine social capital's role as an interrupting influence, or a catalyzing influence that nurtures a tendency towards participation in broader civic society processes. Even though 49.4% of all those surveyed (n=255) personally know a member of a political party, only 21.6% had contacted an elected representative. Furthermore, 53% of all those who personally know a member of a political party (n=126), do not believe they themselves can influence decisions. Only 25% of all those surveyed believe they can influence decisions that affect the neighbourhood.

Despite high levels of neighbourliness and personal acquaintance, only 16.9% of all respondents (n=255) had contacted a public official in the previous 12 months. These results do not align with Putnam's assertions that such connection will produce trust in government institutions.

Instead, it suggests a lack of confidence, either in the efficacy of approach or a general acceptance that these connections are not drivers for change.

- Accessing dividends from power based relations

When scrutinized, 8.6% of all respondents know a member of a parent teacher association, 17.3% know a member of a Trade Union, and 13.3% personally know someone on a board of school governors. Examination of civic participation trends reflect similar determinants of connection as those that feature when civil participation is examined in the ward. It shows that some respondents are in a more advantageous position to make such contacts than others. In other instances respondents are excluded from decision making and have not been invited to either have a decision-making role or, if they do, their role is not adequately facilitated. This shapes the relevance and representativeness of connections to civic authority.

Granovetter (1973) and others (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001; 2008) describe these power based relations as weak because they exist between people who are not familiar with each other in comparison to the strong links between family members. Research evidence suggests that access to some of these networks are in fact only bridged by exploiting family connections and manipulating obligations. It suggests that the onus once again is on those most in need to get themselves out of the situation in which they find themselves rather than those with power, resources and authority having a duty of care for those they serve. This perpetuates an underlying pathology of those without access to power and resources and reinforces an internalized feeling of powerlessness. In practical terms, the way statutory agencies use their power can undermine confidence in political representatives and institutions as drivers for practical change. An example of this is provided by R15 who describes the challenges local VCSE organisations have in bridging connections.

“So I have to be honest in saying, that through my work in the community, that the NIHE is better in engaging with communities as opposed to say DRD who nobody can even get on a phone. They won't come out and meet with you. Now I do have to say, after years of perseverance, and it's purely because the kid comes from Ardoyne. Wee XXXX. He works for DRD and we have him tortured, you know. Overgrown weeds and entries and any road-type stuff. XXX is good, but if we didn't have him then there would be? And that's because there is a personal connection, because we were all born and reared together and he comes from this community, and he knows and trusts us and the work we are doing. But see if we didn't have him, they have to be one of the worst departments. They just think they know what we want, they know what is best for you and they just go and do it. I don't know how they get away with it. I would have assumed that across all the departments that they have to, obviously there is consultation where its done on the internet and people can feed back and nobody really on the ground gets this” (R15)

These findings are not unique but they expand on previous suggestions by McDonnell and Healey (2008) who suggest that the propensity for contact is interrupted in some instances by those who should have a vested interest in developing communities such as those statutory authorities tasked with community development in Ardoyne. The example of mistrust and the lack of bridging connections with institutions in this instance, reflects wider survey findings. This lack of confidence at civic society level reflects fractured participation where some organisations are perceived to be driven by individual opportunism with no cohesive purpose to meet mutual needs of local residents.

Newton and Morris (2000) suggest, "Governments that perform well are likely to elicit the confidence of citizens; those that perform badly or ineffectively, generate feelings of distrust and low confidence" (2000:7. Cited by Scrivens and Smith, 2013: 31. See also Lin 2001: 210-211 about inappropriate measurement variables). Putnam's (2000) argument that civil participation through associational membership generates the trust required to produce civic participation is also challenged by Uslaner (2002) and others (Lin, 2001) for ignoring the role of context in mediating trust and facilitating the incubating conditions for social capital. This is important because findings of this thesis, in the sphere of family and civil networks of community groups, some of the follow-up interviews attest to the concerns people have from being excluded from plans or ideas that impacted directly on their lives.

The survey findings confirm the inequitable patterns of connectivity to those in power, over and above those with community development roles in the ward. Some public bodies, and political parties have commitments to improving health, education and civil society through providing services to residents in Ardoyne such as medical care and educational services for improved individual outcomes. Some of these commitments have also been delegated to charitable organisations and groups such as Ardoyne Association or Cancer Lifeline because of their ability to increase

accessibility and overcome stigma for those facing for example numeracy or literacy challenges.

- Dividends from access to political representatives

21.6 percent (n=55) of all those surveyed (n=255) had contacted an elected representative in the last 12 months and this contact increased directly in line with age. When controlled for gender, 26.3% (n=30) of all males who were surveyed (n=114), in comparison to only 17.7% (n=25) of all female respondents (n=141), had contact with an “elected representative” over the same period. What is more interesting is that, when it comes to contacting “a public official”, males were more than three times (27.2%) as likely to have made contact over the previous 12 months than females (8.5%). This significant difference suggests that gender is a determining factor to accessibility.

Research into the general subject of gender inequality in society concludes that some women “lack the biographical availability necessary to participate in extensive political activities” (Lin 2008:286). Such observations are aligned with more local conclusions of Heenan (1997:94) who states “the assumption that women are at a point where they can be fully included is to ignore the fact that women in Northern Ireland have been isolated and excluded from public participation.”

But gender is not the only determinant of social capital’s value.

Controlling for education status in the sample, 38.5% of those with a third level education (n=13) had contacted an “elected representative” compared to 22.2% with no formal education (n=117). This suggests that there could be a correlation between length of time in education and the level of contact with “elected representatives”. While the variables for education might be too small to draw robust conclusion, other variables such as associational membership provide larger sample sizes.

19.8 percent of those who are currently a member of any type of group (n=161) had contacted an “elected representative” in the previous 12

months in comparison to 24.4% of those who are not current members of a group (n=91). The same pattern held true for those who contacted a “public official” in the previous 12 months. 16.7 percent of group members (n=161) compared to 17% of non-group members (n=91). These findings suggest that associational membership is not necessarily linked to a propensity or motivation to engage with elected representatives or with public officials. Instead the propensity is more likely related to gender and the roles individuals have in social networks along with their ability and motivation to channel such connections.

The links between the conditional variants for contact demonstrate the shortcomings of Putnam’s assertion which fails to represent the exclusionary nature of many social networks that are a consequence of self-selection based on, what Wakefield & Poland (2005) and Bourdieu (1984) argue are perceived notions of competency and social roleplay. The evidence of individual strategies for access to social networks is more aligned to Bourdieu’s “field theory”. According to Bourdieu (1984, 1990) the structured arena, or fields, for decision making is constructed based on a judgement of best value and fit for an individual’s perceived role within them. This, to a greater extent, is an inherited and inculcated trait that Bourdieu describes as cultural capital.

6.2 - Measuring the propensity to vote

ONS use the propensity to vote as another social capital indicator⁹⁹. The doorstep survey asked for previous voting patterns and intended voting patterns in the 2014 local and European elections¹⁰⁰. 52.7 percent of those who were not currently a member of any groups (n=91) stated they had voted in previous elections and 62.6% from the same group said they intended to vote in the forthcoming 2014 election. This challenges notions

⁹⁹ Propensity is defined in the Oxford English dictionary as “An inclination or natural tendency to behave in a particular way”.

<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/propensity>

¹⁰⁰ Northern Ireland local elections were held on 22 May 2014, contesting 462 seats across 26 council areas, as part of the wider local elections across the United Kingdom. The election took place on the same day as the European Parliament election.

that those who are not members of groups are disconnected in some way from broader civic participation activity such as voting.

Examination of the marked registers held by the Electoral Commission for Northern Ireland 2014 elections show that only 2,062 had actually cast their vote in the ward. This represented 60.34% of those who were on the electoral register (n=3,417). This is higher than the regional voter turnout of 52% and higher than the EU average of 43%. While this has declined over recent years, the latest assembly election on 2nd March 2017 had a 64.8% turnout (BBC, 2017).

At the UK Parliamentary election on 7 May 2015 there were 3,974 on the electoral register (Electoral Commission for Northern Ireland, 2015). Marked registers¹⁰¹ show that less than two thirds of those on the register had cast their vote, suggesting the propensity to vote is changeable and appeared to be reducing. There are a variety of reasons behind these changes suggesting that indicators measuring levels of social exchange at civil society level does not adequately capture or reflect the extent of influences on this change.

- Gender variables

On 7 May 2015, 37.34% of those on the electoral register (n=3,974) in Ardoyne did not vote in the UK Parliamentary election that year (Electoral Commission for Northern Ireland, 2015). Controlling for gender, 29.15% of males on the electoral list did not vote compared to 44.18% of females. Qualitative interviews found that reasons for this change included, apathy, loss of confidence in elected representatives, an increase in self-confidence, political analysis, and even in some instances an epiphany.

Lowndes (2004) evokes previous research by Norris (1999; 2002) outlining gendered differences in representation across the UK. Lowndes

¹⁰¹ Marked registers are held by the Northern Ireland Electoral Commission and were examined under supervision with permission of the Chief Electoral Officer at their offices in Belfast on 19th and 20th August 2014.

notes (2004: 47), “men and women may be involved in different gender-specific ‘circuits’ of social capital that ‘capitalise’ political engagement in different ways (or not at all).” The findings show that the propensity for female voting is not on a par with males. To explore the possible motivations behind this reduction change, interviewees were asked a series of questions around voting trends and behaviours. R9 is a female in her 30s who comes from a large family, whose propensity prior to the 2015 Westminster election, was to vote Sinn Féin. In fact, R9 explained all her family voted the same way and their opinion, while previously driven by their late father, had gradually shifted away from mimicking the social norms and rituals for victims’ families, towards one where they made their own minds up on politically or ideologically-driven matters.

R9: “Oh I’m registered to vote, but I didn’t vote this time because I changed my name back to XXXX, on deed poll and I’d no correspondence but I did have the deed poll certificate and I did have the [old]XXXXXX passport.”

M: “But is that the reason you didn’t vote?”

R9: “No but that’s what was sorta keeping me away from it, I was going, ‘I have nothing in [the name]XXXX’, but I was just so disgusted the whole way leading up to it.But, I definitely,... we were all,... well just having bad times. You see Michael, when you go into my mummies, 9 times out of 10 it’s a wake. I mean there’s nothing changed. That wee woman, my wee mummy, has just been frozen, from she was 37 and she’s 71 now, so there’d be a lot of talk and she’d say, ‘That bastard McGuinness’ and all. She’d say, ‘effing turn that off ‘and all¹⁰². So I sort of felt, if I was going in there to vote, I knew who I was going to vote for, like I wasn’t giving it to anybody else, but I just thought, nah I’m not going. There was a good lot of us didn’t vote.”

¹⁰² Members of the British Royal family visited Belfast in May 2015 and were welcomed into Saint Patrick’s Parish Church in Belfast by the First and Deputy First Ministers of Northern Ireland, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness. There was a simultaneous street protest nearby by Sinn Féin.

- Voting motivation variants

The influence of gender variables on social capital conversion is important because it also highlights the strong influence of patriarchy and family structures in upholding social norms. The gradual change in R9's motivation to vote was based on her realization that it cannot change her family circumstance and her mother's influence. She had previously voted for local parties in the combined belief that it would gain retribution for her brother's death and that it was in line with what her father and family consider the norm. Her vote was not based on manifesto or political promises - a recurring trend with many of those who were interviewed. R9 still considered voting as a valuable activity and in fact, the only way to resolve problems and make decisions, but her mother's opinions now drive her electoral choices. She agonises between her obligations to her parents' conflicting interpretations and deals with this conflicting situation by removing herself to a park outside of the area where she is powerless to be drawn into dealing with the issue on election day. There are other drivers at play here that are stronger than ideology. I contend that these are more linked to perceived obligation to others rather than to the self.

R9 was not the only female interviewee who changed her voting behaviour. R15 for example has always voted. In fact, she stated that her decision to vote is based on her interpretation of feminism and women's rights. As someone who works closely with local residents by providing them with emergency advice and support she has very strong social networks. R15 could not bring herself to continue to vote for the same party in the 2015 elections and instead believes she used her vote more strategically to punish Sinn Féin who she believes have come to take her vote for granted. She suggests that there was value and merit in voting tribally until recently. She now wants a greater return for her vote, which is something she does not believe she is getting with the current political choices. So for some people, they feel they cannot use their

political power to best advantage and strategically bargain with that power.

There are those like R5 who have no connections to local groups but who believe voting is an important decision making method. She votes tactically and sees her vote as helping others, which suggests there are some people who are community spirited despite not being aligned with civil society groupings. There are other female residents such as R4 who claim to believe in the value of voting because it was “fought for” but who personally has not voted in the last two elections as she was on holiday and “just couldn’t be annoyed” proxy voting. Once pushed to explain in more detail, it was clear that she felt guilty and anxious at betraying family traditions and obligations but her reason to vote had changed and her method of avoiding voting was similar to R9. By removing herself on the day she made herself powerless to resist any pressure to conform to traditional norms and perceived obligations. The examples highlight the importance of rituals, coercions and perceptions to the voting process and their role in the reproduction and reinforcement of social norms. The examples show how the interruption of these social processes can promote individual decision-making but they also reveal alternative motivations for voting and the pressures of in-group coercions and perceptions of acceptable behaviour.

Some males who took part in follow-up interviews demonstrated a wide spectrum of influence on their propensity to align their behaviours with the social norm of voting. They also highlighted the importance of brokerage roles within networks, to encourage participation and share knowledge around the value of electoral processes. R17 reinforced this point stating that he didn’t, “think the majority of people even know what they are voting for”. His experience of voting in previous elections was down to the coercion of his late parents who had been political activists. He is now disillusioned and feels disconnected from politics.

“I don’t vote myself because you have the media. You have the bedroom taxes, welfare reform and all that. But it’s only recently

that I have been getting into politics. I remember seeing SxxMxx up at the Crumlin Road. At the time, they [the police] were trying to get water cannons down into Twadell and the Woodvale. And he was standing there and he was frustrated and I was looking at him and he said to me, 'XXX we have to keep the ball in our hands here or we are gonna lose'. I said to him, 'I know what you are saying but there are a lot of people here who don't agree with you'. And Gerry Kelly was standing up appealing to the crowd. But I was standing there, and I didn't really know what was going on. So why should I vote for something that I don't really understand. Then you have people going on about bedroom taxes and this and that, and they're in with the cops etc etc. So trust was the thing again, ya know."

Even though R17 comes from a family with strong political connections he is not actually on the register. He is intimidated by the fact that you have to officially register which reflects his own distrust in state institutions. He observes that the immediacy of purpose and the ritual is absent as far as he is concerned and that this was something he remembers drove the excitement and exhilaration of being part of a broader social movement.

"I think there used to be an expectation in Ardoyne that you should be going out and voting because that would be the right thing like. But it is not like that now. I remember canvassing with my ma and XXX XXX and all that there, and people were bussing people up and getting taxis and getting out dolls and out lads into taxis, you know that type of thing. And then the young people giving their cards to whoever and them going and voting for them. Now its different. I don't think its the same. I don't think people are expected to vote."

Some respondents felt that external changes play an influencing role in people's lives living in Ardoyne. These powerful forces have changed people's perceptions of their roles in political power exchanges. R17, for example, believes that the 1997 IRA ceasefire was the main game-

changer in Ardoyne that led to the novel rise of electoral politics locally. This common theme reflects the change in current electoral purpose as politics evolves from a national freedom struggle narrative to one of internal reformation of the state. The reason why people vote is not fixed but it is also subject to contextual change.

R15 is a female community development worker with grown up children.

“I think people are more aware now. I have to be honest and say, I think for years, because of the troubles and stuff and the shit that was dumped upon people in Ardoyne, Ardoyne was very strong Republican area and you voted Sinn Féin even though you didn't know what their policies were. There are policy issues that I don't agree with within the party. But years ago it wasn't about policy. It was because they were connected to the RA, it was the political wing of the Army and was gonna try and get us a united Ireland. Sin é¹⁰³. That's what you were voting for. Times have changed and we are now in post-conflict. We now have these people as politicians and they have to do the job that politicians have to do. And I don't envy their job at times because I know you have to make tough decisions. You have to manage budgets and you have education, health, all these departments. So its no longer....for some people they are still voting Sinn Féin because they are not getting clued into...they just vote Sinn Fein to get a United Ireland. But when the reality starts to hit people and hits their pockets, and I think one of the big things will be when welfare reform, because we do live in one of the most deprived areas, that when people start....and I mean already this year alone we have a food bank serving around 300 people. See five years ago I would not have had to give anybody food at a food bank.”

In stark contrast to Putnam's assertion of associationalism engendering trust and civic participation, R1 should tick all the boxes. He has been

¹⁰³ Irish phrase that translates to “That's it” in English.

involved in civil society groups from he was a teenager and is recognized not only across Ardoyne but across Belfast and Northern Ireland for his charitable work for vulnerable people. He holds down a permanent job and is a community activist with positions on a variety of locally organised groups. Despite all these incubating norms he does not vote and has no interest in starting. He articulates deep-seated mistrust with the political ideologies he believes poisons community engagement by engaging residents in a “social blame game”. The pressure to vote, in his circumstance, is elevated by the fact that his siblings and parents have strong political connections and they all vote.

- Group membership as a determinant of voting

When controlling for group membership, 71.4% of all those who were currently a member of at least one group (n=161) had stated they had voted in the previous election compared to 52.7% of those who were not current members of any group (n=94). 75.1 percent of all group members stated their intention to vote in the May 2014 election compared to 62.6% of all those who were not members of any civil society groups (n=94) which appears to support Putnam’s assertions of the link between associational membership and democratic efficacy benefit. Putnam’s expectation does not account for the fact that more than half of those who are not in a group stated their intention to vote when the survey was taken. Many motivations were elucidated from follow-up interviews demonstrating the importance of proximity to someone with an influential brokerage or a leadership role who could direct voting trends. The findings show that membership of groups is fluid over a lifetime and have a variety of determinants, conditions and contexts. For instance, some respondents who are not current members of any groups still have an organizing role within their family unit and some have an influence due to legacy participation in the broader neighbourhood networks. The influence of some of these legacy roles continue after formal participation in groups has ceased.

- Perceptions of choice and privacy

One of the most interesting phenomena that transpired from the interviews was the notion that people had a feeling that their voting activity was monitored and subject to various levels of surveillance not only by the state but also by political parties and their networks of canvassing agents. This has implications on how some people construct their responses to social norms. R2 is a community development worker who explains the perceived scrutiny of official registers.

“Regardless of what government said, the fact is, that being on the electoral register allows finance companies and debt collection agencies to catch up on people and that is a big fear. In an economy where people have, you know, for many different reasons accrued debt. There are people also living within the ‘black economy’ who are may claiming separation who don't want to put down that they are living at the same address. There are people who for legitimate reasons, it may be that they are nominally homeless but if they are on the electoral register and they're lying on their mother and father's sofa, then their mother and father would lose their benefit. So that scares people, all of those knock onto the number of people who don't vote.”

R16's experience demonstrates the extent of coercion in embedding voting as a social norm. Even though he believes the lack of interest in the electoral process is simply down to the poor choice of electoral options on the day, he goes on to explain how he was coerced to register so that he could get loan finance. His registration on the electoral role had nothing to do with any electoral propensity.

Others such as R10 believe the propensity to vote was related to the conflict and as that purpose waned and politics became more than just a tribal choice, voting patterns have also changed. But R16 insists that coercion by canvassers also shapes voting patterns and this idea that the work by Sinn Féin in Ardoyne to get the vote out by monitoring poll booth turnout and then calling around doors to offer lifts to the polling stations, is

a prime element in influencing expected social norms. R12 is a married mother of two who is not involved in any local groups. She explains her perception of local coercion.

“You are intimidated to vote here. The leaders of the party know if you haven’t come out to vote and that would be used against you so yes the expectation is that you would use your vote. It’s not really your choice about actually going out to vote and you are coerced into who you vote for. I don’t get anything personally out of voting. The value of voting is to get the party in. You can’t simply say I am not voting any longer, because you would be tortured. They come rapping your door right up until around 10 o’clock.” (R12)

R7 cautions any notion of coercion however, by pointing out that the canvassers only call on those who are already on the register – those who have indicated a predisposition to vote. Those on the margins are left alone. But it is the claustrophobic nature of close neighbours and the feeling that such lack of privacy produces, that contribute to a social anxiety for acceptance and subsequent submission to dominant norms. These are the gentle forms of violence alluded to by Bourdieu when he explains the importance of symbolic and cultural capital’s role in social acceptability.

R9 explains how social anxiety is linked to feelings of surveillance between people who are familiar to each other. R9 explains:

“I remember my daddy coming in and voting and it was always, it was a big thing for him, his vote. Big, big, big thing for him, because he spoiled a couple of votes in the early years and it was able to be brought back up to him and we often wondered how that happened? Um, one time particularly, when XXX was murdered and a fella in jail wrote him out on a wee poem and we still have it, saying don’t ever spoil your vote and you always wonder how that got about, cause my da wouldn’t have been one to sit and gossip.”

Another electoral worker, R14, explains the fine line between persuasion and perceived coercion rests with the availability of the electoral data, not so much the secret nature of the ballot itself.

“Look, some of the things I feel uncomfortable about is that idea that you can pick up this data and you can see who voted last year and deduce who didn’t. So with that type of information being available some people can feel under pressure. Especially when they realize that someone knows they didn’t vote last year for instance and then feel bad about that.”

This type of knowledge gives certain people the ability to manipulate others and this produces an oppressive feeling amongst not only those who are aware of these processes but those who are victims of this surveillance. More importantly, these processes ground the site of political power, not in the electorate, but in an elite few who have access to communal knowledge. R14 observes the stubbornness of dominant political ideologies to adapt to the changing needs and demands of the electorate.

