

A Model for Community Development in Rural Newfoundland; Exploring Relationships between Local Economic Development, Social Capital and Well-Being

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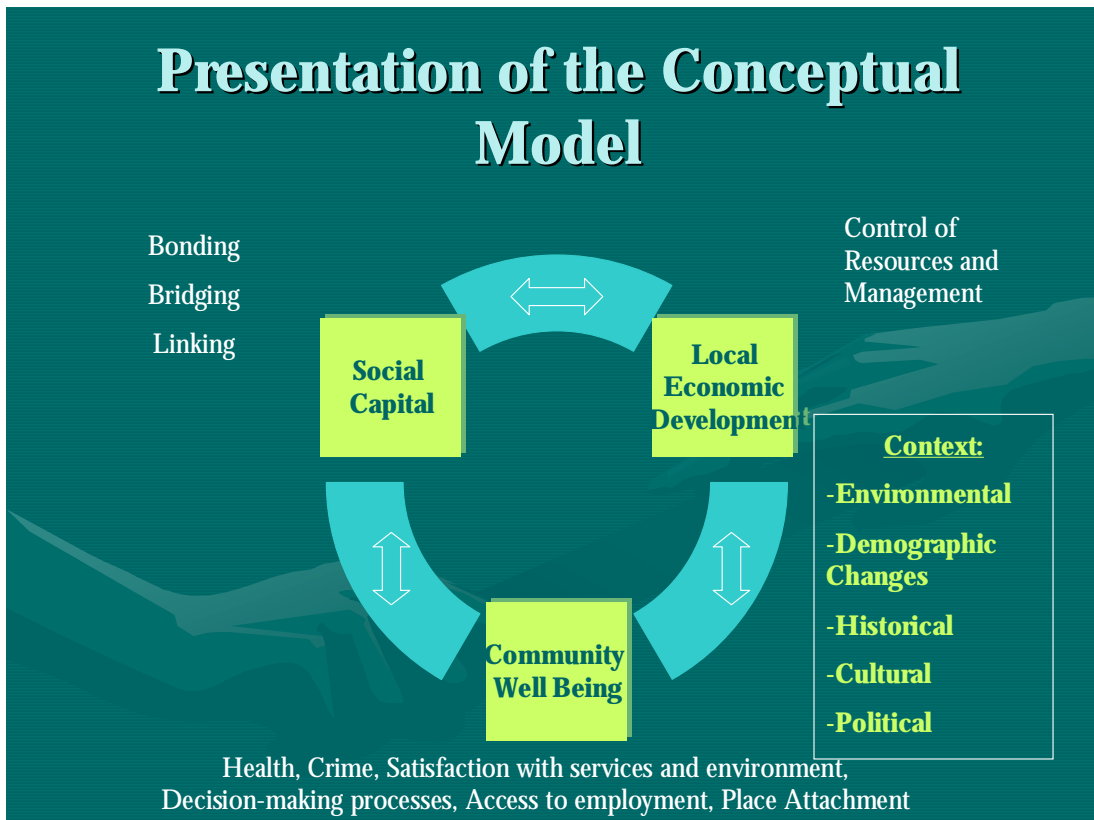
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Overview

- Presentation of the conceptual model
- Review of research design, and community selection criteria
- Findings and considerations for 3 major concepts; Local Economic Development, Social Capital and Community Well-Being
- Relationships between the major concepts
 - Local Economic Development and Social Capital
 - Contextual factors influencing LED
 - Local Economic Development and Community Well-Being
 - Social Capital and Community Well-Being
- Major Lessons Learned
- Model and Policy Considerations



In the literature review previously submitted as part of this CURA project, the main components of this model and the relationships between them were discussed.

Social Capital: Putnam (1995) defined it broadly as the features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks, capable of improving the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions. In his study of Italian regions, he found it to have positive consequences for regional economic development and Putnam and others have pointed to the health benefits of social capital.

The literature reveals 3 major types of social capital (Woolcock, 2000);

Bonding: Links between people with similar characteristics, which reinforce homogeneity

Bridging: Bridging of connections between homogeneous groups similar in status or with common interests, which reinforce inclusion

Linking: Networks or relationships with individuals or institutions that facilitate access to resources, ideas and information. Typically with proponents who by their status, exert more power.

Local Economic Development (LED) (Blakely and Bradshaw, 2002): The process in which local governments or community-based neighbourhood organizations engage to stimulate or maintain business activity and / or employment.

Douglas (1994) suggests that LED initiatives can be characterized by the degree of community control, (inclusive and integrative of the community), with the least integrative examples being crisis-driven LED (such as the need for a mine to re-open) or industrial development, which involves selling a community's competitive advantage to attract outside firms, little public participation, exporting goods and typically little control from the community. Types of LED which are more inclusive and integrative include Community Economic Development (CED), a process in which communities can generate their own solutions to their common economic problems and build long-term community capacity (Ross and McRobie, 1989). For example, some government program-responsive development with broad regional development agendas can be considered CED, particularly those who facilitate the engagement of the community in its own development planning (Douglas, 1994).

