

Paving Pathways for Youth Inclusion

The Contribution of Community Cultural Development



C A N W A

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Credits

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Foreword

I am delighted on a number of grounds to provide a foreword to this research paper by Simone Ruane. Firstly; it is an excellent report on a very important topic. Secondly, it represents a tangible and substantial step forward for CAN WA as it strives to fulfil its commitment to both practice and theory. Thirdly, the author cites a paper I played a very minor role in writing. On the first grounds I congratulate Simone for the quality of the work (more on this). On the second, I am delighted that CAN WA has made a strategic organisational decision to significantly enhance its contribution to the literature that guides the development of the field. CAN WA staff and supporters have a fund of wisdom gleaned from many years of reflective practice. That wisdom must be shared with a wider audience if CAN WA is to authentically claim its place at the table of peak bodies. On the third ground, I am simply honouring the longstanding academic conceit of loving to see our names in print (Ker-ching, ker-ching ... another small deposit of academic currency in the Bank of Academe. At this rate I'll make full Professor by 2047... easy!).

But seriously though. In this work Simone draws together some important threads from the literature, providing a cogent and compelling contribution to understanding the dynamics of youth exclusion. She draws from (and breathes life back into) some key concepts such as social capital, well being and exclusion. And, importantly, she does so through a crucial lens; that of community cultural development practice as exemplified in the works of the Community Arts Network WA.

Young people have long been positioned on the periphery of full participation as active citizens. This is of course no accident. Young people must 'earn' accreditation as an adult by jumping through a range of seemingly arbitrary hoops. This does not seem to me to be the most productive or respectfully engaging route to acceptance as full citizens of this wonderful country. For some reason the thought of inviting young people to sup at the table of authentic and full participation scares the tripe out of us. And it is bloody confusing for young people. They are biologically adult more or less from the age of 12 lacking only the experience of older members of the tribe. They can have sex when they turn 16 (unless they want to enjoy sex with a same sex partner – then they must wait a further few years – either until they attain legal age or their partner gets out of jail whichever comes first); they can drive a car at 17, but can't vote to stop John Howard sending Australian troops to war on the coat-tails of a worryingly wild eyed American President until they are 18... oh and they can get legally pissed at 18 too with the full approval of legally drug addled adult 'role models', (which is probably a good thing to do when they are forced to make a choice at the ballot box between Sneezzy and Dopey to run the country for the next 3 years). No wonder they turn to tagging, drugs, illicit sex and suicide – life must seem so much

simpler that way. The social construction of the youth category in this way is purposeful and serves as powerful mechanism of social control that, as Simone notes, disempowers and denies them voice (p.15)

Excuse me... I lost it there for a bit...blinded by the sheer implausibility of the position I describe. Surely none of this could possibly define our collective and dominant attitude towards young people could it? Simone's work reminds us that young people represent a stunningly valuable, but largely untapped, resource and that our task is not to grant them status as adults on our terms (and I speak here as a fully fledged member of the old farts brigade) but rather to liberate them to pursue their goals and aspirations as exciting, productive, creative and autonomous beings with an almost inexhaustible capacity to enrich all our lives.

Simone describes one pathway to liberation in partnership with enlightened members of the adult community. The CAN WA LiveworX program engages young people in CCD practices that are inherently inclusive. The use of community arts and culture to explore the experiences of young people provides an opportunity for re-engagement not available in more traditional 'interventions' (Note how I cleverly problematised the term 'interventions' - see; I did it again - by the use of single quotes. This proves beyond doubt that I am a 'proper' - whoops - academic). The CAN WA practices outlined in the report create a setting, a space, a place, an atmosphere in which shared understandings, aspirations and authentic engagement can emerge. Young people have been subject to too much 'intervention' (enough already... I think they get the point!) and not enough space and place making for authentic voice. Simone has identified a number of key themes that emerge from her analysis that speak to the creation of settings which enhance social capital and inclusion for young people. I won't tell you how she does it. That would be doing what my wife did when she told me, just before I saw the film *Thelma and Louise*; "They drive off a cliff!" Read on ... read on...

Don't you just love hear that the purpose of LiveworX is to provide..."young people and community members with mentoring, facilitation, inspiration and appropriate skills..." (p.27). I know I wasn't going to give anything away but get this... the respondents in the research still had difficulty placing their trust in government and public officials and their participation in wider community life was still somewhat constrained. This suggests that more research and publications of this ilk are on the way as CAN WA continues to unpack notions of CCD in both theory and practice. If that work approaches the quality and value of this paper then they will be worth the wait.

Associate Professor Neil Drew
Chair, Board of Directors CAN WA

Acknowledgements

I wish to express my gratitude to a number of people who have helped throughout the course of conducting this research. This paper was based upon research undertaken as part of my Honours dissertation at Murdoch University, and I would in particular like to thank my supervisor and mentor Allan Johnstone from the Institute for Sustainability and Technology Policy for his invaluable insight, time and effort in helping with the production of this publication. I would also like to thank all of the past and present staff from CAN WA who provided me with their valuable time, knowledge and editing support, in particular Pilar Kasat, Daniel McIntyre, Helen Le Gresley, Susie Waller and John Bluhusiak.

The CAN WA Research Committee Members, Neal Drew, Gwen Knox, Rebecca Armstrong, and Pilar Kasat are also gratefully acknowledged for their valuable feedback. Thanks to Natalija Brunovs from Seedpod for her creative design work that visually expresses the overarching themes of the paper: pathways, inclusion, and growth.

Finally, I would like to express special thanks to the young people who participated in the LiveworX program and who generously shared their personal experiences and valuable time.

Simone Ruane

Executive Summary

Overview

The increasing level of social disadvantage and economic polarisation being experienced in Australia has been identified in the political and academic arenas as a sustainability issue that warrants research and policy attention (Johnson and Taylor, 2000; McCarthy and Wicks, 2001; Armstrong, 2002). The term social exclusion, whereby certain individuals and groups of people are disadvantaged due to their limited involvement in, and access to, mainstream social and economic activity, is being widely used to describe this phenomenon (Percy-Smith, 2000). Youth is a time of many transitions: into adulthood, into the labour market, further education or unemployment, and leaving the family home. Young people have been identified as particularly vulnerable to the experience of social exclusion (Davis, 2002; Crocker and Cuthbertson, 2001).

In response to social 'exclusion', innovative strategies are being developed and implemented to improve social 'inclusion'. Whilst many of these emerging policy approaches and programs focus on work-based training, skills development, and the creation of employment opportunities, policy makers are becoming increasingly aware that social exclusion also reflects some form of impoverished social networks. The need to foster the creation of social capital, which refers to social networks that are supported by trust and reciprocity, is therefore becoming an essential component of policies aspiring to pave pathways for social inclusion and improved well-being.

Community cultural development (CCD) and community arts activities provide an opportunity for communities to develop, preserve and express their culture, to explore pertinent issues, and to express their concerns and aspirations for the future to the wider community. The arts play a significant role in young people's lives and contribute to the development and expression of their identity. Community arts and cultural activities can therefore be utilised to engage young people, and are hence, an effective tool to foster social capital and inclusion.

The Community Arts Network Western Australia (CAN WA) has been utilising community cultural development (CCD) processes to facilitate the social inclusion and wellbeing of young people through its youth-focused LiveworX program since 2002.

Whilst the purpose of this paper is to contribute to practice and policy related to the field of arts, youth and community development, the overarching objective of the research is to gain a deeper understanding of how CCD activities can contribute to building social capital and fostering the social inclusion of young people.

Key Findings

Policy and Literature Review

Whilst recognising the important role employment plays in fostering social inclusion, it was found that a much more comprehensive approach is clearly required. The review of the related literature found that whilst remaining aware of its limitations, there is increasing evidence to suggest that social capital is important for the inclusion and wellbeing of individuals, communities and nations.

Methodological Framework

Much of the current research and evaluation concerned with social capital has focused on quantitative assessments of these different elements. As the theory of social capital at its core seeks to understand social realities and in particular, human experiences, this research found that qualitative methods of measuring social capital would significantly contribute to this field of research, policy and program implementation.

LiveworX Program: Participant Interviews

In-depth interviews with participants of the LiveworX program activities, coordinated by CAN WA, shed light on the extent to which CCD activities can contribute to the nine key elements of social capital identified: trust, reciprocity, collaboration, valuing diversity, participation, networks, information channels, competency and capability, and sense of belonging: all of which contribute to fostering social inclusion. The interview responses from past participants indicated that many of these elements had been created, or at least nurtured, as a result of participating in the CCD activities. An understanding of the different types and elements of social capital, and how they can be nurtured, could direct future CCD program activities in a way that enhances the social benefits and inclusion outcomes for the individual participants.





Introduction

The increasing level of social disadvantage and economic polarisation being experienced in Australia has, in recent times, been identified in the political and academic arenas as a sustainability issue that warrants research and policy attention (Johnson and Taylor, 2000; McCarthy and Wicks, 2001; Armstrong, 2002). The term social exclusion, whereby certain individuals and groups of people are disadvantaged due to their limited involvement in, and access to, mainstream social and economic activity, is being widely used to describe this phenomenon (Percy-Smith, 2000). Social exclusion embraces, and expands upon, the concept of poverty. It recognises that the experience of contemporary social disadvantage is multidimensional, excluding individuals from the 'social, economic, political and cultural systems, which determine the social integration of a person in society' (Walker and Walker, 1997:8).

