

Special feature

Labour market participation: the influence of social capital

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Key points

- Individual skills and experience, often referred to as human capital, have traditionally been considered to have a heavy influence on participation and progress within the labour market. In recent years social capital, defined in terms of the level of trust and cooperation experienced between individuals or within groups, has also been recognised as having a role to play.
- As part of a wider study of social capital in the UK, ONS has undertaken a review of available data specific to the UK and of studies from other countries relating social capital to labour market participation.
- The results of such studies assist in understanding how social capital can influence the UK labour market. This may be, for example, by helping to increase the participation of women and disadvantaged groups, such as the long-term sick and disabled and those from ethnic minority groups.

Introduction

Human capital, defined by skills and qualifications, and to a lesser extent personal capital, defined in terms of behavioural characteristics, are considered to be key determinants in gaining employment or progressing in the workplace. In recent years it has been recognised that an additional determinant – defined as social capital – can also have an important influence. Both within and outside the workplace, the extent to which individuals either contribute to or experience neighbourliness, trust, social networks or civic participation can have an influence on a range of important personal outcomes including health, education and employment. The concept of social capital is used to describe this interaction between people and the wider community.

In the context of employment, social capital can be seen as a positive asset for those who are seeking to find work or change jobs within the labour market. It can also

be considered in terms of creating opportunities for, or barriers to, career progression and/or job retention. It needs to be recognised, however, that while the benefits of social capital within the labour market can often be seen as a positive asset, they can also be seen to disadvantage other groups or individuals. As part of a broader study into the influence of social capital in the UK, ONS has recently completed a review of relevant studies undertaken in the UK and a number of other countries. This article discusses their findings in relation to the UK labour market in order to raise awareness of the potential influence of social capital in the workplace.

It should be noted, however, that, in relation to the labour market, the influence of social capital within a particular country is affected by the structure and level of welfare provision by the state and/or the voluntary or private sector. Some of the studies discussed in this article are from countries which have a different social framework to the UK.

Social capital and the labour market

ONS has adopted a definition of social capital given by Cote and Healy (2001) from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. They describe social capital as ‘networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups’. Three forms of social capital have been proposed, namely bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding refers to the interaction between similar types of people such as family members and close personal friends. Bridging includes looser ties with casual friends, colleagues or associates and, while weaker and more diverse than bonding relationships, is more important in ‘getting ahead’. Linking describes connections with organisations and institutions and assists in accruing support from people in authority, for example, from the UK welfare state system. Active membership of social, educational, political, religious and voluntary organisations, both within and outside the workplace, may also contribute to an individual’s social capital. Participation in such groups may help an individual to develop skills or strengthen and extend networks which may assist in acquiring a job.

Figure 1 shows how social capital, together with an individual’s human and personal capital, can influence and assist those who are unemployed or inactive to find a job or, if already employed, to change jobs or progress within the workplace. When looking for a job, social capital may be a positive asset in terms of networks which provide knowledge of available opportunities. For the employer,