“I suppose politics is being able to take back those returns and look at the percentages and see where people are voting and where they are not. Trying to work out the reasons why people are not voting and what would we need to do in order to get them back in to vote. But I think it is one of those things, where it is almost as if there is a moral pressure when you send someone to talk to that person who he knows, in order to find out why he isn’t voting and to convince him otherwise. It’s not that perhaps it is our policies that need to have a broader appeal. It isn’t what’s wrong with us. Instead its why are they not voting? So it’s like an internal investigation rather than considering that we may not be appealing to people.” (R14)

This idea of who moves first or who compromises is at the heart of notions of trust and reciprocity (Seligman, 2000; Tonkiss, 2000, 2004). The levels of each also are defining factors of the tensions between top down public

service provision and grassroots deliberative democracy design. One method is top/down and does things to people. The other is bottom/up and is led by people (McKnight, 1995). The findings suggest that opportunities of community involvement in Ardoyne are limited to engagement, with and between a narrow group of established community group spokespeople. This is important to note because it positions perceptions of community norms and an individual's role in social engagements and notions of elitism (Bourdieu, 1984). How people get into positions of power in Ardoyne is facilitated by governance rules of public sector and voluntary and community sector appointments. Trusts for instance, select their members based on the suitability of their skills and experience to carry out an expert function. Others elect their management committees from within their membership. These governance rules also require varying systems of accountability for the organisation to different audiences. Those civil society groups registered as charities for instance are regulated by the NI Charity Commission and report annually. Those that are constituted as companies are regulated by Companies House and HMRC and provide annual updates every 18 months. Those constituted as associations are accountable to their members and some hold Annual General Meetings that are open to the general public. Membership rules for Crumlin Star for instance, are limited to local males and are also conditional on regular attendance at the club. Other organisations such as the Credit Union restrict membership to within a defined catchment area and are conditional to reference from an existing member. Members need to own a share in the organisation.

The subject of what constitutes membership varies across all 72 identified groups. For some, as we see above, there are certain criteria which must be met. Some others such as the Ardoyne Youth Club lay claim to membership based on the payment of dues, and membership fees to pay for the services offered. Some, such as the Credit Union or local GAA branch invite members to attend and vote at Annual General Meetings. Some staff who were interviewed call themselves members of the group they work for with the claim that they would still be involved if they were

not paid salaries. Some local resident's groups estimate their membership based on numbers of residents who live in a defined parish catchment area. Such fluid definitions of membership poses a challenge to the robustness of claims of participation and mandates between the groups and demonstrates the diversity of civil society governance procedures.

Bourdieu's "Field theory" (1990; 1993; 2000) suggests that everyone knows their position within social hierarchies because they have been inculcated into such roles on an ongoing basis. The research explored how decision-making is distributed and endorsed across social networks and how accountable they are. R24 is a local 50-year-old resident.

"I was already working in the community when I was approached by a committee member of another local group. He told me that he had been speaking with the local parish priest and had suggested my name to go forward as a representative on the school board. To be honest it was more for the optics, to be seen to be involving people from the community sector who were not always aligned to the stoops¹⁰⁴ or churchgoers. No one was surprised or even questioned my selection and I just went along to the next board meeting as arranged."

The maneuvering of power between election and selection also reveals a self-valorization. R15 suggests there is a difference in mandate and support from merely being selected to a governor position on the school board in comparison to being an elected parent representative to the board. More value was placed by her in the elected role than in an unelected role.

"You are not just selected and you are not a trustee type. I have done two different schools where I have been a parent governor and I had to say I have been privileged every time. to have secured the majority vote then, I was not only humbled but it was a

¹⁰⁴ "Stoop" is a derogatory term for the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

privilege to be able then to say that 400 parents of that school have endorsed me.” (R15)

The parent governor is only one voice on the Board of Governors in a school and many of the school boards serving the local area's education requirements do not have a Parent Teachers Association. Some respondents argue that a lack of interest is the real reason for non-participation but as already highlighted in previous chapters perceptions of capability are also factors for motivation. Pratchett *et al* (2009) suggest that these perceptions are reinforced through a lack of consultation rather than a general lack of interest. The normative position is that only those who are articulate are heard and involved. Self-exclusion becomes the adapted strategy to allow social hierarchies to become normative. This corroborates Bourdieu's (1984; 1990) assertions on cultural violence reinforcing social hierarchy roles.

But the process of selection was elaborated upon by R1 who explained that in his experience he proactively went and asked someone about joining. The upshot of this approach was that once he was within the civil society network it was then easy for him to progress within the network to get involved in other tasks as other people saw his talents and asked him to get further involved. For him it was about people seeing an opportunity in his talents and using them appropriately within the civil society network in Ardoyne.

This is important because it demonstrates how unaccountable brokerage engenders mistrust in local community structures. Those in an in-group are seen as elites and they continue to shape the changes that effect other people's lives. This demonstrates the extent of the power of those behind these selections and in controlling neighbourhood norms but also demonstrates the fragile nature of social capital ethics when it comes to representing the outgroups and the potential for exploitation.

- The influence of social norms

In follow-up interviews people were asked if they thought people are expected to vote, thus exploring perceptions of existing social norms. Evidence from R9 suggests that people begin to question the value of voting once their relationship and feelings of obligation with people who are bridge builders begins to wane, or once attendance at rituals such as commemorative events are broken. This not only confirms Blais' (2000) conclusions, that voting is based on a value judgment. It also spotlights how choice is constructed based on the roles of bridge builders and 'high worth individuals' within one's social network (Brodie, *et al.*, 2011; Phillimore & McCabe, 2015). This is part of an ongoing social valorization on benefit. The findings suggest that people in Ardoyne ward want to co-design solutions to their needs alongside their political representatives rather than the local political establishment determining their needs for them in a top/down approach.

There is an expectation expressed by some interviewees such as R9, R20 or R6 that young people are not interested in politics. The survey findings reflect regional trends in terms of non-participation of young people in democratic processes (Electoral Commission for Northern Ireland, 2012)¹⁰⁵. 34.9% of 18-24 year olds (n=43) in the survey sample claimed to have voted (See table 14). Within this cohort, males were twice as likely to have voted than females.

R4 is a self-employed female in her 40's. She suggests that getting the vote was a novelty experience. That perspective was echoed by R11, an unemployed female in her 20's who suggested it was more of a coming of age experience. These are additional motivational drivers that should not be overlooked because they represent age-related pressures of social norms.

Table 14: Percentage of 2014 survey respondents who stated they had voted in the previous 2011 election (n=163) by age group

Survey question 6.3: "Did you vote in the last election?"

¹⁰⁵

http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0004/152626/Continuous-electoral-registration-in-Northern-Ireland.pdf accessed 11/11/2014

Age range	18-24	25-40	41-64	65plus
%	34.9%	56.6%	71.4%	88.9%
n	15	43	65	40

Regardless of age categories, 70% of all those surveyed (n=255) indicated their intention to vote in May 2014 election. Percentage rates showed that more unemployed respondents (73.4% n=143) and those with no formal education (76.1% n=117) intended to vote than employed respondents (64.6% n=96) or respondents with 3rd level education (61.5% n=13). Using propensity to vote as an indicator of social capital fails to acknowledge the transitions of individual empowerment and underlying variables for choice and alternative motivating factors. Some people are conflicted about not voting for fear of being considered as deviant.

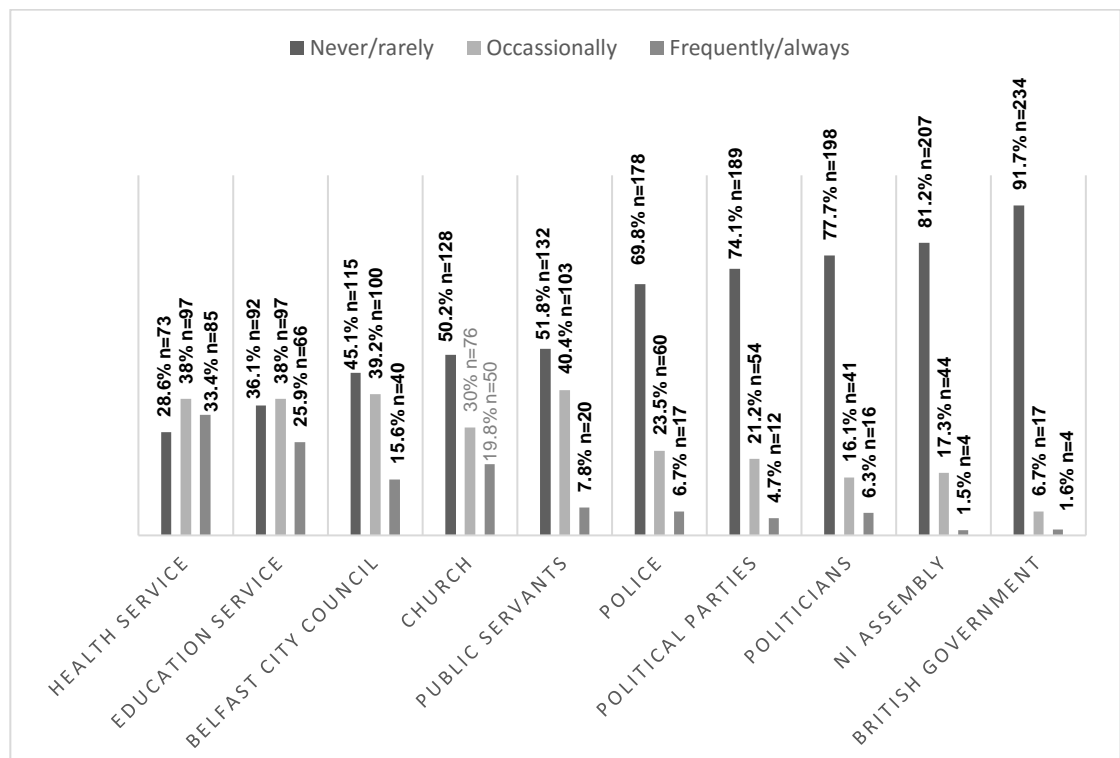
This “social blame game”, abhorred by community activists such as R1, reflects tensions that are present for dominant narratives to prevail. We therefore see the conflicted feelings on the subject of voting, played out through face-to-face interviews explaining why people are motivated or coerced to adhere to social norms. This is important because it suggests some people feel uncomfortable conforming to social norms that they do not necessarily agree with, even if they don't know why.

6.3 - Measuring trust in civic society groups

Over half of survey respondents distrust the institutions of the state to act in their best interest. This is not the expectation of claims made for bridging social capital by Putnam (2000). Instead, survey responses suggest that trust is more relative to strong familial ties and that it becomes weaker as it expands outwards toward civil society and civic society circles of influence. The disaggregation of baseline data reveals once again that age, gender, economic and education status influences perceptions of connection. Males in the sample group, for example, demonstrate the greatest amount of trust in health service, the local council, political parties and politicians, the police, and the Northern Ireland Assembly. Females demonstrate trust in areas such as the

church, public servants and the British government, reinforcing the assertion that female social capital is interpreted and applied differently from the male experience of social capital (Lowndes 2000; Lin 2001). This also resonates with Bourdieu's (1986) concept of habitus that claims structural environment influences different interpretations of the world and the subsequent social networks that are necessary for social capital's expression. Figure 7 illustrates the levels of trust/mistrust across key social institutions of the state.

Figure 7: Percentage opinion scale on the extent that civic institutions act in respondent's (n=255) best interest



The 2014 survey questionnaire measured perceptions of representativeness across ten areas of civic society: the Health Service; the Education Service; Belfast City Council; the church; public servants; the police; political parties; politicians; Northern Ireland Assembly; and the British Government (See figure 7). The following survey findings formed a baseline to inform face-to-face interviews.

➤ *How often can you trust the Health service to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

28.6 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely, trust the Health service to act in their best interest and of these, females (35.7% n=141) mistrust more than males (20.2% n=114). Of all four age ranges, people over 65 (n=45) least trust the health service (44.4%). Only 6.3% of all respondents always trust the health service to act in their best interest and 65% believe it occasionally or frequently acts in their interest. Half as many unemployed people as employed people trust the service to act in their best interest. Members of groups (36.6% n=161) trust the Health Service more than those who are not members of groups (28.6% n=94).

➤ *How often can you trust the Education service to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

36.1 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the Education Service to act in their best interest. Males and females are roughly of the same opinion as have those across the range of employment status. 41.9 percent of those with no formal education (n=117) never or rarely believe compared to 15.4% of those with a third level education (n=13). Only 5.5% of all respondents always believe they act in their best interest which shows that there is more of an appetite to trust the Education Service more than those who have political or a pastoral control of their lives. It is notable that 58.4% of all respondents believed the education service occasionally or frequently acts in their interest. Those who are not members of groups (31.9% n=94) trust the Education Service more than those who are members of groups (23% n=161) to frequently or always act in their best interest.

➤ *How often can you trust the Local Authority to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

45.1 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, Belfast City Council to act in their best interest. 50.4 percent (n=141) of females mistrust the council compared to 38.6% of males (n=114) who never or

rarely believe. Only 2.7% of all respondents always believe they act in their best interest.

➤ *How often can you trust the church- clergy to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

50.2 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the church to act in their best interest, and of these, males mistrust the church more than females across all cohorts of age, employment and education status. Of those who always trust the church to work in their best interest (8%), females are four times as trusting as males. Members of groups trust the church (22.4% n=161) more than those who are not members of groups (17.6% n=94).

➤ *How often can you trust public servants to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

51.5 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, public servants to act in their best interest and of these, males (56.1% n=114) mistrust more than females (48.2% n=141). Of all four age ranges, people over 65 (n=45) least trust the public servants (80%). Only 2% of all respondents always trust public servants. Males least trust public servants across all employment and education types. Members of groups trust public servants (8.1% n=161) more than those who are not members of groups (7.7% n=94).

➤ *How often can you trust the Police Service to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

70 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the police to act in their best interest. Males trust them least. Older people aged 65 plus have the least trust in the police. 1.6 percent always trust the police. Those who are not members of groups (8.8% n=94) trust the police more than members of groups (5.6% n=161).

➤ *How often can you trust political parties to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

74.1 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the political parties to act in their best interest with more females (79.4% n=141) in this category than males (67.5% n=114). Only 1.2% of all respondents “always” trust them. 25 percent of unemployed people (n=143) in the sample ‘never’ trust them. Males trust political parties more than females. Members of groups frequently or always trust (6.8% n=161) political parties more than those who are not members of groups (1.1% n=94).

➤ *How often can you trust politicians to act in your best interest?*
(n=255)

77.7 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the politicians generally to act in their best interest with more females in this category (81.6% n=141) than males (72.8% n=114). Only 0.4% always trust them. No one in the 18-24 age range trust them frequently or always compared to other age ranges. 77 percent of those with no formal education (n=117) and 82% of those who are unemployed (n=143) never or rarely trust them. 76 percent of those who are employed (n=96) are also in the category that never or rarely trust them, demonstrating that employment status does not appear to have any particular influence. Members of groups (8.1% n=161) trust politicians more than those who are not members of groups (2.2% n=94).

➤ *How often can you trust the Northern Ireland Assembly to act in your best interest?* (n=255)

81.2 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the Northern Ireland Assembly to act in their best interest and of these, females (82.3% n=141) mistrust more than males (79.8% n=114). Respondents over 65 years of age (n=45) least trust the Northern Ireland Assembly (91.1%). No one ‘always trusted’ and only 1.6% ‘frequently trusted’. Those who do trust the Assembly tend to have secondary level education but do not have any particular employment status. One trend that stands out from the rest is that respondents who are not members of

any local groups (2.2% n=94) trust the NI Assembly more than those who are members of a group (1.2% n=161).

➤ *How often can you trust the British government to act in your best interest? (n=255)*

91.7 percent of all those surveyed (n=255) never, or rarely trust, the British government to act in their best interest. Since this opinion was reflected unanimously across all those over the age of 41 it is possible that it could be related to their experience of the conflict. Almost a quarter of all 18-24 year olds (23.3% n=43) are among the 6.7% of the sample (n=255) who “occasionally” trust the British government. Those who “frequently” trust the British government tend to have secondary level education but their employment status does not appear to have any particular influence on their opinion. People who are not members of local groups trust the British government more than those who are members of a group.

Uslaner (2002), argues that civic engagement is an outcome of trust however, Newton and Norris (2000) suggest that civic participation is dependent on how the top-down actions of government are received. They argue that bad government causes non-engagement. Lin (2001) cites Skocpal’s (1996) research arguing a similar position. The survey findings show that respondents do not feel predisposed to trust civic institutions. Ongoing revelations concerning local abuses of power and allegations of institutional corruption have strained trust building over many years. These have included widespread allegations of child abuse in the Catholic Church, fraudulent parliamentary expenses claims, marital infidelity and corruption within local political systems and ongoing allegations that British government were involved in murder and collusion with terror gangs in Northern Ireland in the killing of local residents.

Key survey findings include:

- Younger people trust the British government more than those in other age ranges.

- People over 65 have least trust in the police or other public officials.
- People who are not members of groups trust the Education Service, the police, the NI Assembly and the British Government more than those who are in groups.

Face to face interviews were used to clarify these baseline findings. I contend the mistrust of political structures is a reflection of the paradigm shift in Republican politics, from national unity aspirations in the short term to one of state reform within a more global context. The mistrust finds its origins in the structural distribution of power at a more local level. The research shows this is where brokerage roles produce elites within community structures, with mandates for representation that are questioned by many respondents. These are further compounded by gender inequalities and artificial social norms. As R12 observes “Well there are certainly more opportunities for men to be connected than there are for women”.

As can be seen then from R1’s experience, it is not so much mimicry that is at play here but that it is easier to get further opportunities from within civil society networks than if you are only joining. His opinion corroborates that of Bourdieu (1994) that social capital is not something that can be shared quite readily but rather, is something that is shared more among the in-group than with those not in the in-group or on the margins. This point was also asserted by Burt (1992), Lin (2001) and Granovetter (1973;1983). The suggestion in Ardoyne then, is that party political affiliation can fast track someone into one of these civil society structures at the expense of those who are apolitical. This then limits the representation of people’s ideas, needs or aspirations, either towards organizational and artificial purposes, or towards social marginalization.

6.4 - Measuring perceptions of personal influence

Using Likert scaling (1932) to code responses to the statement “I can influence decisions that affect my neighbourhood”, revealed that 54.9%

(n=255) either disagreed or strongly disagreed. Within this group the most notable differences occurred between those with no formal education (12.9% n=117) and those with a third level education (1.6% n=13). The question aimed to calculate the sense of control people believe they have over their own lives as a measure of hopelessness and lends itself to measuring the perception of top down delivery of services without consent or knowledge, which is related to respondent's perception of "being done to, not done with" (R4:18).

One fifth of respondents believe they have some influence and group members (26.1% n=161) were almost three times as likely as those who were not group members (9.9% n=94) to be in this cohort. No one over 65 years of age concurred with this assertion. Among the 54.9% (n=255) of respondents who either disagreed or strongly disagreed they had an influence in local decisions, more than half (55.7% n=140) were members of groups revealing an overwhelming lack of confidence in the representativeness of the social structures in which they are embedded. Younger people (69.7 percent of 18-24 year olds) were the most likely to disagree and this is reflected in their lack of interest in voting (65% of the sample of 18-24-year-olds don't vote) and their participation across civil society networks. The responses support the idea that decisions and even decision makers are disconnected from the communities in which they deliver 'community services'.

- Community consultation in practice

Over recent years there have been three major public space decisions in the ward. One was about the reopening of Flax Street which is a major thoroughfare in and out of Ardoyne but has been blocked off since the 1980s in an effort to restrict the ability of Loyalist paramilitary gangs to use the road as a quick getaway route. The road closure forms part of a larger security wall that effectively encircles Ardoyne that also controls the movement of its residents around the immediate area. Another decision centred on the transformation of public space on the Oldpark Road back into football pitch with changing facilities. The final decision is the transfer

of the Saint Gemma's College site for public use. This discussion has been ongoing since the school closed 2013 primarily between some community organisations, the education department, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Down and Connor and Development Trust Northern Ireland whose role is to facilitate community asset transfer initiatives in Northern Ireland.

The issue soon turned into competing mandates between local community groups as they vied with each other to claim community legitimacy. One group, Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum, conducted an online survey, the results of which have not been published. Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective conducted 500 door-to-door surveys challenging the legitimacy of the previous group's assertion that the building could house local community groups. They designed a questionnaire to challenge these assumptions with several closed and one open question aimed at gathering alternative ideas. They published their survey findings in January 2015 and shared them across social media and through a door to door leaflet drop in a wide campaign challenging the validity of proposals brought forward by the initiators of the discussion.

This is an example where the lack of engagement in design of the consultations, but also the role of residents in determining their own future services, becomes a battle for the legitimacy of ideas. R14 describes the challenges facing community leaders in applying a participative process taking into account the time and resources required. Working to such constraints and complexities determines whether or not people are merely consumers of services that are provided and managed for them or whether they are actively participating in managing their own lives. His experience demonstrates how civic participation at local level does not necessarily include participation by people but more than likely it is led by brokers within the community who then provide an opportunity for people to get involved. However, providing the opportunity for people to get involved without consideration of the inequitable nature of access or capability compounds problems of social exclusion.

“Sometimes the best things happen with the least involvement and people begin to appreciate it. You know what its like yourself, once you try to engage everybody, its slow, its tedious, its problem after problem. So sometimes people come along and there’s a concept, ‘See if you can make that happen, it will provide a service.’ They go in and they do it and people appreciate it afterwards. So long as it is seen to be done with the best interest of the people. I don’t know what will end up on that site but I think the idea behind St Gemma’s school being developed, I think they are doing it with the interest of the community at heart. I don’t think anybody is in there on their own interests. Obviously organisations see their interests served and can get some benefit from it but the intention is an overall public benefit rather than a private or organisational benefit.” (R14)

Despite the claims of community consultation, those who live closest to the school stated they had not been asked about its future or how they could be involved.

“I don’t think people are asked their opinion on decisions that are made around the district in terms of what services are put in such as the new pitches on the Bone hills or decisions around taking down peace walls. I have never been asked my opinion on any decisions made locally. I don’t even know what decisions are being made because I am not told about them in the first place.” (R12)

“I think they should send out surveys and take into consideration what the district wants and not what they think is best for it.” (R4)

R16 stated how even government departments follow similar exclusionary processes.

“I actually sat at a meeting around conflict transformation and there was a senior representative from the Department of Justice saying to me ‘We have initiated a pilot in Flax Street.’ And I said to him

‘Well that’s brilliant to know but I wish someone would have consulted me because I am a resident.’ So it is things like that, where straightaway you get resistance from local people because they don’t feel they have been truly consulted or had the opportunity to have their input valued or even taken into consideration in many ways.”

R17 however, highlights what many others have said about the barriers some of the consultation methods produce. R6 refers to the jargon of officialdom and how it can also be adopted by community groups. This is compounded by the fact that some public initiatives are driven by local groups that are perceived to be dominated by a more political or party political purpose and this can also influence the choices some people make. Such perceptions serve to reinforce social exclusion because they are not relational based.

