Measuring Social Inclusion And Exclusion In Northern Adelaide

A report for the Department of Health

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Australian Institute for Social Research

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Acknowledgements

The *'Measuring social inclusion and exclusion in Northern Adelaide'* Project has involved a significant amount of collaboration from a wide range of individuals and organisations. The Australian Institute for Social Research takes this opportunity to thank all of them, and in particular, the following people –

1.0　Executive Summary

Despite the substantial amount of research focusing on social inclusion and exclusion, both in Australia and internationally, there are considerable gaps in the literature that limit its utility for policy development purposes. In particular, these relate to the measurement of social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion, and the influence of social capital on social inclusion.

Also neglected is research into the negative influence of social capital, and particularly, the factors which can lead social capital to have an excluding effect thereby militating against social inclusion. The emphasis in most research is on the benign influence of social capital, due to the importance of social ties and networks and trusting relationships that build cohesive communities.

Both of these gaps are addressed by the 'Measuring social inclusion and exclusion in Northern Adelaide' Project. This has involved the development of a model that provides a range of indicators of social inclusion and exclusion that enables the measurement of change over time and promotes an increased understanding of the influence of social capital on social inclusion and exclusion. The measures developed are designed to be of use to Government in its planning and implementation of social inclusion initiatives in Northern Adelaide, and more broadly, to inform social inclusion policy development, implementation and evaluation.

The Northern Adelaide region incorporates the Cities of Gawler, Playford and Salisbury and surrounding districts. The region was designated under the Commonwealth Government Initiative in Regional Australia as a region facing significant socio-economic disadvantage, persistently high unemployment rates, poverty and social exclusion. A detailed profile of the region appears Appendix C.

1.1　Project context

The project was undertaken in the context of the South Australian Government's Social Inclusion Initiative and South Australia's Strategic Plan. It provides an evidence base to inform policy and program development related to the successful implementation, evaluation and enhancement of these strategies.

The Project was also undertaken in the context of South Australia's Strategic Plan – Creating Opportunity – which applies across all government portfolios and is structured around the following six objectives –

1　Growing Prosperity
2　Improving Wellbeing
3　Attaining Sustainability
4　Fostering Creativity

5   Building Communities

6   Expanding Opportunity.

The findings from the NASIS survey have particular relevance for Objectives 1, 2, 5 and 6, and for those targets set by the Plan that are most closely linked to the Social Inclusion Agenda.

1.2   Project funding source

The project was funded by a Department of Health HSRIP[1] Large Grant with in-kind support from the Office of the North and the Social Inclusion Unit. The project commenced in 2004.

1.3   Purpose

The Northern Adelaide Survey of Social Inclusion (NASIS) 2005 is a pilot project to establish an instrument and a database to collect and manage time series data from future surveys to be held at regular intervals, which will help inform the development of policies and programs and enable policy makers to track the regional impact of State and Commonwealth social inclusion and social capital initiatives over the medium term. The model is intended to be robust enough to be used, with modification, for research in other regions. The primary aim of the research project is to develop a model capable of measuring social inclusion and social exclusion in a regional context, over time.

The broad aims of the project are:

- To develop a model for the measurement of social inclusion and social exclusion at the regional level and over time.

- To help inform the development of policies and programs and enable policy makers to track the regional impact of State and Commonwealth social inclusion and social capital initiatives over the medium term.

There are five key objectives of the project which are:

Objective 1: To develop and apply a model for the measurement of social inclusion and social exclusion indicators in Northern Adelaide.

Objective 2: To critically review the potential and limitations of the model for wider application in South Australia.

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[1] Human Services Research and Innovation Program – funding was allocated during the period when the Department of Health was part of the SA Department of Human Services

Objective 3: To extend academic, policy and practitioner knowledge on the measurement and dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide.

Objective 4: To develop skills and build capacity within the State and Northern Adelaide to measure social inclusion and social exclusion utilising spatial information technologies.

Objective 5: To develop a method of providing ongoing collection of longitudinal data.

Recognising the limitations of point in time surveys and qualitative studies, this project sought to develop a survey instrument capable of measuring social inclusion and social inclusion at the regional level over time. The development of a conceptual framework underpinned the construction of a survey instrument which was trialled with residents of Northern Adelaide in 2005.

1.4   Research questions

The project addressed five research questions drawn from a review of the literature on social inclusion and social exclusion. The research questions were:

1   How can social inclusion be measured over time?
2   What are the most appropriate variables to be included in a model to measure social inclusion over time?
3   What is the extent and character of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide?
4   To what extent does social inclusion and social exclusion vary throughout the Northern Adelaide region?
5   What are the relationships between different socio-economic, spatial, social and behavioural variables, and social inclusion in the region?

1.5   Research design

The project has used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to address the research objectives. The methods involved –

o   A review of relevant research literature.
o   Consultation with key stakeholders.
o   A telephone survey of 2000 residents selected at random from the Electronic White Pages and using CATI technology was undertaken in March 2005 to measure residents' perceptions of social inclusion and social exclusion. Data were weighted against the Census to correct dis-proportionalities among groups of interest.

o   Three discussion groups with 35 of the survey respondents who volunteered to
        participate in further discussions about issues arising from the survey.

The survey component of the project is currently described as NASIS 2005, an abbreviation of Northern Adelaide Social Inclusion Survey 2005.

Data collection commenced on 8th February 2005 and concluded on 8th March 2005 using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) system. The survey collected data from 1999 respondents. This represented 64% of those contacted in the first instance to seek participation in the study. The proportion of residents surveyed in each Local Government Area in Northern Adelaide corresponded closely to the actual proportion of residents in each Local Government Area in Northern Adelaide as measured by the 2001 Census.

Three discussion groups (involving a total of 35 participants) were held in the Region. These were structured to include cross sectional representation of the population of Northern Adelaide based on spatial location, gender, age and variables relevant to the research. The team also specifically recruited two participants from Aboriginal or Torres Strait backgrounds.

1.6   Analytical model to measure social inclusion and social exclusion

An analytical model to measure social inclusion and social exclusion was developed involving the construction of three indicators using data from NASIS 2005. These were based on understandings of social inclusion and social exclusion drawn from the literature. The following three Indicators to measure social inclusion, social exclusion, and social capital were developed and applied using data from NASIS 2005.

    1   Social Networks Indicator
    2   Community of Interest Indicator
    3   Social Inclusion Indicator.

The Social Networks Indicator was designed as a tool to examine the proportion of material support respondents received from friends, neighbours, relatives and work colleagues (for example, with child minding, providing transport and looking after neighbours' houses when they were away.)

The Community of Interest Indicator was devised to indicate participation in clubs and societies and the amount and quality of the networks derived from this participation. Respondents were given a score if they participated in one or more clubs and societies.

The Social Inclusion Indicator explored indicators of community togetherness and closeness and whether differences between people living in the same community in terms of wealth, income, social status, ethnic background and age were perceived to have caused problems or brought benefits.

The three Indicators provided the basis for an instrument to measure survey respondents' perceptions of social inclusion, exclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide. The data obtained can be triangulated with qualitative information collected by the project through discussion groups with survey respondents and interviews with key informants. When aggregated with questions on the background, demography and socio-economic status of respondents, these indicators can provide a tool for measuring the horizontal and vertical dimensions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital.

1.7   Value Add Project Outcomes

The major outputs and outcomes of the project include:

- the development and piloting of a social inclusion survey instrument;
- generation of a substantial database on social inclusion in Northern Adelaide;
- preparation of three peer-reviewed research papers, which have been accepted for publication;
- establishment of a NASIS network of key stakeholders to assist in the implementation of the project and consideration of policy and program implications;
- transfer of survey development and analysis knowledge and skills from staff of the Australian Institute for Social Research to the Office of the North and the Social Inclusion Unit;
- transfer of local knowledge from staff of the Office of the North and the Social Inclusion Unit about trends and issues in Northern Adelaide to the Australian Institute for Social Research;
- an overview report on the broad findings of NASIS 2005;
- a report on the potential conceptual and methodological applications and policy implications of NASIS 2005 including a review of the potential for further research as well as wider application of the NASIS 2005 survey instrument.

The research team has included policy practitioners on secondment to the University from the Social Inclusion Unit and the Office of the North, who have assisted in the transfer of knowledge between the research partners. Their work with the University based research team has also helped to develop skills and build capacity within the State and in Northern Adelaide to measure social inclusion. Officers from the partner Departments have worked closely with the University research team in the development of the survey instrument and discussion groups, and have facilitated community and stakeholder consultations. The seconded officers have also taken

part in the data analysis, received training in the use of the SPSS computer statistics package and have been involved in discussions on geo-coding data from NASIS 2005 to enable spatial analysis.

In addressing Objectives 3 and 4, the project has extended academic, policy and practitioner knowledge on the measurement and dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide by developing indicators from NASIS 2005 to measure respondents' perceptions of social inclusion in relation to spatial, socio-economic and behavioural variables.

The research team is currently seeking ways to enable the survey to be replicated so that longitudinal data can be obtained on social inclusion and exclusion in Northern Adelaide. It is intended to follow up this cohort survey in three years' time using funding from an ARC Linkage Grant for which an application has been submitted in collaboration with the Department of Health to the Australian Research Council. This seeks funding to replicate the survey in Northern Adelaide and other regions to enable comparative analysis of regional variations. The team is also keen to explore the opportunities for wider application of the model.

1.8   Overview of findings

On a region-wide basis, the respondents to NASIS 2005 were positive in their assessment of their community's strength and cohesion. They described an acceptance of diversity in cultural background and socio-economic status, and participation in a range of civic, social and community activities, as well as in volunteering of various kinds. Networks established through this participation were described as extending into other realms of life and providing personal, practical and other forms of support.

Our analysis suggests that the people from Northern Adelaide who responded to NASIS 2005 indicated they were part of an inclusive community, albeit with some sub-regional differences, as will be discussed later in this report. As an inclusive community, more than eight in ten saw their local community as a friendly place to live and seven in ten described their community as welcoming to newcomers. More than eight in ten respondents indicated that they themselves felt part of their community.

Survey respondents also revealed a significant level of support and solidarity between community members, with reciprocal exchange of both personal-emotional support as well as more practical assistance. Most had helped their friends and neighbours with everyday household activities (such as, helping with odd jobs, lending household equipment and providing transport) in the previous twelve months. Most did so on a regular basis. These forms of assistance extended to personal and emotional support (such as providing advice on relationships, family

and children, listening to problems and sharing confidences). In return almost all respondents received reciprocal assistance with similar activities.

Community strength was also indicated by the high proportion of respondents from Northern Adelaide who had undertaken formal volunteering activity and / or participated in clubs and societies. Almost three in ten respondents indicated that they had engaged in formal volunteering with an organisation in the previous twelve months.

While many respondents were challenged by lower than average incomes, by significant housing stress and by care responsibilities, illness and disability – all of which presented barriers to participation in employment and community activities – many were engaged in social, recreational and political activities in their communities, which brought them into contact with people from both similar and different backgrounds. It is likely that these networks provided respondents with a rich source of social capital. The results of NASIS 2005 suggest that Northern Adelaide is challenged by social and economic disadvantage but draws strength from community cohesion and social networks.

The data also indicated that the extent and character of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide varied by age, gender and location, and by processes associated with the amount and quality of social and material capital available to respondents. There were important differences within the region that directly linked to different levels of socio-economic status and that emerged when data relating to the three Indicators were disaggregated on this basis. This analysis divided the Northern Adelaide region into three sub-locations. In order to de-identify them, we have labelled them 'Zone A' – the most disadvantaged area, 'Zone B' a more affluent metropolitan area and 'Zone C' a relatively affluent town.

In brief, measurement using the Social Networks Indicator found that people from the most disadvantaged area (Zone A) were more likely than their more affluent regional neighbours in Zones B and C to provide and receive assistance from neighbours and friends with household tasks on a regular basis. In terms of 'bonding social capital', the most disadvantaged community was much stronger and more cohesive than its more advantaged neighbours.

However, findings relating to the Community of Interest and Social Inclusion Indicators were less positive and indicated that for most members of the Zone A community, social capital was confined to the 'bonding' dimension (that is, involving relatively homogenous and inward-focused networks) and missed the benefits associated with 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital (that is, providing influential connections to work and other life opportunities) that were characteristic of the two more affluent communities.

In the main our qualitative data reinforced our quantitative research findings and provided us with the opportunity to explore particular issues in richer detail. Our findings relating to social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion have been strongly supported by discussion group participants, with the only exception relating to age-based divisions in the community.

Young people were not seen to be as hard working as their parents had been, and not to have shared the hardships of their elders as the North was developed. They were seen as disrespectful to their families and communities and given to drugs and violence. The concern with declining job opportunities in the North rarely extended to the plight of young unemployed people who tended to be depicted as "wanting it all now" and not willing to take jobs at entry level pay rates.

Our participants also expressed a strong concern with the impact of crime and drugs, which was not as evident in our quantitative results. Crime was seen as contributing to social exclusion by making people fearful of using public spaces and public transport, and preventing children from playing in the street.

Apart from these two areas, the broad trend was to portray a community with well-developed internal networks, supporting friends and neighbours and contributing to community well being through volunteering and other forms of civic engagement. This is a strong foundation from which public policy can build in future interventions designed to sustain and foster the growth of social capital and to promote social inclusion.

1.9   Conclusions

NASIS 2005 has made a number of important findings about the strength or otherwise of social networks in Northern Adelaide. There is a substantial evidence base that illustrates the importance of social networks to individual well-being in a range of life spheres, including access to new work opportunities, ageing well in retirement and educational attainment. Network-generated benefits have been found to positively affect not only individuals but groups and organisations. By understanding network-related dynamics, governments can better support local communities through partnerships and by helping to mobilise local resources. This understanding also illustrates how links occur between key stakeholders in a community, enabling government to promote a more coordinated approach to action and better access to unused resources while generating new community resources.

The findings emerging from the Project raise a number of possible policy responses. The research evidence has identified a number of approaches that are possible for government, as overviewed in Section 3.3 and described in more detail in the Literature Review in Appendix A.

Northern Adelaide is recognised as a region where significant sections of the population experience various forms of disadvantage. This project has shed further light on some of the barriers to social and economic participation in the region. It has also identified a range of strengths within the region. In promoting social inclusion and strengthening social capital it is essential that existing strengths be used as a foundation for future intervention.

In summary, this foundation derives from the high level of community cohesion in the region, involving sound networks of personal support and practical assistance, high levels of participation in social clubs, volunteering, in political and civic processes, and a view of the local community as one that is inclusive of its members, including newcomers. The majority identify strongly with their community and feel a strong sense of belonging.

While social networks were described as valuable, those with an inward focus (that is, involving friends, neighbours, work colleagues and relatives, and providing a range of personal and practical support) appeared to be stronger than those with an outward focus (providing linkages to employment and opportunities that rely on a wider set of social networks). This was particularly the case for people living in the 'Zone A' neighbourhoods.

Consequently, the foundation for policy intervention that is strongest involves 'bonding social capital' networks that have high levels of trust and reflect a strong sense of commitment to those networks. These provide a positive basis for future action across the Northern Adelaide region. However, there is scope for intervention that is designed to strengthen 'linking social capital' for the more disadvantaged areas of the region, particularly around the Zone A location.

Similarly, the high level of involvement in social and civic processes and groups provides a further foundation for future policy and other intervention. These can also provide key locations for communication, using community leaders as trusted sources. This could, for example, provide the basis for a strategy to address the information void identified in our survey, enabling people in the region to increase their awareness of and access to available services and supports. Such an approach is particularly relevant for overcoming barriers based on language and culture, provided the appropriate community intermediaries are selected for conveying information.

The usage of information and communication technologies is another important point of intervention, both in reaching those who are already accessing the Internet and in overcoming the Digital Divide that affects the remaining forty per cent. This is a critical strategy for avoiding a reinforcement of existing inequalities and for promoting equity.

The other key areas of need that have emerged from our research relate to housing stress and information. Approximately 40 per cent of people living in the Salisbury and Playford LGAs were found to be spending a very high proportion of their income on housing (see Appendix B, Tables B9 to B12), and this was most likely to involve those aged between 25 and 45 years. Discussion group feedback indicated that lack of information about available services and other supports was perpetuating disadvantage.

Finally, there appears to be scope for initiatives designed to reduce age-based divisions and to promote intergenerational exchange. Sporadic examples exist of this within the region – for example, the aged care facility and secondary school collaboration that is the positive outcome of an initially negative division between young and old.

Data from NASIS 2005 have been collected at a single point in time. This enables cross-sectional analysis of phenomena associated with social inclusion and social exclusion, and provides a baseline for further data collection. However, NASIS cannot measure social inclusion over time without being repeated at regular intervals. Consideration should be given to repeating NASIS 2005 at regular intervals to gather time series data. After reviewing the NASIS model and considering it is recommended that consideration be given to further application of the NASIS model.

In the Australian context, there are few studies that evaluate the contribution of social capital to specific public policy issues in the long term, or assess the longitudinal impact of public policy interventions on social capital. This is no doubt linked to the limited number of longitudinal studies that can measure changes in social capital over time. The data from NASIS 2005, if replicated over time, has the capacity to address this gap in the evidence base and could be a valuable means of assessing the impact of government policy intervention in Northern Adelaide and other regions of South Australia.

In summary it is recommended that is given to the development of an expanded framework based on typologies of capital to understand the nature of exclusion and to guide cross-portfolio interventions.

It is also recommended that consideration is given to repeating NASIS 2005 at regular intervals within Northern Adelaide in order to gather time series data and to measure the impact of policy and other interventions designed to enhance social capital and social inclusion in the region.

Finally it is recommended that consideration be given to replicating NASIS in other regions, across metropolitan Adelaide, or state-wide.

2.0   The Project

2.1   Overview

Northern Adelaide was designated under the Commonwealth Government Initiative in Regional Australia as a region challenged by significant socio-economic disadvantage, persistently high unemployment rates, poverty and social exclusion. At a State level, the South Australian Government has focused considerable attention on the needs of the region through a variety of services and programs. It has also established the Office for the North to enable collaboration and a whole-of-government approach to planning and program implementation in Northern Adelaide, while responding to the State Government's social inclusion agenda.

Despite the substantial amount of research focusing on social inclusion and exclusion, both in Australia and internationally, there are considerable gaps in this evidence base that limit its utility for policy development purposes. In particular, these relate to the measurement of social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion, and the influence of social capital on social inclusion.