Social Exclusion and Young People

'Youth' is a time of many transitions: into adulthood, into the labour market, further education or unemployment, and leaving the family home. It has therefore been asserted that young people are particularly vulnerable to the experience of social exclusion (Davis, 2002; Crocker and Cuthbertson, 2001).

There are a plethora of interrelated factors contributing to the experience of social exclusion for certain young people. One major factor, and that which receives the most attention, is that young people are at a comparatively higher risk of unemployment and lower income than other social groups (ABS Australia 2002, Mission Australia 2002). Other factors contributing to the experience of social exclusion for certain young people include poor education and lack of skills, transport problems, poor quality housing and homelessness, poor health and lack of appropriate service provision (Barraket 2005). Moreover, many young people experience multiple disadvantage and a high level of exclusion because of their age coupled with reasons such as gender, religion, socio-demographic and cultural background, sexual orientation or because they are substance abusers, have a mental and physical disability or are single parents.

If social exclusion is to be addressed, with the long term in mind, strategies and initiatives that focus on the well being of young people are imperative. It is important that opportunities for young people to gain employment and have a reasonable income are enhanced. However, in order to combat social exclusion, young people also need to be equipped with necessary vocational and life skills, have good health, have a strong sense of self-belief, and feel they are valued and have something to offer to society (Crocker and Cuthbertson, 2001).

Towards Social Inclusion

As communities seek to address 'social exclusion', a number of innovative strategies that foster 'social inclusion', by improving the means and opportunities for all community members to participate economically and socially, are being developed and implemented. Whilst many of these emerging policy approaches and programs focus on work-based training and skills development and the creation of employment opportunities, policy makers are becoming increasingly aware that social exclusion also reflects some form of impoverished social networks (Cattell, 2001). The need to foster the creation of social capital, which refers to social networks that are supported by trust and reciprocity, is therefore becoming an essential component of policies aspiring to pave pathways for social inclusion and improved well-being.

Community Cultural Development (CCD) and Social Inclusion

Community Cultural Development (CCD) can be understood as a collaborative and participatory process, often utilising community arts, that facilitates a wide range of long-term developmental benefits (Sonn et al. 2002). CCD and community arts activities provides an opportunity for communities to develop, preserve and express their culture, to explore pertinent issues, and to express their concerns and aspirations for the future to the wider community (Sonn et al. 2002; Mills and Brown, 2004). Community Cultural Development also gives community members an opportunity to develop their creative, vocational and interpersonal skills. In Australia, there is a growing body of literature explicating the links between arts and CCD activities, and community wellbeing (Sonn et al. 2002; Mills and Brown 2004). More recently there has been specific evidence to suggest that CCD activities are delivering a range of social inclusion outcomes for individuals, groups and communities (Barraket, 2005).

There are a number of heartening arguments outlining why arts and CCD activities are an effective way to engage and achieve positive outcomes for individual participants and their relevant communities (Barraket, 2005; Jermyn, 2001). The main reasons according to Barraket (2005) are because arts and cultural activities are generally enjoyable, stimulate creative interests, and involve a degree of challenge and risk for participants and they are therefore often able to attract a higher level of active engagement and retention than other community development initiatives. As the arts, and in particular popular and urban culture, play a significant role in young peoples lives and contributes to the development and expression of their identity, the arts can be an effective way of reaching and engaging many young people. Arts and cultural activities can be utilised as a medium, outside of traditional learning environments, for young people to develop new life and vocational skills, build self-esteem and confidence, and to make friends and contacts.

There is growing body of literature to suggest that CCD and community arts projects contribute to individual and community well being, particular in relation to arts and health (Jermyn, 2001 and Mills, 2004) and arts and educational attainment (Jermyn, 2001 and Barraket, 2005). However, due to the challenges associated with longitudinal evaluation and social impact assessment of community development and arts programs, there is a notable absence of rigorous evidence to support the links between CCD, social capital creation and social inclusion.

Objectives

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to practice and policy relating to the fields of the arts, youth and community development by addressing the important question: how and to what extent can youth focused CCD practices contribute to social capital creation and foster social inclusion? More specific research objectives are as follows:

- To review and discuss the links between social exclusion, social inclusion, social capital and community cultural development (CCD);
- To provide a succinct review of the Community Arts Network WA: the history, mission and objectives, program activities, perceived social benefits, and understandings of social capital;
- To develop an effective methodological framework for assessing the social capital outcomes of CCD activities of the Community Arts Network WA's youth-focused program LiveworX, that will potentially contribute to social impact and evaluation practices; and
- To examine the ways and to what extent the CCD activities of the LiveworX program contribute to social capital creation for individuals participating in program activities.

Research Methods

In order to answer the overarching research question, and to address the related research aims, several methodological approaches have been employed. These included:

- A literature and policy review of the concepts of social exclusion, social inclusion, and social capital;
- Guided by a qualitative case study approach, the development of an effective methodological framework for assessing the social capital outcomes of CCD and youth-focused arts activities;
- Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with CAN WA key representatives and a review of CAN WA's organisational documentation; and
- In depth semi-structured interviews with six past participants of CAN WA's LiveworX program.

Social Exclusion: The New Poverty

Australia, like other Industrialised countries, has experienced a profound social and economic transformation over recent few decades. Globalisation and the related restructuring of economic systems, the permutation of the labour market, the breakdown of family ties and traditional communities, and changing social norms have all significantly changed the fabric of contemporary society (O'Donnell and Hancock, 2000; Beck, 2000; Giddens, 1999). This transformation has also created a new set of individual and societal problems. The growing awareness that these problems extend beyond a lack of income and material wealth has been the impetus behind the search for new conceptualisations of social disadvantage and deprivation.

The conceptual and linguistic shift from 'poverty' to 'social exclusion' has emerged as a popular way, both in academic and political discourse, to explain the problems of the 'new poverty' caused by the contemporary changes to society. The actual terminology of social exclusion or 'exclusion sociale' originated in France during the 1970's. The term is attributed to Rene Lenoir, who in 1974 was the Secretary for Social Action in the Chirac Government (Silver, 1994). Simply defined, social exclusion refers to the 'multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society' (Percy-Smith, 2000:3). Social exclusion broadens conventional notions of disadvantage that have tended to emphasise material deprivation. Underlying the concept of social exclusion is the recognition that there are multiple, inter-related and mutually reinforcing factors that inhibit the ability of some individuals to fully participate in society. This conceptual shift signifies a changing perspective on social disadvantage; from a 'static to a dynamic approach, from a one-dimensional to a multidimensional perspective and also from a distributional to a relational focus' (Saraceno, 2001:2). The relational focus of social exclusion distinguishes the concept from poverty by acknowledging the causal factors - the mechanisms, processes and agencies - that facilitate the experience of exclusion (Sen, 2000).

Social Inclusion as the Response

Much of the literature pertaining to the exclusion and inclusion debate has tended to focus primarily on the definitions and dimensions of social exclusion, and has failed to address sufficiently the idea of social inclusion. Although definitions of social exclusion have been widely criticised for being too broad and vague, the concept of social inclusion has received even less definitional attention.

Social inclusion is, like social exclusion, a contestable concept or a metaphor ‘through which we try to represent the world to ourselves’ (Levitas, 2003:1). Like social exclusion, some definitions of social inclusion recognise the multiple dimensions that contribute to wellbeing and equality. From the perspective of this paper, social inclusion is:

‘[T]he process by which efforts are made to ensure that everyone, regardless of their experiences and circumstances, can achieve their potential in life. To achieve inclusion, income and employment are necessary but not sufficient. An inclusive society is also characterised by a striving for reduced inequality, a balance between individuals’ rights and duties and increased social cohesion’. Phillips (2003:4)

Towards Social Inclusion

Whilst there is a growing recognition that the experience of social exclusion is multidimensional, many writers and policy makers emphasise the problem of ‘welfare dependency’ as the underlying cause of exclusion, and therefore advocate employment as the key route to social inclusion. The basis for this argument is that paid employment plays a vital role in providing income for fundamental needs, improves social esteem and helps create social networks and relationships (Mitchell and Shillington, 2002). The narrow focus on employment as the primary policy response has, however, received much criticism for failing to recognise the multiple dimensions of social inclusion and, as Mitchell and Shillington (2002:15) point out, it ‘therefore cannot serve as a credible basis for inclusive policy’.

Farrington (2002:7) asserts that ‘exclusion results from, and is perpetuated by, an inability to access the resources necessary for inclusion in society.’ While recognising the important role employment plays in fostering social inclusion, a much more comprehensive approach is clearly required. There are a number of other dimensions, or aspects, which need to be addressed in order to create pathways to social inclusion. The position of this paper is that a more holistic approach towards social inclusion, one that encompasses the ‘social’ components of wellbeing is imperative.

Social Capital and Social Inclusion

Social exclusion is increasingly being seen as a lack of social capital, and hence social capital building is being incorporated within a number of policies and programs aimed at fostering social inclusion. However, the theoretical links between social inclusion and social capital are yet to be fully explored. Like the concepts of social exclusion and social inclusion, the concept of social capital acknowledges the multidimensionality of wellbeing. Social capital aims to enhance traditional wellbeing measurements by incorporating indicators of social interaction, relationships, networks and trust (Cox and Caldwell, 2000). Both social capital and social inclusion are bringing social issues to the forefront of our

understanding of deprivation and inequality. Explicating the connections between the theories and policy implications of the two concepts will help direct future initiatives and strategies aimed at enhancing the economic and social wellbeing of excluded individuals, groups and communities.