“They have like, all those leaflets going round, but you know, anything like that there I just throw in the bin, ya know Sinn Féin, GARC or ya know, aye all that kinda stuff. But I kinda way don't want anything to do with it.” (R17)

The findings suggest that civic participation is dependent on building relationships with people so they feel part of something but that this is either missing or has been manipulated and concentrated within an in-group. The outcome of such exclusion from local decision making creates feelings of worthlessness, mistrust and reluctance for reciprocation of benefit and legitimacy all of which are key mediators of social capital. Feeling alienated from civic society inhibits existing empathetic relations and reciprocal forms of altruism with neighbours from expanding into civic spheres. Throughout the research there were many instances where solidarity was expressed in more collective ways by local people such as funerals, rallies and vigils for suicides, and rallies to support victims of violent attacks. On these latter occasions, almost a thousand people came onto the street to show not just emotional support for families and individuals but expression of anger at the lack of support coming from

statutory services tasked with defeating depression and crime. The need for such publicly expressed solidarity reinforces perceptions of bad governance and inhibits trust and the development of confidence in those with authority.

The Ardoyne Association, under the auspices of Flax Trust also conducted 750 door-to-door surveys in late 2015 in the knowledge that the transfer of the St Gemma's school site was imminent. The Department of Education eventually sold the site to Flax Trust¹⁰⁶ who in turn gifted part of the site to a newly established community trust selected by them to oversee the development of leisure and health facilities in the area. The new trustees were selected by the Flax Trust based on competence and not elected based on representation.

- Who benefits from local decision-making?

Local groups provide services/activities in health promotion; culture and arts; youth services; community regeneration; community safety; social and sports activity; and social justice and equality. Survey respondents expressed their opinion on whether local organisations, who make decisions by providing services/activities, meet the needs of local people. This is important because it challenges the assumptions made by groups. Baseline measurements revealed that people do not generally feel part of any local organising despite the proliferation of groups in the area. This disconnect in power might explain why the expectations asserted by Putnam (2000) have not come to fruition.

Around 70% of respondents (n=255) know who makes decisions on issues that affect their lives but the overwhelming majority of respondents believed groups only met the needs of a minority of local people. The results reinforce the evidence suggesting very low levels of institutional and organizational trust and a sense of marginalization of those not in an

¹⁰⁶ Flax Trust was established in 1977 and is now a prominent social innovation trust with offices in Belfast and in New York. See <http://flaxtrust.com/profile/>

“in-group” and those who are. The findings challenge the validity of group claims for community mandate and reflect previous findings by Makenzie (2006) that few people had heard of some of the groups delivering community empowerment programme in the ward. The findings also corroborate McKnight and Block’s (2010) arguments that service dependence disempowers people. The transactional nature of service groups to establish patron/client relationships along with their continued isolation from decision making is the reason why there are such high levels of mistrust in the ward.

6.5 - Summary of civic society social capital indicators

Putnam’s (2000) associational hypothesis leads to the deductive expectation that people who are not members of groups would know less about who makes decisions locally than those who are members of a group. But the findings in this instance show that members of groups equally do not know who makes decisions more generally. The findings suggest this is as much to do with poor promotion and marketing strategies and their failure to raise the profile of local service provision as it is to do with blatant exclusion. By the same token it could also indicate an element of information control, or a level of social disconnection where people are not interested in who delivers services because they regard them as self-serving and insular.

Even with a network of 72 local groups, over 80% of the population on the electoral register and over 60% of these participating in local groups, the area remains among the most socially deprived areas in Northern Ireland. These indicators of social capital have not led to the predicted benefits social capital theory promises. Constituency profile reports (NISRA, 2016) for Belfast North reveal that on 31 August 2013, 55.8% of children in Ardoyne aged 0-15 were still living in poverty. What we see is a disconnect of power - the power to influence civic society to be drivers for change at ward level in reducing deprivation levels through improving collaboration mechanisms.

The findings demonstrate challenges in distributing power through hierarchical structures of social control. Middleton *et al* (2005) suggests that power struggles are at the heart of community development processes and questions whether social capital measurements distract meaningful conversations about the distribution of wealth.

These findings on mistrust are not isolated or new. Daly (2004), for instance, comments on the continued lack of social trust in voluntary organisations as well as the political sphere in Northern Ireland. This is reflected in similar findings by Byrne *et al* (2012) in relation to general disconnect from decision making in interface areas. The relationship between the sense of powerlessness and health inequality is currently asserted by Elvidge (2012)¹⁰⁷, Brotchie (2013) and Wallace (2013) and it also drives the lobby by responsive communitarians for an Asset Based Community Development approach to social participation, arguing that health and wellbeing is predicated on the level of control an individual has in the decisions that affect their lives (Baum, 2010; McKnight & Block, 2010).

The findings reinforce the argument that only a select few are enabled through civil society networks to benefit from social capital. The competition to get access to social capital is not fair and does not lend itself to social justice outcomes without mechanisms to ameliorate these disadvantages. The findings suggest that social exclusion is related to the distribution of power at local level. These findings complement previous studies in the area which allude to similar anomalies (Shirlow *et al*, 2004; Makenzie, 2006; McDonnell and Healey, 2008). The findings demonstrate that despite people being quite close to decision makers they still do not

¹⁰⁷ Sir John Elvidge led the Carnegie UK Trust's lobby against traditional models of public service delivery in health and education as a solution to complex social problems. The Trust argue instead that central or local government should have an enabling role and stop doing those things which prevent people and communities from exercising control over their own lives. Delegating control to citizens they argue would result in improved health and education outcomes.

think they have an influencing role on the decisions they make that affects their lives.

When Community Evaluation Northern Ireland mapped regional social assets in 2008 and measured social capital levels across Northern Ireland's 582 wards among VCSE organisations, they concluded that linking social capital was strong in Ardoyne ward but that it does not "fully transfer on the ground" suggesting that perhaps there is an element of gatekeeping among those with brokerage roles in social networks that interrupts the conversion of social capital for public benefit.

The inference of gatekeeping or social exclusion practice is not one that is readily accepted by many civil society groups and would be refuted by government agencies operating in Ardoyne given their role within the area to complement government objectives. Nevertheless, there is evidence of a disconnect between what people need and what they want these agencies to deliver. The aim of some of the organisations in the ward, particularly those delivering government strategies like Neighbourhood Renewal¹⁰⁸, is to strengthen links with government departments with a view to developing pro-social networks and reduce the negative impacts of health and education inequalities. They have been chosen for this role because of their stated ability to bridge the gap between the state and the community they serve. The findings show that social capital operates in a framework that includes both structural and physiological exclusion. Claims for community engagement fall short of coproduction methods and do not target individual needs and competencies across structural inequalities.

¹⁰⁸ These locality based strategies target the most deprived areas in Northern Ireland. Crumlin/Ardoyne Neighbourhood Renewal Partnership was established in 2006 to oversee the development and delivery of the local Neighbourhood Renewal Action Plan. The Partnership now consists of representatives from the local communities, voluntary and statutory organisations. In addition to subgroups for community, economic, social and physical renewal. Partnership Structures include the North Belfast Partnership Chairs Forum, North Belfast Health and Social Wellbeing Forum and the North Belfast Economic Forum.

The ONS framework (Harper & Kelly, 2003) contends that civic participation is indicated through individual involvement in local and national affairs, and perceptions of their ability to influence them; contact with public officials or political representatives; and the propensity to vote. And while there is strong evidence demonstrating each of these conditions, closer analysis exposes the inequalities of access and participation. This is also contextualized by the processes of self-exclusion resulting from self-perceived competencies and inclinations that belie the exclusionary nature of civic networks and masks true attitudes and opinions.

The findings suggest people vote for a variety of reasons, from obligation to family or friends, persuasion on the day of the election or because they have a perceived value in participating. Given that 52% of people who said they had voted in the 2011 elections in Northern Ireland are not involved in civil society groups, the propensity to vote cannot simply be based on civil society membership alone. Furthermore, qualitative evidence suggests a lack in confidence in democratic processes even at local level that would be diminished even further with the absence of community rituals and brokerage that have a coercing role in suppressing personal opinion.

In terms of civic participation, desk research has identified locally organised multiagency meetings, community partnerships and collaborations. Nevertheless, the survey findings challenge the nature of common benefits derived from the work of many locally organised groups and also challenges the mandate of those in power brokerage roles therein. They reveal low levels of trust and reciprocity and a disconnect between decision makers and those on whose lives their decisions impact. These loose connections are at odds with the much stronger connection at family level, the high levels of volunteering in the ward and equally high levels of membership and connection beyond parochial ties.

The findings reinforce a lack of public confidence in civic democracy and the institutions and local organisations tasked with decision making and encouraging notions of common or shared public good. Instead there is a more insular focus on nurturing family, friends and immediate neighbourhood networks. Not everyone in this ward has the same opinion or knowledge of the services and networks that immediately surround them which suggests they may not have a fixed definition of community and self-identity, an issue that is explored in the next chapter. This is important when considering the cultural norms required to instil notions of collective obligation and responsibility.

Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1954) homophily hypothesis holds that kinship networks reproduce mistrust in wider society but this does not account for the levels of individual and independent mistrust evidenced in these findings. Instead, the evidence suggests that people decide on the strength of how they are treated, by the role they have in society and their perceived competency. In the context of Ardoyne that is expressed through widespread distrust in civic society. Lin (2001) and others point out that good government is necessary for good social capital with the suggestion that bad government allows suspicion to flourish. The survey evidence shows that people in Ardoyne are predisposed to help their neighbours. It suggests that they are not predisposed to help those who are only interested in helping themselves – unless they are coerced or in some way manipulated into doing so. It is the submission to this practice that produces feelings of social injustice.

But could people's decisions mimic each other to the extent that independent thought is suffocated by insular norms insofar as Granovetter's (1983) notion on the development and evolution of weak ties fails to gain traction? The findings suggest the presence of strong bonding ties with differing levels of distribution across key variables and measures of time. The findings have also demonstrated evidence of bridging social capital that is at odds with levels of civic participation. What interrupts a fuller connection to civic society and why is social

connection and participation not more widespread given the duration of tenure among respondents that of itself suggests satisfaction with local social norms?

I contend that those key brokers of network capital prevent its redistribution by reinforcing a dependency culture and an acceptance of negative labelling, and it is this that creates high levels of mistrust permeating individual perceptions in Ardoyne towards civic society. These cleavages are also present towards civil society networks, and is demonstrated through a critical mass of non-participation (36.9% n=255) in collective structures in Ardoyne and a reduction in so-called normative behaviours such as voting. In 2015, 37.34% who are on the electoral register did not vote.

There is a manufactured image of cooperation that allows civic society to abdicate its responsibilities for reducing inequalities. The rhetoric of community engagement and verifying community participation is masked through simply engaging with those groups who claim to be spokespeople acting on behalf of most residents. This research shows how the mandates of many of these organisation's do not stand up to scrutiny. They do not attract the support of most residents through membership or even awareness. Resourcing these organisations does not focus on reducing health or education inequalities at ward level through developed targets or outcomes. Instead, interventions are piecemeal and their impacts are short term.

Chapter 7 - Trust, reciprocity and views of the area

Given the demonstrable disconnect between local residents and the civil and civic society dimensions in Ardoyne, this chapter explores how concepts of community and one's perceptions of a community identity contribute to the process of exclusion. Some of the more intangible elements of social capital research use questions to examine levels of trust and reciprocity as well as feelings of contentment with where one lives. These crosscutting themes provide a contextual measure for social capital indicators, gathered across social dimensions of family, civil and civic society.

Social scientists such as Putnam (2000), Woolcock (1998) and others, suggest trust and reciprocity are generated through the social exchange process and are themselves products of social capital processes. But survey findings presented herein assert that trust and reciprocity are determined by *a priori* experiences at individual, community and societal level. The findings show how social capital processes can encourage oppression and facilitate structural inequalities that characterize social networks in Ardoyne which, in many instances, serve to divide rather than unite individuals. From this perspective, Putnam's (2000) claims that social capital exemplifies social justice principles of liberty, equality and fraternity are challenged.

Social capital indicators of trust, reciprocity and views of the area are individually perceived and are not necessarily determined by becoming a member of a civil society group. Interestingly, the research provides examples where group members do not have these attributes.

The findings suggest that attitudes to safety, contentment and tolerance are closely related to feelings of identity and internalizing labels and stereotypical beliefs, which in turn, shape network norms and behaviour. The research shows how feelings of fear are in many instances derived from perceptions, whose genus is found in the segregated living

circumstances within which residents are embedded. Individual responses on feelings of safety and contentment depend on determinist constructions of reality. The findings suggest levels of in-group prejudice and submission to in-group norms that have been established by dominant opinion setters.

Added to these influencing factors is the proportionality of trusting behavior related to the intensity and nature of the social relationship in which it factors. Luhmann (1987) and Seligman (2000: 2000a) for instance, differentiate between general trust and confidence linked to role expectation, especially regarding institutions, asserting that,

“trust remains vital in personal relations, but participation in functional systems like the economy or politics is no longer a matter of personal relations. It requires confidence but not trust” (Seligman, 2000a: 20).

These relationship determinants, reflect broader constructions of weak and strong ties at family, civil and civic society levels (Granovetter, 1983) - elements that have been explored in previous chapters (See also Bohn, 2009 for theories of inclusion and exclusion).

The fluidity of definitions and attributions of bigotry shows how issues of trust are experienced differently over the lifecycle of time, individual feelings of exclusion and direct experience. This chapter presents evidence to expose assumptions of homogeneity and examines the real impacts of trust and reciprocity across private and public realms on notions of tolerance. It does this by first examining indicators of trust across a spectrum of attitudes on tolerance. It goes on to examine trustworthiness among neighbours and examines the motivations behind doing favours for one another by explaining our understandings of altruism and indebtedness. Survey responses reveal a reluctance to project an image of personal intolerance but a willingness to reveal other people’s bigotry. The research provides an insight into the private confines of local clubs, highlighting the limitations of relying on

quantitative approaches in survey research. Moreover, the evidence shatters assumptions of homogeneity.

The chapter concludes by examining private views of the area through indicators of fear, sense of safety and belonging. The findings contextualize the sense of locality and community from internal and external forces. In doing so, the enduring nature of conflict-related fear in the ward, was expressed across qualitative interviews, demonstrating a clear influence of notions of safety, identity and motivations for civil and civic engagement. This process masks the invisible social forces such as in-group gatekeeping and brokerage control at individual, community and societal levels. More importantly it reveals how the sample population is still on a trajectory out of conflict, and is unable to shake reputational labels that contribute to the internalization of fear. Segregation disables the bridging potential for diversity and instead reinforces locality-based in-group othering.

A 2014 doorstep survey generated areas for further qualitative interrogation into the nature of tolerance and prejudice among those who share a common identity in the area, in comparison to those with less familiar characteristics. The chapter presents the baseline findings on the levels of these indicators, explores the motivational choices behind them and the barriers preventing social capital from flourishing, and where it exists, the mechanisms that prevent it from floundering.

The responses to these questions reaffirm the arguments presented in previous chapters about gatekeeping and the disempowering position of watching social change from the sidelines, in comparison to being exposed to the opportunities and challenges ongoing social change provides.

The chapter presents findings on each of the cognitive dimensions suggested by the UK Office for National Statistics (Harper & Kelly, 2003) and tests these against communitarian hypotheses promoted by Putnam

(2000) and others. The findings challenge Putnam's theoretical claims that

1. Bridging is good because it produces trust and reciprocity
2. Tolerance is nurtured through associationalism

The findings also challenge the image perpetuated by other commentators on interface areas and those who live there.

7.1: Trust and Reciprocity

Ardoyne ward has endured high levels of ethno-sectarian violence with ongoing territorial disputes festering from the 19th century¹⁰⁹. Since 1969 the area has been segregated from the neighbouring areas with security walls and was scene of over 100 conflict related local deaths. The 2011 census data (NISRA, 2011) shows that 99.25% of the population (n=5,904) were from the white (including Irish Traveller) ethnic group; 92.83% belong to or were brought up in the Catholic religion and 5.11% belong to or were brought up in a 'Protestant and Other Christian' (including Christian related) religion, suggesting a certain degree of homogeneity. The 2014 social capital survey explored whether this implied similarity and homogeneity was reflected in attitudes towards people who were aligned with alternative philosophies. Firstly, the survey asked respondents their own position and then they were asked what they believed their neighbours' position was on the same question. Using Likert scaling and difference identifiers of religious persuasion, ethnic diversity and political opinion, respondents were asked to consider whether they would mind if a stranger of a different religious belief, from a

¹⁰⁹ Local Newspapers such as *News Letter* and *Northern Whig* reports attacks in July 1869 by Unionists on Catholics shortly after the opening of Holy Cross Church. Rioting at Ardoyne is reported in the local press on an ongoing basis since then. See Northern Whig reports on August 1880 riots, 1886 Home Rule riots (July and September), Irish Independence riots (August 1920), beginning of a military curfew on the area (August 1920); April 1922 Irish News and British newspaper reports the parish priest at Sacred Heart on destruction of local homes by loyalists '244 families, comprising 1,200 souls were compelled to abandon their homes, in many instances losing all their belongings, but glad to escape with their lives'. In the 2 years from July 1920 until July 1922 a total of 51 local residents lost their lives, many more were injured and imprisoned. See, Ardoyne: The Untold Truth (The Ardoyne Commemoration Project, 2002) for further information on 100 conflict related deaths of local residents in the ward since 1969.

different ethnic background or, from a different political background, moved into their street.

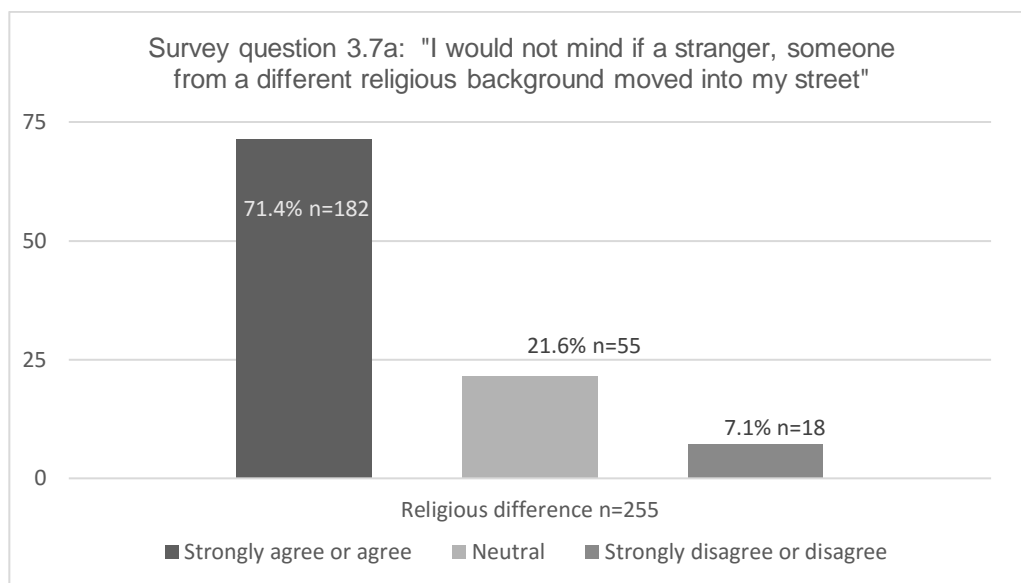
Responses indicated a broad agreement with the statement but the Likert scaling nature of the questions, coupled with follow-up questions, revealed some anomalies brewing under the surface. Putnam's assertions that tolerance is produced by the diversity of bridging social capital and associationalism is corroborated by some interface commentators. McAloney *et al* (2011: 126) go as far as stating that, "high levels of segregation were associated with decreased tolerance" of diversity, suggesting low stocks of bridging social capital and high bonding social capital in interface areas.

Furthermore, Putnam's bridging social capital hypothesis infers that segregation contributes to good quality intra-group support networks but may restrict the participation in broader inter-group interaction. The survey results highlight weaknesses in such assumptions by demonstrating that rates of tolerance are relative to gender and age and are not necessarily related to restrictive barriers to inter-community relations. The predisposition to be neighbourly is present whether or not people distrust civil or civic society functions or mechanisms. Other correlations between perceptions of threat and risk captured in follow-up interviews suggest ongoing psychological divisions perpetuate and reinforce the sense of threat and danger that continue to influence intensities of tolerance and the feelings of intra-neighbourhood distrust is high.

Figure 8 shows 71.4% of all respondents (n=255) agree or strongly agree they would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different religious background moved into their street. A greater percentage of females (73.7% n=141) than males (68.4% n=114) are in this group. When comparing the rates of tolerance across age groups, the results showed a greater percentage of young people (86.1% n=43) were more tolerant than any other age group and older people over 65 were more intolerant (62% n=45).

- Personal tolerance of religious difference

Figure 8: Percentage frequency of personal attitude to religious diversity



The rates of tolerance across other social variables show that, although quite low, the percentage of unemployed people (9.8% n=143) who disagree with the statement is higher than the percentage of employed people (4.2% n=96). The percentage of self-employed people who are more likely to agree (93.8% n=16) with the statement is higher than that of unemployed people (68.8% n=143). Likewise, those with third level education (77.6% n=13) were more likely to agree with the statement than those with no formal education (69.2% n=117).

The response is a strong indication on tolerance of religious belief but it also exposes the relationship between gender, age and tolerance. Females and younger people are more tolerant than males or older people leading to a hypothesis that gender and or age is directly related to intolerance. Likewise, there is a pattern of intolerance related to employment and education status. Self-employment and higher education appear to be strong determinants of religious tolerance within this particular sample frame.

Table 15: Percentage level of personal religious tolerance among members of groups

Survey question 3.7a: "I would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different religious background moved into their street"		
	Group members n=161	Non group members n=94
Agree	72%	70.2%
Neutral	19.9%	24.5%
Disagree	8.1%	5.3%

The findings illustrated in Table 15 show no significant difference between being in a group or not. It does suggest that those who are in a group are more likely to express an opinion on their own tolerance to religious difference than those who are not currently in any type of group. Overall, club/group membership is not a determinant of religious tolerance any more so than not being in a club/group. Over 70% in both categories would not mind if someone from a different religion moved into their street.

One interview with R14 who is a member of a local social club relates how religious intolerance is more acceptable than ethnic intolerance. This example reinforces the sectarian stereotypical 'other' as being more deviant because of their supposed ethnic intolerance. Behind the closed doors of this local social club sectarian stereotyping and racial intolerance is widely accepted.

