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Building Connections, Getting Involved: Measuring Social Capital Outcomes of Community Learning and Development

Original Citation

Crowther, Jim, Tett, Lyn and Edwards, Vivien (2008) Building Connections, Getting Involved: Measuring Social Capital Outcomes of Community Learning and Development. The Scottish Government, Edinburgh, Scotland. ISBN 978 0 7559 1668 9

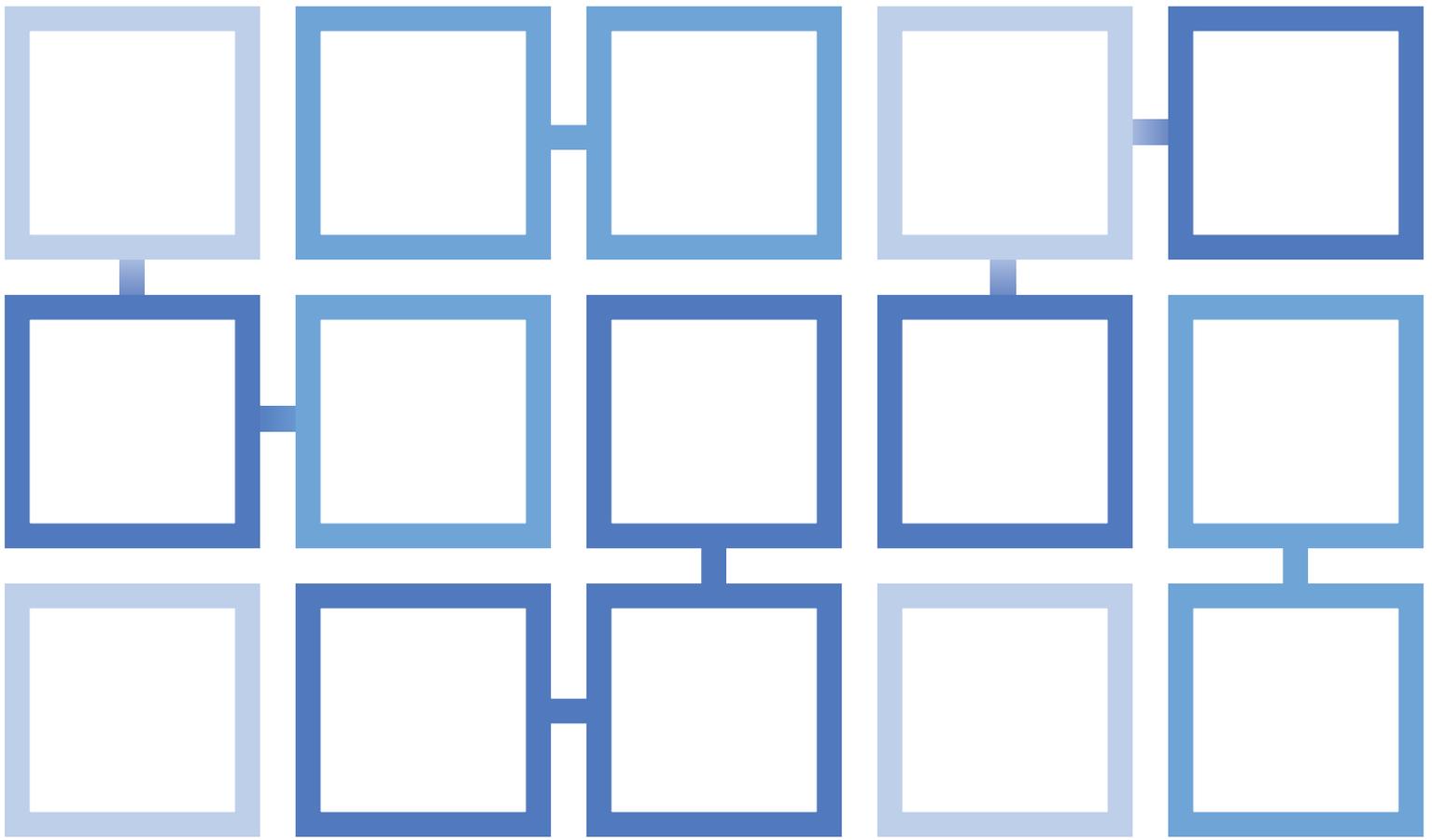
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BUILDING CONNECTIONS, GETTING INVOLVED:

MEASURING SOCIAL CAPITAL OUTCOMES
OF COMMUNITY LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

FULL REPORT

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MEASURING SOCIAL CAPITAL OUTCOMES
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FULL REPORT

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ISBN 978-0-7559-1668-9 (web only)

The Scottish Government
St Andrew's House
Edinburgh
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Produced for the Scottish Government by RR Donnelley B55261 06/08

Published by the Scottish Government, June 2008

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The views expressed in this report are those of the researchers and do not necessarily represent those of the Directorate or Scottish Ministers.

This report, and the research on which it was based, was written by Jim Crowther, Lyn Tett and Vivien Edwards¹. In doing so they were supported by a grant from Learning Connections (part of the Lifelong Learning Directorate of the Scottish Government).

A summary of the research report (including a revised version of the tool used) is published as *Building connections, getting involved: measuring social capital outcomes of community learning and development - summary*, and is available at www.scotland.gov.uk/learningconnections.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Learning Connections² commissioned a small pilot study to identify useful indicators for measuring the progress made by project participants and communities as a result of their involvement in community learning and development projects (CLD). The aim of the research was to establish – through the retrospective accounts of participants – the nature and significance of the changes they had experienced in terms of building social capital.

Social capital

Four main categories of social capital were selected because they represent the defining characteristics of the concept identified in previous research: a) developing social contacts through growing friendships and associations; taking action to solve problems; attachments to a range of social networks, developing trusting relationships; b) civic participation through involvement in community/pressure/political groups; membership of networks; voting; c) relationships with those with power through the ability to respond to authorities; changes in terms of influencing authorities; expressing opinions and broadening expectations; and d) bridging social capital through social interactions with people from different backgrounds; sharing information and skills; and changes in beliefs about one's own life and that of others.

Measuring social capital

The research team developed an instrument that would validly measure changes in social capital by conducting a thorough review of the relevant literature. An interview schedule was constructed that asked participants to reflect on the changes that they had experienced as a result of participating in the project. In total 21 individuals were interviewed with interviews lasting from 11 to 55 minutes with a mean of 30 minutes. The questionnaire identifies behavioural or attitudinal changes that participants might attribute to the result of participation in CLD provision. To triangulate the data the project tutors were interviewed by telephone to ascertain the aim of the project and the areas in which they expected changes to take place.

Research tool for projects

To produce a usable research instrument for projects we have refined our questionnaire by reducing the number of questions asked for each aspect of social capital studied. We eliminated questions that had few responses, those that were asking similar things and those that appeared to be ambiguous and then made sure that each of the four sections had equal numbers of questions. This standardisation and

² At the time Learning Connections was part of Communities Scotland, an agency of the Scottish Executive. It is now part of the Lifelong Learning Directorate of the Scottish Government.

refinement reduces repetition and the time needed to undertake the interviews and provides a more concise and accurate assessment of the four components of social capital. Also a simple scoring mechanism can be used to judge the extent of change experienced by participants and this can be fine tuned by plotting change on a continuum rather than simply adding numerical scores.