There is a growing awareness that social capital is a multidimensional concept that incorporates elements of trust and safety, reciprocity and mutuality, social networks, civic engagement and information channels (Winter, 2000; CONSCISE, 2003). In addition, respect for diversity is a dimension that is crucial for social capital to have positive affects for society (Onyx and Bullen, 2000). Synthesising the research of Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam and other well-known commentators in the social capital debate, Cox evocatively describes social capital as ‘the social glue, the weft and warp of the social fabric which comprises the myriad of interactions that make up our public and private lives – our *vita activa*.’

The Role of Social Capital in Fostering Inclusion

While there is still contention surrounding the exact definition and effective measurement of the concept, there is increasing evidence that individuals and groups that have access to high levels of social capital, in terms of levels of trust, reciprocity, social networks and civic engagement, can tackle incipient social deprivation, isolation and exclusion more effectively than those in settings where social capital is low or non-existent (Sullivan, 2002). It is therefore being suggested that a positive and empowering route towards social inclusion can be achieved through initiatives aimed at social capital creation. This section explores the conceptual links between the two theoretical concepts by attempting to answer the question ‘how does social capital foster social inclusion?’

1. Social Wellbeing and Cohesion

At an individual and group level the social benefits of social capital can be wide-ranging. At an individual level, the social trust and reciprocity enhanced by healthy relationships contributes to the generation of self-esteem and sense of belonging (Latham, 2000), vital ingredients for the feeling of inclusion in society. Social capital is primarily concerned with the quality of social relationships. When relationships are strong and healthy, the capacity of people to come together and collectively resolve common problems is enhanced (Stone, 2000). This is important not only for a community’s ability to deal with collective action problems (CAPS), but also for dealing with conflicting interests and responding to unexpected change.

2. Health

The fact that social cohesion enhances human wellbeing is now a well-established fact, something that has been acknowledged as far back as Durkheim’s investigation in 1897

into the causes of suicide (Cattell, 2001). Communities and individuals both suffer the associated consequences of ill health. Individuals are restricted from participating in social and economic activities and hence communities must bear the costs of health care, loss of income and productivity (ABS, 2002).

Poor health is being currently recognised as a key indication of social exclusion and therefore the importance of improving public health and eliminating health inequalities is being suggested as an essential strategy to foster social inclusion (Moran and Simpkin, 2000). Sen (2000) emphasises health as one of the basic 'capabilities' necessary for individuals to reach their full potential in society. The support received from social networks has positive influences on both mental and physical health (Stansfeld, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Kawachi and Kennedy, 1997; Baum et al., 2000). Improving social capital stocks should therefore be an essential component of public health promotion and social inclusion policy.

3. Education

Enhancing levels of education and skills development is a predominant policy approach for combating social exclusion, particularly as a means to improve employability. There is increasing evidence pointing to a positive link between social capital and educational outcomes. It is argued that education plays an essential role in building social trust and creating social capital. Research has indicated that communities with higher levels of formal education will generally exhibit higher levels of social trust (Hughes, Bellamy and Black, 2000). In addition, social capital is being increasingly recognised as an essential prerequisite for effective education. Studies have shown that schools with good levels of social capital (e.g. strong links with the community and high levels of parental involvement) have lower drop out rates and higher academic results than those with lower levels of social capital (ABS, 2002; Woolcock, 2001). Social capital is therefore a prerequisite for, and outcome of, education and skills development, an essential pathway to social inclusion.

4. Social Capital and Labour Market Outcomes

Enhancing employability and labour market attachment has been the prevailing social inclusion policy priority of the European Commission, the UK's New Labour Government and, more recently the current Australian Government. Although this paper has contended that an employment-focused approach alone does not sufficiently address the multidimensional nature of social exclusion, it is nonetheless still recognised as an important component of the path towards social inclusion. Much research has indicated that (certain types of) paid employment enhances social networks, increases civic participation and heightens levels of social trust and institutional trust (Putnam, 2000; Hogan and Owen, 2000).

Social networks (an important dimension and indicator of social capital) provide people with the advice, strategic information, job leads, and references necessary to gain

employment (Putnam, 2000; Perri 6, 1997). In addition, Woolcock (2001:68) notes that individuals that are well connected are 'more likely to be promoted faster... miss fewer days of work... and be more efficient in completing assigned tasks.' It is, however being suggested that it is the quality or type of networks (whether they are of 'weak' or 'strong' nature, or informal or formal) that is the key determinant of employment opportunities (Stone et al., 2003; Perri 6, 1997). Social capital, as well as being a potential outcome of employment, is thus also a precondition for improving labour market outcomes.

5. Participation

'Participation' is a key word being widely used in both social capital and social exclusion/inclusion discourse. Despite the almost ubiquitous requisition for enhanced participation in public policy discourse, it is often used without any clear definition of what it actually means (Wood, 2002).

Social participation generally refers to informal social interaction, social activities in public spaces and social activities in groups, and enables social capital growth through the development of supportive networks and relations that are based on trust and mutuality (Baum et al., 2000). Although intrinsically interrelated and somewhat overlapping in definition, this section is primarily concerned with civic participation and political participation and how they relate to social capital and social inclusion. Civic participation generally refers to the participation in voluntary actions and involvement in community-based organisations and associations. Political participation is used to describe engagement in political activities and decision-making processes (Percy-Smith, 2000).

A key dimension of social exclusion is 'the disempowerment of excluded groups and individuals which results in their claims to social and economic needs not being voiced, not being heard, and not being acted upon' (Percy-Smith, 2000:8). Social exclusion from a civic and political perspective is generally a result of one or a combination of factors including:

- a lack of access to democratic decision-making;
- not voting;
- not being involved in community organisations; and
- experiencing problems accessing structures and processes that enable and facilitate community participation (Arthurson and Jacobs, 2003).

The growing social capital literature makes a clear link between civic and political participation and effective governance and community wellbeing (Putnam, 1993; Hogan and Owen, 2000). Percy-Smith (2000) emphasises that in order to address political exclusion, it is not only necessary to significantly improve opportunities for participation,

but it is also essential that strategies focus strongly on creating social capital. In failing to focus on building social capital, those who are the targets of policy interventions will continue to have minimal input into their design and implementation. This may further the experience of exclusion by enhancing the feelings of alienation and lack of voice (Percy-Smith, 2000).

The Dark Side of Social Capital

While asserting that social capital creation is imperative for fostering social inclusion, it is important to briefly discuss the potential exclusionary characteristics, or what is commonly referred to as the 'dark side' of social capital. Certain types of social capital building can actually reinforce the experience of social exclusion, rather than alleviating it. By illuminating the types of social capital that can lead to social exclusion, it will be more possible to develop strategies that avoid such negative outcomes.

Much of the social capital literature romanticises the notion of communities and assumes that close-knit communities are automatically healthy (Winter, 2000). Whittaker and Banwell (2002:258) argue that the term 'community' is most often used uncritically in the policy and academic literature pertaining to social capital 'without questioning how perceptions of community and locality are discursively and historically constructed'. In addition, Cox (1995) asserts that the portrayal of 'community' in the public policy field is often based on the notion that individuals belong to, and identify solely with, one community. A broader conception of community is required, however. One that views community as both the informal and formal 'networks of people with common interests and the expectation of mutual recognition, support and friendship' (Barton, 2000:5).

Cox (1995) emphasises the importance of membership in multiple communities, broader than that which is geographical defined. If groups or individuals fail to identify with multiple communities, the potential result can be the development of closed and exclusive communities. Members may feel safe by associating solely with people whom they feel familiar with due to shared definable characteristics such as locality, class, race or religion. However, the presence of internalised trust, mutuality and social norms that may serve the members of some communities can potentially enforce conformity and social divisions. Cox and Caldwell (2000:49) thus conclude that 'the key social dynamics for building social capital occur in non-intimate and non-exclusive groups'.

Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital

The potential problems of social capital formulation discussed above reinforce the importance of finding the balance between bonding, bridging and linking social capital. 'Bonding' social capital describes the 'strong' ties that exist between families, a particular group or a community, and is associated with high levels of 'personalised' or 'particularised'

trust and mutuality. 'Bridging' refers to the 'weak ties' and relationships between social groups that are diverse or sparse, and is associated with more 'generalised' trust, such as trust of strangers. Too much bonding and not enough bridging of social relationships can lead to social fragmentation and exclusion. Although bonding ties are essential components of our everyday lives, bridging or 'cross-cutting' ties and the generalised trust that they support are essential for fostering social inclusion (Stone and Hughes, 2001:17).

As political disempowerment is a key component of poverty and social exclusion, a priority for policy makers is 'ensuring that the activities of the poor [and excluded] not only "reach out" but are "scaled up"' (Woolcock, 2001:72). The 'linking' dimension of social capital refers to the relations between individuals or communities and those in power or authority. These types of ties are particularly important for socially excluded individuals or communities in order to access the resources and information that foster inclusion. These linkages are associated with trust in governance systems (Stone and Hughes, 2001; ABS, 2002).

