Cathedrals making Friends:
The religious social capital of
Anglican cathedral Friends' associations

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds.
York St John University,
Faculty of Education and Theology.

July, 2013

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Spiritual Capital (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012) concluded that the future of Church of England cathedrals lies particularly in their ability to enable and sustain a range of connections. The cathedrals' capacity to do this is significant for the preservation/maintenance of their fabric, in which task they are supported by 55,000 subscribing Friends. As well as encouraging Friends to donate money, volunteer and pray for the cathedrals, these long-standing associations offer subscribers opportunities to develop social networks and enhance cultural knowledge.

This study conceptualized the Friends as para-church organizations that promote various forms of capital in the social arena, including bonds with the cathedral, as corporate person. The aim was to examine the utility of social capital models to explain the ways in which belonging to a Friends' association can promote gift-giving to cathedrals.

Questionnaire data were collected from 923 Friends of six English cathedrals. Multiple regression was used to identify the key predictors of religious social capital (measured by two indices, accessing different aspects of the resource), cultural capital, and 'regard for the cathedral' (a form of bonding social capital between Friend and cathedral). In turn, the four forms of capital were tested as predictors of different types of giving to cathedrals. The analyses indicated that the form of capital which Friends contributed varied according to Friendship style (identified as Sociable, Networked, Attached, Cultured); and that the nature of gifts to cathedrals differed according to capital(s) contributed. There was no evidence that household income was related to capitals or gifting.

The thesis contributes to the growing corpus of empirical work on cathedrals, and also to social capital theory (by developing notions of vicarious social capital, and 'regard'). The findings of the study will assist cathedral Friends' Councils that wish to adopt an instrumental approach to generate capital(s) in the social arena, in order to pursue charitable aims.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANOVA	Analysis of variance
CCI	Cultural Capital Index
CSNI	Cathedral Social Networks Index
F	The F-ratio (test statistic used in ANOVA)
M	Mean
n	Number
NS	Not significant
p	The probability value
r	Pearson's correlation coefficient
R^2	The coefficient of determination (i.e. the proportion of data explained by the model
RI	Regard Index - Index of Regard for the Cathedral
SD	Standard deviation
WRSCI	Williams Religious Social Capital Index (E. Williams, 2008a)
WRSCIM	Williams Religious Social Capital Index Modified (i.e. the modified version of the Williams index used in this study)

As defined, in part, by Field (2009).

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PART ONE

CATHEDRALS MAKING FRIENDS

This part introduces background material necessary for an understanding of the phenomenon under study in this thesis – that is, Anglican cathedral Friends' associations and how to explain variations in members' behaviour with respect to giving to the cathedrals.

Chapter 1 contextualizes the research, and in particular makes the case for studying the cathedrals of the Church of England in the early twenty-first century. Chapter 2 makes the case for studying the Friends of these cathedrals: it employs a literature review, and also the results of a new survey of the associational publications, in order to assess the significance of the movement. The review and survey enable the types of reward that flow from Friends to cathedrals to be identified, in preparation for the empirical work that follows.

CHAPTER 1
CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

The focus of this thesis is the Friends' groups associated with Anglican cathedrals in England: that is, charitable, para-church, voluntary organizations, which raise funds for their cathedral, and appeal to religious and non-religious members alike. The title of the thesis is deliberately ambiguous: 'Cathedrals Making Friends' turns the spotlight on two different facets of friendship within the cathedrals. The thesis is both about cathedrals making their own Friends (that is, creating Friends' associations) and also about the way cathedrals create an environment in which friendships can flourish among participating Friends. In reaching out to bond with supporters, cathedrals gather together like-minded people, and offer them the chance to forge personal networks from the bonds, bridges and links built in and beyond the cathedral; and also to learn about the history and architecture of the cathedral. But, it is reasonable to wonder why a cathedral Friends' association promotes social activities and learning opportunities for its members. When charities work within a legal framework that requires them to provide public not private benefits (Lansley, 1996, p. 222), it is vital to be able to demonstrate that benefits which may appear at first sight private (such as opportunities to socialize and learn), do in reality enhance the public benefits of the charity (that is, they ultimately reap rewards for the cathedrals).

Four assumptions will be tested in this thesis. The first is that, in building associations with Friends, cathedrals capture a valuable 'resource'. The second is that this 'resource' is multi-dimensional. The third is that the nature and extent of the 'resource' is related to certain attributes of the Friends who subscribe; and the fourth is that the resource has predictable outcomes, in so far as it will yield specific windfalls for the cathedrals (in the short- or longer-term). Put simply, the interest in the empirical research reported in this thesis lies not only in the resources located within the social arena of Friends' organizations, but also in what 'predicts' them[1], and in their consequences for the cathedrals.

The relationship between the three elements under study here may be represented diagrammatically (Figure 1). The elements of this model will evolve through the first

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[1] As will become clear, no assumption can be made about which way causation flows, in most instances. Identifying which factors are associated with specific resources in the cathedral Friends' associations is nonetheless helpful. See Chapter 6 for more detail on 'predictors'.

three parts of the thesis, as the theoretical framework for the research is established and dimensions of constructs identified. According to Gill (2012)[2], a model is good when it is a 'speculative instrument' that leads its users 'to see new connections' (p. 94). As will become evident, 'connections' is a theme which recurs throughout the study.

Figure 1: A simple model of the 'resources' in cathedral Friends' associations, their antecedents and consequences

CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION

PREDICTORS ⟶ **RESOURCES** ⟶ CONSEQUENCES
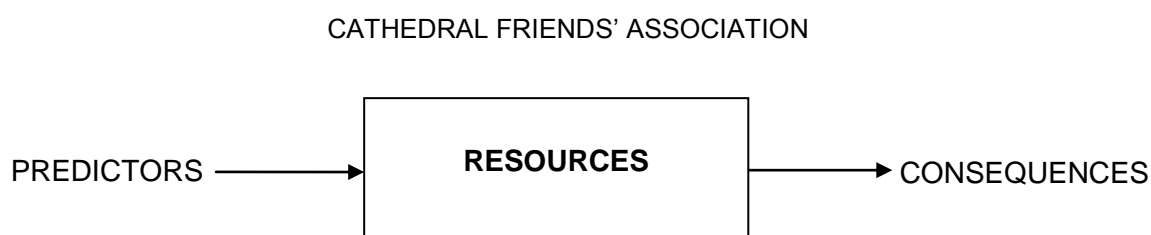
Before outlining the research method and introducing the theoretical framework adopted for the study, the chapter will demonstrate why it is important for cathedrals to be researched through studies such as this. This aim will be achieved through a relatively brief literature review, which will start by looking at what cathedrals actually are. It will argue that cathedrals are significant to society broadly, but that there is a relative paucity of rigorous work focusing on them and their roles.

What cathedrals are, and why they matter

The Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals (1994) famously described cathedrals as 'shop windows of the Church of England'[3], observing that large numbers of people derive their ideas of the Church from what goes on in them (p. 17). Elsewhere, cathedrals have been described as 'flagships of the spirit' (Platten & Lewis, 1998b) and 'supermarkets of religion' (see Beeson, 2004, p. 1). But, aside from such metaphors, what actually is a cathedral? To many people, a cathedral is an architectural monument of national importance, the main interest (apart from its

[2] Gill's thinking was informed by Black's (1962) analysis of models and metaphors.

[3] An epithet which may have been borrowed from Edwards (1989), who wrote 'By the 1980s the cathedral had become the Church's shop window.' (p. 39). The metaphor has now found a comfortable niche in preambles to scholarship on various themes of cathedral life (Beeson, 2004; Platten, 2006; E. Williams & Francis, forthcoming).

religious purpose) being in the fabric (Cook, 1957). The non-churchgoing public might view a cathedral as a rather grand parish church (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994, p. 6)[4]; or regard the existence of a cathedral as bestowing city status[5]. Some people will refer to the scale and majesty of these edifices in offering a definition of a cathedral; however, as a Dean of Sheffield (Sadgrove, 2006) pointed out, to be a cathedral means only one thing ecclesially —to house the *cathedra* (the bishop's seat)— and size does not enter into that.

Cathedrals differ in size, origin, and also age and contemporary function. It is important to recognise that no two cathedrals are alike; and that generalizations are difficult. Each has developed its own particular ethos and style, encouraged by the degree of independence enjoyed almost from their beginnings (Beeson, 2004, p. 1). Nonetheless, each cathedral as a community has a special responsibility to reach out to the wider communities around it (Lloyd, 1966). As the first Provost of the newly-built Coventry Cathedral put it:

> Areas of community which are obviously greater than a parish area of community need acknowledged centres from which work at this supra-parochial level can go out, and in which the new patterns of community can become conscious of themselves as members of a greater community. If there were no other justification for the existence of cathedrals … it would be sufficient that they dedicated themselves to be bases for the outgoing, exploratory work necessary to meet the needs of the great and ill-defined areas of community which three centuries of industrialization have produced. (H. C. N. Williams, 1964, p. 87, cited by Lloyd, 1966, p. 564)

As recently as the 1970s, these iconic buildings were often regarded as 'dinosaurs' (Davie, 2012, p. 281). Nowadays, there may be 'too many large, impressive religious buildings, which stand as empty relics of yesteryear, like spiritual museums of a different age' (Davey, 2010, p. 21), but cathedrals would not fall into that

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[4] Indeed, a proportion of the Anglican cathedrals in England were originally parish churches. See Chapter 7, footnote 51, on 'Parish Church Cathedrals'.

[5] Few people can spell out the difference between a town and a city, and 'if they hazard any sort of guess it is quite likely to be one on the lines of a city being a place with a cathedral' (Beckett, 2005, pp. 1-2). The substantive connection between city and cathedral, a concept established in England in the Middle Ages, was actually abolished as long ago as 1888 (pp. 2, 3, 18, 179). In 1927 (around the time when new Church of England dioceses were being created), a memorandum from the Health Ministry clarified the definition (The Times, 1927). It follows neither that all cathedrals are located in cities, nor that all cities have cathedrals. At present, there are 51 cities in England (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2012), of which 35 have cathedrals of the Church of England. The remainder of the 42 Anglican cathedrals in England are in towns.

category. Indeed, they are viewed as the success story of the Church of England in the latter part of the twentieth century (Inge, 2006, p. 31).   In our present age, the number of cathedral worshippers is rising 4% year-on-year (Archbishops' Council Research and Statistics Department, 2012) and the number of cathedral visits is also high[6]. In addition, the cathedrals' prominence in national life was underscored by the Occupy protests in the Autumn of 2011, first at London St Paul's and then in the precincts of certain other cathedrals (BBC News, 2011). The Occupy movement inspired BBC Radio to embark on the 'People's Passion' radio project; and, in Holy Week 2012, cathedrals were brought to further prominence, by a series of five new plays set in a fictitious cathedral, and documentaries about everyday life in five actual cathedrals (BBC Radio 4, 2012).

Cathedrals may attract high numbers of visitors (see, for example, English Tourist Board, 1979; Francis, Mansfield, Williams, & Village, 2010; Lewis, 1996; E. Williams, Francis, Robbins, & Annis, 2007; Winter & Gasson, 1996), but attempts 'to put them in the same "heritage" bracket as National Trust properties' overlook their broader role in society today (Inge, 2006, p. 36). This is a point captured in the opening words of *Spiritual Capital: The Present and Future of English Cathedrals* (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012)[7]:

> Church of England cathedrals have a unique and widely admired position within English society. Praised for their architectural magnificence, aesthetic appeal and historic significance … their impact on and significance for English life extends far beyond their role as tourist destinations. (p. 10)

The cathedrals' role even goes beyond being the parochial house of God where a worshipping community assembles. According to the Chief Executive of English Heritage, these great edifices are 'vital forces for social cohesion and focal points for both celebration and mourning', not just in their own cities, but more broadly (English

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[6] According to data from the Archbishops' Council (2011) the annual number of cathedral visits stands at 9.4 million. That figure was expected to increase in 2012 when visitors to the Olympic Games spent time experiencing the country's heritage (Association of English Cathedrals, 2006). Perhaps surprisingly, new data suggest that more than a quarter of the adult population of England (27%) visited a cathedral in the past year (equating to 11 million visits), including one fifth of those who said they belonged to no religion (The Editor of the Church Times, 2012; Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 10)

[7] This report was commissioned by the Foundation for Church Leadership and the Association of English Cathedrals. It was 'offered as a stimulus to the Church and to decision-makers in public life to consider the roles cathedrals have taken and developed alongside the subtlety and range of some of the tasks they fulfil' (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 9).

Heritage, 2004). Time and again, reference is made to the special role of cathedrals at times of national mourning[8].

Aside from that, the distinctive part played by cathedrals in the mission of the Church has been highlighted by Rowe (2010). In this respect, the metaphor of cathedrals as 'shop-windows of the Church of England' can be illuminating[9]. Initially, the imagery might imply quiescence —an inert display of the best of the Church of England does not necessarily invite engagement— however, as Rowe noted, acquaintance is a vital tool for mission (Morisy, 2004). Through television[10] and social media, cathedrals are recognized on the one hand as the setting for hymn-singing, public celebration and mourning, and on the other hand as a dimension of heritage (Kennedy, 2006), a gallery for the exhibition of the creative arts (Church Times, 2011; Grylls, 2009; K. Walker, 1998), and an arena for musical performance of the highest order (Shearlock, 1996); and it is largely through the media that cathedrals provide many people with their ideas about the Church (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994, p. 17). Accordingly, as a nexus between the religious and the secular, cathedrals are well-placed to perform a unique, symbolic role in acquainting people with the Church of England – especially those who may self-identify as Christian[11], yet not practice their religion or hold its core beliefs[12]. In so doing, as

[8] Prime examples include: the funeral of Diana, Princess of Wales, in Westminster Abbey in 1997 (Billings, 2010; Davie, 2008, p. 170); the memorial service in Ely Cathedral for two schoolgirls murdered in Soham, Cambridgeshire, in 2002 (Billings, 2010, p. 148; Davie, 2007, pp. 28-29; Hansard, 2012, col. 328; Morisy, 2004, p. 158); and the commemoration at London St Paul's after 11 September 2001 (Martin, 2005, p. 135).

[9] See Muskett (2012c), winner of the Peter B. Clarke Memorial Prize 2012 (formerly the Taylor & Francis Postgraduate Essay Prize), awarded by the British Sociological Association, Sociology of Religion Study Group. The essay employs the shop-window metaphor to make the case for a role for cathedrals in a model of vicarious religion (building on the work of Davie, 2007, 2010).

[10] Even though a positive effect of television is brought to the forefront here, it should not be forgotten that television has been bemoaned elsewhere for its capacity to enable millions to share an experience yet remain 'lonesome' (Eliot, 1963, cited by Putnam, 2000, p. 217), and that it has been identified as a likely culprit in the destruction of social capital (Putnam, 1995b), through the process of individuation.

[11] See note 14 below.

[12] What is termed common religion —'the inchoate religious beliefs and values of the unchurched'— is recognized as providing many opportunities for ministry/mission (Avis, 2000, p. 19).

part of the 'prior work' of the foundational domain of mission (Morisy, 2004), cathedrals create a platform from which faith can be nurtured (Rowe, 2010).

The conclusion of *Spiritual Capital* that 'the present and future of English cathedrals lies particularly in their ability to enable and sustain a range of connections' (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 62) echoed the view of Platten and Lewis (1998b), contained in a collection of essays on cathedrals in society, that cathedrals make connections between God, people and place. Many different communities speak of the cathedral as 'our cathedral', and the relationships that people have with cathedrals can be surprisingly personal in nature (James, 2006): they are spoken of as objects of love and affection (see examples in Danziger, 1989) and appear to take on the character of a 'person'. It is striking that the ability of cathedrals to enable and sustain a range of connections is significant, in part, for the maintenance and renewal of their fabric[13], even though the necessity to maintain the fabric of these vast buildings can encourage 'an introverted mentality' (Jeffrey, 1996, p. 2).

Maintaining cathedral fabric is not about the preservation for its own sake of the 'architectural magnificence, aesthetic appeal and historic significance', to quote once again from *Spiritual Capital* (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 10). Rather, it is about an unending cycle of renewal, at the heart of which lies the distinctive mission of the cathedrals, at a time when less than a million attend services in the Church of England (including at cathedrals) on an average Sunday (Archbishops' Council, 2012), despite the fact that between 50% and 59% of the population[14] self-

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[13] For information on the funding streams available to cathedrals see Morris (2009, pp. 68-69). In particular, the House of Lords debate on English cathedrals that took place on 28 June 2012 was informative about the scale of the funds required to support cathedral fabric. Note was taken of the 2009 survey of cathedral fabric, which revealed that £110 million was required across the country over the next decade for ongoing care and maintenance (Hansard, 2012, cols. 332 and 337). The Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) does not support ordinary cyclical repairs: it funds alterations, adaptations and modifications to these buildings that speak more effectively to a new generation (Hansard, 2012, cols. 329 and 351). In any case, 'the distinction between repairs and maintenance on the one hand and alterations on the other is artificial and complex to administer' (Hansard, 2012, col. 353). The HLF has insufficient funds to support all bids: on January 2012 figures, it was over-subscribed 2.6 times (Hansard, 2012, col. 358).

[14] The figure for the proportion of the population that self-identifies as Christian has varied according to source. The Census 2001 included a novel voluntary question 'What is your religion?', to which 72% of the population of England and Wales responded Christian (Office for National Statistics, 2004). This was out of line with a 2006 poll amongst a representative sample of 7,000 adults, conducted by Tearfund, which found that 53% belonged to the Christian religion

identify as Christian. When new ways of 'belonging' to the Church are being recognized (Day, 2011; D. Walker, 2011), it is particularly intriguing that individuals with an interest in 'heritage' who do not necessarily wish to belong to churches, may be willing nonetheless to affiliate to Friends' groups, and thereby contribute to the upkeep of historic religious buildings (Cameron, 2003, p. 115).

Spiritual Capital was the latest in a series of publications on the significant part played by cathedrals in contemporary society (for example, Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994; Churchill & Webster, 1991; MacKenzie, 1996; Platten & Lewis, 1998b, 2006; Webster, 1981). Yet, according to Davie (2012), references to this dimension of religion –that is, the relative success of cathedrals, in a changing religious context– are 'notably harder to find' than the work dedicated, for example, to thriving charismatic communities (p. 281). To imply that there is a paucity of scholarship on cathedrals is not entirely accurate, although there is barely a mention of cathedrals[15] in *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (Woodhead & Catto, 2012)*,* the volume presenting results from the largest-ever research initiative on religion in Britain[16]. Examples of recent scholarship on cathedrals <u>can</u> be found in Barley (2012), Francis (forthcoming), Francis and Williams (2010), Muskett

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(Ashworth & Farthing, 2007, p. 4). There was a close correspondence between the Tearfund data and a subsequent British Social Attitudes survey, which asked 'Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?': 50% of respondents surveyed in 2008 self-identified as belonging to the Christian religion (Voas & Ling, 2010). The divergence between the 2001 Census and BSA data partly reflected the variation in the wording of the religion questions (Astley, 2002, p. 101; Dobbs, Green, & Zealey, 2006) and the positioning of the religion question in the Census 2001 after the question on ethnic group, which may have encouraged some respondents to answer in terms of cultural identification (Day, 2011; Dobbs et al., 2006; Voas & Bruce, 2004). In the 2011 Census, 59% self-identified as Christian (Office for National Statistics, 2012c), a figure more consistent with the Tearfund and BSA data.

[15] In *Religion and Change in Modern Britain* (Woodhead & Catto, 2012), Guest, Olson and Wolffe (2012) mention that 'cathedrals … continue to be treasured as sites of historical and cultural significance'; and also, somewhat dismissively, that the reported rise in attendance at Anglican cathedral services suggests that their continued significance has 'some relation to a renewed interest in them as sites of religious activity, whether for loyal locals or passing visitors' (p. 67). There is also a 1962 photograph of the newly-rebuilt Coventry Cathedral (p. 236). However, it could be claimed that, in such a comprehensive guide to religion in Britain (of some 390 pages), cathedrals deserved more attention.

[16] The £12.3 million 'Religion and Society' Programme of the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Economic and Social Research Council, which began in 2007 and will run until 2013 (see http://www.religionandsociety.org.uk/).

(2012c), and Rowe (2010), and also in other publications mentioned earlier (notably those with a focus on cathedral tourism).

Cathedrals making Friends: Research method

Against that background, the aims of the present research have been achieved through a new study of the characteristics, attitudes and behaviours of cathedral Friends, which is based on data from nearly 1,000 Friends (from over half a dozen English dioceses), who generously gave their time to complete a detailed postal questionnaire in the Spring of 2011. Analysis will demonstrate that Friends not only donate their money, but also offer prayer, and volunteer their time and expertise to the befriended cathedrals. These different types of gift-giving become the key device by which the study quantifies the so-called windfall to cathedrals. The resources located in the ties between Friends and their cathedrals, and also in the ties between members of the Friends' association, will be conceptualized as different forms of 'capital'.

Theoretical framework

According to Bourdieu (1986), it is not possible to explain the structure and function of the social world unless account is taken of 'capital' in all its forms, that is, not simply the financial capital recognized by economic theory (p. 241). For this study, a lens which brings 'capital' into focus promises to reveal features of reality that would otherwise remain invisible (Adler & Kwon, 2002) and locates Friends' generosity in a broader theoretical discourse naturally linking social and financial resources.

Social capital

The theoretical framework proved helpful to measure outcomes and to identify factors that influenced those outcomes; but the strategy was adopted and subsequently pursued with a degree of circumspection. After all, social capital has been criticized as 'one of our trendiest terms' (Farr, 2004, p. 6) and described as merely the 'repackaging of long-established sociological processes' (Pahl, 2000, p. 159). Nevertheless, it has also been praised as the 'most important and exciting concept to emerge out of the social sciences in fifty years' (Halpern, 2005); and recognized as 'one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language' (Portes, 1998, p. 2).

Two strands of social capital theory conveniently come together in cathedral Friends' associations. The first strand relates to the role of religion and places of worship. Religion has been demonstrated to be a potent and long-lasting source of social

capital (Greeley, 1997, pp. 592-593). Likewise, churches and their congregations are acknowledged as being among key producers, at local level, of social capital (Ammerman, 1997; Brady, Verba, & Schlozman, 1995; Cnaan, Wineburg, & Boddie, 1999; Putnam, 2000). Moreover, cathedrals are recognized as significant in terms of their social capital[17] and, in particular, the 'much-in-demand' bridging form of the resource (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 44). The second theoretical strand relates to voluntary associations, to which much scholarly attention has been given (see, for example, Putnam, 2000). Together, these strands suggest that social capital is located in cathedral Friends' associations. In this study, two different aspects of social capital will be measured to take full account of the nature and breadth of social ties in this religious setting.

Cultural capital

Notwithstanding the utility of the <u>social</u> capital paradigm, the contention here is that a single theoretical lens would be inadequate to capture the complexity of the phenomenon under study. To provide a comprehensive account of the structure and energy of the cathedral Friends' associations requires acknowledgement of the variety of forms of capital (see Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119). Acknowledging this variety is important for two reasons. First, there is the notion of 'fungibility' (Bourdieu, 1986): that is, the idea that one species of capital can serve for or be replaced by another. Second, there is the notion of 'appropriability': that is, the idea that ties of one kind can be used for other purposes (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Thus, in order to take account of the cultural dimension of these associations and of the value of learning opportunities promoted by cathedral Friends' groups, the windfall to the charities will be analyzed in terms of <u>cultural</u> capital (sometimes also termed <u>informational</u> capital, see Bourdieu, 1986), as well as social capital.

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[17] The notion that cathedrals are important for social capital might be regarded as intriguing in the light of frequent suggestions that cathedrals appeal especially to those who appreciate the relative anonymity of neutral space (see, for example, Davie, 2012, p. 281), as compared with the demands of a parish church (Coakley, 2008; Platten, 2006; Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012, p. 50; Tilby, 1998, p. 166). It is notable, however, that recent evidence (albeit limited) suggests that such claims of 'anonymity' being a relevant factor in attracting worshippers may not necessarily be well-founded (Francis & Williams, 2010, p. 48; E. Williams, 2008b, p. 110).

Bonds between Friends and cathedrals: another form of 'capital'

Furthermore, in the light of James' (2006) observations about the personal nature of relationships with cathedrals, it will be argued that a distinctive resource forged between Friends and cathedrals has a role to play in generating windfalls. Theory developed here suggests that this resource is comparable in nature to the 'bonding' form of social capital among human actors (as identified by Gittel & Vidal, 1998; and popularized by Putnam, 2000); but the 'capital' label will not be attached to this novel resource. Instead, nomenclature derives from a seminal paper by Oxford economic historian Offer (1997), entitled 'Between the gift and the market: the economy of regard', to which Halpern[18] referred in his 2012 Ebor Lecture at York St John University (Halpern, 2012). I am indebted to Dr Halpern for the insight about 'regard', which supplied a crucial theoretical link between social capital and the outcomes that were already being evaluated as gifts.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into five separate parts. The purpose of Part One has already been explained. Part Two discusses the theoretical framework in some detail: and it eventually hones the definition of the various theoretical constructs employed here (social capital, regard, and cultural capital). Part Three provides an overview of the methods employed to collect data, and summarizes basic data about the sample of Friends. It also outlines how the theoretical constructs have been operationalized in the study. Part Four presents the results of the empirical work, reporting on the antecedents and consequences of social capital, regard and cultural capital. Part Five then critiques the social capital theoretical construct, and discusses applications of the model developed here, before reaching broad conclusions about the study.

Impact of the study

The results of this study of cathedral Friends, and its implications for the recruitment and retention of subscribers, will assist those who govern such charitable associations. Naturally, the findings are likely to hold particular interest for Church of England cathedrals; but they also have relevance for Friends' groups in other places of worship (especially the 'cathedral-like' Abbeys and Greater Churches). Indeed, the findings have already made some impact, through my keynote presentation to

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[18] Director of the Behavioural Unit at No. 10 and the Cabinet Office, and author of *Social Capital* (2005) and *The Hidden Wealth of Nations* (2010).

delegates at the biennial National Conference of the Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches, held at Worcester Cathedral in October 2012.

The conclusion to the thesis (Chapter 14) will consider the broader contributions to knowledge made by the study. The heightened interest in cathedrals stemming from the *Spiritual Capital* report means that this thesis is timely. The study will add to the corpus of rigorous academic scholarship on cathedrals, some of which has already employed social capital as a conceptual tool (E. Williams, 2008b; E. Williams & Francis, forthcoming). The study will also contribute to social capital theory more broadly[19].

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[19] In particular, see Muskett (2012b) —the basis of Chapter 13 here— which draws on Davie's (2007, 2010) notion of vicarious religion in order to formulate a theory of vicarious social capital.

CHAPTER 2
CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATIONS

The basic assumption of this thesis is that cathedral Friends are significant because (i) their regular support enhances the life of their cathedrals, and (ii) they are quasi-religious organizations which may rely on developing various forms of 'capital' to achieve their charitable ends. The previous chapter explained why cathedrals are important. In particular, it argued the case for them being significant not only for active believers but also for society more broadly; and that they are therefore well-placed to perform the 'prior work' of the foundational domain of mission (Morisy, 2004; Rowe, 2010). The fundamental claim that Friends are an important support mechanism for cathedrals has yet to be tested. So, this chapter will examine the characteristics of the Friends' associations of Anglican cathedrals in England, and assess the significance of these voluntary organizations for cathedrals today. The evidence base comprises the findings of a new survey of the Friends' associations' own publications. Analysis of such documentary evidence tends to be neglected by social science, even though it is central in the modern affluent world (Prior, 2003, p. 165).

The chapter begins with a description of the origins of 'subscription charities' and their key characteristics. Then, in order to provide a framework for the analysis that follows, literature concerning cathedral Friends, past and present, will be reviewed. Next, a series of research questions will be posed before the new empirical evidence is interrogated.

A subsidiary aim of the survey of literature/publications was to identify and categorize various ways in which individual cathedral Friends donate to the charities (beyond the threshold of paying their subscription): the findings inform the design of the empirical study that is reported in Part Four.

Subscription charities

The majority of Cathedral Friends' associations may have been formed in the late 1920s or early 1930s (Muskett, 2012a), but the origins of this sort of 'subscription

charity' can be traced back to the 1690s (Innes, 1996)[20]. Examples of the earliest bodies were: charity schools, voluntary hospitals, and societies for the relief of the poor and prisoners. Innes (1996) argued that the distinction between older forms of charity and the charities that sprang up from the late seventeenth century should not be overstated; but that, nonetheless, it is relevant to note that the subscription charities were marked out by their voluntary nature, their lack of formal ties to local government, and the fact that they drew no revenue from taxation (p. 153). The new type of charities relied heavily on gifts and bequests, as well as regular subscription income: as Lansley (1996) put it, they worked on a 'pay as you go' basis (p. 225). Thus, rather than self-interest or mutuality, it was gift-giving that was always a fundamental principle of the subscription charities. Yet, the relationship was not necessarily one-sided: as Innes (1996) pointed out, the new subscription charities 'devoted considerable care and energy to wooing subscribers, often publishing, in support of this effort, annual reports, giving an account of their activities, monies raised and spent, and publicizing subscribers' names … [and] they commonly gave subscribers a voice … [in] their management' (pp. 153-154).

In the subsequent discussion, it will be demonstrated that cathedral Friends' associations fit the model of subscription charities outlined by Innes.

Review of literature on cathedral Friends

The early twentieth-century

Histories of individual Friends' associations are available[21], but until very recently little attention had been given to understanding the distinctive motivations and characteristics underlying the national cathedral Friends' movement. I have taken the first steps to fill this gap with two new analyses. The first (Muskett, 2012a) set the formation of the earliest associations in the context of cathedral outreach in the 1920s and 1930s; and the second (Muskett, 2011) demonstrated that conspicuous sponsorship and patronage from members of the royal family added weight to the new societies.

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[20] See also Andrew (1989), Cunningham and Innes (1998), Daunton (1996) and Owen (Owen, 1964) on the history of charity and philanthropy. Interestingly, Andrew (1989) has pointed out that early philanthropists took some pride in their role as 'community builders', preserving and extending links between classes (see also Roberts, 1991).

[21] These may be found, for instance, on cathedral/Friends' websites. Baldwin's (2004) history of the Exeter Cathedral Friends is a good example.

Briefly, the analysis of news reports and letters to the Editor of *The Times* (Muskett, 2012a) established that the bond between early Friends and cathedrals was based on deep affection and sometimes love; and also demonstrated that benefits flowed to both sides of the Friendship. On the one hand, income from the annual subscription (which, being relatively low, may have widened the appeal of the associations) provided much-needed funds for upkeep of cathedral fabric. Such funding typically made up a shortfall, either because general cathedral income was too low, and/or because cathedrals were committed to financing social action projects in their locality. In addition, prayer for the cathedrals was an important aspect of the new Friends' offerings. On the other hand, Friends gained from regular flows of information about their cathedrals. The geographical spread of the memberships necessarily led to differences in the strengths of ties between the cathedrals and those who held a deep affection for them; accordingly, keeping in touch through publications was an important aspect of the early Friends' concept. Publications were expected to engender a well-informed appreciation of the cathedral; and they doubtless reinforced the bonds of love and affection, and helped to sustain the supporter base.

The late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries

In the last three decades or so, four publications on cathedrals have made reference to the role of modern Friends' associations. The first (English Tourist Board, 1979) included a brief mention of the vital contribution made by Friends, among others, in voluntary work catering for cathedral visitors (p. 90). The second (Churchill & Webster, 1991) also acknowledged the substantial contribution of Friends in terms of service to cathedrals (pp. 180-181). The third (Beeson, 2004) contained a commentary on Friends in the introductory chapter. There, the overall membership of the Friends' groups in Anglican cathedrals in England was reckoned at about 55,000 (p. 2). Beeson also recorded the substantial source of income provided to cathedrals by Friends' organisations (p. 2), indicating that their financial contributions totalled well over £1 million per annum, with some deans and chapters receiving in excess of £150K (p. 3). Moreover, he observed that the original intention to provide additional funds for the repair and embellishment of the cathedral fabric (never for day-to-day running costs) had been largely maintained by the Friends' associations (pp. 2-3). Interestingly, he argued that the annual subscription of the associations had always been low enough to encourage the recruitment of members who might have been relatively poor, yet were ready to provide support by prayer (p. 3).