Results from the research

a) The impact of participation on social networks and trust

Participation in CLD increased the respondents' friendships and associations, had expanded their networks and positively changed the nature of their interactions with a wider range of other people. Respondents were also more able to take action to solve their own and others' problems and were thus able to call on greater sources of support in their lives. Finally levels of trust have increased, leading people to be more involved with others within and outwith their own communities.

b) Developing civic participation

There seems to be a strong causal relationship between the experience of community based learning and extending and intensifying the level of civic commitment amongst our respondents. A new sense of knowledge, skills, confidence and networks were helping individuals increase their involvement and take on new roles – although for a sizeable minority it made no difference. It is worth noting that greater experience and awareness of community and civic participation can lead to more cynical (or perhaps more astute) views about how power works. This might lead to a *decline* in participation in civic groups that are seen to be tokenistic rather than giving people a real opportunity to voice their concerns.

c) The impact of the projects on power relations

The biggest change noted by our respondents occurred in relation to their expectations about themselves, what they could do, and their willingness to voice their opinion. This is a change in attitudes and ability leading to the *power to* think and act differently and confront authority. In terms of influencing decision-makers and challenging the official agenda, people recorded some limited success (eg getting access to decision makers; legitimating the knowledge they had acquired) with incremental changes brought about primarily through collective effort. This experience was making a positive difference to their lives. However, the majority of respondents recognised that they had very little influence on authorities that had *power over* them. Individuals and groups in poor or disadvantaged communities are unlikely to have powerful and influential networks that members of dominant groups possess.

d) The impact of participation on bridging social capital

The respondents had increased their social interactions, shared and become aware of how to access information from others and, to a limited extent, changed some of their beliefs about their own life and that of others.

Conclusion

The impact of the projects on people's lives and experiences are without doubt positively contributing to their social capital in terms of extending social networks, trust, civic engagement, power to achieve things, and the bridges they are able to build with individuals and groups within and outwith their communities. The research confirms that community based learning can create a stronger sense of personal and social efficacy. There are clear and definitive changes in bonding and bridging social capital as well as civic engagement. The positive experience of involvement and enhanced confidence and skills is likely to encourage greater participation in other civic groups and community activities. We need to qualify this, however, by recognising what works for some people may not work for all. Also an unintended outcome is that the experience of involvement can lead to more selective forms of participation through a more astute awareness of the tokenistic exercise of power.

Overall, the experience of respondents shows an increase in personal and interactional experiences of empowerment, which have a positive affect on their lives, and has enabled some groups involved in collective activity to have an impact on power relationships. However, building social capital has done very little to make a difference to systemic inequalities of power and the material realities of people's lives. Marginalised groups are undoubtedly benefiting from their overall experience of learning in communities and are able to express themselves more, but is anybody listening?

INTRODUCTION

Communities Scotland provided the University of Edinburgh with a grant in response to a proposal from the research team to undertake a pilot study to identify useful indicators for measuring the progress made by project participants and communities as a result of their involvement in community learning and development projects (CLD). The fieldwork for this was undertaken between February and April 2007. The aim of the research was to establish – through the retrospective accounts of participants – the nature and significance of the changes they had experienced in terms of building social capital. The findings of this research are detailed below. Another related aim of the research was to develop a research tool for projects to self-measure social capital outcomes. This is attached as appendix four.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this section we provide a short review of the literature on social capital to show the basis on which the questionnaire was developed. It provides a brief introduction to the different conceptualisations of this form of capital, its relationship to structured learning and the different types of social capital. It then goes on to discuss social capital and power and how different conceptualisations of power affect the capacity of groups and individuals to take action to change their circumstances.

The meaning and types of social capital

There are a number of different types of capital that impact on people's life chances and trajectories. Portes (1998: 7) differentiates three types thus: 'whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is in their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships'. A number of researchers have argued that participation in post-compulsory education is a means of generating social capital because it impacts on relationships (Baron et al, 2000; Field, 2005; Schuller et al, 2004) but there are different ways of understanding the term.

For example, in the work of Bourdieu (1997) social capital is part of the explanation of the persistence of class inequalities that are based on and sustain the unequal resources of economic and cultural capital where these three capitals interpenetrate and reinforce each other to 'normalise' inequalities in structures and networks. Coleman (1994) analyses social capital's links with 'human capital' and argues the importance of the former for generating the latter through facilitating collective aims. The work of Putnam (1993, 2000) emphasises the combined effect of trust, networks and norms of reciprocity in creating strong communities, so he regards social capital as the ability to do things collectively. Both Coleman and Putnam see trust and reciprocity as arising from the activities that create social capital and as contributing to social capital in their own right (see Croll, 2004: 403).

However, research has highlighted problems with the 'dark side' of these beneficially supportive arrangements (Baron, et al, 2000; Croll, 2004; Schuller et al, 2004; Field, 2005). For what were constructed as mutually reinforcing ties, have also been recognised as potentially binding shackles in some circumstances for some groups in society. For example, when incomers to an established

community are excluded from its networks or when the dominant norms of a group make education seem to be 'not for them' (McGivney, 2001). Researchers have also highlighted the difficulty in isolating social capital as a prime determinant of change because it is so inextricably woven in a complex nexus of other socio-economic factors that individually and collectively impact on the lives of people.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a broad acceptance of an association between participation in structured learning, and changes in the nature of the connections that learners have with networks that lead to more involvement in society and the building of trust (Balatti et al, 2006). The combined effect of trust, networks, norms and reciprocity can also create a stronger sense of personal and social efficacy because people are able to call on greater sources of support in their lives (McKenzie and Harpham, 2006).

There are two main types of social capital: bonding, i.e. 'links between like-minded people'; and bridging, i.e. 'the building of connections between heterogeneous groups' (Baron, et al, 2000:10). Both are highly normative in that they are constructed around commonalities that link people together, so where bonding capital is high but the norms of the community are not associated with participation in education, then the normative pull of non-participation will be strong, and the pressure to conform, equally so. However, those who do participate can build bridging social capital because people make contact with others who are different in outlook, interests, education and social circles.

With the exception of Schuller et al's studies (2004) much research on social capital and learning has looked at the impact of social capital on participation in learning (see Field, 2005). It has evidenced the virtuous cycle whereby high social capital appears to encourage participation, which in turn enhances social capital and so on. From Coleman and Putnam's perspectives, this is not problematic, for they construct it as 'an entirely non-zero sum and [a] non-competitive commodity' (Croll, 2004: 400). Bourdieu on the other hand, perceived it as excluding because, in a divided society, it operates to advantage those who have high social capital and hence increases the gap between the educationally rich and poor. Annual learning surveys provide consistent evidence of this wide and persisting learning divide in the UK (see e.g. Aldridge and Tuckett, 2005), whereby those who have most, continue to access more.

They appear to confirm Bourdieu's more pessimistic view of the competitive operation of social capital, however, if it is neither fixed nor immutable, then it is important that we understand how learning affects social capital. This pattern, however, is not true of engaging in community-based learning where there is evidence that it is effective in engaging young people and adults who do not engage in other forms of learning (Tett, 2006). The literature review conducted for Communities Scotland (Tett et al, 2006) showed that engaging in CLD could generate greater social capital for both adults and young people through boosting friendship networks, realising the assets of the community and building connections outwith the community.