Network analysis research has shown that strong and weak ties have different effects and benefits. Findings suggest that 'bonding' relationships, characterised by 'strong' ties, foster mutual support and understanding. 'Bridging' and 'linking' relationships, which are generally characterised as 'weak' ties, however, provide access to a wider diversity of resources (Cattell, 2001; Perri 6, 1997; Granovetter, 1973). Perri 6 (1997) argues that at different stages of our lives we rely upon different types of relationships for our wellbeing and ability to be socially included. Research into children's physical and psychological wellbeing suggests that the important relationships for children, for instance, tend to be strong, short ties with immediate friends and family (Perri 6, 1997). Although weak ties are important in older age, in general the strong ties, and their influence of psychological and physical wellbeing, are of central importance. In adult life, and during the transition into adult life as a young person, strong ties are still essential in terms of social support and its implications for health and wellbeing. However, 'bridging' and 'linking' relationships in the form of loose networks of weak ties are of vital importance (Perri 6, 1997).

When it comes to finding employment, gaining new information, looking for new ideas and leveraging resources, it is often the weak ties with acquaintances that are more important than the strong ties associated with family and friends (Granovetter, 1973; Perri 6, 1997). In addition to strategies that focus on improving the social capital within 'place-based communities', there is a growing need to focus on improving the 'bridging' and 'linking' dimensions of social capital, where individuals have the opportunity to network with people 'unlike themselves'. If people are to exit poverty and become socially included, it is essential they have networks with thriving 'out of area' contacts who can act as role models, paving the path towards inclusion. Moreover, by giving people from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds an opportunity to interact, negative stereotypes

can be broken down and a respect for diversity between individuals fostered. As weak ties are essential for social cohesion and for providing pathways towards inclusion, it is important that policy interventions aim to enhance the opportunities for fostering 'bridging' ties between different individuals, groups and communities (Cattell, 2001).

Different types of networks, strong and weak, informal and formal, all contribute to quality of life experiences and play an important role in fostering social inclusion. The quality, rather than quantity, of relationships is an important determinant of wellbeing, particularly in terms of employment outcomes and exit from poverty and exclusion.

Whilst remaining aware of its limitations, there is increasing evidence to suggest that social capital is important for the inclusion and wellbeing of individuals, communities and nations. Woolcock (2001:78) notes that 'the social capital of the poor is the one asset they can potentially draw upon to negotiate their way through an unpredictable and unforgiving world'. If we are to avoid the possible exclusionary characteristic of social capital, it is important that a multidimensional approach to social capital creation is supported: one which stresses a balance between the 'bonding', 'bridging' and 'linking' components of social capital, to achieve optimal outcomes of social inclusion. Social capital should be an integral part of initiatives aimed at fostering social inclusion, as it has the proven ability to enhance both the social and economic conditions that are necessary for an inclusive society.





The Role of Community Cultural Development in Creating Social Capital and Fostering Social Inclusion: A CAN WA Case Study

The Community Arts Network WA

The Community Arts Network WA (CAN WA) is a not-for-profit organisation, based in the Perth central business district, which has a key focus on supporting community cultural development (CCD) and community arts in Western Australia. CAN WA's reason for being is 'to facilitate and support community-determined arts and cultural activities that express local culture and identity' (CAN WA Business Plan, 2006).

History

The collective efforts of a group of artists and art based workers, interested in improving the networks and opportunities for non-mainstream artists and advocating the contribution that such artists could make in the community, were the driving force behind the establishment of CAN WA in 1985 (Sonn et al., 2002; Kasat, P. 2004 pers.comm. 14 May). This founding group believed that art should be more accessible to a community and that by improving the representation of non-elite community artists through community arts-based projects, collective cultural expression could be effectively communicated (Sonn et al., 2002). The core principles of the organisation in its incubation period were very much based upon social justice, access and equity (Kasat, P. 2004 pers.comm. 14 May).

Current Objectives and Activities of CAN WA

Whilst retaining a strong focus on arts and culture, CAN WA has expanded its operations significantly in the past 20 years. CAN WA works with both local governments and communities to facilitate community cultural development (CCD) (Sonn et al., 2002:8). In terms of the local government sector, CAN WA offers advisory, training and mentoring services in how to develop community cultural development methodologies. In particular, as part of CCD, CAN WA assists local governments with the groundwork for cultural planning, a process that aims to identify the cultural resources (or resource deficits) of a particular community or locality and set goals for future cultural development that will enhance quality of life experiences and overall community wellbeing (Landry, 2001). Cultural planning requires extensive community engagement, as it is essential that all the various voices of the community are heard. To ensure that 'those minority voices are heard', creative mediums are used in order 'to establish an opportunity for dialogue in... a less intimidating way', than conventional, and very Westernised, community consultation processes (Kasat, P. 2004 pers.comm. 14 May).

At the community level, CAN WA, through the Catalyst Community Arts Fund, is able to provide financial and management support to people and groups interested in planning and developing community arts-based projects.

As the name suggests, networking is a key objective of CAN WA and the organisation supports the development of networks between a wide range of CCD practitioners and social service providers. This is done through promoting and providing professional development and training, and initiating information sharing opportunities between the different individuals, organisations and sectors. In addition, 'advocacy' is an integral part of CAN WA's activities and this is achieved through workshops, presentations, forums and gatherings that promote the benefits of CCD and community arts. Manager Director Pilar Kasat points out that 'if we are able to somewhat influence the way people think about cultural development and the importance of culture and a civic society, that means we're doing our job in terms of the advocacy work'. Finally, CAN WA is a nationally endorsed training provider, and training opportunities for artists, arts workers, community development practitioners and the wider community, to develop their skills in CCD, community arts and cultural planning are available.

CAN WA recognises that young people should play an integral and active role in Community Cultural Development and this can be achieved by involving them in 'determining the development of their places, cultures and futures' (McIntyre, cited in CAN WA, 2002). CAN WA's LiveworX program aims to assist communities in increasing the opportunities for young people to engage in, and benefit from, arts and cultural projects, programs and places. This is done by using community cultural development and cultural planning practices. In addition, making training in the arts relevant to young people who are at risk of social exclusion is also an important aim of this program (McIntyre, D. 2004 pers. comm. 14 May).

Perceptions of Social Capital

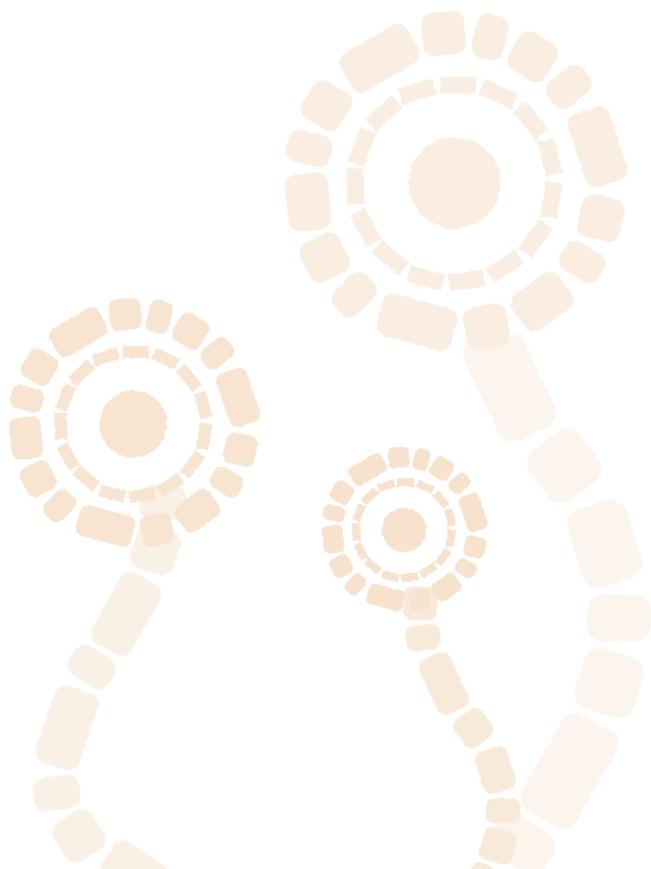
The concept of social capital is well known to the CAN WA organisational representatives interviewed. The Managing Director for CAN WA interprets the concept of social capital as follows:

'It's the support mechanisms, it's the networks, it's the information sharing that exist in a community that really makes the community function in a healthy way... [W]e really know when it is not there, it's evident when it's not there, when the community is under siege and everyone is very mistrusting... You can call it collaboration, you can call it cooperation, community spirit: that trust that exists in between the relationships that are established and how dense those relationships are' (Kasat, P. 2004 pers. comm. 14 May).

According to Kasat, CAN WA contributes to the creation of social capital because the activities of the programs help to create a community setting; CAN WA provides the

opportunity for people to come together and discuss what is important to them in their community and what they are prepared to do for the place and for other community members. By engaging people in these processes, CAN WA believes that it is increasing social networks, helping people to work collectively to achieve where they want to go, and minimising community conflict (Kasat, P. 2004 pers.comm. 14 May).

CAN WA is a successful organisation that is providing a diverse and innovative range of social and community services. In terms of its objectives and activities, it is evident that CAN WA has a strong commitment to the principles of social justice and the creation of social capital.



Methodology

This research is an exploratory study that attempts to gain a deeper understanding of if and how community cultural development activities contribute to the social inclusion of young people through the creation of social capital. A qualitative case study approach was therefore seen as the most appropriate method of investigation.

Level of Operation

In order to determine how CAN WA, through its youth focused LiveworX program, is paving pathways to social inclusion, the social capital outcomes for the individual participants of the LiveworX program was investigated. Whilst focusing on individual-scale social capital, it is recognised that individuals are not discrete entities but are embedded within multiple communities and social environments.