"I can remember being in the club and a football match was on and someone shouted "Go on you black bastard" and he was challenged by someone else who asked him did he think he was in a UDA club¹¹⁰. So there is this thing about not being racist but it was acceptable to be sectarian. So we have this thing where we recoil at the idea of being racist but sectarianism is simply one of those things that happens here." (R14)

¹¹⁰ The Ulster Defence Association is a British loyalist organisation. They were established in the early 1970s to defend certain geographical areas across Northern Ireland whose residents would be defined as Protestant, Unionist, Loyalist, from infringement by Republicans.

R12 is a community organiser who works locally with residents groups on a wide range of local issues. He recalls similar scenarios;

“I have stood in many’s a social club and listened to people make homophobic statements, make sectarian statements, make racist statements. And not only are they not challenged I have seen people join in.” (R12)

The idea of acceptable levels of religious intolerance is not only expressed by local football supporters but is dominated by other local institutions of the church who use it to defend their hold over local resources and any attempt for cooperation. Many of the physical assets in Ardoyne are owned and controlled by the Catholic Church. Their use is overseen by the local parish priest. R14 is a community activist who explains the restrictions on access to some of buildings and halls for community use for those who do not hold similar religious opinions.

“At one stage we were talking about the Holy Cross Boys School or the Holy Cross Hall and how the community could get more involved with it. We did have those conversations about what happens if Brook¹¹¹ wanted to go in and help would you do it and who would own the hall? Was it an equal partnership? And the church was saying well that couldn’t happen. So there is this thing about the church being less tolerant than I would have imagined that I could be outside of that set up” (R14)

R16 believes that most of that sectarian exclusivity is based on long established hierarchies of not only property ownership but prejudice against different opinions and philosophies. R16 explains his opinion on why the Catholic Church holds onto control.

“I think there is a fraternity there which would be linked to the chapel and anything that is not chapel based or chapel focused is not good. I think they would look upon people who are not

¹¹¹ Brook is UK-wide charitable organisation with a branch in Northern Ireland that provides sexual health services and advice for young people under 25.

perceived to be at the same level of Catholic devotion, should not be on the boards of governors of local schools, should not be on the management boards of local youth clubs. So I think there is that exclusivity there for a lot of people.” (R16)

On the other hand, this control of community life is dependent on providing a role for those who can influence local people. Some people within the community accept this difference and their role and place. This is illustrated in R16’s discussion on the relationship he has with members of the local clergy given he does not consider himself to be a member of the ‘chapel fraternity’. He explains,

“I remember the priest asked me to chair a social justice committee on a parish council. When I told him I was not religious he said that doesn’t matter. But I explained that it might matter to a whole lot of those who are on it.” (R16)

This is interesting to note because even though this thesis argues that people are excluded because they are not in the in-group, it demonstrates that some people in the area have the power to overwrite the rules to satisfy their own needs. It is important to understand the process of private in-group behaviours and public facing behaviours in the evaluation and evolution of social norms such as tolerance. The evidence provided by R16 suggests that many people self-regulate their behaviour.

This is important because it reflects a subtle layer of performance within social networks that are regulated by what Bourdieu (1996) refers to as doxa. In his field theory, he asserts a network be considered as the field of play. This field, or network is then subject to social rules which predetermine the behaviours and social exchanges and actions that are produced in line with the roles people have in the pecking order of that field. For instance, the father assumes the role as head of the house and is traditionally the opinion former and decision maker due to his gender, his age, his experience and primarily because of the acceptance of

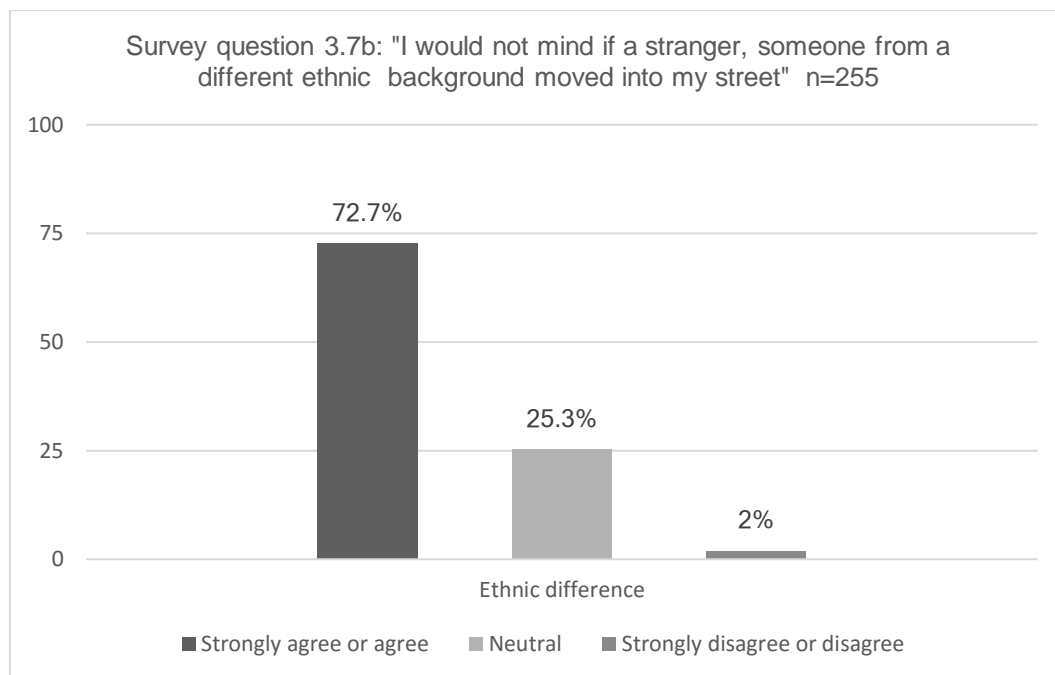
patriarchal norms. How others interact with him is shaped by these invisible social forces and they interact differently with the rest of the family. So, those in authority for instance engage with him. If he comes from a large family that has been well established in Ardoyne then other invisible forces such as prestige are considered when interacting with him and those who are connected to him. Some opinion formers have brokerage roles that stretch into the electoral process and their domination and the obligations to those people influence individual and group behaviours that can influence the outcome of electoral turnout. People are coerced into following social norms based on these invisible social forces.

This process challenges Putnam's (2000) suggestion that the diverse networks that evolve from civil engagement produces tolerance. Instead, social forces determine the extent of engagement by individuals and tolerance is sometimes a means to an end and is not grounded in any principle. Instead it was based on pretence and role-play. This is demonstrated in the private in-group performance witnessed in social clubs which provides an arena where opinions can be tested with dominant in-group members, and where acceptable social norms can be consolidated and verified and are subsequently adopted.

R16's interview provides interesting evidence of how people are unable to distinguish between religious and political beliefs, with the comment that Sinn Féin would not get as many votes in the ward if their candidate was a Protestant.

- Personal tolerance of ethnic difference

Survey results illustrated in figure 9 suggest that respondents were overwhelmingly (72.7%) acceptable to the idea of strangers from a different ethnic background moving into their street (n=255). Only 2% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the suggestion.

Figure 9: Percentage frequency of personal attitude to ethnic diversity

Younger people aged 18-24 were more inclined to agree or strongly agree (86% n=43) with the statement compared to any other age group. The percentage of females supporting the concept (91.3% n=141) was higher than that for males (80% n=114). In fact the older a respondent was the less they agreed with the statement demonstrating that the measure of ethnic tolerance is related to age. Nevertheless, 60% of those aged 65 plus (n=45) agreed or strongly agreed. Percentages of those who agreed or strongly agreed from different social groups are characterized as self-employed (93.8% n=16) and having a third level education (84.6% n=13) in comparison to those who are unemployed (71% n=143) or employed (71.9% n=96) and those with no formal education (68.7% n=117). The responses show a reluctance on behalf of the respondent to present themselves in a bad light and the question gives them an opportunity to project a better image of themselves in comparison to the perceived intolerance held by their neighbours.

The response is a strong indication on tolerance of ethnic difference but it once again exposes the relationship between gender and age in responding to difference. The survey results demonstrate the complexity

of social capital's claims about trust. Females and younger people are more tolerant than males or older people suggesting the correlation between gender and/or age with ethnic intolerance. Likewise, there is a pattern of intolerance related to employment and education status. The findings also suggest that self-employment and higher education are determinants of ethnic tolerance.

Table 16: Percentage level of personal ethnic tolerance among members of groups

Survey question 3.7b: "I would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different ethnic background moved into my street"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	72%	74.5%
Neutral	25.5%	24.5%
Disagree	2.5%	1%

The findings illustrated in table 16 suggest membership of clubs or groups made no significant difference on ethnic tolerance. The findings suggest that people who are not aligned to clubs or groups are slightly more tolerant. Around a quarter of those in each category are reluctant to express an opinion on their tolerance of those from a different ethnic background.

The qualitative research findings suggest that those from different ethnic backgrounds don't readily integrate with existing networks. R14 believes opinions on tolerance should be based on the amount of exposure people have to such differences and more importantly, how they experience it. He cautions that questions about tolerance need to be contextualized by the threat of the unknown. R14 explains how suffering prejudice or violent sectarianism as a victim can temper one's opinion.

"It depends on what you are tolerant about. Its easy to be tolerant when there is a non-threatening minority. But when they begin to have an impact or an effect on what is seen to be the way of life, then that is where intolerance steps in, where you feel that your

way of life is being undermined. So what I'm saying is that it is easy to be tolerant when you don't have to deal with the problem."
(R14)

- Personal tolerance of political difference

Figure 10: Percentage frequency of personal attitude to political diversity

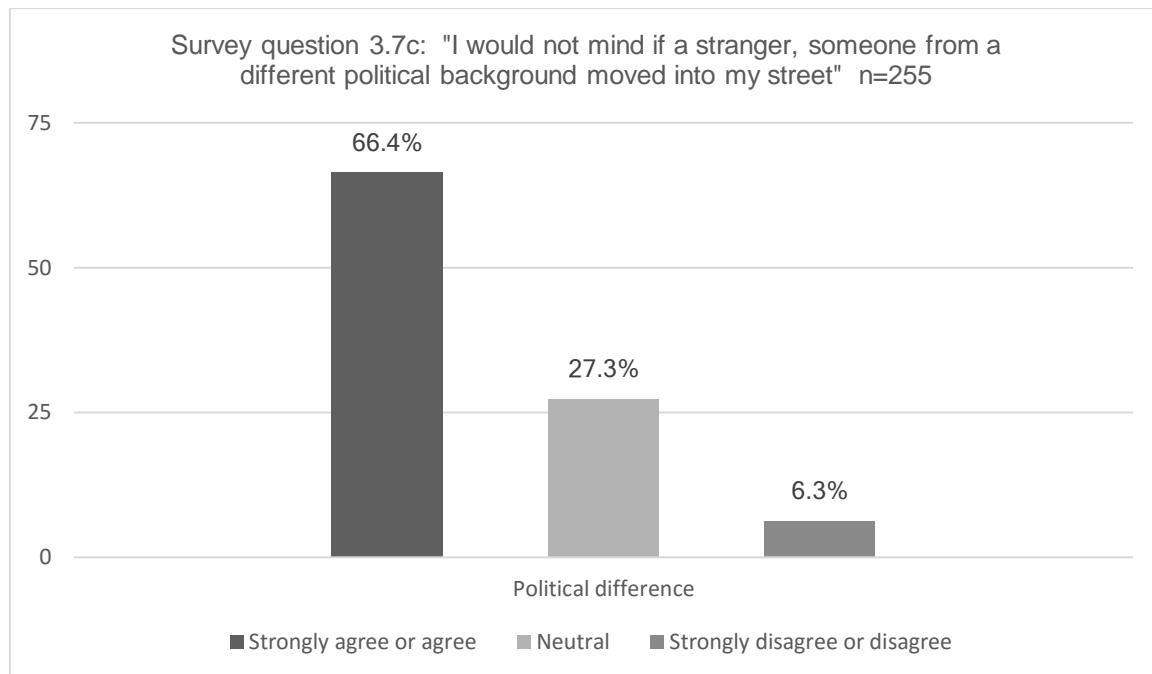


Figure 10 shows that approximately 2 out of every three respondents (66.4% n=255) agreed or strongly agreed they would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different political background moved into their street. The rate of female opinion (71.9% n=141) in this regard is higher than that for males (59.7% n=114).

Younger people aged 18-24 (83.7% n=43) were more tolerant to the idea than their older counterparts and more females (91.3%) in the 18-24 age group than males (75%) agreed or strongly agreed. 6.3% of respondents (n=255) disagreed or strongly disagreed. Those who agreed or strongly agreed with the statement were mostly self-employed (81.3% n=16) and have third level education (77% n=13).

The response is once again a strong indication on tolerance of political

difference but the level of personal tolerance on political difference is not as high as that for religious or ethnic tolerance suggesting that political mistrust is stronger when we ask the direct question of respondent's own attitude. The question sets a baseline for what might be the perceived norms and values that individuals believe exist in their social network and survey questions explore this further.

Once again, the responses expose a relationship between gender, age and tolerance. Females and younger people are more tolerant than males or older people and self-employment and higher education appear to be determinants of political tolerance.

Table 17: Percentage level of personal political tolerance among members of groups

Survey question 3.7c: The percentage of group members who "would not mind if a stranger, or someone from a different political opinion moved into their street"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	65.8%	68.1%
Neutral	28.6%	24.5%
Disagree	5.5%	7.4%

Table 17 illustrates that those who are not members of civil society organisations believe their neighbours are slightly more tolerant of political difference than the opinion held of them by those who are members of groups. This difference in opinion reflects the clustering effect of club membership and Bourdieu's assertion that such arena's promote social inclusion for their members only and protect these for the exclusive benefits of those who are members of the in-group. The findings therefore do not support the Putnam assertion that membership of groups engenders diversity, fraternity and altruistic behaviour in people.

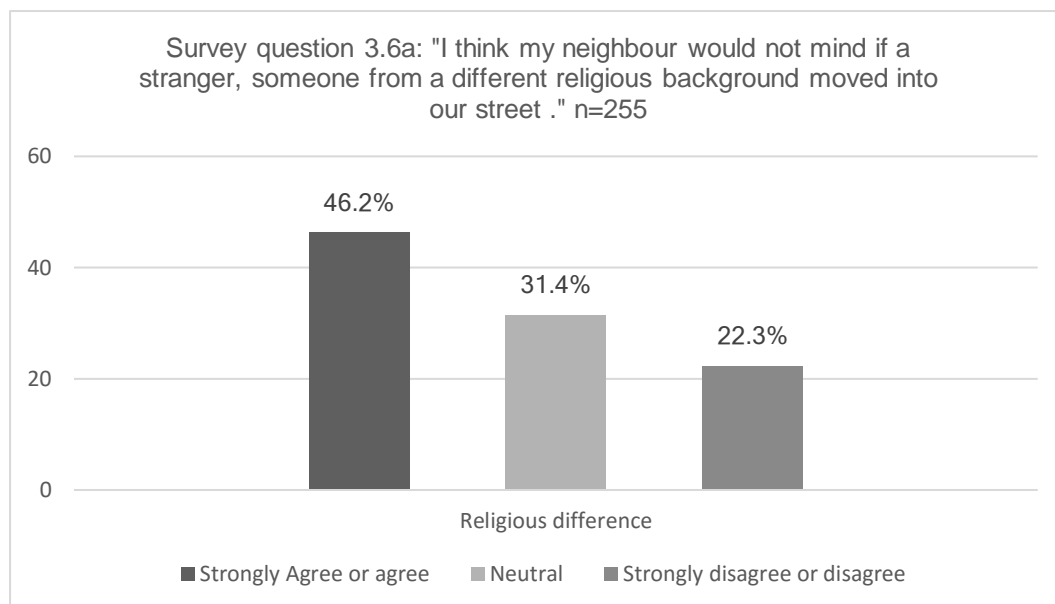
- How similar are neighbours in Ardoyne?

It is no surprise that respondents do not see themselves as intolerant and can provide responses to support their claim. Krumpal (2013) and others

(Rahman & Dewar, 2006), caution against response bias when asking questions that deal with private opinions. To mitigate such weaknesses other questioning techniques presented similar questions but this time explored perceived attitudes of neighbours complemented by follow-up interviews and questions about trusting neighbours and those who share similar beliefs and cultural attributes. The impact of changing the focus but using the same questions revealed a reduction in tolerance indicators by 20-30%. The levels of this difference reinforces the assertion that neighbours may not hold similar opinions on these issues and therefore their levels of similarity may only lie with the fact that they live in the same ward.

- Perceived neighbours' tolerance of religious difference

Figure 11: Percentage frequency of opinion on neighbours' acceptance of religious diversity



As figure 11 shows, when respondents were asked about religious bigotry, 46.2 percent of all respondents (n=255) think their neighbour would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different religious background moved into their street. The percentage of females (53.2% n=141) who agree with the statement is higher than that for males (37.7% n=114) and 53% of 18-24-year-old respondents (n=43) agree in

comparison to only 6.5% of over 65s (n=45). At the other end of the scale 22.7% (n=255) disagree or strongly disagree and the greatest percentage of these are male (35.9% n=114) and are almost three times inclined to have this opinion than females (12.1% n=141). The percentage of 18-24 year olds that disagree is 14% (n=43).

Unemployed people (25.9% n=143) are more likely to disagree with the statement than the percentage of employed respondents (17.7% n=96) and are more inclined to have no formal education (29.9% n=117) compared to the percentage of those with third level education (15.4% n=13).

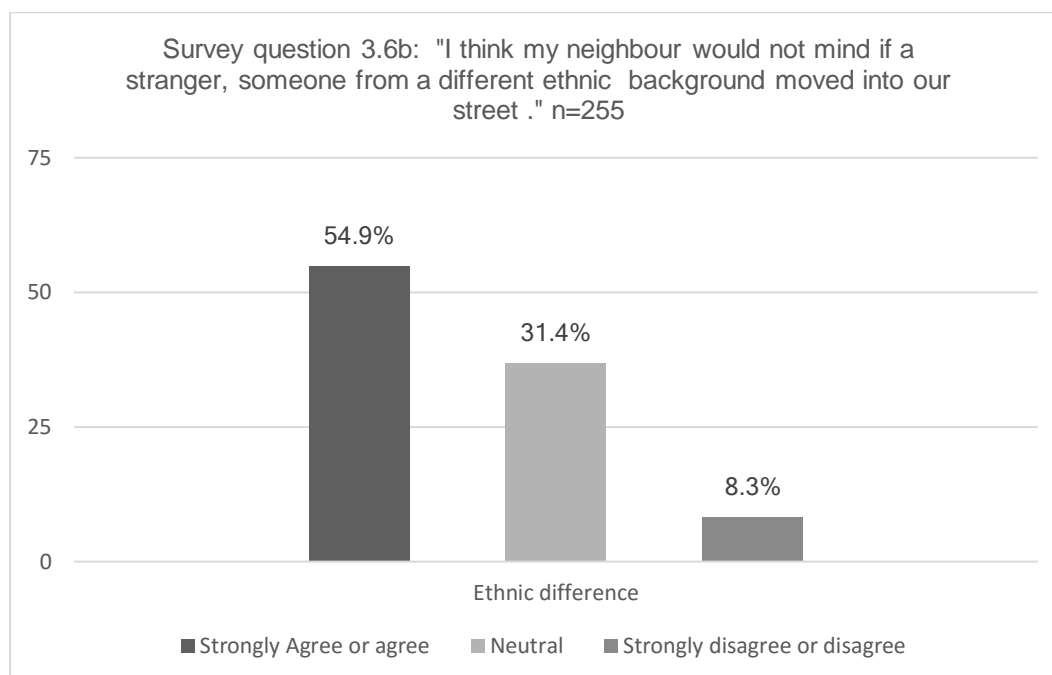
Table 18: Percentage level of neighbour's religious tolerance as perceived by members of groups

Survey Question 3.6a: "My neighbour would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different religious opinion moved into their street"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	46%	46.8%
Neutral	28%	37.2%
Disagree	26%	16%

Strong findings illustrated in table 18 suggest 16% of those who are not in groups (n=94) are more amenable to religious difference than the 26% of those who are in groups (n=161) and disagreed with the statement. What is interesting however, is that more people not in groups were reluctant to express an opinion on the perceived religious intolerance of their neighbours.

- Perceived neighbours' tolerance of ethnic difference

Figure 12: Percentage frequency of opinion on neighbours' acceptance of ethnic diversity



54.9 percent of all respondents (See figure 12) do not think their neighbours would mind if a stranger, someone from a different ethnic background moved into their street. Only 8.3% disagree with the sentiment and more males disagree than females. A greater percentage of younger respondents aged 18-24 (65.1% n=43) are more inclined to agree with the statement compared than any other age group. In fact, the older a respondent is the less they agree with the statement demonstrating that the measure of tolerance is related to age. Those who agree with the sentiment are characterized as self-employed (68.8% n=16) and having a third level education (69.2% n=13).

Table 19: Percentage level of neighbour's ethnic tolerance as perceived by members of groups

Survey question 3.6b: "My neighbour would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different ethnic background moved into their street"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	52.8%	58.5%
Neutral	36.6%	37.2%
Disagree	10.6%	4.3%

The figures shown in table 19 above show that people who are not in a group (n=94) believe a greater percentage (5.7% more) of their neighbours are tolerant of those from different ethnic backgrounds in comparison to the opinion held by those who are in groups (n=161). Around 37% within both categories were reluctant to agree or disagree. This impacts however on the figures to reveal that respondents who are not the member of a group believe their neighbours are 6.3% more intolerant to ethnic difference in comparison to asking the same question of those respondents who are members of a group.