Box 1

Framework for measurement of social capital

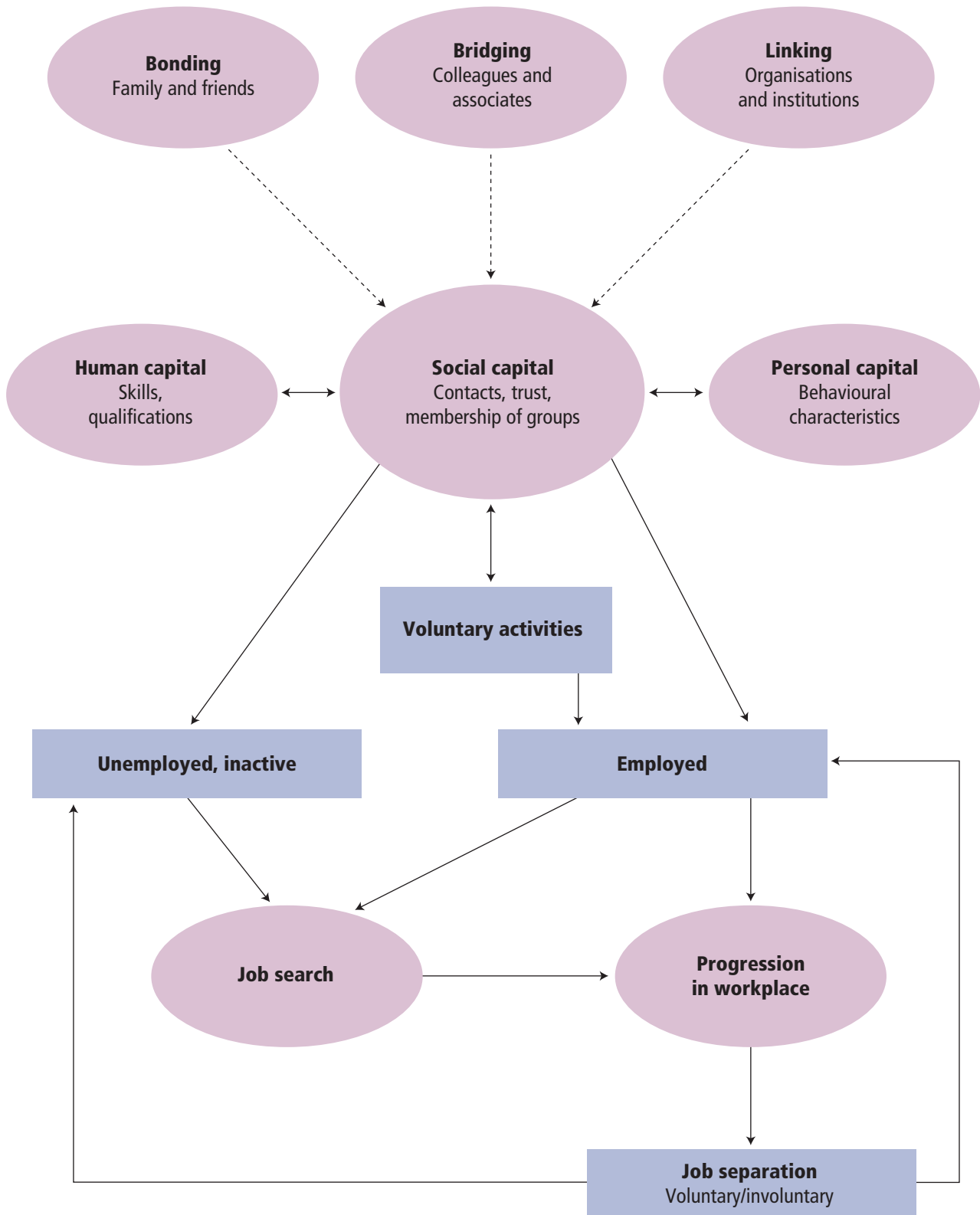
Dimension	Examples of indicators
Social participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Number of cultural, leisure, social groups belonged to and frequency and intensity of involvement ■ Volunteering, frequency and intensity of involvement ■ Religious activity
Civic participation	<ul style="list-style-type: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

when existing employees recommend friends or acquaintances this can help to build trust in prospective candidates. This may be particularly relevant for low skilled jobs where a large number of applicants are considered to have equally suitable skills and

experience. Recruiting those recommended by existing employees makes use of social capital in terms of networks and trust since they are unlikely to recommend someone whose performance could disadvantage their own position within the organisation.

Figure 1

Influence of social capital in the labour market



Source: Office for National Statistics

Social capital in the UK

ONS has recently undertaken a study into the development of a framework for the measurement and analysis of social capital in the UK (summarised in **Box 1**, see www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital for further details). This includes harmonised questions to measure social capital for use in national and local surveys. These have recently been agreed by a cross-government working group and are being incorporated into the UK General Household Survey for 2004/05.