Community control of project management and resources is of great importance to the sustainability of LED initiatives (Swack and Mason, 1994).

Social Capital's influence on LED?

-Bonding SC can promote information exchange and community mobilization (access to volunteer resources and other community resources) (Halpern, 2005; Flora, Sharp and Flora, 1997; Dawe, 2004)

-Bridging and Linking SC promote access to associations that can facilitate business growth (Flora, Sharp, Flora and Newlon, 1997; Dawe, 2004) and help communities or businesses keep a competitive edge and access financial and other resources (Halpern, 2005).

Community Well-Being (CWB)

Many factors have been identified as making up well-being in a community. This study has combined indicators from 2 main comprehensive models (Hancock, Labonte and Edwards, 1999; and Christakopoulou, Dawson and Gari, 2001).

-Health

-Access to employment / income

-Safety / crime

- Satisfaction with services and the environment
- Attachment to a community
- Democratic qualities (ability to be involved in decision-making)

LED and Community Well-Being

CED has been suggested as a health promotion strategy to increase employment opportunities and enhance quality of life.

Access to employment through LED allows individuals to more fully participate in community activities, to provide their families with adequate nutrition and basic needs, and to benefit from feelings of usefulness and self-esteem (better mental health).

Social Capital and Community Well-Being

Social Capital is negatively associated with crime and positively with community participation (Halpern, 2005). There is also compelling evidence to suggest that it's related to health outcomes (a lack in social connectedness has a well-established link with all-cause mortality, and the presence of illness and depression) (Baum, 2000).

Social Capital is also more predictive of residential satisfaction (another aspect of CWB) than the physical quality of the dwelling (Bowling et al., 2002).

It has also been suggested to mediate the relationship between wealth and health above certain income level (Marmot, 1986; Wilkinson, 2000).

Finally, health promotion and community development research has shown that social capital enables the provision of social services otherwise not available (Campbell, 2000).

It is important to keep in mind that the **context** in which these three variables influence each other matters a great deal. Changes in the environment and populations can exact consequences on the model. Historical background and cultural and political climate also exercise an influence.

Review of Research Design

- 2 pairs of communities were initially selected that were impacted by the moratorium.
- All pairs of candidate communities were similar in geographic isolation

	Economic Development (employment elasticity)	
Social Capital (associational activity)	Low	High
Low	Community B	Community A
High	Community C	Community D

Four communities that were greatly impacted by the cod-moratorium were selected for further case-study (2 pairs similar in geographic isolation and basic demographics). The goal was to explore the role of Social Capital for Local Economic Development and to look at the impact of both on well-being outcomes.

The indicators used to categorize communities were associational activity for social capital and employment elasticity for Local Economic Development (LED). They will be further elaborated in the next slide.

We began by visiting two communities similarly low in Social Capital in comparison to the two others. Within the pair of communities A and B, Community A was considered high in LED, and Community B was considered low in LED according to the Employment Elasticity index.

Community Selection Indicators

- Similar in basic demographics and geographic isolation
- Similarly low in Social Capital
- One high and one low in terms of LED success

	Community A	Community B
Social Capital (associational activity)	4 NP Orgs	4 NP Orgs
LED		
Employment Elasticity 1990s	61%	15%
Business Creation 1990s	+3	-2

As stated previously, the pair of communities was similar in basic demographic information and in geographic isolation. Community selection was based on the following indicators:

Social Capital: Associational Indicators (indicators related to volunteer organizations) have been associated to higher trust and political tolerance and have been considered as representative of social capital (Cigler and Joslyn, 2002; Wollebaek and Selle, 2002). They have been used in rural development research in Canada, recognizing certain limitations (Wall, Connell, & Fuller, 2004; Dayton-Johnson, 2004). These types of indicators are favoured for their convenience and availability.

Local Economic Development

Success of LED has commonly been defined by its ability to generate employment. Of all economic indicators available when considering communities for inclusion in the study, this measure of employment recovery from 1991 to 2001 was the only true distinguishing indicator of economic performance between the communities.

Community A: 61% of the employment lost since the beginning of the 1990s was recovered by 2001.

Community B: 15% of the employment lost since the beginning of the 1990s was recovered by 2001.

Business creation during the 1990s was considered as a secondary indicator.

Community A: A total of 3 new businesses were added to the community during the 1990s.

Community B: The number of businesses in the community declined by 2 during the 1990s.

Review of Methods

- **Historical Profiles:** Gathered information from interviews and documents
- **Social Capital:** Interviews, questionnaire measurement and participation in local events
- **LED:** Interviews and tax-filing data
- **Community Well-Being:** Questionnaire, substantiated by interviews.

A **historical profile** of each community was constructed using document review and some interview data. This provided context for data analysis, coding of transcripts, etc.

Social Capital

Interview guides included questions about participation, membership, volunteering, etc. Several questionnaire items taken from the literature were used to explore social capital: Neighbour trust, civic engagement, neighbourliness, social networks and social support,

sense of community, collective efficacy. These reflected measures previously used by Putnam and suggested by others (Perkins and Long, 2003).

Observation by participating in community events also informed social capital findings.