Strawn (2005: 551) has argued that the discourse of particular communities around education is an important component of social capital because it is a function of interpersonal interaction over time. Her

research found that people living in communities where education is seen as a means of advancement are more likely to participate in formal learning programmes.

Research also shows that engaging in social activity can build social capital through developing knowledge resources from opportunities for interactions with other members of the community (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000) and also can provide access to employment opportunities. Therefore enhancing social capital through engagement in learning can potentially increase economic and social activity leading to wider benefits for the individual, their community and society. This is particularly important in communities where people generally do not have formal educational aspirations because it is extremely difficult for an individual living in such locations to behave differently. In other words, the effect of education in raising people's sights is experienced more widely as a positive influence on the cultural norms that encourage others to do the same (see Schuller et al, 2004: 191).

Field (2005: 19) suggests that interpersonal communications and connections are the core elements of social capital, and Norman and Hyland (2003: 269) have demonstrated the importance of social interaction as a factor in increasing confidence. Their study showed that 'although the individual learner can affect his/her own level of confidence, tutors, peers, mentors and workplace supervisors can help increase the learners' confidence by providing support, encouragement and constructive feedback' (p 270). Schuller et al's (2004) studies of the wider benefits of learning provide strong evidence of the impact of learning on social meta-competencies that equip people with the confidence and ability to develop their social connections.

Social capital and power

The development of 'bridges' and 'bonds' addresses the augmenting of resources and networks which might assist individuals and communities to improve their circumstances and opportunities. However, power has been implicit in a good deal of the literature on social capital and probably one of the main reasons for this has been the dominant influence of Coleman and Putnam. In contrast, Bourdieu's interest in social capital focuses on how social networks reinforce and reproduce cultural and economic inequality: it is an integral part of how power operates. We want to explore this link between social capital and power but to turn the issue around: can CLD contribute to the social capital of powerless groups to help them challenge inequality?

There are different ways of conceptualising power that influence different approaches to studying it. In this research we use the theoretical contribution of Lukes (1974) because his work has been significant in development studies, which has a good deal in common with CLD (see Gaventa 2006). Lukes' theory involves a three dimensional view of power which highlights its institutional, cultural and strategic aspects. The first dimension refers to the power of individuals and groups to achieve favourable decisions for themselves. They are able to influence and mobilise resources in their interests against other competing groups and individuals. The second dimension of power is less obvious because it is less visible. It refers to the ability of powerful groups to limit what are framed as legitimate grievances.

Subordinate groups may have genuine concerns and problems but those in power are able to effectively muffle and ignore their claims when decisions are made. This is sometimes referred to as the ability to take 'non-decisions'. The third dimension of power is even less visible. It refers to the broader social and cultural exercise of power that involves the shaping of attitudes and expectations so that people think and feel a particular way. Through processes of socialisation and inculcation of norms and values the nature of systematic inequalities are masked as natural or inevitable. People do not articulate their experiences as grievances that should be addressed.

In the first and second dimension of power the outcomes of decisions or non-decisions involves a zero-sum relationship. When one individual or group gains another loses. In the third dimension of power this zero-sum effect is less clear-cut because it refers to a more diffuse operation and experience of power. Changing attitudes and perceptions may have an impact on social and cultural practices, which affect interpersonal relations in zero-sum terms. For example, an individual may change their deferential attitudes to another because they feel more confident about themselves and their point of view. However, this may not involve systemic change. When it does the impact can be said to have a wider zero-sum effect. It is only in contexts where one group gains at the expense of another that the relations of power change.

The distinction between *power over* and *power to* is also helpful. It captures both the negative and positive aspects of power because *power over* implies the ability to limit what others can do and is generally seen in negative terms whereas *power to* is about enhancing the resources and capacity of individuals and groups and has positive connotations. Educational intervention usually focuses on the *power to* help individuals and groups cope better, respond more effectively, or develop resources to deal with authorities and inequalities of power. Whilst it is untrue that *power over* is always negative, and *power to* is always positive, the overall importance of educational intervention is to increase the capacity of individuals and groups to think and act.

MEASURING SOCIAL CAPITAL

In this research we have adapted a definition of social capital mainly derived from Putnam and Bourdieu and further developed by educationalists (see Baron, et al, 2000; Schuller et al, 2004; Field, 2005; Balatti et al, 2006). This definition is: 'Social capital is the networks, together with shared norms, values and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit, within and between groups'. However, we qualify this by recognising that social capital in a divided society may be used to mask and reproduce patterns of privilege by the powerful as well as having the potential to be a resource for challenging inequality by less powerful groups.

Particular social capital indices were selected because they represented the defining characteristics of the concept identified in previous research (Balatti et al, 2006; Li et al, 2005; Murtagh, 2002; Tuijnman and Boudard, 2001; Halman, 2001; OECD, 2001; ABS (2000); Baron, et al, 2000; Campbell et al, 1999;

Bullen and Onyx, 1998). Four main categories were selected: a) developing social contacts through growing friendships and associations; taking action to solve problems; attachments to a range of social networks, developing trusting relationships; b) civic participation through involvement in community/pressure/political groups; membership of networks; voting; c) relationships with those with power through the ability to respond to authorities; changes in terms of influencing authorities; expressing opinions and broadening expectations; and d) bridging social capital through social interactions with people from different backgrounds; sharing information and skills; and changes in beliefs about one's own life and that of others.

METHODOLOGY

Developing an instrument for measuring changes in social capital

The research team began to develop an instrument that would validly measure changes in social capital by conducting a thorough review of the literature as reported on above and drawing on the instrument developed for adult literacy and numeracy learners (ALN) (Tett et al, 2006) in relation to changes in the qualities, structures, transactions and types of networks reported by participants in a range of ALN programmes. The instrument used a large number of questions to identify behavioural or attitudinal changes that participants might attribute to the result of participation in CLD provision. This questionnaire was then used with participants in different projects as detailed below.

Identifying pilot projects

In total 12 CLD projects were identified from the Edinburgh area that represented a range of practice in terms of focus of provision and participants. We then approached leaders/managers of these projects to participate in the research and, if they were agreeable in principle, then a letter about the project was sent to them (appendix 1). Eight of these agreed to participate in the research: three adult focused projects (1, 2 & 3); two youth focused projects (4 & 8); one ethnic minority project (5) and two capacity building projects (6 & 7). These include:

- 1) a voluntary sector adult learning project for vulnerable adults of all ages who 'come to get a better sense of themselves, more self-confidence through learning in a friendly environment';
- 2) a women's group of retired people that meets to discuss topical issues such as health and aims to 'challenge some of the thoughts and assumptions people have about themselves and others';
- 3) a group that provides support for grandparents to talk about the challenges, joys and realities of caring for their grandchildren and to gain support and encouragement through shared experiences;
- 4) a group for 12-21 year olds to help them achieve their maximum potential, to provide information and give young people access to resources on health issues through a counselling service, group work and 'drop-in';

- 5) a mentoring project to address under-representation of black and ethnic minority groups in education, employment and civic life. The aim of the project is to provide guidance, support and advice to ethnic minorities to help them participate more fully in society;
- 6) a social action research group that aims to challenge the way that employment is tackled in the area and bring about social change;
- 7) a capacity building project that seeks to promote social, economic and political inclusion through a range of training programmes designed to get people back into employment, being more involved in the local decision making structure and developing campaigning skills;
- 8) a group for teenage mothers that provides a social space for the participants 'to meet up and interact with other people and to make available information on courses'.