Since 2001, the Home Office has undertaken a biennial Citizenship Survey which is designed to be part of the evidence base for its community policy area. This includes modules on social capital and full details are given at www.crimereduction.gov.uk/statistics36.htm. The survey is designed around the following five modules, although the contents may vary for each survey.

- **Good citizen:** information on perception of rights and responsibilities and whether people feel they can influence decisions and trust institutions.
- **Neighbourhood:** information on whether people know, socialise with and trust neighbours; collective efficacy; and social capital.
- **Active communities:** information on civic participation and informal and formal volunteering including frequency, intensity, duration and barriers.
- **Racial prejudice and discrimination:** information on perceptions of racial prejudice in Britain and perceptions of discrimination by public and private sector organisations.

Table 1

Illustrative characteristics of people with high and low social capital

High social capital	Low social capital
Lives outside London region	Lives in London region
Aged 30 and over	Aged 29 and under
Women	Men
Married	Single
Highly educated	Little or no education
Higher income	Lower income
Employed	Unemployed
Least deprived area	Most deprived area
Homeowner	Private renter
5 and over years of residence	0 to 4 years of residence

Source: *General Household Survey*

- **Family and parenting:** information on family structures, family level social capital and parenting support.

A discussion of social capital within the UK was included in a recent *Social Trends* (see Haezewindt, 2003). Indicators of social capital include the level of turnout for general elections, which has declined since 1990. Another is the level of community spirit, which the British Crime Survey reports has changed little over the past ten years in terms of the number of neighbourhoods who are perceived to 'help each other'. However, a social capital module included in the General Household Survey in 2000/01 reported the level of trust in neighbours increased consistently by age group from just below 40 per cent for 16 to 29-year-olds to over 75 per cent for those aged 70 and over. **Table 1**, which is based on an analysis of General Household Survey data, shows a comparison of the typical characteristics of people with high and low social capital. This

indicates that those in employment tend to have higher levels of social capital than those who are unemployed. However, this may be a simplification since the duration of unemployment, or the socio-economic status of those who are inactive, and in some cases household composition, will also have an influence.

The Performance and Innovation Unit has undertaken a detailed review of social capital (Aldridge et al., 2002) and its possible influence on different aspects of UK society, which includes facilitating higher levels of, and growth in, GDP through more efficient labour markets. High levels of social capital can also be considered to facilitate educational attainment, better health and lower levels of crime, which in turn can have an impact on labour market outcomes. The report concluded that while the various aspects of social capital may have some impact on a number of policy issues, it is likely that a number of other factors will need to be considered.

Table 2

How employees obtained their current job;^a United Kingdom; spring 2004

	Per cent
Reply to advertisement	28
Jobcentre or career office	8
Employment agency or jobclub	10
Hearing from someone who worked there	29
Direct application	14
Some other way	12

Source: Labour Force Survey

^a All working-age employees and people on government schemes who started their current job in the past three months.

Social capital in the labour market and the wider community

While social capital may assist those who are actively participating in the labour market, this can have a detrimental effect on other sectors of society who are more reliant on care and support from family or voluntary organisations. Over the past 20 years, the number of women in employment has increased steadily while the number of men has decreased. However, recent studies by Hall (1999) and Putnam (2000) indicate that community participation in the US has declined among all women and men regardless of their employment status.

This relationship between social capital, the labour market and community participation also has relevance in the context of a family unit. For example, children or elderly parents may be deprived of, or have less access to, traditional family networks or support because of time demands on their working parents or children. The relationship between time use and social capital in this context is being investigated by South Bank University, and the following

four overlapping areas have been identified (see Gray, 2003):

- employment-enhancing networks, influencing job access, job satisfaction, and negotiating capacity;
- informal sociality and support;
- associations and civil society;
- the care environment, including care of children; the sick and disabled; the elderly.