Most studies of measures of social inclusion in Australia have been limited to point in time surveys, or qualitative studies of regional and rural communities. These studies do not provide longitudinal data that reflect how social inclusion/exclusion changes over time and its long term influence at the regional level. Therefore, the medium and long term impact of any policy interventions cannot be assessed. While considerable research evidence exists to highlight the significance of early intervention approaches to building social capital and promoting social inclusion, the absence of longitudinal data makes it difficult to quantify this.

Also neglected in the existing evidence base is research into the negative influence of social capital, and particularly, the factors which can lead social capital to have an excluding effect thereby militating against social inclusion. The emphasis in most research is on the benign influence of social capital, due to the importance of social ties and networks and trusting relationships that build cohesive communities.

Both of these gaps are addressed by the *'Measuring social inclusion and exclusion in Northern Adelaide'* Project through the development of a model that provides a range of indicators of social inclusion and exclusion, and enables the measurement of change over time and an increased understanding of the influence of social capital on social inclusion and exclusion. The measures developed are designed to be of use to Government in its planning and implementation of social inclusion initiatives in Northern Adelaide, and more broadly, to inform social inclusion policy development, implementation and evaluation.

2.2   The Region

The site of the study was the region of Northern Adelaide, incorporating the Cities of Gawler, Playford and Salisbury and surrounding districts. A brief profile of the population of the region is provided in Appendix C.

Northern Adelaide

Adelaide Statistical Division

Local Government Areas and Statistical Local Areas in Northern Adelaide

Playford – West Central

Gawler

Playford – East Central

Playford – West

Playford – Hills

Salisbury – Inner North

Salisbury - Central

Playford – Elizabeth

Salisbury Balance

Salisbury – North East

Salisbury – South East
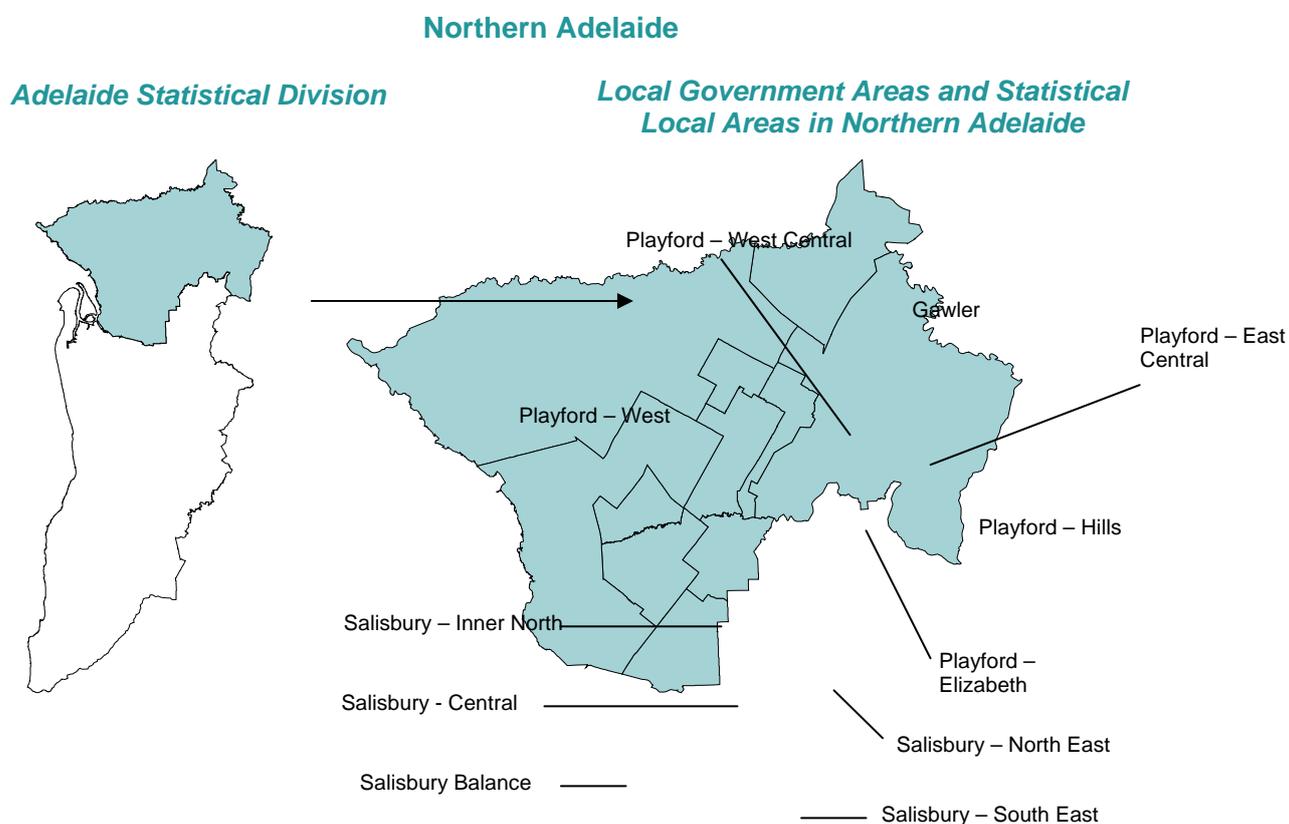
2.3   Policy context for the Project

The project was undertaken in the context of the South Australian Government's Social Inclusion Initiative and South Australia's Strategic Plan. It provides an evidence base to inform policy and program development related to the successful implementation, evaluation and enhancement of these strategies.

The Social Inclusion Initiative was established by the State Government in March 2002. It was described by the Premier as " the cornerstone of a different way of tackling pressing social issues…", recognising "that issues such as poor health, homelessness, crime rates and poverty are all interconnected and their causes stem from social exclusion (Hansard, 29 July 2002).   The Initiative acknowledges that unemployment, low income, poor educational attainment, low skill levels, inadequate housing, bad health and violence can all contribute to social exclusion (SIB 2005a:1).

The stated aim of the Social Inclusion Initiative is to improve the way that social and economic problems are addressed, "*in order to achieve a safer community, improve education levels and employment opportunities, improve indigenous health and reduce homelessness*" (ibid).

A Social Inclusion Board was established by the State Government to provide advice on the development and implementation of the initiative. The initial priorities of the Social Inclusion Board include:

- Reducing the incidence of homelessness
- Increasing school retention rates
- Tackling problems related to drug use
- Reducing self harm and suicide amongst young people in regional areas
- Breaking the cycle of repeat offending among young people
- Increasing Aboriginal health and wellbeing through sports, recreation and the arts
- Increasing youth employment opportunities
- Improving the circumstances of families with multiple, complex needs in identified geographical locations

The approach that has been adopted to tackle these problems involves a number of elements which are:

- The development of partnerships and relationships with stakeholders
- Facilitate joined-up planning and implementation of programs across departments, sectors and communities
- Focus on outcomes in terms of benefit to the community
- Sponsor/develop/employ innovative approaches.

This project responds directly to three key practical objectives of the Social Inclusion Initiative which are:

- Creating a community that is informed about social inclusion and citizens who are aware of their right to be included
- Establishing performance monitoring processes and indicators
- Adding to the information and evidence base of Government.

The project has gathered information on social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide to promote a greater understanding within the community of the character and dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion in a regional context. It has trialled a survey instrument and undertaken consultations to generate new knowledge and insights into social inclusion and social exclusion. The project assists performance monitoring processes by gathering data and constructing new measures of social inclusion and social exclusion. The model for measuring social

inclusion and social exclusion applied by the project supports an evidence based approach to social inclusion policy and program development.

The Project was also undertaken in the context of South Australia's *Strategic Plan – Creating Opportunity* – which applies across all government portfolios and is structured around the following six objectives –

I   Growing Prosperity
II   Improving Wellbeing
III Attaining Sustainability
IV   Fostering Creativity
V   Building Communities
VI   Expanding Opportunity.

The findings from the NASIS survey have particular relevance for Objectives 1, 2, 5 and 6, and for those targets set by the Plan that are most closely linked to the Social Inclusion Agenda. These are: –

⇒   Reduce unemployment to equal or better than the Australian average within five years (T1.2)

⇒   Reduce youth unemployment to equal or better than the Australian average within five years (T1.3)

⇒   Increase the healthy life expectancy of South Australians to lead the nation within 10 years (T2.2)

⇒   Reduce psychological distress levels to equal or lower than the Australian average within 10 years (T2.4)

⇒   Exceed the Australian average for participation in sport and physical activity within 10 years (T2.7)

⇒   Reduce crime rates to the lowest in Australia within 10 years (T2.8)

⇒   Reduce regional unemployment rates (T5.9)

⇒   Reduce the gap between the outcomes for South Australia's Aboriginal population and those of the rest of the South Australian population, particularly in relation to health, life expectancy, employment, school retention rates and imprisonment (T6.1)

⇒   Halve the number of 'rough sleepers' (homeless people) in South Australia by 2010 (T6.4)

⇒   Encourage the provision of affordable housing in the community (T6.6)

⇒   Have the number of South Australians experiencing housing stress within 10 years (T6.7)

⇒   Increase the percentage of students completing Year 12 or its equivalent to 90% within 10 years (T6.13)

⇒   Achieve a marked improvement in the percentage of regionally based students completing SACE or equivalent, by 2010 (T6.14).

In light of the findings from the Project, we would add the following Strategic Plan targets as being of particular relevance –

⇒   Increase voter participation in local government elections in South Australia to 50% within 10 years (T5.5)
⇒   Increase the level of volunteerism in South Australia from 38% in 2000 to 50% within 10 years (T5.6)
⇒   Continue to exceed the national average in TAFE participation (T6.17).

Parts of the Project are also relevant to the SA government's response to the *Generational Health Review*, which was the first review of the public health system in thirty years. This drew attention to the importance of social determinants of health, recognising the impact of the local social, physical and economic environment on individual health and well-being. Health outcomes have been strongly linked with socio-economic status, highlighting the significance of social inclusion and exclusion for health and well being. The SA government's promotion of a population health focus is involving a shift in priorities to place the health of the population at the centre of decision-making, with regionalised service governance and funding being one outcome. Among the GHR's recommendations are planning of health services around defined geographical populations, population based funding and service planning to facilitate equitable access to health care and local community participation in health system priority setting. The Review also called for a more accountable health system which in turn relies on community members having access to information about that system.

The findings of the project can inform our understanding of the multiple drivers of social exclusion, shedding new light on the conditions facing one particular region in South Australia in order to demonstrate the wider applicability of the model. In this sense the model can help to inform cross-portfolio interventions to address multi-layered social problems. In practical terms it will provide insights into the dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion, the factors that drive social exclusion and that impede the achievement of social inclusion. The findings of the project shed new light on barriers to social and economic participation, service access and equity and the quantity and quality of social capital in a regional context.

In the context of the Northern Adelaide region project findings will provide information to inform the State Governments commitment announced at the last election to improve social outcomes in the north and its commitment to building communities (Rann 2006).

2.4   Research Aims and Objectives

The broad aims of the project are:

- To develop a model for the measurement of social inclusion and social exclusion at the regional level and over time.

- To help inform the development of policies and programs and enable policy makers to track the regional impact of State and Commonwealth social inclusion and social capital initiatives over the medium term.

There are five key objectives of the project which are:

Objective 1: To develop and apply a model for the measurement of social inclusion and social exclusion indicators in Northern Adelaide.

Objective 2: To critically review the potential and limitations of the model for wider application in South Australia.

Objective 3: To extend academic, policy and practitioner knowledge on the measurement and dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide.

Objective 4: To develop skills and build capacity within the State and Northern Adelaide to measure social inclusion and social exclusion utilising spatial information technologies.

Objective 5: To develop a method of providing ongoing collection of longitudinal data.

2.5   Research design

Recognising the limitations of point in time surveys and qualitative studies, this project seeks to develop a survey instrument capable of measuring social inclusion and social inclusion at the regional level over time. The development of a conceptual framework underpinned the construction of a survey instrument which was trialled with residents of Northern Adelaide in 2005.

The project has used a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to address the research objectives. The methods involved –

o   A review of the international literature related to the concepts of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital was undertaken to inform the development of a conceptual framework to underpin the structure and content of the survey.

- o   Consultation with community informants and key stakeholders were undertaken to inform the development of the project. This included representatives of community groups with a presence in Northern Adelaide, based on the recommendations of members of the community reference group and by the Office of the North.
- o   A telephone survey of 2000 residents selected at random from the Electronic White Pages and using CATI technology was undertaken in March 2005 to measure residents' perceptions of social inclusion and social exclusion. Data were weighted against the Census to correct dis-proportionalities among groups of interest.
- o   Three discussion groups with 35 of the survey respondents who volunteered to participate in further discussions about issues arising from the survey.

2.6   Survey methodology

The survey instrument was piloted in January 2005 in collaboration with the Department of Health and Harrison Research. The pilot revealed that the number of questions included in the survey instrument would need to be reduced to fit the budget available. A number of questions were re-worded to ensure clarity.

All households in Northern Adelaide with a telephone number listed in the Electronic White Pages were eligible for selection in the sample. A random sample of 3700 telephone numbers was drawn, based on an expected contact rate of four in ten.

To be enrolled in the study the respondents had to fulfil the inclusion criteria, that is, respondents had to be –

- o   residents of the Northern Adelaide Region,
- o   willing and able to comply with the study's protocol and
- o   able to give informed consent.

Ethics approval for the Project was obtained through the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Adelaide.

Within households the person aged 16 or older who last had a birthday was selected to participate in the survey. There were no replacements for non-contactable persons. If the selected person was not available, interviews were not conducted with alternate household members. At least ten call-backs were made to each household before the selected individual was classified as a non-contact.

An introductory letter was sent to the household of each telephone number selected. The letter informed people of the purpose of the survey and indicated that they could expect a telephone call within the time frame of the survey. During the survey, 73.1% of those who participated indicated that they had seen the letter. Anyone who

had not received the letter was offered the opportunity to see the letter by post or fax.

Data collection commenced on 8th February 2005 and concluded on 8th March 2005 using a Computer Assisted Telephone Interview (CATI) system. CATI provided a range of checks on each response and rotated response categories to minimise bias.

Telephone calls were made between 9.30am and 9pm seven days per week. On contacting the household the interviewer identified themselves and discussed the purpose of the survey. Interviewers were supervised by experienced professionals and 10% of all interviews selected at random were audited by the supervisors.

The survey collected data from 1999 respondents. The Department of Health technical report on the survey indicates that an overall response rate of 64% was achieved. The proportion of residents surveyed in each Local Government Area in Northern Adelaide corresponds closely to the actual proportion of residents in each Local Government Area in Northern Adelaide as measured by the 2001 Census.

Raw data were imported into the Statistics Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Qualitative data from open ended responses were saved in Excel. Data were weighted by age, gender, local government area and probability of selection in the household to the most recent ABS census data. Probability of selection in the household was calculated on the number of adults in the household and the number of listings in the White Pages.

Weighting was used to correct for disproportionality with respect to the populations of interest. The weights reflect unequal sample inclusion probabilities and compensate for differential non-response.

2.7   Discussion group methodology

The respondents to the survey were asked if they would like to participate in a more in-depth discussion of the survey topics and if so, to volunteer a telephone number for future contact. Respondents who volunteered were invited to attend discussion groups on the survey topics.

Invitations to the discussion groups were structured to include cross sectional representation of the population of Northern Adelaide based on spatial location, gender, age and variables relevant to the research. The team also specifically recruited two participants from Aboriginal or Torres Strait backgrounds.

Three discussion groups (involving a total of 35 participants) were held in a meeting room at the Elizabeth Civic Centre in September and October 2005. Participants represented a wide range of ages, the youngest being 19 and the oldest 69 years, with an even division of women and men, and one Aboriginal participant.

The discussions were semi-structured around open-ended questions pertaining to social inclusion and social exclusion and issues covered in NASIS 2005. The discussions were taped and transcribed. Names and identifying words were removed from the transcriptions and the tapes then destroyed. The transcriptions were then subjected to thematic analysis.

2.8   A Model for Measuring Social Inclusion and Social Exclusion

An model to measure social inclusion and social exclusion was developed involving the construction of three sets of indicators using data from NASIS 2005. These are based on understandings of social inclusion and social exclusion drawn from the literature.

Data from NASIS 2005 has also been used to examine social inclusion in relation to structural indicators of social disadvantage in the following areas:

- Employment
- Income
- Education
- Housing stress.

The following three sets of indicators to measure social inclusion, social exclusion, and social capital were developed and applied using data from NASIS 2005.

I   Social Networks Indicator
II   Community of Interest Indicator
III   Social Inclusion Indicator.

Social Networks Indicator

The Social Networks Indicator was designed as a tool to examine the proportion of material support respondents receive from friends, neighbours, relatives and work colleagues. Respondents were given scores if in the last year they had given and received help with one or more forms of assistance with everyday household and neighbourhood tasks such as child minding, providing transport and looking after neighbour's houses when they were away.

Respondents were also given a score for the frequency with which they were assisted by the person who helped them the most in the last year representing the proportion who had received help a few times a month or more.

Community of Interest Indicator

The Community of Interest Indicator was devised to indicate participation in clubs and societies and the amount and quality of the networks derived from this participation. Respondents were given a score if they participated in one or more clubs and societies.

Respondents were also given a score for the frequency with which they met with the group or club or society to which they were most committed and for having regular contact with one or more members of the group outside of group meetings. The proportion of respondents who were in contact through their group with people in occupations of influence such as politicians, managers, people employed in professions and union leaders was also assessed.

Social Inclusion Indicator

The Social Inclusion Indicator explored indications of community togetherness and closeness and whether differences between people living in the same community in terms of wealth, income, social status, ethnic background and age were perceived to cause problems or have benefits.

The proportion of respondents who perceived their community as inclusive and believed that they themselves were included were taken as indicators of community togetherness and closeness. The average scores on three questions which asked respondents whether differences in wealth and social status, ethnicity and culture and between young and old, caused problems, were used to assess tolerance of difference.

The three Indicators provide the basis for an instrument to measure survey respondents' perceptions of social inclusion, exclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide. The data obtained can be triangulated with qualitative information collected by the project through discussion groups with survey respondents and interviews with key informants.

The use of perceptual measures has enabled us to:

- Provide direct measures of an individual's assessment of a given phenomenon.
- Provide data along a single dimension like "trust in others" that objective measures like the "number of community clubs per 100,000" cannot.
- Facilitate the identification of problems that merit special attention and social action in regard to both particular aspects of life and particular sub-groups of the population.