Contact was made with the project leader who facilitated access to respondents and any of their potential out of pocket expenses were reimbursed (£10 per person) so that cost did not prevent participation.

Interviews

An interview schedule was constructed that asked participants in the projects detailed above to reflect on the changes that they had experienced as a result of participating in the project. The interview schedule is in appendix 2. In total 21 individuals were interviewed with interviews lasting from 11 to 55 minutes with a mean of 30 minutes. To triangulate the data the project tutors were interviewed by telephone to ascertain the aim of the project and the areas in which they expected changes to take place. This interview schedule is in appendix 3.

RESULTS

a) Social networks and trust

Friendships and Associations with other people

In relation to this form of social capital, this was the area in which people reported the largest changes (with thirteen stating a big change, seven a moderate change and only one little change). A common response was that people had made new friends through their involvement in their projects. This often led to interacting with different types and age groups and broadening of an individual's social circles. One reported that she was 'more tolerant and assertive and is sharing things from the group with other friends' (group 2) and another said the change had been in 'the group growing together, learning from each other and there is a lot more respect' (group 6).

Action to Solve Problems

Most respondents had not identified big changes in the people and groups that they would seek advice from but a number had identified ways of getting help either through advice from the project or other members of their group. For example one discovered she could get financial assistance she wasn't aware

of (group 3), another changed doctors as a result of not getting the tests she had requested (group 2), participants in group 4 identified it as offering helpful advice on health, family and personal issues and in group 5 on work and job related issues. Eight people reported there had been big changes in people they could help or would help them ranging from opening bottles to computer stuff (group 1), being able to ask for help in the project (group 3) and being more willing to help other people including strangers (group 5).

Twelve reported big changes in their willingness to work together on something in the community. One reported that she did a public relations exercise on the regeneration programme with her friend and they attended a lot of groups where she was quite vocal on the parts that she knew about (group 7). Another stated that she is involved with an 'Alcohol and Violence' project that requires interviewing other kids about this. Before she joined the project she said she never got involved in anything and was in trouble all the time (group 4).

Nature of attachments to networks

Nine people reported big changes and five moderate changes in the people they mixed with because of their group, including people with disabilities (group 1), boys, rather than only girls (group 4), other mums (group 8) and ethnic minorities (group 5). One showed how knowing others could contribute to being more active in the community. 'I've done a bit of networking ...and it makes it a bit easier to go to meetings if you can recognise a face across the room – it gives you a wee bit of confidence' (group 6).

Five reported that the group had made a big change in whom they could talk to, particularly in terms of their confidence levels (groups 3, 4, 5 & 8). One reported that it's good to talk to someone impartial that you can trust about some problems (group 6) and another said that it depended on the issue but if it was a community issue he would speak to someone at the project (group 7). Finally, although in this section only four reported big changes and two moderate changes in whom they would go to for help in a crisis, they all related to the group. As one said 'it used to be...family but now its my mentor or friends' (group 5).

Trust Levels

This section was designed to see if participants had become more trusting of a wider circle of people because this can lead to a greater sense of self-efficacy and involvement in the community. Ten people reported big and four moderate changes in the people they could totally be themselves with and, in particular, their groups had been accepting and friendly and the people in them could be depended on. One said that 'before he had had to watch his back' (group 4) and another that she used to be a quiet person and wasn't able to be herself in public spaces but now, although she's still not very talkative, she's more open than before (group 5).

Eleven reported a big change and five a moderate change in the people who really appreciated them and highlighted the project group in particular. For example, 'people in the group respect who you are, most teenagers don't have that' (group 1) and 'people have come up to me and said they appreciated [the work

I was doing]’ (group 6) and ‘being able to work with a wide network of people all interested in the same issues makes me feel that I’m known and respected by a greater number of people’ (group 7).

Only five reported big changes in the people they could count on if they felt upset but one reported that she could vent her feelings safely in the group now that trust has built up (group 6). In response to the final question in this section on feeling isolated because of being different, seven reported big changes and three moderate changes. Changes included: being worried about voicing opinions...but now being quite vocal (group 7); before coming to the group not going out (group 8); going around with people and getting into trouble with the police but now having met new people this is totally changed (group 4); and the group’s made her realise that everybody’s opinion is relevant (group 6).

Summary: the impact of participation on social networks and trust

In this section we have shown that participation in CLD has increased the respondents’ friendships and associations, had expanded their networks and positively changed the nature of their interactions with a wider range of people. Respondents were also more able to take action to solve their own and others’ problems and were thus able to call on greater sources of support in their lives. Finally levels of trust have increased, leading people to be more involved with others within and outwith their own communities. These are all clear positive outcomes of participation in CLD.

b) Civic participation

Involvement in civic groups and pressure groups

Twelve people were involved in a range of civic and community groups including the church, tenants groups, organisations for disability and ethnic groups, community council, girl guides and self-help groups. They participated in a full range of activities such as attending meetings, social and educational activities, helping out, running social events and being committee members and office bearers. Nine of the sample reported no involvement in other groups, three were involved in pressure groups (animal rights, refugee groups, health and disability) and only two were members of political parties. Their involvement included taking part in demonstrations, campaigning, attending meetings, reading newsletters and so on.

Changes in involvement

Eight reported a big change, three stated there had been moderate change, one little change and nine no change. The comments made include becoming more involved because of raised levels of confidence, getting to know more about groups and feeling more involved in the area. Not surprisingly the capacity building projects (groups 6 & 7) had stimulated involvement in local events and activities. A member of group 6 commented about being more selective about their participation. This was a reference to being wiser about tokenistic forms of participation in official processes of consultation. Two of the respondents in the ethnic minority project (group 5) had increased their participation in women’s groups and a students’ union.

Changing views

There was a fairly even response to the probe on changing views with eight saying no change and eight saying there had been a big change (two moderate and three little change). The nature of the comments made suggest very different experiences. Some stated they now had wider networks of people, felt more aware and had contacts with people from other ethnic groups (group 2) and were less likely to judge people on first appearances (group 8). The point was also made about being less naïve and more conscious of political manipulation by official agencies (group 6).

Voting intentions

Fifteen of the sample said yes when asked if they intended to vote in the May 2007 Scottish parliamentary elections, four said no, and two didn't know at the time of the interview. Of the four who said no, two were ineligible to vote on age grounds (group 4). The reasons for voting ranged from a matter of principle (citizens should vote), to 'getting the current lot out' (Labour government), to a tradition of voting (we've always voted in our family), to the importance of building on devolution (it is a good thing and needs expanding on).