LED

Interview guides included questions about any employment generation or business development. These accounts were verified using available tax-filing data up to 2003.

Community Well-Being

Questionnaire items from the Community Well-Being questionnaire (Christakopoulou, Dawson and Gari, 2001) were supplemented by other indicators identified as important in the literature. For example, questions covering health and economic dimensions of community well-being were added. An open-ended question was included to allow residents to identify any issues related to community-well being. Interview data was used to confirm some of the findings.

Success in LED?

Community A	Community B
Increase in employment due to re-opening of fish plant for processing of alternative species. (see EI data also) Unstable industry; Sustainability in question	Recent vigorous effort to diversify local economy to tourism. Project-based; Sustainability in question by workers, funding reps and community leaders are confident.

Success as job creation: Recent Tax data and Survey results suggest only small differences b/w communities in employment since 2001. Employment elasticity indicator (1990s) was of limited utility for examining LED success.

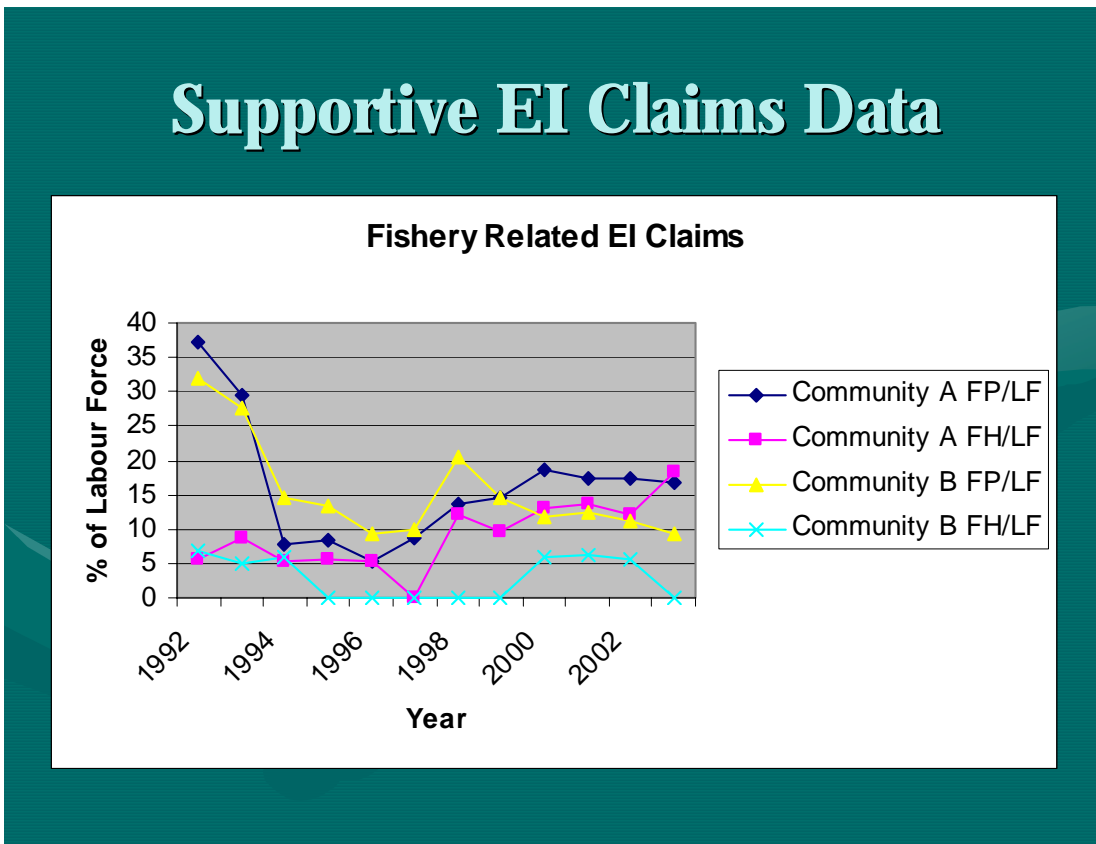
Success as sustainability: Interviews revealed that employees in both communities feel some degree of sustainability / predictability is an important part of LED success. Leaders and government partners feel confident about Tourism in Community B.

Success as diversification: In diversifying the local economy, a community’s vulnerability to devastation due to drastic global economic forces is reduced. The risk is spread.