When aggregated with additional questions on the background, demography, and socio-economic status of the respondents indicators such as these might provide a tool for measuring the horizontal and vertical dimensions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital. Our survey sought this information in the following areas:

- ❑ Age
- ❑ Gender
- ❑ Postcode of suburb where living
- ❑ Country of birth
- ❑ Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin
- ❑ Main language spoken at home
- ❑ Highest level of schooling attained
- ❑ Highest non-school qualification obtained
- ❑ Currently studying at an educational institution
- ❑ Studying full-time or part-time
- ❑ Living arrangements
- ❑ Dependents (number and type) living with respondent
- ❑ Housing arrangements
- ❑ Spending more than 25% of income on rent or mortgage (ie housing stress)
- ❑ Current employment situation
- ❑ Employed longer than 12 months
- ❑ Issues preventing participation in employment
- ❑ Employment status in main job
- ❑ Preference for hours worked
- ❑ Approximate weekly earnings
- ❑ Health status (self-reported)

2.9   Value-add Project Outcomes

The major outputs and outcomes of the project include:

- the development and piloting of a social inclusion survey instrument;
- generation of a substantial database on social inclusion in Northern Adelaide;
- preparation of three peer-reviewed research papers, which have been accepted for publication;
- establishment of a NASIS network of key stakeholders to assist in the development implementation of the project and consideration of policy and program implications;
- transfer of survey development and analysis knowledge and skills from staff of the Australian Institute for Social Research to the Office of the North and the Social Inclusion Unit;
- transfer of local knowledge from staff of the Office of the North and the Social Inclusion Unit about trends and issues in Northern Adelaide to the Australian Institute for Social Research;

- an overview report on the broad findings on NASIS 2005;
- a report on the potential conceptual and methodological applications and policy implications of NASIS 2005 including a review of the potential for further research as well as wider application of the NASIS 2005 survey instrument.

The research team has included policy practitioners on secondment to the University from the Social Inclusion Unit and the Office of the North, who have assisted in the transfer of knowledge between the research partners. Their work with the University based research team has also helped to develop skills and build capacity within the State and in Northern Adelaide to measure social inclusion. Officers from the partner Departments have worked closely with the University research team in the development of the survey instrument and discussion groups, and have facilitated community and stakeholder consultations. The seconded officers have also taken part in the data analysis, received training in the use of the SPSS computer statistics package and have been involved in discussions on geocoding data from NASIS 2005 to enable spatial analysis.

The project has extended academic, policy and practitioner knowledge on the measurement and dimensions of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide by developing indicators from NASIS 2005 to measure respondents' perceptions of social inclusion in relation to spatial, socio-economic and behavioural variables. These outcomes were designed to fulfil Objectives 3 and 4 of the Project.

The research team have used project findings to produce critical analyses of concepts associated with social inclusion in a refereed article published in a 2006 edition of the international journal *Social Indicators Research* and in two conference papers given at the April 2005 international *Whither Social Capital* conference at Southbank University in London, and the October 2005 *Social Change in the 21st Century* conference at the Queensland University of Technology. Papers given by the researchers at the UK and Queensland conferences have been accepted for publication in respective conference proceedings. The researchers have also presented, and are continuing to present their research at forums in Northern Adelaide.

The research team is currently seeking ways to enable the survey to be replicated so that longitudinal data can be obtained on social inclusion and exclusion in Northern Adelaide. It is intended to follow up this cohort survey in three years' time using funding from an ARC Linkage Grant for which an application has been submitted in collaboration with the Department of Health to the Australian Research Council. This seeks funding to replicate the survey in Northern Adelaide and to apply to other regions to enable comparative analysis of regional variations. The team is also keen to explore the opportunities for wider application of the model.

2.10   Project Management and Accountability

The Project was managed by Associate Professor John Spoehr. Project research support was provided by Dr Lou Wilson, Australian Institute for Social Research, Ms Tania Toth, Social Inclusion Unit, Ms Amanda Watson-Tran, Office for the North and Kate Barnett, Australian Institute for Social Research. The project was supported by a Steering Committee including Mr Peter Sandeman, Dr Jan Patterson. The project received advice from a Project Reference Group with the following membership.

Rachel Ambagtsheer	Northern Metro Community Health
Helen Connolly	Anglicare
Eleonora Dal Grande	Senior Epidemiologist, Population Research and Outcomes Studies, SA Department of Health
Lorraine Kerr	Principal Social Planner, City of Salisbury
Rod Nancarrow	Salisbury District Director, DECS
Trevor Radloff	District Director, DECS
Dianne Richter	Regional Coordinator, Barossa and Light Regional Development Board
Dr. Jan Patterson	Social Inclusion Unit
Peter Sandeman	Director, Office for the North
Claire Taylor	City of Gawler
Jane Trotter	Planner, City of Playford
Deb Walker	Muna Paiendi

3.0   Literature Review

This section of the report provides an overview of key findings from a review of the international literature on social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital. The review was undertaken to inform the development of a conceptual framework upon which to base the construction of the survey instrument and the framing of questions.

Concepts of social inclusion and social capital have emerged from differing epistemological positions, primarily from those associated with functionalism and conflict theory, but they address similar phenomena. Levitas (1998) has characterized the social inclusion debate as a "social integrationist" discourse clearly related to the Durkheimian concept of social solidarity.

According to Durkheim, the disintegration of society into atomized units is prevented only by social solidarity arising from shared beliefs, that is, a core belief in certain "truths". Society is conceptualized as an organism whose systems represent functions necessary for social equilibrium, or the stable reproduction of the organism. Social reproduction takes place because people consent to follow social rules anchored in perceived truths.   These truths are revitalized and sanctified in industrial societies through rituals associated with religion, membership of associations, clubs and unions, the formalities of paid work and the education and qualifications necessary to enter professions and occupations. Organic solidarity is held to arise from democratic and rational participation in social groups. Without the bonds of solidarity and the meaningfulness provided by ritual, individuals lapse into "anomie" a condition characterized by the rejection of society and aggressive anti-social behaviour (Durkheim in Giddens 1971).

Like Durkheim, Max Weber is cited frequently in studies of social inclusion. Weber argues that particular forms of social interaction, which arouse emotions, operate to create strongly held beliefs and a sense of solidarity within the community (Weber in Collins 1974). Weber focuses on the emotional effect that results from interacting with others, the focusing of attention on a common object, and the coordination of common actions or gestures. According to Weber, the creation of emotional solidarity does not lessen conflict as Durkheim believes, but is one of the main weapons used in conflict. Emotional rituals can be used for domination within a group or organization. These rituals can be a means by which alliances are formed in struggles against other groups. Moreover they can be used to impose a hierarchy of status prestige in which some groups dominate others by providing an ideal to emulate under inferior conditions, which the "others" find impossible to achieve.

Patterns of domination arising from the manipulation of emotional solidarity can be mapped as various forms of community stratification. Caste, ethnic group, educational-cultural group, or class "respectability" lines and even football hooligans

might all be forms of stratified solidarities, depending on varying distributions of the resources for emotional production, according to Weber (in Collins 1974: 56-61). Weber's thinking on emotional solidarity is reflected in Jock Young's work on social exclusion and 'civil society'.

Young (1999b) argues that the social integrationist project fails to address the roots of social exclusion. Young (1999b) points to Merton's thesis that social problems occur where there is both *cultural exclusion and structural exclusion*. That is, in contexts such as Western societies (e.g. Australia) in which people living in poverty without the material resources to escape from their situation are bombarded with messages through the media and the education system, which tell them that they live in a meritocracy where anyone can achieve what they want simply by trying. This is a process of relative deprivation whereby the poor come to see themselves as materially deprived in relation to the society of which they are a part. Such relative deprivation causes social exclusion through a subjective experience of inequality and unfairness as materially deprived people seek to obtain the unobtainable. Young (1999b: 401) argues –

> The rise of an exclusive society involves the unraveling of labor markets and the rise of widespread individualism concerned with identity and self-actualisation. Role making rather than role taking becomes top of the agenda… the culture of [social exclusion] is closely linked with that of the outside world, is dynamic, is propelled by the contradictions of opportunities and ideals, of economic citizenship denied and social acceptance blocked.

In Young's (1999b) thesis, social exclusion is a cultural phenomenon arising from relationships between identity and social acceptance and the contradiction of a supposed meritocracy in which the poor lack the material means to meet the aspirations they are encouraged to embrace, resulting ultimately in alienation, disaffection and exclusion.

3.1   The concepts of social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion

The adoption of exclusion as a concept has gained credence because it is structural, multi-dimensional and dynamic. It incorporates other concepts (such as, people being on the periphery, stigmatisation and rupture) and it gives a more accurate view of the process involved where exclusion is both the cause and the outcome. Moreover, many people can identify with it as exclusion of some kind is a universal experience (Estivill, 2003: 21-22).

As discussed by Levitas (1998: 21) exclusion is more narrowly understood by the Blair Labour Goverrnment as:

> the breakdown of the structural, cultural and moral ties which bind the individual to society, and family instability is a key concern

The concept of 'social inclusion' became evident in European social policy debates of the late 1980s in reference to overcoming social exclusion. The European Commission first made reference to the term "social exclusion" in its third pan–European poverty program issued in 1988. In these debates poverty was no longer to be seen just as economic deprivation but part of a pattern of social disadvantage, which was termed "social exclusion". The latter term had its origins in Durkheimian notions of social solidarity (Levitas 1996, European Commission, 1990).

Central to the concept of social exclusion is its emphasis on relational processes. These include linkages and networks and the strength or otherwise of these, participation in social and community activities, and the collective impact of different aspects of disadvantage (for example, attitudes to education and subsequent educational attainment, and the implications of this for employment and overall life opportunity). An emphasis on relational processes helps to understand the outcomes of disadvantage because it demonstrates the interrelated nature of its causes.

While there is considerable debate regarding how social capital should be defined and how it should be measured, a reasonable degree of agreement is evident among researchers that social capital brings benefits through membership of social networks and related social structures (Portes, 1998). However, there is no consistent theoretical definition that identifies what social capital is, who benefits from it and how it can be measured, and this may be due in part to the multiple disciplines (including sociology, education, political science) that have been involved in researching this concept (Taylor et al, 2006: 3). Nevertheless, there are numerous definitions and exploration of the concept that remain useful and provide valuable insights that can underpin public policy.

The UK cross–government Social Capital Working Group uses a definition of social capital that is consistent with the OECD interpretation which emphasises the role of networks –

> … networks, together with shared norms, values and understandings, that facilitate cooperation within or among groups. (Cote and Healy in Lloyd 2001: 22–23)

The World Bank (1998: 5) uses this definition –

> The social capital of a society includes the institutions, the relationships, the attitudes and values that govern interactions among people and contribute to economic and social development. Social capital, however, is not simply the sum of institutions which underpin society, it is also the glue that holds them together. It includes the

shared values and rules for social conduct expressed in personal relationships, trust, and a common sense of 'civic' responsibility that makes society more than just a collection of individuals.

In their provision of advice, based on research evidence, to the Australian Government Department of Family and Community Services, Johnson *et al* (2005: 2) also use the World Bank definition, describing social capital in terms of networks and norms that enable collective action. Within this definition, the *structure* of social capital involves describing the size and density of networks, while the *content* of social capital includes the degree of trust and the prevalence of reciprocity within networks. Stone (2001) draws a similar distinction between the structure and content of social capital. The Canadian Government's Policy Research Initiative (2005a: 25) draws a further distinction between *individual* social capital (that is, the benefits individuals derive from their social networks) and *collective* social capital (the benefits a community derives from its set of networks).

The concept of social capital has a utility that fits well with debates on social cohesion, social exclusion and social inclusion. Social capital has been described as *"the glue than binds society together"* (Serageldin 1996: 196). Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam (1993: 35) defines social capital as –

> … features of social organizations such as networks, norms and truths that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.

According to Putnam these networks lay the groundwork for reciprocity, solidarity and participation, which in turn reinforce sentiments of trust in communities and the effectiveness of communication between individuals and organizations. Putnam's definition of social capital is based on a model of society built on participation and trust in a wide range of civic institutions and associations, which he argues are the building blocks of social capital.

In the late 1960s and 70s, Pierre Bourdieu produced a series of studies that argued social capital was not only dynamic and creative but a structured phenomenon. Bourdieu understood social capital to be a process of deliberately constructing sociability in order to acquire the benefits of being part of a group. That is, social networks are not a natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies, which are grounded in the institutionalization of group relations. The latter are useable as a source of other benefits. Bourdieu (1985) suggests social capital is comprised of two elements:

1. The social relationship that enables individuals to gain access to resources possessed by their associates.
2. The amount and quality of those resources.

It is the association between these two elements and accumulated human capital that gives access to economic resources. Social capital provides access to loans,

investment tips, protected markets etc. and can increase individual cultural capital through contacts with experts, or can join institutions that can bestow valuable credentials (e.g. business clubs, associations, unions, etc.).

3.2   Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital

A major step forward in building a strong evidence base has been research that distinguishes three forms of social capital – 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' (Frank, 2005: 2). Putnam (2000) drew the initial distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. *Bonding* refers to relations between homogenous groups, for example, ethnic communities with the ties being likened by him to a *'sociological super glue'* and identified as best suited to providing the social and psychological supports needed for everyday living. However bonding social capital brings the potential for negative consequences, such as, a stifling of individual freedom and the exclusion of outsiders.   This is referred to by Putnam (2000) as the "dark side" of social capital.

Bonding social capital reinforces homogeneity and has analogies with Marxian/Weberian notions of bounded solidarity and Durkheimian mechanical solidarity (Levitas 1998, Portes 1998). Emotional solidarity from processes of relative deprivation may also be a source of community solidarity and social capital, albeit as a source of social exclusion rather than inclusion and might be considered a source of "dark side" social capital.

Bridging social capital is more heterogenous and is useful in connecting to external resources and for information diffusion. Bridging social capital refers to links between people who differ on key personal characteristics such as race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age and political affiliation. These ties help different kinds of people in the community get to know each other, build relationships and share information. These ties can be useful in linking to work and other life opportunities. For Putnam, bridging social capital refers to the building of connections between diverse groups. Furthermore Putnam (2000) argues that bridging social capital is often fragile but is likely to create social inclusion. In this sense, bridging social capital might be seen as a source of social cohesion in the Durkheimian sense. Putman presents both forms of social capital as dimensions along which different networks can be compared, rather than as mutually exclusive categories.

Linking social capital refers to relationships between people who are interacting across power or authority social structures (Szreter et al. 2004). For example, citizens' interactions with local government and health planning authorities are representative of linking social capital. It is in a sense the relationship between members of the community and the agents of the state. Linked networks are critical for leveraging resources, ideas and information from agencies beyond normal community linkages and are, therefore, significant for economic development (Frank, 2005: 2). The important role played by government professionals (for example,

teachers, social workers, legal service officers) in linking the state to local citizens means that they can make a significant difference to the success or failure of public services (PRI, 2005a: 12).

The three forms of social capital may not be present in all communities – for example, a community that is relatively disadvantaged on objective indicators of economic strength may have strong bonding or internal networks but relatively weak linking social capital. This can mean that members of that community seeking employment are supported by cohesive personal and social supports but lack the external connections that will lead them to paid work.

3.3 Bounded solidarity and social exclusion

Identification with one's own group or community can be a powerful motivational force, which Portes (1998) suggests leads to forms of solidarity bounded by the group identity. Bounded solidarity is in essence the basis for the formation of both industrial unions and business councils. While communities can use bounded solidarity as a weapon to wield against social injustice and to further the interests of the group, it can also be used to exclude others or establish dominance over other groups. For example, Waldinger (1995) discusses the control Italian, Irish and Polish migrant groups have gained over the construction trades in New York and the control exercised over key sectors of the economy of Miami by the Cuban community. These forms of control might be considered the "dark side" of bounded solidarity, or modes of social exclusion.

Marxian concepts of aggregate social capital relate to the formation of classes. These abstractions represent the aggregate sums of the social interactions of separate classes, social capital and social labor, which retain contradictory interests, the conflict between which shapes the nature of society, according to Marx (1957, 2004) and Bourdieu (1985). Bourdieu takes this argument a step further by separating the forms of capital acquired by social relationships, which become aggregate capital, and focuses on the quality of the forms of capital as bearing on its use-value.

There are epistemological differences between Putnam's notion of bonding social capital and Marxian bounded solidarity. Bonding social capital as understood by Putnam, does not require a shared ideology among its donors and recipients. For example, bonding social capital can be formed by the trust that arises from a neighbour watching another neighbour's house when that person is away from home to make sure it is not broken into, or minding a neighbour's child. These actions can be driven by humanity, sympathy or altruism.

Durkheim's notion of mechanical solidarity, like Putnam's concept of bonding social capital, and Weber's notion of emotional solidarity, concerns the social cohesion that arises between similar individuals from shared activities, although Durkheim

associates mechanical solidarity with pre-industrial agrarian communities where centuries of traditions and rituals produce a mechanical solidarity. Where Durkheim and Putman see the emotional solidarity produced by these activities as mostly benign, Weber suggests the dark side of solidarity. Ethnic tensions, football hooliganism, political factionalism and racism might also be the products of emotional solidarity born from taking part in collective activities.

If notions of social capital are set beside other explanations of social inclusion and social exclusion then two relatively distinct categories of concepts can be discerned. These are detailed in Figure 7, which is adapted from work by Wilson[2] (2006).

Figure 7. Conceptual categories

Category A – community level concepts	Category B – social level concepts
Mechanical solidarity Social inclusion and cohesion based upon the likeness and similarities among individuals in a society, and largely dependent on common rituals and routines	**Organic solidarity** Social inclusion and cohesion based upon the dependence individuals in more advanced society have on each other. Though individuals perform different tasks and often have different values and interests, the order and survival of society depends on their reliance on each other to perform their specific task
Bounded solidarity Processes that facilitate the reciprocation of aid and produce norms that work towards the communal good.	**Aggregate social capital** The aggregate of the actual or potential resources that are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition
Bonding social capital Bonding networks that connect people who are similar and sustain particularised (in-group) reciprocity.	**Bridging social capital** Bridging networks that connect individuals from diverse backgrounds and which sustain generalized reciprocity.
	Linking social capital Relationships between people who are interacting across power or authority social structures, which leverage advantages for the owners of this form of capital.
Emotional solidarity Solidarity that binds groups together through the emotional bonds forged by collective activities. Can exclude those who have not shared the collective experience.	**Social exclusion** A subjective experience of inequality and unfairness as materially deprived people seek to obtain the unobtainable.