- Perceived neighbours' tolerance of political difference

Figure 13: Percentage frequency of opinion on neighbours' acceptance of political diversity

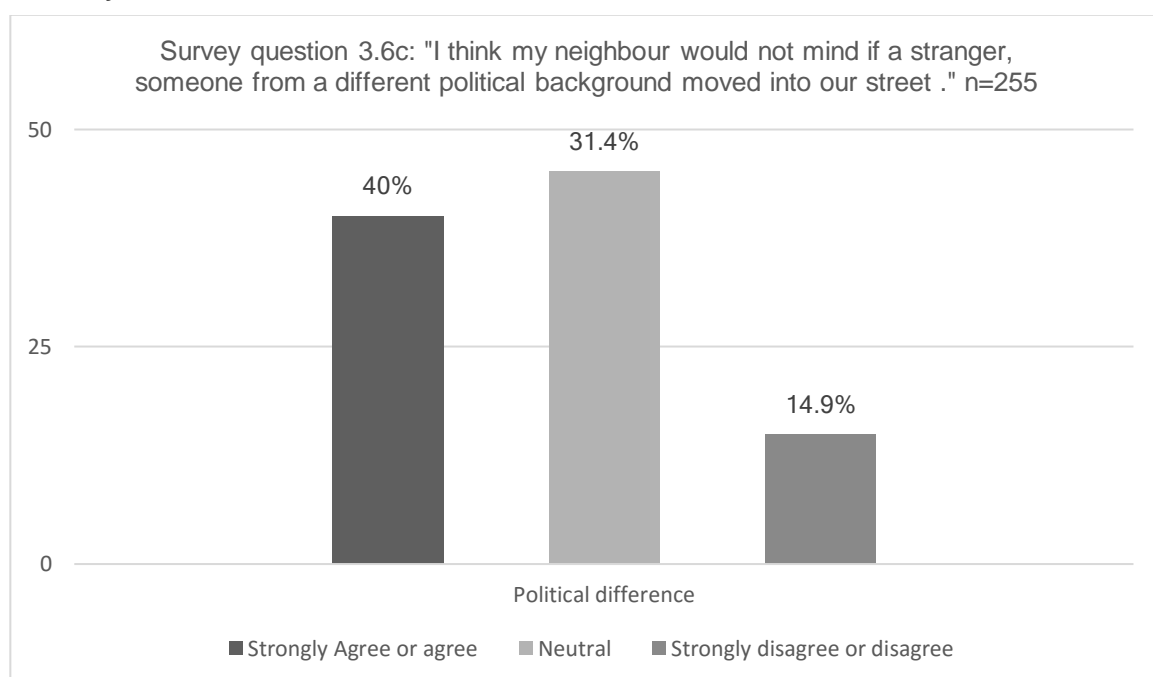


Figure 13 shows that when political intolerance was explored, 2 out of 5 respondents do not think their neighbours would mind if a stranger, someone from a different political background moved into their street. The percentage of females who agree with the sentiment (44% n=141) is higher than that for males (35.1% n=114). Younger people age

18.24 (55.9% n=43) are more tolerant to the idea than their older counterparts. In fact, once again, the older a respondent is, the less they agree with the statement, suggesting that the measure of tolerance is related to age. 14.9% of respondents disagree with the notion. More than five times as many males (27.2% n=114) as the percentage of females (5% n=141) disagree with the statement and they are mostly in the 41-64 years age range. Those who agree with the statement are mostly self-employed (62.6% n=16) and have no formal education (31.6% n=117).

Table 20: Percentage level of neighbour's political tolerance as perceived by members of groups

Survey question 3.6c: "My neighbour would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different political opinion moved into their street"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	36%	46.8%
Neutral	47.8%	40.4%
Disagree	16.2%	12.8%

Table 20 illustrates a considerable percentage of respondents were reluctant to give an opinion either agreeing or disagreeing about the extent of their neighbours' tolerance of political difference. In fact, almost half (47.8%) of those who were in a group (n=161) were reluctant to come down on either side. Those not in groups (n=94) were 10.8% more inclined to believe their neighbours were tolerant in comparison to those who were in groups. Those who are in groups are more inclined to hold the opinion that their neighbours were intolerant to political difference in comparison to those who are not in a group.

While most of the respondents in Figure 13 were neutral, this could indicate they are indifferent to issues of tolerance and trust or they do not think they have enough information to make a value judgement but it is worth noting how this percentage rose to almost half of all respondents when asked their opinion about their neighbours' attitudes to political difference. The significant difference between the two opinions along with age, gender education and economic status variables demonstrate that

trust and tolerance are not universally held concepts and group membership is not the only form of participation that leads to trusting behaviours. The findings challenge Putnam's (2000:358) claims that "there is no evidence whatever that civic disengagement is a useful tool against bigotry, or even that tolerance is a convenient side effect of disengagement."

Those respondents who were confident enough not to only provide a neutral answer, reveals how gender variables have a role to play in attitudes on tolerance. The survey responses show that males believe their neighbours to hold more negative perceptions to these issues than females. Younger respondents aged 18-24 are more tolerant than any other age group suggesting age and gender are determining factors in tolerance in the ward. These age-related variants reflect the opinions on the increase of secularism among current generations and the continuance of traditional social norms such as religious belief by those in older age brackets.

More survey respondents (n=255) believe their neighbours to be more tolerant of ethnic (54.9%) or religious difference (46.2%) than with political difference (40%). This is important because it illustrates the importance of politics in the lives of those surveyed.

When we compare both personal attitudes and their perception of neighbours attitudes the survey reveals that perceptions are influenced by gender, age, economic and education status variables highlighting that trust and tolerance are not universally held concepts. When the topic of tolerance is examined more closely the data contextualizes a variety of scenarios for consideration.

R11 is a young university student. She encapsulates a common fear of danger from people she perceives to be Protestant and stereotypes all Protestants in a similar fashion. "Protestants make you feel a sense of intimidation". This sense of fear is important to understand because, even

though in this instance, it is not based on any direct event, she recalled constant fear of reprisals against relatives and her parents and grandparents. Stereotyping goes both ways and people internalize their own stereotype and reinvent themselves rightly or wrongly to survive the moment.

Follow up interviews explored the depth of religious intolerance given the demographic profile of the residents showed 95% were from a Catholic background. It is interesting to understand the depth of shared attitudes towards other philosophies. It is clear that the Catholic Church commands considerable control on the lives of local people given the popularity of christenings, church marriages and funeral ceremonies. But while they control education through their extensive school estate, many parents are choosing to send their children to secular schools such as those in the Irish medium sector in Ardoyne¹¹² or to other integrated schools such as Hazelwood post primary or to Belfast Royal Academy.

R14 explained how he thought older people are more stuck in their ways as advocates of their religion and many have not changed their ways. Not only that, but their world view does not notice that others live in the community who do not necessarily hold the same allegiances. His daughter goes to an Irish medium post primary school based outside the immediate area, where religion and all its philosophies is taught as a subject.

“Coláiste Feirste is not a Catholic Maintained School and when my daughter was telling her grandmother she near fell off the seat when she heard there were other religions. So I think people can

¹¹² Naíscóil Ard Eoin was established in 1984 to serve as a feeder nursery school to a growing Irish medium education sector in Belfast. The school's unique selling point other than lessons being delivered through the medium of Irish were that they were secular and coeducational. In the 1980s Irish medium primary provision was based in West Belfast. By the 1990s local demand led to the establishment of a primary school provision in the north of the city. Eventually in 2016, Bunscoil Bheann Mhadagáin, moved into a purpose built school on Cliftonville Road at a time when other catholic schools were being closed in the ward

get very tetchy about it but I think in real terms, people need to practice what they preach.” (R14)

Many interviewees such as R11 believe today’s older generation have strong beliefs around religion and while many of those interviewed attended church services none did so on a daily or weekly basis. R6 poses the opinion that people make decisions about youth services etc not because they believe they will receive religious instruction but more that they are convenient for social interaction. For him, labels like Catholic or Protestant are rhetorical terms.

“If you break down the Catholics, how many of them practice, how many of them aren’t Catholics, how many of them are atheists. It’s the same on the other side....I would say a lot of people send their kids, I’ll use Holy Cross Boys as the example because one, it’s a very good school and two, its close. I don’t think religion has anything to do with it.” (R6)

A similar view is put forward by R8 and others who attend the church rituals like christenings, weddings and funerals because they provide social opportunities to reinforce family bonds more than expressions of belief. This is important because when we begin to deconstruct homogenous assumptions of religious affiliation in Ardoyne, we find a range of motivations for using some of their services and social activities.

Some respondents highlighted a growing secularism but the findings also reinforce an opinion that the Catholic Church continues to hold a firm grasp on education provision in the ward and is therefore a key influence on social norms and defining identity. R15 is a community activist who wants better Catholic education facilities to serve the constant demands from parishioners in the ward. She concludes people still consider themselves as Catholic even though the way they practice their religion has changed. They still want their children to believe in Catholic doctrine. While R4 corroborated the data findings that some religious beliefs are inculcated, it is clear that the success of inculcation depends on sustained

levels of frequency which itself is determined by variables such as age. She related how her grandmother insisted she attend 8 o'clock mass every Sunday but once she got older, her grandmother's influence dwindled and her attendance stopped. Then when her own children started attending a local Catholic school she returned and brought her children through the same rituals. She concluded,

“That's the way we were brought up, but by not going to Mass I didn't start treating people like dickheads. You know, it didn't change.” (R4)

Other respondents such as R16 were not so submissive to inculcated norms. He sent his children to a secular school and believes religion should be a choice left to his children when they are old enough to understand. He did not mimic his parents' inculcation. Whether it was his own choice to free himself from indoctrination by the church is not explored here, suffice to note that the acceptance of secularism is noticeable in Ardoyne as people cherry pick the aspects of religion that they feel is relevant to them. For many, these are the more social aspects of church rituals such as christenings, weddings and funerals. This is important because it challenges us to think about the impact of cultural inculcation and the distribution of social power. It suggests that the conditions are right for some people to reject the power of the catholic church in Ardoyne and be their own judge on whether their isolation is greater than the benefits that come with being part of a broad church.

The findings suggest religious tolerance is undergoing a change and that transformation is being led by individual choice – a recent phenomenon in Ardoyne when it came to issues such as religious belief. Its relevance to social capital and social exclusion is related to understandings of similarity - similarities that form solidarity and patterns of homogeneity and collective identity.

Invisible social forces determine the reinvention of the self to accommodate changing circumstances. These have been demonstrated at an individual/family level by R17 who explained about the perceived

expectations of peers and the coercive pressure he ceded to adopt a lifestyle that was at odds to his family and friends or the example of R9 who was persuaded by an obligation to vote and participate in civic society in order to meet the expectations of others. There are other examples in civil society networks were R15 forced her children into structured extra-curricular play to control creativity and freedom of expression or R4 attending Mass to placate her grandmother or R2 who manages expectations in the understanding that some people in civil society networks have low expectations of residents of Ardoyne. He recounts the statement, "Oh you speak very well for someone from Ardoyne." which reveals his exposure to stereotypical and loaded language.

These invisible social forces are quite strong and corroborate Bourdieu's (2000) analysis of inculcation to control how people react in social exchanges and reflect the social struggles of everyday life. But it also shows surprise that someone did not fit the expected locality-based stereotype and says more about the narrow exposure to diversity of the speaker and the tensions such exchanges have on trust building. The premise that social capital is a unifying rather than a divisive force can be challenged here. It demonstrates that for some people their experience or their perception of the other, can influence the extent of their trust or reciprocity. Based on this, access to, or conversion of, social capital will be individually tailored to circumstance and chance. Labelling and stereotyping based on place of residence, or the extent that respondents were engaged in ethno-sectarian profiling also determines levels of exclusion from social capital networks. In these instances, social capital projects a positive image which masks its inherent inequitable characteristics. Not having access to social capital networks becomes a deviance whereby people are blamed for being architects of their own exclusion.

The inference in Putnam's (2000) assertion is that being in a group is progressive, whereas not being in one is a type of deviance. The evidence

in this research suggests that choosing to participate in irrelevant groups is neither progressive nor negative and for some is simply a matter of priorities or time management. The main point here is that conditions and reasons for joining these groups in Ardoyne are absent. Many are irrelevant. The findings suggest that civil engagement is not a determinant of trust or reciprocity. Tolerance is more likely to be related to a combination of experience and exposure to diversity. Civil society networks as they are currently constructed do not appear to provide these opportunities and continue to be confined to segregated activities.

- Perceptions of neighbours' trustworthiness

The survey asked three questions to explore perceptions of honesty and trust between neighbours and explored if trust was locality-based. The analysis mapped traits between those who appeared to share similarities of locality, age, gender and social status. These findings test Putnam's bonding paradox on insularity and loyalty.

Firstly, respondents were asked to rate their opinion against the statement: **"Most people in my neighbourhood are basically honest and can be trusted."**

Figure 14: Percentage frequency of perceptions of neighbour's honesty



Figure 14 illustrates how almost half of respondents believed that most people in their neighbourhood were honest and trustworthy, with more females agreeing (50.4% n=141) than the percentage of males (43.8% n=114). A greater percentage of older people aged 65 plus (77.8% n=45) than their younger counterparts (40.4% n=210) agree with the perception.

Table 21: Percentage level of perception of neighbour honesty held by members of groups

Survey question 3.8a: "Most people in my neighbourhood are basically honest and can be trusted"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	54%	35.1%
Neutral	28.6%	34%
Disagree	17.4%	30.9%

Table 21 illustrates the differences between respondents who were members of local as well as external groups (n=161) in comparison to those who were not in any type group (n=94). What is interesting to note is that a greater percentage of people who are in a group agree with the statement which is what would be expected from Putnam's associational theory.

A second question asked respondents (n=255) to rate the statement:

"People in my neighbourhood are more trustworthy than people from other neighbourhoods."

Figure 15: Percentage frequency of perceptions of comparative neighbour trustworthiness

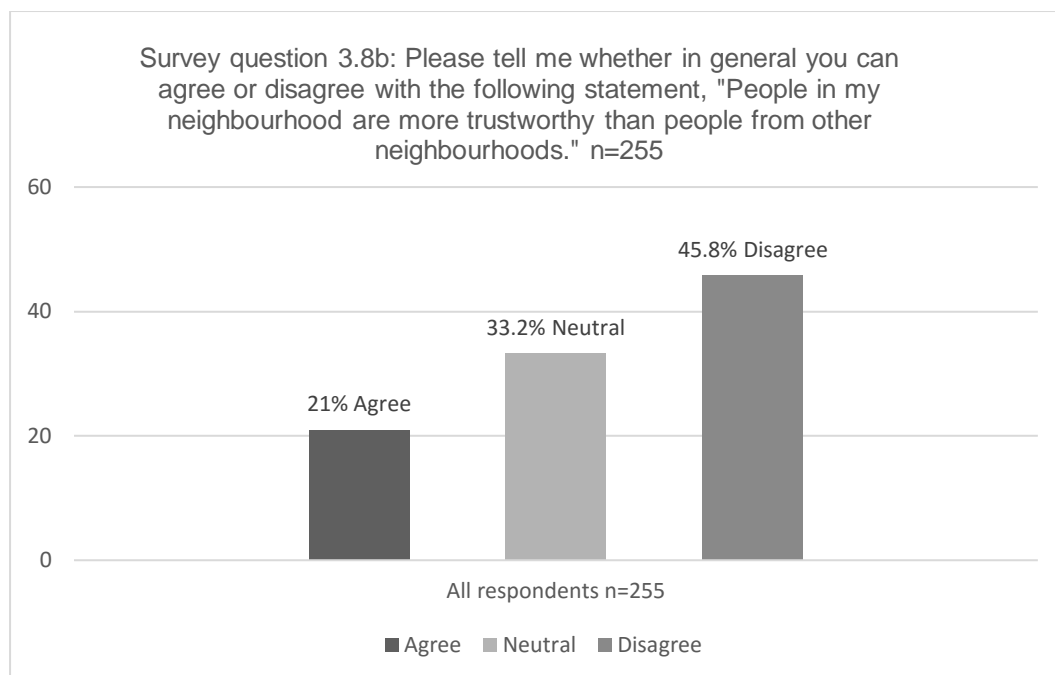


Figure 15 illustrates that around one in three people remained neutral and one in every five agree with the statement. There was no significant gender differential. Just less than half of respondents (45.8%) disagree with the statement, suggesting respondents do not believe trust is determined by locality. This is important because the majority of those interviewed in a follow-up to the survey believed they were judged by others based on where they live and, as pointed out below, 65.5% believed that outsiders think the area is not a safe place to live.

Table 22: Percentage level of perception of neighbour trustworthiness held by members of groups

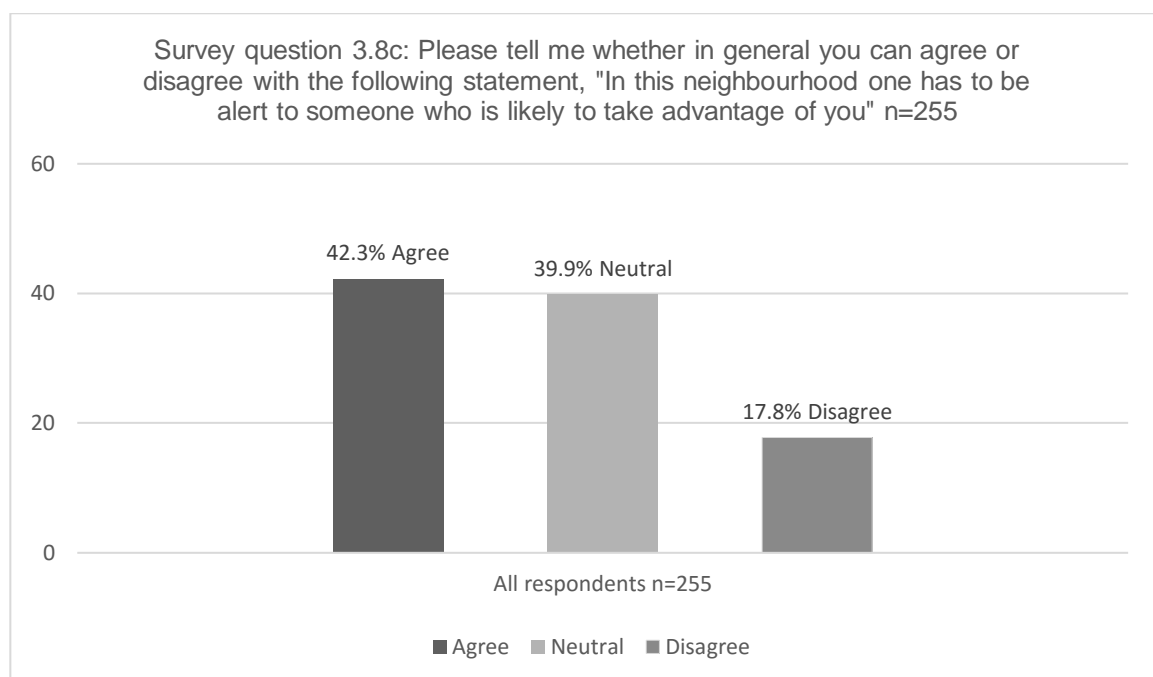
Survey question 3.8b: "People in my neighbourhood are more trustworthy than people from other neighbourhoods."		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	20.5%	20.9%
Neutral	32.9%	34%
Disagree	46.6%	45.1%

Table 22 illustrates the differences between respondents who were members of local as well as external groups (n=161) in comparison to

those who were not in any type group (n=94). The question is aimed at understanding the levels of stereotyping and in group generation. What is interesting to note is the similarity in percentages challenges Putnam's associational theory. Around one in five in both categories agree and just over four in every ten disagree.

The final question was aimed at determining if people gave unconditional trust and if not how deep did this extend. Respondents were asked to rate the statement: **"In this neighbourhood one has to be alert to someone who is likely to take advantage of you."**

Figure 16: Percentage frequency of wariness of neighbours' motivations



Percentage frequencies in figure 16 show that almost four out of ten remained neutral, 42.3% agree and 17.8% disagree with the statement. More males agree (46.5%) than the percentage of females (38.9%). More respondents in the 41-64 age bracket (56.2%) agree compared to the percentage in any other age bracket.

Table 23: Percentage level of fear of exploitation by members of groups

Survey question 3.8c: "In this neighbourhood one has to be alert to someone who is likely to take advantage of you?"		
	Group members n=161	Non-group members n=94
Agree	34.8%	56.4%
Neutral	44.7%	30.8%
Disagree	20.5%	12.8%

This final question was aimed at the sense of solidarity that is place based. Table 23 illustrates the differences between respondents who were members of local as well as external groups (n=161) in comparison to those who were not in any type of group (n=94). What is interesting to note is that a significant percentage of people who are not in a group are suspicious of their neighbours. This corroborates the associational hypothesis advocated by Putnam (2000) and reinforces the notion that disconnection from civil society networks is related to feelings of distrust.

- Analysis of trust and reciprocity findings

Reciprocity and trust are cognitive expressions of some of social capital's claims (Putnam, 1993; 2000; Woolcock, 1998; Halpern, 2005) representing characteristics for social relationships and network function. Putnam outlines the challenges to social capital's claims on both expressions – increases in bonding social capital for instance can lead to more insular social networks that produce even stronger connections that reduce the chance of diversification and interconnected trust-building exchanges. As already demonstrated across family, civil and civic dimensions, high levels of reciprocity and trust are not necessarily related to membership or participation in civil society networks. This prompts us to ask what drives the two concepts?

The idea that trust is not a prerequisite for social capital is supported by Lin (2001). The research in Ardoyne shows there is plenty of evidence of *a priori* trusting behaviour, considering levels of volunteering, civil society participation and levels of trust and tolerance. While Putnam argues that social capital would not necessarily inoculate against political distrust it is

interesting to note that levels of political and civic distrust does not reflect levels of participation or connection since almost half of the survey respondents (49.4% n=255) personally know people involved in politics but only 0.4% trust them to act in their favour. Distrust of institutions spans those who participate in civil society groups and those who do not, as well as those who are prepared to help their neighbours and those who are not. Distrust is evident through the empirical data on institutions and formal associations in the ward which question the values and norms of individuals and their coalescence into community normalness, and its implications on perceptions of deviance and self.

These findings challenge Putnam's (2000) statement that,

“the greatest threat to (American) liberty comes from the disengaged, not the engaged. There is no evidence whatever that civic disengagement is a useful tool against bigotry, or even that tolerance is a convenient side effect of disengagement.” (Putnam, 2000: 358)

While Morrissey *et al* (2008) contend that interface areas have higher than normal levels of bonding social capital, McAloney *et al* (2011) posit that “areas with higher levels of segregation report lower levels of tolerance and diversity social capital”. This causal linking of segregation to higher levels bigotry and intolerance is not demonstrated in the data. Instead, the survey findings from this interface area suggests social capital contributes to social exclusion through the perpetuation of elites and dominant social norms that operate within hierarchical structures and is directly related to the roles these hierarchical structures impose on the interconnectivity of social networks.

- Favours and vice versa

Measuring the frequency of respondents completing and receiving favours from their neighbours provided an initial dataset against which general hypotheses were developed about trust between people who share similarities of locality or local civil society networks. While these baseline

findings showed 85.9% of respondents (n=255) had completed a favour for a neighbour in the previous 6 months, it suggested that for some, there was a barrier preventing the trait from expanding into dimensions of civil and civic society. One of the variables continued to be related to gender. Slightly more males (87.7% n=114) had undertaken favours than the percentage of females (84.4% n=141).