Elements of Social Capital

Social capital has generally been empirically measured using proxy indicators derived from the various conceptualisations of what constitutes social capital. However, different social capital theorists have emphasised the importance of different elements. This has in turn led to a corresponding divergence in terms of the indicators used in social capital measurement (CONSCISE, 2003). Although many social capital research studies have agreed upon similar theoretical elements or dimensions of social capital, the way these have been operationalised into measurement methods has varied significantly. The measurement techniques for social capital research are therefore far from being standardised (Van der Gaag and Snijders, 2002).

Integrating the research undertaken by Onyx and Bullen (2000) the CONSCISE¹ Project (2003), Cox and Caldwell (2000) and Winter (2000), Table 1 below identifies nine inter-related elements that need to be considered in assessing social capital outcomes of community programs at the level of the individual. The Table also outlines the possible proxy indicators that may be used in social capital assessment.

¹ CONSCISE: *The Contribution of Social capital in the Social Economy to Local Economic Development in Western Europe*

Table 1: Thematic Framework for Assessing Social Capital at the Level of the Individual.

Social Capital Element	Proxy Indicator
<i>Competencies and capabilities</i>	Personal and interpersonal skills, skills development.
<i>Trust and safety</i>	Personalised trust, generalised trust and trust of governance.
<i>Reciprocity and mutuality</i>	Helping others, sense of obligation, favours.
<i>Collaboration</i>	Shared values; consensus decision-making, group problem solving.
<i>Valuing diversity</i>	Acceptance of difference.
<i>Participation</i>	Social interaction, and engagement in economic, civic and political activities.
<i>Weak and strong networks</i>	Mixing within and between communities and groups, density of acquaintance, opportunity for networking.
<i>Effective information channels</i>	Access and use of communication technology, sources of information, awareness of local and national current affairs.
<i>Sense of belonging</i>	Value of life, valued by society.

(Adapted from Onyx and Bullen, 2000; CONSCISE, 2003; Cox and Caldwell, 2000; Winter, 2000).

Using Qualitative Methods in Assessing Social Capital Outcomes

To date, much of the theoretical discussion and empirical research concerned with social capital have focused on quantitative assessments of the different elements of the concept, such as those outlined in Table 1. The levels of social capital present are often determined by counting who knows who, and who trusts who, quantifying involvement in civic organisations, calculating the amount of time spent socialising and time spent watching television and so forth. These responses (which have been mostly collected at the level of the individual or household) are then aggregated to estimate the collective social capital present. The reliance on quantitative methods and aggregate measures has however been criticised for being ‘unsophisticated and inappropriate, masking some of the effects and actions of social capital’ (Swann and Morgan 2002:7). By focusing primarily on quantity, the quality of relationships between individuals and groups can often be ignored. It is however most often the quality of these relationships that determines the level of trust and reciprocity present (Wall et al., 1998).

The perspective of this paper is that although quantitative assessments in both social capital research and community program evaluation have been insightful and useful for comparative purposes, the development of qualitative approaches is necessary in order to capture reality in interaction and interpret the meaning of human actions: to understand people, not to measure them (Sarantakos, 1998). As the theory of social capital at its core

seeks to understand social realities and in particular, human experiences, qualitative methods will significantly contribute to this field of research. In addition, qualitative methods of social impact assessment are insightful as they allow clients and participants of programs delivered by community organisations the ‘opportunity to describe what is meaningful or important to him and her using his or her own words rather than being restricted to predetermined categories; thus participants may feel more relaxed and candid’ (Sewell, 2004:3). Moreover, it is useful for exploring the differences between participants’ experiences and outcomes (Sewell, 2004). A qualitative approach was therefore favoured as the most effective methodological approach for this research.

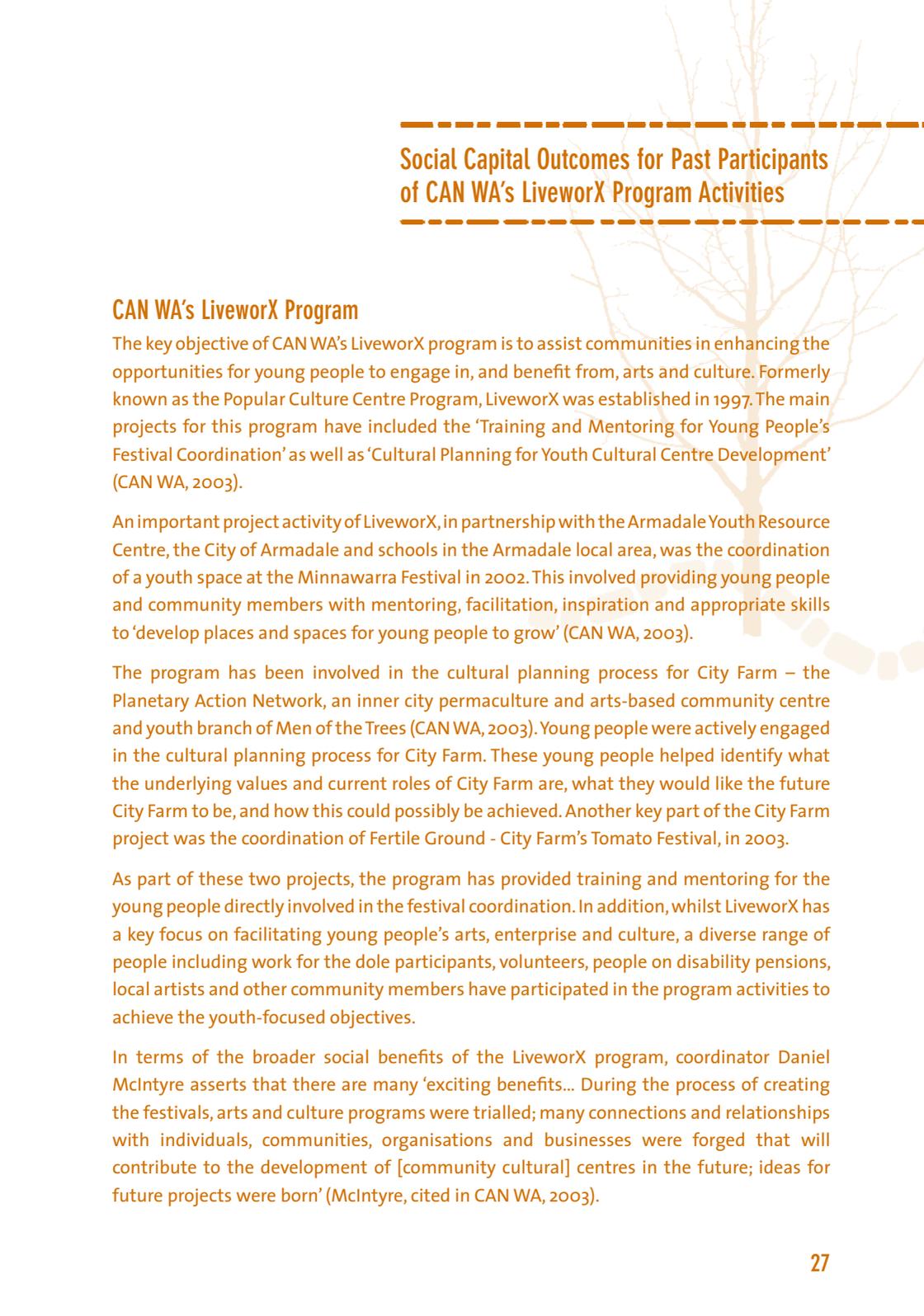
Data Collection

The data collection was aimed at addressing the primary research question: if and how CAN WA, through its CCD and youth arts program activities, is contributing to social capital and social inclusion for young people. In addition to conducting several unstructured and semi-structured interviews with the CAN WA’s Managing Director and Program Coordinator of the LiveworX program, detailed face-to-face interviews were conducted with six past participants from the program who were willing to share their experiences.

The aim of the semi-structured interviews was to gain insight into the experiences of program participants in terms of how their involvement in the LiveworX CCD program activities may have contributed to individual social capital creation. Questions were therefore based around the nine inter-related elements of social capital as identified in Table 1. These include elements of competencies and capabilities, trust, reciprocity, group collaboration, valuing diversity, participation, networks, information channels, and sense of belonging. The questions upon which the semi-structured interviews were based are presented in Appendix 1.

Analysis of Data

The interviews were transcribed and responses were coded and categorised according to the different elements of social capital as identified in this paper. The coding process contributed significantly to the latter process of interpretation and analysis, which was undertaken using the thematic framework of social capital presented in Table 1. Relevant quotes and opinions expressed were extracted from each transcription and used to interpret the social capital outcomes of CAN WA’s LiveworX program. It is important to note that the experiences of the interviewees are not intended to be representative of all past participants, but do however give some insight into the social impacts of the CCD program activities delivered by the case study program.



Social Capital Outcomes for Past Participants of CAN WA's LiveworX Program Activities

CAN WA's LiveworX Program

The key objective of CAN WA's LiveworX program is to assist communities in enhancing the opportunities for young people to engage in, and benefit from, arts and culture. Formerly known as the Popular Culture Centre Program, LiveworX was established in 1997. The main projects for this program have included the 'Training and Mentoring for Young People's Festival Coordination' as well as 'Cultural Planning for Youth Cultural Centre Development' (CAN WA, 2003).

An important project activity of LiveworX, in partnership with the Armadale Youth Resource Centre, the City of Armadale and schools in the Armadale local area, was the coordination of a youth space at the Minnowarra Festival in 2002. This involved providing young people and community members with mentoring, facilitation, inspiration and appropriate skills to 'develop places and spaces for young people to grow' (CAN WA, 2003).