The fourth publication, *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994), represents the most comprehensive overview of the Friends' role to date. First, it revealed that total Friends' income for the year 1992[22] was £1.47 million (including investment income of £444K; £269K from legacies; and £603K from subscriptions/donations) (p. 169). These data served to demonstrate to the Commissioners that Friends' organisations made an 'enormous contribution' to the cathedrals (p. 111). Indeed, the aggregate scale of the Friends' finances and giving to cathedrals (with grants/donations amounting to just over £1 million) was a surprise to some Commissioners (pp. 169, 172). The Report concluded: 'The Friends are clearly a source of support which each cathedral should encourage to the full and each cathedral should explore how it can attain the performance of the best in comparable circumstances' (p. 172).

Second, the report observed that 'the annual subscriptions asked of Friends were often surprisingly low', and concluded that 'whilst [the Commission] would not wish to preclude membership through over-pricing, it does appear that subscription rates could in many cases be reviewed upwards for new members' (p. 112). This contrasted with Beeson's (2004) opinion, reported earlier. Moreover, the Commission's stance was somewhat surprising in view of its own observation that a low subscription could foster a younger membership: for example, the report welcomed the initiative of Cathedral Camps in encouraging young Camp participants 'to become long-term members of Cathedral Friends by means of a subsidised subscription' (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994, p. 112).

A third verdict reached by the Commission was that 'those who belong to Friends' organisations do so entirely from a feeling of affection, and in support of their cathedrals'; and that they received 'very few benefits from their membership' (p. 111). Yet this may have underestimated the value to members of discounts, and also of opportunities for social networking, cultural enrichment and volunteering. Indeed, the Commission proceeded to calculate the cost of 'member benefits' (although it did not define that term): these were reckoned to represent 1.6% of overall expenditure and the equivalent of 41p per member (p. 169). In a similar vein, the Commission reckoned the cost of the administration of the Friends' associations as 19% of total income, and equivalent to 27% of the sums given by the Friends to the cathedrals (p. 169).

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[22] In some cases, income related to 1991 or 1993, depending on availability of data.

Fourth, the Commission asserted that cathedrals had much to gain from a large and active Friends' organisation: many Friends provided a welcome link between the cathedral and the diocese, and the more active Friends' organisations contributed towards 'an active community based around the cathedral' (p. 112). In addition, the report drew attention to the importance of practical aid to cathedrals from volunteer workers, including Friends (pp. 105, 111). Although it was clear to the Commission that some cathedrals had far more active and larger Friends' associations than others, the report suggested that 'size and activity were not necessarily correlated with the age of members or the income of their cathedrals, but more related to the quality of leadership or the organisation and the support which it received from the dean and chapter' (p. 112).

Elsewhere, researchers and practitioners in the fields of fundraising and marketing have focused on friends and membership organisations in the broad heritage sector (which is deemed to include cathedrals) (for example, Heaton, 1992; Raymond, 1992; Slater, 2003a, 2003b; Slater & Armstrong, 2010). Through testing/validation of different samples, Slater (Hayes & Slater, 2003; Slater, 2004, 2005a) developed and subsequently refined a typology of membership schemes affiliated to museums, galleries and heritage organisations in the U.K. The typology was based on eight criteria (membership profile; purpose/mission; benefits; recruitment methods; structure/governance; fundraising; promotional methods; and evaluation techniques) (Slater, 2005a, pp. 37-39). Slater predicted that the larger, sophisticated Friends' groups, such as those at cathedrals, would probably be categorised as what she termed Public Members' Schemes (p. 31). In her view, a particular issue needing to be explored was the influence of faith on the nature of membership schemes affiliated to cathedrals and churches, their governance and members' motivations (p. 32). It was Slater's intention to compile databases with an initial focus on cathedrals and churches to explore whether there were unique characteristics of membership schemes affiliated to religious organisations (p. 34), but this aim has yet to be realized. At the invitation of the National Conference of Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches, Slater conducted a survey of the administrators of the associations in 2004-5; however, the response rate was disappointing, and the report (Slater, 2005b) was based on the analysis of only nine responses.

Summary of literature review

The recent sources suggested that the bond between Friends and cathedrals continues to be based on affection; and that benefits continue to flow to both sides of the Friendship. In addition, cathedrals now benefit from the generosity of Friends who volunteer; and Friends benefit from opportunities to be active in the cathedral

community. There was mention also of Friends' continuing prayer for cathedrals.
From *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994), it was
possible to glean data on the scale of Friends' fiscal contributions (and, indeed, of
member benefits), and thereby to gain some impression of the significance of
Friends for cathedrals at that time. Finally, literature from a related field highlighted
the intriguing role that faith plays in such Friends' groups, and flagged this up as a
topic worthy of research.

Research questions

As yet, there has been no systematic review of what is currently proclaimed about
cathedral Friends within the public domain of cathedral life. Against the background
of the literature review, new empirical evidence will be interrogated to answer five
research questions. The first question focuses on what Friends' associations do for
their cathedrals. It asks: What is the scale of the associations' contributions to
cathedrals, and what types of projects do they support? In the subsequent
discussion, a view will be taken about the overall significance of the Friends' groups
for cathedrals today. The second question focuses on the relationship between
subscribers and the cathedrals they befriend. It asks: What is the nature of the bond
between Friend and cathedral today? The next series of questions focus on the
work of the Friends' associations and their relationships with subscribing members.
So, the third question is: Does reciprocity feature in the relationship between
cathedral and Friend today and, if so, how is the reciprocity expressed? The fourth
question is: What activity stems from today's cathedral Friends' associations?
Finally, bearing in mind the points made by Slater, the fifth question asks: What role
does religion play in cathedral Friendship today?

Method

Procedure

The websites of the 42 Anglican cathedrals in mainland England were surveyed in
autumn 2009 and again in spring 2011, and all were found to include at least one
web-page about their Friends' group. All relevant web-pages were printed and
recent publications concerning Friends' associations (e.g. reports, leaflets) were
downloaded. In addition, recent financial data and annual reports of those Friends'
groups that are independent registered charities ($n = 38$) were downloaded from the
Charity Commission website[23]. Where data were missing, correspondence with

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[23] http://charity-commission.gov.uk

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individual cathedrals and Friends' officers/administrators in 2009/2010 supplemented the information in the public domain; non-responses were followed up on two occasions. Lack of response to correspondence eventually resulted in a minimal amount of missing data (ranging from 2 to 9 associations, according to topic).

Analysis

First, basic data contained in the self-descriptions were tabulated (year of establishment, registered charity number, number of members, minimum annual subscription for an individual member, income/expenditure for the last three/four years). Second, content analysis of the web-pages and publications was undertaken. This technique is now widely employed in sociology. For example, Davie (2003) used the letters sent to The National Gallery following the 'Seeing Salvation' exhibition, as evidence of the state of religion in modern Britain. Content analysis can take different forms: the simplest involves the enumeration of the frequency with which certain words or categories appear in a text (Davie, 2003, pp. 38-40; Prior, 2003, p. 21; Weber, 1990, 2004).

The Friends' documentation was searched for pertinent numerical data and recurring topics, to feature in the narrative. Although the process by which themes were ultimately selected was guided by an intuitive impression (taking into account the frequency with which subjects arose and the prominence given in the documents), it was also guided by reference to the composite list of themes emerging from the meta-analysis described above.

The findings are presented under headings related to the five research questions; and the results will be discussed afterwards. Where cathedral associations are named in parentheses, they are merely exemplars and do not necessarily represent the totality of associations in the specific category. Except where specified, there has been no attempt to enumerate all occurrences of each topic.

Results

Question 1: Contributions by the Friends' associations to cathedrals, and types of projects funded

Levels of annual expenditure by Friends' associations varied markedly, from as much as £200K, £400K or even £900K to as little as a few hundred pounds a year. Expenditure is in accordance with published aims and objectives (set out on web-pages, in annual reports; and, in the case of the registered charities, placed in the public domain by the Charity Commission). Analysis revealed 11 broad categories within the aims and objectives (each occurring on two or more occasions) (Table 1).

More than half of the associations' charitable objectives specifically stipulate that they will work together with and/or in consultation with, and/or support the dean (and chapter). Although there are other instances of Friends' trustees working closely with chapters in the light of strategic plans (Durham is a prime example), some associations do not appear to be tied into chapter objectives in a formal manner.

Table 1: Charitable aims and objectives of cathedral Friends' associations – frequency of citing

Aims and objectives	Friends' associations (*n* = 40)
Working with and/or consulting the Dean (& Chapter)	20
Fabric: maintenance, preservation, conservation, repair, restoration	38
Maintain cathedral as place of beauty / beautify cathedral (including enhancement, improvement, enrichment, embellishment)	31
Further the religious purposes / ministry (including worship, liturgy, pastoral work)	33
Support music, choir (including instances of recent grants for such purposes even where aims/objectives make no specific mention of music)	15
Support cathedral's mission	6
Publish literature	3
Arouse public interest in / awareness of cathedral; forge / strengthen links with the community / diocese	14
Offer prayer	4
Give service / time	2
Support educational work of the cathedral	2
Bind together supporters in fellowship	3

Source: Charity Commission, Friends' associations' annual reports and other publications

So, how is the money spent? Lists of the more tangible Friends' projects included liturgical adornments (such as a cross and candlesticks, altar cloths, processional banners, vestments/copes for the Chapter), repairs (for example, to stained glass windows, stonework, bells, organ pipes, clocks, roofs, drain pipes, external railings), enhancements (such as stacking seating, statues, replanting gardens, gilding), conservation works (textiles were a prime example), preservation works (for example, UV-light filtering blinds to protect library books) and the installation of modern technologies (such as CCTV cameras, fire detection and alarm systems, public address systems, floodlighting, internal lighting). Friends' associations had also assisted their cathedrals to meet Disability Discrimination legislation through

provision, for example, of induction loops for those with impaired hearing, access ramps and wheelchairs. Improvement, enhancement and beautification are now objectives of more than three-quarters of associations (Table 1). For example, Bristol stated that its Friends 'feel a particular responsibility to help with projects which enhance the cathedral or its life, but which it would be difficult for the Chapter to fund from within its normal resources'. For its part, the association at Coventry aims to give financial donations towards specific restoration and improvement projects, 'especially those unlikely to come to fruition without help from the Friends'.

There was evidence of financial support from cathedral Friends for projects that are not particularly tangible, and the success of which is not necessarily easy to measure. Examples were: arousing/widening awareness of the cathedral (Exeter, Oxford, Sheffield); developing outreach and mission in the local community and beyond (Chichester); and encouraging the interest and participation of young people through educational activities (York). Grants towards improved facilities for visitors/tourists (such as refectories, toilets, display stands, signage, Visitor Centres) also supported such objectives.

The musical tradition of more than a third of cathedrals is upheld in part by money raised by Friends (Table 1). Associations supported improvements to choir vestries, purchased choir surplices and cassocks (Bristol, Chichester, Peterborough); funded overseas singing engagements by choirs (Liverpool, Southwark) and recording projects (Lichfield, Oxford); commissioned new works (Lichfield); and supported individual choristers (for example with scholarships or bursaries for tuition on musical instruments) (Winchester, Worcester, York).

Question 2: The nature of the bond between Friend and cathedral

The emotive nature of the relationship between Friends and their cathedral is highlighted by Friends' publications. For example, Carlisle regarded its Friends as 'part of the Cathedral's family'. Canterbury referred to the Friends as 'the Cathedral's fan club'. The objective of Lincoln's Friends is 'binding together all who, through loving Lincoln Cathedral, are prepared to bear a part of its maintenance and adornment'. In Christ Church Cathedral Oxford, an objective is 'to build up a network of people who love, support and pray for the Cathedral and its work'. Similarly, Peterborough spoke of its Friends as 'an association of people who love this magnificent building and wish to help maintain and enhance it for present and future generations'. Wells described its Friends as 'an association of people bound together in their love of this building and in support of its work'. For its part, Winchester emphasised that membership of its Friends' association 'forges links among those who love Winchester Cathedral'.

Question 3: Reciprocity

(a) Benefits to the associations

From the very earliest days of 'associated philanthropy', the dependable source of income has been regular subscriptions (Innes, 1996, p. 153). At the time of the survey[24], the annual subscription for an individual cathedral Friend ranged from £5 to £22. Twelve associations charged £10, and four charged less than that amount; one association charged £12; 15 charged £15; six charged £20; and one (Canterbury) charged £22. Many associations referred to a 'minimum' sum, for example, 'below which it is not economical to provide literature and membership benefits' (Winchester) or a 'suggested' amount (Southwell). A few charged an additional premium for overseas subscribers (to cover extra postage costs). Joint membership subscriptions were available (for an amount less than twice the individual membership); and reduced subscriptions were typically offered for those of statutory retirement age. Life membership (£100 to £500) was offered by most Friends' associations. There were also examples of family membership subscriptions; junior or student subscriptions (£1 to £15); corporate membership for businesses (£10 to £100); PCC subscriptions (£10 to £50); and school affiliations (£5 to £20). In addition, most Friends' web-pages openly encouraged legacies and bequests (for example, to fund a memorial for a loved one).

It follows that the size of the membership will be crucial in influencing the overall scale of income. It was therefore unsurprising that the income of Friends' associations varied between cathedrals, along with the extent of their membership. Membership data were available for 37 of the 42 associations, and their membership totalled approximately 48,000. Four had fewer than 200 members; three had between 200 and 499 members; eight had between 500 and 799 on roll; seven had between 800 and 1199; five had between 1200 and 1999; and ten had 2000 members or more. The largest cited numbers were at St Paul's Cathedral in London, Canterbury, Norwich, and Wells (all over 3,000), York (2,500), Gloucester (1,900) and at Hereford and St Albans (1,500); while the smallest numbers were primarily found at Parish Church Cathedrals – for example, Derby (150), Bradford (200), Newcastle (250) and Ripon (300).

Annual income could be as high as £200K (or exceptionally £500K or even £900K in particular years) or as low as £2K to £6K. The average annual income based on the four years 2006-9 (or on three years, 2006-8, in a few instances[25]) was less than

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[24] The figures for two associations were unavailable.

[25] Depending on availability of data.

£10K in the case of seven associations (rendering them a small charity according to the Charity Commission); between £10K and £49K in 13 associations; between £50K and £99K in eight (medium-sized charities); £100K to £199K in five; £200K to £299K in two; and £300K or more in three (large charities).

Another way of expressing income is to make a link with the size of the membership, and calculate the annual average income per member. Although this is a relatively crude measure (not least because some membership figures in the public domain are approximations), it revealed that four associations were the most successful (earning £100 or more per year per member), while three were the least successful by this measure (earning less than £20 per year per member). Sixteen of the associations yielded between £50 and £99 per year per member; and a further 12 yielded between £20 and £49 per year per member. The mean for the sector (for the 35 associations where both income and membership data were available) was £72.47 per member per year.

(b) Member benefits

The extent of benefits accruing to individual Friends depended on the strength of their ties to the cathedral/locality. Friends living far away from the cathedral could simply enjoy keeping in touch, whereas those living in relatively close proximity could gain financially from, for example, a pass granting free entry to the whole or parts of a cathedral, a free guided tour, shop/refectory discounts, Saturday parking in a cathedral Close (Norwich), exclusive 'member only' events (St Albans), priority booking for concerts (Ripon), special discounts at some arts events (Sheffield), or offers on Christmas card purchases (Salisbury, York). Member benefits also included opportunities for Friends to gain knowledge and/or increase cultural competencies: for instance, through lectures (Blackburn, Canterbury, Chester, Liverpool, Norwich, Worcester, York) or talks on subjects linked to the cathedral (Coventry, Exeter, Lincoln, Newcastle).

The flow of information from cathedral to Friends was a crucial selling-point to attract members, especially those who lived at a distance from the cathedral and enjoyed receiving news about its life. The web-pages of 28 associations emphasised that regular communications from the Friends was one of the member benefits. In addition to comprehensive annual reports (which, in the case of the registered charities, contain statutory information such as balance sheets), Friends could receive regular newsletters, some of which bear names, for example, 'Three Spires' (Lichfield), 'The Alban Link' (St Albans), 'Pepperpots' (Southwell), and 'The Shield' (Worcester). Newsletters contained a wide range of articles on the history, life and work of the cathedral; accounts of associational activities, often illustrated with

photographs of members enjoying social occasions or days out; and notice of forthcoming events/services. They could also provide a forum for the gathering of members' recollections of the cathedral. Mailings were typically twice a year (in spring and autumn), but sometimes more frequent. Some associations' web-pages included archives from which members could download previous newsletters/reports. The names of the members of certain associations could be added to distribution lists for regular cathedral publications too (Canterbury, Carlisle, Chichester, Lichfield, Winchester).

Question 4: Activity

(a) Social networking

When recruiting members, associations appealed to social needs. For example, Coventry announced to prospective members that 'by joining, you become part of a vibrant network'; Gloucester said prospective members could 'meet others with similar interests'; Newcastle promoted its association saying that Friends 'get together and enjoy themselves'; Ripon explained how Friends 'enjoy one another's company through a programme of social, cultural and religious activities'; and Birmingham and Southwark also emphasised how Friends enjoyed social events.

The objectives of three associations included the notion of binding Friends together (Table 1). For example, an objective at Wakefield is 'to bring together in a common fellowship of loyalty and devotion all those who care for the cathedral'.   At Leicester, the aim is 'To provide a means of binding together in friendship and society those who wish to play a part in supporting the cathedral's life and worship'; whereas at Lincoln it is 'To provide a means of binding together in friendship those who, loving [the] cathedral, wish to bear a part in supporting its life and worship'.

Some associations looked to Friends to make connections with other Friends, thus forming an active fellowship. For its part, Chichester explained that 'being a friend provides many opportunities for practical Christianity, while at the same time being part of a caring and outgoing group of people who provide fellowship and a friendly welcome to all'. Southwark Friends were said to 'offer friendship to one another and support the mission of the cathedral to the whole community'. The Trustees at Winchester said that they believed that 'promoting fellowship among Friends and other lovers of the Cathedral' ranked in importance equal to the raising of funds.

For members able and willing to travel to the cathedral, association with others could occur in social settings as part of a busy and varied programme of events. There were, for example, lunches/dinners with speakers; concerts; summer garden parties; plant sales; special behind-the-scenes cathedral tours; Christmas Carol Services;

day excursions; and holidays abroad (for example, Durham, Guildford, Hereford). A focal point of the yearly pattern of activities in all associations was the Annual General Meeting, which was often subsumed into a Friends' Festival (for example, Carlisle, Durham, Ely) or Friends' Day (for example, Chester, Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Peterborough), which might include Choral Evensong or a recital by cathedral choristers.

Links with other cathedrals appeared to be important to certain associations. The objectives at Wakefield specifically include 'contact with other cathedrals in England and throughout the Anglican Communion'. Norwich was pleased to welcome Friends from other cathedrals. Pilgrimages to other cathedrals were undertaken by some (Bradford, Chelmsford, Manchester, Ripon, Wells). On its website, the Peterborough association included hyperlinks to other Friends' websites and Friends' pages on cathedral websites. Worcester boasted an annual joint event with the Friends of Worcester Museums and Art Gallery.

The officials of the associations have worked at building bridges to each other, and also to the Friends' associations at abbeys and the larger parish churches. Since 2000, this has been achieved through a biennial conference (The National Conference of Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches), hosted at different locations. Since 2004, officials of the Friends of two of the largest cathedrals (Canterbury and London, St Paul's) have gathered in a forum with the paid officials of member organisations of other leading visitor attractions (for example, arts centres, galleries, museums, orchestras, theatres, and zoos): at meetings and conferences they promote the concept and value of Friends'/members groups, instigate and take part in research, and share findings (Membership Management Forum, 2010).

(b) Volunteering

Some Friends' associations appeared to be catalysts for volunteering. For example, London St Paul's boasted 130 'Working Friends'. Chelmsford's Friends were committed to 'lending practical … aid in all the Cathedral's activities'. Ely stated that 'Friends can of course do more than pay a subscription': its association sought volunteers to act as trained guides, stewards, members of the Ministry Welcome team or of the Flower Guild. At Gloucester, one of the charitable objectives of the Friends is 'offering voluntary services to assist in the work of the cathedral', and those who lived locally chose to help in a variety of ways: as guides, welcomers, staffing information and exhibition desks, as members of the Flower Guild, as voluntary cleaners, by helping in the Friends' office. Newcastle stated: 'Some Friends work in a practical way in the Cathedral to help maintain its beauty and

usefulness'. Stewarding at Durham was begun in the 1930s by the Friends. Nowadays the cathedral has over 600 stewards, 60 of whom are also guides; these individuals are all encouraged to become Friends, and practically all are paid-up members.

Question 5: Religiosity

It was evident that cathedrals welcomed a wide range of Friends: those who worshipped at the cathedral, and those who did not; those who were Christian, and those who followed other faiths or professed no faith at all; and those willing to pray for the life and work of the cathedral, and those who would not remember the cathedral in a personal prayer-life.

Chelmsford described its Friends as 'individuals from all over the diocese and beyond, not necessarily worshipping at the Cathedral regularly'; and Wakefield said the Friends offered an opportunity for 'those who live away from Wakefield and [are] unable to worship at the Cathedral frequently'. About its Friends, Newcastle stated: 'some are Church of England, some belong to other denominations or none'. St Albans said 'Membership of the Friends is open to people of all creeds'. Rochester proclaimed that 'Members do not need to be of the Christian faith or, indeed of any religious faith, but simply share our concern for our beautiful heritage'. For its part, Sheffield stated: 'You do not have to be a churchgoer to become a Friend, nor do you need to have any particular connection with the Cathedral.'

Some associations specifically invited members to pray for their cathedral. For example, the Friends of St Albans were described as 'a worldwide group of people who support the cathedral and its work, both by prayer and financially'; Blackburn's members 'act as ambassadors for the Cathedral and support it prayerfully and financially'; Bradford's Friends 'support the cathedral and its staff through prayer for its work'; Chelmsford Friends were 'committed to praying for the work of the Cathedral as a spiritual centre of the Diocese and the County'; and Newcastle Friends were described as 'a group of people from the Cathedral and the wider community who, by their prayers, work and financial support, help to maintain the fabric'. It is striking that the word order in the quotations from St Albans, Blackburn and Newcastle implies that prayer may have been accorded higher priority than fundraising. Chelmsford, Salisbury, Sheffield and York each had a special Friends' prayer on their websites. In Portsmouth, reciprocity was an overt feature of prayer life; and Friends' own prayer requests could be included in the cathedral intercessions.

Discussion

The nature of the bond between Friend and cathedral

It has been shown that, just as in the earliest societies, emotion continues to play a part in accounts of the character of the bond of Friendship in today's cathedrals. It is noteworthy that the noun 'friend' derives from the Old English 'freond', present participle of the verb 'freogan', meaning 'to love'. Thus, the nomenclature neatly captures the essence of the relationship between subscriber and host in the cathedral context, where the emotion may spring in particular from a spiritual source. However, to assert that the terminology is particularly apposite (Muskett, 2013) runs counter to findings elsewhere in the heritage sector that the 'Friends' label may be regarded as outmoded (Burns Sadek Research Ltd., 1992).

Reciprocity

On the evidence gathered from their current self-descriptions, the significance of the voluntary Friends' associations lies partly in the fact that, established out of a financial imperative, they continue to accrue vital monetary resources for the ultimate benefit of their respective cathedrals.

Before assessing the significance of Friends' associations from a financial standpoint, it is prudent to add a word of caution. When reviewing the scale of Friends' income and their expenditure on cathedral projects, it is important to bear in mind the potential for year-on-year variations. Accordingly, this survey gathered data for three or four years for each association, focusing on average income over that period. Such a consideration may not have received sufficient attention in *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994): by reviewing a single set of accounts for each association, the Commissioners would not necessarily have been aware of the marked fluctuations that could arise as a result of legacies/bequests and of the impact of fund-raising efforts for special projects (that might involve deferred expenditure).

Just as in the early days of the associations, the consistent source of income was the annual fee paid by subscribers. The fact that some rates were relatively low may provide evidence that today's Friends' associations aimed to draw their membership from a cross-section of the population, as in the late 1920s and 1930s (when a typical subscription was five shillings). The literature review revealed that differing opinions have been expressed about whether the subscriptions are pitched appropriately. However, certain associations leave the actual figure to members' discretion, by quoting a minimum subscription.

Whereas early Friends' associations contributed vital monetary resources to their cathedral for routine reparation, nowadays such an association is just as likely to improve, enhance and beautify its cathedral through grants, and/or support the musical tradition. The 'capacity for musical excellence' is one of the essential characteristics that differentiate cathedrals from other places of worship; and, if they fail to exploit this tradition properly, cathedrals risk becoming indistinguishable from other churches (Shearlock, 1996, p. 19). *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994) affirmed the high standards of music in cathedrals; and reckoned that cathedrals devoted 12 to 15% of their overall expenditure to music (p. 162). It is thus significant that the objectives of over a third of Friends' associations specifically include support for music (Table 1), and that they therefore play their part in contributing to musical excellence[26].

It is interesting that today's associations chose to highlight the reciprocity of Friendship, and explained not only what accrued to the cathedral from the fellowship but also what benefits (both tangible and intangible) accrued to subscribers. The extent of member benefits was in stark contrast to the earliest associations, when these were non-fiscal and more esoteric. Thus, as typical subscription charities, the cathedral Friends perpetuate a cycle of exchange, through which benefits readily pass in both directions, from Friend to association and from association to Friend. As already suggested (Chapter 1), there is a paradox there: voluntary organizations that are charities have specific legal restrictions whereby they must provide public not private benefits (Lansley, 1996, p. 222). It is therefore vital to be able to demonstrate that benefits which may appear at first sight private, do in reality enhance the public benefits of the charity[27].

Despite the widespread availability of fiscal incentives for today's members, information continued to play a vital role in the cyclical life of the associations, as in the 1920s and 1930s. Regular mailings (newsletters / annual reports) were important landmarks in the Friends' calendar, helping to strengthen members' connection with the cathedral and enabling them to identify closely with the cause. Moreover, Friends who shunned face-to-face contact with fellow members became aware of associational activity through the supply of information and a photographic

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[26] Alongside national organisations such as the Cathedral Organists' Association, the Friends of Cathedral Music, the Choir Schools' Association, the Federation of Cathedral Old Choristers' Associations and the Royal School of Church Music

[27] This would go some way to correcting a misapprehension (Horton Smith, 1991, p. 147) that churches operate primarily for the benefit of members and participants, not for the general public.

record; and, from the publications, members could also gain a deeper affinity with the people whose life and work centred on the cathedral, and for whom prayers were sought.

A striking theme to emerge from Summers' (2009) exploration of the implications of friendship for the Church in postmodernity, based on his scrupulous exegesis of the 'You are my friends' gospel passage, was the sharing of information that accompanied the disciples' change of status: 'I do not call you servants any longer, because the servant does not know what the master is doing; but I have called you friends, because I have made known to you everything that I have heard from my Father' (John 15.15). Lindars' (1987) commentary on this passage emphasised that friends have a mutual intimacy and confidence on equal terms: 'Jesus has given the disciples this kind of confidence in imparting to them the full message of salvation from the Father' (pp. 491-492). Summers (2009) called attention to Barrett's (1978) focus on the distinction between servants and friends, which lay 'not in doing or not doing the will of God but in understanding or not understanding it'. The disciples were friends 'because Jesus … declared to them the whole counsel of God … It is a characteristic of John that that which … distinguishes the friend from the slave is knowledge, and that knowledge should be very closely related to love' (p. 477).

Social activity

The findings demonstrate that opportunities existed for social networking through rich programmes of events/activities. Indeed, social networking was shown also to extend beyond the individual Friends' associations, not only to other associations, but also to umbrella organizations, where, for example, best practice could be shared.

It is important to note, however, that the geographical spread of the membership necessarily leads to differences in the strength of ties of Friendship; and those members who reside in the local community and those who are willing to travel are likely to grasp the opportunities most readily. So, the evidence suggests that within cathedral Friends' associations, there can be a division between those members who benefit personally and those whose membership simply benefits the cathedral. At one end of the continuum will be the subscriber who participates in social events, gains from member benefits, takes advantage of learning opportunities and also prays for and volunteers at the cathedral. This type of Friend is an active participant; and it is likely that there is a core of such activists in each association. At the opposite end of the continuum of cathedral Friendship is the subscriber who does little more than pay the annual subscription. He/she may not necessarily be disinterested, but may be prevented from attending events by, say, living far from the

cathedral, ill-health or family/work commitments. Whatever the reason, this way of expressing cathedral Friendship is passive.

Uniting the two extremes (the core activists and the passive members), and also Friends elsewhere on the continuum, is the supply of information. Keeping in touch through publications was an important aspect of the early Friends' concept (Muskett, 2012a), and even that limited reciprocity on the part of the cathedrals doubtless reinforced the bonds of love and affection and helped to sustain the original supporter base. Nowadays, it would appear that the regular newsletters and reports continue to enable passive participants to share the esoteric benefits and commitment of the community to which they belong; indeed, some people may become more committed to the cathedral as they grow in knowledge of its work, and that commitment may later be expressed in voluntary activity (see Lansley, 1996 on member motivations).

Volunteering

Considerable human and financial resources have to be committed to the ministry of welcome and hospitality in cathedrals with large numbers of visitors (Lewis, 1996, p. 37). Indeed, the number of volunteers involved in the mission and ministry of cathedrals on a regular basis has increased steadily from 11,740 in 2001 to 14,540 in 2011, which represents an average of around 345 volunteers per cathedral (Archbishops' Council Research and Statistics Department, 2012). Evidence gathered in this survey backed the assertions of the English Tourist Board (1979, p. 90) and Beeson (2004, p. 3) that a vital contribution is made by Friends through voluntary work as welcoming stewards, guides, cleaners, library, shop and refectory assistants. It was not clear, however, in which direction the link between membership and volunteering operated: volunteering may lead to Friendship, or the Friends' association may act as a pathway into volunteering for the cathedral.

The Archbishops' Commission (1994) spoke about the responsibility of volunteers to offer good customer service. The corollary is that due attention must be paid to looking after the volunteers. The *Heritage and Renewal* report suggested that appropriate care (in the form of provision of parking, discounts in the shop, invitations to major services) was rewarded by 'a love for the cathedral and a sense of the priority of its religious mission' (p. 111). Perhaps for this selfsame reason, Friends may be especially suitable volunteer workers in their cathedral: by their associational membership, they have already demonstrated their love for the cathedral; and they already derive member benefits from their subscription and associational involvement.

Yet, as a group that receives privileged treatment and whose members may have a regular on-site presence through volunteering, there might be an anxiety, as elsewhere in the heritage sector, that Friends' associations are a potential 'thorn in the side' of their organisation (Slater, 2005c) or represent stakeholders who expect to enjoy a disproportionate amount of influence there (Blackadder, 2005).

Finally, it is reasonable to ponder whether the Friends' volunteering culture spawns volunteers who serve elsewhere. As noted earlier, the cathedral has been described by Platten and Lewis (1998a) as a place of interaction with God and between people. They suggested that those who come to it may emerge renewed; and they posited that, by encountering the cathedral community, individuals may leave with a new resolve, for example, to do voluntary work outside it (p. 179). It was not evident from this study whether the voluntarism cultivated by some Friends' associations was simply self-serving or did indeed have wider benefits outside the immediate cathedral community.

Religiosity

It is axiomatic that Friends help to preserve and enhance the life of a place of worship; however, the motivation for becoming a Friend will not always be rooted in an active Christian faith, and it has been shown that there is a welcome for members who are religious and, equally, for those who are not. The role of religion in cathedral Friends' associations had already been raised as an issue worthy of research (Slater, 2005a), and the findings here endorse that stance.