Another variable reflected age related differences. 93.4% of 41-64 year olds (n=91) had completed more favours than any other age cohort, supporting US research (Glaeser, 2001) that social capital investment by individuals follows a bell curve with age and suggests a private motive for participation as asserted by Bourdieu (1986) and Lin (2001) rather than a more collective-focused motive as asserted by Putnam (2000).

This high level of cooperation between neighbours in what McKnight and Block (2010) would consider “gift exchange” indicates a high degree of trust. But whilst some researchers considered this as an asset, Bourdieu (1986), for instance considers this as a form of symbolic violence in the manufacture of indebtedness. Others such as Uslaner (2002) do not believe that the type of trust formed across the strong ties or thick connections of bonding social capital are relevant to social capital theory because of the different elements of trust.

The survey data indicates high levels of reciprocal relationships within community but perhaps is an indication of gender specific difference in exchanges and the value of male favours compared to those of females. This process reproduces the male role as a leader in these exchanges towards reciprocity. Reciprocal favours between friends and neighbours can also be interpreted as strong ties, resulting from proximal trust (Seligman, 2000) in comparison to distal trust necessary for weaker ties (Lin, 2001).

The survey did not explore the nature or content of these favours, but survey findings revealed that 38% of all respondents (n=255) had visited a

neighbour weekly. Controlling for age cohorts (18-24, n=43; 25-40, n=76; 41-65, n=91; and 65 plus, n=46), the highest of the four age cohorts to visit a neighbour were those respondents in the 25-40 age bracket (51.3%) affirming Glaeser's (2001) and Selbee and Reed's (2001) bell curve pattern of age-related participation.

7.2 - Views of the area

Ardoyne is a post-industrial inner city estate. It is segregated from similar neighbouring areas by a ring of physical walls that form the "Peaceline"¹¹³. The once continual rows of mill houses have been replaced by 2006 with modern "lifetime homes"¹¹⁴ by local housing authorities but the peaceline has landlocked available building land with the result that new housing has now included multiple-storey homes¹¹⁵. Recent new builds have also designed gated communities such as Flax Foyer or the adjacent privately owned Flax Linen Lofts within the ward. According to the 2011 Census figures, the area has 2,568 homes housing 5,987 people on 0.5Km² of land. The market value of homes here is between £60-£90k and rental values range between £400 and £500 per month. In terms of tenure 36.57% of households were owner occupied and 58.76% were rented. 15.89% of households were owned outright (NISRA, 2011)¹¹⁶. Many of those interviewed were content to live there but others such as R15 or R14 felt trapped. While Ardoyne may share the post-industrial working class image, the idea that it is a social housing estate is contested by

¹¹³ Permanent peacelines continue to divide residential areas across Northern Ireland according to political affiliation. They have remained in place to support a fragile Peace Process that was agreed in 1998. In recent years the Northern Ireland Executive have agreed a strategy to remove the walls but this has only partly materialised at Ardoyne.

¹¹⁴ The Northern Ireland Housing Executive require building standards for all new build houses. See <http://www.lifetimehomes.org.uk/pages/lifetime-homes-and-part-m.html>

¹¹⁵ The density of population at Ardoyne ward is recorded in the 2001 Census figures as 113.13 persons/hectare and 103.22/hectare in 2011. Adjacent areas such as Ballysillan had 51.78/hectare in 2011 or Cliftonville 44.78/hectare in 2011. 2001 statistics available at Table UV002: population density; available at

<http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/SearchResults.aspx?sk=population;density>

2011 statistics available at <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=4000&lh=44&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=>

¹¹⁶ Census tenure statistics see

<http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=4020&lh=44&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=>.

some local people who believe that term pathologises the area (See similar studies of working class estates, Jones, 2011; Hanley, 2007). This is partly because there is a snobbery that leads people to reject the 'housing estate' label along with a "growing stigma attached to social housing across much of the UK" (Savage, *et al.*, 2015:77).

"You'll hear Ardoyne people talking about the area, the district or the community, then you go up to Mountainview and you had that first wee bit of a property kind of boom and Ardoyne people who moved into Mountainview start to refer to Ardoyne as the estate. Ardoyne's not the fucking estate. You know, I mean, that's not what we grew up in. Estate is presented as terrible and it was only set out to create a bad opinion, that Ballysally documentary¹¹⁷. So, we weren't the 'estate'. We weren't some kind of low-rent kind of alternative. Ardoyne was a community and we grew up within it. Yeah and there was a sense of pride within it. So that whole sense of neighbourhood, neighbourhood, exactly... they didn't use the term neighbourhood really until government funding streams started to use that terminology. You know it was American terminology. I mean, I suppose growing up, in conversations most frequently you would have heard neighbourhood was being used if you'd have been pricing a job or you'd been asking, you know, in the neighbourhood of what are you talking, tell me the figure, you know, give me the number you're looking for. It wouldn't have been our terminology." (R2)

While language is very important when defining people and place, the idea that 'estate' can be a derogatory term is evidence of the tension that prevails around property and housing snobbery. This was demonstrated with other respondents such as R10 who explained how Ardoyne and the community that live there is rated against other working class areas in North and West Belfast. In participating in this categorizing they also

¹¹⁷ BBC broadcast a seven episode fly-on-the-wall documentary in January 2012, investigating life in Ballysally estate near Coleraine.

stereotype other communities. This is important to note because it corroborates Bourdieu's field theory analysis (1977) whereby people orient themselves according to their role and their perceptions of other people's position. Another example of how people have an imagined pecking order in their minds came through in interviews. This reflects on previous views on the pathologising vocabulary of estate and the acquired reputation that comes with it. R10 explains,

R10: There's a pecking order, definitely, even in our communities.

Interviewer: So, is Ardoyne not on the same level as Andersonstown¹¹⁸?

R10: No, definitely not Andersonstown

Interviewer: Would it be the same level as the New Lodge?

R10: Um

Interviewer: Or worse?

R10: Thereabouts, about the same

Interviewer: What does that mean, the same as in out of 10 where would it be?

R10: One or a two

Interviewer: Ok and what would be 10

R10: I suppose Andytown, you know Fruithill Park, places of Andersonstown like that

Interviewer: Ok and in terms of North Belfast then, where would we be sitting?

R10: Where would we be sitting?

Interviewer: Yeah

R10: Two

¹¹⁸ 2010 Multiple Deprivation measurement for Andersonstown ward (NISRA, 2010) are 118/582 in comparison to Ardoyne which is 9/582 where 1 is most deprived. Other 2010 Census data shows that 18.3% have a third level education or over in comparison to 7% in Ardoyne ward. In Andersonstown 34% had a long-term limiting illness compared to 30.8% in Ardoyne; 47.6% were in paid employment compared to 35.1% in Ardoyne; 67% of homes were owner occupied compared to 36.6% in Ardoyne; and 33.28% of homes were owned outright compared to 15.8% in Ardoyne.

R16 explains that the reputation perception is relative. He believes Ardoyne is a great place to live and would rather live there than in Springhill or Grosvenor Road because of their reputations but he acknowledged that for those living in those places it feels like a great place to live. But he says that type of snobbery has been a feature of life for a long time. He remembers people saying similar things about Sailortown or the Docks areas.

“They all had a dodgy reputation which made you recoil. But for the people who lived there, they thought that it was the ‘bee’s knees’, its great.’ (R16)

“I have been at conferences. I have been at seminars and when you introduce yourself and tell people where you are from you can see the eyebrows going up.... Ardoyne is synonymous with parades, massive violence through the conflict with big casualties, high levels of political imprisonment. A lot of it is conflict related. A number of years ago you would have heard negative stereotyping around places like Divis and Ballymurphy and I remember being enraged when Ardoyne was lumped in with them by people in conversation.” (R14)

Respondents explained that the clearest implication of the built environment on social activity in Ardoyne is the planning process of new building projects to design out crime. This has included the building of gated communities but it has also included projects such as alleygating. The outcome of such crime prevention projects has meant that anti-social behaviour among young people is now more visible. Young people now gather in the open and this, on top of the overcrowded living conditions has proved an ‘intimidating’ mix for local residents.

R16 is a community development worker in his 60s who has lived in the area all his life and witnessed much of the building changes that have impacted on community life. As explained,

“They [young people] are constantly moved on until you now have a situation in Ardoyne where it is almost like an open prison. All the alleygating has created huge difficulties in terms of driving young people out into the open so that now we are experiencing big crowds of people hanging about together. Social media adds to it as well. Everytime they find somewhere they are told to move on, whereas when we were kids and you were doing things you weren’t meant to be doing, you would have stood up an entry¹¹⁹, out of the road. Now that’s virtually impossible to do. So now when they gather they are moved on and it becomes a problem for the people of the area and the police are now getting involved and all the rest of it. So, I do see a lot of cases where they do see themselves as under pressure.” (R16)

R2 contends that the houses in Glenard had been previously built to suit the demands of local employers and are not suited to the needs of modern families. His phraseology captures his thoughts,

“No sympathetic design. No human space. Ardoyne needs rubbed out and redrawn!” (R2)

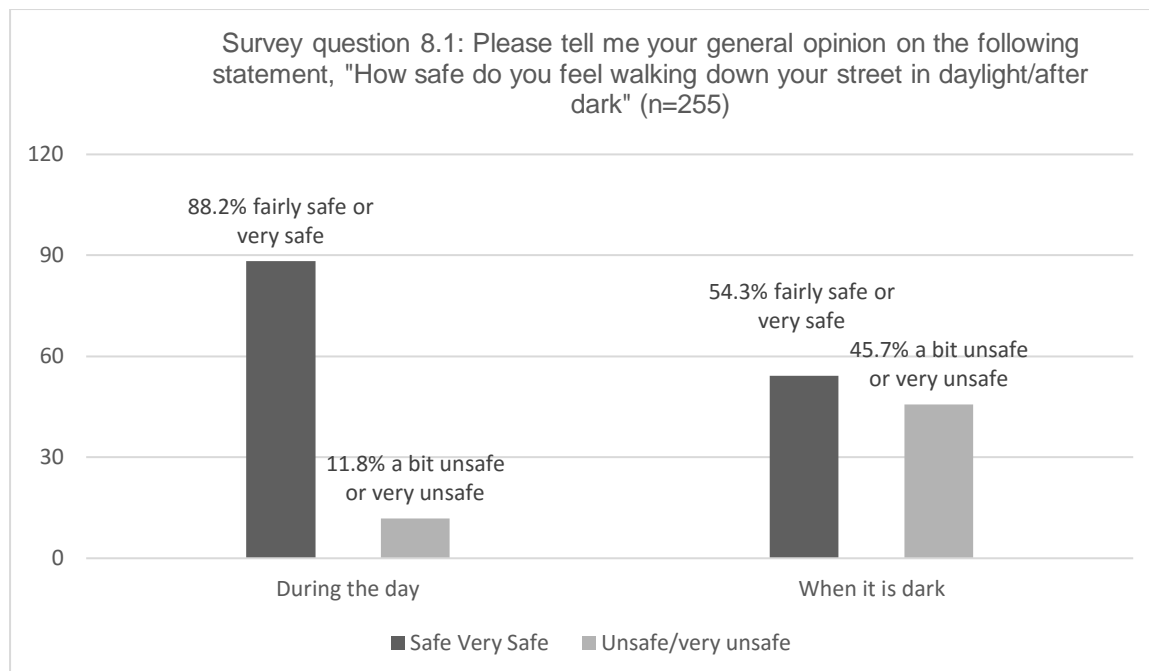
By the same token R2 refers to the area’s reputation of toughness, conflict related violence and viciousness which draws a picture of humanity that does not have a soft side. While it was clear that some respondents passionately challenged the negative image proposed by outsiders, a baseline was established through asking survey respondents how content they felt and if they believed the area’s reputation as a dangerous place was justified. This explored fear of crime along with satisfaction levels with the support networks in the area.

For some such as R2 or R14, the image of ongoing political violence provides an exploitable source of sensational stories for the media. Social capital indicators of this dimension are focused on perceptions of

¹¹⁹ Entry is a local term for the narrow alleyways between rows of terraced houses.

happiness, safety and security within their residential environment (Harper & Kelly, 2003; Siegler, 2014). When respondents were asked to consider their feelings of safety, 88.2% felt safe or very safe walking down the street during the day.

Figure17: Percentage frequency of perceptions of personal safety



Data presented in figure 17 shows that 11.8% feel a bit unsafe or very unsafe during the day and they are mostly female respondents aged 25-40. The percentage of females (83%) who feel safe however is not as high as males (95% males) suggesting that even at this level, females feel vulnerable. It is clear that the perception of safety waivers according to gender and age. What is surprising is that young people and older people aged over 65 feel safer than 25-40 year olds.

The survey also enquired about the levels of night-time feelings of safety. This time, 45.7% of those surveyed feel a bit unsafe or very unsafe walking down the street at nighttime. Once again males (58.8%) feel safer than females (35.5%) and this perception is reflected across every age range. The percentage of people who feel safest walking down the street at night are young people aged 18-24 (25.6%). Only 9% of people in all other age ranges felt safe. This latter perception could be related to

feelings of insecurity that have endured from “the conflict”. Many of those interviewed were also reluctant to admit to strangers where they lived for fear of attack based on perceived ethno-sectarian labelling. While none of the respondents related any incident where they had been a direct victim of such an attack, many had believed and internalized this shared fear which manifested itself through their perceptions of outside opinions.

This legacy of fear was explored further through face-to-face interviews. R16 is a married male in the 41-65 age group. He acknowledges there are times when it is not advantageous to identify as being from Ardoyne but it has context because the labelling is locally relevant.

“Even on holiday I simply say I am from Ardoyne. I don’t hide that fact by saying north Belfast or anything. I know people that do that because people are usually trying to weigh up who the other person is and it is based on that sectarian thing. Unless I was on my own, and there are ten skinheads with National Front or UDA tattoos probably then I would say North Belfast. But generally speaking I don’t have a problem identifying as Ardoyne but I do know that when sometimes you say it in certain quarters and certain meetings there are eyebrows raised.” (R16)

Residency in Ardoyne has become a label that many believed would provoke an attack or prejudice. As a result, many respondents had a variety of performance strategies for surviving such perceived outcomes. R23, a disabled mother of two in 40-65 age group, claimed she pretended to colleagues when she was in her teens she lived on the Oldpark Road and would get off the bus at a middle-class part of the bus route and walked back down the road towards her home when the bus went out of view. In this way she could manage her colleague’s perceptions. She says she is still wary about telling strangers in Belfast where she’s from.

Many respondents believed that there is still a threat from those living outside of Ardoyne – specifically those they perceive to be from Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist dominated areas. R23 related how she

ensures her children are cautious when wearing GAA tops when leaving the area and this extends to awareness of others being antagonized by their Irish names. This is important because it demonstrates the role of cultural symbols in determining opportunities for diversity. But the more intangible identifiers such as residency can also predetermine social exchange. R15 is in a similar age bracket and believes the threat of violence has subsided now and she would not be afraid to admit where she is from.

“Growing up through ‘the Troubles’ there was probably a time where your mammy would have told you that ‘if anybody asks where you are from just say up the Crumlin Road’ or something to that effect but that was more because of the fear of someone wanting to harm.” (R15)

However, R16, a male in his 60s, still takes care about revealing where he lives as he believes the label still holds significant meaning even though it is based on previous dangers.

“Obviously in those circumstances you didn’t want people to know you were from Ardoyne because it probably identified who you were and what you were. So, it is that type of thing when a taxi driver says ‘where are you going?’ and you’d just say ‘take me up the Crumlin Road’.” (R16)

R4 is a working mother in the 25-40 age bracket. She says the label is still in the back of your mind and you are constantly aware of the dangers.

“If you're in the town and you're out and you're meeting fellas and they go, ‘Where you from?’ and you go, ‘Where you from?’, but that's a Catholic, Protestant thing, do you know what I mean, we don't just say, ‘I'm from Ardoyne’, you know. But you are always afraid to tell people where you're from just in case there was trouble in that sense. That's normal. Well it's not really, is it?” (R4)

Insecurity and awareness of labels is something that most respondents acknowledged and demonstrates one of the invisible social forces that

influence social networks and exchange in Ardoyne. For many people these threats appear real because they have no mechanism to determine their validity.

Recorded levels of perceived insecurity in the ward using the social capital survey in 2014 are higher than published NI averages for the year through NISRA's well-being report for 2014/15 (NISRA, 2016). The NI average showed that 88% of males and 65 % of females felt safe/very safe walking alone after dark. In comparison, the local Ardoyne survey shows that only 58.8% of males and 35.5% of females felt safe or very safe when walking after dark (See also DoJ, (2016), NI Crime Survey 2014/15¹²⁰). So even though there is evidence of cooperative norms through high levels of volunteering these cooperative behaviours are not predictors of feeling safe.

- Contentment

Respondents were asked "If 'sense of home' is defined by the importance and the strength of your links to local networks of family, friends, neighbours and services, would you say that your neighbourhood feels like home?" 72.9% of all respondents (n=255) believe they have a 'sense of home' (See figure 18).

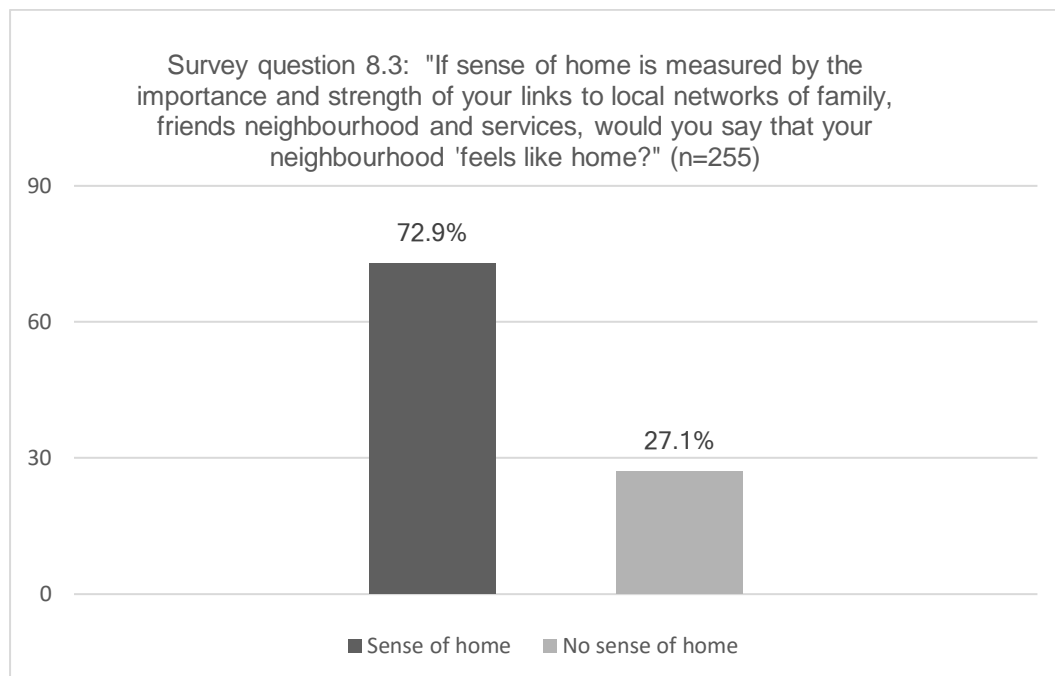
Controlling for gender, a greater percentage of males (80.7% n=114) are content with where they live in comparison to females (66.7% n=141) and the sense of home rises incrementally with age suggesting that time is a crucial factor in the creation of stability and attachment to place but that it also controls the investment into social capital. This apparent contentment, tolerance and satisfaction with living in the ward might be masking their inability to change their circumstance, resigning them to

¹²⁰ <https://www.justice-ni.gov.uk/articles/northern-ireland-crime-survey>

In the NICS Perceptions of Crime tables (https://www.justice-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/doj/nics-2014-2015-perceptions-of-crime-bulletin%20%28Web%29%20-%20Final_1.pdf), table A9 deals with the percentage of adults who worry about crime and personal safety (%) in Northern Ireland. In 2014/15, 7% feel very unsafe when "walking alone in area after dark". The previous year 7% felt very unsafe.

accepting their situation. This is directly linked to a lack of weak ties and an overwhelming obligation and strong attachment to kith and kin that has prevented opportunity.

Figure 18: Percentage frequency of contentment

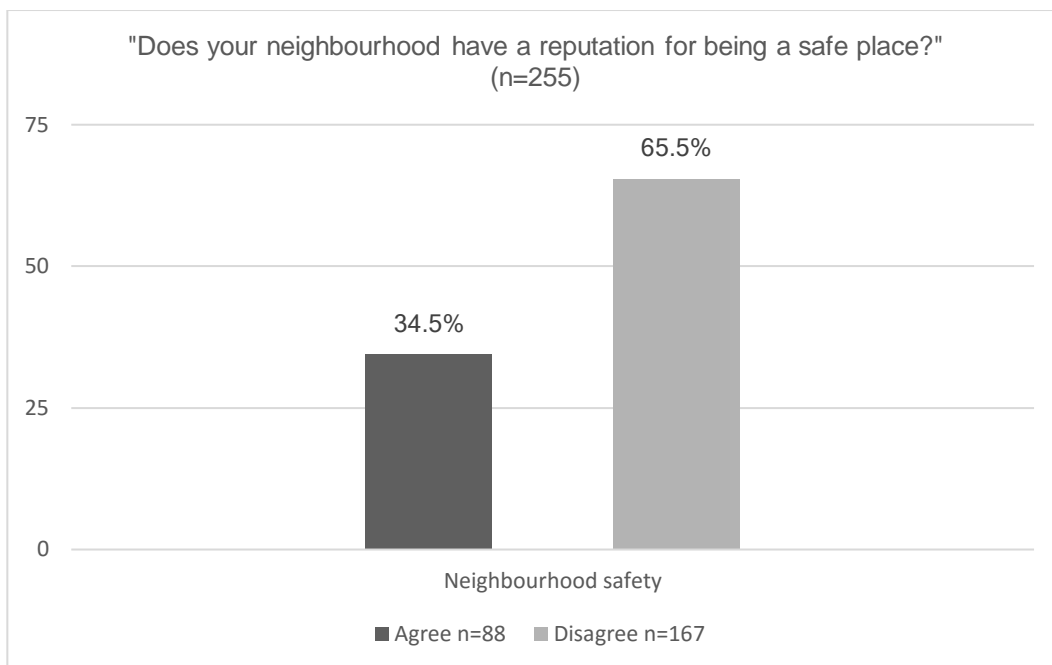


The sense of attachment however was captured by R15. She had admitted she had considered leaving the area a few times but says

“If I could take every single person that means something in my life with me then yes... To me it means the place, your family, your connections, the whole environment. Its like you're part of a fabric where it is all weaved together.” (R15)

Others such as R8 is resigned to the fact that they are trapped and they have learned how to cope with that inevitability. He learned “how to be in control of it...and still stay alive.” R12 reflects similar feelings that she is “too stuck in my ways to do anything about it now” (R12)

Even though 72.9% believe the area feels like home, 65.5% believe it has a bad reputation (See figure 19) and this impacts on how those who feel part of an in-group react.