The program has been involved in the cultural planning process for City Farm – the Planetary Action Network, an inner city permaculture and arts-based community centre and youth branch of Men of the Trees (CAN WA, 2003). Young people were actively engaged in the cultural planning process for City Farm. These young people helped identify what the underlying values and current roles of City Farm are, what they would like the future City Farm to be, and how this could possibly be achieved. Another key part of the City Farm project was the coordination of Fertile Ground - City Farm's Tomato Festival, in 2003.

As part of these two projects, the program has provided training and mentoring for the young people directly involved in the festival coordination. In addition, whilst LiveworX has a key focus on facilitating young people's arts, enterprise and culture, a diverse range of people including work for the dole participants, volunteers, people on disability pensions, local artists and other community members have participated in the program activities to achieve the youth-focused objectives.

In terms of the broader social benefits of the LiveworX program, coordinator Daniel McIntyre asserts that there are many 'exciting benefits... During the process of creating the festivals, arts and culture programs were trialled; many connections and relationships with individuals, communities, organisations and businesses were forged that will contribute to the development of [community cultural] centres in the future; ideas for future projects were born' (McIntyre, cited in CAN WA, 2003).

McIntyre was also familiar with the concept of social capital, which he interpreted as ‘creating new opportunities for interaction and benefiting from that sense of community... Like if there is anything you ever need, someone to fix your car or someone to look after your kid, whatever, there’s someone there. Just being part of a community you can make use of everyone else’s skills’ (2004 pers.comm. 14 May). According to McIntyre, the LiveworX program has contributed to the creation of social capital by providing opportunities for the development of new relationships and connections between the program participants, some of which are ‘really strong. Because you’re working quite intensely in the process, you really get to know people in lots of different ways’ (2004 pers.comm. 14 May).

Research Findings

This paper has identified nine elements that need to be considered when assessing the social capital outcomes for individuals: trust; reciprocity; group collaboration; valuing diversity; participation; networks; information channels; competency and capability; and sense of belonging. As previously noted, the elements of social capital are significantly interrelated and often mutually reinforcing, therefore distinguishing between the different elements of social capital is, at times, difficult. However in order to effectively capture the multidimensional nature of social capital outcomes, and to identify which types of social capital have been nurtured as a result of program activities, participants responses pertaining to the nine elements are considered separately in the discussion below.

1. Trust

The importance of trust as a core component of social capital is a theme that is reiterated throughout the related literature. CONSCISE (2003:58) assert that trust is ‘maybe the most essential element without which the other elements of social capital cannot be developed.’ High levels of trust generally enhance the ability of individuals to work collaboratively. In addition, Cox and Caldwell (2000) outline the positive effects that a trustful ethos will have on a particular social group or community. The following tasks, in a trustful ethos, are in general easier:

- ‘negotiations about who does what are easy;
- there is a general lack of suspicion;
- one can ‘leave things up to others’; and
- there is a general feeling of security, which can lead to taking good, valuable risks.’ (Cox and Caldwell, 2000:64)

Commentators have also identified three different types of trust necessary for social capital formulation: ‘particularised’ or ‘personalised’ trust referring to trust of familiars; ‘generalised’ trust which refers to wider social trust and trust of strangers and; ‘civic’ or ‘institutional’ trust which refers to the basic trust in governance systems (Stone, 2001).

There was significant evidence to suggest that personalised trust was built up between the individual participants engaging in the collective CCD activities of LiveworX. Although all of the individual respondents agreed that trust, in some form, was built up with other program participants, there were some notable differences of opinions in how this was achieved. Whilst most of the respondents attributed the building up of trust between program participants to specific group work activities, others thought that the time spent together was the major contributing factor. For one LiveworX participant, trust was built 'just by people putting their faith in you and you realise, yeah, I've got a job to do and you want to do your best at it... Once you see everyone else's abilities, you let them go and do their job and you don't worry about that and do yours'.

In terms of generalised trust, the majority of LiveworX participants agreed that trust (in a more general sense) was also built with the people outside of the core group, particularly with the staff and volunteers of the partner organisations involved in the projects. This trust was believed by some of the respondents to have developed as a result of participants utilising the facilities provided by these organisations. One of the LiveworX program participants stated that 'at first of course they're a little sceptical, you know they've got to feel the water... [after a while] they saw they could trust people and leave them up to certain tasks'. Another LiveworX participant stated: 'we had to build trust with the schools and the artists as well. We had to trust that they'd do the job right and [for example] people doing costume making had to trust us that we would pick up the costumes for the festival and look after them and then give them back'. These findings indicate that by making participants responsible and accountable for the facilities they use, for the properties where CCD activities are based and for their own actions, trust is more likely to develop between the participants and the people they come in contact with whilst undertaking program activities.

The importance of civic trust, or institutional trust, which refers to a basic trust in governance systems to act for the public good, has also received considerable attention in the social capital literature (Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 1995). This 'linking' dimension of social capital, which refers to the relationships between individuals (or communities) and those in power or authority, is associated with a trust in governance systems (Stone and Hughes, 2001). This linking dimension of social capital is seen to be particularly important for socially excluded individuals as a means of accessing the necessary information and resources that foster social inclusion (ABS, 2002). In addition, some scholars are of the opinion that trust in governments and government officials is closely linked to personalised trust, and that a distrust in government spills over into a distrust of our neighbours, community members and even ourselves (Brehm and Rahn, 1997; Cox, 1995).

In terms of how participating in the CCD activities of LiveworX had influenced civic trust, or institutional trust, not one respondent from the program reported that they now have more trust in government organisations and officials. The majority of respondents stated that their trust in governments had not changed as a result of their involvement in the program. Interestingly however, a couple of respondents asserted that as a result of being involved in the program they now have less trust in government organisations and officials. This was generally due to an increased awareness of government activity and the challenges associated with dealing with local governments in the process of the CCD project. One participant of the LiveworX program had lost trust in government 'because some of the Council people made [organising the project] difficult'. One past participant of LiveworX, stated that their trust in government was 'still pretty much the same...I know that [the program coordinators] had a lot of problems with councils... I'm surprised that the project didn't attract more support from the local council'. These findings indicate that trust in government organisations and officials is perhaps the most difficult type of trust to build.

2. Reciprocity

Closely related to the element of trust is reciprocity, another key element of social capital that is emphasised in the relevant literature. Onyx and Bullen (2000:106) explain the notion of reciprocity: 'when an individual provides a service to others, or acts for the benefits of others at a personal cost, but in the general expectation that this kindness will be returned at some undefined time in the future in case of need'. Reciprocity contributes to the building of trust, as individuals generally trust that in engaging in altruistic actions that may contribute to the wellbeing of others, they may well indirectly benefit in the future (Winter, 2000). Whilst reciprocity helps trust develop, trust can also be seen as the prerequisite for reciprocal and mutual behaviour (CONSCISE, 2003).

All of the respondents involved in LiveworX CCD activities interviewed felt that they could now turn to people that they had met while participating in the program if they needed help for something now or in the future. However the majority of participants explained that the type of help they would ask for would be help with finding a job and accessing specialised advice and information, as opposed to emotional support or help with household activities. In addition, all participants indicated that they hoped other participants and people could ask them for help or a favour if they needed it. This was demonstrated in the keen willingness of participants to undertake the interview required for this research, with no incentive provided.

One LiveworX participant stated that if they needed it, they would ask for help for work or specialised advice, but added: 'I don't know about emotional things. I don't know them that well. But if I needed a favour, trying to get a job or as a reference or something, sure'. And another participant said: 'well, I just called [the program coordinator] the other day

for help finding a job, 'coz I want to get out of what I'm doing.' Lastly another stated: 'help finding work definitely, yeah. I mean that's already happened'

Many of the respondents also believed that as a result of their participation in LiveworX, their ability and knowledge about individuals, groups and organisations to turn to if they needed help with something had improved. For example one LiveworX participant noted: 'I've learnt that there are other options in life. It gave me the head space to actually look at other options in my life, because you can actually access information and things like that.' Therefore by contributing to skills development, confidence building and raising the awareness of options available, the CCD activities generally enhanced the ability of respondents to access help, when needed.

3. Group collaboration

Being able to work and interact effectively with other people is another element of social capital and one that is vital for social inclusion. Collective decision-making was identified as a key task in the youth arts projects that facilitated group collaboration. Findings indicated that participation in the youth arts activities had taught the majority of respondents the skills required to listen and respect other peoples' ideas and points of view.

All of the past participants interviewed from LiveworX stated that they were included in collective decision-making processes. The majority however highlighted the difficulty associated with making collective decisions. One LiveworX participant stated: 'that was the hard part I guess.' In addition, one participant stated wryly, 'it was an educational process'. For another participant: 'there was a bit of conflict but we worked around it'. While responses from participants demonstrated that collective decision-making processes were a challenging task, it was also noted that this generally improved over the time-span of the program, and have had positive long-term benefits in participants' ability to work in groups since completing the program activities.

4. Valuing Diversity

The more recent literature pertaining to social capital emphasises the importance of 'tolerance to diversity' as a key element of social capital, necessary to avoid the potential negative and exclusionary outcomes discussed earlier. Tolerance of diversity can be defined as feeling okay about living amongst and or interacting with people of different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, or more generally with people who have different lifestyles (Onyx and Bullen, 2000). This paper however uses the term 'valuing diversity' to recognise that social capital building requires more than just a 'tolerance' of diversity, but a recognition of the wider benefits of bringing together people from a range of different cultures and backgrounds to achieve a collective goal.