Summary: developing civic participation

Our sample may be less representative of the wider population in terms of civic engagement, in that over 50% state they are involved in some form of activity in addition to the projects where we contacted them. Very few are involved in political parties or pressure groups. However, there does seem to be a good causal relationship between their experience of community-based learning, and extending and intensifying the level of civic commitment. A new sense of knowledge, skills, confidence and networks were helping individuals increase their involvement and take on new roles – although for a sizeable minority it made no difference. It is worth noting that greater experience and awareness of community and civic participation can lead to more cynical (or perhaps more astute) views about how power works. This might lead to a *decline* in participation in civic groups that are seen to be tokenistic rather than giving people a real opportunity to voice their concerns.

c) Power

NB Our questions refer to power in terms of authority in order to help people identify in concrete terms the institutions, agencies and people who they encounter in their everyday life who may have *power over* them.

Changing difficulties with authorities

The responses to this were fairly polarised with eleven people stating no change and eight said big changes had been made. The main authority figures identified as generating difficulties were the government and local council and the people who carry out their work. Being looked down on was a

common grievance. Respondents mentioned being patronised or ignored by local politicians and some professionals they met (group 6). Also being told they were wrong and accused of misunderstanding how systems work was another comment. Not getting the resources they need – a care worker for example – was cited (group 1).

Cultural practices were also identified as an issue. Feeling observed by professionals in the home, such as social workers, in relation to tidiness and parenting practices is an example of this (group 8). The procedures of bureaucracies – solicitors who seem to thrive on creating obstacles or the council failing to repair a lift – were mentioned. However, some sense of change was noted. A group, that one of its members described as ‘a pain in the butt for authorities’ (group 6), sees some big shifts in official reactions to them.

Changing responses to authorities

A very similar pattern of response to the previous question was forthcoming. Ten people reported no change but eight saw big changes with two in-between. Those who saw some positive change referred to their own skills and confidence growing in speaking up for themselves (groups 2, 5, 6, 7). One referred to challenging a doctor’s decision and another referred to no longer accepting intolerable treatment from people (group 5). Greater willingness to hassle people in authority reflected a growing shift away from deferential attitudes – for example, seeing authorities ‘as a pain in the arse’ (group 8). Being able to access officials – meeting with decision makers – was identified as a step forward (group 6). Becoming more expert in their own area of interest – knowing they had the knowledge and skills to put forward a strong case – was also stated (group 6).

Support

The majority of responses (fifteen) indicated no real change in who they would turn to for support in responding to authorities. The four who did record big changes referred to being more informed, having particular individuals they had built up relationships with or mentioned having the confidence to use a solicitor or contact a politician. Five that did respond positively in terms of their experience making a difference felt it was because of the groups they were now involved with, or because they knew more groups that they could call on for support (groups 3, 5 and 6).

Achievements against authorities

Whereas eight reported no difference, six stated a big change and six moderate change with only one stating little difference as a result of their experience. Those who saw it making a difference identified increases in their confidence, ability to communicate, increases in assertiveness, sharing knowledge and understanding and developing expertise in their area of interest as the decisive factors in changing their ability to deal with authorities.

Changing expectations and ability to express opinions

Interestingly it was in relation to this theme that the second biggest change was recorded. Of the respondents twelve reported big changes, four moderate changes and one little change. Only four stated there had been no change. The range of positive changes included the following: feeling empowered in terms of ability to influence change as part of a group; acquiring confidence and ability to have an interview; expressing ideas to groups more clearly; developing persistence and resilience to see things through; greater awareness of how to create change. In relation to expressing opinions only six reported no change whereas thirteen stated there had been big changes and one each for moderate or little change. The importance of the group in developing confidence, assertiveness and being listened to was the main factor in this.

Influencing authorities

In relation to being an influence only three noticed any big changes whereas twelve stated there was no change. Of the three who noted big changes it was the experience of being part of a group that was the important factor: "If I wasn't in the group, if I was an individual, then it would just be 'Oh it's just somebody else moaning' but because of the group, and because they feel that we're a group that's going to start pressurising for things, that they're starting to listen." (group 3) The other six in the sample were evenly split between moderate to little change. Whilst many respondents recognise skills and confidence acquired, and may be much wiser about change processes, and far more able to express their opinions assertively, they recognise more may be required to influence authorities. Their voice is stronger but it can still be ignored. Where change did occur it was acknowledged in responses to collective action – but success was a slow and incremental process.

Financial position

For people in poor communities, or being a member of communities which are marginalised or disadvantaged, the importance of material resources is an important aspect of personal and group power. Only one response indicated moderate change (in relation to getting expenses to meet a mentor, group 5) whereas the other twenty reported no change in their financial circumstances.

Wants

The power to take on new activities and try new things had, however, changed for the majority. Only three reported no change whereas nine stated there had been big changes, six moderate change and three recognised small changes. The kind of changes noted came out of new skills (using computers, group 1), greater awareness of programmes (group 2), feelings of personal security enhanced (confidence, group 4), doing more family things (taking children out on trips, group 8), being a member of a group to do things with (group 3).

We also asked people to speculate about what two things would significantly improve their situation and then who could help them in reaching these things. Improved material circumstances were high on the list

(cited fourteen times). A place to live or better accommodation (cited four times) and a miscellaneous list of skills, improved relationships, and improved health were also mentioned. Interestingly the vast majority identified the real source of improvement as being dependent on the political system (cited eleven times) and on their ability to work together with groups, families and friends (cited thirteen times).

Summary: the impact of the projects on power relations

The biggest change noted by our respondents occurred in relation to their expectations about themselves, what they could do, and their willingness to voice their opinion. This is a change in attitudes and ability leading to the *power to* think and act differently and challenge authority. In terms of influencing decision-makers and changing the official agenda people recorded some limited success (e.g. getting access to decision makers – the first dimension of power; legitimating the knowledge they had acquired – the second dimension of power) with incremental changes brought about primarily through collective effort.

If power is most powerful when it shapes cultural values and expectations (the third dimension of power) it is also very vulnerable to educational intervention. In a way this is not a surprise because of the learnt nature of cultural practices. However, challenging the less visible ways in which power operates may not have an impact on systemic inequalities. The majority of respondents recognised that they had very little influence on authorities that had *power over* them. Unless power relationship between people and authorities are zero-sum, that is, powerful groups lose power, the impact of developing social capital might be limited for the subordinate group. This is reinforced by the response to being asked what would make a significant difference to their lives; an improved material circumstance was the most frequent reply. However, we know from reactions to their financial position that twenty of the respondents had not experienced any such improvements.

The relationship between social capital and changed power relations will vary with the size of the network and the levels of ‘capital’ members of the network possess. Therefore the nature of the social capital that can be drawn on, by different social groups, is an important variable. Individuals and groups in poor or disadvantaged communities are unlikely to have powerful and influential networks that members of dominant groups possess. For disadvantaged groups using social capital to *resist* power is much more difficult than it is for dominant groups to *reproduce* existing privileges.

d) Bridging social capital

Social Interactions with people from different backgrounds

Four people reported that there were big changes and seven that there were moderate changes in the type of people they mixed with and the people they know that have different lifestyles from their own. For example one reported that she now mixed with people that were from different ethnicities, religions and generations (group 5), another that she now knew people with houses and cars (group 2) and another suggested that interacting with different age groups and types of people had broadened her horizons (group 8).