Figure 19: Percentage frequency of perception of locality reputation

Labelling Ardoyne as a dangerous place to live and drawing conclusions based on residency within stereotyping frameworks, carries heavy social consequences (Wolfensberger, 1972; Wilkins, 1976; Merton, 1948). Believing the negative labeling expectations can lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy (Babad, 1977) where people subsequently orient their behaviours to adapt to expectations, much in the same way as internalizing a stereotype is a submission to a dominant idea. The findings suggest such stereotyping behaviour and labelling of in-group and outgroups is happening at ward level but is also evident at individual/family level.

Some people's sense of place was stronger than others regardless of the label and attached disadvantages and perceived dangers. Some clearly defend the in-group boundaries arguing that a neighbouring area, Upper Ardoyne, cannot be, or do not deserve to use the name Ardoyne. Some suggested the term Upper Ardoyne is a newly created label by Northern Ireland Government during the Holy Cross School protest¹²¹.

¹²¹ Holy Cross Girls primary school became the focus of a Loyalist protest from June to November 2001. The school is located in a Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist area and protestors were demanding parents and their children stop walking to the school through "their" area. The local residents were represented by the Concerned Residents of Upper

The idea that residents of the Glenbryn area share the Ardoyne label was met with derision with some respondents and even when asked to comment on the fact that the local Loyalist flute band is called Pride of Ardoyne and that they had been using this name from before the protest was also dismissed. R3 suggested “they make this up to annoy (Catholic) Ardoyne people”. But R2 is adamant that the term Upper Ardoyne is used to copper-fasten segregation between both geographical areas.

“But they will now actually designate themselves as being from Upper Ardoyne. They make the difference so that it in some way indicates that we are Lower Ardoyne. You know, I have a friend from the Newtownards Road. She is from below Dee Street and I made a comment about being from the Lower Newtownards Road. ‘Sorry, there is no lower and upper Newtownards Road. It’s the Newtownards Road.’ Well I would be of the same kind of opinion.”
(R2)

This is an important point because it highlights that there are many respondents who act as protectors of the label and the designation of who is in and who is out. This evidences how proud many people are about identity. R16 highlighted a dispute between two elderly gentlemen in the local pub. One was challenged about his opinion with “Sure what would you know? you are not even from here!” even though the man had lived in the area for more than sixty years. The designation of an in-group continues and is not something that only happens between an older generation who can remember distinctive boundaries across parishes or area borders. The exact boundaries are still important to some people.

When asked how important names were, he explained, “The League is really the Ardoyne Working Men’s Club or the Brae is the wee laneway up the side of the Park Inn” or the Boney Hills or even Marrowbone. Some of the names are retained in organisations but he claimed some were wrong.

Ardoyne. The area between Alliance Avenue and Ballysillan playing fields is also known as Glenbryn and was constructed as part of the Glenard Housing Project in the 1930s and early 1940s.

“That Ardoyne Association is only for residents in Glenard its not for people in the Bone. And Marrowbone House isn’t even in the Bone, its in the Ballybone. It’s the wrong side of the road but sure nobody cares about these things nowadays, do they?” (R22)

R22 used these colloquialisms as an in-group code to identify strangers. When asked about people using the term ‘the Ardoyne’ he claimed only outsiders said ‘the Ardoyne’. R10 went as far as saying only British soldiers called it ‘The Ardoyne’. It is important therefore to note the symbols and language that set Ardoyne apart and how, even using terms such as upper and lower, can be perceived as antagonistic.

It is interesting to note that even though some respondents had imaginary internal boundaries in their heads and a sense of segregation they did not refer to the peacelines even though they live next to them. Out of all the interviews (n=24) when asked what was the first word that came into their head when I say Ardoyne, 71% gave a people-related word as opposed to 29% whose word was place-related. This is important to note, because as has been demonstrated above, some people passionately feel that they are guardians of an identity for their in-group and don’t believe others promote their area as they would like it to be portrayed. Then again, internalizing some of these opinions and perceptions carries equally dangerous consequences for self-confidence and self-respect.

- Discussion

Feelings of social exclusion highlight the conflicting understandings of trust and reciprocity within a common bond of locality. It shows that an individual’s sense of ownership of social actions, such as informally assisting neighbours, determines their opinion. Local long-term residents are embedded in a hierarchy of social flux that is still transitioning from conflict. Old traditions and their champions inhibit the diversification of social norms and the accumulated evidence of non-participation demonstrates the tensions between the two.

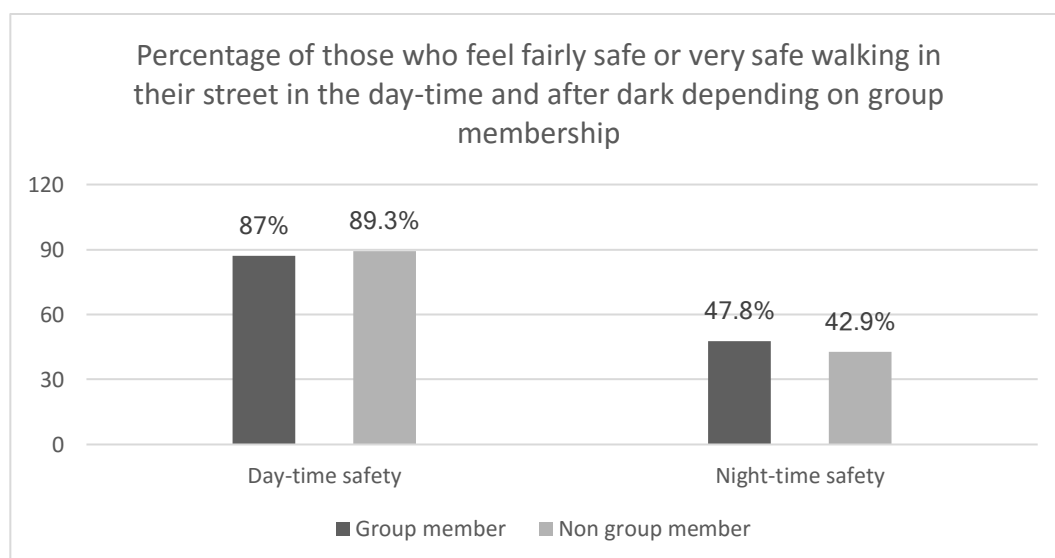
The findings suggest that the expectations of trust between people who share the neighbourhood does not reflect the predisposition of volunteering and altruistic support - given the predisposition of 85.9% to help neighbours. Instead, 42.3% of survey respondents (n=255) were wary of their neighbours even though 47.3% believe that most people were honest and could be trusted. There are strong variables worth noting. Gender variations reveal that males are more cautious of neighbourhood bonds than females perhaps reflective of their inability to gain meaningful roles in the community structures serving Ardoyne ward. Levels of trust and tolerance vary between personal perceptions and the perceptions of other people's tolerance of ethnic, religious and political differences. While these assumptions should be treated with the caution required by respondent bias they are complemented by additional questions that validate analysis that trust is contextualized by personal experience and self-orientation.

The UK Office for National Statistics' Social Capital Framework (Harper and Kelly, 2003) suggests that indicators of local area satisfaction can include views on physical environment, the local facilities, contentment of living in the area and levels and fear of crime. The findings from these arenas of social capital expression indicate a certain amount of suspicion of those who are not perceived to be in the in-group. This labelling behaviour has revealed a camaraderie based on a variety of social and psycho-social assumptions made by those in the in-group about themselves and also about those outside of their networks. Even the geographic similarity is fluid but it forms the parameters for a shared sense of imagined danger.

The findings suggest those with strong internal connections and time investments in the local social networks believe the area is a safe place to live but they acknowledge that others from outside the area might not share that belief. This could explain the psychological impact on life in the ward and the sense of hopelessness that prevails as social conflict expresses itself in a competition for resources and connections.

The survey results show that those who are not in groups have a greater sense of this reputation of insecurity than those in groups and that this is also the case for feeling safe enough to walk day or night. Views vary according to age and gender. The survey data reaffirms the confidence of young people. The younger you are the safer you feel day or night. Males are more content about where they live and the quality of their social networks than females even though males seem to be the group most prone to distrusting outsiders.

Figure 20: Percentage frequency of fear of crime with members of groups



The perceptions of reputation were tested controlling for group membership to deduce whether fear of crime was related to membership and how it related to Putnam's (2000) association hypothesis. Figure 20 illustrates how 87% of all those who are members of groups (n=161) feel safer walking down the street in daylight than the percentage of all those who are currently not members of any groups (89.3% n=94).

The findings reinforce the idea that fear of crime is not necessarily determined by group membership given the similar percentages and minimal percentage differences between both groups. The percentage of

respondents who are members of groups feel safer walking down the street after dark (47.8%) in comparison to those who are not members of groups (42.9%). It is also interesting to note however, that members of groups have a greater sense of home (77%) than the percentage of those who are not members of any local groups (68.1%).

The percentage of those who were not members of a group who believe the area has a reputation of being an unsafe place (26.4%) is not as great as the perception's held by those who are members of groups (39.8%). This suggests that the influence of group members could be reinforcing negative stereotypes.

The different positions on personal attitudes and feelings of safety is dependent on feelings of apprehension and stereotypical association. This demonstrates the extent to which individuals have internalized or inherited this reputation and reproduce it. This phenomenon is subsequently manifested through suspicion of strangers, risk adversity and intolerance of difference based on experiential or imagined danger. This angst determines everyday life to the degree that other forms of oppression such as gender and age prejudice and other social injustices preventing or discouraging social network inclusion take a secondary place. This can be explained through Bourdieu's field theory and the relationship between the various fields (which in this instance is the local network of civil society organisations and individual perceptions of how to interact with them. Bourdieu's concept of habitus explains how individuals feel they should engage with these organisations based on personal history, experience, inculcation and reaction to similar challenges over the life cycle. The rules and established social norms of how that engagement happens is termed doxa within Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1977). Individual engagement with social networks is not just restricted to the geographical ward of Ardoyne, but includes such multiple fields. Engagement behaviours are then determined by an individual's interpretation of their role and the multiple expectations made on them within the various social hierarchies in which they are embedded and are exposed to, over their

lifetime. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) claim “capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.” (1992: 101). This relationship within the objective parameters of social networks such as organisations and the attendant subjective habitus is the product of the social hierarchies and their embedded networks.

It is interesting to note how opinions are formed between the two groups while individual habitus evolves. Those who have weaker connections, in the local social infrastructure i.e. those who participate in groups, do not have as high an opinion of the ‘community’ as those who have stronger denser connections with friends and family. This suggests the latter believe in the value of their current investment in network capital.

This shows us that family networks are seen as the primary social unit from which everything else flows. And this position in the social hierarchy, is not held by current civil society groups. Trust emanates from the reciprocal nature of the family networks but the civil and civic society relationships are more inclined to be of a patron/client nature. Individuals get more of a return from doing favours for one another than they do from more formal communal and organised relationships and indicates how relationships are organised in a more informal way.

The greatest tension is between individual identity, collective identity and the extent to which social forces influence an individual’s orientation of self. The findings suggest that inequitable social activity has become accepted as a social norm. Putnam’s premise that tolerance is generated by social capital is not sound. Findings suggest tolerance is influenced by perceptions of fear of difference and the inequities of social capital acquisition feeds perceptions of elitism and social exclusion. The result of this is not social cohesion but instead shows heterogeneity at individual, civil and civic society dimensions.

It tells us that bridging social capital in this instance, can reinforce elitism unless mechanisms for equitable involvement of people of all abilities are

included. Putnam's premise that bridging social capital is good because it produces trust and reciprocity is weak. The research argues that bridging social capital through associationalism does not produce trust but shows that trust and its attendant reciprocity is an *a priori* attribute in many instances. It also argues that tolerant behaviours can also be generated by those who are not engaged in civil society groups. The premise that tolerance is generated through civil society engagement is also weak. It confuses definitions of the trust building process that requires trust and reciprocity as an *a priori* attribute. In this instance, the assertions that tolerance is produced through civil society participation is challenged by findings that demonstrate that those who are not in groups also show tolerance and reciprocal and trusting behaviours. Instead it could be argued that Putnam's statement on tolerance feeds a negative stereotype of those who are not participating in civil society structures and contributes to deviant labelling.

Chapter 8 – Discussion

Social capital - a rhetorical governance distraction or a tool for social good?

The main findings of this thesis assert that the social benefits generated by social capital drivers such as participation in community groups are imaginary because the social fabric of community is so diverse that assumptions of cohesiveness are unfounded. Assumptions on community cohesion however form the backbone of social policy and understandings around social capital or social exclusion and social capital theory continues to influence policymakers in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. The findings highlight how it is brokers, primarily spokesmen, who really hold the power within social networks in Ardoyne and this is reflected in the feelings of disempowerment by those who do not have access to these roles. The impact of these particular findings are evident in recent local events that have changed the context of community relations, not only between factional interests within Ardoyne itself but more broadly with their ideological opposites beyond the confines of the 'peacewalls'. That such a change was possible is surprising given the rise of political polarisation since the qualitative research for this thesis was completed in June 2015. It shows that the influence of brokerage roles can appear to transcend powerful concepts such as nationalism or ethno-sectarian beliefs to bring about contextual changes that promise to transform inter and intra community dynamics for some time to come. The research findings highlight the importance of changing contexts on social networking processes by challenging assumptions about homogeneity, awareness of the civil society landscape, and the powerful role of brokers therein. The main findings of the research suggest how many of these contextual changes only provide the illusion of transformation and distract our attention from the structural changes required to address poverty and social exclusion.

The contextual change came with the breakthrough in the local parading impasse at Ardoyne and it emerged at the same time as significant

political upheavals were taking shape across the world. In June 2016, the UK voted to leave the EU. This was followed in November that same year with the election of Donald J Trump as 45th president of the USA. Both events heralded a new era of political instability that elevated nationalism to centre stage. The local focus fell on the UK's relationship with Ireland, further polarising Northern Irish politics by reinforcing nationalism's importance over the impending negative social reforms that were due to be implemented as part not only of Westminster's economic austerity plans but from the fallout attendant upon any future Brexit arrangements. These political changes challenged ongoing efforts to build better community relations between opposing nationalisms particularly in North Belfast. By January 2017 the Northern Ireland Assembly had collapsed in acrimonious rivalry as differences between the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Féin, the two largest parties in Northern Ireland, saw the consociational government agreement begin to fracture. When elections were called in March 2017 electoral success for Irish Nationalism in places like Ardoyne had increased. A snap Westminster election was called weeks later, polarising the electorate even further but also demonstrating Sinn Féin's ability to exploit this new ascendancy of popular nationalist sentiment to their benefit across the North Belfast constituency.

Sinn Féin's determination to build on previous electoral gains culminated in an intense last minute push to encourage constituents to come out and vote in nationalist wards across the constituency. A 60-strong female canvas team swept across Ardoyne going from door to door, promoting Sinn Féin's goal to unseat the Unionist incumbent, Nigel Dodds, and they were able to not only maintain their own electorate mandate locally but were able to increase that position.¹²² The research findings show how party manifestoes have little influence on electoral voting patterns in Ardoyne as popular nationalism has continually been the main driver for

¹²² The electoral return in North Belfast records that the DUP received 46.2% of the vote, Sinn Féin 41.7% and SDLP received 4.5%. See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/constituencies/N06000002>

the high electoral turnout there. This electoral phenomenon of popular nationalism is facilitated by the nature of Ardoyne's 'peacelines', resulting segregated housing stock and the consequential formation of identity based on othering, polarisation and a degree of Foucauldian panopticism. All of this has the ongoing effect of elevating the ethno-sectarian motivations for voting - the casualty of which is that any demands for an improvement in the socio-economic factors that maintain high levels of health, economic and educational inequalities locally take second place.

The main reminder of the geographically centred ethno-sectarian divide are the annual violent clashes at parades on the Crumlin Road. Every year on 12th July Orangemen commemorate King Billy's victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 over the Catholic King James. Every July the Ligoniel Lodge marches down the Crumlin Road to meet other parading lodges at Woodvale and Shankill Roads. The return parade is usually considerably larger and has led to several nights of street violence when it arrives at the contentious section of the route. Here, some Catholic residents are opposed to the parade passing their homes and have held counter-demonstrations since the 1990s on both the outward and the return parade. In 2014, the Parades Commission¹²³ eventually placed restrictions on the return parade preventing it from passing part of the road following the escalation of violence in the area which attracted hundreds of people to the protest. The Commission demanded that both sides enter talks to resolve the contention. This decision however resulted in a nightly standoff by Orangemen and their encampment on derelict ground at Twaddell Avenue.¹²⁴ Several attempts to resolve the situation failed.

The findings show that the power to bridge opposing sides does not

¹²³ The Northern Ireland Parades Commission were established in 1998 as a non-departmental public body. Commissioners are appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and have the power to place restrictions on parades that are deemed contentious.

¹²⁴ Orangemen encamped at Twaddell Avenue for over 1,000 days and continually mobilised lodges and supporters to march to police lines to continue their parade. Policing costs exceeded £21million.

necessarily lie with those embedded within local polarised networks of service delivery organisations. Instead it rests with those who have the ability to broker exchanges with other networks. Being able to bring this competence to bear on situations like the one at Ardoyne illustrates the spectrum of brokerage roles between those where elites give the illusion of bridging ideological divides by maintaining and managing a volatile situation, to those who bridge opposing sides to create mutual change. By April 2016 Reverend Harold Good and a Derry businessman Jim Roddy happened to attend a cross-community rally in the grounds of Holy Cross Church against the murder of a local man¹²⁵ by alleged dissident republicans. Both were moved by the hopelessness of those caught up in their violent surroundings and made approaches to both sides in the parading dispute in an attempt to reduce tensions in the area. As a result, their intervention transformed one of the most entrenched inter-community disputes in Northern Ireland into a mutual agreement to discuss and address shared social problems.

By September 2016 the parade returned amid a large security presence¹²⁶ and heckling from supporters from the Greater Ardoyne Residents' Collective (GARC). Once the parade had passed, some of the GARC supporters turned their anger on the local priest and the elected Sinn Féin representative but that also quickly dispersed. Within hours the camp at Twaddell Avenue was dismantled. The second phase of the deal related to the main 12th of July parade. Orangemen agreed not to file to the Parades Commission for an annual return parade past Ardoyne. Crumlin Ardoyne Residents' Association (CARA) agreed to abandon their annual counterdemonstration to the outgoing parade. Following the keeping of these promises it was agreed that a joint forum would be established to discuss future working relationships.

¹²⁵ In April 2016 Michael McGibbon was lured to an alleyway not far from his home in Ardoyne and shot dead. A cross-community rally was organised in the grounds of Holy Cross Church shortly afterwards to denounce the atrocity.

¹²⁶ Over 600 armed police were deployed on the day.

On the 'Twelfth' morning the Orangemen, as agreed, marched down the Crumlin Road from their lodge in Ligoniel accompanied by several bands. When they got to Ardoyne shops the police presence was low key and the parade passed off peacefully. The Nationalist residents' counter protest was absent. Instead, residents at this part of the road for the most part went about their daily business unperturbed by the parade. The usual drone of helicopter surveillance was also short-lived as the parade continued down the Woodvale Road to meet the main parade on its way to Edenderry. That evening the parading Orangemen kept their side of the bargain and did not insist on returning by the same route. The cyclical events that witnessed violence at Ardoyne every 12th July since the 1990s had been broken, transcending decades of mistrust and creating another image of the area that was not centred on violent intolerance.

Power and its distribution across social networks amid multiple claims for mandate and legitimacy is the overarching context of the research. The successful resolution to the entrenched parading dispute in Ardoyne reaffirms the findings that trust and reciprocity are not necessarily the bailiwick of those who are members of local civil society groups but is more about the negotiating power of individuals who have a brokerage role along with the intervening conditions and contexts in which conflict resolution takes place. The fact that this happened against a backdrop of increasing polarisation should have added to the unlikely chances of success for such a venture, but the findings show that local people are generally committed to building harmonious relations with their neighbours. The main findings reveal that, regardless of the homogenous image of community, interest in parading for instance is not a priority for most people in Ardoyne who are either oblivious to the work or ideology of groups such as CARA and their internal rivals in GARC or consider these issues irrelevant to their own priorities. For the most part, people are embedded in environments and circumstances where they feel they have no influence or where their opinion or participation is not invited or considered anyway.

One of the main outcomes of the parading agreement was the shift in power from those groups and individuals whose legitimacy is vested in their opposition to compromise around parades. More importantly it highlighted that not only was this a conflict between inter community elites but was also one between intra community elites. The findings show that many people self-exclude from publicly participating in these issues because of the alienating factional nature of these groups and a lack of confidence in their ability to make positive change that is relevant to them.

While the main findings of the research show the important role of brokers within social networks it also highlights the impact of gender inequalities regardless of parading settlements. The brokers and negotiators in this instance were all men. The findings show that while the contextual impact of contentious parades has changed, the structural inequalities that lie behind them are still deeply embedded and are not being challenged in any significant way by alleged stocks of social capital. The resolution of the parading impasse is a positive development in reducing inter community tensions and interface violence, but the underlying conditions of social exclusion remain. If anything, the acceptance of structural inequalities of gender, age and the hierarchical nature of governance structures are maintained and reinforced as the status quo. An illusion of homogeneity is perpetuated by the principles and concepts of social capital that mask a multiplicity of contradictions between people.

If the backbone of social capital is simply the quantity of social networks in which people are connected then the main findings of the research suggest that the competition for social capital creates particular feelings of social exclusion in Ardoyne because in-group identities are compounded by negative stereotyping by others. This is perpetuated in many instances by those who internalize and self-confirm reputations of ethno sectarianism which the new relations with those PUL¹²⁷ communities

¹²⁷ PUL communities is an acronym used by governmental agencies in Northern Ireland, academics and the media to describe the Protestant/Unionist/Loyalist communities.

beyond the wall might engender. The agreed joint community forum has been established and has met on four occasions so far this year. These meetings however are private, so it is hard to recognise the input of those most affected by social exclusion.