All of the past participants interviewed from the LiveworX program activities stated that there were a variety of people from different cultures and backgrounds participating in the programs. The majority of respondents felt that as a result of participating in the CCD activities they are now more accepting and less judgemental of difference than they were before they participated and, moreover, they now find it easier to associate with a diverse range of people. One participant stated: 'it's all about respect basically. That's what I've come to learn. Respect is just so important in life and [being involved] has helped me get that focus... So today I see people for people. I don't look at the colours of skins or the languages they speak or look for imperfections... that's crazy you know'. Another LiveworX participant stated: 'when I was doing it, I met a lot of Aboriginal kids, which was good for me. Now I connect with Aboriginal people more a bit from doing that.'

5. Participation

As discussed improving opportunities for participation is strongly emphasised in both the social capital and social exclusion/inclusion discourse.

All past participants interviewed from LiveworX stated that they felt that their points of view and ideas were heard and valued. One LiveworX participant stated: 'Sometimes in this world we don't feel like our voices are being heard...I don't know all the reasons, but sometimes when I think that way, that what I say doesn't mean anything, why say anything thing at all...[as a result of participating in group processes] slowly, slowly, I began to realise that any input I have, it's considered by the crew, and if it's sane and viable...if it's a good idea, they may even take it on. So I felt like I was actually empowered a little bit...When you feel powerless, to have the feeling of being empowered is really cool, you know'.

The majority of respondents also felt that they had a high level of participation in the CCD program activities. When interviewees were asked what other people did to help them participate in the program activities, responses cited the help and encouragement given by the program coordinators, the fact that other participants listened to their ideas and made them feel welcome, and also the support given by other people that were involved in the program activities.

There was, however, no evidence from the interviews to suggest that participation in either of the programs had enhanced the respondents' level of participation in other community organisations and interest groups since completing. For some, their civic participation had in fact actually decreased since completing the program due to an increase in work responsibilities. A LiveworX participant whose civic participation had decreased since involvement in the program explained: 'I want to go back and get into things. But now I'm working and stuff'. Another LiveworX participant stated: 'I thought I would have [gotten involved in more civic activities] if I kept in contact with people. But no, I moved away and got a different job'.

6. Networks

Social networks contribute significantly to quality of life experiences. Research has demonstrated a key link between network poverty and social exclusion, and improving the opportunities for network development is thus essential for social capital creation and fostering social inclusion (Perri 6, 1997). Different types of network configurations (whether weak or strong, informal or formal, vertical or horizontal) have different affects and benefits, and it has been asserted that we rely more heavily upon the different types of relationships at different stages of our lives (Perri 6, 1997). Whilst strong ties are essential for our emotional wellbeing, weak and informal ties play an important role in terms of our ability to find employment and access new information, ideas and resources (Perri 6, 1997, Granovetter, 1973; Cattell, 2001). In addition, previous research has found that weak ties that are externally linked outside the place-community of residence are essential for positive social capital building and addressing social exclusion, particularly in terms of obtaining future employment and resources (Perri, 6, 1997).

Respondents were asked a range of questions aimed at identifying if and how participating in the LiveworX supported activities has contributed to the development of social networks, and more specifically what types of social networks this participation has fostered. The majority of LiveworX respondents stated that they had made lots of contacts and acquaintances. Many noted they had made friends during the time spent participating in the program, yet contact had generally been lost since completing the program activities. For example, a LiveworX participant commented: 'I'm pretty disappointed in myself 'coz I made heaps of friends and then sort of cut myself off from everything, and I'm not really good at keeping in contact with people'. Another participant answered: 'I've got many contacts now [but] purely for work sort of thing. I've met some acquaintances as well, but I'm really interested in meeting work contacts'.

The responses regarding network development indicated that, as a result of participating in the LiveworX program, the individuals interviewed had generally improved the weak ties that are important for finding employment and accessing information, new ideas and resources. There was, however, no strong evidence to suggest that participating in the program contributed to the development of strong ties characterised by closer and more intimate relationships. It is however important to note that strong ties, in definition, require more trust and commitment than weak ties, and therefore take longer to develop (Perri 6, 1997).

7. Information Channels

Effective information channels through which individuals can access new knowledge, ideas and support have more recently been proposed as an important element of social capital and social inclusion (CONSCISE, 2003). Having channels of access to information depends largely upon the other elements of social capital, in particular social networks

based upon trust and reciprocity. Unequal access to information sources has received much attention in the social exclusion literature, particularly in reference to the unequal access to information and communication technologies (ICT) in society: commonly referred to as the digital divide.

As discussed above, for many of the LiveworX past program participants interviewed, participation in the CCD activities has improved their access to information through the development of 'weak tie' contacts. Whilst, the majority of LiveworX participants stated that involvement in the program had not changed their interest in local and national current affairs and politics, and had not influenced their ability to access such information, it was noted that some of the participants had an enhanced awareness and interest of environmental issues. Half of the participants interviewed stated that their ICT skills had improved as a result of the program, however others had not utilised these technologies as a part of the program activities.

In summary, there was indication from some respondents that access to, and interest in, information and current affairs had changed as a result of participating in the LiveworX program. While only slight changes were reported by most of the program participants, interview responses revealed that participating in the CCD program had nonetheless resulted in significant positive outcomes in some cases.

8. Competency and Capability

The links between social capital and human capital are well documented (Woolcock, 2001; Piachaud, 2002; Schuller, 2001). From the perspective of this paper, individual competency and capability in terms of both practical, creative and personal skills are important elements of social capital. For example, Hogan and Owen (2000:83) assert that 'the efficiency of social action is enhanced by the capacity of social actors to think clearly and communicate effectively, by possession of relevant technical and strategic knowledge and understandings, to make informed decisions.' In addition to the possession of practical skills and knowledge, social interaction and collaboration depends heavily upon individuals' personal and interpersonal skills.

In general, respondents indicated that participation in the LiveworX program had contributed to skills development. Although two of the respondents did not think they had developed any practical skills, others gave examples such as computer-based skills and basic office skills. There was however more evidence to suggest that involvement on the project had helped participants develop personal and interpersonal skills. When asked if there were any specific skills that had been acquired from being involved in the program, one participant answered: 'no, I pretty much had everything I needed, I just didn't know how to talk to people [and it has helped being able to talk] in front of a group of people.' For another participant: 'Just learning to relate to people, different people. Because we

were working with a range of people so I guess [I've learnt] what to say and what not to say in front of certain people and to control my anger if someone says something I don't agree with.' In general, respondents indicated that the interpersonal skills had been used to a greater extent since completing the program activities than the practical skills: in their social lives, work places and educational environments.

9. Sense of Belonging

A 'sense of belonging' to a geographic area or particular community and consequently a commitment to that community, is increasingly being used as an indicator of social capital and social inclusion (CONSCISE, 2003; Kemenade, 2003). It has been asserted that a 'strong sense of belonging', makes it easier to develop the relations of trust between people that contribute to a shared understanding of issues and that help to build a common purpose (CONSCISE, 2003).

The majority of respondents from the LiveworX program indicated that although they had heard the term used before, they did not understand what was meant by 'sense of belonging'. Once the concept was explained to them, the majority of respondents indicated that they did not feel they now possessed a greater sense of belonging in their local neighbourhood or society as a whole as a result of participating in the program. Nor did the majority of respondents feel more valued by society as a result of participating in the programs. Two respondents however expressed a contrary view however, affirming that they now felt a stronger sense of belonging to their local community. These respondents, lived in or near the suburbs where CCD activities were based. This finding suggests that an enhanced sense of belonging might be more likely to result from CCD activities that are provided for young people who reside close to where program activities occur.

Summary

The responses from the interviews conducted indicate that the CCD activities of CAN WA are having a broad range of social benefits for program participants. If we are to conceptualise the notion of social inclusion in a multi-dimensional way, wider than solely gaining employment, then we can confidently say that Community Cultural Development activities are an effective way of building social capital and fostering social inclusion, particularly in the context of young people.

Conclusion

In-depth interviews with participants of the LiveworX program activities, coordinated by CAN WA, shed light on the extent to which the CCD activities contribute to the nine key elements of social capital: trust, reciprocity, collaboration, valuing diversity, participation, networks, information channels, competency and capability, and sense of belonging; all of which are necessary for fostering social inclusion. The interview responses from past participants indicated that many of these elements had been created, or at least nurtured, as a result of participating in the CCD program activities. It is unlikely that any particular CCD activity will contribute to the creation of all the social capital elements identified in this paper. However an understanding of the types, and different functions of these elements, and how they can be nurtured, could direct future CCD program activities in a way that enhances social capital and inclusion outcomes for the individuals participating. In addition, it is likely that place-based CCD activities which limit program participation to local residents, might contribute more to the 'bonding' dimension of social capital. However, locally-based CCD activities may be less likely to foster the 'bridging' dimension of social capital that is essential for fostering social inclusion. It was evident from the interview responses that the 'bridging' component of social capital was fostered by the activities explored and therefore indicate that CCD programs and activities play an important role in paving pathways to social inclusion.