While the study has demonstrated that cathedral Friendship today cannot necessarily be regarded as a religious endeavour, it has also demonstrated that some Friends' associations call on the membership to support the cathedral not only by donating money and time, but also with prayer. Indeed, Beeson (2004) has argued that subscriptions have always been low enough to encourage the recruitment of relatively poor members ready to provide support to the cathedrals through prayer (p. 3).

So, on this basis, are the Friends actually religious organizations? To address this question, a typology may be helpful. One such typology, which has found favour elsewhere (for example, with Chapman, 2009), is that of Sider and Unruh (2004, pp. 119-120), who identified five faith-based organizational types, by reference to a range of religious characteristics (Table 2). Naturally, Sider and Unruh recognized the complexity of such organizations, and intended the typology to capture general trends; for that reason, the categories should be viewed as points along a continuum rather than discrete entities (Chapman, 2009, p. 208). Accordingly, the likelihood is

that cathedral Friends' associations would fall between the 'faith-permeated' and 'faith-centred' categories, but with hints of the 'faith-affiliated' category as well.

Use of the 'para-church organization' terminology may also be illuminating. Coleman's (2003) study of six para-church groups in the United States provides a helpful account of typical characteristics. On that basis, the categorization can serve to highlight the fact that the cathedral Friends' associations are independently incorporated (the majority as registered charities) and relatively autonomous from their parent cathedrals; but that they depend in part on their congregations/ communities for members/volunteers. In that sense, there is a symbiotic relationship between cathedral and Friends' association, with the cathedral providing the initial network of personal relationships and reciprocity on which to build. Coleman observed that, by and large, para-church groups are not good 'discipling units', owing to their specific focus: he found that few non-churchgoers were moved to join congregations because of their experiences with para-church groups; and also that the participants who were already members of congregations did not expect primary discipling from the para-church groups (p. 40).

Table 2: A typology of faith-based organizations, distilled from Sider and Unruh (2004), pp. 119-120

Type	Summary of characteristics
faith-permeated	the connection with religious faith is evident at all levels (mission, staffing, governance, and support)
faith-centred	founded for a religious purpose; remain strongly connected with the religious community through funding sources and affiliation; and require governors and staff to share the faith commitment (although participants can readily opt out of specific religious activities)
faith-affiliated	retain some influence of religious founders (for example, in their mission statement); and may affirm faith in a general way (for example, through nonverbal acts of compassion/care); but do not require most leaders/staff to affirm religious beliefs or practices
faith-background	tend to appear secular in nature despite an historical tie to a faith tradition; and have no explicit religious content aside from their possible location in a religious setting
faith-secular partnerships	typically secular in administration, but may rely on religious partners for volunteer/in-kind support, which is considered an asset
secular	make no reference to religion in their mission, founding history and governance; and have no religious content.

The significance of cathedral Friends' associations

In the light of all the evidence presented, it is possible to assess the overall significance of Friends' associations for their cathedrals today. The most conspicuous yardstick by which to gauge significance is fiscal; and it was demonstrated earlier that Friends are generous with their money, in the form of subscriptions, donations and legacies. Their significance can also be gauged by less tangible measures; and it was shown that some Friends offer prayer for their cathedral, its work and its community; and that others give of themselves, in terms of time and expertise. As will be argued next, the Friends' associations are also significant in so far as they have a capacity to make connections.

Yet, it would be inappropriate to end this assessment without pausing to consider whether the cathedral Friends' movement is widely recognized as a significant force for good; so, the final section of this chapter will evaluate further evidence and seek to draw a conclusion on that question.

Making connections, three ways

As 'enormous magnets for all sorts of people' (Platten, 2012), cathedrals have a capacity to make connections, three ways: for example, between the civic, the cultural and the spiritual (Hansard, 2012, p. 337); or between people, place and God (Platten & Lewis, 1998a). The three-fold relationship between people, place and God has been elaborated by Inge (2003) (who ministered at Ely Cathedral before his consecration as a suffragan bishop in that diocese, and subsequent appointment as Bishop of Worcester). Expressed diagrammatically (Figure 2), Inge's relational view emphasizes that the importance of place is caught up not just with God the creator, but also with the creatures to whom God is bound through covenantal love (p. 47).

Figure 2: God, people and place - a relational view (from Inge, 2003, p. 46)
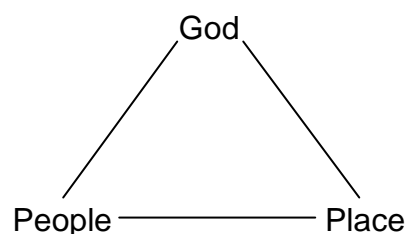
It is striking that each of the key findings of *Spiritual Capital: The Present and Future of English Cathedrals* (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012) touches upon one of the points in Inge's triangulation. The report concluded that cathedrals have 'a particular capacity to connect spiritually with those who are on or beyond the Christian "periphery"' (the relevant point in the triangulation being God); that they have 'a seminal role as a source of … bridging social capital' (the point there being people); and that they are 'recognized for the manner in which they convey the history and tradition both of Christianity and of the area that they inhabit and sometimes embody' (the final point being place) (p. 12).

Interestingly, the evidence reviewed in this chapter has illuminated the distinctive role played by the Friends' associations, as para-church organizations, in enabling cathedrals to make these connections three ways, in particular between place (through heritage, culture), God (through the sacred), and people (through social networks).

Recognition of the Friends' contribution

Although the evidence evaluated thus far suggests that the Friends' associations are significant, especially (but not only) in terms of the income they generate for their respective cathedrals, it is nonetheless relatively easy to gain the impression that these organizations do not receive the overall recognition elsewhere that could be expected from their own literature. For example, there was mention of the Friends in just three of the thirteen 'information for applicants' documents in relation to deanships advertised from 2010 until January 2013. What may also be regarded as somewhat surprising is the relative paucity of references to the contribution of Friends' associations in annual reviews of the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England. In the paragraphs about finances, achievements and fundraising campaigns supplied for the first Annual Review in 2008, just two cathedrals (Southwell and St Albans) referred to their Friends (Archbishops' Council Cathedral and Church Buildings Division, 2009); while for the 2009 review, only three (Norwich, Wells, Winchester) mentioned their Friends in connection with special projects (Archbishops' Council Cathedral and Church Buildings Division, 2010). This suggests that the Friends work quietly behind the scenes serving the mission of the Church, in the same way that Mary of Magdala, Joanna and Susanna and others provided for Jesus and his disciples (Luke 8:2), Lydia provided for the disciples (Acts 16), and the Philippians provided for the apostle Paul (Letter of Paul to the Philippians 4).

One final point should be made. Whereas the Friends may have been predominant at their inception in raising vital additional money for the cathedrals, associations

now find themselves part of an array of funding sources, some of which are necessarily markedly different in nature and scale (for example, Heritage Lottery funds)[28]. Furthermore, as the Forward to the 2009 Annual Review hints, cathedrals now seek to attract affluent individual donors to be their friends (with a lower case f) (Archbishops' Council Cathedral and Church Buildings Division, 2010, p. 3).

Limitations of the survey of publications

The survey of publications has necessarily been limited in two main ways. First, it evaluated associations' own self-descriptions, through which a restricted amount of information may have been available. Second, it analyzed content selected partly by an intuitive process, involving subjective judgements. Nevertheless, these shortcomings were ameliorated to a certain extent by reference to (i) a thematic framework emerging from a meta-analysis, and (ii) statutory financial data placed in the public domain by the Charity Commission. A more objective picture of the phenomenon is likely to emerge from the empirical research among a sample of cathedral Friends. Data will reveal whether time and effort invested in building associations between Friends and their cathedrals, and among individual Friends, is rewarded.

The survey has highlighted the role of regular associational information and the significance of newsletters/reports in strengthening Friends' commitment to the cause. A third limitation of the survey has been the focus on associational information conveyed solely by one-directional means. This overlooked the advantages of conveying information by two-directional means (email and social media), which holds open the possibility of recipients' reacting and responding to the communication relatively easily through the same channels (Hogan & Quan-Haase, 2010).

The model of cathedral Friendship: identifying and categorizing the 'outcomes'

As stated earlier, an aim of this chapter was to identify, and subsequently categorize, the various ways in which Friends donate to their cathedral and/or association (that is, beyond payment of the basic membership subscription). For the reasons explained below, the outcomes will be conceptualized as 'gifts'.

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[28] On the sources of funding for the repair and improvement of cathedral fabric, see Chapter 1, footnote 13.

A gift-exchange institution

There are certain categories of human enterprise that are not supported by market forces, and which 'develop gift-exchange institutions dedicated to their support' (Hyde, 2007, p. 288). The foregoing analysis has demonstrated that cathedrals are such an enterprise. Cathedrals and their Friends are party to a cycle of exchange, where gifts pass in both directions: while money, prayer and time are offered by Friends to cathedrals, the cathedrals bestow on their Friends information, opportunities to socialize and to learn, and fiscal benefits (such as shop discounts).

Thus, for the purposes of the empirical study, cathedral Friends' contributions will be conceptualized as voluntary 'gifts'. Friends are members of an organization which is voluntary in nature[29]: there is no inherent coercion or obligation. Belonging may be predicated upon payment of a subscription (life or annual), but once individuals have subscribed they determine how to conduct themselves within the organization: for example, they choose whether to attend meetings and events, whether to profit from member benefits, whether to be generous with their money and time, and whether to include the cathedral in their intercessions.

The principles of gift-giving

The fundamental principles of gift-giving, as opposed to commodity exchange, have been articulated in classic works by Derrida (1992) and Mauss (1950/2002), and also by Millbank (1995) and Offer (1997). The archetypal pure gift relationship is the giving of blood (Titmus, 1970). There are other unilateral transfers in the form of, say, organ donations and bequests; but most gifting 'takes place in the context of reciprocity' (Offer, 1997, p. 450). Even unilateral transfers in the form of bequests are not entirely disinterested: the donor may hope for regard from a younger generation, or aspire to a lasting reputation (p. 456). Offer referred to the 'strategic bequest theory' of Bernheim, Shleifer and Summers (1985), which interpreted the prospect of bequest in families as a form of bond, designed to elicit regard from descendants (p. 461). Accordingly, the problem with any so-called free gift is 'the donor's intention to be exempt from return gifts coming from the recipient' (Douglas, 1990, p. ix).

Gift-giving is a social phenomenon: it enhances solidarity. A gift which does not enhance solidarity is 'a contradiction' (Douglas, 1990, p. x). As Hyde (2007) explained: 'It is the cardinal difference between gift and commodity exchange that a

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[29] See 'The hallmarks of a voluntary association' in Chapter 5.

gift establishes a feeling-bond … while the sale of a commodity leaves no necessary connection' (p. 58). Gifts that move the recipient are central to the attachment:

> Manners or social pressure may oblige us to those for whom we feel no true affection, but neither obligation nor civility leads to lasting unions. It is when someone's gifts stir us that we are brought close, and what moves us, beyond the gift itself, is the promise (or the fact) of transformation, friendship and love. (p. 71)

As will become evident in due course, Hyde's words lie at the heart of the emphasis upon gift-giving in this study. However, a gift-giving model is not necessarily a panacea, as Gill's (2012) search for a suitable model to understand theology from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge revealed. Gill concluded that a gifting model can be vulnerable because of a number of negative connotations of the gift (p. 100)[30]. Nonetheless, he did highlight the 'irresistible' implication of gift discourse for theologians: God as ultimate 'giver'. As he put it, 'gifts within life are believed to require not just humility in the presence of something unearned but also gratitude to the divine giver' (p. 99). In the context of cathedral Friends' associations, it may be worth bearing in mind that 'everything comes from God as a gift and is to be administered faithfully on his behalf' (Atkinson & Field, 1995, p. 814)[31].

Categories of gift

On the basis of the surveys reported above, a three-fold categorization of Friends' gifts to cathedrals will be employed in the empirical work: that is, (i) money, (ii) time, and (iii) prayer. Sub-dimensions of the first two categories have been identified; the category of prayer has no sub-dimension here.

Gifts of Money. Personal membership necessarily involves payment of the annual subscription (save in the case of those individuals who purchase a life membership);

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[30] According to Gill (2012), gifts can be irresponsible (and de-skill, as relief agencies are aware); and they can be irrational and the vehicles of transitory affection (which can confuse, and destabilize relationships). Giving is not always virtuous, and gift-relationships encompass both the intimate and the functional. He claims that, although a social scientist such as Titmus (1970) would see gift-relationships as altruistic, social anthropologists can be more suspicious.

[31] This is an extract from Atkinson and Field's definition of stewardship, which is rooted in the words of King David (1 Chronicles 29: 10-13) when he offered to God the materials, money and skills of his people for building the first Temple in Jerusalem (M. Wright, 1992, p. 4), words which now find a place in the 'Prayers at the Preparation of the Table' for the Eucharist: 'Yours, Lord, is the greatness, the power, the glory, the splendour, and the majesty; for everything in heaven and on earth are yours. All things come from you and of your own do we give you' (Archbishops' Council, 2000, p. 291).

but the publications revealed that Friends could be invited to pay more than the minimum subscription. So, the first sub-dimension of money will be payment of more than the minimum annual subscription. Voluntary gifts of a financial kind included donations to the Friends' association and also legacies to the charity and direct to the cathedral. So, the second sub-dimension of money will be donations to the Friends' association (that is, beyond payment of the annual subscription); and the third will be a legacy to the Friends' association; and the fourth will be a legacy to the cathedral.

Gifts of Time. The lists of ways in which Friends could give their time included volunteer tasks for the cathedral and for the Friends' organization itself. The first sub-dimension of time will therefore be voluntary input to the Friends' association; and the second will be voluntary input to the cathedral.

Prayer for the cathedral is treated as the third type of gift in the analysis because it has been seen as a crucial activity since the inception of the Friends' associations. This gift is not about filling the sanctuary of the sacred place with worldly intercessions: it is the offering of prayer to God for the daily life and work of the cathedral as the spiritual centre of the diocese. Such prayer could be offered by Friends who attended cathedral services and equally by those who did not.

Populating the model

A skeleton model of resources in the social arena of cathedral Friends' associations was presented earlier in Chapter 1 (Figure 1). On the basis of the findings reported in this chapter, the 'outcomes' element of that model can now be populated (Figure 3). Subsequent chapters will discuss the dimensions of the first and second elements of the model (the predictors and resources, respectively).

Figure 3: A theoretical model of the 'resources' in cathedral Friends' associations, their antecedents and consequences (I)

CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION

PREDICTORS	→	RESOURCES	→	**GIFTS**

GIFTS

Money
More than the minimum annual subscription; Donations to the Friends' assoc'n; Legacy to the Friends' assoc'n; Legacy to the cathedral.

Time
Voluntary input to the Friends' assoc'n; Voluntary input to the cathedral.

Prayer
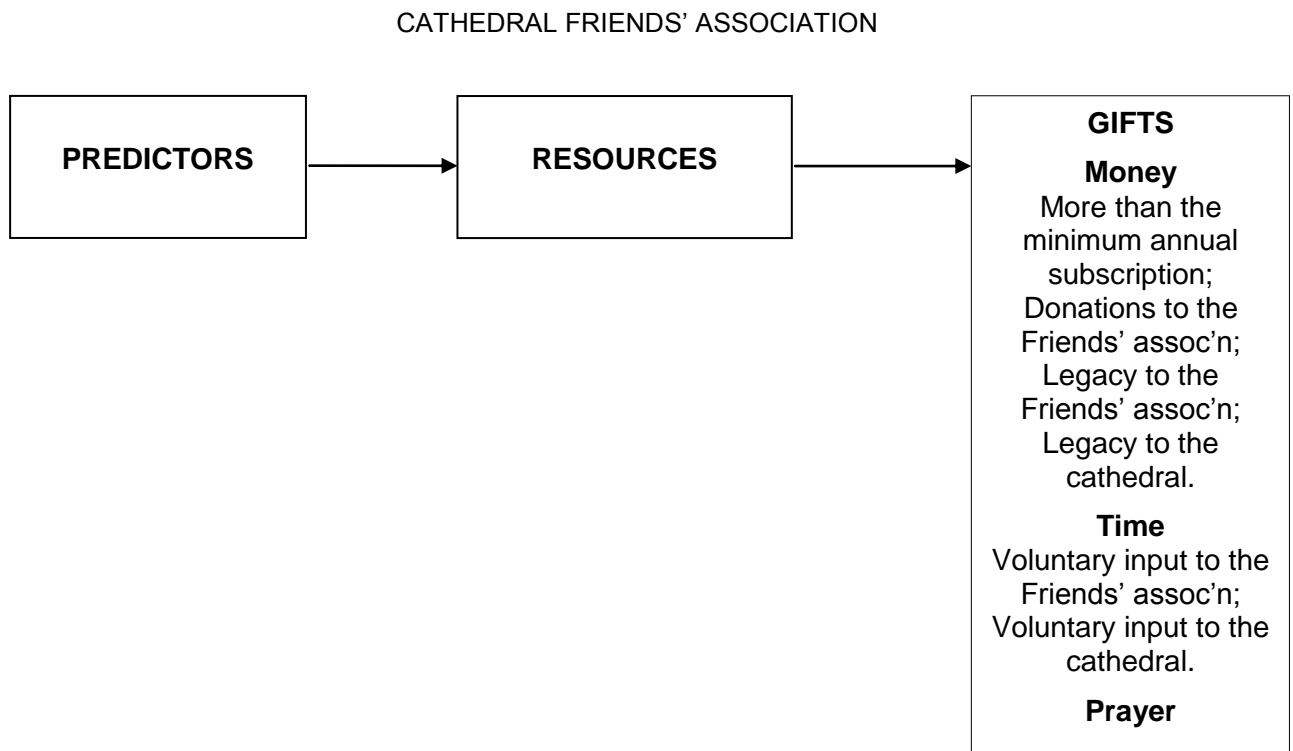
PART TWO

GIFT-GIVING IN CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATIONS: FROM DESCRIPTION TO THEORY

The narrative now moves from description to theory. Chapter 2 analyzed gifts from Friends to their cathedrals. It also revealed how active and passive Friends alike benefit from information about their cathedral, and how membership can yield opportunities for Friends to learn about the history and architecture of the building, and to meet others socially. What remains to be established is how these different elements of the cathedral Friends' concept interact in practice. The underlying assumption is that there is inherent value in the 'resources' located in the cathedral Friends' associations, that is, the social networks among Friends, and the cultural activity. For reasons stated earlier (Chapter 1), a 'social capital' lens was chosen to analyze Friends' gift-giving. Accordingly, the resources will be conceptualized as social capital and cultural capital. The intention is to discover what factors drive the production of these capitals, and whether the capitals influence Friends' gifts (their money, time and prayer). The answers hold open the possibility of establishing the underlying explanation for the Friends' charitable behaviour within the associations. But this enquiry is not simply curiosity-driven: an explanation would facilitate strategic planning to maximize gains and meet fundraising objectives.

The aims of this Part of the thesis are four-fold. Chapter 3 has two purposes: to introduce the theoretical frameworks through which data collected from cathedral Friends will be analyzed; and to provide a detailed review of classical literature on social and cultural capital. Chapter 4 will make the case for the additional type of capital (regard for the cathedral), to be invoked as a potential driver of Friends' gift-giving behaviour. To complete the framework, Chapter 5 will focus on the role of voluntary associations in relation to social capital, and also on theories of intensity of involvement in such associations. The intention of the latter is to illuminate what Chapter 2 revealed to be a distinctive feature of the cathedral Friends' concept, that is, the combination of active and passive members.

CHAPTER 3
CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL ARENA:
A REVIEW OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE ON
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The power of religious social networks

The survey reported in Chapter 2 hinted that the religious context of cathedral Friends' gift-giving is significant; and this accorded with Slater's (2005a) inkling that faith may have a distinctive influence over the nature of membership schemes associated with places of worship. It is not unusual to find that people who take religion seriously give and volunteer in higher proportion, both to charities, and also to their own congregations. Indeed, as Wuthnow (1990) put it, 'Throughout much of our history, religion and giving have been closely linked' (p. 3). The relationship between religion and giving has been well-documented (see, for example, Gill, 1999; Nemeth & Luidens, 2003; J. Z. Park & Smith, 2000; Wilson & Janoski, 1995; Wuthnow & Hodgkinson, 1990). For example, analysis of two sets of surveys of the European Value Systems Study Group in the early 1980s and the 1990s, enabled Gill (1999) to show that a churchgoer was three times more likely to be involved in voluntary service than a non-churchgoer who had no belief in God (pp. 172-173). Using British Household Panel Survey data, Gill also demonstrated that members of religious groups were more than three times as likely as non-members to be involved in voluntary service (p. 173); and data from the British Social Attitudes surveys added further evidence of the link between churchgoing and voluntary service.

However, until relatively recently, it was not fully understood what motivated religious people to give generously. The Bible might have provided the answer, but it was found that biblical teaching does not directly influence giving behaviour (Cnaan, Boddie, & Yancey, 2003; R. H. Williams, 2003). Another suspicion was that the secret lay in community or the sharing of a common purpose with others (Hodgkinson, 1990, p. 301). The idea that religious community matters a great deal and empowers churchgoers to help out in their neighbourhoods was supported by Park and Smith (2000), who found that churchgoing Protestants participating in church activities very frequently were more likely to volunteer in their local communities (both church-related and non-church-related volunteering) (pp. 283-284). Campbell and Yonish (2003) tested an observed positive relationship between church attendance and volunteering in America, controlling for an extensive set of rival causes; and they discovered that church attendance surpassed education as a

catalyst for voluntary activity (pp. 96-98). Nemeth and Luidens (2003) found that simply being a church member or an infrequent churchgoer did little to increase financial support for non-religious charities: the greatest influence on such giving in their study was attendance at an almost weekly level (pp. 113-115). Focusing instead on respondents' membership of voluntary organizations, Nemeth and Luidens again found that activity was crucial: furthermore, being active in both religious and non-religious organizations encouraged members to give to charities and to give more generously (p. 118).

Most recently, Putnam and Campbell (2010) found that religious social networks were the key to the puzzle about the link between religion and giving.   They discovered that church attendance was a significant predictor for all types of volunteering (interestingly, except for arts and cultural organizations), after they had controlled for other demographic predictors of volunteering (p. 446). The effect of religiosity on giving to secular causes was also significant in their study: the likelihood of a non-churchgoer giving to a secular charitable organization was 60%, whereas the likelihood of a similar contribution from a comparable person who attended church weekly was 81% (p. 450). Eventually, after teasing out which beliefs and values might induce religious Americans to be more generous with their time and money, Putnam and Campbell concluded that it was religious belonging that mattered, not religious belief: the impact of religiosity came almost entirely through religious social networks (p. 473).

The demonstrable capacity of social networks to influence generosity in other religious contexts is the fundamental reason why this thesis will explore whether investment in building associations with and among Friends (that is, social capital) pays off for cathedrals. Indeed, it has already been mentioned that religion is a powerful and enduring source of social capital (Greeley, 1997, pp. 592-593) and that churches/congregations are important local producers (Ammerman, 1997; Brady et al., 1995; Cnaan et al., 1999; Putnam, 2000). Frequent involvement in the life of an organization (whether it be church, or a non-religious or religious voluntary association) appears to create a basis for the trust and familiarity needed if networks are to yield a resource that can be transformed by the organization into fiscal capital (Nemeth & Luidens, 2003, p. 120). The challenge has been to identify 'the mechanisms that will create, nurture, and sustain the types and combinations of social relationships conducive to building dynamic participatory societies' (Woolcock, 1998, p. 186); yet, until the publication of *Religion as Social Capital* (Smidt, 2003b), there had been few systematic studies specifying how churches create, sustain and grow social capital (see Campbell & Yonish, 2003).

Overview of the social capital paradigm

So, what exactly is the resource known as social capital? The notion 'captured the public imagination' (Dinham, 2012, p. 42) following the publication of *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 1995a). It has been praised as the 'most important and exciting concept to emerge out of the social sciences in fifty years' (Halpern, 2005); and has captured the minds of policymakers and social scientists, as evidenced by Field (2008). Faith communities are commonly seen as important repositories of social capital. Indeed, the role played by faith communities in generating and supporting social capital was recognized by the Government in its establishment of a Faith Unit in the Home Office (Bradley, 2007, p. 223); moreover, the Report from the Commission on Urban Life and Faith (Archbishops' Council, 2006) viewed social capital as an essentially helpful idea (p. 3).

The concept may have widespread use, but social capitalists have been accused of peddling a concept that is 'fuzzy … warm, apologetic … nostalgic, middle-class or small town' (Farr, 2004, p. 27). Social capital has been censured for being 'one of our trendiest terms' (Farr, 2004, p. 6), and depicted as 'one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language' (Portes, 1998, p. 2). Defining, exploring and expanding the notion of social capital has been said to keep contemporary social scientists very busy (Pahl, 2000, p. 6). Pahl was not alone in accusing the theory of being a 'repackaging of long-established sociological processes' (p. 159): for his part, Portes (1998) claimed that 'the set of processes encompassed by the concept are not new and have been studied under other labels in the past' and 'calling them social capital is, to a large extent, just a means of presenting them in a more appealing conceptual guise' (p. 21).

Despite the criticisms, social capital 'has the potential for being a particularly useful concept in exploring the structural basis of religious charitable giving' (Nemeth & Luidens, 2003, p. 108). But the critiques point to the need for a thorough review of literature on social capital and allied constructs. No apology is made for the length and degree of detail of the review which follows. The ubiquity of social capital and the complexity of its operationalization in different studies have the effect that there is no clear undisputed meaning. Definitions vary according to the source, form and consequences; and, although consequences may be one indicator of the types and combinations of social capital that are present, they are not to be confused with social capital itself (Woolcock, 1998, p. 185). In a review of the origins and applications of social capital, Portes (1998) pinpointed the confusion that can arise from the mixing in discussion of three different elements of social capital: (a) the possessors, (b) the sources, and (c) the resources (p. 6). It is therefore vital to

exhibit an understanding of these elements, and one that is firmly grounded in relevant theory. For the purpose of this study, that grounding has been achieved by reference to classical literature on social capital theory. Although social capital is the framework through which Friends' gift-giving will be analyzed, the theory has not been adopted uncritically. In the light of the results of this study, and following the lead recently shown by Dinham (2012), alternative theoretical frameworks will be discussed (Chapter 11).

Overview of cultural capital

Just as the notion of social capital has found its way into the discourse of policymakers, so too has the idea of cultural capital and, in particular, its association with social capital. This point can be exemplified by two claims in *Cultural Capital: A Manifesto for the Future* (Museums Libraries and Archives Council, 2010), a report about how investing in culture and heritage could aid Britain's social and economic recovery from recession:

> Heritage and the arts stretch minds and strengthen local communities. (p. 3)

> [Volunteering in the cultural sector] is work experience for the young, recreation for the nine-to-fivers, and an occupation for those who have retired. Volunteering generates social capital: social capital creates cultural capital: cultural capital generates social and material wealth. (p. 13)

A natural link was also made between the cultural and social fields by *Use or Ornament* (Matarasso, 1997), which investigated the impact of participation in the arts, broadly defined. The report found that participation in the Arts offered 'daily enrichment and a route for engagement with society'; and that, by developing social networks, arts participation could contribute to social cohesion (p. v). More recently, an action research initiative in an area of North Glasgow with high levels of social and economic deprivation provided an insight into how art and culture can be utilized to develop social capital (Flinn & McPherson, 2007).

In these contexts, the notion of fungibility (the way one form of capital can serve for or be replaced by another) (Bourdieu, 1986) was implicit. As Portes (1998) observed, investment in social capital enables actors to discover that their cultural capital may be increased, because they make contacts with experts or individuals of refinement, or affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials (pp. 3-4). It would be natural for causation to flow in the opposite direction too: efforts to enhance cultural capital may reap rewards in terms of higher levels of social capital.

Cultural capital has been described as 'the language of the elite'; and proficiency in the use of this language can be important in securing and maintaining a place within the sphere of influence of that stratum of society (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010, p. 21). Interestingly, Bourdieu argued that the links between cultural capital and class position are more important for the managerial/professional class than for the upper classes (see Bennett, 2010, pp. xx-xxi).

Cultural capital theory is likely to have particular salience in cathedral Friends' associations, where members have opportunities to learn about the history and/or architecture of the building, and thus develop their cultural knowledge and competencies. As Cameron (2003) implied in her analysis of the decline of the Church of England as a local membership organization, it is not difficult to imagine that church leaders might be instrumental in generating religious social capital, by attracting Friends with cultural interests. So, as well as focusing on social capital theory, this chapter will outline the basic tenets of cultural capital theory, as developed by Bourdieu (1986), and elaborated most fully in his work *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 2010b).

A review of classical literature on social and cultural capital

Since there are numerous contributors to the burgeoning field of social capital theory, and copious definitions, this literature review is selective and not intended to be exhaustive. Adopting the approach of other literature reviews in this field (for example, the comprehensive exercise of Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010), the analytical framework broadly follows that of Field (2008)[32]; it also relies on the meta-analyses of Farr (2004) and Portes (1998).

Three schools of thought in social capital theory were identified by Field (2008). These are associated with the benchmark work of three prominent exponents: Bourdieu (1930 – 2002), Coleman (1926 – 1995) and Putnam (1941 –). Rehearsing the contributions of these principal authors not only enables the work of subsequent theorists and empiricists to be set in context, but also allows a view to be taken of the utility of the particular schools of thought (or individual aspects of them) for the present study. To the consideration of the three dominant schools will be added the contribution of Woolcock, who has been instrumental not only in honing the wide-ranging debate about definitions of social capital, but also in refining an important aspect of others' work on the dimensions of the concept.

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[32] However, there has not been heavy reliance on this work because some inaccuracies were found in the text.

First, the social capital concept will be introduced, with a section covering historical usage, and key features. At the end of each of the subsequent sections, the contributions of the particular theorist will be highlighted; and then, at the end of the chapter, the key features of the social capital paradigm will be summarized and its potential utility assessed. The precise definition adopted for the present study will be outlined in Chapter 5, where dimensions of the various capital resources will also be teased out.

Historical usage

The accusation has already been levelled (Chapter 2) that use of 'social capital' has been a trend – one which began in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s (Farr, 2004, p. 7)[33]. Woolcock (1998) claimed that, as frequently occurs with promising new terms in the social sciences, 'limited critical attention [has been] given to its intellectual history or its conceptual or ontological status' (p. 155). Farr (2004) set about correcting the deficit identified by Woolcock. Farr's contextual reconstruction of the academic scholarship and public discourse demonstrated that the current vogue began with and followed upon the seminal work of Loury, Bourdieu and Coleman, and subsequently flowed into popular discourse through Putnam's (2000) *Bowling Alone – the collapse and revival of American Community*. Putnam and Woolcock have each hunted down previous uses: for example, Jacobs (in 1961), and Hanifan (in 1916), who is often quoted as the first user. Farr traced usage back even further to four publications by Dewey, three of which (1900, 1909, 1915) predated Hanifan's publication, but none of which were attended by an elaboration (Farr, 2004, p. 19). Farr was puzzled about whether Hanifan got 'social capital' from Dewey, but did not reach a conclusion on that point. For their part, Putnam and Goss (2002) reckoned that, after Hanifan, 'the concept was independently reinvented at least six more times' (p. 5).

In his conceptual history, Farr (2004) was at pains to differentiate between employing 'social capital' as a concept and as a term. Such linguistic precision was illustrated with a quotation from Skinner: 'The surest sign that a society has entered into possession of a new concept is that a new vocabulary will be developed, in terms of which the concept can then be publicly articulated and discussed' (cited by Farr, 2004, p. 10). This distinction facilitated the tracing of usage back to the

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[33] With reference to data gathered from the Social Science Citation Index, Field (2008) demonstrated that the volume of literature referring to social capital has expanded rapidly with a marked growth from the late 1990s. No citations in 1990, 2 in 1991, 3 in 1992, 15 in 1993; rising to 61 in 1997, 102 in 1998 and 127 in 1999; and then to 300 in 2004, 403 in 2005 and 429 in 2006 (p. 2).

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Tocqueville, Hume, Smith and Mill are said to have displayed the concept without the term; while Buchanan is said to have used the term in 1995 without the concept.