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[2] Wilson L. (2006) Developing a model for the measurement of social inclusion in regional Australia, *Social Indicators Research*, v74, No. 3, pp335-360. (accepted for publication 2004).

Category A concepts are concerned with understanding the relationships which bring communities together. Category B concepts are about understanding inter-community relationships and how aggregate societies form.

These concepts are abstractions which forward our understanding of the processes of social inclusion and social capital by which communities and societies are formed. However, the concepts listed in Figure 7 are derived from differing epistemological perspectives, which suggest a unitary understanding of social inclusion or social capital for the purposes of measurement is likely to be difficult to achieve.

Nevertheless, following Neumann (2003: 53) we might be able to extend our knowledge of these concepts by testing them empirically in relation to each other. The Northern Adelaide Social Inclusion Survey 2005 provides a database which can be drawn on to suggest which concepts, or relational concepts, best explain the phenomena we are observing, in terms of respondent perceptions of social inclusion. *Section 4.1* describes how we have taken literature findings to develop the Survey questions.

3.4 The measurement of social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion

There has been growing international and local interest in the development of indicators of community well being and of participation in the public sphere, which provide measures of social inclusion in given communities. Such indicators are valuable tools for policy formulation and for evaluating policy and program progress and outcomes. Recent studies have drawn attention to the limitations of existing measures of social progress, such as the Gross Domestic Product, and have sought to develop integrated sets of indicators, which take into account social, cultural, environmental as well as economic concerns.

There appears to be general agreement in the literature about the dimensions of social exclusion, which Atkinson (2002: 4) summarises as: 'poverty, income inequality, low educational qualifications, labour market disadvantage, joblessness, poor health, poor housing or homelessness, illiteracy and innumeracy.'

Work on indicators of social exclusion has been particularly marked in Canada and Australia where there has been a surge of interest in community indicators since the 1990s (Wyman 2000). In many cases these projects have been associated with attempts to restore trust in democratic processes in communities adversely affected by economic restructuring in the 1980s and 1990s.

In this context it is timely to consider the relevance of such research for planning and policy development in South Australia. This is also pertinent for the Labor Government's own policy *Labor's Social Inclusion Initiative* (ALP: 2002) which

suggests that specific sub-domain targets be set for government agencies and programs.

Indicators of community-well being typically focus on value rather than price (Stilwell 2000: 1). In many cases they have been developed by social scientists as an alternative measurement of social progress to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) indicator favoured by economists. However, measuring the market value of economic production does not tell us a great deal about the broad health of the community or the environment. It also tells us little or nothing about the social costs that have been produced by economic processes, or how sustainable are these processes.

Salvaris (2000: 6) suggests there is a need to go beyond measures of production such as GDP to consider indicators of social progress and community well-being. Such measures might include indicators of social capital, environmental sustainability, community health, participation and citizenship, equity and social justice, and the health of democracy. Indicators or benchmarks may form a map for communities to find where they are going as part of a collaborative process with governments, business, unions and the non-profit sector.

While many studies have sought to develop social indicators and measures of community health and well-being, these have for the most part been point-in-time studies and few have attempted to gather longitudinal data using consistent methods. But as Putnam suggests processes of social inclusion and social capital formation unfold over time and are best conceived of as long-term cultural shifts. There is a clear need for the development of longitudinal indicators of social inclusion and social capital.

The scope and breadth of the debate on indicators of social inclusion, social indicators and social capital suggests it is not possible to meaningfully measure every aspect of these processes. A clear rationale for what is to be measured is required. Measures selected must also be of use to Government in its strategic planning and in the implementation of its social inclusion policies in Northern Adelaide. The measures selected for NASIS 2005 provide a model to inform social inclusion policy development, implementation and evaluation.

4.0   Public policy literature

After reviewing the outcomes of the NASIS survey a supplementary literature review was undertaken to examine how the results might be used to inform potential public policy interventions to address social exclusion and promote social capital.

4.1 Public policy intervention

Public policy intervention is never neutral, having both intended and unintended consequences. Not intervening in itself will have an impact on social exclusion and social capital. The research evidence has identified a number of approaches that are possible for government, and these are overviewed in this section, drawing on examples from governments in Australia, the United Kingdom and Canada.

Estivill (2003: 80– 84) has developed a typology to reflect the diversity of approaches that are possible for public policy. None of these has been found to be effective on its own, reinforcing the importance of multiple points of intervention that reflect the complexity of social exclusion.

o   The first involves giving priority to economic growth in order to reduce or eliminate exclusion, reflecting a belief that increased growth involves increased employment and earnings, standards of living and other opportunities.
o   The second involves developing social protection systems supplemented by minimum income benefits and social services to provide both preventive and palliative intervention.
o   Minimum income strategies represent a third type of intervention and are described as an important mechanism that is poverty-sensitive and provides a further component to social protection systems.
o   A fourth typology involves public measures (both general or specific in focus, and centralised or decentralised in structure) to address exclusion.

Analysis of these approaches led Estivill to identify the following 'cornerstones' of most European Union and Member State programs. Again, these are found to be most effective when adopted as part of an overall strategy rather than in isolation.

1.   **integration** – involving direct action to address poor quality housing, inadequate income, poor health, low levels of educational attainment and vocational skills, precarious employment and the erosion of rights;
2.   **partnership** – although this takes on different meanings in different contexts and cultures, it is essential in order to address the multiple dimensions of social exclusion;
3.   **participation** – which has a range of levels and intensities; and
4.   **spatial** – acknowledging that exclusion can be diffused across more than one location and requires intervention at the local level as well as centrally.

The potential role of public policy is evident in the review by Bradshaw *et al* (2004) which linked research to government intervention in the areas of education, health, housing, neighbourhoods, crime (and the fear of crime), employment and income.

There is also a key role for public policy in redressing health inequalities but the findings of the literature review on this issue are described as complex because they range across a number of dimensions, including socio-economic status, geographical area, age, gender and ethnicity (Bradshaw et al. 2004: 50 - 51).

With regard to housing, Bradshaw *et al* note that homelessness is itself a form of social exclusion and in turn, can exacerbate other drivers, including poor health (2004: 63). Macro level factors, such as unemployment and the affordability of housing emerged from the literature review as the most important drivers of homelessness (2004: 69). Risk factors identified for homelessness are family background, institutional experience, socio-economic and health.

The recurring theme in the research literature is the need for public policy to traverse a range of portfolio areas, promoting 'joined-up' policy and programs, in recognition of the multiple issues that need to be addressed in order to promote social inclusion. An integrated approach is essential across government itself, and through partnerships that link the public sector, the private sector, the non government sector and communities.

The Canadian Government's Policy Research Institute (PRI) has overviewed approaches taken by public sector and statistical agencies in Canada and other countries. The Canadian government's Policy Research Initiative (PRI) emphasises the importance of applying a definition of social capital that is useful for public policy makers –

> Social capital refers to the networks of social relations that may provide individuals and groups with access to resources and supports (PRI 2005a: 6).

This network-focused conceptualisation is seen by the PRI as enabling the concept of social capital to be applied strategically for public policy, as enabling a distinction between social capital and other closely related concepts, and promoting consistency in research and measurement (PRI 2005a: 6).   A network-based approach is described as supporting the investigation of the effects of government policies and programs on the mobilisation of social capital by both individuals and communities in applying the concept of social capital and distinguishes three major approaches, each bringing different implications for public policy, namely –

a) *'micro'*, which emphasises the nature and forms of cooperative behaviour. This approach defines social capital as the potential of collective action to strengthen group processes. The World Bank has described this approach as 'cognitive social capital'.

b) *'macro'* which focuses on the conditions (favourable and unfavourable) for cooperation. The macro approach emphasises the value of social cohesion and integration and social capital is analysed as a product of a community's

environmental, cultural, social and political structures. As with the micro approach, the interest is in social capital as a collective benefit.

c) *'meso'*, which highlights structures that enable cooperation. This approach links the concept to the potential of social networks to produce resources like information and support, and examines structures that may enable cooperation. The World Bank describes this analytical approach as 'structural social capital'. The underlying premise is that social capital arises from the interdependence between individuals and groups within a community, a resource that emerges from the social ties used by members of networks. Benefits are both individual and collective (Franke, 2005: 2).

The United Kingdom, through the Office of National Statistics (and in common with the OECD), is described as adopting a macro-approach to social capital, based on its social integration value. This locates social capital as the collective end result of various aspects of the lives of individuals, and identifies five major dimensions against which survey data are gathered (and which are being tested through a general household survey) –

⇒ Participation, social engagement, commitment
⇒ Control, self-efficacy
⇒ Perception of community
⇒ Social interaction, social networks, social support
⇒ Trust, reciprocity, social cohesion.

The PRI argues that the model adopted by a particular government affects both research directions and strategies employed to examine social capital. Statistical agencies are seen as having played a leadership role in collecting information about the different dimensions of social capital, but without the benefit of an underpinning conceptual or analytical framework. Consequently, social capital is widely documented but understood only as an outcome rather than a source of influence on particular social and economic end results (Franke, 2005: 6). Australia is identified as standing out from this trend because it represents the first attempt to make the concept of social capital more relevant for public policy development.

> The meso level of analysis led to a conceptual and analytical framework based on social networks that paved the way to a more concrete understanding of social capital based on an impressive set of indicators that captures many dimensions (Franke, 2005: 6).

The PRI notes that few data exist anywhere in the world to evaluate the contribution of social capital to specific public policy issues, or to assess the potential impact of public policy interventions on social capital.

There is substantial literature that illustrates the importance of social networks to individual well-being based on their role in a range of life spheres, including access

to new work opportunities, ageing well in retirement and educational attainment. Network-generated benefits have been found to positively affect not only individuals but groups and organisations. The Policy Research Initiative (PRI) identifies the importance of this concept for public policy purposes but making it practicable is seen as requiring research to answer the following questions –

o   How do people access and realise benefits from social capital?
o   How can social capital complement or enhance the value of other resources, such as human and financial capital?
o   Should governments play a role in the creation of social capital?
o   Can we design more effective policies and programs by taking the social capital concept into consideration? (PRI 2005b: 1).

Following two years of research, the PRI concluded that government action could be more effective if the role of social capital was taken into account more *systematically* in the development of policy and programs. In particular, the following three areas of policy were identified as being of particular relevance –

⇒   helping populations at risk of social exclusion, for example, new immigrants, certain Aboriginal communities, long term unemployed people, at risk young people and single mothers;
⇒   supporting major life course transitions by enabling social networks to provide the support and assistance needed in overcoming the challenges involved;
⇒   promoting community development efforts by enabling a more coordinated approach to service delivery, decision making and problem solving based on a recognition of the role of social networks (PRI 2005b: 3).

The PRI argued that if social capital were to be a useful tool in the way that the concept of human capital has become, it needed to be operationalized in a way that could allow public authorities to concretely identify what it was, open it up to effective measurement, and explore its productive potential in achieving broader public policy goals (PRI 2005a: 4).

The PRI has developed a framework to describe government choices in incorporating social capital into policy and program development. Based on its own research, the PRI (2005a: 17; 2005b: 4) identifies four key approaches that governments can adopt in order to incorporate social capital into public policy making, each varying in the degree of direct government involvement and with the issue concerned as the Chart below illustrates.

Degree of influence	Option for intervention by government
Direct	Build and support networks where relevant for specific program objectives
⇕	Tap into existing networks to deliver services
	Establish favourable conditions for desired network formation and maintenance
Indirect	Increase program sensitivity to existing social capital

Applying the Framework

Option for intervention by government	Example of government intervention
Build and support networks where relevant for specific program objectives	Examples already exist in programs like immigration settlement, job search, community crime prevention, public health promotion etc. Keating *et al* (2005) explored how government programs might better support the care networks of older people and promote ageing well policy goals. Older people needing care become increasingly reliant on close friends and family but their care needs may place these networks under stress. Keating *et al* argued that the care burden can be reduced by providing direct care and support to the older person and by supporting caregiver networks through respite and other programs and through employment-based leave schemes. Levesque (2005) demonstrated the importance of government facilitating appropriate social networks to underpin social capital and labour market re-entry programs for long term social assistance recipients. Levesque noted that many such programs typically perpetuate the formation of networks between social assistance recipients rather than linking them to networks that can assist in labour market entry. In reviewing these studies, the PRI emphasises the importance of a social capital perspective in enabling interaction between a diversity of groups including those normally outside of existing contacts (2005a: 18–19).

Tap into existing networks to deliver services	The field of public health and health promotion provides numerous examples of this approach. The PRI identifies health promotion programs that use influential figures to influence health-related behaviours within targeted networks. These include programs designed to change the behaviours of gay men to prevent the spread of HIV in the USA, and anti-smoking initiatives in the UK that used a peer support model in schools (PRI 2005a:19).
Establish favourable conditions for desired network formation and maintenance	The PRI notes that there will be instances where it is more appropriate for government to invest in establishing favourable conditions for the generation of social capital rather than playing a more direct role in shaping network development. The PRI identifies two key strategies for this approach – 1. supporting opportunities for social interaction by providing assistance to disadvantaged people in developing social ties and rebuilding lost relational skills before engaging in more formal network building (eg as part of labour market integration); 2. investing in public infrastructure, such as, public recreational and social spaces, community centres and mixed housing developments that support social interaction; 3. brokering and facilitating networks and alliances through the use of social 'brokers' or 'entrepreneurs', for example, local non-traditional leaders, sports coaches, neighbourhood activists etc. Public service representatives are seen to have a potential role in mediating between networks and supporting communities to develop their own networks. In the context of community development partnerships, Charbonneau (2005) found that success involved government representatives leaving the direction of activities to local networks while providing reliable funding and expertise, and building on existing community collaborations (PRI 2005a:19-21).
Increase program sensitivity to existing social capital	This approach involves collecting and integrating information about existing social networks into policy and program design, implementation and evaluation phases. The goal is to raise the awareness of policy makers about the potential impacts of new interventions on the social capital already present in communities (PRI 2005a: 22).

The Policy Research Initiative contends that while many government agencies have been measuring the social capital of the population and obtaining data to capture its major dimensions, their efforts have been limited by their focus on social capital as a dependent variable. The PRI has explored the notion of social capital also being an independent variable (Franke, 2005: v). Specifically, this has involved an exploration of the networks of relationships between individuals and groups using the Social Network model.

In its final report on the *Social Capital as a Public Policy Tool* Project, the Policy Research Initiative (PRI) identified five key insights from its work (PRI 2005a: 1-2).

1   The networks of social ties that a person or group can call upon for resources and support constitute their social capital. This may be an important but under-estimated factor in their well-being and their participation in community life.

2   A focus on social capital allows for a closer examination of the capacity of individuals and groups to forge linkages with each other and with local level organisations. By understanding relational dynamics, governments can better support local communities through partnerships and by helping to mobilise local resources. This understanding also illustrates how links occur between key stakeholders in a community, enabling government to promote a more coordinated approach to action and better access to unused resources while generating new community resources (2005: 2).

3   A social capital perspective is particularly crucial in three areas of policy – helping those at risk of social exclusion, supporting those in key life transitions and promoting community development. An explicit consideration of people's social networks is identified as particularly critical to policy development in these three areas, with substantial benefits for particular population groups, including immigrants, frail older people and at risk young people (PRI 2005a: 2).

4   Governments inevitably affect patterns of social capital development and acknowledging the role of social capital in a more systematic way in policy and program design, implementation and evaluation will make a significant difference in the achievement of policy objectives.

5   There is a need for more concrete and context-specific empirical evidence on best practice for integrating social capital into government policies and programs.

The PRI recommends that specified measures of social capital be integrated into government agency research and data development plans, evaluation frameworks

and demonstration projects in policy areas most likely to benefit from a social capital focus (2005a: 2).

In its conclusions, the PRI confirms the importance of placing a 'social capital lens' on public policy processes.

> A focus on social capital allows public authorities to consider the importance of non-material assets in social policy…. This means creating new opportunities … for connecting people with others in ways that are beneficial for the individuals and for the community. This requires, at a minimum, a focus on the impacts of policies on networks of social relationships, and being aware of the importance of preserving or protecting social ties, without draining their resources….
>
> A focus on social networks allows governments to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of social participation, or the conditions under which participation can occur. (PRI 2005: 28)

The PRI notes that the effectiveness of a person's social networks is likely to make an important difference to the successful negotiation of key life-course transitions – for example, from school to paid employment, from paid employment to retirement, from independence to loss of ability to care for oneself, or fundamental changes to family through parenthood, bereavement, marriage or divorce. Social networks and public policy interventions can be critical, especially if they intersect in a way that allows them to leverage from each other. However, the PRI notes (2005a: 16) that a significant gap exists in research on this issue.

The UK Government's Social Exclusion Unit is responsible for a suite of projects within a program known as *Improving Services, Improving Lives*, which aims to make public services more effective for disadvantaged people. This has six components relating to information and communication, interactions with frontline staff, building personal capacity in service users, joining up services, the role of the third sector, and levers and incentives. In focusing on the role of information and communications technology (ICT) in social exclusion, the British Government is seeking both to minimise the digital divide and to use ICTs as an equity tool. The initiative has been informed by five pieces of external research and a wide-ranging consultation process (Office of the Deputy-Prime Minister, 2005: 13-14).

One of the proposals arising from the report of the initiative proposes that excluded groups should be made the major beneficiaries of *e-government* and that efforts be made to avoid the development of a *'digital underclass'* (Office of the Deputy-Prime Minister 2005: 3). ICT is seen as being used to address social exclusion in three main ways –

o   through strategic planning and evaluation of services;
o   by joining up services around the needs of individuals, particularly those who are clients of multiple agencies;

o   using technology to assist personal development, and to promote active
         inclusion in employment, social groups and community participation.

One of the study's recommendations was for a government established *Digital
Inclusion Unit*, involving local and national third sector representation on its
governing body, and with the purpose of identifying good practice, providing
technical and practical guidance on the implementation of good practice, and
stimulating communities of users and leaders to promote discussion and
understanding (2005: 63). This is envisaged as part of a wider partnership approach
of industry, government and community.