NOTE: IMPORTANCE OF TIMEFRAME

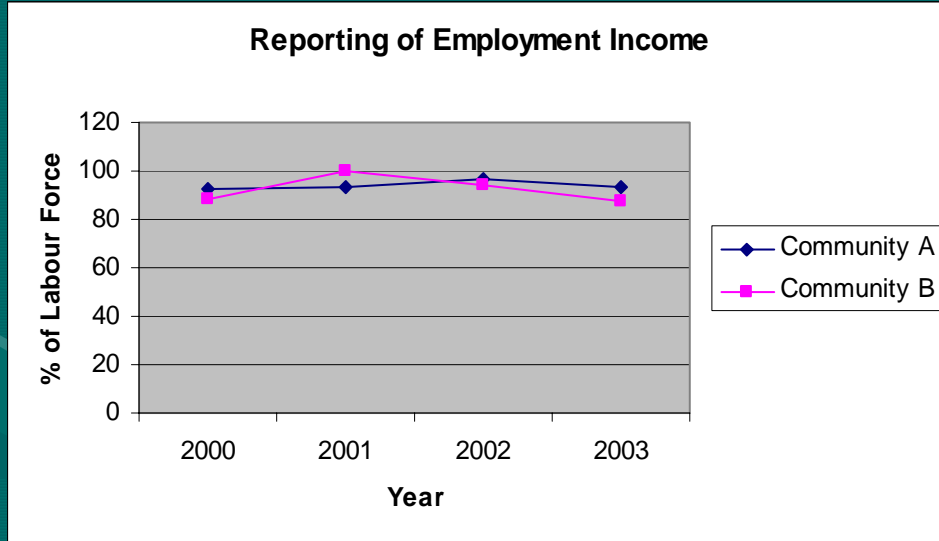
The Local Economic Development activities in each community are summarized above. In Community A, EI Claims data taken from Community Accounts supports the key informant statements about the fishery-related employment since 2000 (see next slide).

What is successful LED? There are several ways of answering that question (see above).

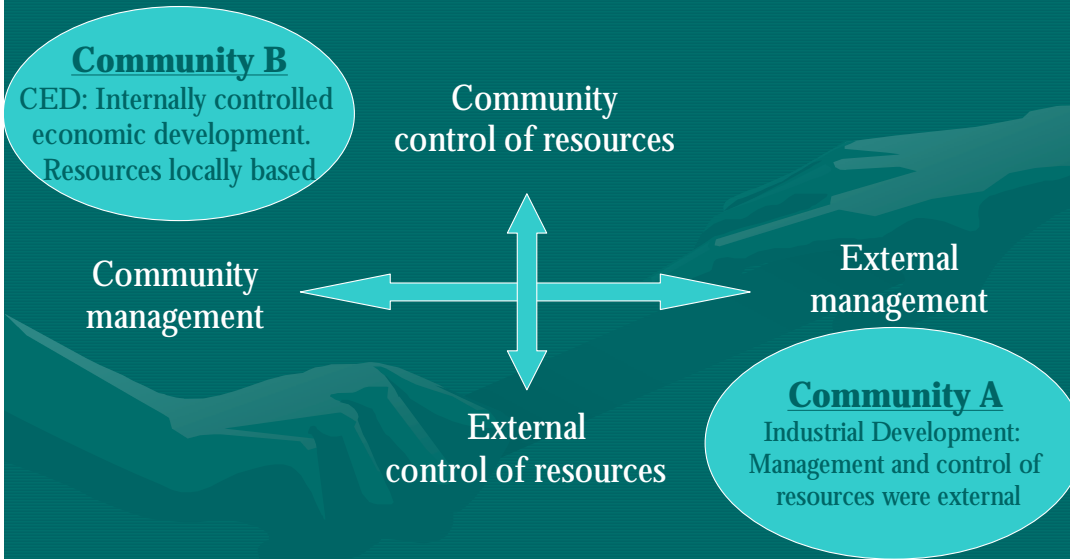


This figure demonstrates that seasonal employment is more fishery-related for Community A than for Community B.

Supportive Employment Data



Type of LED



In the elaboration of the conceptual model, we saw that LED initiatives can be placed on a continuum of community control. The two types of community control singled out by May (2006) are control of resources (vertical axis) and control of project management (horizontal axis), either of which can be internal or external to the community.

As previously described, LED originating from and controlled by the community is more likely to produce positive outcomes for the community.

Community A's re-opening of the fish plant was a case of externally controlled resources and project management.

Community B's development of a tourism strategy was a case of internally controlled resources and project management.

Social Capital

Associational Indicators and Membership

Community A	Community B
Town Council (5) - Now (4) Fire Department (20) Firettes (5) United Church Women (29) Recreation Committee (3)- Now (0)	Town Council (5) Tourism Group (10) Recreation Committee (8) **Anglican and United Church Women (10)

**** Informal**

Provide little information on:

- type of social capital; bonding, bridging or linking (obtained by interviews)
- inclusiveness of participation (obtained by observation)
- the type and number of activities (directed towards LED or not)

The Associational indicators above and memberships appear to indicate that Community A is higher in social capital than Community B. However, these associational indicators provide little information on the types of social capital, inclusiveness of participation and the types of activities.

Information on the types of social capital (bonding, bridging or linking) was obtained through interviews. Other than bonding social capital, information on bridging and linking could only be found through community leaders or members of community groups. Questionnaire methods could be useful if with the right participants.

Information on the types of activities conducted was obtained through interviews with the members but could be obtained through questionnaire methods.

Information on inclusiveness of community participation was gathered through participant observation, supplemented by interviews. It could be more challenging to obtain this information through questionnaire methods with community groups but could gain a sense of participation through questionnaire methods with a representative community sample.