Rural education (in West Virginia, U.S.A.) was the arena in which Hanifan (State Supervisor of Rural Schools) used the term/concept in 1916:

> goodwill, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit, the rural community, whose logical center is the school. In community building as in business organization and expansion there must be an accumulation of capital before constructive work can be done. (cited by Farr, 2004, p. 11; and, in part, by Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 4)

> if ... [the individual] comes into contact with his neighbour, and they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 4)

> the individual will find in his associations the advantages of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbours ... by skilful leadership this social capital may easily be directed towards the general improvement of the community well-being. (Putnam & Goss, 2002, pp. 4-5)

Interestingly, in much the same way that Putnam later bemoaned the lack of indicators of this type of capital, Hanifan observed 'there is today almost a total lack of such social capital in rural districts throughout the country'. Farr (2004) described how Hanifan (c. 1920) used the term/concept again in a teacher training series. On the timing of that work, Farr (2004) commented: '[World War I] itself, as well as rural isolation, poverty, and illiteracy, provided the backdrop and the urgency to accumulate social capital' (p. 11).

Education was also the context in which the American philosopher Dewey (1900) referred to social capital. Arguing that the individual mind was 'a function of social life' and that the teaching of the 'three Rs' curriculum needed to be linked to children's social life activities, Dewey wrote that these subjects 'represent the keys which will unlock to the child the wealth of social capital which lies beyond the possible range of his limited individual experience.' (Dewey, 1900/2008, p. 89, cited by Farr, 2004, p. 17).

A common language in different fields

While on the one hand the term 'social capital' can be criticised for the looseness of its definition, on the other hand the concept has proved to be a fruitful panacea employed in many different fields, and sub-fields. For instance, Farr (2004) observed that the wide variety of meanings is of concern to 'empirical theorists who

seek stable referents and clear definitions' (p. 7); and Portes (1998) noted that 'the point is approaching at which social capital comes to be applied to so many events and in so many different contexts as to lose any distinct meaning' (p. 2). Yet, in such variety there are naturally advantages, as well as disadvantages. In 'social capital', historians, political scientists, anthropologists, economists, sociologists and policy makers find a common language within which they can engage in open debate (Woolcock, 1998, p. 188). To that list may be added scholars in the following disciplines: public health, urban planning, criminology, architecture and social psychology (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 5). In addition, there are theologians, for the concept of social capital (and that of cultural capital) has lately spawned the sub-set religious or spiritual capital; and, most recently, the concept of secular spiritual capital has emerged (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010).

A method for understanding socio-economic phenomena

Prefacing the word capital with the word social implies there is a connection between them. Together, they provide a mechanism for understanding socio-economic phenomena (Durlauf, 2002, p. F459). It is claimed that the notion of social capital locates the positive consequences of sociability 'in the framework of a broader discussion of capital and calls attention to how such nonmonetary forms can be important sources of power and influence' (Portes, 1998, p. 2). By analogy with physical capital and human capital, use of the commonly-understood economic term suggests that there is a commodity or productive benefit, 'making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible' (J. S. Coleman, 1988, p. S98). It follows that this productive benefit has measurable worth (which might be greater if the benefit is rarer); and, furthermore, that it could be actively deployed, or indeed that it could be depleted by lack of use.

On one particular measure, there is a hierarchy in the three forms of capital: physical capital (embodied in tools, machines and other equipment) is wholly tangible, human capital (embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by individuals) is less tangible, and social capital (existing in the relations among persons) is less tangible yet (J. S. Coleman, 1988, p. S100). On the basis of another measure, a different ranking has been posited: social capital can 'enhance, maintain or destroy physical and human capital' (Woolcock, 1998, p. 186).

Using the economic metaphor, and extending this to make an interesting observation about the value of attendance at meetings, de Souza Briggs (1997) explained that 'social capital is built up through repeated exchanges among people (or organisations) over time. It depends on regular borrowing and lending of advice, favours, information and so on' (p. 113). He continued:

The lasting rewards of social capital depend on making regular deposits and withdrawals into a system of relationships, some of them quite casual, others very intimate. Attending a meeting is only the crudest measure of this, since one may not "exchange" anything with others present. Meetings are a place to start, as long as we acknowledge that connecting people's lives –head, heart and spirit– is the real deal. (pp. 113-114).

Types of capital

There are three basic sub-types of social capital (the first two developed most comprehensively by Putnam, and the third by Woolcock). Where there is a focus on internal, exclusive relationships, this has been termed 'bonding' capital. Where the focus is on external, heterogeneous relations, the term used has been 'bridging' capital. Then, there is 'linking' social capital that enables more marginal groups to gain benefits from the resources of more powerful groupings. There are other types of categorisation according to different criteria: for example, ties are described as weak or strong, networks can be open or closed, relationships can be vertical or horizontal. In addition, capital can be embodied, objectified or institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986).

In the following sections on the main schools of thought in social capital theory, the various sub-types and other categories will be described in more detail and attributed there to those who developed the respective concepts.

The first school of thought: Bourdieu

Bourdieu's writing on social capital belongs to his wider social theory, which was influenced by Marxist sociology and his roots in French society, with its deep-seated hierarchical inequalities. This European perspective, and also the fact that his initial treatment of the concept was published in French (and subsequently obscured in a text on the sociology of education when first translated into English), may in part explain why Bourdieu's work on social capital has been virtually ignored by American sociologists (including Coleman and Putnam) (J. Field, 2008, p. 21; Portes, 1998, p. 3). Nevertheless, Bourdieu is regarded as an important figure in the transition of social capital from being a metaphor to becoming a concept, and it is said that his contribution 'deserves closer attention than it has received thus far' (J. Field, 2008, pp. 22-23) and also that his 'analysis is arguably the most theoretically refined' among those who introduced social capital into contemporary sociology (Portes, 1998, p. 3).

Capital – its definition, forms and transmission

Bourdieu regarded capital as power (1986, p. 243) and as 'the energy of social physics' (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 118). Capital was defined (Bourdieu, 1986) at greater length, thus: 'Capital is accumulated labor ... which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor' (p. 241). He then argued: 'It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory'. (p. 242).

Bourdieu's thesis (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) was that 'capital presents itself under three fundamental species ... namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital' (p. 119). The convertibility of capital, according to Bourdieu's early scheme for the forms of capital, is illustrated below (Table 3).

Table 3: The forms of capital, distilled from Bourdieu (1986, p. 243)

Form of capital	Convertible?	Into	Institutionalized in the form of
economic capital	Yes – immediately and directly	money	property rights
cultural capital[34]	Yes – on certain conditions	economic capital[35]	educational qualifications
social capital	Yes – on certain conditions	economic capital	a title of nobility

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[34] Which Bourdieu also sometimes calls 'informational capital'.

[35] 'Transubstantiation' is also used to describe the mechanism by which economic forms of capital present themselves in the immaterial form of cultural or economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 242).

Accordingly, economic capital is at the root of all other types, according to Bourdieu. The transformed, disguised forms (i.e. cultural, social) conceal the fact that economic capital is at their root. Bourdieu (1986) explained that 'the transformation of economic capital into social capital presupposes a specific labor, i.e. an apparently gratuitous expenditure of time, attention, care, concern' and he subsequently observed that 'from a narrowly economic standpoint, this effort is bound to be seen as pure wastage, but in terms of the logic of social exchanges, it is a solid investment, the profits of which will appear, in the long run, in monetary or other form' (p. 253). Likewise, there are costs involved in the transmission of cultural capital. When illustrating how this prolonged process operates within the family, Bourdieu highlighted the importance of the quantity of usable time available to the domestic group, especially in the form of a mother's own free time which, by virtue of economic capital, can be increased through the purchase of others' time. Thus, it is immediately obvious that the linkage between economic and cultural capital is mediated by the time required for acquisition (p. 246).

In his review of the origins and applications of social capital, Portes (1998) highlighted Bourdieu's emphasis on the fungibility of different species of capital, and on the ultimate reduction of all forms to economic capital. Through investing in social relationships (i.e. through their social capital), actors may discover that access to economic resources is unlocked, and/or that their cultural capital may be increased (because they make contacts with experts or individuals of refinement, or affiliate with institutions that confer valued credentials) (see Portes, 1998, pp. 3-4).

Bourdieu used the analogy of a game to illuminate the disparate species of capital. A player's relative force in the game and strategic orientation to the game depend on the amount and composition of that player's capital and furthermore, on the development of their capital over time.

> The strategies of a "player" and everything that defines his "game" are a function not only of the volume and structure of his capital at the moment under consideration and of the game chances ... they guarantee him, but also of the evolution over time of the volume and structure of this capital, that is, of his social trajectory and of the dispositions ... constituted in the prolonged relation to a definitive distribution of objective chances. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 99)

Paying homage once again to the physical sciences, he emphasised that, unlike particles, social agents are not directed by external forces; rather, as 'bearers of capitals', they 'have a propensity to orient themselves actively either toward the preservation of the distribution of capital', depending on the volume and structure of their capital and their trajectory, or 'toward the subversion of this distribution' (p. 109).

Cultural capital

While the definition of economic capital is self-evident, that of cultural capital is not. Bourdieu proposed the term cultural capital in the early 1960s (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160). Breaking with the commonsense view that regarded academic success or failure as 'an effect of natural aptitudes' Bourdieu (1986, p. 243) advanced cultural capital as a theoretical hypothesis to account for the fact that 'after controlling for economic position and social origin, students from more cultured families not only have higher rates of academic success but exhibit different modes and patterns of cultural consumption and expression in a wide gamut of domains' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 160). In a later definition (1993), he explained that cultural capital allows access to 'a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for, or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts' (p. 7). Thus, as Baker and Miles-Watson (2010) have observed, cultural capital is 'the language of the elite and the ability to use and understand the correct cultural references means that you remain within their orbit' (p. 21). This point can be illustrated by Boudieu's (1993) sociological theory of art perception, which included the following observation on the implications of free entry to museums:

> The museum gives to all, as a public legacy, the monuments of a splendid past … but this is a false generosity, because free entrance is also optional entrance, reserved for those who, endowed with the ability to appropriate the works, have the privilege of using this freedom and who find themselves consequently legitimized in their privilege, that is, in the possession of the means of appropriating cultural goods. (p. 237)

Bourdieu laid the foundations for his later work through his brief, but comprehensive account of the various types of capital (1986), where he distinguished between three forms of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, institutionalised. The key features of the three forms are summarised below (Table 4). Those who have (somewhat unjustly) criticized Bourdieu for not providing 'a clear statement' of cultural capital (in the concise 1986 account) have nonetheless recognised the value of this tripartite division, in so far as it 'insists on the circuit of cultural capital which links institutions, specific cultural works and individual agents' (Savage, Gayo-Cal, Warde, & Tampubolon, 2005, p. 4).

Table 4: The forms of cultural capital distiled from Bourdieu (1986, pp. 243-8, 254)

State	In the form of	Example
embodied (functioning as 'symbolic capital' – unrecognized as capital)	long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body, that decline and die with the bearer (self-improvement that costs time to acquire; or can be acquired in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and unconsciously)	'culture', a cultural competence (which may have a scarcity value and yield profits of distinction)
objectified	cultural goods	paintings, books, instruments, machines
institutionalized	'objectification' that confers entirely original properties	educational qualifications (which, unlike a title of nobility, are not transmissible; and, unlike stocks and shares, are not negotiable)

It is <u>embodied</u> cultural capital which is of particular interest in the present study. Bourdieu (1986) explained that 'the accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state ... presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which insofar as it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor' (p. 244). Such investment cannot be delegated, so the process is likened to 'the acquisition of a muscular physique or a suntan' (p. 244).

In 1963 and 1967-8, Bourdieu conducted extensive fieldwork on the relationship between taste and class in France, which later formed the basis of *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 2010b). The influence of this ethnographic study has been declared to be 'quite extraordinary': it is said to have shaped 'the concerns of contemporary sociology more deeply and extensively than any other single text', while also affecting arts and cultural theorists (Bennett, 2010, p. xvii). Introducing the latest edition, Bennett explained that cultural capital refers to 'the distinctive forms of knowledge and ability that students acquire –whether at home, at school, or in the relations between the two– from their training in the cultural disciplines'. He proceeded to clarify that 'this capital ... is to be regarded as just as much an asset as economic forms of capital', which means that 'there are distinctive mechanisms of inheritance through which [it] is transmitted from one generation to the next' and 'for converting [it] into economic capital and back again' (p. xviii).

In his own introduction to *Distinction*, Bourdieu (2010b) observed that 'cultural needs are the product of upbringing and education'; and, on the basis of survey data, claimed that 'all cultural practices ... and preferences ... are closely linked to educational level (measured by qualification or length of schooling) and secondarily to social origin' (p. xxiv). The processes at work in Bourdieu's theory were described thus:

> Tastes of all kinds across a diverse array of practices can be grouped together through a set of unifying principles which express and organise the interests of different social classes. The relations between these classes are ones of competitive striving in which struggles for economic position and for status are connected as the differences between legitimate tastes and less legitimate ones yield different and unequal stocks of cultural capital for the members of different classes. ... Those from higher class positions in the professional and managerial classes endow their children with an initial stock of cultural capital by familiarizing them with both the works of canonized high culture, and the "correct" way of appreciating them, as part of their early training in the home. The cultural capital is rewarded and enhanced in the education system ... where the cultural competencies acquired in middle-class homes result in higher levels of educational attainment relative to other social classes. [In turn, this leads] to higher levels of recruitment into well-paid, powerful occupations whose high status is publicly symbolized by high levels of engagement with legitimate culture (opera, classical music, literature and theatre as well as art). (Bennett, 2010, p. xx)

The cyclical pattern demonstrates that academically successful, middle-class children eventually convert their stocks of embodied cultural capital into economic capital, when they enter the labour market. The contention of *Distinction* was that the links between cultural capital and class position are more important for the managerial/professional class than for the upper classes (for whom the inheritance laws which allow the transmission of economic capital, and also the stocks of social capital accumulated through privileged social networks are crucial considerations) (pp. xx-xxi).

Social capital

The third type of capital, social capital, was defined by Bourdieu as:

> the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition –or in other words, to membership in a group– which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986, pp. 248-249);

and later, more succinctly, as:

> the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less

institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 119)

Portes (1998) observed that Bourdieu's definition permits social capital to be reduced to two elements: (1) 'the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates', and (2) 'the amount and quality of those resources' (pp. 3-4).

About the mass of social capital, and the foundation of its profits, Bourdieu (1986) wrote:

The volume of social capital possessed by a given agent … depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. (p. 249)

The profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible. This does not mean that they are consciously pursued as such, even in the case of groups like select clubs, which are deliberately organized in order to concentrate social capital and so to derive full benefit from the multiplier effect implied in concentration and to secure the profits of membership – material profits, such as all the types of service accruing from useful relationships, and symbolic profits, such as those derived from association with a rare, prestigious group. (p. 249)

Bourdieu referred to the endless effort that has to be devoted to creating and maintaining connections that yield profits:

The network of relationships is the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term, i.e. at transforming continent relations … into relationships that are at once necessary and elective, implying durable obligations subjectively felt (feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.) or institutionally guaranteed (rights). (pp. 249-250)

Field (2008) criticized Bourdieu's theory for focusing on individuals' possession of social capital, and for giving little attention to collective actors (p. 22). This appraisal may not be entirely just, since Bourdieu (1986) described in particular how groups have institutionalised forms of delegation, which enable them to concentrate the sum of their social capital in the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents (p. 251). Bourdieu argued that, in representing the group, speaking or acting in its name, such agents are able to exercise a power incommensurate with their own personal contribution. He also noted (albeit in parentheses) that the mechanism for delegation, and the resultant concentration of social capital, enables 'numerous, varied, scattered agents to act as one man and to overcome limitations of space and

time' (p. 251). Field (2008) also considered it a weakness that Bourdieu focused on the merits of social capital; but he did give credit to Bourdieu for allowing for the possibility of embezzlement or misappropriation of social capital by those who represent groups (p. 22).

The haute bourgeoisie

As noted earlier, Bourdieu's theory was influenced by French society and its particular hierarchy and resultant inequalities. Necessarily rooted in a relatively static model of social hierarchy, the theory has been criticized for viewing social capital as 'the exclusive property of elites, designed to secure their relative position'; for regarding the cultivation of connections and participation in associational life as simply a means to an end; and for not being open to the possibility that other, less privileged individuals and groups might also profit from their social ties (J. Field, 2008, p. 20). Field concluded that Bourdieu's treatment of social capital was somewhat circular: 'It boils down to the thesis that privileged individuals maintain their position by using their connections with other privileged people'. (p. 31). Nonetheless, Bourdieu's acute observations on the connections made by those who are richly endowed with capital (in all its three forms) should not be overlooked. Bourdieu (1986) wrote:

> Because the social capital accruing from a relationship is that much greater to the extent that the person who is the object of it is richly endowed with capital (mainly social, but also cultural and even economic capital), the possessors of an inherited social capital, symbolized by a great name, are able to transform all circumstantial relationships into lasting connections. They are sought after for their social capital and, because they are well known, are worthy of being known …; they do not need to 'make the acquaintance' of all their 'acquaintances'; they are known to more people than they know, and their work of sociability, when it is exerted, is highly productive. (pp. 250-251)

Bourdieu's contribution

Bourdieu provided a clear exposition of the various forms of capital (including not only social but also cultural capital). Within his theoretical framework, social capital can be reduced to two elements: the relationships, and the resources that flow from them. Although he has been criticized for focusing on the possession of social capital by individuals, it has been demonstrated that his theory does embrace the role of groups and their delegation of social capital. His focus on associational life as a means to an end may have a particular pertinence.

References drawn from the physical world offer an alternative method to capture the dynamism within associational life: for example, Bourdieu argued that 'social energy' may be harnessed in the manner in which 'capital' is appropriated.

The second school of thought: Coleman

Coleman 'deserves primary credit for developing the social capital theoretical framework' (Putnam, 1995a, p. 77, note 4). Summarizing the significance of Coleman's contribution, Field (2008) referred to the 'conceptual clarity and erudition' that he brought to a previously under-theorised notion (p. 23), while Portes (1998) suggested that Coleman's work on social capital had 'the undeniable merit of introducing and giving visibility to the concept in American sociology, highlighting its importance for the acquisition of human capital, and identifying some of the mechanisms through which it is generated' (p. 6). Social capital appears to have provided Coleman (a rational choice[36] theorist) with 'a resolution of the problem of why human beings choose to co-operate, even when their immediate interests seem best served by competition' (J. Field, 2008, p. 24).

Antecedents

If Bourdieu's starting point was hierarchy and privilege, then that of Coleman was social inequality and academic achievement in schools. Coleman's work thus provides 'an important counterpoint to Bourdieu's elitist-based theories' (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010, p. 23). Yet, as Field (2008) noted, the two theorists shared a common concern with social capital as a source of educational achievement (p. 31). Nonetheless, noting that there were close parallels in the work of the two in this respect, Portes (1998) considered it curious that Coleman did not mention Bourdieu (p. 5). It is true that Coleman did not refer to Bourdieu in his 1988 article about the role of social capital in the creation of human capital; however, Coleman did mention Bourdieu's work on human capital in the introduction to his chapter on social capital in *The Foundations of Social Theory* (1990, p. 300), so Portes' comment was not entirely justified.

Coleman (1990) used a set of ideas drawn from writing that predated Bourdieu in order to build his theoretical framework for social capital, which he conceived of as an asset for the individual (p. 302). He paid tribute to the role of Loury (1977) in introducing the term 'social capital' to describe the resources available to individuals through their social relationships (J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 300). In that work, Coleman recognised a contribution to the field of educational development, and thus saw a direct relationship with the creation of human capital (p. 301):

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[36] Rational choice theory (a framework developed by the economist Becker in 1964) assumes a highly individualistic model of human behaviour, with each person automatically doing what will serve their own interests, regardless of the fate of others. (Field, 2008, p. 24)

> In Loury's usage social capital is the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisations and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young persons. (p. 300)

Coleman also referenced work in the 1980s by neoclassical economists (Ben-Porath, Williamson) to demonstrate that social organisation has an impact upon economic exchange. He described in particular how Ben-Porath (1980) developed the notion of the '*F*-connection' in exchange systems: the F referring to social organisations of families, friends and firms, which affect economic exchange (see J. S. Coleman, 1988, p. S96; 1990, p. 301). Coleman (1990) also credited sociologists (for example Baker, Granovetter), in the same decade, with showing how economic activity is affected by personal relations (J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 302). Notably, Coleman highlighted Ganovetter's (1985) notion of 'embeddedness' which was used to explain how the social relations that underpin economic transactions generate trust, establish expectations and create and enforce norms (see J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 302). Coleman noted that Lin (1999) built on Granovetter's contribution to show how individuals use social resources in accomplishing goals, particularly occupational attainment: 'Lin has shown that persons act instrumentally, using their social ties (especially more extended, or "weak" ties) to gain occupational mobility beyond that predicted by their structural position' (see J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 302).

Coleman's definition

Coleman's detailed description of social capital, criticised by Portes (1998) for being rather vague (p. 5), is set out below:

> Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common. They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that would not be attainable in its absence. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is not completely fungible, but is fungible with respect to specific activities. A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others. Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons. It is lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production. (J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 302)

Coleman proceeded to list examples of social capital that illustrated its different forms. One of these examples (taken from a 1986 article in the *International Herald Tribune* newspaper) concerned radical student activists in South Korea, who organised themselves in groups known as 'study circles', where the student members might come from the same high school / hometown / church. In Coleman's

theoretical framework, this 'study circle' phenomenon illustrated two kinds of social capital:

> The 'same high school or hometown or church' provides social relations on which the study circles are later built. The study circles themselves constitute a form of social capital –a cellular form of organisation which appears essentially valuable for facilitating opposition to a political system that is intolerant of dissent. Any organisation which makes possible such oppositional activities is an especially potent form of social capital for the individuals who are members of the organisation. (J. S. Coleman, 1988, p. S99; 1990, p. 303)

As will be shown below, Coleman's definition paved the way for describing a variety of different forms of social capital. However, as the extract above neatly illustrates, and as Portes has pointed out (1998, p. 5), different processes were labelled by Coleman as social capital. In that example, social capital was both the mechanism that generated the phenomenon (i.e. the students' social relations) and also the appropriable organisation where effects emerged (i.e. the 'study circle'). So, Portes claimed that Coleman obscured what Bourdieu made explicit: that is, the distinction between the resources themselves and the ability to acquire them through membership of social structures.

A resource for individuals or groups?

One of Coleman's (1988) concerns was with social capital as 'a resource for persons' (p. S98) and its existence in the '*relations* among persons' (Coleman's own italics). According to him, social capital represents the 'value of ... aspects of social structure to actors as resources they can use to achieve their interests' (p. S101, mirrored in 1990, p. 305). By contrast, the focus of other commentators (for example, Fukuyama, 1999) has been a resource vested in a whole group or organisation, rather than in its individual members, although Portes (1998) has criticised such usage as 'conceptual stretch' (p. 3). Coleman did concede that 'a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust' (p. S101). His 1990 grand theory paid more attention to the social capital found in groups. As Field (2008) noted, Coleman's theoretical framework allows for the possibility that some constructed forms of organisation are more likely to promote social capital than others; and, for Coleman, a classic constructed form of organisation was the church, which exhibits ties of an intergenerational nature:

> Religious organisations are among the few remaining organisations in society, beyond the family, that cross generations. Thus they are among the few in which social capital of an adult community is available to children and youth. (J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 336, cited by Field, 2008, p. 30)

'Forms' of social capital

Coleman's so-called 'forms' of social capital are not analogous to the adjectives adduced by Bourdieu to describe the forms of cultural capital. Rather, these 'forms' are inherent properties or dimensions of Coleman's concept. Set out below (Table 5) are the key features of the list of 'forms', with examples, as described in *The foundations of social theory* (1990). A subset had emerged in his earlier writing (1988), where the forms were elucidated with a measure of clarity. However, within the greater detail and refinement of the later terminology, a slight degree of obfuscation crept in[37].

An important aspect of the social network, especially in the third form of social capital (Table 5), was 'closure'. Portes (1998) summarized what Coleman conveyed by this expression: 'Closure means the existence of sufficient ties between a certain number of people to guarantee the observance of norms.' (p. 6). Coleman (1988, 1990) argued that effective norms, and sometimes reputations, depend on this particular property of social relations; and he offered a series of diagrams (with human capital at their nodes) to illustrate the consequences of networks with closure (e.g. an equilateral triangle) and without closure (e.g. three sides of a square) (1988, pp. 106-107; 1990, pp. 314-315, 319). The church, as a constructed form of organisation, was claimed by Coleman to be particularly successful at promoting closure of networks (see J. Field, 2008, p. 30).

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[37] For example, the 1988 list does not include the forms 'Authority Relations', 'Appropriable Social Organisation' and 'Intentional Organisation'. In 1988, greater emphasis was laid upon trustworthiness by its inclusion in the form title to 'Obligations, Expectations, and Trustworthiness of Structures'. The 1988 form 'Information Channels' described the social capital that was subsequently described as 'Information Potential'.

Table 5: The 'forms' of social capital, distilled from Coleman (1990, pp. 304-313)

'Form' of social capital	Key features	Examples
obligations and expectations	the level of trustworthiness of the social environment, which means obligations will be repaid, and the actual extent of the obligations held	- rotating credit associations found in South Asia; - a trusted long-term personal friend of a head of state, who can act as his/her agent; - the mutual trust between a couple (who may or may not be in love).
information potential	social relations provide information (important for providing a basis of action) acquiring information is costly – minimum requirement is attention (in short supply)	- a woman, who has an interest in being in style but who is not at the leading edge of fashion, uses certain friends who stay at the leading edge, as sources of information; - a social scientist relies on everyday interactions with colleagues to keep abreast of developments in research.
norms and effective sanctions	effective *norms* (reinforced by social support, status, honour) = a powerful, but sometimes fragile, form of social capital *sanctions* can be internal or external - sometimes, norms are internalised; other times, norms are largely supported through external rewards for selfless actions and disapproval for selfish actions.	the development of nascent social movements from a small group of dedicated, inward-looking, and mutually rewarding persons. BUT this form, which can facilitate certain actions, also constrains others e.g. norms that make it possible for women to walk alone at night also constrain the activities of criminals.
authority relations	transfer of rights of control from one actor to another = available social capital in the form of those rights of control	If a number of actors transfer rights of control to one individual, that individual has available an extensive body of social capital.

appropriable social organisation	organisation brought into existence for one set of purposes can also aid others	- a residents' organisation, formed to tackle building defects, remains active and improves other aspects of the quality of life of residents;
		- the South Korean 'study circles' [see above].
intentional organisation	the direct result of investment by actors with the aim of receiving a return on their investment.	A PTA constitutes a resource not only for the parent organisers but for the school, the students and other parents.
	2 by-products:	
	(i) the appropriability of the organisation for other purposes; and	The disciplinary standards promulgated by an active PTA change a school in ways that benefit non-participants as well as participants.
	(ii) because the organisation produces a public good, its creation by one subset of persons makes its benefits available to others as well, whether or not they participate.	

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A public good

Coleman (1990) argued that, although social capital is a resource that has value in use, it cannot be easily exchanged. Thus, unlike physical capital and human capital (which are usually private goods whose ownership and benefit is vested in the individual), social capital –an attribute of the social structure in which an individual is embedded– is not the private property of any of the individuals who benefit from it (p. 315). What Coleman called its public good aspect means this type of capital is fundamentally different from most other forms (p. 317). He argued that while individuals have the capability to create social capital, it is not necessarily in their interest to bring it into being, because the benefits are experienced by others; this leads to under-investment (1988, p. S119) and means that most forms are created or destroyed as by-products of other activities.

Factors affecting the creation and destruction of social capital

In Coleman's theory (1990), there are several factors that help build or destroy social capital. Closure (as explained above) is one of these. Stability (or lack of disruption) is another: and there is a greater amount of it where the structure of social organisations depends on positions rather than people:

> Where individuals are relegated to being simply occupants of positions, only the performance of the occupants, not the structure itself, is disturbed by mobility of individuals. But for every other form of social capital, individual mobility constitutes a potential action that will be destructive of the structure itself –and thus of the social capital dependent on it. (p. 320)

Another of Coleman's factors is ideology. In this connection, he referred to the effects of religious ideology, which can lead to individuals attending to the interests of others (p. 320). In support of this argument, he cited the positive impact of religiously affiliated schools in the U.S. on student drop-out rates:

> The apparent cause is a quantity of social capital available to the religiously affiliated school that does not exist for most other schools, private or public. This depends in part on the social-structural connections between school and parents, through the religious community. In part, however, it depends on the precept derived from religious doctrine that every individual is important in the eyes of God. A consequence of this precept is that youth are much less likely to become administratively "lost" through inattention. The signs of alienation and withdrawal are more quickly responded to, because of the religious ideology held by the school's principal, members of the staff, and adult members of the religious community associated with the school. (p. 321)

Coleman claimed that a particularly important class of factors affecting the creation and destruction of social capital was those 'which make persons less dependent on one another' (p. 321). Affluence was identified as one significant member of this

class; and Coleman suggested that when persons have less need of each other, because of affluence, 'less social capital is generated' (p. 321).

Finally, in his consideration of the factors that affect the creation/destruction of social capital, Coleman remarked that this resource is one of the types of capital that will depreciate over time: 'Like human capital and physical capital, social capital depreciates if it is not renewed. Social relationships die out if not maintained; expectations and obligations wither over time; and norms depend on regular communication'. (p. 321).

Coleman's contribution

Coleman offered a definition of social capital that has been accused of being somewhat vague. His basic premise was that social capital inheres in social relations, rather than in individuals or groups. It has been claimed that Coleman obscured what Bourdieu made explicit: that is, the distinction between the resources themselves and the ability to acquire them through membership of social structures. Coleman identified 'forms' (which were actually inherent properties or dimensions) which lack the clarity found in Bourdieu's typology.

Notwithstanding the criticisms, Coleman's theory offered an expanded vocabulary, and described in greater detail the attributes of groups where social capital may be found. His theory also drew on the role of churches as constructed forms of organisation, and he made reference to religious ideology as a factor affecting the creation/destruction of social capital.

The third school of thought: Putnam

Putnam, whose background is in political science, is the 'most widely recognised proponent of social capital' (J. Field, 2008, p. 32). His contribution has been portrayed as 'monumental', and his 'wider visibility and influence have ensured that his approach has virtually eclipsed those of Coleman and Bourdieu' (p. 40).

His starting point for empirical work was the central premise of the growing body of work on social capital, namely that 'social connections and civic engagement pervasively influence our public life, as well as our private prospects' (Putnam, 1995a, p. 67). His work speaks to a long tradition of concern over the state of democracy and community in the U.S.A., which can be traced back to de Tocqueville in the 1830s, who found that associational life was an important foundation of social order in a relatively open, post-aristocratic system (J. Field, 2008, p. 33). Putnam (2000) refers to de Tocqueville as the 'patron saint of contemporary social capitalists' (p. 292).

With that starting point, Putnam's focus was at once on the benefits of the 'social capital' phenomenon for individuals and groups (whether associations or nations). To Putnam (2000), 'community' –the 'conceptual cousin' of social capital (p. 21)– is a key feature of the theoretical framework. As Farr (2004) summarized:

> Social capital is complexly conceptualised as the network of associations, activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, notably trust, which are essential for civil society and productive for future collective action or good, in the manner of other forms of capital. (p. 9)

Putnam's fieldwork in Italy, and subsequently in the U.S.A., together with his analysis of other rich sources of data, allowed him to link concerns about the state of democracy with the state of community; and he sought to demonstrate that there had been a decline in social capital in the U.S.A. in recent decades, explaining a reduced level of civic engagement. The famous lone bowler (Putnam, 1995a) is symptomatic of this decline: while more Americans were bowling than ever before, bowling in organised leagues had plummeted since the 1980s (p. 70). Whimsical[38] this may be, but it is not a trivial exemplar of the decline of social capital: nearly 80 million Americans bowled at least once during 1993 (roughly the same number as claimed to be regular church attenders, and nearly a third more than voted in 1994 congressional elections). Putnam showed that such a trend has both economic and social effects:

> The rise of solo bowling threatens the livelihood of bowling-lane proprietors because those who bowl as members of leagues consume three times as much beer and pizza as solo bowlers, and the money in bowling is in the beer and pizza, not the balls and shoes. The broader social significance, however, lies in the social interaction and even occasionally civic conversations over beer and pizza that solo bowlers forgo. Whether or not bowling beats balloting in the eyes of most Americans, bowling teams illustrate yet another vanishing form of social capital. (Putnam, 1995a, p. 70)

Thus, league bowling has served as a metaphor for 'a type of associational activity that brings relative strangers together on a routine and frequent basis, helping to build and sustain a wider set of networks and values that foster general reciprocity and trust, and in turn facilitate mutual collaboration' (J. Field, 2008, p. 35).