The Blair Government has applied a strategy with multiple dimensions and points of
intervention, in recognition of the complexity of social exclusion. This includes
addressing two of the key causes of social exclusion – unemployment and low
income. A range of programs to support those who cannot work and to increase
employment opportunities for those who can has been implemented through the
'New Deal' initiative. A guaranteed minimum income has been provided for people
on low salaries through the introduction of a national minimum wage and working
tax credits, and a minimum income guarantee and pension credit for older people on
low income.

In recognition of research findings, early intervention approaches have also been
part of the strategy given the importance of early childhood experiences on future
life chances (a similar approach is evident in Australia). Significant investment of
resources has been directed to children's health, childcare and education services.

The National Action Plan prepared by the Government of Ireland is part of a wider
European Union strategy to meet the objective set by the European Council in Lisbon
in 2000 to reduce poverty and social exclusion by 2010. Apart from providing a
focus in each member country, the NAP strategy brings the added value of increasing
mutual understanding through a sharing of knowledge while working to common
objectives. NAPs work towards 36 agreed poverty reduction targets across a range of
policy areas and with a focus on groups vulnerable to poverty and exclusion.

The Irish Government has established specific structures to coordinate and advance
the social inclusion agenda, including the establishment of an Office for Social
Inclusion, an annual Social Inclusion Forum and the Social Inclusion Consultative
Group (a government cross-agency and cross-statutory body and key social partners
that advises the progress of the NAPs).

The first round of NAPs focused on improving government capacity to support
people vulnerable to social exclusion and to address poverty, homelessness and
drug dependency. Measures were implemented to enhance access to services and to

break down the 'digital divide'[3]. Prevention was also a feature of the interventions put in place. For example, the Family Support Agency established in 2003 was structured to both provide intensive support to at risk children and their families and foster a supportive community environment. Homelessness has been addressed by a dual strategy – one focused on provide accommodation and related services and the other on preventing homelessness.

Since late 1998, the principal strategy for mainstreaming social inclusion at central government level has been 'poverty proofing of policies' (Government of Ireland, 2005?: 49). This involves an assessment at design and review stages to identify their impact on people experiencing poverty. A 2000 review of this strategy identified that it was effective in sensitising policy makers to poverty issues but limited by an absence of relevant statistical data, and a need for greater information, training and expert support for policy officials.

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[3] Measures include provision of internet access, development of IT accessibility guidelines and capacity building of individuals and organisations in order to increase the number of people using information and communication technologies.

5.0   NASIS 2005 Survey Findings

This section discusses findings from NASIS 2005. A report on the survey results appears in *Appendix B.*

5.1   Designing the NASIS 2005 Survey

The survey instrument contains questions on items such as gender; age; ethnicity; residential location; employment status; education and housing, the responses to which can be cross referenced with other variables. The instrument also contains questions from which responses can be used to construct indicators. The purpose of the indicators is to provide an instrument to measure survey respondents' perceptions of social inclusion, exclusion and social capital in Northern Adelaide in the forms discussed above. The data obtained were also considered in relation to other data collected for this study through discussion groups with survey respondents, interviews with key informants and participant observation.

In reference to theoretical conceptions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital, Bourdieu's (1985) analysis of social capital suggests the nature of the social relationship in social capital mediates access to resources. The frequency of receipt or the amount of social capital that is received and who the donor is, can be seen as a measure of mechanical solidarity if social capital building events (ie child minding, emotional support, material support) are regularly performed among groups of people who share familial, ethnic, gender or class ties. It is therefore important to have some measure of the identity of the donor of social capital and the amount of social capital received.

The quality of the social capital received relates to whether the donors of social capital are likely to give capital that might translate into benefits for the recipient and thereby facilitate upward social mobility and a sense of organic solidarity. By inquiring into the socio-economic status of the donor of social capital, their relationship to the recipient and the amount of social capital given, we can gather data that help determine the quality of the social capital received.

In this context the project asks a range of questions related to the following dimensions of social capital.

1. Access to emotional support – through leisure activities and other forms of relaxation:
    a) The emotional support received
    b) How often the emotional support is received
    c) Identity of the person donating support
    d) Relationship of donor to recipient of support
    e) Socio-economic status of the donor providing emotional support.

2. Access to rational support – through advice, help with important life decisions, mentoring:

    a) The rational support received
    b) How often the rational support is received
    c) Identity of the person donating rational support
    d) Relationship to recipient of donor of rational support
    e) Socio-economic status of the donor providing rational support.

3. Access to material support – through assistance with specific physical assistance, e.g. child minding, home care, helping find work, housing, transport etc:

    a) The rational material received
    b) How often the material support is received
    c) Identity of the person donating material support
    d) Relationship to recipient of material support
    e) Socio-economic status of the donor providing material support.

By collecting information on how often material support is received, and on the identity and the socio-economic status of the social capital donor we can construct indicators to suggest the quantity and quality of the social capital the respondent might receive from his/her donor.

We have also sought to include measures of how individuals see themselves in relationship to others in the community and the ties that bind people together. Portes (1998) suggests bounded solidarity is identified by community feeling and "zeal" for one's group, which promotes strong relationships and relational embeddedness.

A comprehensive review of the literature on bounded solidarity and relational embeddedness by Singh (2001), proposes that this concept can be measured by the extent of reciprocal exchanges in which people engage. The extent of exchanges or "tie strength" can be measured by the amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocal services exchanged. Singh (2001: 9) proposes measuring:

1. Frequency of exchanges
2. Multiplicity of exchanges
3. Trust
4. Identification with the community.

Therefore, we have asked questions on the groups, organizations, networks, and associations to which the respondent belongs. This includes formally organised groups and groups of people who meet regularly but informally for a specified

activity or simply to talk. In other words, a community of interest. We have asked questions on –

1. The number of communities of interest to which the respondent belongs
2. The community of interest which is of the most important to the respondent
3. How often the respondent meets with the community of interest or its members
4. An estimate of the range of contacts established
5. Respondent identification with the community of interest
8. Trust in others in the community of interest.

These questions provide data that give an indication of the relation of respondents to group membership and its composition, the frequency and multiplicity of exchanges, feelings of trust and identification with a community of interest.

These questions primarily tap horizontal or community level social capital and social inclusion. As discussed earlier there is also a vertical or societal dimension to the debates over social inclusion and social capital.

In the Durkheimian sense social inclusion is also about organic solidarity and social cohesion whereas in the Marxian/Weberian/Bourdieuan sense social inclusion relates to identification with a class, which is generally oppositional to another class. We have asked questions on:

1. Community togetherness and closeness
2. Differences in characteristics between people living in the same community in terms of wealth, income, class, social status, ethnic background, gender, religion, political beliefs and age.
3. Whether differences are perceived to cause problems or bring benefits.

When aggregated with other items included in the survey instrument on the background, demography, and socio-economic status of the respondents these questions provide a tool for measuring the dimensions of social inclusion, social exclusion and social capital. We can translate these indicators into numeric and graphic models that measure social inclusion in Northern Adelaide towards building a generalised model of social inclusion, which can specify the interaction between the indicators.

5.2   Indicators of socio-economic disadvantage

Here we examine responses to our survey by four key indicators of socio-economic advantage. We examine answers by gender and Local Government Area in terms of respondents

- Employment
- Income
- Education
- Housing stress

5.2.1   Employment

As Table 1 indicates 35.2 per cent of respondents to NASIS 2005 were in full-time employment and 18.6 per cent in part-time employment. Men were more likely to be to be in full-time employment than women and less likely to be in part-time employment. Women (27 per cent) were much more likely to be in home duties than men (13.8 per cent). Unemployed men were more likely to be seeking full-time employment than unemployed women who, conversely were more likely to be seeking part-time work. Table 1 indicates that the labour market participation rates for Northern Adelaide recorded in our survey are similar to those recorded in data estimated from the Census (see Appendix C).

Table 1: Employment status by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Full time employed	49.8	20.8	35.2
Part time employed	11.0	26.0	18.6
Self employed full-time	6.9	2.2	4.5
Self employed part-time	2.0	1.5	1.8
Unemployed looking for full-time work	2.4	1.4	1.9
Unemployed looking for part-time work	0.6	2.1	1.3
Home duties	0.3	27.0	13.8
Retired	14.7	16.3	15.5
Full time student	8.1	10.2	9.1
Part time student	3.6	2.7	3.2
Volunteer	4.5	5.8	5.1
Unable to work	8.1	3.7	5.9

Not employed and not seeking work	1.0	1.8	1.4
Other	2.3	3.4	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

More respondents from Gawler (43 %) were in full-time employment than those from Playford (33.4 %) and Salisbury (34.9 %).   Gawler respondents were also more likely to be full-time students than respondents from Playford and Salisbury (Table 2). More respondents from Gawler (9.7 %) were volunteers than for Playford (4.6 %) and Salisbury (4.7 %). These figures are indicative of Gawler's relatively higher socio-economic status in comparison with Playford and Salisbury.

Table 2: Type of employment by LGA by percent

	Gawler	Playford	Salisbury
Full time employed	43.0	33.4	34.9
Part time employed	9.7	19.1	19.7
Self employed full-time	2.0	4.5	5.0
Self employed part-time	0	2.0	1.9
Unemployed looking for full-time work	0	1.5	2.5
Unemployed looking for part-time work	0	1.1	1.7
Home duties	11.0	14.3	13.9
Retired	16.3	16.6	14.7
Full time student	12.5	7.5	9.6
Part time student	3.3	2.8	3.3
Volunteer	9.7	4.6	4.7
Unable to work	5.5	7.9	4.8
Not employed and not seeking work	2.0	1.4	1.3
Other	3.9	2.6	2.8
Total	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

In our survey men (75.9 %) were much more likely than women (65.4 %) to be in ongoing employment. Conversely women were much more likely to be in casual

employment. Over five percent of our respondents were employed on a fixed term contract and 18.9 % were part-time employees (Table 3).

Table 3: Work contract by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
In permanent / ongoing employment	75.9	65.4	71.4
On a fixed term contract	5.0	6.5	5.7
Casual	14.2	25.2	18.9
Other (Specify)	4.9	2.8	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

Respondents from Salisbury and Playford were more likely to be in casual employment than people from Gawler. Conversely, respondents from Gawler (88.2 %) were much more likely to be in permanent or ongoing employment than Playford (70.9 %) or Salisbury (69.3 %). Respondents from Gawler were also more likely to be on a fixed term contract than Salisbury or Playford residents (Table 4). These figures are again indicative of Gawler's relatively higher socio-economic status.   Higher rates of ongoing employment in Gawler indicate greater job security and stability. The relatively higher rate of fixed-term contract employment might also reflect the stronger labour market status of this community since fixed term contracts are often associated with management or professional occupations.

Table 4: Work contract by LGA by percent

	In permanent / ongoing employment	On a fixed term contract	Casual	Other	Total
Gawler	88.2	7.8	3.9		100
Playford	70.9	5.4	20.4	3.1	100
Salisbury	69.3	5.3	20.3	5.0	100
Total	71.5	5.6	18.9	4.0	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.2.2   Income

More women (8.9 %) than men (4.8 %) reported earning less than one hundred dollars per week in our survey.   Conversely men were more likely to earn more than five hundred dollars per week than women and more likely to earn more than one thousand dollars per week (Table 5).

Table 5: Income by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Less than $100 per week	4.8	8.9	6.9
$100 to $199 per week	11.8	17.2	14.6
$200 to $299 per week	13.0	20.3	16.7
$300 to $499 per week	9.7	18.5	14.2
$500 to $999 per week	39.0	18.6	28.7
$1000 to $1,499 per week	14.3	1.7	7.9
More than $1,500 per week	3.0	0.5	1.8
Don't know	3.4	5.3	4.4
None	0.9	8.9	5.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

As Table 6 indicates, respondents from Playford (5.9 %) and Salisbury (7.8 %) were more likely to be earning less than three hundred dollars per week than residents of Gawler. Respondents from Gawler (6.4 %) were more likely to be earning more than fifteen hundred dollars per week than respondents from Salisbury (1.0 %) and from Playford (1.7 %). This again illustrates the relative affluence of the Gawler community in comparison with Playford and Salisbury.

Table 6: Income by LGA by percent

	Gawler	Playford	Salisbury
Less than $100 per week	4.3	5.9	7.8
$100 to $199 per week	11.7	15.5	14.5
$200 to $299 per week	21.8	19.8	14.1
$300 to $499 per week	18.1	12.7	14.3
$500 to $999 per week	19.1	27.6	30.9
$1000 to $1,499 per week	9.6	8.2	7.6
More than $1,500 per week	6.4	1.7	1.0
Don't know	1.6	4.6	4.7
None	7.4	4.1	5.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.2.3   Education

Completion of year 12 is taken as a benchmark for school retention rates in South Australia and is a reference point for the SA Social Inclusion Initiative.   As indicated in Table 7, less than four in ten respondents (37.1 %) had completed year twelve. Men were more likely to have completed year eleven and year twelve than women, and were more likely to have completed Primary School. Almost one in twenty women (4.7 %) in our survey had completed Primary School as their highest level of education (Table 7).

Table 7: Education level attained by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Still at school	1.2	1.5	1.4
Did not go to school		0.1	0.1
Some Primary school	0.6	0.7	0.7
Completed Primary School	2.9	4.7	3.8
Completed Year 8 (or below)	3.0	3.2	3.1
Completed Year 9	6.0	8.0	7.0

Completed Year 10	20.2	25.0	22.6
Completed Year 11	26.2	20.2	23.2
Completed Year 12	38.5	35.7	37.1
Don't Know	1.4	1.0	1.2
Total	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

Respondents from the Gawler area (42.7 %) were more likely to have completed year twelve than respondents from Playford (33.4 %) and more so than respondents from Salisbury (38.3 %). Differences in education status among respondents from Gawler, Playford and Salisbury were consistent with indicators of income and employment status discussed earlier in this report, albeit respondents from Gawler (4.7 %) were more likely than other respondents to report that their highest level of schooling was Primary School (Table 8).

Table 8: Education level attained by LGA by percent

	Gawler	Playford	Salisbury
Still at school	3.7	0.9	1.2
Did not go to school			
Some Primary school	0.5	0.8	0.6
Completed Primary School	4.7	3.9	3.6
Completed Year 8 (or below)	4.2	3.8	2.6
Completed Year 9	5.8	8.0	6.6
Completed Year 10	21.6	24.2	21.8
Completed Year 11	16.8	23.1	24.2
Completed Year 12	42.1	33.4	38.3
Don't Know	0.5	1.7	1.1
Total	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

Women (51.9 %) were much more likely than men (40.4%) to have no post-secondary educational qualifications. Overall 46.2 % of respondents did not have post-secondary education. More than 30 % had completed a Certificate but few had completed a Bachelor Degree or higher (Table 9).

Table 9: Post-secondary qualifications attained by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Postgraduate Degree	2.3	1.8	2.1
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate	2.8	1.6	2.2
Bachelor Degree	6.0	6.2	6.1
Advanced Diploma and Diploma	6.2	8.4	7.3
Certificate	39.7	27.7	33.6
Don't Know	2.0	2.3	2.2
Refused	0.5	0.1	0.3
No further post-secondary education	40.4	51.9	46.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

In contrast to earlier indicators of socio-economic status respondents from Playford (6.2 %) and Salisbury (6.6 %) were twice as likely to have a Bachelor Degree than Gawler (2.7%) respondents, albeit the latter were more likely to have a postgraduate degree. Gawler respondents were also less likely to hold a Certificate than Playford or Salisbury respondents (Table 10).

Table 10: Post-secondary qualification attained by LGA by percent

	Gawler	Playford	Salisbury
Postgraduate Degree	3.2	1.2	2.3
Graduate Diploma and Graduate Certificate	4.3	2.9	1.4
Bachelor Degree	2.7	6.2	6.6
Advanced Diploma and Diploma	6.9	6.4	7.9
Certificate	23.4	35.1	34.6
Don't Know	.5	2.6	2.2
Refused		.5	.3
No further post-secondary education	59.0	45.2	44.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.2.4   Housing Stress

Most respondents either owned, jointly owned or were paying off the property in which they were living. Only 8.2 % were paying rent to a government housing authority and a similar number were in private rental accommodation. Women (10.8 %) were almost twice as likely to be paying rent to a government housing authority than men (5.6 %). Conversely, men were almost twice as likely as women to be paying board privately (Table 11). Gender differences in public housing might be explained by the high proportion of sole parent households in Northern Adelaide (see Appendix C). Sole parent households typically have lower incomes and are more likely to be housed by a government housing authority.

Table 11: Housing by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Paying rent to a government housing authority	5.6	10.8	8.2
Paying rent privately	7.7	7.5	7.6
Paying board privately	9.9	5.4	7.7
Paying off this dwelling	39.1	38.9	39.0
Property fully or jointly owned by you	27.8	27.8	27.8
Living rent free	8.8	6.5	7.7
Other	0.9	1.3	1.1
Don't know	0.3	1.7	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

Housing stress in South Australia is said to occur when householders are spending more than a quarter of their income on rent or mortgage. NASIS asked respondents for information on their individual income rather than household income. Table 12 records the amount individuals spent on housing rather than households. In this sense it suggests the level of housing stress for individuals rather than being indicative of household housing stress.

More than forty percent of respondents said they were spending more than a quarter of their income on housing (Table 12). Women (42.7 %) were more likely to report spending more than a quarter of their weekly earnings on housing than men (39.2 %).

Table 12: Proportion paying more than a quarter of their income on housing by gender by percent

	Male	Female	Persons
Yes	39.2	42.7	41.0
No	57.0	49.2	53.0
Don't know	3.8	8.2	6.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NASIS, 2005

Private renters (53.6 %) appeared to be relatively worse off than public renters (46 %) or people buying their home (43.9 %) in terms of the proportion spending more than a quarter of their income on housing (Table 13). Persons paying board did best in this sense with only 18.4 % paying more than a quarter of their income on housing.

Table 13: Proportion paying more than a quarter of their income on housing by type of housing by percent

	Paying rent to a government housing authority	Paying rent privately	Paying board privately	Paying off this dwelling	Other
Yes	46.0	53.6	18.4	43.9	4.5
No	51.5	41.8	77.0	51.5	81.8
Don't know	2.5	4.6	4.6	4.6	13.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

As Table 14 indicates, respondents from Salisbury (43 %) and Playford (42.4 %) were much more likely to be paying more than a quarter of their income on housing than respondents from Gawler (27.1 %). This finding is consistent with the other indicators discussed above which illustrate the relative affluence of Gawler in comparison to its southern neighbours.