Nature of memberships in networks

Eight people reported big changes and three moderate changes in the people or organisations they would ask for information. These included skills they now had like using the computer (group 2), understanding of what other organisations could help them with such as the Citizens Advice Bureau (group 3) and learning how to 'clarify what we want, know the questions to ask and who will give a proper response and not palm us off' (group 6). The question about sharing information generated five big changes and two moderate changes and these changes were mainly about feeding information into their group and from the group into other aspects of their lives through friends. The Law Society had consulted one project (group 7) about how to make their services more accessible to people with disabilities as a result of the information they had to offer.

Beliefs about your own life and that of others

Twelve people reported big changes and five moderate changes in their personal lives as a result of participation in the project. Across all the projects respondents said that they were more confident and felt better about themselves. One reported that before he had been involved in the project he wanted to kill himself but, now he has met people that have been involved in the project for a while who have told him he will feel different, he believes that he will be happy (group 4). Others showed how their increased confidence had impacted: having more company and not feeling so alone now (group 2); 'I was in a wee shell and now I've opened up' (group 1); feeling able to go anywhere now and express views (group 7); less likely now 'to put people in authority on a pedestal' (group 6).

In contrast only two reported big changes and one moderate changes in their family lives and these included influencing spouses and children to be more active and positive. On the other hand eight reported big changes in their public lives including much greater involvement in local community issues and generally being more aware of what is going on. These ranged from one participant having more of a social life and doing more for herself now (group 2), to the group helping another participant to be aware of spin and how it works and not to take things at face value (group 6).

No one reported a big change in their working lives and sixteen said it had made no difference but this is not surprising given the focus of the projects. In terms of education four reported big changes and two moderate changes in their wish to follow more courses (groups 2 & 7) or learn new skills such as computing (group 3). One said that being involved in the group has been a learning experience and that it had raised her awareness and been a positive experience for her, and as a result she now knew what opportunities there are to learn (group 6).

Summary: the impact of participation on bridging social capital

Bridging social capital refers to relations with friends, associates and colleagues with different backgrounds in terms of socio-economic status, age, generation, religion or ethnicity. Building on connections with those who are different from you can lead to greater understanding of others, realising

the assets of the community and building connections outwith the community, thus contributing to the potential for regeneration. The respondents had increased their social interactions, shared and become aware of how to access information from others and, to a limited extent, changed some of their beliefs about their own life and that of others.

CONCLUSION

a) *The questionnaire*

A key objective of this study was to develop a reliable instrument for analysing the distance travelled by individuals and communities in relation to the development of social capital. In particular we aimed to assess the nature and scale of the contribution of CLD to this activity on a retrospective basis.

One of the ways we attempted to establish a causal relationship was by interviewing people who had only been involved in projects for not less than three months and no more than one year. Any changes taking place in their experience might then be reliably related to their involvement with the project. However, control of the timeframe was not always possible and some of our respondents had been involved for over one year and had participated in other projects too. Table 1 below shows a summary of this.

Table 1 Period of attendance at the group and involvement in other groups

The Sample	Attended less than a year	Attended more than a year	Involved in other groups
Young mum's group	3	0	0
LinkNet Mentoring Ltd.	2	0	1
ALP	2	1	1
2nd Chance to Learn	1	2	0
Pilton Partnership	0	3	3
Grandparents parenting again	1	2	0
The Junction	2	0	0
Craigmillar Capacity Building Project	1	1	1
Total	12	9	6

However, all respondents were asked specifically about the changes, if any, that had been made which they attributed to their involvement with the CLD project where we contacted them. During the interview prompts were also used, when necessary, to remind interviewees that the questions were being asked to determine whether changes had taken place since they started the programme. Because these measures might be unreliable, an additional control was to check the response of the sample with expectations of change held by project workers. This was to document the change efforts the projects aimed to achieve

rather than to verify individual accounts. Mismatches between the accounts of participants, and those of workers in the projects, would alert us to other potential causes of change. We therefore collected official statements about the aims of the projects and interviewed an appropriate member of staff. This process of triangulating the data was reliable in that we found no obvious mismatches between the responses of participants and the expectations of change identified by project staff. The outputs of the projects correspond to a large extent with the outcomes experienced by participants, which suggests a causal relationship and not merely a correlation.

b) Refining the questionnaire

Based on the experience of the pilot study we believe the refined questionnaire is a useful research instrument, which a wide variety of CLD projects could adapt and use in very different contexts. If projects think that an indicator is inappropriate then they can omit it or if they want to add a different indicator the instrument can act as a template for more bespoke use. The questionnaire will provide qualitative evidence on how and if projects are meeting their stated aims for participants. The scoring mechanism (described in appendix 4) can also give a useful indicator of the depth of change that participants have experienced. To ensure the questionnaire is 'user friendly' we have refined it by reducing the number of questions asked for each aspect of the relevant indicators.

We eliminated questions that had few responses, those that were asking similar things and those that appeared to be ambiguous and then made sure that each of the four sections had equal numbers of questions. This standardisation and refinement will reduce repetition and the time needed to undertake the interviews and provide a more concise and accurate assessment of the four components of social capital. The revised questionnaire is contained in appendix 4. The sequencing of the questions has also been considered so that they flow better than in the original version. We have also revised the heading on civic participation which is now 'social and civic participation'. The questions under this heading have been regrouped in a coherent way.

The ability to select questions relating to building social capital (in areas appropriate to the aims of projects) means the revised instrument can be adapted to a variety of different circumstances. Also a simple scoring mechanism can be used to judge the extent of change experienced by participants and this can be fine tuned by plotting change on a continuum rather than simply adding numerical scores. This is specified in appendix 4.

c) The development of social capital

Another major objective of the study was to provide a commentary on the nature and scale of the contribution of CLD activity to building social capital.

The impact of the projects on people's lives and experiences are without doubt positively contributing to their social capital in terms of extending social networks, trust, civic engagement, power to achieve things, and the bridges they are able to build with individuals and groups within and outwith their

communities. The research confirms McKenzie and Harpham's (2006) conclusion that community-based learning can create a stronger sense of personal and social efficacy. There are clear and definitive changes in bonding and bridging social capital as well as civic engagement. The positive experience of involvement and enhanced confidence and skills is likely to encourage greater participation in other civic groups and community activities.

We need to qualify this, however, by recognising what works for some people may not work for all. A range of variables that are particular and distinctive to an individual's experience always mediate the outcomes for participants. Also an unintended outcome is that the experience of involvement can lead to more selective forms of participation through a more astute awareness of the tokenistic exercise of power.

Overall, the experience of respondents shows an increase in personal and interactional experiences of empowerment, which have a positive affect on their lives, and has enabled some groups involved in collective activity to have an impact on power relationships. However, building social capital has done very little to make a difference to systemic inequalities of power and the material realities of people's lives. Marginalised groups are undoubtedly benefiting from their overall experience of learning in communities and are able to express themselves more, but is anybody listening?