In an edited volume about the state of social capital in a range of democracies (including Great Britain), Putnam (2002b) provided a useful meta-analysis of the debates about the concept, and further refined his own thinking. Briefly and simply,

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[38] Putnam's own adjective.

he declared that the idea at the core of social capital theory is: 'social networks matter' (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 6).

Putnam's definitions

Field (2008) has pointed out that Putnam's earliest definition of the concept of social capital referred to 'features of social organisation, such as trust, norms and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action' (Putnam, 1993, p. 167, cited by Field, 2008, p. 34). The three elements –trust, norms and networks– were still to be found in a 1995 definition, while the notion of cooperation for mutual benefit had been added as a by-product of the phenomenon: 'features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Putnam, 1995a, p. 67). By his landmark study in 2000, the three primary ingredients had been refined, thus: 'social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them'. (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Accordingly, the core idea revolved around networks and norms, while reciprocity and trustworthiness were specified as key norms in the social relations. By 2002, his focus had moved away from trust, with the following shorthand definition of social capital: 'social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them' (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 3).

The collective character of Putnam's definition is illustrated by these observations:

> Working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. (Putnam, 1993, pp. 35-36) (cited Portes, 1998, p. 18)

> For a variety of reasons, life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalised reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust. (Putnam, 1995a, p. 66)

However, critics highlight a logical circularity in Putnam's argument: as a property of groups/nations, rather than individuals, social capital is at one and the same time a cause and an effect. For example:

> It leads to positive outcomes, such as economic development and less crime, and its existence is inferred from the same outcomes. Cities that are well governed and moving ahead economically do so because they have high social capital: poorer cities lack this civic virtue. (Portes, 1998, p. 19)

Portes attributed this circularity to two factors:

> Tautology in this definition of social capital result from two analytic decisions; first, starting with the effect (i.e. successful versus unsuccessful cities) and

working retroactively to find out what distinguishes them; second, trying to explain all of the observed differences. (p. 20)

A public or a private good?

In arguing that social networks matter, Putnam and Goss (2002) noted that networks have value for the individuals within them. They pointed to economic sociologists who have sought to calculate the actual value of a person's social networks: income is determined by the range of his/her social connections, possibly even more than by educational credentials; and, as a result, social capital rivals human capital as a factor in individual productivity (p. 7). These networks thus have private or internal returns.

In contrast, there can be public or external effects of social capital: for example, crime rates are commonly shown to be lower in neighbourhoods with social connectedness, and even those residents who do not participate in neighbourhood activities benefit from the deterrent effects of informal social capital (p. 7). There is a casual relationship between social capital and personal philanthropy, because the networks both provide channels through which volunteers are recruited and also foster norms of reciprocity encouraging attention to other people's welfare (Putnam, 2000, p. 117).

Social capital can at one and the same time be a private good and a public good; and some of the benefit of social capital may go to bystanders, while some serves the immediate interest of the individual making the investment: 'local civic clubs mobilise local energies to build a playground or a hospital at the same time that they provide members with friendships and business connections that pay off personally' (p. 7).

Drawing common themes from contributions on the state of social capital in a range of democracies, Putnam observed that social capital is 'generally distributed unequally': its consequences are found in greater proportions in the 'better-off segments of society'. He concluded (2002a) that:

> Citizens who lack access to financial and human capital also lack access to social capital.   ...   Social capital is accumulated most among those who need it least. Social capital may conceivably be even less equitably distributed than financial and human capital. (p. 415)

Types of social capital

In his 1995 article, Putnam remarked that social capital is clearly not a uni-dimensional concept (p. 76). In their analysis of more recent scholarly debates about social capital, Putnam and Goss (2002) noted that, although a theoretically

coherent and empirically reliable classification of different types and dimensions of social capital was still far off, four important distinctions had emerged (p. 9). These are set out below, with the authors' own examples (Table 6).

Bonding and bridging social capital: 'getting by' and 'getting ahead'

The bonding/bridging dichotomy (see Table 6), warrants extended consideration. In 1915, Dewey described collectivities such as schools, neighbourhoods, workplaces and the groupings within them, as 'the network of social activities that bind people together' (cited by Farr, 2004, p. 15), but it does not appear that Dewey developed this particular concept further. Although the use of 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital is largely associated with Putnam, he declared that, so far as he could tell, credit for coining these labels properly belonged to Gittell and Vidal (1998, p. 8) (see Putnam, 2000, p. 446, note 20).

Of all the dimensions along which forms of social capital vary, Putnam (2000) suggested that the distinction between bonding (exclusive) and bridging (inclusive) is perhaps the most important (p. 22). Yet, to suggest that there is a straightforward binary classification in this respect (as the dichotomies table implied) can be misleading. As Putnam pointed out: 'bonding and bridging are not "either-or" categories into which social networks can be neatly divided, but "more or less" dimensions along which we can compare different forms of social capital' (2000, p. 23). On a practical note, it is suggested that 'most groups blend bridging and bonding, but the blends differ' (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 12). Interestingly, Putnam (2000) claimed to have found 'no reliable, comprehensive, nationwide measures of social capital that neatly distinguish "bridgingness" and "bondingness"'; and in his account of recent social trends in *Bowling Alone*, the distinction was less prominent than he said he would have preferred (pp. 23-24). Features and examples of the two forms are listed below (Table 7).

Disarmingly, Putnam (2000) suggested that, although social capital sometimes 'sounds warm and cuddly' (p. 21), it nonetheless does have its dark side. Offering examples of malevolence and antisocial behaviour emanating from bonded groups, he cautioned: 'Networks and the associated norms of reciprocity are generally good for those inside the network, but the external effects of social capital are by no means always positive.' (pp. 21-22). Putnam and Goss (2002) observed that 'tightly knit and homogenous groups can rather easily combine for sinister ends' without 'the natural restraints imposed by members' crosscutting allegiances and diverse perspectives' (p. 11).

Table 6: Dichotomous types of social capital, distilled from Putnam and Goss (2002, pp. 9-12)

Type of social capital	Description	Example
Formal *versus* *Informal*	*formal*: formal organisation, recognised officers, membership requirements, dues, regular meetings etc.;	PTAs; labour unions.
	informal: may be more instrumental in achieving some valued purpose	family dinners.
Thick *versus* *Thin*[39]	*thick*: closely woven and multi-stranded connections;	ties with immediate family.
	thin: almost invisible filaments of social capital – nodding acquaintances	a chance encounter with another person in a lift.
Inward-looking *versus* *Outward-looking*	*inward-looking*: promote the material, social, or political interests of their own members; commonly organized along class, gender or ethnic lines, and exist to preserve or strengthen bonds of birth and circumstance;	London's gentlemen's clubs
	outward-looking: concern with public goods; provide clear public as well as personal benefits.	charitable groups, e.g. The Red Cross.
Bridging *versus* *Bonding*[40]	*bridging*: external effects are likely to be positive	brings together people who are unlike one another
	bonding: such networks are at greater risk of producing negative externalities	brings together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class)

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[39] cf. Granovetter's (1973) related distinction between 'strong ties' (defined in terms of the frequency of contact and closed-ness) and 'weak ties' (where the contacts have only a passing acquaintance and have few friends in common) (see also Putnam and Goss, 2002, pp. 10-11).

[40] cf. Putnam's work on Italy (1993), where he demonstrated that 'horizontal ties' represent more productive social capital than 'vertical ties' (see also 1995, p. 76).

Table 7: The features of bonding and bridging social capital, distilled from Putnam (2000, pp. 22-24)

Type	Features	Merits	Effects	Example
Bonding	inward-looking; tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups; a kind of sociological superglue	undergirds specific reciprocity; mobilises solidarity; good for "getting by"	bolsters our narrower selves; creates strong in-group loyalty, and thus also strong out-group antagonism	church-based reading groups
Bridging	outward-looking; encompass people across diverse social cleavages; a kind of sociological WD-40	linkages to external assets; information diffusion; good for "getting ahead"	generates broader identities	ecumenical religious organisations

'Getting by' and 'getting ahead' were adduced by Putnam as descriptors of bonding and bridging social capital, but credited to Briggs[41], who had observed that social capital works at varying levels (family, neighbourhood, city, society) and is used by individuals for at least two purposes. 'Getting by' resonates with social support, and individuals use social capital in this manner to cope with everyday challenges (from flat tyres to divorce) (de Souza Briggs, 1997, p. 112). 'Getting ahead' is about social leverage, to change or improve life circumstances (p. 112):

> Sometimes, especially if you're on the bottom of the opportunity structure, those who help you get by can do little in any direct way to help you get ahead; they have the same problems or know the same people that you do. For these people, mechanisms for building more diverse networks are critical, whether they be schools, community associations or job partnerships. (p. 112)

Yet, not all theorists necessarily recognise the universal value of the bonding/bridging dimensions that Putnam advocated. For example, Adler and Kwon (2002), who contended that 'the reality of organisations is shaped by the constant interplay of the individual, group, business unit, corporate and inter-firm levels' (p. 35), went on to argue that organisational research would benefit

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[41] The notions of 'getting by' and 'getting ahead' are actually to be found in Briggs' 1997 article, not in Briggs' 1998 paper in the *Journal of Planning Education and Research,* 18, pp. 1-13, as erroneously stated by Putnam (2000, p. 446, note 21).

if we overcame the tendency to bifurcate our social capital research into a strand focused on external, bridging social capital and a strand focused on internal, bonding social capital. External ties at a given level of analysis become internal ties at the higher level of analysis, and, conversely, internal ties become external at the lower levels. (p. 35)

Associational life

Putnam (1995a) demonstrated that those who belong to associations are much more likely than non-members to participate in politics, to spend time with their neighbours, to express social trust etc.; and that the close correlation between social trust and associational membership is true across time, across individuals and across countries (p. 73). Data from a survey of 35 countries enabled him to point to a close correlation between social trust and civic engagement: 'the greater the density of associational membership in a society, the more trusting [are] its citizens' (p. 73). He concluded that trust and engagement are two facets of social capital. However, Putnam has been criticized for overstating the amount of socialization taking place in associations (Wollebaek & Stromsnes, 2008).

Tertiary associations

Putnam's work has charted the decline of traditional forms of civic organisation; but he recognised that at the same time different types of organisation have flourished. He labelled one of these forms 'tertiary associations' (1995a, p. 71). From the point of view of social connection, Putnam's tertiary associations are distinct from classic secondary associations:

> For the vast majority of their members, the only act of membership consists in writing a check for dues or perhaps occasionally reading a newsletter. Few ever attend any meetings of such organisations, and most are unlikely ever (knowingly) to encounter any other member.   ... they share some of the same interests, but they are unaware of each others' existence. Their ties, in short, are to common symbols, common leaders, and perhaps common ideals, but not to one another. (p. 71)

Putnam's theory of social capital suggested that associational membership should increase trust; however, he argued that this prediction was much less straightforward with regard to membership of tertiary associations (p. 71). He also drew attention to the growing prominence of non-profit organisations (of which Oxfam would be a prime example), often referred to as the 'third sector'. He cautioned that 'to identify trends in the size of the non-profit sector with trends in social connectedness would be another fundamental conceptual mistake' (p. 71).

'Doing with' not 'doing for'

'Doing with' and 'doing for' is a subtle distinction, originally made by Dewey, to which Putnam (2000) called attention (p. 116). Putnam argued that, by some interpretations, 'our readiness to help others' (altruism, volunteering and philanthropy) is a central measure of social capital. However, he emphasized that social capital refers to networks of social connection – the 'doing with'. He contended that doing good for others is not an aspect of the definition of social capital; this was notwithstanding the fact that, in his view, social networks provide channels through which do-gooders are recruited, and foster norms of reciprocity that encourage do-gooders to pay attention to others' welfare (p. 117). Another fruitful point that Putnam made in connection with volunteering relates to the size of community. His data analysis showed that size makes a difference: 'Formal volunteering, working on community projects, informal helping behaviour (like coming to the aid of a stranger), charitable giving, and perhaps blood donation are all more common in small towns than in big cities.' (p. 119).

In a chapter on Great Britain in Putnam's edited collection (2002b) on the state of social capital in various democracies, Hall (2002) pointed to possible generational effects on levels of social capital, suggesting that declines in the stock of social capital may be located within the younger generations. He reminded the reader that 'Putnam finds precisely such a generational effect in the United States, where he contrasts the activism of a "long civic generation" born between 1910 and 1940 with the lower levels of civic engagement he finds among the generations born after 1940' (p. 30). Putnam's data (2000) had revealed that, after controlling for educational disparities, members of the generation born in the 1920s belong to twice as many civic associations, are more than twice as likely to trust other people and are nearly twice as likely to attend church regularly, as compared with the generation of their grandchildren (born in the late 1960s) (p. 254). Putnam suggested that this 'unusually civic generation' was forced into cooperative social habits and values in part by the 'great mid-century global cataclysm' (p. 275). Putnam was pessimistic about any scope for increasing levels of social capital in the late 1960s generation, believing that 'well-established life cycle patterns give little reason to expect that the youngest generation ever will come to match their grandparents' level of civic engagement' (p. 275).

Religious institutions and social capital

Putnam did not neglect the contribution of religious institutions to the generation of social capital (see in particular Putnam, 2000, chapter 4). His stance (2000) was that 'faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single

most important repository of social capital in America' (p. 66). The reasons are two-fold: 'religious institutions directly support a wide range of social activities well beyond conventional worship' and 'churches provide an important incubator for civic skills, civic norms, community interests, and civic recruitment' (p. 66). He cited his survey of 22 types of voluntary associations in the U.S.A. to demonstrate that membership in religious groups is 'most closely associated with other forms of civic involvement, like voting, jury service, community projects, talking with neighbours, and going to church' (p. 67). The way faith-based organisations serve civic life was attributed by Putnam to direct inputs (e.g. providing social support to their members and social services to the wider community) and also indirect contributions (e.g. nurturing civic skills, inculcating moral values, encouragement of altruism) (p. 79). Finally, Putnam demonstrated that trends in religious life in the U.S.A. reinforce (rather than counterbalance) 'the ominous plunge in social connectedness in the secular community' (p. 79).

Forces behind changing stocks of social capital

Initially, Putnam (1995a) identified four possible explanations for the erosion of social capital: the movement of women into the workforce (reducing the time and energy available for building social capital, e.g. through PTAs, the Red Cross etc.), mobility (for it takes time for uprooted individuals to put down new roots), other demographic transformations (e.g. fewer marriages, more divorces, fewer children), and the technological transformation of leisure (the growth in the amount of time spent watching television is the prime culprit) (pp. 74-75). Subsequently, Putnam and Goss (2002) identified five driving forces behind changes in levels of social capital (pp. 16-17). The first was technological innovation. They observed that new technologies '[have] enhanced our ability to maintain our social networks even across vast spaces ... [but] have also facilitated a withdrawal of some people from civic and social life.' A second driver was termed the social or political entrepreneur. They argued that leaders build institutions through which social capital can germinate and grow; and that such leaders succeed if associationalism is in demand and undersupplied. A third driving force was the state, which can encourage (e.g. through tax subsidies for voluntary organisations) or discourage the formation of social capital. In this connection, while observing that this question represents one of the largely unexplored frontiers in social capital research, Putnam and Goss asked: 'Does having a state church affect the type or amount of social capital in the polity?' A fourth driving force was war. They cited examples of the formation of voluntary associations after different conflagrations, noting that 'shared crises create shared interests and shared identities'. The fifth influence was said to be socio-

demographic changes, and the authors highlighted for example how demanding jobs and long-distance commuting can undermine social connectedness.

Putnam's contribution

Putnam's contribution to the field is vast. In particular, he is well-known for lamenting the diminishing levels of social capital in the United States. In his theoretical framework, social capital refers to the connections among individuals; and his latest definitions focus on social networks and norms (of which reciprocity and trust are prime examples). However, commentators find an uneasy circularity in Putnam's argument: as a property of communities, rather than persons, social capital is simultaneously a cause and an effect.

Most notably, Putnam developed Gittel and Vidal's distinction between internal 'bonding' and external 'bridging' social capital, but he did recognise that they are not either-or categories. There are inherent difficulties in this binary classification: external ties at a given level of analysis become internal ties at higher level of analysis, and, conversely, internal ties become external at lower levels.

Putnam has some valuable observations on associational life (tertiary associations, in particular), on volunteering, and on the contribution of religious institutions to the production of social capital. In his analysis, civic engagement is strongly linked to altruism, and the giving of time and money: volunteers are recruited through social networks, and norms that encourage attention to others' welfare are fostered by such channels.

In accounting for changes over time, Putnam has pointed to generational differences, and has suggested that declines in the stock of social capital may be located within the younger generations.

Development of classical theory: Woolcock

In addition to the three classical theorists, on whom this chapter has focused so far, Woolcock has made a valuable contribution on definitional debates and methodological issues. He expanded the bonding/bridging distinction popularised by Putnam, in particular by adding a further dimension (linking social capital). With an interest in economic development issues, his view of social capital has been through a slightly different lens; and he has stressed the importance of paying attention to the institutional context of social networks.

The debate on definitions

For Woolcock (2001), the basic notion of social capital is that 'one's family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake and/or leveraged for material gain' (p. 67). In his analysis of later definitional debates, Woolcock reminded his readers of the aphorism 'It's not what you know, it's <u>who</u> you know', which is said to sum up much of the conventional wisdom regarding social capital (p. 67).

Woolcock (2001) reviewed alternative approaches to the definitional debate, for example, using labels, such as 'social capabilities', 'social cohesion' or 'social infrastructure'; however, he observed that this approach 'removes a convenient discursive shorthand vis-a-vis other factors of production' – human capital and financial capital. He even dismissed the debate altogether suggesting that 'social capital <u>is</u> what social capitalists <u>do</u>'. But he concluded that the emerging consensus, built on an increasingly solid empirical foundation, suggested the following definition: 'social capital refers to the norms and networks that facilitate collective action'. (p. 70).

To avoid tautological problems, Woolcock maintained that the definition of the concept should focus on its sources rather than consequences: 'on what it is rather than what it does' (p. 71). For him, that method eliminates 'trust' from the definition, since this element can be regarded as an outcome of social capital, and is better regarded as a measure of the concept.

Woolcock also stressed that it is important not to overlook the institutional context within which the social networks are embedded:

> The vibrancy or paucity of social capital cannot be understood independently of its broader institutional environment: communities can be highly engaged because they are mistreated or ignored by public institutions ... or because they enjoy highly complementary relations with the state. As a number of economists and anthropologists have noted ... the absence or weakness of formal institutions is often compensated for by the creation of informal organisations. (p. 72)

Individual benefits of social capital: 4 'h's

Woolcock (2001) reckoned that the most compelling empirical evidence in support of the social capital thesis comes from micro-level studies of households and communities, which draw on sophisticated measures of community networks, the nature and extent of civic participation and exchanges among neighbours (p. 68). He claimed that the unifying argument of the findings from a range of comprehensive studies of OECD countries on urban life, corporate life and public health, was that

'controlling for other key variables, the well connected are more likely to be hired, housed, healthy and happy' (p. 68).

Linking social capital

Woolcock has made a particularly helpful distinction between bonding, bridging and linking social capital (J. Field, 2008, p. 45). The new category 'attempts to meet some of the critiques of social capital raised by Bourdieu's analysis of how cultural capital serves to maintain the hegemony of the elite' (Baker & Miles-Watson, 2010, p. 26).

At the start of his description of linking social capital, Woolcock quoted John Stuart Mill on the merits of individuals' making linkages with people unlike themselves:

> It is hardly possible to overrate the value ... of placing human beings in contact with persons dissimilar to themselves, and with modes of thought and action unlike those with which they are familiar ... Such communication has always been, and is peculiarly in the present age, one of the primary sources of progress. (see Woolcock, 2001, p. 65)

To elaborate his dimensions, Woolcock (2001) drew on Granovetter's (1973) work on 'strong' and 'weak' ties, and on Gittel and Vidal's (1998) work on bonding and bridging capital:

> [bonding] refers to relations between family members, close friends and neighbours, [bridging] to more distant friends, associates and colleagues. Bridging is essentially a horizontal metaphor ... implying connections between people who share broadly similar demographic characteristics.

> [the] vertical dimension can be called 'linkages'. The capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital. (Woolcock, 2001, pp. 71-72)

Woolcock further suggested that it is different combinations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital that are responsible for a range of outcomes; and also that optimal combinations change over time, in a dynamic process (pp. 71-72).

Woolcock's contribution

Focusing on sources rather than consequences, Woolcock's definition of social capital referred to the networks and norms that facilitate collective action. Unlike Putnam, Woolcock excluded trust from the norms. He emphasized the institutional context in which social networks are embedded. Most significantly, Woolcock added 'linking' to the social capital lexicon (which met problems associated with Bourdieu's cultural capital theory); and he argued that different combinations of bonding, bridging and linking social capital result in different outcomes. The complete bonding, bridging, linking typology provides a layering to the conceptual framework,

which enables the various dimensions of the networks to be captured in a more fine-grained analysis. An interesting consensus has emerged regarding these three types (Furbey, Dinham, Farnell, Finneron, & Wilkinson, 2006, p. 7), all of which are said to be required in a well-connected community (Gilchrist, 2004, p. 6).

Summary

Each of the schools of thought suggests that a measurable value can be attached to social relationships. Alternative terminology has been suggested (for example, social energy by Bourdieu, and social capabilities, social cohesion and social infrastructure by Woolcock), but the economic metaphor has the potential to add rather than detract from the utility of the theory. The key characteristic of social capital is that, like other forms of capital, it is productive and makes possible certain outcomes that would be impossible in its absence. The core notion of 'appropriability' (the fact that ties of one kind can be used for other purposes) has a particular appeal (see Adler & Kwon, 2002, p. 36).

Different views on the nature and precise location of social capital tend to reflect differences in scholarly perspective (Dekker, 2004; Foley & Edwards, 1999). The essential components of social capital are networks and norms; but there is a difference of opinion as to whether the norms include trust. Voluntarism is best regarded as a consequence of the social capital (not least to avoid tautological problems).

The social capital paradigm allows the phenomenon of cathedral Friendship to be located within a broad discourse that naturally connects the economic, social and cultural fields; and it also enables the outcomes which were conceptualized earlier as 'gifts' (such as voluntarism) to be isolated as demonstrable consequences in the evolving model (Figure 4).

Against the background of the account here, and in preparation for the empirical work, Chapter 5 will look in more detail at the role of voluntary associations in influencing social capital. Putnam's work will be the starting point. After that, Chapter 6 will clarify the theoretical constructs to be employed, and distinguish different dimensions of the capitals (which will further populate the second element of the model). But first, Chapter 4 develops theory about bonding with cathedrals, and argues that the nature of such bonds renders them equivalent to a form of social capital.

Figure 4: A theoretical model of 'capital' in cathedral Friends' associations, its antecedents and consequences (II)

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┌──────────────┐       ┌─────────────────────┐       ┌──────────────────────────┐
│              │       │   SOCIAL  CAPITAL   │       │          GIFTS           │
│  PREDICTORS  │ ────→ │                     │ ────→ │                          │
│              │       │      Embodied       │       │         Money            │
└──────────────┘       │  CULTURAL CAPITAL   │       │     More than the        │
                       └─────────────────────┘       │   minimum annual         │
                                                      │     subscription;        │
                                                      │   Donations to the       │
                                                      │   Friends' assoc'n;      │
                                                      │     Legacy to the        │
                                                      │   Friends' assoc'n;      │
                                                      │     Legacy to the        │
                                                      │       cathedral.         │
                                                      │                          │
                                                      │         Time             │
                                                      │  Voluntary input to the  │
                                                      │    Friends' assoc'n;     │
                                                      │  Voluntary input to the  │
                                                      │       cathedral.         │
                                                      │                          │
                                                      │        Prayer            │
                                                      └──────────────────────────┘
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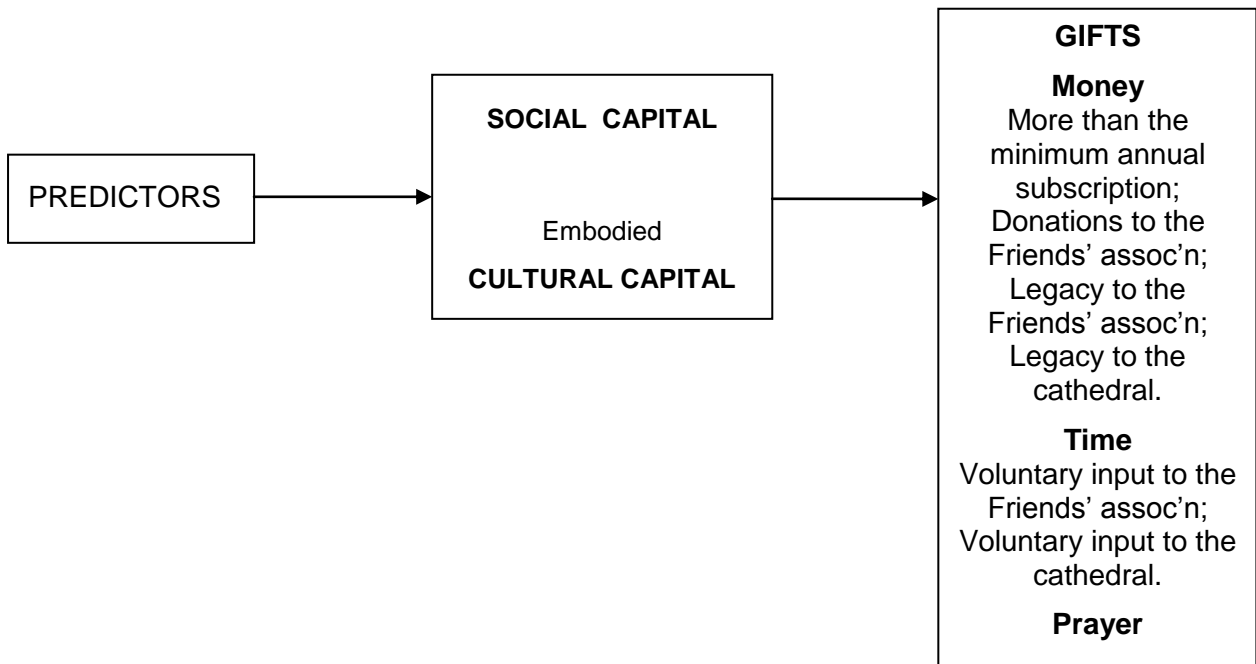
CHAPTER 4
A THEORY OF BONDING WITH CATHEDRALS

In addition to measuring social and cultural capital in this study, the theoretical lens will be adjusted to bring into focus a distinctive species of capital forged between Friends and cathedrals, and based on love and affection. The aim of this chapter is to develop theory on what is here termed 'regard for the cathedral'. The chapter begins by looking at evidence for the emotive bonds with cathedrals; and it highlights the reflections of Bishop Graham James of Norwich on the personal nature of such relationships. After presenting the key features of Offer's (1997) 'economy of regard', from which nomenclature derives, the chapter will focus on the link between regard and gift-giving. Finally, it will argue that this new form of capital has similarities with bonding social capital between human actors.

The evidence

The verdict that it was necessary to formulate a novel theory to capture the emotive nature of bonds formed between human actors and cathedrals was evidence-based. Four principal sources were taken into account: historical work on cathedral outreach and the origins of cathedral Friendship (Muskett, 2012a); scholarly reflections on Anglican cathedrals (Chapter 1); the survey of Friends' associations' publications (Chapter 2); and the charitable aims and objectives of the Friends' groups (see also Chapter 2).

Love for cathedrals, past and present

In the period between the two World Wars, the narrative of the cathedral Friends' movement was intimately connected with the history of the cathedrals themselves (Muskett, 2012a). Deans had acknowledged that it took two to make a friendship (The Times, 1937); so, prior to making Friends, cathedrals became friendly through a focused outreach strategy (which, among other developments, involved abandoning sixpenny entrance fees). Bennett's pioneering work to 'domesticate' the cathedral at Chester in the 1920s (Davies, 1996, p. 56) transformed it from a 'cold and remote institution' into a 'powerhouse of pastoral activity, known and loved by increasingly large numbers of people' (Jasper, 1967, p. 36). As the Friends' groups were established in the decade that followed, deans and newspaper columnists spoke in terms of 'love' for cathedrals (Muskett, 2012a). Discussing the rise of cathedral Friendship at that time, *The Times* claimed that it was 'impossible not to love one of the great English Cathedrals. Its daily life and its continuous being engage all the

arts and please nearly all the senses. It appeals to the intellect, but also to the deepest and shyest of the emotions' (The Times, 1931).

As Chapter 2 demonstrated, little has changed with the passage of time; and the bond between supporters and their cathedrals continues to be expressed in emotive terms[42]. Evidence of attachment to cathedrals was found in *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994, p. 111), and also in *The Cathedral. Behind open doors - talking with people who give their lives to a cathedral* (Danziger, 1989). Nine of Danziger's interviewees (ranging from Precentor to Clerk of Works, from plumber to telephonist, and from policeman to flower arranger) responded to Lincoln cathedral with affection or love (Box 1). The enduring emotional attachment to Lincoln Cathedral has been captured more recently, on a hoarding outside the west front, within a montage of employees connected with a five-year restoration project (Box 2). As also revealed in Chapter 2, it seems entirely natural for charitable objectives and publications of Friends' associations to use the word 'love' as a descriptor of the relationship between subscriber and cathedral (Box 3).

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[42] It is, however, fascinating to read Beeson (1998) about market research on a proposed Friends' scheme at Westminster Abbey in the late 1970s. He revealed that people did not appear to bond in the same way with the Abbey (a Royal Peculiar, outside the diocesan and provincial structures of the Church of England).   The relevant entry (Tuesday 11 October 1977) read:

> The idea of setting up a Friends of Westminster Abbey has had to be dropped for want of support. The Dean has hoped for such an organisation for many years, and when I showed interest in developing our ministry to visitors he encouraged me to take the idea forward. George Dodson-Wells, our Press and Publicity Officer, was asked to visit a number of cathedrals to investigate the running of their Friends' organisations and to produce a report. Which he did last year. As a result, a leaflet was produced and distributed among many thousands of visitors and others more closely associated with the Abbey. This explained the purpose of a Friends organisation and asked them to indicate whether or not they would wish to join. After twelve months only seventeen affirmative responses have been received. The explanation seems to be that whereas a cathedral is 'owned' by its diocese, is used for many services and events, and attracts local support, the Abbey , while belonging in a sense to everyone, is 'owned' by no one. Its specialness, and not least its royal associations, does not invite close involvement in its affairs. This is the reality with which we must live; it indicates both the scope and the limitations of our ministry. (p. 49)

Box 1: Love for cathedrals - extracts from interviews at Lincoln Cathedral (Danziger, 1989)

I think Lincoln does have a certain grip on people, that when they experience that shock of seeing it for the first time, and walk around it, it's a sort of love affair. ... I don't think you would do this sort of job if you didn't have some kind of love affair with the building. (Clerk of Works, p. 13)

I get teased about my love for this place. (Flower arranger, p. 22)

I've actually grown fond of it. (Joiner, p. 31)

I don't see how you can avoid loving this building. ... Very, very often I had the most dewy-eyed sort of thank-yous from people, but it's because I love the place. (Steward, p. 70).