The interaction of these four areas is an important issue when analysing social capital within the labour market. Putnam (2000) reported on a study from the USA into initiatives which may help to increase social capital and participation in the wider community. These measures include opportunities for flexible working.

In the UK, the Labour Force Survey (LFS) indicated that only 8 per cent of male employees and 12 per cent of female employees had a formal flexitime system with flexible working hours in spring 2004. A further 7 per cent of men and 14 per cent of women reported having some other flexible working arrangement including an annualised hours contract, term-time working, job sharing, nine-day

fortnight or four-and-a-half-day week. It should be noted, however, that opportunities for flexible working are available more to those in higher professional occupations. In spring 2004, 15 per cent of employees working in managerial, professional and administrative occupations (SOC2000 groups 1 to 4) had a formal flexitime system compared with only 4 per cent in other occupations (SOC2000 groups 5 to 9).

Effect of social capital on job searching and economic status

While participation in the labour market can contribute to the presence of social capital of individuals and communities (see **Figure 1**), the use of social capital as an asset in finding a job or progressing within a job is also an important association and has been investigated in a number of studies. The spring 2004 LFS reported that nearly 30 per cent of those who commenced employment in the UK in the past three months heard that the job was available from someone who worked there. **Table 2** shows that another 10 per cent obtained the job through an employment agency or job club. An evaluation of New Deal initiatives for lone parents (Hales, 2000) showed that more than 30 per cent of lone parents who had recently obtained employment heard about the job from friends or relatives, compared with 10 per cent who had heard from their Jobcentre. Stone (2003) reports on a detailed investigation undertaken in Australia to examine the relationship between social capital and labour market outcomes including its relationship to job seeking. A summary of how social capital was measured in the survey is

▶ given in **Box 2**. The data were analysed to determine if there was a link between social capital and economic activity status or job searching.

Key findings indicate that social capital does have some role to play in determining labour force status in terms of employment and that people with high levels of social capital are more likely to be in full-time employment. However, in terms of job searching, the link was found not to be primarily based on trust but to relate to the networks which exist to assist in job searching.

Another important finding was that the effect of social capital was uneven among different groups of individuals and it may act to mirror or exacerbate existing inequalities or differences between people from higher and lower socio-economic backgrounds. For example, those who are not in employment are less likely to have ties to those who are in employment. Further, the use of friends and family connections by those from low socio-economic backgrounds for job searching is less likely to result in high quality work than for those from higher socio-economic circumstances who may have access to professional contacts. This, however, may be too simplistic since quality of work obtained is also strongly linked to human capital in terms of skills and experience which, in turn, is partly linked to socio-economic background. Hence it is desirable that the influence of social capital on labour market outcomes is investigated in connection to human capital.

Using social capital to assist disadvantaged groups

Social capital is only one of a number of attributes which may need to be considered to understand labour market outcomes for

Box 2

Families, Social Capital and Citizen Survey

This survey was conducted in 2001 by the Australian Institute of Family Studies to collect detailed information about social networks and the quality of relationships in those networks. Labour force status, demographic data and how jobs were found were also collected. A random sample of households was selected from residential phone books and the interviews were undertaken using computer-aided telephone interviewing.

Data were obtained for 1,506 English-speaking households. Since the focus of the study is on labour market outcomes it is important that the sample is representative of labour force status. The survey sample recorded rates of employment at 63.7 per cent, unemployment at 3.9 per cent and inactivity at 32.4 per cent, compared with 59.1 per cent, 4.7 per cent and 36.2 per cent respectively recorded in the Australian LFS for the same period.

Survey questions were designed to measure:

- trust and reciprocity both generally and for informal networks;
- institutional confidence;
- number of informal ties;
- number of group memberships;
- breadth of institutional ties;
- density of friendship network;
- educational and linguistic diversity of friendship network; and
- values in the neighbourhood.