Types of Social Capital

	Community A (Low SC)	Community B (High SC)
Bonding SC (between homog. groups)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Much less volunteering (No Festival Day this year) •Less inclusive participation •Historical socio-economic divisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •3 major groups (Tourism Group, Town Council, and Recreation) share vision and plan for tourism development and work well together •Residents sustain the Annual Festival: major TG Fundraiser •More inclusive community participation in events
Bridging SC (between heterog. groups)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Refusal of amalgamation with neighbor towns •Less networks with outside 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Cooperation with other towns to improve cost of services. •Work with outside groups to market tourism.
Linking SC (with resources)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Limited representation on regional boards •Limited success in linking with funding agencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •TG exec represented on 5 regional tourism-related and other committees. •Successful and continuous interaction with funding agency reps.

Findings for the three types of social capital are explained above.

How the information was, and could be obtained.

Bonding SC: Participation in activities provided the information on inclusiveness, but info could be obtained re: number of activities and number of participants. Information on bonding between community groups could be obtained by asking questions about intra community collaboration between groups.

Bridging SC: Info could be obtained by asking members about relationships with groups in other communities.

Linking SC: Info could be obtained by asking questions about relationships with organizations providing monetary and other resources.

Regarding Linking SC: Both TG representatives and government funding agencies commented on the importance of the quality of the relationship between the group and

funding agency. From the government's perspective, important considerations included the frequency of contact, skills of the group members, community and broad associational involvement of group members, establishment of a track-record. From the community's perspective, important assets were the willingness to meet frequently, provide feedback on proposals, and answer questions in a timely manner.

SC: Questionnaire Measurement

The questionnaire measures proposed in the literature generally did not reveal the clear distinction between the communities in Social Capital found using interviews and observation.

Two questionnaire concepts however, did reveal the differences:

- **Collective Efficacy:** trust in the effectiveness of organized community action
- **Community Confidence:** The confidence residents have in their community's future (despite signs that it may be declining). "In the past two years do you feel your community has gotten worse, stayed the same or improved" and "In the next two years, do you feel your community will get worse, stay the same, or improve".

Note on participation:

A question about the number of hours volunteered per month revealed a substantial difference in the **sum or aggregate** of hours volunteered between the communities. (Community A = 354, Community B = 413)

Most questionnaire measures of social capital did not reveal differences between the communities.

The following concepts measured by the questionnaire revealed very statistically significant differences between the two communities.

Community Confidence 1

4. In the past two years, general conditions in the community have:

Gotten worse

Stayed the same

Improved

Community Confidence 2

5. In the next two years, do you feel that general conditions in your community will:

Get worse

Stay the same

Improve

Collective Efficacy

On a scale of 1 to 7, rate how likely: (1=not likely, 7= very likely)

1-My community can accomplish improvement of physical conditions

2-My community can persuade the government for better services

3-My community can reduce crime

4-My community can inform residents where to go for services

5-My community can be successful in the projects they undertake

Community Well-Being

	Statistically Significant Differences	No Statistically Significant Difference
Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Drinking Alcohol (ex: more moderate binge drinking, and heavy binge drinking in Community A) •Morbidity statistics (acute care hospitalizations, 2004/05)* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •General health and well-being ratings / Anxiety / Depression •Chronic illnesses •Physical activity •Smoking
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ability to find employment in the region •Employment Status (retirement) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Mean household income adjusted for household composition •Employment in months per year •food security •% of labour force employed and median family income*
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Satisfaction with environment •Ability to be involved in decision-making processes •Safety / Crime** 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Community attachment •Community spirit

* database indicator ** Supported by open-ended questionnaire answers

Most community well-being indicators identified in this table were obtained through the survey questionnaire conducted with 70 residents per community.

This table distinguishes between indicators that revealed statistically significant differences between the communities, and those that did not. For every case where a statistically significant difference was found between the communities, it is in favour of Community B.

If we examine the **health** aspects of Community Well-Being (CWB), there was more moderate and heavy binge drinking in Community A, and higher crude rates of acute care hospitalizations; (Community A – 13545.8 / 100,000; Community B – 8181.8 / 100,000). However, many health indicators revealed no difference between the communities. These include ratings of general health and well-being of residents, anxiety and depression as measured by the General Health Questionnaire-12, reports of chronic illness, physical activity and smoking.

In terms of **economic** aspects of CWB, residents in community B were more confident in their ability to find employment in the region, and had higher levels of retired residents. This we believe was a product of under-representation of older residents in Community A. No difference between the communities was found in mean household income adjusted for the number of dependants, reported employment in months per year, and reported food security. Tax filing data was also used to verify economic well-being and revealed no substantial differences in the percentage of the labour force reporting employment income, and the median family income.

In other dimensions of CWB, statistically significant differences between the communities were found in satisfaction with the community environment, ability to be involved in decision-making processes, and finally in safety and crime (as supported by answers to the open-ended question “Is there anything else you would like to say about well-being in your community?”). Items that represented more affective feelings toward one’s community such as community attachment and community spirit did not reveal differences between the communities (possibly due to the cultural context).

Questionnaire answers: Open-Ended question gave residents the chance to express a concern that may not otherwise be included in the questionnaire, etc. But in this case it was the crime (just would not have allowed to detect what type of crime, drugs.)