Table 14: Proportion paying more than a quarter of their income on housing by LGA by percent

	Gawler	Playford	Salisbury
Yes	27.1	42.4	43
No	59.7	52.1	52.1
Don't know	13.2	5	5
	100	100	100

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.3   Community inclusiveness

Most people from Northern Adelaide who responded to NASIS 2005 saw themselves as part of an inclusive community. More than 85 % saw their local community as a friendly place to live and 70.2 % described their community as welcoming to newcomers. More than eight in ten respondents indicated that they themselves felt part of their community (Table 15).

Table 15: Community inclusiveness

	Proportion agree or strongly agree
My local community is a friendly place to live	85.5
My local community is friendly to newcomers	70.2
I feel that I am part of this community	80.2

Source: NASIS, 2005

Most expressed tolerance of differences in wealth and social status and differences in ethnicity with less than 10 % indicating that such differences caused problems for the community (Table 16).

Table 16: Attitude to difference

	Differences cause problems in the community
Differences in wealth and social status	9.4
Differences in ethnicity	9.9
Differences between older and younger people	15.7

Source: NASIS, 2005

A less positive analysis was made of problems arising from age-based divisions. Discussion group conversations outlined later in this report also revealed a level of antipathy towards young people from older people, with young people being singled out in relation to crime and having a poor attitude towards work.

5.4   Community support networks

Survey respondents also revealed a significant level of support and solidarity between community members, with reciprocal exchange of both personal-emotional support as well as more practical assistance. In response to a question that allowed respondents to nominate the forms of support they offered other members of the community most indicated that they had helped their friends and neighbours with everyday household activities such as, helping with odd jobs, lending household equipment and providing transport in the previous twelve months (Table 17).

Table 17: Assistance provided *to* neighbours, friends, relatives or work colleagues in previous 12 months

Type of Assistance	Percent of Cases
Helped them with odd jobs	65.9
Lent them household items or equipment	63.2
Gave them household items or equipment	42.2
Provided food and meals	44.8
Assisted them with shopping	33.3
Looked after their children	49.4
Cared for another family member	24.1
Lent them money	38.0
Gave them money	28.6
Looked after their house or pet while away	45.5
Provided transport	59.1
Other	.3
Given no assistance	9.9

Source: NASIS, 2005

In return almost all respondents received reciprocal assistance with similar activities. These forms of assistance extended to personal and emotional support such as providing advice on relationships, family and children, listening to problems and sharing confidences (Table 18).

Table 18: Assistance provided *by* neighbours, friends, relatives or work colleagues to respondents in previous 12 months

Type of Assistance	Percent of Cases
Helped you with odd jobs	61.4
Lent you household items or equipment	48.2
Gave you household items or equipment	25.1
Provided food and meals	34.7
Assisted you with shopping	22.1
Looked after your children	24.8
Cared for another family member	17.0
Lent you money	20.0
Gave you money	13.3
Looked after your house or pet while the	45.1
Provided transport	43.8
Other	.2
Given no assistance	15.8

Source: NASIS, 2005

As Table 19 indicates, most survey respondents provided some form of personal or emotional support to friends, relatives, work colleagues or neighbours in the previous twelve months.

Table 19: Personal-emotional assistance provided by respondents *to* neighbours, friends, relatives or work colleagues in previous 12 months

Type of Assistance	Percent of Cases
Sharing their confidence	69.0
Listening to their personal problems	81.5
Providing advice on personal relationships	63.0
Providing advice on family and children	55.3
Other	.5
Given no assistance	14.5
Can't say / refused	.1

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.5   Community participation and civic engagement

Community strength was also indicated by the high proportion of respondents from Northern Adelaide who had undertaken formal volunteering activity and / or participated in clubs and societies (Figure 1). Almost 30 % of respondents had engaged in formal volunteering with an organisation in the previous twelve months. More than one in ten respondents had volunteered for more than one organisation. Of those who specified an organisation, most volunteered for schools, societies or charitable organisations such as the Salvation Army and Meals on Wheels.

Figure 1: Participation in volunteer activity in previous twelve months, by gender by percent
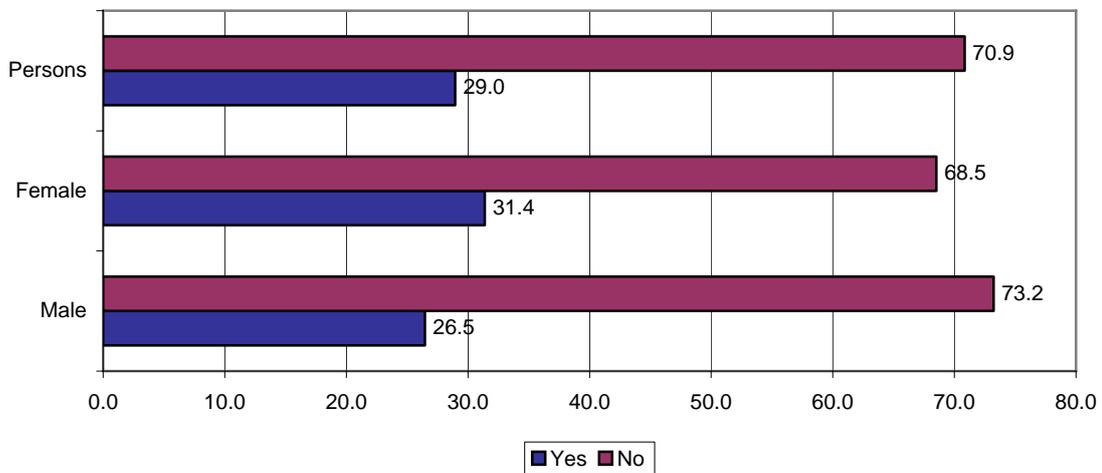
 Source: NASIS, 2005

Higher levels of participation were evident in relation to involvement with clubs and societies with more than seven in ten respondents participating in a club or society in the previous 12 months. Of this group, 31.9 % belonged to a sport or recreation club, while the remainder were associated with union or professional groups, school or student groups, services clubs and neighbourhood and civic groups (Table 20). More than six in ten indicated that they met with the group with whom they were most involved at least once a week, which suggests that many in this community are enthusiastic participants in clubs and societies.

Table 20: Membership of clubs and societies

Membership of	Percent of Cases
Union or professional group	17.9
Political party or group	1.2
Sports or recreation club	31.9
Cultural group	4.0
Religious affiliated group	14.2
School or student group	14.4
Neighborhood, civic or community association	7.9
Services club or fraternal organization	3.9
Other group	2.2

Source: NASIS, 2005

Regular participation in clubs and societies was associated with regular contact with people from the group outside of group meetings and activities. More than 70 % of those who participated in clubs and societies had regular contact with people from the group with whom they were most involved outside of group meetings.

For many, participation in social, recreational and community activities in the previous twelve months had been hindered by caring responsibilities, by lack of private transport or limited access to public transport, illness or disability, lack of information about how to get involved, fear of crime and limited personal supports. The most commonly cited barrier was lack of time due to paid work (30.4 %) – see Table 21.

Table 21: Barriers to taking part in social, recreational or group activities

Type of barrier	Percent of Cases
Fear of burglary or vandalism	3.4
Fear of personal attack	3.8
Lack of time due to child care responsibilities	16.5
Lack of time due to other caring responsibilities	11.0
Too old, sick or disabled	11.9
Lack of time due to paid work	30.4
Lack of information on how to get involved	11.1
No vehicle	7.8
Public transport unavailable	3.5
No one to go out with	9.4
Problems with physical access	3.0
Language barrier	1.0
Felt unwelcome due to disability, gender	2.2
Not interested	20.3
Other	3.4

Source: NASIS, 2005

Respondents also exhibited high trust in the members of the group with whom they were most involved and showed strong identification with that group. Group membership tended to be homogenous with most respondents indicating that many of their group had similar backgrounds to themselves in terms of wealth, social status, age, ethnicity and culture, although significant diversity was evident in terms of group membership.

Group membership appeared to be a key source of social capital with most respondents involved in groups that included members who provided valuable professional and influential linkages (Table 22).

Table 22: Occupations of people in the group with which respondents have most involvement

Occupation	Percent of Cases
Own their own business	42.1
Senior manager in a firm, business	30.4
Senior person in a government department	15.8
Employed in a professional occupation	40.7
Federal or State politician	3.5
Local councillor	7.8
Union official	9.4
Religious leader	15.5
Retired	45.9
Other	9.8

Source: NASIS, 2005

Most respondents were interested in some form of participation in political activities. More than 70 % indicated some form of political participation in the previous twelve months. Engagement in political processes included writing letters or emails to newspapers on issues of concern, attending meetings or rallies, contacting politicians or discussing political issues of concern with friends and neighbours (Table 23).

Table 23: Types of participation

Type of participation	Percent of Cases
Signed a petition	26.6
Contacted a State MP	9.2
Contacted a Federal MP	4.8
Written a letter or sent an email to the council	10.5
Contacted a local councilor	13.0
Attended a council meeting	2.0
Written a letter to the editor of a news	3.8

Emailed or called a radio or television	10.0
Talked to people living near you about an issue	43.9
Attended a public meeting about an issue	6.4
Attended a protest march or rally	2.3

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.6   Internet access and usage

Another important indicator of social inclusion is access to and usage of the Internet. As part of a shift to an 'information economy', the importance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) to individual life chances is expected to intensify in the future. The gap between those who are able to access and apply those technologies and those who are not is often described as the 'digital divide'. It is important to locate the digital divide in its wider social context, and to acknowledge it as reflecting underlying social and economic inequality, while having the potential to further entrench existing inequity and social exclusion.

ABS analysis of 2001 Census data indicates that Australian's usage of computers and the internet is unevenly distributed across the population with some groups showing disproportionate engagement, with level of income and educational qualification being major variables. Research confirms a strong relationship between the digital divide and economic disparities in the community.

Researchers identify the following groups as being under-represented in terms of connectivity and use of ICTs –

o   People who earn low incomes
o   Those who do not have tertiary level education
o   Women
o   People who live in rural and remote areas
o   People of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander heritage
o   People with a disability
o   People of non English speaking background.
o   Unemployed people
o   Those who are aged over 55.

(National Office for the Information Economy (2000) *Access and Equity*, Commonwealth of Australia)

In this context, approximately two in three respondents to NASIS 2005 had access to the Internet (Figure 2). Of this group more than 30 % had made contact through the

Internet with people outside of their usual circle of friends, family and acquaintances. Respondents commonly established contact through the Internet with people who shared their hobbies and recreational interests, people in their family, professional or work colleagues and people in similar life situations.

Figure 2: Access to the Internet by gender by percent

Horizontal bar chart showing access to the Internet by gender. Persons: Use the Internet 62.2, Don't access or use the Internet 37.5. Female: Use the Internet 57.9, Don't access or use the Internet 41.9. Male: Use the Internet 66.6, Don't access or use the Internet 33.0. Legend: Use the Internet; Don't access or use the Internet.
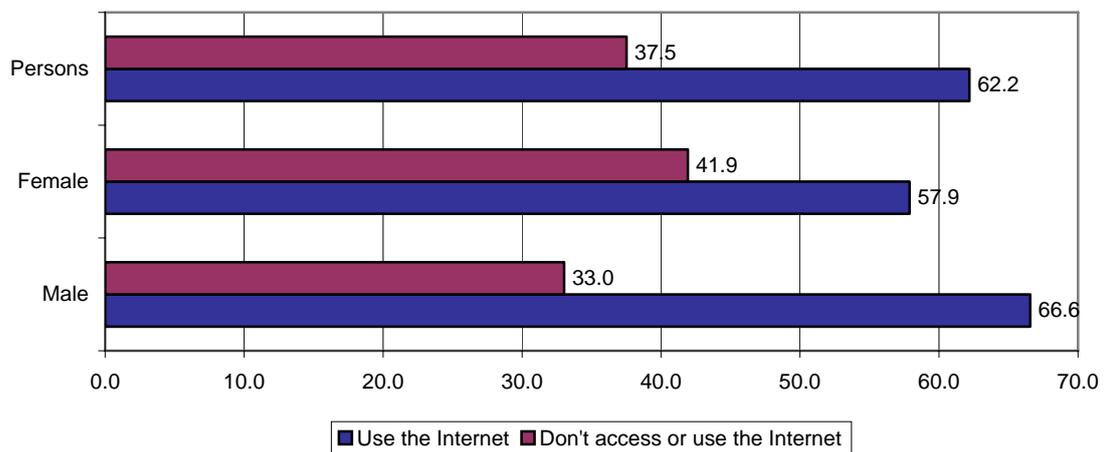
Source: NASIS, 2005

5.6   Summary

In summary, the survey data suggest that whilst many respondents were challenged by lower than average incomes, significant housing stress and had issues with care responsibilities, illness and disability, many were engaged in social, recreational and political activities in the life of their communities, which brought them into contact with people from both similar and different backgrounds. It is likely that these networks provided respondents with a rich source of social capital. The results of NASIS 2005 suggest that the community of Northern Adelaide is challenged by social and economic disadvantage but draws strength from community cohesion and social networks.

The data also indicate that the extent and character of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide is varied by age, gender and location, and by processes associated with the amount and quality of social and material capital available to respondents. There are differences within the region that are directly linked to different levels of socio-economic status.   To examine these differences we divided the Northern Adelaide region into three sub-locations. We de-identified these as '*Zone A*' (the most disadvantaged) and the more affluent '*Zone B*' and a more affluent again town, *'Zone C'.*

In brief, measurement using the Social Networks Indicator found that people from the most disadvantaged area (Zone A) were more likely than their more affluent

regional neighbours in Zones B and C to provide and receive assistance from neighbours and friends with household tasks on a regular basis. In terms of 'bonding social capital', the most disadvantaged community was stronger and more cohesive than its more advantaged neighbours.

However, findings relating to the Community of Interest and Social Inclusion Indicators were less positive and indicated that for many members of the Zone A community, social capital is confined to the 'bonding' dimension (that is, involving relatively homogenous and inward-focused networks) and this community is less likely to obtain the benefits associated with 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital (that is, providing influential connections to work, organisations and life opportunities) that were characteristic of the two more affluent communities.

5.7   Applying the Social Networks, Community of Interest and Social Inclusion Indicators to the findings

The three indicators (Social Networks, Community of Interest and Social Inclusion) offer a model which can be used to explore social inclusion and social capital in the region. Scores on the three indicators are discussed below for respondents from each of the three Zones.

5.8   Applying the Social Networks Indicator

The Social Networks Indicator was designed as a tool to examine the proportion of material and personal support respondents received from friends, neighbours, relatives and work colleagues.

As Table 24 indicates, people from the most disadvantaged area (Zone A) were more likely than their more affluent regional neighbours in Zones B and C to provide and receive assistance from neighbours and friends with household tasks on a regular basis. The most evident differences exist between Zone A and Zone C residents. While 92 % of Zone A respondents provided help to their neighbours, 80 % of those in Zone C did so.   Moreover, Zone A respondents (57 %) received assistance from their neighbours more regularly than those in Zones B and C.

Table 24: Social Networks Indicator

	Proportion giving help (%)	Proportion receiving Assistance (%)	Proportion receiving assistance a few times a month or more (%)
Zone C	80	68	51
Zone B	90	86	49
Zone A	92	83	57

Source: NASIS, 2005

These data indicate that the relatively socially and economically disadvantaged Zone A respondents did not lack 'bonding social capital' or support networks. For policy makers, this is important information because it identifies a strong foundation for them to build from in any interventions designed to address disadvantage and to enhance existing social capital. However, findings relating to the Community of Interest and Social Inclusion Indicators were less positive and indicated that for most members of the Zone A community, social capital was confined to the 'bonding' dimension (that is, involving relatively homogenous and inward-focused networks). This community was less likely to miss the benefits associated with 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital (that is, providing influential connections to work, organisations and life opportunities). As Canada's Policy Research Institute notes –

> In sum, not all networks of social ties share the same characteristics or provide access to the same range of support and resources …. The bonding, bridging, and linking distinctions may help point public policy researchers to different forms of social capital that are more or less relevant to the particular issue with which they are dealing. (2005a:12)

5.9   Applying the Community of Interest Indicator

The Community of Interest Indicator was devised to measure participation in clubs and societies as well as the amount and quality of the networks derived from this participation. The proportion of respondents who were in contact through their group with people in influential occupations was also assessed.

Respondents from Zone A were the least likely of the three communities studied to take part in clubs and societies, to meet regularly with group members outside of their usual meetings, and to be in contact with people in occupations of influence. When they did participate in clubs or societies they did so less frequently than those living in Zones B and C. While 44 % of respondents in Zone C and Zone B had contact through their membership of clubs and societies with people in influential occupations only 28 % of respondents from Zone A had such contact (Table 25.

These findings suggest that while Zone A respondents were more likely than people in more affluent Zones to have formed strong social networks through participation in community activities and the provision of reciprocal support of various kinds, they were relatively less likely to have formed such relationships through formal associations. Moreover their connection to networks of influence ('linking social capital') was significantly less than was the case for respondents from more affluent areas of Northern Adelaide.

Table 25: Community of Interest Indicator

	Proportion in a club or society (%)	Proportion meet group a few times month or more (%)	Proportion in Contact with members outside of group meetings (%)	Proportion in contact with occupations of influence (%)
Zone C	69	91	84	44
Zone B	63	68	74	44
Zone A	56	69	70	28

Source: NASIS, 2005

5.10   Applying the Social Inclusion Indicator

The Social Inclusion Indicator was designed to measure community strength and cohesion. This included measures of acceptance to differences based on wealth, income, social status, cultural background and age.

Table 26: Social Inclusion Indicator

	% agree that their community is inclusive	% agree that they personally are included in their community
Zone C	88	84
Zone B	72	83
Zone A	64	73

Source: NASIS, 2005

Respondents from Zone A saw their community as less inclusive than those from Zones B and C. Respondents from the more affluent suburbs were more likely to feel included in their communities and to regard their own communities as inclusive places. Approximately 10 % fewer people in Zone A saw themselves as personally included in their communities than in the the other Zones (Table 26).

5.11   Conclusions

On a region-wide basis, the respondents to NASIS 2005 were positive in their assessment of their community's strength and cohesion, describing an acceptance of diversity in cultural background and socio-economic status, and participation in a range of civic, social and community activities, as well as in volunteering of various kinds. Networks established through this participation were described as extending into other realms of life and providing personal, practical and other forms of support.