A single index ranging from zero to ten was developed to measure the extent to which respondents trusted friends, workmates or associates and neighbours to act in their best interest and were willing to help each other. The size of informal networks was based on the number of friends, relatives and in-laws; the density of informal networks was defined in terms of the extent to which respondents' friends knew each other; and network diversity was based on educational attainment and languages spoken by the respondent's three closest friends.

Cluster analysis was used to combine all of the measures from which the following four levels of social capital were identified.

- **Social capital rich:** respondents with high levels of connectedness for all measures including informal networks, organisations and institutions and high levels of trust and reciprocity.
- **Strong norms and civic connections:** respondents with high levels of trust and reciprocity across networks, high levels of civic and community group membership but a small informal network of family, friends, neighbours and workmates.
- **Informal emphasised:** respondents with small but dense informal networks with high levels of trust and reciprocity. However, they have few connections at the neighbourhood level, with community groups, organisations and institutions. Trust and reciprocity is not extended to people generally in the community, including strangers.
- **Social capital poor:** respondents with small informal networks, few connections with the wider community or institutions with low levels of trust and reciprocity at all levels. Informal networks are also sparse so that friends tend not to know one another.

disadvantaged groups. The EU considers developing human capital – broadly defined by qualifications and skills – to be the key policy

driver to promoting economic growth and social cohesion within the community (Fuente, 2002). Burt (1992) suggests that social capital is ▶

► neutral under conditions of perfect competition in the job market. However, since many people could do the same job equally well within acceptable tolerances to the employer, criteria other than human capital are used in job selection, particularly for low skilled jobs. These criteria are often characterised by social capital attributes, for example, trust in the recommendation of an existing employee.

Caspi (1998) studied youth unemployment in the USA in relation to human and social capital, and additionally considered personal capital, that is, behavioural characteristics and resources which affect both the motivation and capacity to work. Caspi concluded that personal and family characteristics begin to shape future labour market outcomes in early childhood. Children involved in anti-social behaviour had low personal capital and were at increased risk of unemployment. This was also true of human capital when defined in terms of literacy, educational attainment, limited parental resources and IQ levels. Finally it was found that children with low social capital, often within a single parent family or who had experienced family conflict, were also at increased risk of unemployment.

Further studies in the USA by Smith (2000) and Aguilera (2002) have focused on the effect of social capital on disadvantaged groups in terms of ethnicity and sex. Both studies concluded that initiatives which seek to bring labour market information to disadvantaged groups are likely to be effective in reducing social inequality, particularly if combined with other measures for developing human and personal capital.

Does using social capital disadvantage others?

If, as Burt (1992) suggests, social capital is neutral under conditions of perfect competition in the job market, then it may be argued that advantages an individual gains from the use of social capital are obtained at the expense of another. This undesirable inequality can be partly addressed by creating the opportunity for equal access to information about job opportunities. The ability to achieve this has increased in recent years with the advent of the Internet, and websites are increasingly being used to supplement traditional methods of advertising through Jobcentres, newspapers and employment agencies. However, the Family Resources Survey reported that in 2001/02 only 10 per cent of families in the lowest income group had access to the Internet compared with nearly 80 per cent in the highest income group.

Fernandez (2000) discusses the benefits an employer of medium to low skilled jobs can gain by investing in its employees' social capital by recruiting through employee referrals. This can provide an economic benefit by saving in screening costs as the referrals may be more appropriate for the job. Such practices, which disadvantage others if jobs are not advertised, make use of social capital in terms of trust and reciprocity since the majority of employees are unlikely to recommend someone who may discredit their own position within the company.

Employment regulations can also have a major influence on the degree to which there is equal access to networks within the employment market. While 'closed shop' practices

in the past contributed to social capital for its members, others may have been excluded if they did not want to be a member of a trade union. Gardner (2002) discusses the influence of deregulation in the trucking industry, which supports the offshore oil industry, in the southern states of the USA. In the past states monitored and issued operating permits, which led to a network of truckers benefiting from social and familial connections with limited competition. Deregulation increased competition, lowered prices and opened the business to others; previously it had been largely dominated by the local white male population. However, the change led to a significant loss in power and control by local communities and to a loss of social capital by one group for the benefit of the wider community.