The project set out to explore what role social capital plays in the development of economic opportunities at the local level.

Measurement / Indicators:

Social Capital

Some questionnaire measures that reflected differences in bonding social capital observed through qualitative methods were Collective Efficacy, Community Confidence and Community Participation (aggregate hours volunteered per month). However, in order to determine levels of bridging and linking social capital, information should be gathered with the community groups in question or residents involved in the key projects.

Measures of Local Economic Development (LED) include;

- degree of community control (this is found mainly through interview methods)
- job creation (% of labour force employed)

-diversification (interview methods can be used, or indexes of diversification - for example, current partners in the Decade of Change project are developing an index for reliance on the fishery industry)

-sustainability (can be observed over time. Another method would be to gather impressions of stakeholders; employers, community employees and funding partners)

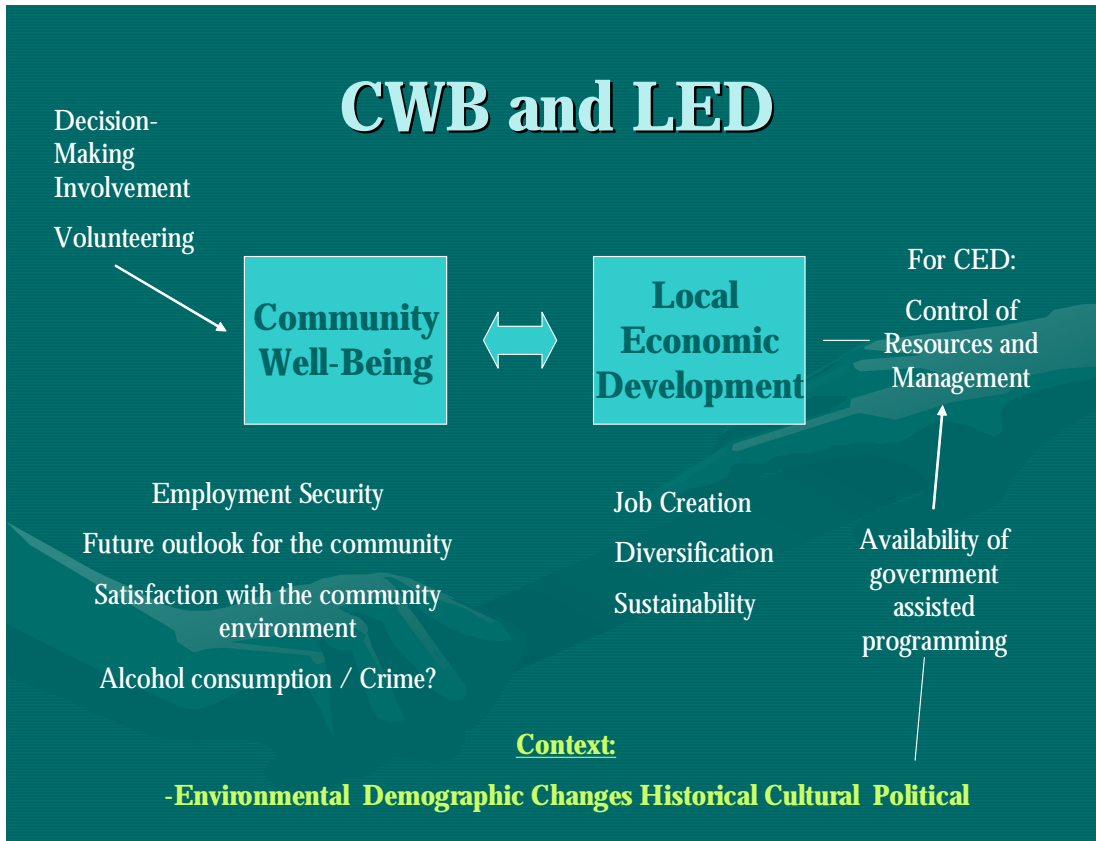
Relationship Between Concepts

As has been suggested in the literature, social capital is capable of re-generating itself. For example, the festival engages community residents in participation as an important part of tourism development but also perpetuates the development of more social capital.

All three types of social capital were found to be instrumental in the success of the CED initiative of Community B.

Leadership helped mobilize the three types of social capital. While human capital (residents skills and education) was particularly important for linking social capital, it played a part in bridging and bonding social capital also. In this case, the existence of the skills and education would not have been sufficient to achieve CED objectives. The willingness of residents to volunteer these skills to the social capital networks was critical.

Undeniably, the political context in which the community exists has had an important influence on their ability to develop economic opportunities. Without the availability of government CED programming or assistance, Community B would not have achieved their economic development objectives.