The reinforcement of an in-group identity is characteristic of Ardoyne's social norms, countering the possible benefits of any improved image of the area reaped by the resolution of the parades impasse. Not only is the area still encircled by 'peacewalls' in the form of security barriers, it is also peppered with commemorative plaques to those who lost their lives during the most recent conflict. For example, a *Garden of Reflection*, built by local republicans was opened around this time in November 2016 in remembrance of all the Catholics from Ardoyne, the Marrowbone and Ligoniel, who lost their lives in that 'conflict'. Officials from Sinn Féin, escorted by a colour party, republican ex-prisoners and representatives from some of the victims' families opened the garden. The ceremony was attended by around 1,000 people and republican marching bands from across the city. The proceedings were officiated by a local Catholic priest. So while there is a public narrative about the social good derived from bridging ethno-sectarian divides, the internal narrative continues to caution against those who live beyond the 'peacewall'. The imagined negotiated benefits further embed the power of elites in Ardoyne as the agenda is shifted to a community relations priority and not about challenging more pressing inequalities such as reducing levels of child poverty in Ardoyne or reducing general health or education inequalities there amongst the most vulnerable. Instead, the focus is on the need to build alliances with so-called enemies across the peacewalls through ongoing behind the scenes discussions.

Promoting the rhetoric of social capital for social good perpetuates the status quo as a governance model while the real power of decision-making is made elsewhere. The language of social capital and exclusion invokes imaginary benefits without describing the context or intervening conditions. Local authorities and government departments continue to

insinuate the social good that can be unlocked from social capital stocks in Ardoyne and elsewhere across Northern Ireland. Such commitments to “building on the strongly embedded social capital in our communities” (Belfast City Council, 2017: 6) is an indication that government is still intent on promoting these principles of governance through the activities of the voluntary and community sector and while a resolution to the parading impasse is an incremental step to removing barriers to diversification, it is counterbalanced by the built environment and the psychological reminders of threat from ‘the other side’.

While government continues to promote rhetorical concepts such as social capital as a solution to health, educational and other social inequalities, the reality in Ardoyne is that their commitments to civil society’s improvement through the voluntary and community sector is tenuous without proof that the activities of that sector can complement or improve the impact of what is currently delivered by the state.

The findings show how there is no real difference between concepts such as bonding or bridging social capital. Neither does participation in civil society make one more trusting or altruistic. These claims are imaginary. Instead, those with power insidiously manipulate people to become compliant and conform to the existing order of things. Even though contexts continually change and the voluntary and community sector appear to develop approaches to meet emerging crises, the underlying levels of inequality remain unaltered. As a result, most people feel as if they are passive observers instead of creators of change.

The idea however that powerful social forces such as nationalism create irrevocable cohesive groupings is contradicted by interesting passport statistics that emerged in 2016 (NISRA 2011). Even though the electoral results suggest overwhelming support for Irish nationalism in Ardoyne electoral ward, both competing nationalisms are not only accommodated, but more people had British passports than Irish ones – if indeed

passports can be used as an indicator of national identity.¹²⁸

Deconstructions of such indicators alongside further qualitative research into motivational drivers and the contradictions of popular nationalism elsewhere in the UK would provide an interesting framework to understand why political elites draw on powerful social forces to stall social change. The research adds to our understanding of power distribution in post conflict populations and the pressure on ethno-sectarian drivers of democracy to yield to pressures for a more transformative agenda that addresses the realities of poverty, ill-health and low educational attainment.

This research highlights how the promotion and application of the concepts of social capital and the alleged benefits derived from it provides a smokescreen that has allowed power to remain among those committed to maintaining the status quo rather than changing it. In this regard, the imagined outcomes of social capital, like nationalism itself, are powerful ideas that continue to challenge community development practice in Ardoyne and elsewhere.

¹²⁸ 28.2% of residents did not have a passport but for those who do, 56.2% hold British passports and only 40% hold Irish passports. See <http://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=5877&lh=37&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census+2011&yearfilter=>

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Appendix 2 - Social Capital Questionnaire

CONFIDENTIAL

This survey explores the extent and quality of voluntary community participation and the range of support networks available to individuals living in the Ardoyne electoral ward.

The survey explores social networks across family, friends, neighbours and work colleagues.

The survey is interested in the opinions and attitudes of individuals in Ardoyne electoral ward to social society to identify links with isolation and social exclusion.

The survey is in eight sections and should take 30 minutes at most to complete.

The survey is confidential. All answers will be coded to protect the identity of respondents. No names or personal data will appear in any reports or published documents. The data you provide will be stored electronically with encryption where possible, and any written documents used in the research process will be stored in locked storage at the Queen's University Belfast

1. About you

The following questions are all about how you would generally describe yourself. Please select the appropriate answer.

1.1 Gender

(1) Female (2) Male

1.2 What was your age on your last birthday?

(1) 18-24 (2) 25-40 (3) 41-64 (4) 65 and over

1.3 What is your employment status?

(1) Employed (2) Self-employed (3) Unemployed

1.4 What is your highest educational attainment?

(1) No formal qualifications
(2) GCSEs, CSEs or vocational qualifications
(3) A levels, further education
(4) Degree or higher

2. Your family circle

The following questions are about the extent of your own family and the depth of relationships.

2.1 How widespread is your family circle?

2.2
How many people are living in your household?

	[1] In the same area as I do	[2] Up to five miles away	[3] Up to 20 miles away	[4] Up to 50 miles away	[5] More than 50 miles away	[6] Outside Ireland
Most my family circle live:						

2.3 How many family members would you consider close enough that you could turn to for support and comfort in the event of a personal issue?

2.4 How many close friends do you have?

2.5 Please tell me your opinion on the following statements

3. Your local

	(1) Never	(2) Rarely (ie once or twice a year)	(3) Occasionally (ie more than twice a year but less than every month)	(4) Frequently (ie at least once a month)	(5) Always (ie at least once a week)
I get together with members of my family, extended family for social events or family occasions					
I socialise with other people outside of my family.					

neighbourhood/neighbours

The following questions are about the relationships between you and your local neighbourhood and your neighbours. The questions explore the extent and the nature of those relationships. When we refer to neighbourhood we mean within 10 minutes' walk from your home.

3.1 How long have you lived in this neighbourhood?

- (1) Less than 12 months
- (2) More than 12 months but less than 2 years
- (3) More than 2 years but less than 5 years
- (4) More than 5 years but less than 10 years
- (5) More than 10 years but less than 20 years
- (6) More than 20 years but less than 30 years
- (7) 30 years or longer

3.2 Please select the answer that best suits your situation

	(1) I know most people	(2) I know many people	(3) I know a few people but most are strangers	(4) I do not know anyone
In my street				
In this neighbourhood				

3.3 In the past six months, have you done a favour for a neighbour in need

(1) yes (2) no

3.4 In the past six months, has a neighbour done a favour for you?

(1) yes (2) no

3.5 In an average week would you visit a neighbour?

(1) yes (2) no

3.6 Please select the answer that best suits your situation

3.7 Please select the answer that best suits your situation

	(1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Neutral	(4) Agree	(5) Strongly Agree
I would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different religious background, moves into my street					
I would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different ethnic background, moves into my street					
I would not mind if a stranger, someone from a different political background, moves into my street					

3.8 Please select the answer that best suits your situation

	1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Neutral	(4) Agree	(5) Strongly Agree
Most people in my neighbourhood are basically, honest and can be trusted					
People in my neighbourhood are always more trustworthy than people in other neighbourhoods.					
In this neighbourhood one must be alert of someone who is likely to take advantage of you					

4. Participation in civil society

The following questions explore the nature and frequency of your membership of locally organised activities.

4.1 How extensive is your membership of local organisations or clubs?

	(1) I am a member of more than 3	(2) I am a member of 3	(3) I am a member of 2	(4) I am a member of 1	(5) I am not a member of any orgs or clubs
Locally based sports or social clubs					
Locally based health focused organisations					
Locally based youth organisations					
Locally based cultural/ arts organisations					
Local church based clubs or organisations					
Local community organisations or clubs					
Clubs or organisations based outside your neighbourhood					

4.2 Are you on a management committee or organising committee for any of the following types of local groups or organisations?

	(1) I am a committee member of more than	(2) I am a committee member of three.	(3) I am a committee member of two	(4) I am a committee member of one	(5) I am not a committee member of any orgs or
Locally based sports or social clubs					
Locally based health focused organisations					
Locally based youth organisations					
Locally based cultural/ arts organisations					
Local church based clubs or organisations					
Local community organisations or clubs					

4.3 Have you donated your time to do volunteer work of any kind in your community in the last 12 months?

(1) yes (2) no

4.4 Have you attended a local campaign meeting/ protest in your neighbourhood in the last 12 months or been involved with a local residents or community campaigning group? Please include online activities but do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

4.5 Have you attended a cultural arts event or been involved in cultural/arts activities in your neighbourhood in the last 12 months? Please do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

4.6 Have you attended a local sports event or played on a local team in the last 12 months? Please do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

4.7 Have you been involved in any youth or parent activities in the last 12 months? Please do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

4.8 Have you been involved in any activities related to religious or church-sponsored groups in the last 12 months? Please do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

4.9 Have you been involved in school/education related activities in the last 12 months? Please do not include any activities related to your job.

(1) yes (2) no

5. Locally organised civil society

The following questions explore your familiarity with local organisations and clubs. The questions explore unpaid membership of organisations/clubs as opposed to involvement as a salaried member of staff. Please select the appropriate boxes.

5.1 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local sports and social clubs/organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Ardoyne Working Mens Club					
The Glenpark					
Ardoyne GAA					
Crumlin Star Sports and Social Club					
Shamrock Sports and Social Club					
Man United Supporters Club					
Liverpool Supporters Club					
Celtic Supporters Club					
Cliftonville Supporters Club					

5.1 (continued) Please tell me of your knowledge of the local sports and social clubs/organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what	(5) I have never heard of them
ABC Boxing Club					
North Belfast Harriers					
St Gabriel's Weightlifting Club					

Wheatfield Pigeon Club					
Ardoyne Bowlers					
Flax Trust Golfing Society					
Judo Club					

5.2 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local health organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Ardoyne Shankill Health Partnership					
PIPs					
Cancer Lifeline					
Survivors of Trauma					
New Life Counselling					

5.3 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local youth organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Ardoyne Youth Club					
John Paul 2 Youth Club					
Ardoyne Breakdancers					
Ardoyne Youth Providers Forum					
ABC Gateway Club					
Ardoyne Youth Congress					
Club Óige					
Marrowbone Youth Club					

5.4 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local cultural/arts organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Conradh na Gaeilge					
Glór an Tuaiscirt					
Ardoyne Fleadh Cheoil					
Reid School of Irish dancing					
Mulvenna School of Irish dancing					
Blake Irish Dancing Group					
Lawrenson School of Irish dancing					
Doherty School of Irish dancing					

5.5 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local women's organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Grace Women's Group					
Unite Womens Group					
Marrowbone Women's Group					

5.6 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local church based organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Legion of Mary					
Bereavement Group					
Corpus Christi Committee					
Spread Group					
UAS Music School					
Ardoyne Parish Council					
Scouting Group					
Slimming Club					

5.7 Please tell me of your knowledge of the local community organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Ardoyne Association					
Flax Trust					
Marrowbone Community House					
Safer Neighbourhood Ardoyne Partnership					
Community Restorative Justice Ireland					
Marrowbone Residents Association					
Jamaica Havana Residents Group					
Old Ardoyne Residents Group					
Ardglen Residents Group					
Prospect Residents Group					

5.7 (continued)

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
Ardoyne Marrowbone Community Forum					
North Belfast Cooperative					
ABC Credit Union					
Oldpark Credit Union					
Sean McDiarmuid Society					
Amach agus Isteach					
Bone Ex Prisoners Group					
Crumlin Ardoyne Residents Association					
Greater Ardoyne Residents Collective					

5.7 (continued) Please tell me of your knowledge of the local community organisations in the following list.

	(1) I am a member	(2) I was previously a member	(3) I am aware of what they do but have never been a member	(4) I have heard of them but do not know what they do	(5) I have never heard of them
ABL Commemoration Committee					
Bone memorial committee					
Relatives For Justice Group					
North Belfast Interface Network					
North Belfast Senior Citizens Forum					

5.8 If you were previously a member of a local club/organisation/group, what would you say were your main reasons for stopping your involvement? Please select all that apply.

- (1) Not enough time due to changing home/work circumstances
- (2) Not enough time. Getting involved took up too much time
- (3) Health problems or old age
- (4) Group/organisation/club was no longer relevant to me
- (5) I lost interest
- (6) It was a one-off activity or event
- (7) Felt I had done my bit/someone else should get involved
- (8) I got involved with another activity instead
- (9) I didn't get asked to do the things I liked (10) I felt the group was badly organised
- (11) I felt my efforts were not appreciated
- (12) It was too bureaucratic
- (13) Other

5.9 Please list any organisations of which you are currently a member that are not on this list.

5.10 Do you know anyone in the following organisations? Please select all that apply.

- (1) Local political party
- (2) Local Parent Teachers Association
- (3) Trade Union
- (4) Local Board of Governors

5.11 Have you ever used your connections with any of the organisations/groups/clubs/political parties above to do any of the following? Please select all that apply.

- (1) Get a job for myself
- (2) Get a job for a relative/friend
- (3) Get financial support
- (4) Get emotional support
- (5) Improve my education
- (6) Improve my health/wellbeing
- (7) Increase my safety
- (8) Improve my living conditions
- (9) Other

5.12 Please select the answer that best suits your opinion on the following statement

	(1) Strongly Disagree	(2) Disagree	(3) Neutral	(4) Agree	(5) Strongly Agree
I can influence decisions that affect my neighbourhood					

6. Participation in civic society and trust

6.1 Have you contacted an elected representative in the last 12 months?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

6.2 Have you contacted any public official in the last 12 months?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

6.3 Did you vote in the last election?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

6.4 Do you intend to vote in the next election?

(1) Yes

(2) No

6.5 How often can you trust each of the following to act in your best interest?

	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Occasionally	(4) Frequently	(5) Always
The church					
The police					
Belfast City Council					
Political parties					
Politicians generally					
The education service					
The health service					
Public servants generally					
The Northern Ireland Assembly					
The British Government					

6.6 To what extent do local organisations who make decisions on providing the following services/activities, meet the needs of people in Ardoyne or the Bone?

	(1) do not meet the needs of any local people	(2) meet the needs of a minority of local	(3) Only meet the needs of their members	(4) meet the needs of the majority of local	(5) meet the needs of everyone locally	(6) I don't know who makes these decisions.
Local organisations that make decisions on local health promotion services or activities						
Local organisations that make decisions on local culture/arts services or activities						

	(1) Very unsafe	(2) A bit unsafe	(3) Fairly safe	(4) Very safe
How safe do you feel walking down your street in daylight?				
How safe do you feel walking down your street after dark?				

8.2 Does your neighbourhood have a reputation for being a safe place?

(1) yes (2) no

8.3 If 'sense of home' is measured by the importance and the strength of your links to local networks of family, friends, neighbours and services, would you say that your neighbourhood feels like 'home'?

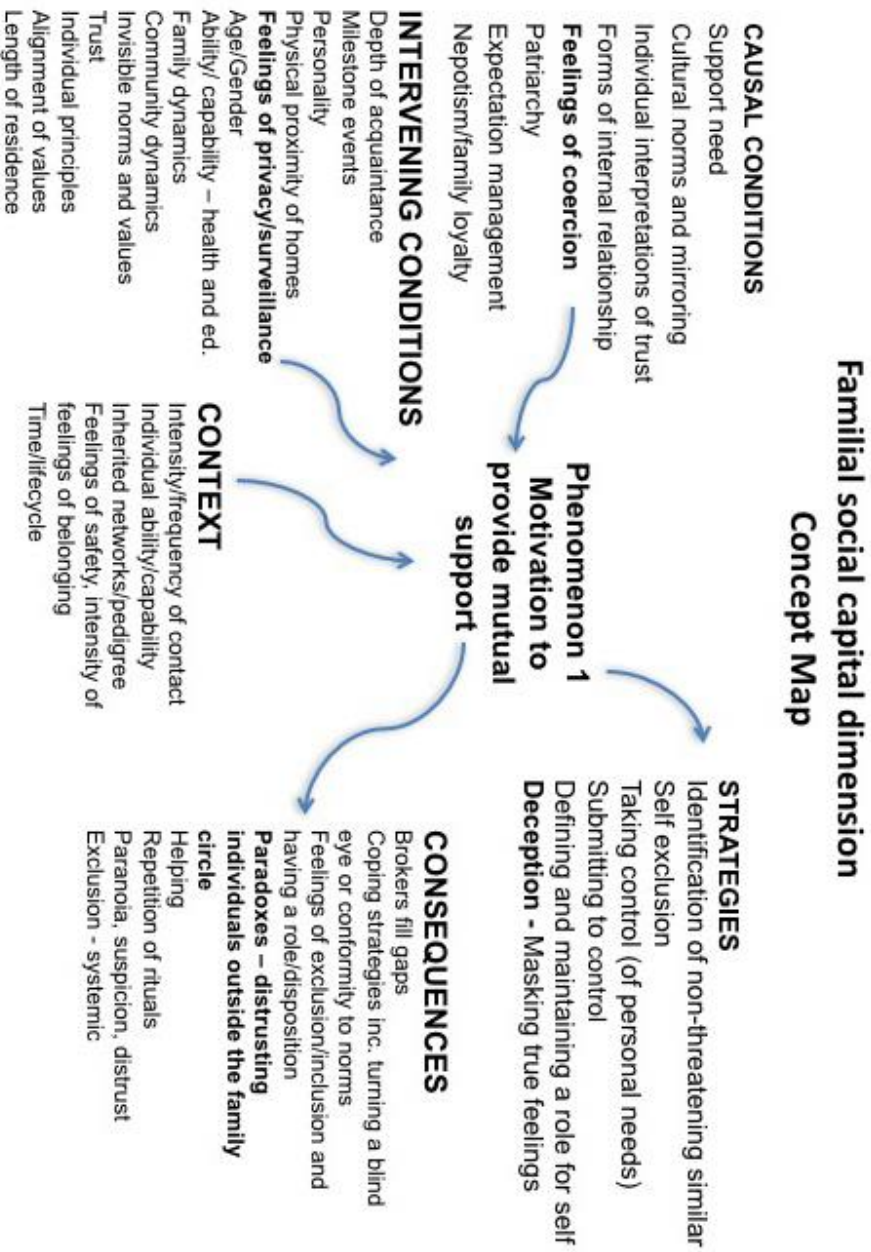
(1) yes (2) no

Thank you for completing this survey.

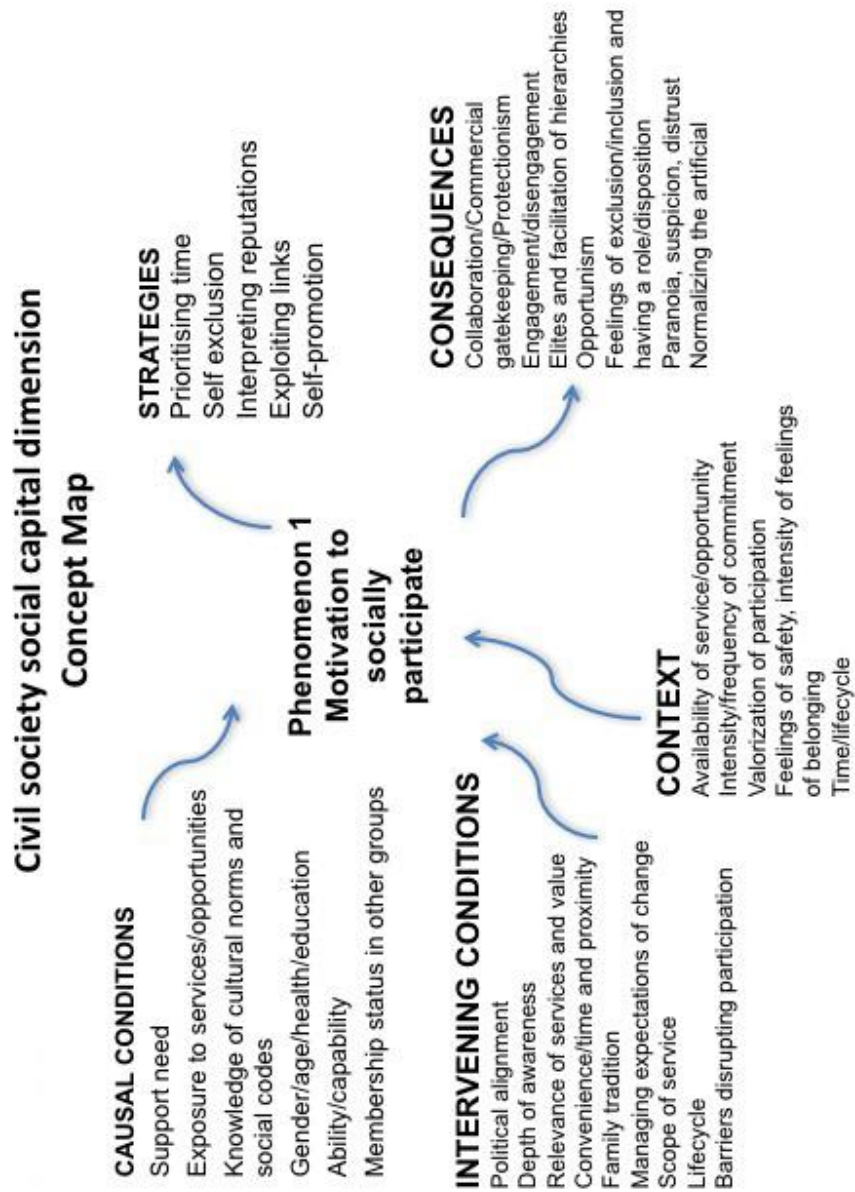
As a follow-up to this survey I am also conducting face to face interviews to explore your reasons for participation or non-participation in social networks and what improvements you think might change their value.

Please provide your contact details if you wish to be contacted to take part in a further interview.

Appendix 3 – Familial social capital dimension concept map



Appendix 4 – Civil Society social capital dimension concept map



Appendix 5 – Civic society social capital dimension concept map