A change of job by an individual may lead to the loss of social capital of other family members or friends if it involves relocation of the family. Hagan (1996) discusses the influence family moves can have on children, such as a reduction of community social capital through the loss of networks and trust among peers. The study found that the level of parents' support and involvement can be critical, helping to compensate for the loss and assisting their children in building new networks and trust.

Within the workplace, while 'bridging and bonding' may help some people to progress in the organisation, this may be to the detriment of others. This may be particularly so where there is no equal opportunity policy to allow fairness in training and recruitment or a human resources function to deal impartially with disputes. In some cases this may lead to a

► breakdown in trust and become a barrier to progression because of individual conflict, and in an extreme case to loss of employment through increasing the likelihood of being selected for redundancy.

Social capital in the workplace

Effective employment relations in the workplace may assist in the formation of social capital among employees by developing bonding between colleagues or by bridging between management and staff. However, social capital may still exist even when employment relations are poor or confrontational, but in these circumstances this may be to the advantage of a few rather than providing benefits to the majority. Participation or membership in any work-based social or learning group may also contribute to a person's social capital and help to build trust and networks.

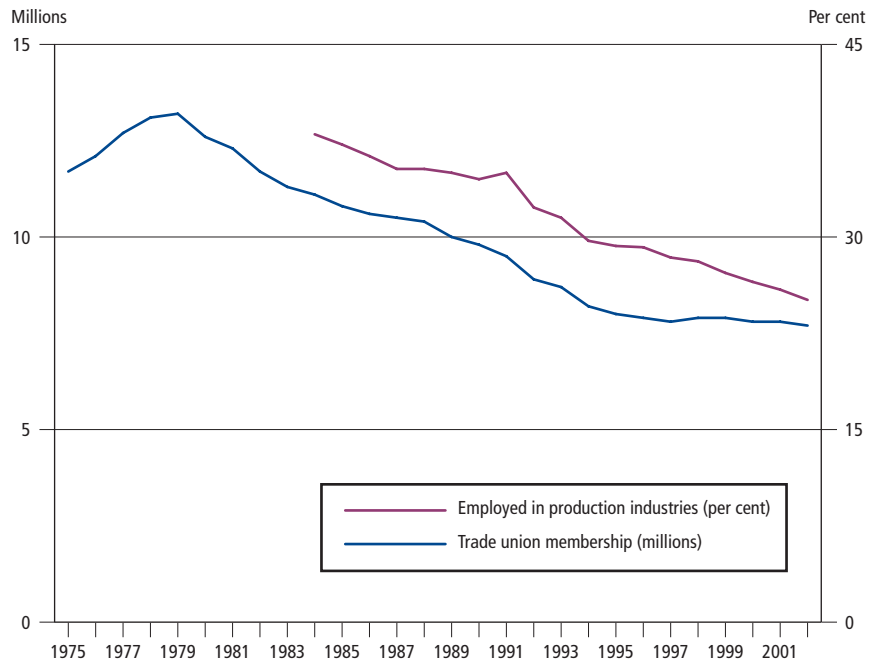
Membership of groups such as trade unions are a measure of participation which is a key aspect of social capital.

Figure 2 shows that trade union membership in Great Britain, as measured by the Certification Officer,¹ peaked at just over 13 million in 1979 and steadily declined to 8 million in 1995, remaining at about this level until 2002, the latest year for which membership data are available. However, this decline in union membership does not necessarily indicate that social capital has also decreased in the workplace during the same time because other new social groupings also have an impact on social capital.