Most respondents said they lived in an inclusive community. More than 80 % saw their local community as a friendly place to live and 70 % described their community as welcoming to newcomers. More than 80 % of respondents saw themselves as part of their community.

Survey respondents also revealed a significant level of support and solidarity between community members, with reciprocal exchange of both personal-emotional support as well as more practical assistance. Almost all (98%) had helped their friends and neighbours with everyday household activities (such as, helping with odd jobs, lending household equipment and providing transport) in the previous twelve months. Most did so on a regular basis. These forms of assistance extended to personal and emotional support (such as, providing advice on relationships, family and children, listening to problems and sharing confidences). In return most respondents received reciprocal assistance with similar activities.

Community strength was also indicated by the high proportion of respondents from Northern Adelaide who had undertaken formal volunteering activity and / or participated in clubs and societies. Almost 30 % of respondents had engaged in formal volunteering with an organisation in the previous twelve months.

While many respondents were challenged by lower than average incomes, by significant housing stress and by care responsibilities, illness and disability – all of which presented barriers to participation in employment and community activities – many were engaged in social, recreational and political activities in their communities, which brought them into contact with people from both similar and different backgrounds. It is likely that these networks provided respondents with a rich source of social capital.   Our survey results indicate that Northern Adelaide is challenged by social and economic disadvantage but draws strength from community cohesion and social networks.

Moreover, the extent and character of social inclusion and social exclusion in Northern Adelaide is varied by age, gender and location, and by processes associated with the amount and quality of social and material capital available to respondents. There are important differences within the region that are directly linked to different levels of socio-economic status and that emerged when data

relating to the three Indicators were disaggregated on this basis. This analysis divided the Northern Adelaide region into three sub-locations. In order to de-identify them, we have labelled them '*Zone A*'– the most disadvantaged area, '*Zone B*' a more affluent metropolitan area and '*Zone C*' a relatively affluent country town.

In brief, measurement using the Social Networks Indicator found that people from the most disadvantaged area (Zone A) were more likely than their more affluent regional neighbours in Zones B and C to provide and receive assistance from neighbours and friends with household tasks on a regular basis. In terms of 'bonding social capital', the most disadvantaged community was stronger and more cohesive than its more advantaged neighbours.

However, findings relating to the Community of Interest and Social Inclusion Indicators were less positive and indicated that for most members of the Zone A community, social capital was confined to the 'bonding' dimension (that is, involving relatively homogenous and inward-focused networks) and missing the benefits associated with 'bridging' and 'linking' social capital (that is, providing influential connections to work and other life opportunities) that were characteristic of the two more affluent communities.

6.0   Discussion Group Findings

To enrich the quantitative data from NASIS 2005 three discussion groups were arranged with survey respondents who indicated as part of the survey process that they were interested in taking part in discussions with the research team. Discussions were semi-structured using open questions on social exclusion issues, and respondents were able to freely explore issues of importance to them in relation to the survey. The information obtained from the discussion groups was thematically analysed to draw out common issues and concerns raised by the participants.

6.1   Overview

Three discussion groups, involving a total of 35 participants were held in a meeting room at the Elizabeth Civic Centre in September and October 2005. Participants represented a wide range of ages, the youngest being 19 and the oldest 69 years, with an even division of women and men, and two Aboriginal participants.

Most discussion group participants described themselves and the North generally as "working class". This description of themselves and their region was not differentiated on the basis of income level, gender or age. People who were quite clearly well off preferred to describe themselves as working class, which was suggestive of a regional identity.

Across the different demographic groupings, participants tended to express political viewpoints that could be described as 'socially progressive'. In general they expressed tolerance of cultural and sexual diversity, sympathy for the plight of disadvantaged elderly people, the unemployed and sole parents and were interested in community issues. The main source of division within the community was age-based, with many older participants positioning young people in Northern Adelaide as lacking a sense of responsibility and contributing to the social problems faced by them. A strong discourse of fear of crime and drugs was also evident. This fear was often related to young people who were held to be perpetrators of violence.

Many participants regarded the degree of social inclusion/exclusion present in Northern Adelaide as being related to negative perceptions of the region by non-residents. Where disadvantage was identified, this was perceived as relating to specific groups, particularly older people, sole parents and unemployed people.

Others identified failures of the education system and school retention issues, child care issues and employment issues as contributing to social exclusion in Northern Adelaide. Some raised issues with social isolation and problems with public transport. These problems were often related to lack of information about services and the accessibility of services.

We have grouped the information yielded from the three discussion groups into eleven themes relating to social inclusion issues.

o   Perceptions of 'The North'
o   Transport
o   Information
o   The education system
o   School retention
o   Child care
o   Employment
o   Young people
o   Crime and drugs
o   Racial discrimination
o   Community engagement and participation.

These themes are discussed in more detail below.

6.2   Perceptions of "The North"

There was a common view among discussion group members that the media and other sources external to the region exaggerate the extent of social exclusion and other social issues in Northern Adelaide. There was resentment about this trend and

some participants believe that the stereotypes generated by media coverage have influenced government policy responses to Northern Adelaide need.

> They say we are a low socio-economic area – it's the worst badge word.

Most participants described themselves as "working class", (albeit some made it clear that they were personally well off) and positioned the North as a working class area, where people had to struggle to get ahead. Responses indicated that participants disliked the stigmatisation this incurred, which they regarded as hindering people's capacity to 'get ahead'. Most tended to be sceptical about suggestions that the local economy was improving.

> Elizabeth – always been working class suburbs established around Holden – struggle town, that's what they call where I live, Salisbury, Paralowie…all have the same problems. Mawson Lakes – my mum says "Today's town –houses, tomorrow's slums.

Within the general consensus that the region is "working class" and "struggle town", participants also identified differences within Northern Adelaide. For example, areas near to Elizabeth were identified as being more disadvantaged than other areas and suffering greater social exclusion. In contrast Gawler was seen as relatively affluent, albeit with pockets of disadvantage.

> It tends to be Elizabeth that I see the more underprivileged people get on (the train) …perhaps Smithfield, more so Elizabeth, Salisbury. They're working people going to town.

> Even in Gawler … there are some parts which are suffering a bit, other parts are doing very nicely thank you very much.

There was also recognition that some groups were especially disadvantaged and faced more challenges than others in being included in the life of their communities. Older pensioners and sole parents were frequently identified as struggling to make ends meet.

> A lot of older people have got pride, and that is all they have got."

> Single mums with children – they're doing it pretty rough. They haven't got cars – that's where it falls down on the kids.

6.3   Transport

Lack of access to transport was identified by around 7 percent or respondents to NASIS 2005 as a significant barrier to taking part in social, recreational activities. of public Transport was nominated by many discussion group participants as an issue that contributed to social exclusion in the north, particularly for people who are reliant on public transport, and this was described as limited in its provision and in its hours of operation. Typical comments included:

> After 6pm (public) transport stops."

> (There are) newer suburbs where you don't have public transport at all.

> If you are a shift worker it's nearly impossible if you haven't got a car, so you have to be able to afford a car and then look after the car.

Limited public transport in the region was seen as having a particularly negative impact on families and older people and exacerbated by a lack of information about what transport services were available in the north, particularly in relation to bus time-tables, which were described as "constantly changing, usually with fewer services". Money also presented a problem for some in terms of access to transport, and therefore, to services that are available in the region.

> Elderly too haven't got transport, haven't got money – … (recreational services for older people are available) …. but lots of elderly can't get there.

6.4   Information

Critically important to utilising services and support is being informed of their availability. Around 7 percent of survey respondents identified lack of information as a barrier to taking part in social, recreational or group activities. A lack of information on services was seen by discussion group participants as contributing to social exclusion, as well as impeding access to services. Many participants indicated that state and local government should do more to advertise what services were available because they did not know what services were available or where to find them. This was seen as a particular problem for older people.

> Don't know what services are actually there. There are often things they can't access."

> It's a case if you don't ask you don't find out. It's (information) not disseminated here.

> It is hard to find out what's going on. And if you do, it's somewhere that you can't get to because there is no transport or it's on at the wrong time of day.

> With the older people… they don't know what services are actually there.

> It's only the odd person, say like my wife or others who you know, through trial and error, eventually accumulates a whole lot of knowledge of what (services) are about. This is something to be looked at.

6.5   The education system

The education system in Northern Adelaide was seen by many participants as not meeting the needs of their children. This was often based on the belief that schools were not teaching them basic skills.

> They let them use calculators so they can't think.

> Year six and can't read or write.

> I don't understand how they can't read or write.

Some participants placed the blame on parents failing to provide discipline and guidance, rather than on the education system resulting in children not developing a sense of responsibility.

> Parents don't send her to school often enough and no one bothers to follow up on her.

> (They should be teaching them) the lesson is you get rights with responsibilities.

Some participants have considered sending their children to private schools because they distrust the public education system in the region. In some cases this decision was influenced by a belief that private schools enforced discipline more than public schools. For some lengthy travelling time (for example, between school and the parent's place of work) was a factor in this decision.

Other participants pointed to the recent expansion of small private schools in Northern Adelaide. Some were sceptical of new private schools with an explicitly religious curriculum, especially when this was associated with fundamentalist religious interpretations.

6.6   School retention

Some participants said they believed many students did not complete their secondary education in the region because parents could not afford to keep their children at school. Others said the problem reflected parents' expectations and experiences of the formal education system, associating long term and generational unemployment with negative attitudes to education and poor role modelling.

> If they've got parents that have worked all their lives, they are more inclined to be retained at school and go for a job. If your parents have never worked… then children are liable to drop out early (from school).

Some participants felt that young people did not stay on at school because of inadequate parental discipline, while others believed that school retention was undermined by the 'welfare state' which they described as emphasising individual rights without responsibility.

> The attitude has been taught, you do not have to respect your elders, the world owes you, you don't owe the world, you have rights, responsibilities are a load of rubbish.

6.7   Child care

Participants indicated that they knew of many people in the North, including themselves, who had difficulty fulfilling work responsibilities in the face of limited transport and available childcare in the region. Such challenges compound the achievement of a balance between work and family and other life issues.

> There was one (childcare centre) … that closed down…we had no option really, give up work or move".

> "I can't see why Holden never built a child care centre. I think that's where the government should say you're building this big thing and you have to have a child care centre.

6.8   Employment

Employment issues were identified by many participants as contributing to social exclusion in Northern Adelaide. There was a general belief that unemployment was higher in the region than elsewhere in South Australia, including in the Gawler area. This issue was often raised in relation to training and education issues. Some participants believed that people in the North were less qualified than workers elsewhere and when jobs became available they were filled by people from other localities. Despite new factories moving into the area the employment they provide is not seen as being filled by local residents. While many male participants indicated

that they were employed in the trades, apprenticeships were seen as being limited in availability and paying such low wages that they failed to attract young people.

> We are told we don't really have an unemployment issue around this area (Gawler) but there is one."

> Where Holden's are laying off a shift, there are still other factories moving in… now other people are going to take those jobs from the Western, Southern, Eastern suburbs, and therefore the ones in the North still don't have a job.

> Any apprenticeship (if you can find one) you just cannot get people to work in apprenticeships because the wage starts so low and some apprenticeships even when you qualify the wage isn't particularly fantastic

There was general recognition of the critical role played by General Motors Holden in the local economy. Many commented that "without Holden there would be no Elizabeth". Some participants expressed anxiety about the possible closure of the company within the next five years. One woman who worked at the factory commented:

> We all have an escape plan. A way to make sure that we will be ok if it (Holden's) closes. That's why I am studying community work, so that I've got some work when it goes.

6.9   Crime and drug misuse

Crime was seen as a considerable barrier to social inclusion in Northern Adelaide by many of our discussion group participants. Fears were expressed for the safety of children and young people, particularly in relation to public spaces and public transport. These fears often related to murder and violent assault.

> We've had a lot of bodies dumped at …. That's a favourite place for dumping bodies.

> We had that last month, a young woman was bashed and dumped.

> Cars get burnt out and girls abducted… a young girl was abducted when she walked from her home to the shop.

> Kids get beaten up on the train and outside Hungry Jacks.

> … was really quite scary getting home because kids were walking through the train cars with trolley poles.

Young people were often cited as the cause of violence in the region. These discussions often revealed quite punitive attitudes towards young people – for example, one participant called for schools to be

... razor wired off from the community to stop them (the students) creating havoc during school hours.

Crime was often related to fears about drugs and concerns with alcohol abuse in the region. Young people were depicted as being at risk but also as being part of the problem. Some suggested that drugs in schools were symptomatic of the failing education system and lack of responsibility on the part of parents.

(They) sell tablets at school then teachers can't understand why they're running off the rails.

Kids today can get anything they want, they sell it (drugs) to other kids, then drink, get stoned.

This is an issue (drugs) about family, how involved you are and with the community as a whole.

I maintain that kids aren't any different. They make their own fun but it's what they are shown (by adults).

Some participants said the problem of crime was related to declining community spirit because of modern lifestyles, and rising fear because families were isolated from each other. This was reducing the freedom of young people to play in the streets, creating social isolation and working against community cohesion. Participants tended to contrast their own experiences as young people with those of today – a trend which is not confined to Northern Adelaide.

We drive to work in our cars, we go into work…we leave work, we drive home into our roller door, go into the house and don't see the neighbours…then the children are frightened to play out the front because someone will nab them and no one will see them".

"The freedom that we had, even though the dangers were still there…when I was growing up we'd go off over the gullies in the morning and come back when the sun was overhead and it was lunch time.

6.10   Young people

The most pronounced division within the region was related to age, with marked hostility to young people expressed by some participants. Young people tended to be seen as irresponsible, as having the 'wrong attitude' and not wanting to work.

(Young people think) if I can't be a managing director when I leave school I can't be bothered. It's an attitude thing.

> Younger people have to have instant gratification, so they all play with their mobiles…if they haven't got mobiles to play with they're lost and no matter what economic group they are from they've still got mobiles to play with.

> A lot of kids these days just think why should I bother.

> Lots of graffiti these days, kids doing wheelies and burnouts.

Participants on low incomes tended to be more sympathetic to young people. Two women who identified as living on sole parent benefit commented:

> The kids aren't really given a chance here. We haven't got the best schools for them to go to and there are no jobs for them when they get out. Not really surprising is it that they get in trouble.

> (You see signs saying)… experienced person wanted – must be 16 years or under – how in the world are they supposed to get experience – they just don't want to pay them properly?

6.11   Cultural diversity and racial discrimination

Most participants identified as being part of a migrant community which had grown up around them over the last thirty years and were very supportive of multiculturalism. Participants expressed admiration for migrants whom they perceived as being hard working, and empathised with the isolation of being a migrant in a strange land, which could be exacerbated by unfriendly neighbours. They also expressed concern for the racism which some experienced.

> There's the husband and the wife doing two jobs a day because they are building their family home over there…they're isolated and have been blackballed by their neighbours because they are different.

> I felt so awful for them I mean, there's a barrier there too even now after all these years.

> Well their neighbours don't talk to them because they are dark skinned but they have beautiful hair…I wish I had it.

> If you came from El Salvador, which is a very poor country, how would you like your family to live in a house that is made of plastic bags sewn together.

> Hard working Italians do that, they work two jobs to get ahead, but they are isolated, never home.

6.12   Community engagement and participation

Confirming the findings of the NASIS 2005 Survey, participants generally expressed an interest in political issues, including at the local level, with most saying they voted in local government elections. In the main their political alignment can be described as 'left of centre' with some conservative dissenters.

Many participants indicated that they were volunteers and most also took part regularly in organised sport, school activities, community clubs and associations. Some explained their participation as being related to their community's origin as one formed by migration, particularly in relation to the Elizabeth and Salisbury areas.

> When we moved to Elizabeth you didn't know anyone so you joined the local social club or footy club to meet people.

> We all began to arrive together and nobody had much so we all helped each other.

> It was easy if I was mowing my lawn and I see my friend across the road has got long grass to knock on her door and offer to mow her lawn.

A minority of participants were less likely to be involved as volunteers in their community. Some said this was because of the time and cost but also because they were unable to identify any return from volunteering – as illustrated by the following comment –

> I've volunteered for Anglicare for ten years but you never get anything out of it, no (paid) work, nothing. They take your time but don't help you.

Nevertheless, many were actively engaged in organisations such as Scouts and sporting associations, but less so in service clubs such as Rotary. In some cases this was because participants identified themselves as "working class", and associated organisations like Rotary and Lions with professionals and business people

> Scouts is very good at that (leadership training), before the scouts I was with gymnastics...you know I was a qualified gym instructor before I became a scout leader.

> Join Rotary or the Lions Club or Apex....I've always looked at the possible avenues, which I have never gone to.

Participants were also aware that voluntary involvement in clubs and societies conferred advantages that build social capital. Some identified examples of this, both for themselves and the wider community –

> There are businessmen (in Rotary) or whatever else so therefore you have got that network and you've got more contacts, you've got more chance of going somewhere.

> Once you are a member of one of those organisations you've got a bit of status and often you'll be in a meeting with politicians, things like that.

> I've been in situations with local politicians because you are a leader and it gives you a bit of an intro to actually talk to them about something…having some status within the community helps.

> They (people with influence) can help you to achieve your goal.

Another important motivator to take part in community activities for many participants was that it was fun and it overcame social exclusion and isolation.

> The other thing about belonging of course, is it's good fun, a lot of people get a lot of social interaction as well. I mean if you are isolated … become a scout leader because you meet a whole range of people, provided you have transport and you can afford it.

> You do meet a whole range of people from all walks of life and you do have a good time.

6.13   Conclusion

In the main our qualitative data reinforce our quantitative research findings and provided us with the opportunity to explore particular issues in richer detail. Our findings relating to social capital, social inclusion and social exclusion have been strongly supported by discussion group participants, with the only exception relating to age-based divisions in the community. However, the broad trend in discussions was to portray a community that has well-developed internal networks, supporting friends and neighbours and contributing to community well being through volunteering and other forms of civic engagement. This is a strong foundation from which public policy can build in future interventions designed to sustain and foster the growth of social capital and to promote social inclusion.

Bounded solidarity was evident in the resentment towards outsiders' views of the North as "socio-economically disadvantaged".   It was also clear that many participants saw the North or parts of it as "struggle town" where material advantage was difficult to attain despite the rhetoric of governments and developers. Many were sceptical of claims (e.g. "today's townhouses, tomorrow's slums) of a new economic dawn in the North. To an extent participants positioned social exclusion as a subjective experience of people struggling to obtain the unobtainable, and discounted claims of imminent prosperity, which did not accord with the reality of their life experiences, albeit this was not held by many participants to be a purely Northern phenomenon.