It's so graceful, it's a gem. I do love it. (Plumber/Glazier, p. 74)

It is the most gorgeous building to work in, it really is. I really love it: it's a funny word, isn't it, but yes I think I do – definitely do, in fact. (Domus Supervisor, p. 94)

Rita doesn't belong to any church, but she is absolutely crazy about the Cathedral – she really is, she just loves the Cathedral. (Switchboard Operator about a colleague, p. 116)

I do love this building. (Police Constable, p. 119)

I think no one can fail to be impressed by the Cathedral. For myself, I suppose it is a love relationship, because the building seems so feminine: this is Our Lady's Church, and one feels her presence all the time. I see the effect it has on the worshippers who love it as a building. (Precentor, p. 162)

Box 2: Love for cathedrals – the words of a stonemason on a restoration project at Lincoln Cathedral, 2012

Cathedrals are the reason I started in masonry. I love Lincoln [Cathedral]. (Niki, Stonemason)

Box 3: Love for cathedrals - extracts from Friends' publications

Binding together all who, through loving Lincoln Cathedral, are prepared to bear a part of its maintenance and adornment (objective, Friends of Lincoln Cathedral)

To build up a network of people who love, support and pray for the Cathedral and its work (objective, Friends of Christ Church Oxford)

An association of people who love this magnificent building (description of the Friends of Peterborough Cathedral)

An association of people bound together in their love of this building (description of the Friends of Wells Cathedral)

Membership forges links among those who love Winchester Cathedral (description of the Friends of Winchester Cathedral)

A relationship with a 'personal character'

Bishop Graham James of Norwich (2006) has written about the 'surprisingly personal character' of the relationships between the massive cathedral at Lincoln and the various people who inhabited and surrounded it (p. 13); indeed, for him the intimate character of the bonds portrayed by Danziger suggested that the cathedral was being given 'a personality' (p. 15).

The personal nature of such relationships implies that supporters will want the best for their cathedral; and it is interesting that the emotion which lies at the heart of this kind of attachment is mirrored in definitions of charity and philanthropy. The English word 'charity' derives from the Latin 'caritas', used in the Vulgate for the Greek word αγαπη, nowadays translated as 'love' (Morgan, 2008, p. 3). An extract from Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749/1999) captures the essence of this tendency:

> There is in some (I believe many) human breasts a kind and benevolent disposition, which is gratified by contributing to the happiness of others…. In this gratification, in friendship … as indeed in general philanthropy, there is a great and exquisite delight…. If we will not call such disposition love, we have no name for it. (Book VI, Ch I, p. 180)

Idol, icon or corporate person?

When cathedrals are loved by people in this way, what are they being loved as? It would be hard to detect from the sources under consideration here, but there would be a range of possibilities. The first might be that cathedral buildings are the object of excessive devotion; and that those who love them could be accused of idolatry. This might be the way that someone with a passion for history, culture and/or architecture reacts; and such a person might react in the same way to one of the great houses taken into the ownership of the National Trust. However, it has to be remembered that, unlike such properties, where the family has been banished, cathedrals are buildings which are alive and used for something like their original purpose (Edwards, 1989, p. 17). It is therefore more likely that cathedrals are loved as symbols. As Shearlock (1996) put it: 'It is often said that a cathedral is a symbol, a sign of God's presence in the world of everyday, its towers and spires pointing us in the direction of heaven; its vast open spaces telling us of the vastness of God's glory and God's love' (p. 10). So, the second possibility would be that the building is loved as an icon (a window through which to see God): that is, a work of praise in itself, rather than simply being a container[43] for praise. The third possibility would be

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[43] In developing his theology of place (to which reference was made in Chapter 2 here), Inge (2003) spurned Aristotle's notion of place as a 'container', an inert environment in which things happen (p. 4), preferring instead a relational view, which renders place inseparable from relationships associated with it (p. 26).

that cathedrals are loved as 'places where God has revealed himself' (Inge, 2003, p. 105): in that sense, the cathedral would be a 'herald' of the good news of Jesus Christ, and would set its face against idolatry (Dulles, 2002, pp. 68-80)[44]. A fourth possibility would be that the cathedral is loved as a symbol of the 'living stones' (1 Peter 2:5), the people of God: this interpretation would be of the cathedral as 'mystical communion' (Dulles, 2002, pp. 39-54). A fifth option would be that the cathedral is loved as a 'sacrament', a sign of the continuing vitality of Christ's grace and promised hope of redemption (although this is not necessarily an ecclesiology favoured by Protestants) (pp. 55-67); and, a sixth would be that the cathedral is loved as a 'servant', existing for others and sharing secular problems of everyday life (pp. 81-94).

Whether the cathedral is idol, icon or symbol is actually immaterial here: it is the personal character of the relationship which is key to the theory under development. In his analysis of the special affinity with cathedrals, James (2006) drew attention to the concept of the corporate person (p. 14). How humankind relates to this 'fictitious' species (Fuller, 1967, cited by Pagano, 2010) was explored in greater depth by Scruton (2006), to whose work James referred.

> The law recognises the 'corporate person' ... which can take decisions, assume responsibility, pursue goals and acquire rights and duties in the world of negotiation ... This legal construct gives judicial recognition to a social fact. Every form of human membership casts a personal shadow which marches behind us or in front of us, above us or below, and which takes on a moral reality of its own. It is the product of our decisions, but also gradually transcends them, becoming an object of loyalty, affection or resentment ... Such 'artificial persons' are also in a sense natural, since it is in our nature to create them, to acknowledge them, and to relate to them in the way in which we relate to each other. ... They exist unchanged beyond the death of their present members. (p. 70)

In his elegy on England, Scruton (2006) proceeded to argue that this mechanism explains how the English love their old school, regiment, pub and club. The analogy may be overlaid with assumptions about social class in England; nonetheless, it is not hard to see how Scruton's thesis applies equally to a cathedral, which, in the capacity of a corporate person, can become an object of loyalty and affection.

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[44] Dulles' models of the Christian church, to which reference is made here, are much used (Grundy, 2011, p. 72). Informed in part by sociology, they are more illuminating than, say, the models discerned from an historical perspective by Avis (2000).

The theory

As explained earlier, the analysis of cathedral Friends' associations will take into account and valorize Friends' ties with their cathedral. But, why was it judged important to gauge Friends' so-called 'regard' for their cathedral? There were two reasons. First, unilateral transfers and reciprocity involving the exchange of gifts, can be motivated by authentic regard (Offer, 1997). Thus, theory points to a direct causal link between ties with the cathedral and habits of generosity. Second, it is implicit in Offer's analysis that regard is associated with the generation of social capital: as he put it, 'regard provides a powerful incentive for trust' (p. 454) and 'regard promotes sociability, and sociability facilitates cooperation' (p. 455). These two points will now be developed.

The economy of regard

First of all, what exactly is the economy of regard? It is at the root of the retail boom, for example, at Christmas time (Offer, 1997, p. 454). Halpern (2010) characterized it as 'a world of friendship, care and gift-based exchanges over which conventional economics has little to say but that for most people is what makes life worth living' (pp. 3-4). Interestingly, as hinted earlier, the fruits of this world are analogous to those of philanthropy, a virtue that 'makes life … more bearable and human, and gives meaning to the giver in the process' (Prochaska, 1988, p. 89). Offer's analysis of the dynamics of reciprocity contended that personal interaction is driven by the grant and pursuit of regard (p. 451). On the basis of evidence from anthropological studies, Offer assumed that humans are born with a capacity for regard (like the innate capacity for language), although the forms regard takes will be culturally specific (p. 455).

The relationship between regard and the gift

It was explained in Chapter 2 that the outcomes of Friendship with cathedrals are conceptualized in this study as gifts: Friends give their money and time, and they offer prayer for their cathedral. The key point to take away from Offer's analysis is that unilateral transfers and reciprocity involving the exchange of gifts can be motivated by regard.

But, what is the precise relationship between regard and the gift? Offer argued that authentic regard is an attitude of approbation which needs to be communicated: 'the gift embodies that communication and carries the signal' (p. 452). He claimed that real regard is typically not for sale, which explains the widespread reluctance to use money as a gift. Cash, he said, is faceless and fungible; for this reason, there can be a preference to personalize monetary gifts by 'earmarking', which constrains

fungibility (p. 454). The very act of personalizing a gift, showing that the giver cares about the recipient, authenticates the signal of regard (p. 454). The relative ease with which regard can be faked facilitates gift exchange, but it also 'places a premium on material authentication, i.e. on gifts' (p. 456). A gift without regard would be a construed as a bribe (p. 454).

The initial gift (driven by an impulse of regard, or by a desire to elicit regard, or indeed by both sentiments) initiates a cycle, because the fear of loss of regard provides a strong incentive to continue (p. 453). If there is no reciprocity, the giver will be vexed. It was noted in Chapter 2 that apparently unilateral transfers can be part of such a cycle: for example, the giver of a legacy might hope for regard from the next generation (p. 456).

Regard as a form of bonding social capital

It is intriguing that the language found in descriptions of relationships between supporters and cathedrals is not dissimilar to the rhetoric of bonding social capital. As Chapter 3 detailed, this form of social capital focuses on internal, exclusive relationships: the sort found in family and the closest friendships. As such, bonding social capital is an essential basis from which it is possible to move out to begin relating to people unlike ourselves, that is, forming bridging social capital (Furbey et al., 2006, p. 8). Bonding social capital is the kind of 'sociological superglue' that undergirds reciprocity, mobilizes solidarity, and creates strong in-group loyalty (see, for example, Putnam, 2000, pp. 22-24). Thus, from a theoretical standpoint at least, it would be legitimate to treat bonding with the cathedral (as corporate person) as a type of bonding social capital; and this strategy would be entirely consistent with Offer's analysis.

Interestingly, Offer observed that the reciprocity of the gift exchange system is not necessarily entirely pleasurable, because giving gives rise to the obligation to return (in other words, a debt). He pursued that analogy by using the term 'bond', to signify 'a repeated exchange of regard'. In his analysis, 'bond' applied in three senses: (i) like a financial bond (having some features of a contractual obligation), (ii) like the human bond (an emotional link), and (iii) like a fetter (because competitive exchange can subordinate a weaker party) (p. 455). From the analysis in Chapter 3, it will be recalled that bonding social capital can be a bad as well as a good: the formation of strong ties can at the expense of shutting out (or even creating) outsiders, and such ties may sometimes inhibit bridging.

An instrumental value

Finally, it is notable that, although regard can be a good in its own right, it also has an instrumental value (Offer, 1997, p. 472). Brown and Ferris (2007) made a similar point about the consequences of 'regard for the generalized other', in their analysis of the impact of social capital on individual giving and volunteering (see, in particular, p. 88 and footnote 2 on p. 97).

The instrumental value of regard is where the spotlight will eventually fall in this study. If regard for the cathedral is demonstrably associated with gift-giving in cathedral Friends' associations, then cathedral authorities should see advantage in taking steps to strengthen the resource. This might be achieved by promoting greater intimacy with the building (with, for example, privileged behind-the-scenes tours) and by sharing information about the cathedral (in regular newsletters).

Summary

On the basis of evidence from a range of sources, a novel theory of bonding with a cathedral, as a corporate person, has been developed. Since the exchange of gifts is motivated by authentic regard, the new construct supplies a crucial theoretical link between social capital and cathedral Friends' gifts of money, time and prayer. Similarities have been observed in the discourse of the bonding form of social capital and the rhetoric of 'regard'; so, it is posited that 'regard for the cathedral' measured here will resemble bonding social capital between human actors.

CHAPTER 5
VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

It was noted in Chapter 3 that the French traveller Alexis de Tocqueville, who captured life in 1830s America in *Democracy in America*, has been referred to as the 'patron saint of contemporary social capitalists' (Putnam, 2000, p. 292). Key to that epithet was his assessment of the role of voluntary associations, as the foundation for social order in America. In his view, 'nothing' deserved more attention than these associations (de Tocqueville, 1838/1956, p. 201). Here, in Chapters 1 and 2, the cathedral Friends' organizations were termed 'voluntary associations'. But, what exactly is a voluntary association, and why has social capital theory and empirical research tended to focus so much on these secondary groups? Continuing the exploration of the theoretical framework, this chapter will look at features of voluntary associations and also at their particular significance for the generation of social capital. Given the mix of active and passive members in the Friends' associations, the chapter will review literature on intensity of involvement in voluntary associations, with a view to discovering whether passive members are likely to inhibit the generation of social capital.

Voluntary associations

The fascination with voluntary associations stems in large part directly from Putnam's early work (1993, 1995a), but it is interesting to learn that early social capital research tended to concentrate on formal voluntary associations merely because this was convenient from a methodological point of view (Newton, 1999, p. 11; Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 10). Much scholarly attention continues to be given to social capital in such associations, and to the consequences of the social connections in terms of giving (see, for example, Brown & Ferris, 2007; Hall, 1999; Putnam, 2000). While Stolle and Hooghe (2005) have claimed that the level of associational membership has now become 'a standard litmus test for the health of a society's social capital' (p. 152) (see also Holmes & Slater, 2007; Maloney, van Deth, & Rossteutscher, 2008), the significance of voluntary associations for social capital has been contested (Li, Pickles, & Savage, 2005); and, as mentioned earlier, Putnam has been criticized for overstating the amount of socializing taking place in associations (Wollebaek & Stromsnes, 2008). Yet, it is hard to underestimate the importance of voluntary associations when, for example, empirical research leads to claims that 'associational affiliations are more central to respondents' lives than their

neighbours, work or politics' and that they come a very close second to family and friends (Maloney et al., 2008, p. 284).

The hallmarks of a voluntary association

It is helpful to establish precisely what a voluntary association is, because authors commonly discuss associations without defining the characteristics by which such entities are recognized (Cameron, 2004). Newton (1999) makes a distinction between four types of group: involuntary groups (for example, a compulsory professional organization for doctors), voluntary groups (for example, a parish church choir), informal groups (for example, Bible-reading or Lent groups) and formal associations (for example, the Christian charity Mothers' Union). Using that typology, cathedral Friends' associations fit the model of voluntary groups that are formal in nature. According to Cameron (2004), the kernel of a formal, voluntary association is membership by fulfilling criteria, and democratic decision-making; whereas, according to Hall (2002), it is engagement of members in a common endeavour and involvement of members in at least some face-to-face interaction.

Nested associability

Voluntary associations can be more complex than Hall's definition implies: they do not necessarily fit neatly into a binary active/passive classification. Putnam has been criticized for failing to take account of secondary associations where many or even most members are passive, which is said to be common, for example, in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, although not in the United States (Wollebaek & Selle, 2002a, p. 36). To represent the full range of expression of voluntary associations, the detailed taxonomy of Offe and Fuchs (2002) encompassed the spawning of secondary-type groups in tertiary associations (termed 'nested associability') (pp. 193-197).

On the basis of Offe and Fuchs' taxonomy, cathedral Friends would fit the model of a association with nested associability, in so far as they draw on a national (or possibly even international) membership, and have local and other activists who socialize, take advantage of learning opportunities, and volunteer. The precise balance between the passive and active memberships was unclear from the survey reported in Chapter 2. Just as the size of the membership varies from association to association, so it is likely that the ratio of active to passive members will vary too. In some instances, the appropriate model may be of a secondary association with a nested tertiary group, whereas in other cathedrals the correct model may be of a tertiary association with a nested secondary group.

The capacity of voluntary associations to generate social capital

In the de Tocqueville model of social capital (deriving from the principle that there is a causal relationship between the effect of associationalism and the capacity for civic participation) (see, for example, Rudolph, 2004; Whiteley, 1999), it is the social connection within voluntary associations that creates social capital. The logic is that social capital will not be formed in an association lacking social connection. In Putnam's (2000) words 'what really matters from the point of view of social capital and civic engagement is not merely nominal membership, but active and involved membership' (p. 58). As shown in Chapter 3, arising from Putnam's (1995b) elaboration of the de Tocqueville model was the argument that there has been a reduction in social connectedness and thus also in stocks of social capital, as classic secondary associations have declined and tertiary associations (such as the American Association of Retired Persons and Greenpeace) have flourished. Putnam (1995b) has not been a lone voice in claiming that not every type of association has the capacity to generate social capital: in particular, Hall (2002), Offe and Fuchs (2002) and Wuthnow (2002b) have taken a similar view.

The impact of passive involvement on social capital

When the impact of religiosity on giving comes almost entirely through religious social networks (Putnam & Campbell, 2010), it becomes difficult to envisage how passive members might contribute in a voluntary association with nested associability. However, there are theorists (for example, Maloney, 1999; Whiteley, 1999; Wollebaek & Selle, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004) who take a different view from Putnam on the contribution of passive members. The paragraphs that follow will review literature on intensity of involvement in voluntary associations in order to determine whether there is likely to be an absence of social capital if face-to-face contact is lacking in the cathedral Friends' membership.

The significance of passive memberships

One of the sources of inspiration for Putnam's work —Almond and Verba's (1963) classic study of civic virtues in five nations— attributed an importance to passive memberships. They found that 'organizational membership per se appears to have a residual effect on political competence and activity' (p. 318). Notably, passive members differed from the individuals who reported no membership of political organizations. This suggested that passive memberships have 'internal' effects, an idea that has been corroborated by other studies (see Wollebaek & Selle, 2003). Yet, overall, the contribution of the passive has been poorly researched; and

Wollebaek and Selle (2002) called for studies to give greater attention to passive membership.

Passive support is important to associations for at least four fundamental reasons. First, it is a source of numerical strength and legitimacy (Lansley, 1996; Wollebaek & Selle, 2003). Second, it is important in straightforward economic terms: the greater the number of members (however intensely they relate to the association), the greater the capacity to attract funds, not least through regular subscriptions and donations (Lansley, 1996). Third, viewing passive memberships dynamically may reveal a valuable latent energy, which could be harnessed (Wollebaek & Selle, 2003, p. 82). Different events in the life-course (children leaving home, retirement, partner loss) and changes in motivation or in the availability of resources may all present opportunities for passive support to be transformed into active membership. Fourth, passive members appear to have sticking power, that is, they are among the most persistent in their membership, when compared with active members (Cress, McPherson, & Rotolo, 1997).

The consequences for social capital of 'cheque-book participation'

Along the lines of Putnam's (1995a) notion of tertiary associations (where writing a cheque for fees and occasionally reading a newsletter are the hallmarks of membership, and those who belong are unlikely ever to meet), a new form of engagement was identified. First, references were made to paper organizations with newsletter members (McCarthy & Zald, 1973); subsequently, the label 'credit card participation' (Richardson, 1995) was applied to the new form of engagement, where individuals express support through monetary gifts but play no further role in the activities of the organization to which they 'belong'; and later still, the notion of 'cheque-book participation' came into its own (Hilton, McKay, Crowson, & Mouhot, 2010; Jordan & Maloney, 1997; Maloney, 1999; Whiteley, 2011). The growth of cheque-book participation is widespread not only in the United States, but also in the United Kingdom (Maloney, 1999); and the rise of a range of cheque-book associations carries with it the implication that passive members will become more important (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005).

Newton (1999) identified two major types of 'low-commitment' cheque-book associations. In the first, citizens join merely for the benefits and service they receive in return (p. 12). The extent of the membership and income render such associations powerful interest groups[45]. In Newton's second type, individuals are

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[45] The Automobile Association (the AA) would be a prime example: this has a very large, but almost totally inactive, membership comprising individuals who pay an annual fee for various services connected with motoring (Newton, 1999).

motivated to join organizations not for the services they provide but for largely symbolic reasons (p. 12). In subscribing, a member makes a symbolic gesture, desiring to be allied with the cause. Newton concluded that both these types of organizational membership have no obvious implications for civic engagement and the formation of norms of social capital (p. 12); moreover, he argued that they have little internal effect on members so far as the creation of social capital is concerned (p. 14). Curry's (2003) study of six relatively homogenous religious communities in Iowa in the rural Midwest of the United States pointed in the same direction (see, in particular, p. 152).

After initially questioning whether cheque-writing could be regarded as meaningful participation (Jordan & Maloney, 1997), Maloney (1999) conducted a postal survey of supporters of Amnesty International British Section (AIBS) and Friends of the Earth (FoE) in order to examine attitudes and patterns of behaviour. By choosing to fund professionals to influence policy, supporters of AIBS and FoE were contracting out of the function, resulting in what Maloney (1999) termed 'vicarious participation' (p. 114). He concluded that there was little or no strong evidence to suggest that cheque-book participation was detrimental in the way that Putnam implied or envisaged (p. 117). In a deliberate echo of the claim by John Stuart Mill that 'any participation, even in the smallest public function, is useful', Maloney argued that the cheque-writers' contribution may be small, but is better than no participation at all (p. 117). This corroborated the findings of Almond and Verba (1963).

A sense of belonging and a commitment to a cause

Voluntary associations relying on passive support are said to bear a resemblance to the notion of an imagined community (Anderson, 1991), where a large-scale membership shares emotional ties (the nation being the most obvious example) (Maloney, 1999; Wollebaek & Selle, 2002a). Turning to social-psychological literature on social identity, Whiteley (1999) made a similar point about imaginary communities, claiming that empirical data showed that individuals do not have to interact directly with other members of the preferred group in order to identify with it (pp. 30-31). For their part, Wollebaek and Selle (2002a) argued that passive affiliations may foster a sense of affinity to a cause that individuals know is not only important to themselves but also to others: 'If the association is successful, the membership, regardless of activity level, conveys a sense of the value of cooperation for common purposes ... and of a shared belonging to something important' (p. 57). Slater's (2005a) three-fold typology of voluntary associations supporting cultural and heritage organizations identified that 'Integrated Membership Schemes' (at one end of the spectrum) would foster a sense of community/belonging through programmes

and communication (p. 37); and her study of members at Tate Britain and Tate Modern revealed how important the sense of belonging is, as a two-way relationship rather than a transaction (Slater & Armstrong, 2010, p. 737).

In a study of social capital in Norway, Selle (1999) asserted that Putnam's understanding of norms and social integration was old-fashioned, because it did not pay sufficient attention to aspects of the communication structure of societies in the information age[46]. Selle proceeded to argue that it is feasible that identities and trust can be built when the primary method of communication is not face-to-face contact, leading him to the proposition that new types of organization where face-to-face contact is not the rule may after all be important as producers of social capital. Subsequent analyses of data from a Norwegian survey by Wollebaek and Selle (2002a, 2004) did not support Putnam's emphasis on face-to-face contact: 'While those affiliated with associations consistently displayed higher levels of social capital (measured as social trust, civic engagement and breadth of social networks) than outsiders did, the difference between those spending little or no time participating and highly active participants was very small or altogether absent' (2004, p. 239). Wollebaek and Selle suggested that a central issue is how passive supporters are affected by what is termed their participation by proxy. They distinguished between four understandings of the relationship between these individuals and their association: the association as social system, imagined community, information system, and network of political influence (p. 248). Three key insights emerging from that distinction were: some passive members, recruited through already existing social networks, can keep in touch with the association through pre-existing networks of contact with active members; the shared belonging to something important in the imagined community is a virtue conducive to social capital; and, even though passive members do not interact personally, they are in touch with what is happening in the association through the dissemination of information.

Voluntary associations: stores of social capital?

Thus, Wollebaek and Selle (2004) challenged the emphasis of social capital theory on face-to-face contact. While acknowledging the importance of this mode of connectedness, they noted that associations actually provide little opportunity for it,

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[46] Interestingly, it has been shown more recently that the effects of the Internet on social capital are supplementary. Wellman, Haase, Witte and Hampton (2001) found that participants in the off-line sphere use it to augment and extend their participation, and on-line participants get more involved in person with organizations; and Stern and Adams (2010) found that the Internet provides another tool for getting the already active involved.

in contrast to, for example, families, friends, and workplaces; and they pondered whether the sense of belonging and commitment to a cause which arise from associational membership (even when passive) are more significant in the formation of social capital (p. 253). Wollebaek and Selle did not demonstrate precisely how these virtues generate social capital: they simply suggested that a sense of belonging and commitment to a cause are conducive to social trust and civic engagement (p. 253). In fact, they raised the question of whether associations should be viewed 'as institutionally-embedded stores of trust, norms and networks of civic engagement, rather than as generators, catalysts or vehicles', thus bringing to the forefront the scope of involvement (multiple, overlapping memberships) over intensity (degree of face-to-face contact) (p. 252). Together with Stromsnes, Wollebaek (2008) later argued that the main contribution of voluntary organizations lies not in socializing active members but in institutionalizing social capital (p. 250).

Summary

Voluntary associations have been defined, and their significance for social capital discussed. Not every entity using that label should be viewed as a safe indicator of social capital. Intensity of involvement impacts upon social capital, although there are clear differences of opinion about the value of a passive membership, and in particular, whether tertiary (or cheque-book) associations have the capacity to generate social capital.

The sense of belonging and commitment to a cause that arises in voluntary associations, even from passive support, may be conducive to social trust. An alternative way of viewing voluntary associations is as stores of social capital rather than generators of the resource.

It is clear from this literature review that intensity of involvement may influence stocks of social capital in cathedral Friends' associations; and that this variable should therefore be included in the list of potential 'predictors' in the model.

PART THREE

METHODS

The third part of the thesis discusses the methods adopted for the empirical work on cathedral Friends. First, on the basis of the literature reviews in Chapters 3 and 5, and the new theory propounded in Chapter 4, the constructs to be employed in the study will be clarified; Chapter 6 also identifies a range of potential predictors of social and cultural capital, and regard for the cathedral — a process that allows the final element of the theoretical model to be populated. After an overview of the data collection methods (Chapter 7), Chapter 8 outlines the indicators of the various forms of capital and, in particular, introduces the Williams Religious Social Capital Index, which Williams (2008a) developed for use in cathedrals — given its origins, this recognized index has been utilized as a measure of religious social capital to study cathedral Friends.

CHAPTER 6
CLARIFYING CONSTRUCTS EMPLOYED IN THE STUDY

This chapter will begin the process of translating into measurable form the theoretical constructs outlined in Chapters 3 and 4. Translating constructs into measurable form —that is, operationalizing them— is crucial because of the intimate relationship between theory and empirical research, as Bourdieu explained:

> Every act of research is simultaneously empirical (it confronts the world of observable phenomena) and theoretical (it necessarily engages hypotheses about the underlying structure of relations that observations are designed to capture). Even the most minute empirical operation — the choice of a scale of measurement, a coding decision, the construction of an indicator, or the inclusion of an item in a questionnaire — involves theoretical choices, conscious or unconscious, while the most abstract conceptual puzzle cannot be fully clarified without systematic engagement with empirical reality. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 35)

There are three steps in the translation process (de Vaus, 2002). The first is to settle on a definition of the constructs. In the present study, it is vital to clarify the definition of social capital because, as has already been established, the concept is contested and there is no fixed meaning. The second step is to distinguish between different dimensions of the resources. The third step is to develop indicators for the various dimensions; and that procedure will be undertaken in Chapter 8. Before clarifying definitions of the constructs to be employed in the empirical work, this chapter will discuss the principles of measuring social capital. Lastly, on the basis of a review of relevant literature, the chapter will discuss potential predictors of the capitals. Identifying predictors will enable the final empty element of the model to be populated.

Principles of measuring social capital

Qualitative versus quantitative methods

There has been a tendency for social capital to be studied by means of cross-sectional research. This is despite scepticism about the value of such techniques. For example, in his monumental work on the foundations of social theory, Coleman (1990) observed that 'whether social capital will come to be as useful a quantitative concept in social science as are the concepts of financial capital, physical capital, and human capital remains to be seen': for him, the value lay primarily in its usefulness for qualitative analyses of social systems and in analyses of a quantitative nature that were based on qualitative indicators (pp. 305-306). For his

part, Woolcock (1998) conceded that, because there was still a lot to learn about the concept of social capital, empirical expectations of it should be correspondingly modest (p. 188). Typically, opinion poll and panel data have been employed for macro-level investigations. For instance, trends in social capital at national level have been charted through data from the World Values Survey (see Hall, 2002; Halpern, 2005; Putnam, 2000). However, the use of a measure of social capital as a dependent variable to assess the civic health of a society has been deemed inappropriate (Greeley, 1997, p. 589).

Following Putnam's (1993) classic study in Italy, the focus tends to be on levels of general social trust in the population, but this 'rough-and-ready measure' has inherent difficulties (Halpern, 2005, pp. 32-33). Another standard proxy for social capital at macro-level has been has been the number and/or density of voluntary association memberships: and, as mentioned earlier, the level of associational membership has become 'a standard litmus test for the health of a society's social capital' (Stolle & Hooghe, 2005, p. 152).

In the view of Portes (1998), who criticized the 'conceptual stretch' which transformed social capital from an individual property into a feature of cities and countries, problems with measurement can arise from disregarding logical criteria:

> The analyst of social capital must observe certain logical cautions: first, separating the definition of the concept, theoretically and empirically, from its alleged effects; second, establishing some controls for directionality so that the presence of social capital is demonstrably prior to the outcomes that it is expected to produce; third, controlling for the presence of other factors that can account for both social capital and its alleged effects; fourth, identifying the historical origins of community social capital in a systematic manner. (pp. 20-21)

It was with this pragmatic advice in mind that data were collected to address the research question about the predictors and consequences of social capital in cathedral Friends' associations. Notwithstanding the caution of Coleman and Woolcock, the study adopted a quantitative approach. It is worth emphasizing, however, that using the terms quantitative and qualitative to mark out the differences between, say, survey research on the one hand, and unstructured interviewing, participant observation and case studies on the other hand, is not necessarily fruitful. De Vaus (2002) has argued that, at the stage of data collection, it is more valuable to distinguish between methods that produce structured and unstructured data sets (p. 5). The aim here was to collect a reasonably large, structured data set on cathedral Friends to test the model.

Theoretical constructs versus measures

The phenomena under study derive from theory; but measuring elusive phenomena derived from evolving theories poses a challenge (DeVellis, 2012, p. 9). A coherent theory can be articulated, for example, that religion creates social capital in the form of charitable giving; however, as Nemeth and Luidens (2003) pointed out, 'it is a bit more difficult to generate an empirical verification of such a causal relationship' (p. 110). One of the problems in studying social capital lies in the fact that the resource is latent, not manifest. In this way, it could be said to have similarities with the inward grace of God, which is symbolized outwardly in sacraments (Weil, 1983, p. 2).

When a resource is not directly observable, a collection of items is combined into a composite score, which is intended to reveal the level of the theoretical variable: multiple items can capture the essence of the variable with a level of precision that a single item could not achieve (DeVellis, 2012). Such an index comprises a set of 'cause indicators' (items that determine the level of the construct) (DeVellis, 2012, p. 12). This is the procedure that will be followed in the case of each of the capital variables in this study (and also in relation to a selection of independent variables).

As the evolving model has shown, the primary interest of this study is in the relationship between two pairs of variables (predictors and capitals, on the one hand; and capitals and gifts, on the other hand). The relationships will actually be estimated on the basis of the connection between measures corresponding to those variables (Figure 5). As explained earlier, the precise indicators of the variables employed will be outlined in Chapter 8.

Clarifying the concept of social capital

For research purposes, it is prudent to use a concept in its commonly understood sense, and not to develop entirely idiosyncratic definitions (de Vaus, 2002, p. 44). For that reason, the focus of Chapter 3 was the classical theories of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam, plus Woolcock. The survey of the classical literature revealed that views on the nature and precise location of social capital tend to reflect differences in scholarly perspective (Dekker, 2004; Foley & Edwards, 1999); and that, in turn, the perspective influences the choice of methodology by which social capital is studied.