The project set out to explore what role social capital plays in the development of economic opportunities at the local level

Measurement / Indicators of Community Well-Being:

Proximal:

- Perceptions of employment security (ability to find employment in the region)
- Perceptions of the community's future (improvement vs. getting worse)

Distal:

- Satisfaction with the community's environment
- Alcohol consumption / crime

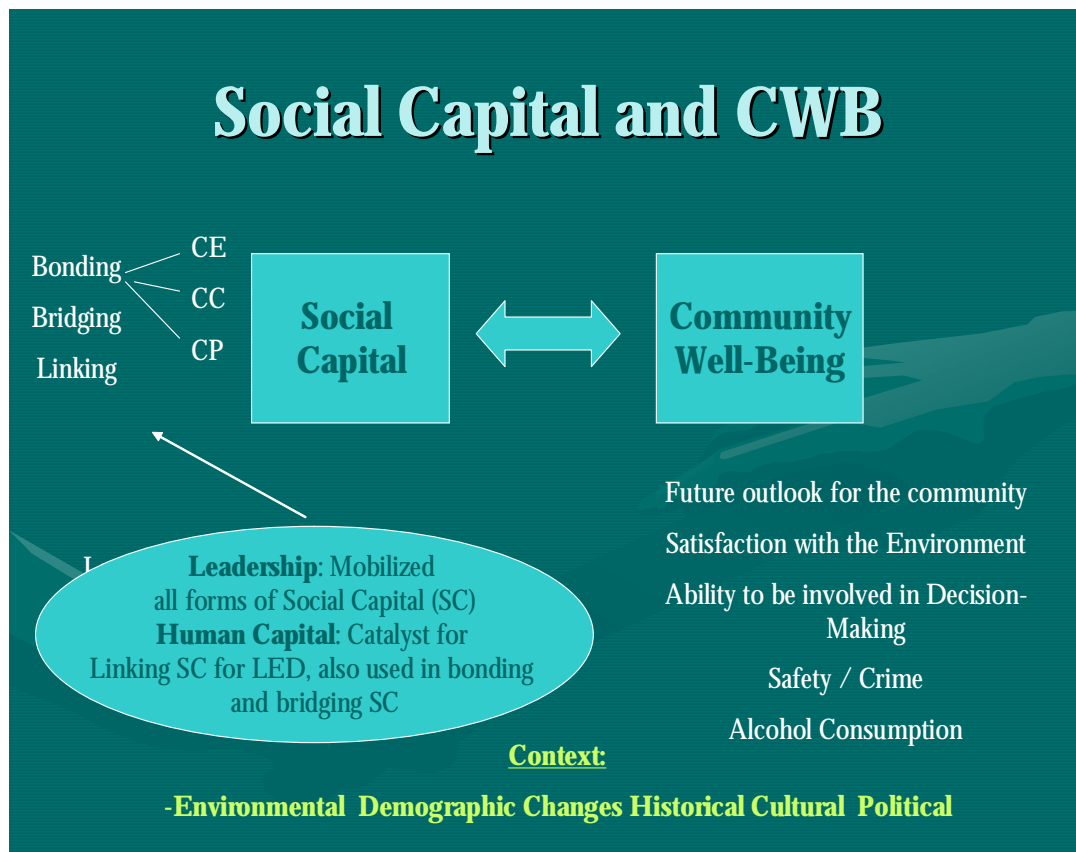
Relationship between the concepts:

In this case, CED did not lead to comparatively higher employment rates (access to income as a part of CWB) for Community B than Community A. However, Community

B's outlook on employment security is more positive, which may be due to the locus of control for the CED initiatives, and the diversification of the local economy.

Involvement in decision-making and access to volunteering resources are higher in Community B and have been suggested in the literature as elements of social capital that facilitate Community Economic Development (Flora, Sharp and Flora, 1997).

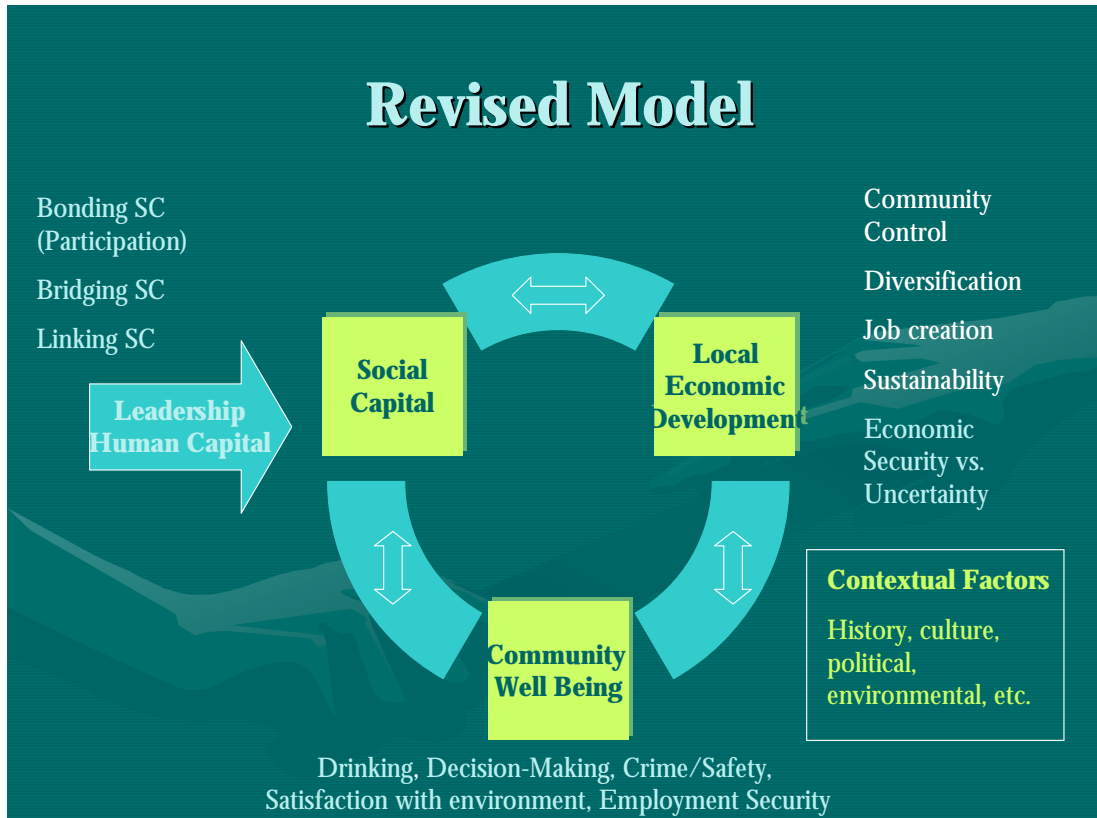
As has been suggested in the literature, social capital is capable of re-generating itself. For example, the festival engages community residents in participation as an important part of tourism development but also fosters the creation of further social capital.