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APPENDIX 1

Letter to Project Leaders/Managers

date

Dear

Research to identify and quantify the social capital outcomes of community learning and development (CLD)

Communities Scotland has commissioned a research team from the University of Edinburgh to undertake a small pilot study related to the above. The purpose of the study is to identify useful indicators for measuring the progress made by project participants and communities as a result of their involvement in CLD projects. The aim is to establish – through retrospective accounts participants give – the nature and significance of the changes they have experienced. It is anticipated that the research will contribute towards a methodology for projects to self-measure social capital outcomes.

To undertake this research we would like to interview two or three people who participate in your project. The interview will probably last for between 30-45 minutes. We require that participants have been involved for a minimum of three months and a maximum of twelve months. In addition, we would also like to interview the project manager or someone working in a close professional capacity with those we interview. This will enable us to crosscheck the claims made by participants with the aspirations of the project.

To recognise the time participants will give to the research they will receive a £10 gratuity after the interview. They will also be asked to sign a consent form which explains the purpose of the research and how it will be used. All information from participants will be treated confidentially and anonymity is assured.

We hope you will agree to be involved in this research and that you will be able to facilitate a member of the research team interviewing the selected participants. We are quite happy for the individuals interviewed to be selected by you as long as they meet the above criteria.

We will ring you shortly to discuss the contents of this letter. If you require further information please do not hesitate to get in touch. Contact Vivien Edwards 0131 651 4192, vivien.edwards@ed.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,

Jim Crowther
on behalf of Lyn Tett, Pat McLaughlin and Vivien Edwards

APPENDIX 2

The Draft Interview Schedule for Participants

N.B. This formed the basis for the revised tool for measuring the social capital outcomes of CLD in Appendix 4.

Identifying and quantifying the social capital outcomes of community learning and development (CLD)

1) Social Networks and Trust

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
1.01	...the friendships and associations you have with other people?				
	Comments:				
1.02a	....who you would go to for advice on any family issues?				
	Comments:				
1.02b	...who you would go to for advice on health issues?				
	Comments:				
1.02c	...who you would go to for advice on any work issues?				
	Comments:				

1) Social Networks and Trust cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
1.02d	...who you would go to for financial advice?				
	Comments:				
1.02e	...who you would go to for advice on neighbourhood problems?				
	Comments:				
1.02f	...who you would go to for advice on personal problems?				
	Comments:				
1.03	...who you would borrow things from or help out with a favour?				
	Comments:				
1.04	...whether you would be willing to work together with others on something in the community?				
	Comments:				

1) Social Networks and Trust cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
1.05	...in the people you mix with?				
	Comments:				
1.06	...who you go to when you need to talk?				
	Comments:				
1.07	...who you would go to to help you out in a crisis?				
	Comments:				
1.08	...the people you can totally be yourself with?				
	Comments:				
1.09	...the people who you feel really appreciate you as a person?				
	Comments:				

1) Social Networks and Trust cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
1.10	...in the people you can really count on when you are upset?				
	Comments:				
1.11	...in feeling isolated because you feel different in some way.				
	Comments:				

2) Civic Participation

2.01a	Are you involved in any community groups?	Yes	No
2.01b	What is the group?		
2.01c	What do you do in the group?		

2.02a	Are you involved in any pressure groups?	Yes	No
2.02b	What is the group?		
2.02c	What do you do in the group?		

2.03a	Are you involved in any political groups?	Yes	No
2.03b	What is the group?		
2.03c	What do you do in the group?		

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
2.04	Has there been a change in the number or type of groups you are involved in since starting the programme?				
	Comments:				

2.05	Has there been any change in your views of other types of people since starting the programme?				
	Comments:				

2.06a	Do you intend to vote in the Scottish Parliamentary Election in May?	Yes	No
2.06b	Why?		

3) Power and Social Capital

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
3.01	...the types of people in authority who make your life difficult? i.e. police, teachers, social workers, health visitors				
	Comments:				
3.02	...how you respond to difficulties when dealing with people in authority?				
	Comments:				
3.03	...who you turn to for support when dealing with people in authority?				
	Comments:				
3.04	...the groups and organisations you turn to for support when dealing with people in authority?				
	Comments:				
3.05	...in your ability to achieve things that helps with difficulties with authorities?				
	Comments:				

3) Power and Social Capital cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
3.06	...your expectations of what you can achieve?				
	Comments:				
3.07	...your ability to give your opinion?				
	Comments:				
3.08a	...your ability to influence people in authority?				
3.08b	...your ability to influence people in authority because of your involvement with the groups we spoke about previously?			Yes	No
	Comments:				
3.10	...your financial position? i.e. job, getting all the benefits you are entitled to, passes etc.				
	Comments:				
3.11	...your ability to do the things your want?				
	Comments:				

3) Power and Social Capital cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

3.12	Can you identify two things that would significantly improve your situation?
a	
b	
3.13	Who can help you achieve these improvements identified in question 3.12?
a	
b	

4) Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital refers to relations with friends, associates and colleagues with different backgrounds for example different socio-economic status, age, generation, religion or ethnicity.

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
4.01	...the type of people you mix with? (age etc.)				
	Comments:				
4.02	... people you know who have different lifestyles from you? (i.e. doing different activities now)				
	Comments:				
4.03	...the people or organisations you would ask for information?				
	Comments:				
4.04	...the people or organisations you would share information with? i.e. health matters, ed. opp., fun things to do)				
	Comments:				
4.05	...your personal life? Do you see it affecting how you feel about yourself, whether you're more confident, feel more able to tackle things, that sort of thing.				
	Comments:				

4) Bridging Social Capital cont ...

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
4.06	...your family life? Do you see it making a difference in how you act here, whether it will help you with your children, any other ways your life with your family will benefit.				
	Comments:				
4.07	...your public life? Do you see yourself as taking a greater interest in local community groups, politics maybe, voluntary work, union affairs, campaigning, social involvement in other words.				
	Comments:				
4.08	...your work life? Will it help in getting a job maybe, changing your job, getting promotion, getting more satisfaction from what you do, coping with new technology or taking on new tasks and responsibilities at work.				
	Comments:				
4.09	...your education? Do you hope it will help you go on to do more? Have your expectations been raised?				
	Comments:				

APPENDIX 3 The Tutor Interview

Identifying and quantifying the social capital outcomes of community learning and development – Tutor Prompts

- 1) What are the aims and objectives of the programme?
- 2) How do you usually evaluate the achievements of the participants in the programme?
- 3) Since they started on the programme do you think the participants we are interviewing have:
 - a) Broadened their social networks e.g. the people they would ask for advice or help? If so in what ways?
 - b) Become more willing to trust others e.g. to help them if they were in difficulty? If so in what ways?
 - c) Become more involved in community, pressure or political groups? If so in what ways?
 - d) Developed different relationships with people in authority (e.g. officials, police, social workers)? If so in what ways?
 - e) Got to know a wider range of people that come from e.g. different social classes, ethnicities, age groups? If so in what ways?

APPENDIX 4

Tool for measuring the social capital outcomes of community learning and development

Instructions

Please use the following questionnaire to identify whether any changes in social capital have taken place with participants in your provision. The document is divided into four sections: networks and trust; bridging social capital; social and civic participation; power. Each section contains five questions that are designed to determine whether change has happened in these four different areas of social capital. Providers should choose which of the sections (you can choose as many as you like) they expect to see social capital changes occurring in for participants of their programme.