The bounds of solidarity for our participants were not restricted by ethnicity or race. Only one participant in our discussion groups expressed racist sentiments and when

this person did so they were countered by people who expressed admiration or sympathy for the people from other ethnic backgrounds with particular reference to the migration experience. Solidarity also extended to older people, unemployed people and sole parents who were generally seen to be "doing it hard". Many were also concerned with what were perceived to be declining job opportunities in the North and the effect on the community of perceived declines in the standard of public education and training which made it more difficult for people in the North to get the education and training needed to obtain jobs.

However solidarity did not extend to younger people who with some exceptions were discussed in terms relative to Jock Young's (1999) conception of emotional solidarity. That is, the process that binds groups together through the emotional bonds forged by collective activities but which can exclude those who have not shared the collective experience. Young people were not seen to be as hard working as their parents had been, and not to have shared the hardships of their elders as the North was developed. They were seen as disrespectful to their families and communities and given to drugs and violence. One of our participants only half-jokingly commented that crime in the North could be combated by "razor wiring off the schools". The concern with declining job opportunities in the North rarely extended to the plight of young unemployed people who tended to be depicted as "wanting it all now" and not willing to take jobs at entry level pay rates.

Our participants also expressed a strong concern with the impact of crime and drugs, which was not as evident in our quantitative results. Crime was seen as contributing to social exclusion by making people fearful of using public spaces and public transport, and preventing children from playing in the street.

Spatial differences between participants' perceptions of social exclusion in Gawler, Playford and Salisbury were also evident. Gawler was less likely to be depicted as "struggle town" although participants from Gawler identified socio-economic differences within this locality.

Many participants were aware that social networks conferred advantages that countered social exclusion and referred to processes which are described in the literature as "bonding social capital" and "bridging social capital". The high participation in sport, clubs and societies and in volunteering activities evident in our quantitative data was related by discussion group participants to having an origin in the needs of communities of migrants with lower than average incomes. Participation in community activities helped newcomers to make connections with new friends and develop social networks which helped them to form the interdependent organic relationships that are characteristic of communities in modern societies. There was also a perception that social networks formed from participation in community activities could help people to bridge social disadvantage through making business connections and meeting politicians and other people in positions of power who could help them to achieve their goals, a process of forming "bridging" social capital.

7.0   Implications and Future Directions

The findings emerging from the Project raise a number of possible policy responses. In this section we link the lessons learned from previous research to the areas of need identified by the Project. We also discuss further application of the NASIS 2005 study and indicate recommended future directions for government and other stakeholders in relation to increasing social inclusion in Northern Adelaide.

7.1   Implications for public policy

Public policy intervention is never neutral. Not intervening in itself will have an impact on social exclusion and social capital and purposive intervention can bring both intended and unintended consequences. The research has identified a number of approaches that are possible for government, as overviewed in *Section 3.3* and described in more detail in the Literature Review in *Appendix A.* In assessing the existing evidence base, three clear trends are evident and these are of particular relevance for Northern Adelaide.

First, the recurring theme in the research literature is the need for public policy to traverse a range of portfolio areas, promoting 'joined-up' policy and programs, in recognition of the multiple issues that need to be addressed in order to promote social inclusion. Research findings also point to the importance of multiple points of intervention by government, acknowledging the complexity of social exclusion issues. An integrated approach is essential across government itself, and through partnerships that link the public sector, the private sector, the non government sector and communities. Key researchers have identified important roles for public policy in the areas of education, health, housing, neighbourhoods, crime (and the fear of crime), employment and income to promote social inclusion and build social capital.

Second, the importance of early intervention as a strategic approach is also evident. In other words, rather than simply responding to issues associated with social exclusion, governments have a key role that is as much proactive as it is reactive. To this end, policy must discussion on early identification of children at risk to enable early and sustained intervention, particularly at key life transition stages. Research evidence highlights the importance of policy that promotes inclusive education practices that reduce alienation, truancy and exclusion – as is evident in the SA Government's *Social Inclusion Agenda* and *State Strategic Plan*. Early intervention is also required in health policy in order to overcome social and economic factors that produce poor health outcomes – as is evident in the SA Government's response to the *Generational Health Review*. The *Communities for Children'* strand of the Australian Government Department of Families, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs' (FaCSIA) *Stronger Families and Communities Strategy* is a response to

national and international evidence that the early years of a child's life are crucial to future development and to learning, behaviour and health over the life course.

Third, it is also evident that government cannot be effective if it works in isolation from business, from the voluntary sector and from communities themselves. Partnerships and collaboration are identified by researchers as essential mechanisms in enhancing community strength and promoting social inclusion. They are also the nucleus of joined-up responses that must work across government and across sectors.

NASIS 2005 has made a number of important findings about the strength or otherwise of social networks in Northern Adelaide. There is a substantial evidence base that illustrates the importance of social networks to individual well-being in a range of life spheres, including access to new work opportunities, ageing well in retirement and educational attainment. Network-generated benefits have been found to positively affect not only individuals but groups and organisations. By understanding relational dynamics, governments can better support local communities through partnerships and by helping to mobilise local resources. This understanding also illustrates how links occur between key stakeholders in a community, enabling government to promote a more coordinated approach to action and better access to unused resources while generating new community resources.

Following two years of research, the Canadian Government's Policy Research Initiative concluded that government action could be more effective if the role of social capital was taken into account more *systematically* in the development of policy and programs. Accordingly, the PRI recommended that specified measures of social capital be integrated into government agency research and data development plans, evaluation frameworks and demonstration projects in policy areas most likely to benefit from a social capital focus (2005a: 2). This is an approach that could be applied across policy portfolios in relation to Northern Adelaide.

The PRI has developed a framework to describe government choices in incorporating social capital into policy and program development. Based on its own research, the PRI (2005a: 17; 2005b: 4) identifies four key approaches that governments can adopt in order to incorporate social capital into public policy making, each varying in the degree of direct government involvement and with the issue concerned as the Chart below illustrates. Again, this merits consideration for public policy intervention in the Northern Adelaide region.

Degree of influence	Option for intervention by government
Direct	Build and support networks where relevant for specific program objectives
⇕	Tap into existing networks to deliver services
	Establish favourable conditions for desired network formation and maintenance
Indirect	Increase program sensitivity to existing social capital

7.2   Future directions

Northern Adelaide is recognised as a region where significant sections of the population experience various forms of disadvantage. This project has shed further light on what some of the barriers to social and economic participation in the region are. It has also identified a range of strengths within the region. In promoting social inclusion and strengthening social capital it is essential that existing strengths be used as a foundation for future intervention.

In summary, this foundation is associated with the high level of community cohesion in the region, involving sound networks of personal support and practical assistance, high levels of participation in social clubs, volunteering, in political and civic processes, and a view of the local community as one that is inclusive of its members, including newcomers. The majority identify strongly with their community and feel a strong sense of belonging.

The majority of community members surveyed do not regard differences based on cultural background, wealth or status as a source of division in the community (in fact, such diversity can be seen as one of its strengths). It is evident however that differences based on age are seen to reduce community cohesion, with some older survey participants regarding young people in a very negative light.

While social networks are described as valuable, those that are focused inwards (that is, involving friends, neighbours, work colleagues and relatives, and providing a range of personal and practical support) appear to be stronger than those with an outward focus (providing linkages to employment and opportunities that rely on a wider set of social networks). This is particularly the case for people living in the Zone A neighbourhoods.

Consequently, the foundation for policy intervention that is strongest involves 'bonding social capital' networks that have high levels of trust and reflect a strong sense of commitment to those networks. These provide a positive basis for future action across the Northern Adelaide region. However, there is scope for intervention that is designed to strengthen 'linking social capital' for the more disadvantaged areas of the region, particularly around the Zone A location

Similarly, the high level of involvement in social and civic processes and groups provides a further foundation for future policy and other intervention. These can also provide key locations for communication, using community leaders as trusted sources. This could, for example, provide the basis for a strategy to address the information void identified in our survey, enabling people in the region to increase their awareness of and access to available services and supports. Such an approach is particularly relevant for overcoming barriers based on language and culture, provided the appropriate community intermediaries are selected for conveying information.

The usage of information and communication technologies is another important point of intervention, both in reaching those who are already accessing the Internet and in overcoming the Digital Divide that affects the remaining forty per cent. This is a critical strategy for avoiding a reinforcement of existing inequalities and for promoting equity.

The other key areas of need that have emerged from our research relate to housing stress and information. Approximately 40 per cent of people living in the Salisbury and Playford LGAs are living in housing stress, and this was most likely to involve those aged between 25 and 45 years (see *Tables B9 to B12, Appendix B).* Discussion group feedback indicates that lack of information about available services and other supports is a key need that acts to perpetuate disadvantage.

Finally, there appears to be scope for initiatives designed to reduce age-based divisions and to promote intergenerational exchange. Sporadic examples exist of this within the region – for example, the aged care facility and secondary school collaboration that is the positive outcome of an initially negative division between young and old.

Data from NASIS 2005 have been collected at a single point in time. This enables cross-sectional analysis of phenomena associated with social inclusion and social exclusion, and provides a baseline for further data collection. However, NASIS cannot measure social inclusion over time without being repeated at regular intervals. Consideration should be given to repeating NASIS 2005 at regular intervals to gather time series data.

The Canadian Government's Policy Research Institute (PRI) notes that few data exist anywhere in the world to evaluate the contribution of social capital to specific public

policy issues, or to assess the potential impact of public policy interventions on social capital (Franke, 2005). This is no doubt linked to the limited number of longitudinal studies that can measure changes in social capital over time. The data from NASIS 2005, if replicated over time, has the capacity to address this gap in the evidence base and could be a valuable means of assessing the impact of SA government policy intervention in the Northern Adelaide region.

It is recommended that consideration is given to the development of an expanded framework based on typologies of capital to understand the nature of exclusion and to guide cross-portfolio interventions.

It is also recommended that consideration is given to repeating NASIS 2005 at regular intervals within Northern Adelaide in order to gather time series data and to measure the impact of policy and other interventions designed to enhance social capital and social inclusion in the region.

Finally it is recommended that consideration be given to replicating NASIS in other regions, across metropolitan Adelaide, or state-wide.

8.0   Review of the data collection model

This section reviews the survey design process, the questions included in the instrument and the discussion groups held with survey respondents after the survey was completed. We begin by reviewing the design process and then address the questions in each section of the survey instrument before reviewing the discussion group process.

8.1   Design process

Ethical survey design and an appreciation of the respondents' time demands that questions should only be included in a survey if they are tightly related to the purpose of the data collection (Black 1999, Dillman 2000).   The purpose of the NASIS 2005 survey was to collect data on processes associated with the concept of social inclusion. Questions were included in NASIS if they addressed the conceptual framework developed from the literature on social inclusion reviewed prior to the survey instrument construction and if it was deemed questions should be included in the instrument by the project advisory group and key stakeholders. The data collection was thus justified in relation to a conceptual map and by the input of key advisors. The debate over social inclusion is ongoing and our understanding of the process changes as the research process advances. Consideration should be given to reviewing the literature and the conceptual framework on social inclusion in relation to the debates in this area before a future data collection takes place to ensure that the instrument continues to collect data that addresses the latest research in this area.

The survey design process for NASIS 2005 was assisted by the involvement of the Department of Health's Population Research and Outcomes Studies Unit (PROS) in the formulation of questions and in the coordination and preparation of the survey questionnaire. Questions were constructed to address the conceptual framework and some were drawn from other surveys of demonstrated validity and / or reliability provided by PROS. Consultations on the questions to be asked were held between PROS, the AISR, the Social Inclusion Unit, the Office for the North and members of the advisory group. The construction of the instrument was also discussed at four meetings in Northern Adelaide with representatives of interested community organisations, which were facilitated by the Office for the North.

The design, coordination and preparation of the survey mirrored that followed by the Department's Health Monitor survey. The instrument was pilot tested and an introductory letter sent to all persons to be contacted before the main CATI survey of 1999 households in Northern Adelaide was held in February 2005. Data was collected by the Department of Health's contracted agency Harrison Research.

Data was weighted in the report by age, gender, local government area and probability of selection in the household in line with the ABS Estimated Resident Population for 2003 (see the Social Inclusion Survey, Department of Health Technical Report for a detailed description of the process).

The design and delivery of the survey followed standard practice for population surveys. In this process weighting is applied to ensure that data is representative of the general population of the area being surveyed. However weighting does present some problems in terms of the capacity to apply spatial information technologies to the data as per Objective 4 of the research project. Once weighting has been applied cases in the dataset to not represent single units but fractions of units depending on the weight applied. Our original application to the Department to fund this project proposed to collect data through random stratified sampling which would have produced a dataset that did not require weighting. If it is considered desirable to apply spatial information technologies to data obtained from a future social inclusion survey consideration should be given to collecting data by stratified random sampling.

8.2   Section A

Section A of the survey instrument asks for basic demographic information on age, sex, household composition, postcode and length of time living in the region.

Asking a question on postcodes enables the data collected to be spatially disaggregated. However, postcodes tend to straddle diverse areas of geographical interest and are not always useful in disaggregating spatial areas of interest to a study of social inclusion. To address this issue consideration should be given in any future survey to including a question on the respondent's suburb of residence.

8.3   Section B

Section B contains a single self-assessed general measure of health. This does not allow researchers to make a distinction between a respondent's physical and mental health. Consideration should be given in a future survey to including separate questions on self-assessed physical and mental health.

8.4   Section C

Section C asks questions that collect data on respondents' engagement with their community and their social capital. These questions address the theorised conceptual framework for this study. Data from these questions is used in the indicators of social inclusion and community engagement discussed earlier in this survey.   Within the time constraints of the project it has not been possible to unpack all of the data collected in this section. Much of this data is unique in that it offers

detailed insights into the socio-economic status of the social networks of respondents, which can be related directly to the extensive data collected on the respondents' own socio-economic status. However this section is quite long. Moreover, the debate over social inclusion is ongoing. Consideration should be given in a future survey to reviewing questions to be included in this section in relation to an updated literature review and conceptual map in consultation with key advisors.

8.5   Section D

This section asks general questions on whether respondents see their local community as inclusive, and how they perceive differences based on wealth, social status, ethnicity and age. Questions D1 to D4 provide data that gives an overview of community perceptions of inclusion but the questions themselves are not tightly differentiated in terms of the concepts measured. Consideration should be given to shortening the list of questions asked here to questions which ask whether respondents believe their community is inclusive and whether they personally feel part of the community in which they reside. Questions D5 to D7 ask questions on perceptions of difference. These questions collect data that provides a measure of how cohesive respondents believe their community to be. The items selected (ie wealth, ethnicity and differences between young and old) were drawn from the literature in this area since social cohesion data for the region was not available before this survey was collected. Consideration should be given to including more questions on the issues uncovered in the course of this research in relation to a revised literature review and conceptual map, and deleting those questions that have less salience.

8.6   Section E

Section E collects data on participation in voluntary organisations, clubs and societies, barriers to social participation and engagement in political activities. This section also collects unique data on the socio-economic status of the people that respondents mix with as they engage in community activities thus offering insights into the value of social inclusion and social solidarity in relation to the potential for social and economic advancement. However the list of questions in this section is long and consideration should be given in a future survey to reviewing questions in relation to the process discussed above. This section also makes a distinction between "formal" volunteering for agencies such as Rotary and participation in clubs and societies. This practice seems at variance with the approach taken in national data collections on volunteering held by the ABS and research commissioned by the SA Office for Volunteers, which do not distinguish typologies of volunteering. Moreover, the salience of making a distinction between volunteering for an agency and a club or society is difficult to defend. Active membership of a sporting club is likely to be seen by a participant as just as valuable as membership of the Red Cross

or Rotary and relative worth of the contribution that the various forms of voluntary participation make to the community is difficult to meaningfully disaggregate. Consideration should be given to reviewing the questions included in this section in relation to a theorised framework to justify the selection of questions.

8.7   Section F

Section F contains a small number of questions which collect data on Internet connectivity and on whether respondents use the Internet to engage in the social life of their community. These questions were kept to a minimum in the 2005 survey in part because the role of the Internet in social inclusion has not received much critical attention from the academic or policy practitioner communities. However given the ever expanding role of the Internet in the life of the community consideration should be given to expanding the set of questions asked here. Additional questions should be tightly theorised and justified in relation to their relationship to social inclusion and a conceptual framework.

8.8   Section X

Section X collected data on a wide range of socio-economic data, and included questions on country of birth, indigenous status, language spoken at home, level of schooling, qualifications, current study status, housing status, employment status, contract status, whether respondents would like to work more hours, issues that prevent employment, occupation, income, living arrangements, secondary homelessness, presence of dependants in the household, whether dependants live with the respondent, nature of dependants, housing stress and other questions. This is a very long section. Before a future survey is undertaken consideration should be given to reviewing all questions in this section in relation to the purpose of the survey and the concepts that are to be addressed. As discussed above, the debate over social inclusion is ongoing and it is an ethical necessity that the criteria for question inclusion should be based on a tightly theorised conceptual map based on a rigorous review of the academic and policy literature on social inclusion to guide question selection in consultation with key stakeholders.

8.9   Discussion groups

Three discussion groups were held with respondents from the Northern Adelaide community at the Elizabeth Civic Centre. Participants were respondents who had indicated in the NASIS 2005 survey that they were interested in taking part in a discussion group and were offered a $40 honorarium for attending. This process had the advantage of discussing social inclusion issues with a random selection of people from the community who would not normally or necessarily be in contact with social agencies, policy makers or researchers. The participants gave "real life" insights into the data collected from the survey. Recruitment was not difficult and

most respondents said the venue was appropriate and relatively easy to access. Discussions were held between 6.30pm and 8pm on weeknights because it was felt that this was the best time for people who were working. However, feedback from participants suggests that some people found this time difficult because of care commitments and would have preferred a later starting time. Some had difficulty with arranging child care and related matters. If this process was to be repeated consideration should be given to offering a later starting time for the discussions and making provision for participants care commitments. We were only able to hold discussions with a small proportion of the many people who indicated an interest in discussing social inclusion issues and if this process is repeated consideration should be given to providing for more discussion groups or incorporating a "town meeting" approach to offer more opportunities for participation.

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