Relationships Between the Concepts:

Social capital may have contributed to community well-being not only through the facilitation of CED, but also in other ways. For example, the quality of community networks, relationships and support systems were associated with the following aspects

of CWB, as suggested in the literature. Social capital was related to community satisfaction (like with the environment and the future outlook), ability be involved in decision-making, more safety / less crime, and decreased problem drinking.



Using the information gathered in the last three slides, the following model describes the findings of this research project.

Leadership and the type of human capital useful for LED which involves skill sets and the willingness to apply them, are difficult to quantify for a model.

The concepts of community control and sustainability of LED (which can be verified through stakeholder impressions of security or uncertainty) are considered important in determining LED success.

In this case, affect-based community well-being outcomes may be less discriminatory between rural isolated communities in Newfoundland. Though other community well-

being outcomes should continue to be explored, the ones found to be important in our study were mainly alcohol consumption, decision-making, crime, satisfaction with the environment and ability to find employment.

We should always consider contextual factors in researching these types of models. For example, government funding envelopes could change with political will and have consequences for volunteer associations who wish to develop their local economy.

Major Lessons Learned

SC

- 2 Communities appeared similar but differed when further investigated.
- Inadequacy of quantitative measures.

SC and LED

- All three forms of SC (bonding, bridging and linking) were important for LED.
- Linking SC important for funding.
- SC is necessary but not sufficient.
- Leadership and Human Capital matter a great deal.

Context

- environment, changing demographics, certain public policies and programs, a historical context, global economics.

SC, CED and Well-Being

- The community high in SC and CED showed community well-being outcomes such as the development of short term employment or self-employment opportunities, hope for the community's future, less crime, more safety, satisfaction with environment, etc.

Timing of the project (snapshot), SC and LED efforts continue to evolve.

SC

Two communities that appear very similar from the outset can be very different in social capital.

Current quantitative measures of SC appear inadequate in capturing community participation, goals of interactions, and linking and bridging SC in particular. Using current measures, it is very difficult to anticipate the level of all forms of Social Capital in a community, but the findings of this research certainly point us in the right direction for starting to understand the types of questions we need to be asking on a broader scale.

To date, many authors underline the value of qualitative methods like interviews for better understanding Social Capital.

SC and LED

All three forms of SC (bonding, bridging and linking) proved important to the development of the LED initiative.

Linking SC was particularly important in gaining access to funding

SC is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of economic initiatives from within a community;

Leadership and Human Capital matter a great deal. (In this case, you could say that the leadership played a part in the Linking Capital)

Context

SC and LED happen in the context of a changing environment, changing demographics, certain public policies and programs, a historical context and global economics (ex: price of gas could affect tourism).

SC, LED and Well-Being

Community higher in SC and undergoing CED showed certain community well-being outcomes such as the development of employment opportunities, hope for the future, less crime, more safety, satisfaction with environment, and others.

Timing of the project:

This project took place before true sustainable employment outcomes resulting from the tourism initiatives could be seen. Though residents and gov't are hopeful, it would be useful to re-examine Elliston 5-10 years into the future. (What you want is sustainable employment; "The uncertainty is killin' people".

Model and Policy Considerations

- There appears to be little or no evidence of economic recovery for small, isolated fishery-dependant communities since 1992. However, important differences exist between the recovery status of communities, and some efforts appear to be under way.
- More work is needed in order to construct the right instruments to gather relevant and quantifiable social capital data on a large scale (for many communities).
- Leadership or the championing of LED ideas at a community-level is not a new issue for LED and may not be an easy area for policy intervention.
- Communities lacking in the availability of human capital towards LED projects could benefit from assistance in this area (particularly not-for-profit groups).

Discussion / Questions

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