Each of the questions has the same format to determine whether the participant has experienced a great change, a moderate change, little change or no change in social capital since participating in the programme. The answers are coded in the following way: big change = 3, moderate change = 2, little change = 1 and no change = 0.

Ask the participant all the questions in the section(s) you have chosen, circle the score that corresponds to their answer, and then total the scores and use the score chart below to determine how much change in this area of social capital has occurred.

Score	Change in social capital
0-2	No real change
3-7	Little change
8-12	Moderate change
13-15	Big change

To see finer changes in social capital the score can be marked on the scale shown below

no change			little change					moderate change					big change		
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

Prompts for questions

In some instances, when participants have been on a programme for a while, prompts are needed to remind interviewees that the questions are being asked to determine whether changes have taken place since they started on the programme. Prompts are sometimes needed when people identify very strongly with the other members of the group they are in, to make sure that they are talking about changes to them as individuals, not changes that they feel are taking place for the group. Other interviewees may be strongly affected by additional factors in their lives and may need prompting to determine whether the changes they are speaking about occur because of their participation in the provision. Some interviewees will also take part in more than one programme and prompts are needed to try to clarify which programmes have helped to bring about change.

1) Networks and Trust

This section identifies changes in participants': friendships and associations; the action they would take to solve problems; the people they feel comfortable with and trust.

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
1a	... the friendships and associations you have with other people?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
1b	... who you would go to for advice about problems?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
1c	... the people you can be yourself with?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
1d	... the people who really appreciate you as a person?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
1e	... feeling isolated because you feel different in some way?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
	Total Networks and Trust Score				

2) Bridging Social Capital

This section identifies changes in participants': social interactions with people who come from different backgrounds such as socio-economic status, age, sexuality, religion or ethnicity; the people they would ask for information from and would share information with; beliefs about their lives and those of others.

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
2a	... the type of people you mix with (age, lifestyle etc)?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
2b	.... the people or organisations you would ask for information?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
2c	... the people or organisations you would share information with?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
2d	... your personal life? (i.e. do they see it affecting how they feel about themselves, whether they're more confident, feel more able to tackle things, that sort of thing.)	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
2e	... other aspects of your life such as family, work, education?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
	Total Bridging Social Capital Score				

3) Social and Civic Participation

This section identifies changes in participants': involvement in working with others; involvement in, or knowledge of, community/political/pressure groups; attitudes to voting.

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

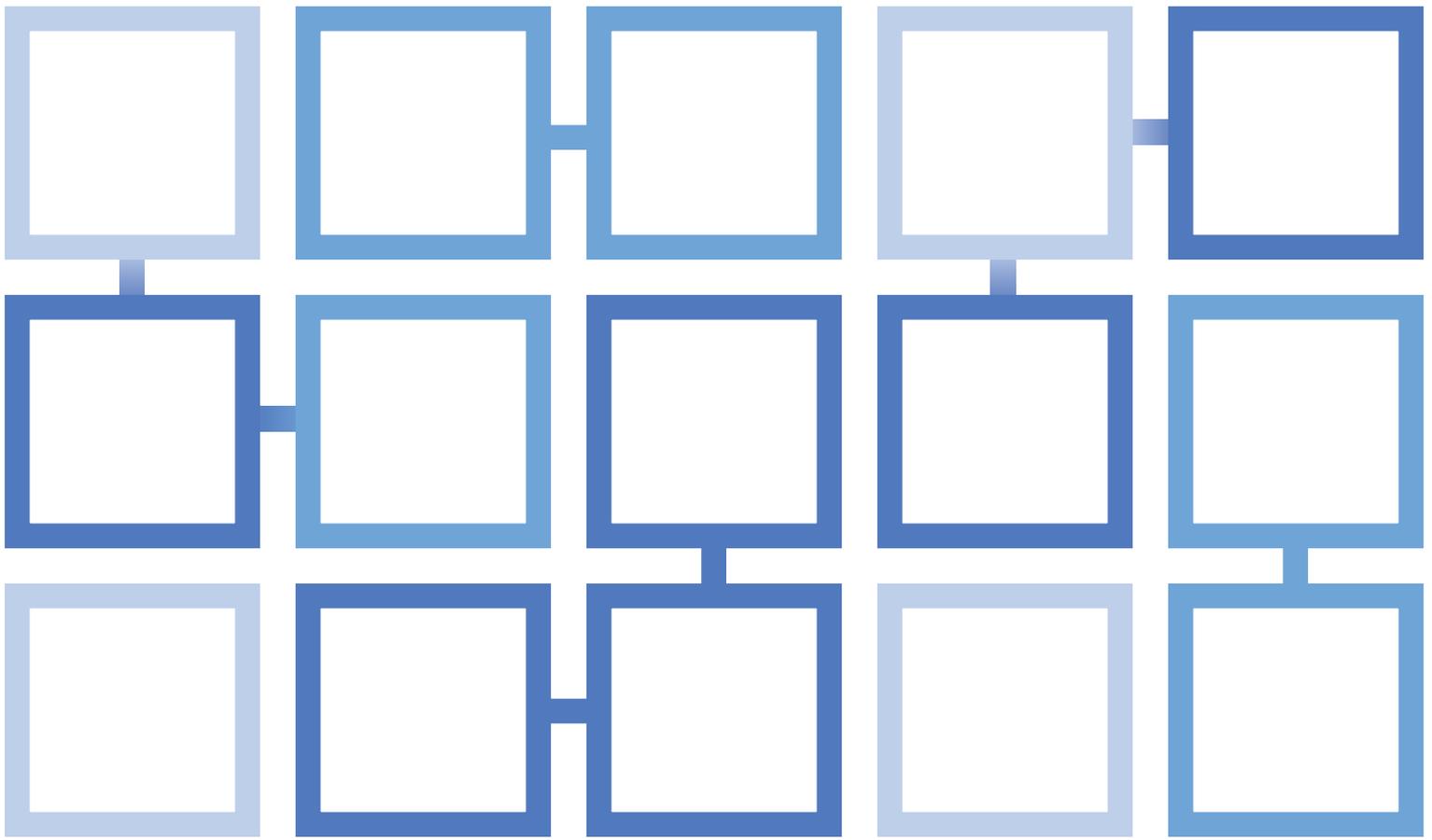
		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
3a	... your willingness to be involved in working with others in the community?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
3b	.... the number and type of groups or associations you are involved in since starting the programme?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
3c	... your willingness to be involved in political groups or parties?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
3d	... your knowledge and understanding of local community action groups even if you are not directly involved in them?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
3e	... your attitude to voting in local and national elections?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
	Total Civic Participation Score				

4) Power

This section identifies changes in participants' ability to: respond to authorities; influence authorities; express opinions; broaden expectations.

Since you started on the programme, have there been changes in

		Big change	Moderate change	Little change	No change
4a	... the types of people in authority who might create difficulties for you and how you respond to them?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
4b	.... the individuals, groups or organizations which you would turn to for support when dealing with people in authority?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
4c	... your ability to influence authorities?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
4d	... your expectations about what you can achieve?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
4e	... the type of things you want for your future?	3	2	1	0
	Comments:				
	Total Power Score				



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RR Donnelley B55261 06/08