Table 3 shows the presence of a trade union in the workplace can also benefit non-union members. The LFS recorded that 29 per cent of UK employees were members of a

Figure 2

Trade union membership and percentage of employees working in production industries; Great Britain; 1975 to 2002



Sources: Certification Officer; Labour Force Survey

Table 3

Percentage of employees with trade union in workplace; members of trade union; or affected by collective agreements; United Kingdom; autumn 1996 to autumn 2003

	Per cent		
	Trade union present in workplace	Union membership	Pay affected by collective agreements
1996	50	32	37
1997	49	31	36
1998	48	30	35
1999	49	30	36
2000	49	30	36
2001	48	29	36
2002	49	29	36
2003	49	29	36

Source: Labour Force Survey

trade union in 2003, but 36 per cent of all employees had their pay affected by a collective agreement and 49 per cent had a trade union present in the workplace. These rates have changed little since 1996, which is the first year that UK LFS data are

available for each of these three measures (see Palmer et al., 2004).

In addition to the drop in union membership, **Figure 2** shows that since 1985 there has been a broadly similar reduction in the number of people employed in production

Table 4

Percentage of workplaces^a with regular performance appraisals by occupation and sector; Great Britain; 1998

	Sector		All workplaces
	Private	Public	
	Per cent		
Managers and administrators	68	74	70
Professional	63	78	69
Associate professional and technical	55	49	53
Clerical and secretarial	57	45	54
Craft and related	54	34	51
Personal and protective service	52	40	46
Sales	64	65	64
Plant and machine operatives	43	34	43
Other occupations	42	25	37
No appraisals conducted	23	17	21

Source: *Workplace Employee Relations Survey*

^a Workplaces with 25 or more employees.

► industries in Great Britain – from 38 per cent in 1984 to 25 per cent in 2002. This reduction in the number of people employed in production industries, which are thought of as a traditional source of union membership, only partly explains the reduction in union membership. Other factors include changes in working practices such as the increase in part-time working and people's expectation that moving jobs will be a part of the working-life experience. The latter may also be linked to the increasing level of skills and qualifications in the workforce so that there is less of a dependency on the traditional role of a union to help protect a 'life-time' job and more opportunity to change jobs by moving around and competing in the workforce.

Since 1980, the Department of Trade and Industry has undertaken a series of periodic Workplace Employee Relations Surveys² (WERS). Results from the latest

survey will be published in 2005.

The 1998 survey (Cully et al., 1999) covered a number of topics which have a close relationship with social capital including management practices; employee representation; motivation; job satisfaction; and flexibility within the workplace. Among the survey's conclusions is that the traditional system of British industrial relations, characterised by robust trade unions and individual employers engaging in 'free' collective bargaining, has steadily reduced over the past 20 years. This is being supplemented by a growing interest in direct employee participation and better management practices aimed at improving working relationships.

The survey report includes an extensive discussion of workplace management practices including recruitment, training, communication, employee participation, profit sharing, performance appraisals, handling

disputes and dismissals. The extent to which such practices are implemented in the workplace may have an influence upon the degree of social capital that employees experience during the recruitment process, while in employment and in the event of termination of employment. **Table 4** shows the proportion of workplaces which have regular performance appraisals by occupation and sector. The survey also reported on a number of indicators of workplace well-being (see **Table 5**), which vary by industry in terms of absenteeism, voluntary resignations, dismissals and sickness. It would be of interest to investigate if the level of social capital in the workplace also varies according to occupation and industry as characterised by the practises summarised in these tables. While these findings apply collectively to the workforce, there is also the possibility that individuals can experience positive or negative social capital to a degree that this is not consistent with the general level in the workplace. This has been investigated by Moerbeek (2003) who, from a study based on the 1993 *Family Survey of the Dutch Population*, concluded that having foes in the workplace generally shortens job-duration and can lead to a move to a lower-prestige job.