Figure 5: Relationships between variables and measures (from DeVellis, 2012, Figure 2.1, p. 18)
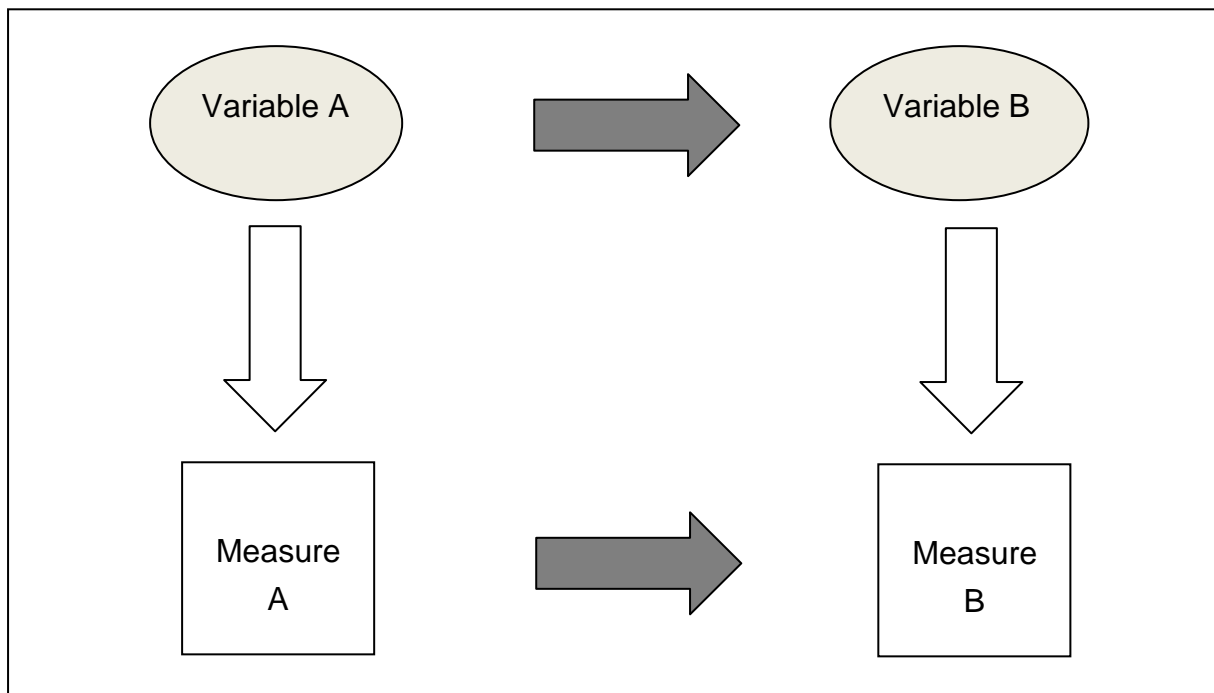
Social capitalists tend to be divided by the question of whether social capital is possessed by individuals (and therefore transported from one social setting to another) or merely embedded in specific relationships. As recorded in Chapter 3, Coleman (1990) advocated that 'social capital inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons' (p. 302). To view the resource as a structural variable existing only between and among unique individuals in particular social relationships, which facilitates 'the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible' (1988), implies that context is crucial (Smidt, 2003a, p. 214). Lorenzen (2007) even goes as far as defining social capital as 'social relations in combination with the social institutions that facilitate them'. The contention of the present study is rooted in the sociological view that social capital is embedded in its specific location. However, this is not to suggest that individual-level characteristics are less significant.

While the role of institutions such as churches and their congregations in contributing to social capital should not be underestimated (Ammerman, 1997; Brady et al., 1995; Cnaan et al., 1999; Putnam, 2000), the starting point for this study is the recognition that societal social capital ultimately rests on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals, who either enhance or detract from aggregate stocks (M. C. Green & Brock, 1998). The conceptualization of social capital here follows Brehm and Rahn

(1997), who disputed the emphasis of Coleman (1990) and Putnam (1993, 1995a) on social capital as a property of communities:

> It is not after all, a 'community' that participates or builds trust, but the people who comprise that community who belong to civic organizations and acquire positive feelings for others…. 'Communities' do not join the PTA or enlist in farming organizations, parents and farmers do. The collective manifestation of social capital must be sustainable at the level of individual civic engagement and in individual attitudes towards others. (Brehm & Rahn, 1997, pp. 1002-1003, 1016-1017)

So, this study shares Brehm and Rahn's view that accounting for the production of social capital can rate as important as getting to grips, as Putnam has done, with changes in its level over time (p. 1001).

Definitions of the capitals

Social capital

Networks play a crucial role in definitions of social capital. According to Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), social capital is 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (p. 119). For his part, Putnam (1995b) anchored social capital in 'features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (p. 67).

The broad substance of the 1995 Putnam definition has been adopted for the study, together with the bonding/bridging dichotomy (Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 9) and also the linking elaboration (Woolcock, 2001, pp. 71-72). However, there is one caveat in relation to Putnam's progressive definitions. As illustrated by Field (2008, p. 34), the three elements in Putnam's earliest definition –trust, norms and networks (1993, p. 167)– survived into 1995; but in the landmark study (2000), the emphasis had shifted. By that stage, trustworthiness had effectively been relegated to the ranks of the norms, finding a place there alongside reciprocity (p. 19). For the present study, Putnam's 1995 definition is preferred over his 2000 one, because specifying reciprocity as a new norm only served to highlight the problems of tautology for which social capital can be criticized. A solution to the tautological problems, advanced by Woolcock (2001), is to focus on sources rather than consequences (p. 71). In general, that solution has its merits: for example, it accords with the advice of Portes cited earlier. Nevertheless, there is an inherent problem in Woolcock's definitional treatment of trust, which flows from his solution.

It is not difficult to endorse Woolcock's view that reciprocity should be eliminated from the definition of social capital. The present study hypothesizes that the impact of capital generated in the social arena of voluntary organizations associated with Anglican cathedrals will be manifested in charitable activity: the greater the level of social capital there, the greater the voluntary gift-giving. If data reveal that social capital is a predictor of gift-giving, then reciprocal activity should not be a dimension of the primary asset.

For Woolcock and indeed, for example, also for Lorenzen (2007), there would be an analogous defence for eliminating even trust from the definition: they view that norm as an outcome of social capital too. However, it is more difficult to sustain such an argument. To identify which way causation flows in the case of trust is not straightforward (Newton, 1999, pp. 9, 16-17). On the one hand, both Putnam (1995b, p. 666) and Stolle (1998, p. 521) have found that people who join are people who trust, while on the other hand Brehm and Rahm (1997) have suggested that the effect of civic engagement on interpersonal trust is much stronger than the effect of interpersonal trust on civic engagement (p. 1017). The working definition here includes trust as a norm; indeed, to do otherwise would be perverse given that social trust features as a primary indicator of social capital in well-established, large-scale national/cross-national surveys of human values (see, for example, European Values Study, 2008; Harper & Kelly, 2003, on Office for National Statistics surveys; World Values Survey, 2011).

Religious social capital

This study focuses on social capital within the context of a para-church organization, which falls between the faith-permeated and faith-centred categories of Sider and Unruh (2004). It was suggested earlier that a sociological standpoint implies that context is crucial (Smidt, 2003a, p. 214). Just as, for example, the distinct context within which personal friends interact is key to understanding the nature of the relationships there (Allan, 1998, pp. 686-689; Spencer & Pahl, 2006; Summers, 2009, p. 2), so likewise the institutional environment is crucial to understanding the sources and consequences of specific stocks of social capital (Woolcock, 2001, p. 72). Accordingly, the term 'religious social capital' was adopted for the context-specific social capital measured here.

The choice of terminology is justified by reference to Baker and Miles-Watson's (2010) extensive mapping exercise. Emerging from their labours to test the concept of religious capital and related ideas, was the definition of 'religious' as 'those public activities derived from behavioural adherence to structures associated with formal or institutional expressions of faith' (p. 18). For Baker and Miles-Watson, the descriptor

'religious' contrasts with the adjective 'spiritual', denoting 'that area of belief or faith that actually energises or motivates our ethical and public living' (pp. 18-19). In their view it is therefore helpful to deem the adjective 'spiritual' as referring to the 'why' of faith-based praxis, whereas 'religious' is associated with the 'what' of this domain (p. 19).

The contention here (which resonates with issues surrounding measurement) is that social capital generated in a religious domain is distinctive, when compared with social capital generated elsewhere. But could this be a false inference? Although religion is a potent and long-lasting source of social capital (Greeley, 1997, pp. 592-593) and religious congregations are among the key producers, at local level, of social capital (Cnaan et al., 1999, p. 304), much of what congregations contribute to the social order is not unique (Ammerman, 1997). So, one viewpoint is that, at least in some respects, congregations are merely a subset of all voluntary organizations, as providers of services, arenas for public discourse and supporters of civic well-being (Ammerman, 1997, pp. 362, 367; Cameron, 2004). Nonetheless, there is an added importance in so far as congregational membership bestows a moral legitimacy not always granted to other memberships; it gives a voice to 'otherwise voiceless people'; and it provides a setting where 'those denied leadership learn to lead' (Ammerman, 1997, p. 363). This sets congregations apart from mainstream civic organizations, according them 'a place of special honor and responsibility', as Ammerman suggests (p. 367), but does it necessarily follow that the social capital generated in religious congregations is substantively distinct in nature?

Ammerman's argument may not be wholly convincing, but a case for the distinction of religious social capital made by Smidt (2003a) is more robust. On the basis of a series of papers examining the inter-relationship of religion, social capital and democratic life in America, Smidt concluded that there are certain qualities which mark out religious social capital from other social capital (even though, in some ways, all social capital is fundamentally alike). Among these are the following: religious social capital may be more durable than other sorts; it is distinctive because of its range, in so far as the relationships of religious people tend to be based on different considerations; and religion has a singular capacity to nourish social capital. Smidt also agreed with Ammerman that religious social capital yields disproportionate benefits within certain segments of society, because religious institutions incubate civic skills (pp. 216-218).

Even though Ammerman's and Smidt's studies were conducted in America, what flows from their conclusions is that indicators employed in the present study should recognise the distinctiveness of *religious* social capital. For that reason, it would

have been insufficient to measure the asset in precisely the same manner as social capital generated in a secular domain.

Cultural capital

According to Bourdieu (1993), cultural capital (which he also termed informational capital) allows access to 'a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for, or competence in deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts' (p. 7). It is relevant to discover not only whether respondents were motivated to join their cathedral Friends' association by a wish to learn about the cultural aspects of cathedrals (that is, their history and architecture), but also whether there was a strong relationship between Friends' cultural and religious social capitals, and whether common factors predicted stocks of those resources. How cathedrals can draw in and sustain the membership of their Friends' associations will be discussed later (Chapter 12). In the meantime, social capital theory would suggest that by exploiting a thirst for knowledge, cathedrals will eventually be rewarded with gifts of time and money.

Since the focus of the study is individual cathedral Friends, the specific interest is in *embodied* cultural capital (rather than the objectified or institutionalized forms of the resource)[47]: that is, the type of self-improvement that costs time to acquire, or can be acquired in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and unconsciously (Bourdieu, 1986).

Dimensions of the capitals

Having now defined the three forms of capital (two here and the third in Chapter 4), the second step in translating the concepts into a measurable form is to distinguish between different dimensions of the resources.

The contention is that the dimensions are fundamentally the same for social capital and religious social capital, but that the indicators (that is, the means by which they are expressed) are distinctive according to the context of the capital.

The classic definitions set out in Chapter 3 are at the heart of the process of distinguishing between different dimensions. Thus, beneath the abstract concept of social capital (whether or not religious in nature), there are two principal dimensions: the structure of social relations (that is, networks) and the quality of social relations

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[47] For the sake of simplicity, 'cultural capital' should now be taken to mean the embodied form.

(that is, norms). The prime norm is social trust. Sub-dimensions of networks would include, for example, size and type.

To proceed to the next level of abstraction involves identifying further sub-dimensions (see de Vaus, 2002, for discussion of the method). Type is sub-divided into bonding and bridging (following Putnam), and also linking (following Woolcock). Following Wuthnow (2002a), there are two further sub-dimensions of bridging social capital: identity-bridging and status-bridging. Type of network can also be sub-divided into formal and informal. A sub-dimension of formal networks would be voluntary associations; and sub-dimensions of informal networks would be, for example, family, friends and neighbours.

Adhering to Bourdieu's definition, there are two principal dimensions beneath the abstract concept of embodied cultural capital: that is, empathy and competence.

There are two dimensions to the concept of regard, as developed earlier: a strong bond with the object, and intense love for the object.

Predictors

Two of the three elements within the original diagram (Figure 1) can now be populated: that is, the capitals (on the basis of the analysis in this chapter) and the gifts (identified in Chapter 2). The remaining task is to identify the dimensions of the third variable in the model (the predictors): that is, to determine measurable factors that might influence the level of capitals in the social arena of the Friends' associations. Since the starting point for the study is the recognition that the attitudes and behaviours of individuals either enhance or detract from aggregate stocks (Brehm & Rahn, 1997), the focus of the array of predictors will be on individual differences among the cathedral Friends, rather than, say, corporate inputs by the organizations themselves. The review of literature on voluntary associations (Chapter 5) suggested that social capital may be predicted by intensity of involvement. The findings of other empirical studies suggest there will be additional factors, and these will now be discussed.

Motivations for joining

One factor that may shape Friends' religious social capital is their motivation for joining the association. If Friends join with the expressed desire to socialize, then it follows that they will naturally forge bonds, build bridges and make links within the voluntary association. Theory suggests that joining for reasons related to volunteering are also likely to result in the formation of networks (or to be associated with such networks), and thus higher levels of social capital. Likewise, if Friends are

motivated to join by the prospect of learning about their cathedral, it follows that they will generate cultural capital in the association. On the face of it, joining for reasons of self-interest (for example, to gain from the type of member benefits discussed in Chapter 2) is unlikely to result in the formation of social capital; however, engagement with fellow members, while profiting from benefits, may well enhance individuals' religious social capital.

The novel theory expounded in this thesis suggests that joining the Friends for ideological reasons and/or to receive information about the cathedral is likely to be associated with higher levels of regard for the cathedral.

Persistence

Another factor that may influence Friends' religious social capital is the duration of their membership. Stolle (1998) found that people with short membership spells in voluntary associations were significantly less trusting than those who had longer experiences of membership. However, it was not the case in his study that membership over time had an added linear effect in relation to generalized trust. The members surveyed by Stolle got their most rapid and pronounced boost in generalized trust in the 'early group socialization phase' (that was, up to one year's involvement); and there was a fall-off in generalized trust for long-time members (from five to seven years' tenure onwards) (p. 521, and Figure 5).

Interestingly, the effect of what is termed 'persistence' on members' participation is counter-intuitive. Cress, McPherson and Rotolo (1997) analyzed the membership histories of 1,050 individuals in ten towns in Nebraska in 1989; these data, representing 1,587 membership spells, revealed that persistence and participation were negatively correlated 'regardless of whether the source of participation [lay] in the demands of the organization or the characteristics of the individual' (p. 73). Furthermore, Cress and his colleagues discovered no substantive difference in the pattern in membership persistence and participation in groups falling into McCarthy and Zald's 'paper organizations' category (p. 75).

Socio-demographic / socio-economic factors

Socio-demographic factors such as sex, age, marital status and education are typically taken into account in studies of civic engagement through voluntary associations, of cultural capital, and also of the impact of social capital on giving and volunteering (see, for example, Bourdieu, 2010b; Brown & Ferris, 2007; Lam, 2006; Li et al., 2005; Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Campbell, 2010; Stolle, 1998; Yeary, Ounspraseuth, Moore, Bursac, & Greene, 2012).

Age can enter the equation as a control for prior history (for example, a young person will have different patterns of membership from an elderly person) (Cress et al., 1997). Further work by Rotolo (2000) on the membership histories from the Ten Towns Project revealed that, as individuals age, the rate at which they join and leave organizations decreases, which implies that the duration of affiliation increases (p. 1155). Li, Pickles and Savage's (2005) study of social capital and social trust using the British Household Panel Survey found that young people are generally less trusting than the old (p. 119). Contrary to prevailing evidence, Stolle's (1998) study of generalized trust within voluntary associations in Sweden and Germany revealed that older respondents trusted a little less than the young (though not significantly so): trust fell off in the 55 to 64 year-old group in Sweden, and in the over-65 group in Germany (p. 515). Putnam found generational effects in civic engagement (see Chapter 3 here); however, such effects[48] can be misleading in relation to both social capital (Hall, 1999) and cultural capital (Scherger, 2008).

Human capital induces social capital: better educated individuals tend to move in social circles rich in resources (Lin, 1999); and better educated and wealthier people are also more trusting of other people than those with less education/wealth (Brehm & Rahn, 1997, p. 1016; Stolle, 1998, p. 512). It is difficult, however, to establish the causal direction between income and social capital (Halpern, 2005, p. 271), not least because there can be a vicious circle between inequality and social networks (Cox, 2002, p. 354). On the other hand, it is not surprising that education is a strong and robust correlate of individual social capital (Huang, Massen van den Brink, & Groot, 2009). Halpern (2005) pointed to a range of findings showing that university education in particular is associated with higher levels of social capital at the individual level (p. 233). Bourdieu's (2010b) study revealed a close link between cultural practices and educational attainment (p. xxiv): a specific example was the correlation between museum visits and level of education (p. 10). For his part, Hall (1999) reported that 'each additional year of education increases the propensity of an individual to become involved in community affairs, whether by joining an association or providing voluntary work for the community' (p. 435); and he pointed to the educational revolution in Britain to explain the 127% increase in women's rates of community involvement between 1959 and 1990, as compared with the slight increase (7%) for men over the same period (p. 437). Interestingly, the results of

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[48] According to Hall (1999), it is notoriously difficult to disentangle generational effects (that is, differences between age cohorts that do not change much over time), from life-cycle effects (that is, differences between young and old which disappear as people age), and period effects (which affect all age cohorts, but only for specific periods of time) (1999, p. 429 and footnote 37).

Brown and Ferris's (2007) study of the impact of social capital on giving time and money (using Putnam's Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey data collected from 40 communities around the United States in 2000) concluded that the large effect of education on philanthropic behaviour reported in previous studies was either overstated or operated through 'education's positive impact on individuals' acquisition of social capital' (p. 96). They called for further studies to look at the extent to which education increases giving through its impact on social capital (p. 97).

Almond and Verba's (1963) research in Great Britain showed that men and those with higher education were more likely to take an active role in their voluntary associations (that is, to hold any form of official position, high or low, locally or centrally) than women members and members with lower education (p. 315); but the pattern differed in the United States, where women were more likely to be the active members, defined in that narrow way (pp. 315-16).

A study of how far faith organizations in England and their members contribute to social capital (Furbey et al., 2006) revealed that women were engaged in generating bonding social capital, whereas men were mainly involved in bridging and linking (p. 30). Li and colleagues (2005) found that women were less trusting than men (p. 119), which corroborated studies by Hall and Putnam. Rotolo (2000) found that married individuals join associations at a higher rate, and also remain affiliated for significantly longer periods (p. 1156).

Proximity

Theory about the relevance of face-to-face contact for social capital, discussed in Chapter 5, suggests that proximity of home to the cathedral is likely to be a force that shapes religious social capital; and the same may be true in relation to cultural capital.

Social life requires moments of physical proximity — that is, 'co-present interaction', as termed by Boden and Molotch (1994). It is therefore reasonable to contend, as did Lorenzen (2007) in his analysis of the roles that proximity and place play in the formation of social capital, that social capital is influenced by geography. In particular, Lorenzen argued that geography is important for bonding social capital: 'the initiation of strong ties is very geographically sensitive'. According to him, such ties 'usually radiate from a particular place —such as … a club or other organization that holds people together geographically over a period— or a physical artefact or facility … that makes people meet and talk regularly' (p. 807). Glaeser and Sacerdote (2002) have also investigated the relationship between spatial proximity and social connections; and, like Putnam (2000), they pointed to the fact that people

who are spatially far apart are less likely to form social connections (see the other studies cited by Glaeser et al., 2002, p. F454).

It may be assumed, on the one hand, that if a Friend lives at a considerable distance from the cathedral he/she befriends, socializing with fellow Friends during associational events, and thus social capital, will be reduced or non-existent, because of the opportunity costs involved. On the other hand, living within the cathedral town/city is likely to enhance socialization, and thus social capital. Likewise, it could be expected that a Friend interested in history/architecture will grasp more of the opportunities to learn about his/her cathedral, if living in or close to the cathedral town/city. This is especially relevant because theory suggests that social interaction enables individuals to increase their cultural capital and *vice versa*.

Linking ideas about the geography of social capital with theory of bonding with the cathedral implies that physical proximity will affect the level of regard that Friends express for their cathedral. Urry (2002) claimed:

> Not only do people feel that they 'know' someone from having communicated with them face-to-face, but they desire to know a place through encountering it directly. To be there for oneself is crucial. Many places need to be seen, 'for oneself', to be experienced directly. … Thus there is a further sense of co-presence … seeing or touching or hearing or smelling a place. (p. 261)

Urry proceeded to argue that direct encounter can be a necessity at particular events too; and this led him to the view that there are three bases of co-presence ⸺ face-to-face, face-the-place[49], and face-the-moment (p. 262). Although Urry (2002) concluded that mobility is central to glueing social networks together, and physical travel is crucial to facilitate the face-to-face, face-the-moment and face-to-place co-presence that sustains social trust (p. 265), he did concede that travel can be achieved virtually (through computer-mediated communication) or imaginatively (through television), thus extending social capital (Urry, 2000). Accordingly, it seems possible that regard for the place may be built and/or maintained without corporeal proximity: information about the life of the cathedral (conveyed by post, email, webpage, social media or even local television) may compensate when the opportunity costs of proximity/travel are too high.

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[49] Interestingly, Putnam (2000) concluded that what he termed 'place-based social capital' (large groups with long histories, multiple objectives and diverse constituencies) have been replaced in recent times by 'function-based social capital' (interest groups, to represent our narrower selves) (p. 184).

Religiosity and attendance at cathedral worship

The literature review and survey reported in Chapter 2, and in particular Slater's (2005a) conclusion about the influence of faith on membership schemes affiliated to cathedrals, suggest that members' religiosity may have an impact on their social capital in a Friends' association. Lam's (2002) analysis of data in the American sample of a 1996 survey on 'God and Society in North America' revealed that four different dimensions of religiosity (participatory, private/devotional, affiliative, theological/belief) promoted membership in voluntary associations, thus supporting social capital theory (p. 420). For their part, Brown and Ferris (2007) have called for further research to investigate the extent to which religiosity increases giving through its impact on social capital (p. 97).

Theory on intensity of involvement in voluntary associations would suggest that involvement as a worshipper in the cathedral community may also influence religious social capital in the Friends. Members who worship regularly at their cathedral will interact with other congregants, meet clergy and have the opportunity to bump into influential people there, thus increasing multiplex relations; whereas a Friend who does not worship at the cathedral which he/she befriends (either because he/she is not religious, prefers to worship elsewhere, or lives too far away), will lack opportunities to forge bonds, build bridges and make links with congregant Friends. Wuthnow (2002a) showed that membership of a religious congregation was generally associated quite strongly and positively with status-bridging social capital (which he measured using questions about having friends there who represent various kinds of elite power/influence); this was the case even when social status and other demographic factors were controlled.

Secular social capital

Theory would suggest that members rich in social capital outside the cathedral community are likely also to be rich in religious social capital. It could be expected that trust will arise in the context of the cathedral Friends' association because of a general propensity on the part of a Friend to trust; and that networks and norms will develop in the association because of a general ability to form connections with friends and relatives, in the local neighbourhood and in other voluntary organizations. Likewise, theory would suggest that a Friend lacking social capital in his/her secular life will not have substantial stocks of religious social capital within the Friends' association. However, the study carried out by Lam (2002) found a small negative correlation between attendance at religious services / volunteering in religious organizations, and general voluntary association membership (p. 410): this suggested that, while the weak ties formed in congregations encourage involvement

in outside groups, the responsibilities associated with congregational membership might prevent individuals from becoming involved in voluntary activity outside the congregation (p. 415). Strong ties with human actors in the secular domain may influence bonding with the cathedral as corporate person.

The comprehensive theoretical model of capital in the social arena of cathedral Friends' associations

As stated earlier, an aim of this chapter was to populate the 'predictors' element of the skeleton model presented in Chapter 1. The foregoing paragraphs have demonstrated that, in seeking to account for capital in the social arena of the Friends' association, consideration should be given to the following: socio-demographic factors (including proximity of home to cathedral, and religiosity), 'secular' social capital, motivations for joining the Friends' association, intensity of involvement in the Friends' association, and persistence in membership. Such an extensive set of rival causes of the capital resources should ensure that observed relationships were not spurious. The dimensions of the various predictors, capitals and outcomes (gifts) in the model are summarized below (Figure 6). How each dimension is operationalized will be described in Chapter 8 (on the capitals), Chapter 9 (on antecedents of the capitals) or 10 (on consequences of the capitals), as appropriate.

Summary

In preparation for the research that forms the core of this study, this chapter has looked at the intimate relationship between theory and empirical work; the principles of measuring social capital; and, in particular, the mechanism for gauging a latent resource.

The working definition adopted for the study deems social capital to be a resource that (i) inheres in relationships in specific contexts; but, nonetheless (ii) is the property of individuals and/or groups; (iii) encompasses networks and norms (including social trust); and (iv) facilitates the achievement of ends that would be unlikely in its absence.

Finally, on the basis of a review of literature concerning influences on social capital formation, a range of factors that may be associated with religious social capital, regard for the cathedral and cultural capital have been identified (the 'predictors'). This enabled the last empty element of the theoretical model to be populated.

Figure 6: A comprehensive theoretical model of capital in the social arena of cathedral Friends' associations, its antecedents and consequences

PREDICTORS	CAPITALS	GIFTS
Socio-demographic; Proximity to cathedral; Religiosity; Secular social networks; Motivation for joining; Intensity of involvement; Persistence in membership.	**Religious Social Capital** Networks (Bonding, Bridging, Linking) Norms (Trust) **Regard for the cathedral** **Embodied cultural capital**	**Money** (More than minimum Friends' subscription; Donation(s) to Friends' association; Legacy to Friends' association; Legacy to cathedral) **Time** (Volunteering for Friends' association; Volunteering for cathedral) **Prayer** for befriended cathedral

CHAPTER 7
THE SAMPLE OF CATHEDRAL FRIENDS

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the methods employed to collect data to test the model. More specifically, the objectives are three-fold. First, the chapter summarizes the procedures by which the sample was obtained. Second, it reviews the processes by which the questionnaire was constructed, pre-tested and administered. Finally, basic data about respondents are presented.

Obtaining the sample

As noted in Chapter 1, the Anglican cathedrals differ in age, origin, size, and also contemporary function. Archbishop Rowan Williams was quoted as claiming that each cathedral said something different to him (Meyrick, 2008, p. 197). Naturally, just as cathedrals differ in many respects, so too do the cathedral Friends' groups, especially with regard to the size of their membership (from as few as 90 subscribers to over 3,500). In the last twenty years, two sources have reckoned that there are altogether in excess of 50,000 Anglican cathedral Friends in England: *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994) included a figure of 53,000 and, in *The Deans,* Beeson (2004) claimed there were 55,000 cathedral Friends at that time. Analysis carried out for the present study revealed a total number of Friends broadly consistent with those figures.

Although a census of the whole population of cathedral Friends would have provided the most complete data to address the research questions, such an approach was impractical. Accordingly, there was need to obtain a sample. Several factors had a bearing on the size of this sample: (i) the typical low response rates to postal surveys; (ii) the need to ensure adequate numbers for meaningful analysis of sub-groups; and (iii) the estimated cost per participant[50]. It was decided to aim for 1,000 completed questionnaires. To achieve this number, it was judged necessary to invite approximately 5,000 cathedral Friends to participate.

Sampling was a blend of purposive and convenience methods. The intention of the purposive strategy was to ensure (i) a reasonable geographical spread among participating cathedrals and (ii) inclusion of different cathedrals/associations judged

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[50] The direct costs of the survey included: (i) printing and stationery, (ii) postage and return postage, (iii) sending or delivering the bundles of questionnaire packs to the relevant cathedral, (iv) data entry.

typical of categories of interest to the study. As far as possible, the aim was to include at least one modern cathedral, and at least one parish church cathedral[51]; at least one of the older Friends' groups, and at least one with a more recent foundation; one with royal patronage; and a mix of membership sizes. Within that broad framework, the convenience sampling method was purely pragmatic: the study could proceed only with the co-operation and goodwill of gatekeepers — participating Friends' Councils / Executive Committees[52].

The next question was whether to sample among all the Friends' associations of the 42 cathedrals, and/or within individual Friends' associations. It was evident that sampling within any Friends' association would be possible only if (i) researcher access were granted to the mailing list and/or (ii) office-holders/administrators were willing to devote a substantial amount of time and energy to potentially complex

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[51] Rapid industrialization and the huge expansion of the population in towns/cities in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries resulted in the creation of new dioceses (either through the sub-division of certain dioceses or the revision of boundaries in other cases), the first of which was Manchester (Beeson, 2004, pp. 1, 17). The 20 dioceses founded from 1836 (Cook, 1957, p. 72) had no wish to add the building of totally new cathedrals to their problems, so in most instances, a parish church in the new diocese was assigned the additional role of being a cathedral, without ceasing to be a parish church (Edwards, 1989, p. 31). Some elevated parish churches were enlarged to fit them for their new purpose, thus creating worthy symbols of the work of their respective dioceses (Cook, 1957, p. 73); in other locations, most notably Guildford and Liverpool, there were newly-built cathedrals. The parish church cathedrals have been regarded as a problematic group (Morrish, 1998); and their evolution has been 'hesitant, muddled and beset by unclear aims and considerable self-doubt' (Sadgrove, 2006, p. 95). Notwithstanding new Cathedrals Measures, and subsequent debates about the distinction between types of cathedral, the parish church cathedrals still remain parish churches today. Sadgrove (2006) criticized the Archbishops' Commission (1994) for balking at tackling some of the more intractable issues related to the parish church cathedrals (p. 95). Those that have minimal historic endowments and are not buildings of national importance on main tourist routes have been doubly disadvantaged (pp. 93-94). Platten and Lewis (1998) recognized that parish church cathedrals can have a valuable role to play today: 'Inner city, parish-church cathedrals have ... broadened their focus of work, and in some cases have taken initiatives towards bold developments aimed at drawing in a wider public. Often [they] have joined in partnership with civic authorities, not only in the realm of tourism, but also in offering themselves as an effective centre for the life of the city, county and region' (p. xv).

[52] The term 'Council' will now be used to denote the governing body of a Friends' association: Council is intended to embrace all relevant nomenclature (for example, 'Executive Committee').

survey administration. Informal exploratory discussions suggested that both strategies were impractical. Thus, it was decided to seek the co-operation of a relatively small number of associations (half a dozen was judged reasonable), with a view to inviting all their subscribing members to complete a questionnaire.

An invitation to participate in the survey was extended to the officials of cathedral Friends' groups in two ways. In late December 2009, as part of an exercise to gather basic data on the organizations[53], personal email messages were sent to an officer/administrator of the majority of associations[54]. In the final paragraph of these messages, mention was made of the impending survey, and provisional expressions of interest were invited. Positive replies were received from four associations at that stage. Then, in October 2010, a short presentation about the study was made to the National Conference of the Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches[55]; and delegates representing cathedral Friends associations (only) were invited to indicate their possible interest in participation.

In total, 14 Friends' associations considered seriously the possibility of joining the study.   Councils / Executive Committees were sent a detailed paper outlining what would be involved, and why the contribution of their particular association would be valuable; the paper also described the benefits of participation not only for the association[56], but also for the wider network of cathedral Friends' associations. Eventually, the Friends' associations of six cathedrals[57] were recruited to the study. There was a reasonable geographical spread of cathedrals; and among the six were cathedrals/associations judged typical of the categories of interest to the study. The

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[53] Primarily, the foundation date, number of subscribers and information about patronage.

[54] No email message was sent at that stage to the official of any association for which complete data was already available in the public domain (i.e. on websites, in downloadable publications, and via the website of the Charity Commission).

[55] The three-day National Conference is a biennial event. The 2010 Conference was hosted by the Blackburn Cathedral Friends.

[56] In particular, each participating association was offered the chance to use a blank page in their questionnaire to include a small number of additional questions of their own, the responses to which would be analyzed without cost to the association.