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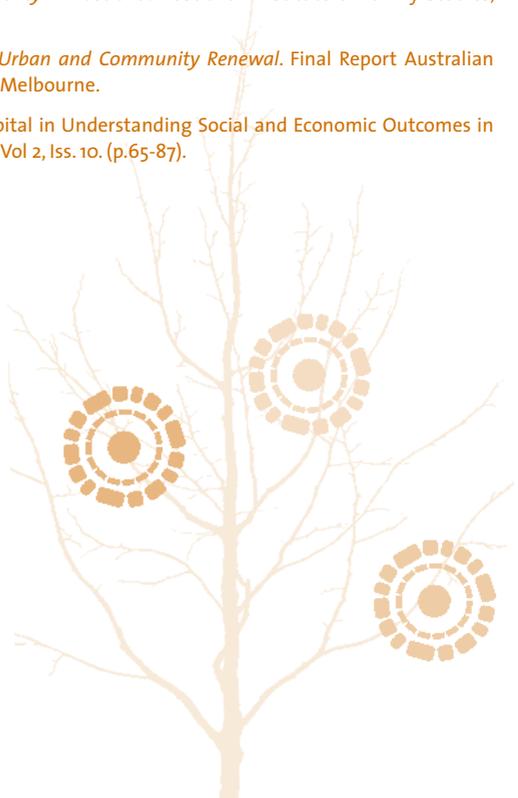
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Appendix I: Interview Questions for Organisation Representatives

History

When was the organisation established?

Why was the organisation set up? (What were the drivers and what was the thinking behind it)

Who was involved in setting up the organisation? (Name other organisations and/or individuals).

Did the organisation emerge out of the activities of other organisations? If Yes, which ones?

Activities and Objectives

What is the current role of the organisation?

What goods and services does the organisation provide?

What are the main objectives of the organisations and how are these objectives achieved?

Labour Force

What is the breakdown of paid and unpaid workers that participate in the organisation?

What is the role of volunteers in the organisation and how do they benefit from their involvement?

Links to Other Organisations

Does the organisation have links with other organisations? If yes, what types? Are these formal or informal?

What are the benefits of these links?

Social Impacts

Does the organisation assess its social performance/outcomes/impact? If yes how?

What are some projects/initiatives that your organisation is working on that will produce better outcomes for the community or society as a whole? Please explain how.

What factors help the contribution this organisation makes in the community or for

particular social groups?

What obstacles inhibit the contribution this organisation makes in the community or for particular social groups?

Are you aware of the concept of social capital?

What do you actually mean by social capital? Can you define it?

How does the organisation contribute to the creation of social capital?

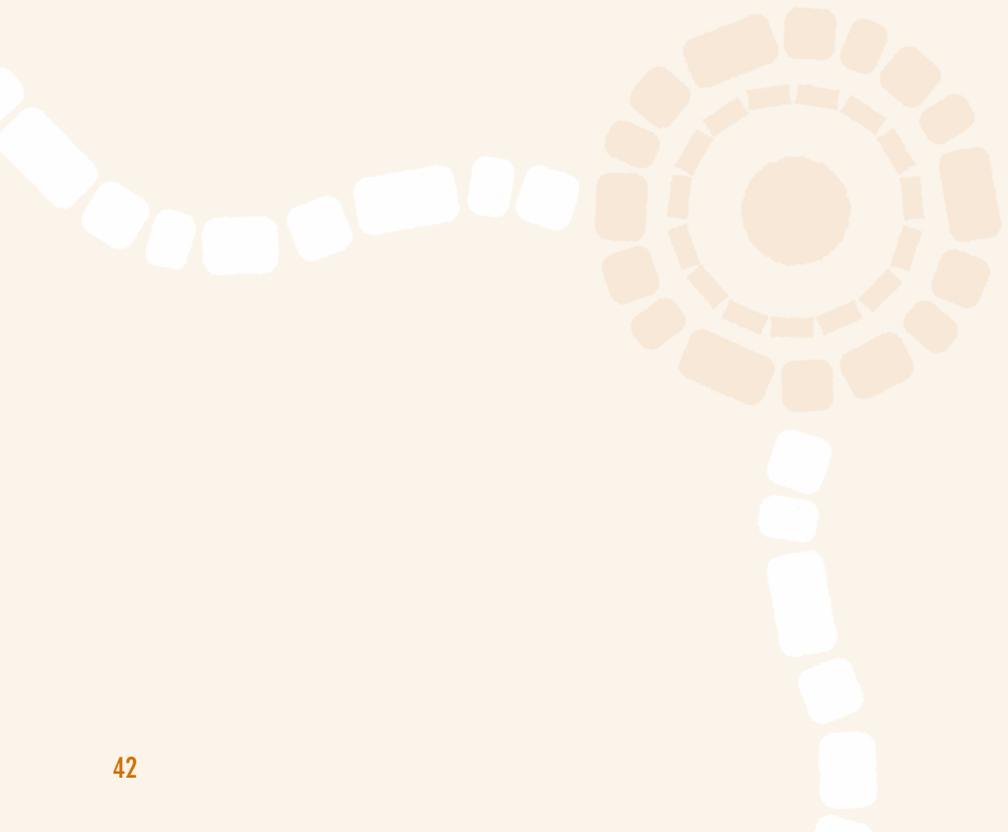
Finance

Please outline the percentage of your finance received from grants, philanthropic sources and those made from trading goods and services.

Does the organisation have plans to become more financially independent through increasing enterprising activity? How?

Social Enterprise Issues

What do you think is the most important issue facing not-for-profit organisations involved in enterprise activity and how can this issue be addressed?



Appendix II: Interview Questions for Program Coordinator

History

When was the program set up?

Why was the program set up? (What were the drivers and what was the thinking behind it?)

Who was involved in setting up the organisation? (Name other organisations and/or individuals).

Activities and Objectives

What are the main objectives of the program and how are these objectives achieved?

How do participants become involved?

How many participants have completed the program?

What does the program involve? What are the program activities?

What is the length of the program?

Social Impacts

Does the program assess its social performance/outcomes/impact? If yes how?

Please explain how this program produces better outcomes for the community or society as a whole?

What factors help the contribution this program makes in the community or for particular social groups?

What obstacles inhibit the contribution this program makes in the community or for particular social groups?

Are you aware of the concept of social capital?

What do you actually mean by social capital? Can you define it?

How does the program contribute to the creation of social capital?

What do you think is the most important issue facing the program and how can this issue be addressed?

Appendix III: Interview Questions for Past Program Participants

What gave you a sense of achievement from being involved in the program?

What did you really enjoy doing that you would like to do again?

What do you think you were the best at doing in the program?

Shared Norms

Do you feel that your values have changed from before you participated in the program? If yes, in what ways?

Did you feel that you shared the same values as other program participants?

Did you have to make consensus/collective decisions with other participants in your program activities? If so, how was this done?

Participation

Do you feel like you were able to put your point of view and ideas into the program activities? How?

How involved in different interest groups and community activities before you participated in the program?

Have you started to participate in a wider variety of groups and community activities since completing the program than you did before participating? Please explain.

What do you feel your level of participation was in the program?

Eg: a major contributor, joined in a lot, minimal participation.

What do you feel other people did to help you participate?

Since completing the program have you gotten involved in other community organisations and activities building on what you learnt in the program?

Networks

What sorts of people have you met from being involved in the program and organisation?

Eg: people like me, A range of people, Local residents, People whom I socialise with, Acquaintances that I still have some contact with

Have you made any new friends from being involved in the program?

How much do you socialise and interact with people that you met from the program since completing?

Have the contacts you have made through the program been people that live in the same area as you or are they from outside the neighbourhood in which you live?

Thinking about the local community in which your activities were based, do you feel like you are now more a part of that community?

Reciprocity

How has your ability to work with other groups of people changed since before you participated in the program?

Would you be confident to turn to the people that you met from being involved in the program if you needed help?

Eg: for household activities, Specialised advice, Emotional support, Help finding a job

Do you feel that people that you met through the program would feel confident to turn to you if they needed help?

What is it in the work that you did together that you think contributed to being able to ask for help if you needed it?

Since being involved on the program do you feel like your ability, and knowledge about where, to turn to other individuals, groups and organisations if you needed help with something has changed?

Trust

How was trust built up in the program activities?

Did you feel you built up trust with the people you met through the program and at the organisation? If so, which types of people was trust built up with?

Eg: other participants, program leaders, organisational staff, the wider community, local businesses etc

Do you feel the activities of the program have altered the way you either trust or distrust government organisations and officials?

Competency and Capability

Are there any specific skills that you learnt from being involved in the program?

Have you used these skills since completing the program?

Have your perceptions on obtaining employment changed as a result of participating in the program? eg do you want it more or less

Have your personal and interpersonal skills (eg team work, self esteem, confidence, problem solving etc) changed as result of being involved in the program?

Valuing Diversity

Was there a variety of different cultures and people of different backgrounds participating on the program?

What did you learn from these people?

Has it enlarged your interest in other cultures?

Have you gotten to know people (beyond the project) that you normally would not associate with?

Value of Life

Has your sense of what you value in life changed since before you participated in the program? Can you point to reasons that may have contributed to this?

Do you value qualities in other people that you wouldn't have done before participating in the program?

Do you feel that as a result of being involved in the program you feel more valued by society?

How would you describe 'sense of belonging'?

Do you have a greater sense of belonging as a result of being involved in the program?

Information Channels

Has your interest in local and national current affairs and politics changed since before you participated in the program?

Do you feel more comfortable in getting information on local and national current affairs as a result of the skills and contacts made from participating in the program?

Did being involved on the project help you improve your computer, Internet and email skills? If so what do you use these skills mostly for?