The Department of Trade and Industry undertook a Job Separations Survey in 2001/02 to examine the reasons why people left employment on both a voluntary or involuntary basis. Nearly two-thirds of the sample reported that they left on a voluntary basis with the majority wanting or already having another job (Corbin, 2004, see p99 of this issue of *Labour Market Trends* for more information). Of these, while 50 per cent wanted better pay ►

► and/or better career prospects, nearly 40 per cent wanted better working conditions. Of those who were dismissed, made redundant or involved in a dispute only 16 per cent were offered independent advice from outside of their employer.

The Workplace Employee Relations Survey and the Job Separations Survey indicate that there is growing evidence that the experience of effective employment relations varies according to occupation and industry. It is also possible that there will be similar trends in terms of social capital in the workplace.

Conclusion

The social capital concept provides a framework to investigate the degree of 'cooperation within and among groups' and to explore its influence on a number of labour market outcomes. No survey has been undertaken to date formally to measure social capital within the UK in relation to the labour market. The availability of relevant data, for example in the LFS, is limited and there is scope to collect more survey data to investigate a wide range of issues discussed in this article. It is possible that other ONS household surveys such as the Omnibus Survey and General Household Survey, or non-ONS surveys such as the British Household Panel Survey, would be used in preference to the LFS.

The influence of social capital in the labour market needs to be considered in a wider context in relation to interaction with society as a whole and not just those of working age or those in employment. For example, the influence on the caring environment within the community or within families in terms of the needs of children and the elderly

Table 5

Indicators of workplace^a well-being by industry; Great Britain; 1998

	Average rate per 100 employees			
	Absenteeism	Voluntary resignations	Dismissals	Illness
Manufacturing	5	11	2	2
Electricity, gas and water	3	5	0	2
Construction	3	12	1	1
Wholesale and retail	3	19	2	1
Hotels and restaurants	4	38	6	1
Transport and communications	4	11	2	1
Financial services	5	9	1	2
Other business services	3	13	1	1
Public administration	5	7	0	3
Education	4	8	0	3
Health	6	17	1	3
Other community services	4	18	2	1
All workplaces	4	14	2	2

Source: *Workplace Employee Relations Survey*

a Workplaces with 25 or more employees.

needs to be considered. Social capital can provide positive networks of contacts or information assisting in successful job searches for people seeking employment, and also help those in employment in terms of progression within the workplace. However, a number of studies have also reported that social capital can be a negative characteristic and may disadvantage some groups within society in general or individuals within an organisation.

The ONS framework for analysing social capital can be used as a basis for investigating social capital in relation to the UK labour market. A number of issues covered by studies discussed in this article could be investigated, for example from the Social Capital and Citizen Survey undertaken in Australia in 2001. Consideration will also need to be given to the UK social framework,

which has an established welfare state system, whereas other countries may rely more heavily on the voluntary or private sector for welfare provisions. Investigating further the effect of social capital within the UK labour market could contribute to understanding how disadvantaged groups, such as women, the disabled and ethnic minority groups, can be helped to participate more in the workforce.

Notes

- 1 There are two sources of data for trade union membership, the Certification Office and the LFS. Certification Office data give a longer time series for Great Britain from 1975 and are based on annual returns of union membership by individual trade unions. LFS data are available from 1989 for Great Britain and from 1995 for the UK. Those who are members of two unions will appear twice in the Certification Office data but will be counted only once in the LFS. Certification Office data also include those who are not in employment or are over working age and still members of a trade union, whereas LFS data can be analysed on a basis of those who are of working age and in employment. Further information and reports can be found at www.dti.gov.uk/ler/emar/trade.htm.
- 2 The 1998 Workplace Employee Relations Survey sampled over 3,000 workplaces in Great Britain and interviewed both managers and worker representatives, obtaining completed questionnaires from nearly 30,000 employees. The latest survey in the series was undertaken in 2004 and results will be published during 2005. Further information on the 1998 and 2004 surveys is given on the DTI website at www.dti.gov.uk/ler/emar/.

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