[57] Since anonymity was promised to cathedrals, no details of participating associations are provided here, save for sizes of the memberships (see Appendix 2, Table 57).

memberships of the six totalled approximately 5,000. The six agreed to allow a postal questionnaire to be circulated to their members[58].

The questionnaire

Construction

It is evident from the foregoing chapters that the art of questionnaire construction involves thinking ahead about three key issues: the research problem, the conceptual framework, and how data will be analyzed (de Vaus, 2002, p. 94). Once the research problem had been articulated, the conceptual framework clarified, and indicators of the concept developed, it was necessary to decide what questions to ask. The broad aim was to collect measures, predictors, and consequences of the capitals. For reasons articulated in Chapter 6, it was decided to incorporate a range of recognized items employed by researchers in the fields of social capital and empirical theology. Useful clues for novel question content came from four principle sources: the literature review; Friends' associations' publications; informants from the groups to be surveyed[59]; and presentations/workshops and speeches at the National Conference in October 2010.

The topics covered by the Friends' questionnaire settled naturally into seven sections: (A) involvement with the Friends' association; (B) volunteering; (C) attitudes towards the cathedral and the Friends' association; (D) religion, beliefs, going to church and prayer; (E) the Friend and his/her lifestyle; (F) giving money to the Friends' association; and (G) a personality profile. The back page of the questionnaire booklet was reserved for any additional comments about the survey or the issues it raised. Sections A, B and F primarily investigated behaviours, whereas C explored attitudes, and D, beliefs and behaviours. The fifth section, E, was

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[58] One association formulated a single question of its own to be included in their version of the questionnaire; a second devised several questions of its own for inclusion. Their requests were met. The other four associations did not take up the opportunity to include extra questions.

[59] Dialogues with these informants took two forms. First, a series of semi-structured telephone interviews, face-to-face interviews, and email conversations were held during the late Spring and early Summer 2010. In total, there were 10 such conversations. Second, informal discussions took place with many of the delegates at the National Conference in Blackburn in October 2010. The purpose was to (i) understand matters from their viewpoint, (ii) gain an insight into their ways of thinking, (iii) learn about topical concerns that might not have been evident from associational literature, and (iv) learn about motives for joining such organizations.

devoted to respondents' attributes and behaviours. Different sections of the questionnaire included nominal, ordinal, interval and scaled levels of measurement. Such variables can be used in different ways, and not all are amendable to all types of statistical analysis (as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 9).

Proper procedures were followed to obtain permission from the Research Ethics Sub-Committee of York St John University[60].

Pre-testing

Time constraints[61] prevented extensive piloting, but a draft version of the complete questionnaire was pre-tested among a dozen contacts from churches / Friends' organizations during August 2010. In order to evaluate the subsequent draft, a second declared pre-test took place among half a dozen different informants in September / early October 2010. Feedback suggested that the estimated length of time to complete all questions was no more than 20 minutes.

Administration

Over a nine-week period starting in late January 2011, 5,059 postal questionnaires were distributed by the six Friends' associations to their individual members. All questionnaire packs were sent out before the end of March 2011. A cover letter explained the broad purpose of the research project, gave an assurance regarding the confidentiality of the information provided by respondents, and stated the estimated completion time for the questionnaire. Recipients were invited to fill out and return the questionnaire within one month or so, using the reply-paid envelope (addressed to the Theology & Religious Studies department, York St John University). How the questionnaire pack was distributed varied between associations: some included it in their regular mailings (which reduced project costs), whereas others allowed a separate mailing (which slightly increased response rates) (Appendix 2, Table 57).

Questionnaires were anonymous, and there was no mechanism to link a completed questionnaire with a subscriber's name and address. For this reason, no personal reminders could be sent in the event of a non-response. To send a generic reminder to all Friends was impractical, and the costs would have been prohibitive. Where possible, brief articles were included in association newsletters later in the year in

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[60] The letter granting permission was dated 18 October 2010, from Dr Simon Rouse, Chair of Research Ethics, York St John University (reference UC/18/10/10/JM).

[61] In particular, it was highly desirable to avoid a clash with the UK deccenial Census 2011 (Census Day was 27 March).

order to remind Friends to complete and return the questionnaire. In the event, there was only a very slight improvement in the response rate afterwards.

Responses

Although over 1,600 questionnaires were returned (Appendix 2, Table 57), the analyses that follow are based on the responses of 923 participants who had complete data for all the variables used in the analysis in Chapters 8, 9 and 10. This sub-sample of 923 was similar in many respects to the overall sample, apart from there being slightly fewer older women (see discussion around Table 58 in Appendix 2). Using this sub-sample of the dataset made little difference to the overall results; but had the advantage of ensuring that a single, defined group of respondents was used for both sets of analyses, thus enabling clearer and more reliable comparisons where the sample size might otherwise have varied between analyses. However, this strategy also involved the loss of data. Although there are methods for imputing missing data, they have their own drawbacks and were not used in this study.

Characteristics of respondents

Just over half of the sub-sample of 923 was female (Table 8). The 52:48 gender split in the sub-sample of Friends exactly mirrored that of the general population, rather than that of churchgoers. Morris (2009) reported that churchgoing women have been found to outnumber churchgoing men 65:35 (p. 161). Interestingly, the 2001 Church Life Profile (Escott & Gelder, 2003) found the same ratio in the generation born between 1927 and 1945, but a 71:29 ratio in the pre-1927 generation (p. 4). In a study of the social capital of 361 regular members of the congregation of two English[62] and three Welsh cathedrals in 2007 (E. Williams, 2008b), a ratio of 63:37 women to men was found (p. 99). By contrast, in a postal survey of 665 friends/members of heritage organizations in 2006-7 (Holmes & Slater, 2007, p. 110), women outnumbered men by 59:41.

Almost three-quarters of the sub-sample (74%) were over the state retirement age (65 years), which compares with 16% of the whole population of England and Wales, as revealed by the Census 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2012a, p. 9). It is not easy to compare Friends' age with the age of other samples, because there is not always consistency in reporting of age bands.

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[62] One of the English cathedrals in Williams' (2008b) survey also participated in the study of Friends reported here. 28% of Williams' respondents worshipped at that cathedral (p. 99).

The age profile of this group of donors, who were mainly church-goers, was not surprising for three reasons. First, the 2006-7 survey of friends/members of heritage organizations found that 84% were aged 55 or over (Holmes & Slater, 2007, p. 110). Second, church congregations comprise disproportionately large numbers of those in the generations born up to and including 1945 (Escott & Gelder, 2003, p. 3); and congregations have been getting progressively older in recent decades (Brierley, 2008; see also Guest et al., 2012, p. 63). This is relevant in the light of data about patterns of Friends' attendance at church (reported below) and the befriended cathedrals (Chapter 9). Even so, when compared with the percentage of Anglican churchgoers aged 65 and over in the 2005 English Church Census (35%) (Brierley, 2008, Table 12.7.2), and also with the percentage of cathedral congregants surveyed by Williams (2008b) aged 60 and over (58%), the Friends of cathedrals in the sub-sample were disproportionately elderly. Third, a recent report by the Charities Aid Foundation (S. Smith, 2012) found an ageing donor population, and warned of a 'donor deficit' in the years to come if action is not taken to encourage younger generations to match the generosity of the generation born between the two World Wars[63]. The age profile of the cathedral Friends was promising as far as stocks of social capital were concerned: it will be recalled that both Putnam (2000) and Hall (2002) identified generational effects, and that Putnam (2000) pointed to an 'unusually civic generation' born in the 1920s, which had been forced into cooperative social habits and values in part by World War II (p. 275).

The Friends in the sub-sample were well-educated: 44% held a degree (Table 8). They were better educated than the general adult population at the 2011 Census, 27% of whom held a Bachelor's degree or equivalent and higher qualifications (Office for National Statistics, 2012b, p. 36); and better educated than church-attenders in general, 32% of whom were found to be graduates by the 2001 English Church Life Profile[64] (Cameron & Escott, 2012, p. 6). The figure for cathedral

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[63] The over-60s are twice as likely to give to charity as, for example, the under-30s; and over the period 1980 to 2010, the share of total donations from under-30s fell from 8% to 3%, while that from, for example, the over-75s grew from 9% to 21% (S. Smith, 2012, p. 7). Naturally, the report points to underlying demographic and socio-economic trends that would lead to an expectation of an ageing donor population; nevertheless, the author observes that 'while there has been growth in the over-60s' share of total spending … this has been much less than the growth in their share of total donations' (p. 7).

[64] This dataset of church-attenders (rather than members) includes responses from over 107,000 adults (aged 15+) representing over 2,000 congregations across various denominations in England. Initiated through Churches Together in

Friends was broadly comparable to that for the friends/members of heritage organizations surveyed in 2006-7, 39% of whom were degree-holders (Holmes & Slater, 2007, p. 110).

Of those in the sub-sample in employment (22%), more than half (53%) were in part-time work. When asked about their current or most recent job, 14% of the respondents replied managers or directors (which compared with 11% of the general population, as reported in the 2011 Census) (Office for National Statistics, 2012b, p. 40). Just over half of the Friends (52%) were or had been in professional occupations (such as nursing or teaching); this was a much higher proportion than in the general population in 2011 (17%). A further 16% of Friends were or had been in administrative/secretarial occupations; this was a little higher than the 11% in the general population in 2011.

More than one third lived alone (Table 8); of these, 40% were single, 17% separated or divorced, and 42% widowed. The proportion which lived alone (35%) was somewhat higher than in the general population, as measured by the Census 2011 (30%) (Office for National Statistics, 2012b, p. 29). There were children in only 3% of Friends' households, which compares with 30% for the population as a whole, according to the Census 2001 (Beaumont, 2011, p. 4)[65].

Most respondents (90%) regarded themselves as Anglican or Church of England; 3% were Methodist, and 3% Roman Catholic. Around three-fifths of respondents (61%) stated that they prayed every day; 10% only ever prayed in church with others; and 5% never prayed.

Data on attendance at cathedral worship will be reported later (Chapter 9). In the meantime, it is notable that nearly one third (30%) attended another church once a week, while 16% attended more than weekly; 13% never attended another church, and 27% attended one just a few times a year. Only 4% of the sub-sample did not attend worship at the cathedral or another church: this figure was consistent with the proportion of respondents declaring themselves not to be religious (see Chapter 9, Table 19).

Befriending places of worship was a habit for some: 13% were Friends to one other cathedral as well; 5% were Friends to another two cathedrals; and 3% were Friends to another three or more cathedrals. As will be shown (Chapter 9, Box 5), some respondents made a plea for the equivalent of the National Trust for cathedrals, to

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England, the questionnaire was administered in April 2001, mainly at the end of services of worship (Cameron & Escott, 2012, p. 4).

[65] Comparable data is not yet available for the Census 2011.

obviate the need for such multiple subscriptions. Just less than a third (31%) was also a Friend to a parish church; 5% were a Friend to two parish churches; and 2% were a Friend to three or more parish churches.

In their general leisure activities, the sub-sample of cathedral Friends was representative of the general population in some but not all respects (Table 9). For example, Friends were typical of the general public in relation to their habits of spending time with family and friends, listening to music, TV watching, and shopping and internet/emailing; but the Friends read more and gardened more than the general population; and went to the cinema less, ate out in restaurants less, had fewer days out, and engaged in sport and exercise less than all other adults in England. Naturally, some of these differences were likely to be explained by the relatively elderly age of the sub-sample of Friends. However, the Friends were more likely to read and garden in their leisure time even than those aged 65 and over in the general population.

Interestingly, more than two-thirds of the sub-sample of Friends (70%) belonged to the National Trust[66]. The most popular type of general heritage site visited by Friends in the last 12 months was an historic city or town, followed closely by an historic building and an historic place of worship (Table 10). Comparing the proportions of cathedral Friends and the general public who visited heritage sites in the last year reveals that Friends were much more likely to have visited historic cities/towns, parks/gardens and monuments; that Friends were more than twice as likely to have visited historic buildings and sites of archaeological interest; and that they were three times more likely to have visited historic places of worship (Table 10).

The propensity of the sub-sample to volunteer their spare time for the Friends/cathedral will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10. In the meantime, it is worth setting their norms of cathedral community involvement in a broader context, by looking at their patterns of volunteering elsewhere. It is also notable that, when the volunteers for the Friends/cathedral were asked whether giving their time in this manner had encouraged their volunteering elsewhere, 14% replied in the affirmative.

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[66] The National Trust, a UK conservation charity protecting and opening historic places and green spaces, has over 3.7 million members (National Trust, 2012).

Table 8: Basic socio-demographic data on the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends

Variables	Percentage
<u>Age</u>	
50s or less (1)	14%
60 to 64 years (2)	12%
65 to 69 years (3)	15%
70 to 74 years (4)	22%
75 to 79 years (5)	16%
80 to 84 years (6)	15%
85 years or more (7)	7%
<u>Sex</u>	
Female (1)	52%
Male (2)	48%
<u>Education</u>	
No degree (1)	56%
Degree (2)	44%
<u>Live alone</u>	
Live with another (1)	65%
Live alone (2)	35%

Table 9: Selected activities performed in free time – cathedral Friends compared with the general population in England

Leisure activities	All adults aged 16 and over [¶]	Adults aged 65 and over [¶]	Cathedral Friends
Watching TV	89%	92%	87%
Spending time with family/friends	84%	82%	84%
Listening to music	76%	69%	74%
Shopping	71%	69%	71%
Reading	67%	73%	91%
Eating out in restaurants	69%	65%	57%
Days out	63%	59%	55%
Internet/emailing	59%	24%	56%
Sport/exercise	54%	35%	39%
Gardening	49%	62%	64%
Going to the cinema	48%	21%	30%

[¶] Adults in England, 2009-10.
Source: Taking Part: The National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010 (Seddon, 2011, p. 3)

Table 10: Proportion who have visited a heritage site in the last year - cathedral Friends compared with the general population in England

Heritage sites visited	Adults in England[¶]	Cathedral Friends
Historic city or town	55%	85%
Historical park or garden	42%	75%
Historic building	39%	82%
Castle, fort or ruin	38%	58%
Historic place of worship	27%	81%
Industrial history site	21%	27%
Site of archaeological interest	15%	38%
Sports heritage site	5%	4%

[¶] Adults in England, 2009-10.
Source: Taking Part: The National Survey of Culture, Leisure and Sport, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2010 (Seddon, 2011, p. 17)

Table 11: Volunteer roles taken on in the last 12 months - cathedral Friends compared with the general population in England

Types of volunteering activity	Adults in England[¶]	Cathedral Friends
Raising or handling money	35%	40%
Leading a group	14%	20%
Member of a committee	25%	52%
Organising or helping to run an activity/event	36%	41%
Visiting people	13%	29%
Befriending or mentoring people	12%	14%
Coaching or tuition	16%	9%
Giving advice / information / counselling	14%	21%
Secretarial, administrative, clerical work	14%	26%
Providing transport	12%	22%
Representing	8%	13%
Campaigning	7%	10%
Conservation/restoration	5%	10%
Officiating – judging/umpiring/refereeing	6%	4%
Work in a charity shop	1%	3%

[¶] Adults in England, 2010-11.
Source: Taking Part 2011-12 Quarter 1, Statistical Release (Department for Culture Media and Sport, 2011)

Slightly more than half of the sub-sample (52%) reported that they volunteered for a church other than the befriended cathedral; of those church volunteers, 22% were also volunteers at the befriended cathedral. In total, 64% of respondents in the sub-sample volunteered for a church and/or the befriended cathedral. This is a little higher than the proportion of respondents in the English 2001 Church Life Profile (58%), who reported having a role in church in addition to attending worship (Cameron & Escott, 2012, p. 10).

More than four-fifths of the sub-sample of Friends reported that they had given unpaid help in some way to another group, club or organisation during the last 12 months. This seems a very high level of community involvement. Bias may be an issue in this respect, with Friends more active in the community having responded in greater numbers to the invitation to take part in the study. A review of volunteerism research since 2008 (Wilson, 2012) noted that one of the most important methodological issues facing survey researchers is the accuracy of reports of volunteer work: some scholars suspect that overestimates are quite common, whereas other scholars fear that people do not recall their true volunteer contributions accurately (p. 178). By far the most popular type of volunteering for the Friends was serving as a member of a committee (Table 11); that activity was followed by organising or helping to run an activity/event; raising or handling money; visiting people; undertaking secretarial/administrative tasks; providing transport; giving advice/information; and leading groups. A comparison between the proportions of cathedral Friends and the general public who engaged in various volunteering in the last year revealed that Friends were more likely to be involved in all these activities, save two (officiating and coaching/tuition); that they were more than twice as likely to serve on committees, and to visit people; and that they were nearly twice as likely to undertake administrative tasks, and provide transport. So, the Friends in the sub-sample were concerned with the quality of life of others in their neighbourhood, as might be expected from a group that has a high proportion of churchgoers (Cnaan et al., 2003).

How representative is the sub-sample?

It was noted earlier that no two Anglican cathedrals in England are the same and that a measure of variety is found in cathedral Friends' associations too. As already explained, when the sample was obtained, steps were taken to ensure a reasonable geographical spread in the associations and to include cathedrals judged typical of categories of interest to the study. However, it was unlikely that any method would yield a sample wholly representative of the generality of cathedral Friends.

Furthermore, with an overall response rate of 32%, and the inevitable presence of some missing values (see Appendix 2), there was a potential for bias in this study. An overview of the nature of the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends enables reflection on the question of whether any bias might or might not be problematic when conclusions are drawn in due course. The influence of statistical techniques on the capacity to generalize from results will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Since there was no pre-existing survey of cathedral Friends against which to benchmark the sample under study here, comparisons have been drawn with the survey of friends/members of heritage organizations conducted by Holmes and Slater (2007). In terms of their age and level of education, the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends was broadly comparable to Holmes and Slater's sample of heritage Friends. In terms of the sex of respondents, the female:male split in the cathedral Friends was somewhat less marked than in the sample of heritage Friends. Although there was no relevant data against which to benchmark the sample here, it is worth noting that, when findings on the characteristics/behaviours of the respondents ($n = 1,637$) were presented to the National Conference of Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches, and subsequently discussed in groups, delegates were not surprised by the profiles and did not question the data. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the sample was not out of line with informed expectations.

In many ways, the cathedral Friends were representative of the general public in their leisure pursuits; and marked disparities may have been explicable by the age of the cathedral Friends. Unsurprisingly, the cathedral Friends were much more interested in visits to most types of heritage site than the general public. In addition, they were much more likely to be involved in volunteering activities than the general public, but this might have been expected from a relatively elderly group, with a high proportion of churchgoers.

One legitimate concern regarding bias may relate to the number of passive participants represented in the sub-sample. The reduction in sample size to 923 did not in itself compound any possible bias related to this facet of membership[67], but passive Friends might have been more likely not to return the questionnaire (owing either to a lack of interest, or to a tendency to undervalue their own contribution to the association). Comparative data presented in Chapter 9 will reveal that membership of a voluntary association is not synonymous with active membership,

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[67] In the whole sample, 32% were socially passive, whereas in the sub-sample ($n = 932$) 33% were socially passive.

but will suggest that a 67% participation rate may be high. Nonetheless, given the age profile of the cathedral Friends studied here, it is not surprising that two-thirds had the time and inclination to attend social gatherings; and it should be noted that a Friend had only to report attendance on one occasion (say, at the Annual General Meeting) to be categorized as socially active in this study.

Without reliable external data, it is difficult to tell if the sample in this study was wholly representative of Friends' association members. The main thrust of the empirical study is analytical rather than survey; and for this sort of analysis it is important to study the range of membership types, but less crucial that their proportions in the sample match exactly those in the study population. For this reason, the sample used in this study was deemed worthy of detailed analysis.

Summary

This chapter has described how the sample of cathedral Friends was obtained, and how the questionnaire was constructed, tested and administered. It has explained why the study is based on the responses of 923 cathedral Friends. The chapter has looked at the characteristics and behaviours of the 923 Friends, and in order to see how representative they might be of broader societal groups, comparisons have been made with the general public (using national Census data) and also church-goers and friends/members of heritage organizations (using relevant survey data). Lastly, there has been discussion of how representative the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends might be.

CHAPTER 8
CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL ARENA:
OPERATIONALIZATION

Chapter 6 discussed the principles of measuring social capital; and clarified the definition and dimensions of social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital employed in this study. The third step in the process of translating the concepts into a measurable form is to develop indicators for the various dimensions; and the aim of the present chapter is to detail the metrics and reliabilities of the various indicators of social capital, regard and cultural capital employed here.

Social capital: indicators of the concept

Where possible, rather than 'reinventing the wheel', it is preferable to use well-established indicators of a concept (modified as necessary, depending on the nature of the sample) (de Vaus, 2002, p. 50). Whether indicators are well-established or developed especially for the purpose, it is necessary in due course to evaluate their reliability and validity through pre-testing (see Chapter 7). The use of pre-existing indicators (either well-established or more recently recognized) enables a link to be made between findings of a new study and those of studies in established and developing fields of enquiry.

The intention of the present project was to assess not only religious social capital, but also social capital generated outside the domain of the cathedral Friends' association (since the latter might have been a predictor of the former). For both forms of the capital, a range of items operationalized the concept; and certain sets of items were used to build scales. Indicators of secular social capital, as it is termed here, are discussed when the results on predictors of religious social capital are presented (Chapter 9). The primary indicator of religious social capital was a modified version of a recognized scale, the Williams Religious Social Capital Index (WRSCI) (E. Williams, 2008a).

The WRSCI was developed in cathedral congregations[68] to measure social capital within micro-level studies of religious groups (E. Williams, 2008a, p. 329). Williams' use of the adjective 'religious' to mark out the distinctive social capital in cathedral congregations is consistent with Baker and Miles-Watson's (2010) definition. The WRSCI drew upon the conceptualization of social capital as a relationship between two or more actors, which is based on trust and can be defined as bonding, bridging[69] (Putnam, 2000) or linking (Woolcock, 2001) in nature. The index employed the 5-point Likert-scale technique (Likert, 1932, pp. 14, 39) to measure direction of attitude towards 12 clear, well-focused statements (three related to each of the four aspects of the resource) (5 = agree strongly; 4 = agree; 3 = not certain; 2 = disagree; 1 = disagree strongly).

Williams examined the construct validity of the Index by performing ANOVAs to test for the relationship between scale scores and attendance at public worship. Respondents who attended the cathedral on a daily basis were more likely to record higher WRSCI scores than those who reported attendance on a monthly basis. This finding was supportive of the theory that that those who invest more time in the cathedral religious community, and consequently (i) confirm that their sense of trust has been increased and (ii) have more access to bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, are likely to score more highly on the Index (E. Williams, 2008a, pp. 330-331).

To employ the index in the cathedral Friends' association context, it was necessary to modify 11 of the 12 statements, mainly by changing 'Being in the cathedral' to 'Being in the cathedral Friends' association'. The properties of the modified WRSCI (hereafter referred to as the WRSCIM) are set out below (Table 12). The result is a scale which achieved an alpha[70] of .93, slightly higher than that for the original scale

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[68] The WRSCI was developed through a questionnaire completed by a total of 720 congregants, in six cathedrals in England and Wales (E. Williams, 2008a, p. 330). The WRSCI was chosen for use in the study of cathedral Friends, in the light of Williams' recommendation that his index be employed in further studies of religious communities, with a larger sample size (p. 331).

[69] In operationalizing the concept of bridging social capital, Williams did not make an explicit distinction between identity-bridging and status-bridging capitals, as defined by Wuthnow (2002a).

[70] Cronbach's alpha is commonly used as the index of internal consistency. A computed alpha coefficient will range between 1 (denoting perfect internal reliability) and 0 (denoting no internal reliability); the figure .80 is typically deemed to denote an acceptable level of internal reliability, but some researchers work with a lower figure (Bryman, 2008, p. 151). A study by

reported from a sample of cathedral worshippers.   The item-rest-of-test correlations presented in Table 12 indicate that the items have satisfactory levels of inter-item correlations.

The range of percentage endorsements by the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends for the WRSCIM was broadly in line with those for the original WRSCI, developed in cathedral congregations. That is, the level of endorsement was higher for bridging than for bonding social capital, and lowest overall for linking social capital. Nonetheless, it was striking that the percentage endorsements for the trust items in the WRSCIM were not consistent with the respective scores for the original index. In the case of two trust items, the WRSCIM scores were approximately half those for the WRSCI. This observed difference is likely to be explained by two characteristics of cathedral Friends' associations, which mark them out from cathedral congregations. First, belonging to a cathedral Friends' association is most unlikely to involve participation along with other Friends on such a frequent basis as in a cathedral congregation: a congregant necessarily attends with others at acts of public worship, and possibly also on other occasions, when trust can be built between individuals. The respective patterns of activity would suggest that the building of trust may be less easy to achieve in a cathedral Friends' association. Second, the lower percentage endorsement achieved by the WRSCIM trust item relating to faith-based praxis ('Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association builds up my sense of trust in God') can be explained by the fact that the primary function of Friends' organisations is not to be discipling units (see J. A. Coleman, 2003 on the characteristics of para-church groups, as reported in Chapter 2 here).

Berthoud (2000) has been cited as evidence that .60 is regarded as a good minimum level (Bryman, 2008, p. 151). DeVellis (2012) too has suggested that an alpha coefficient below .60 is unacceptable; he went on to indicate that between .60 and .65 is undesirable; between .65 and .70 minimally acceptable; between .70 and .80 respectable; between .80 and .90 very good (p. 109). In the case of psychological tests, Kline advocated that alphas should never drop below .70 (2000, p. 13).

Table 12: Scale Properties of the modified Williams Religious Social Capital Index (WRSCIM)

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements	
		Modified WRSCI	WRSCI
Trust			
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association builds up my sense of trust in God	.558	35%	70%
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association builds up my sense of trust in myself	.632	25%	56%
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association builds up my sense of trust in other people	.677	38%	59%
Bonding			
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to make friends	.799	41%	49%
I feel close to the cathedral clergy	.628	34%	41%
I feel close to the members of the Cathedral Friends' Association	.749	35%	45%
Bridging			
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to meet new people	.777	50%	57%
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to contribute to community life	.648	49%	49%
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have become friends with people who I would otherwise not have met	.723	41%	47%
Linking			
Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to establish my place in the community	.703	26%	31%
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have met important people	.675	18%	30%
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have met different community leaders	.690	20%	27%

Scale alpha = .93 (WRSCI .83), Mean = 34.69 (WRSCI 33.28), SD = 9.67 (WRSCI 7.54)

Whether the modified version of the WRSCI had the capacity to measure fully all dimensions of the social capital in a tertiary association with a combination of passive and active members was a moot point. For that reason, a second indicator of religious social capital was employed. This assessed the extent of personal social networks in the cathedral/Friends' community. The measure focused on two different aspects of individuals' micro-social worlds: (i) the extent of circles[71] of informal relationships within the cathedral Friends' association, and (ii) the density of personal connections within the cathedral community. These aspects of religious social capital are relevant because, at a time when it is no longer inevitable that individuals will have links to their local churches, network connections can be important in influencing church attendance (Hirst, 2003, pp. 90-91). Furthermore, church-related groups can rely on pre-existing strands of congregational community for membership, thereby establishing new linkages among previously isolated strands of relationships (such as friendship cliques, lifestyle enclaves and other 'clumps' of individuals) (J. A. Coleman, 2003, p. 40).

The second indicator of religious social capital comprised four items. The first item related to networks linking the member to someone (for example, family, friend, neighbour) with a formal role at the cathedral (such as chorister, server, clergy, shop/refectory assistant, flower arranger): such networks might have been the catalyst for membership of the Friends' association. For this closed-choice item, respondents selected as many categories as appropriate. Subsequently, a new variable was computed: Number known with special role in cathedral (0 = none; 1 = one; 2 = two, through to 7 = seven). The next three items measured the size of members' circles of informal relationships within the Friends' association. These circles encompassed personal friends, people known by first name, and people known by face (only). The size of circles follows Dunbar's (2010) rule (see footnote 71) (in each instance, 1 = None; 2 = No more than 5; 3 = No more than 15; 4 = No more than 50; 5 = No more than 150; 6 = More than 150).

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[71] After extensive studies conducted in a wide range of societies, the anthropologist Dunbar (2010) reached the conclusion that there is a limit to the number of people who can be held at a particular level of intimacy (p. 34); and his rule applies (albeit only reasonably neatly) in a number of different contexts. Within the standard group of 150 that constitutes an individual's social world, Dunbar detects certain circles of intimacy that happen to increase in size by multiples of three (the innermost group being up to 5, the next up to 15, the subsequent group up to 50, and the last up to 150). As the size of the circle increases, so the sense of intimacy felt and the frequency of contact decrease.

The four cathedral social network measures were combined to create a new scale, the Cathedral Social Networks Index (hereafter, termed the CSNI), which was used in preference to the individual items. The properties of this scale are set out below (Table 13). The item-rest-of-test correlations indicate that the items have satisfactory levels of inter-item correlations. The index achieved an alpha of .85, a very good level of acceptability (see footnote 70).

Table 13: Scale properties of the Cathedral Social Networks Index (CSNI)

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
Number known with special role in cathedral	.550	
No-one		30%
Immediate family member		12%
Another relative		3%
Close friend		29%
Acquaintance		48%
Neighbour		10%
Known as personal friends	.724	
None		34%
No more than 5		41%
No more than 15		19%
No more than 50		5%
No more than 150		0%
More than 150		0%
Known first name only	.762	
None		35%
No more than 5		35%
No more than 15		20%
No more than 50		9%
No more than 150		1%
More than 150		0%
Known by face only	.735	
None		26%
No more than 5		25%
No more than 15		25%
No more than 50		20%
No more than 150		4%
More than 150		1%

Scale alpha = .85; Mean = 7.61; SD = 3.43

Overall, more than two-thirds of the sub-sample of 923 knew someone with a special role in the cathedral: this was most likely to be an acquaintance or close friend, rather than a family member or another relative (Table 13). Only one-third of the sub-sample did not know other members either as personal friends or simply by first name; and only one quarter of the sub-sample knew no Friends only by face. Mean CSNI scores were significantly higher for women than for men (8.07 and 7.11 respectively, $F(921,1) = 18.623$, $p < .001$).

Regard for the cathedral: indicator of the concept

As an indicator of regard for the befriended cathedral in this study, a short Regard Index was devised (hereafter, termed the RI). Once again, the 5-point Likert-scale technique was employed to measure direction of attitude towards statements. The structure of the three-item index precisely mirrored that of the three-item Bonding component of the WRSCIM, with two items assessing the nature of the attachment, while a third assessed the extent to which being a Friend had a positive effect upon such sentiments. Respondents were asked to indicate the level of their agreement/disagreement with the following statements (5 = agree strongly, through to 1 = disagree strongly): 'The cathedral is a building with which I have a strong bond', 'The cathedral is a building that I love intensely' and 'Being in the cathedral Friends' association makes my feelings for the cathedral grow stronger'. A reliable scale (alpha .71) was constructed from the three variables (maximum score 15, minimum score 5). The scale properties of the RI are set out below (Table 14). The item-rest-of-test correlations indicate that the items have satisfactory levels of inter-item correlations

Regard for the cathedral was high in the sub-sample, judged by the high endorsement of the first two items in the index. A number of Friends wrote about their feelings for the cathedral on the back-page of the questionnaire. To add colour to the narrative and to provide a lively insight into the Friends, a selection of comments is provided below (Box 4).

Furthermore, belonging to the Friends' association had a positive effect on feelings for the cathedral, as judged by the high endorsement of the third item in RI.

Table 14: Scale properties of the Regard Index (RI)

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
The cathedral is a building with which I have a strong bond	.650	83%
The cathedral is a building that I love intensely	.637	73%
Being in the cathedral Friends' association makes my feelings for the cathedral grow stronger	.352	70%

Scale alpha = .71; Mean = 11.76; SD = 2.23

Box 4: Attachment to the cathedral - in Friends' own words

'As a catholic I greatly value the ecumenical spirit abroad in [city] cathedral. I came to live here because I love the cathedral.'

'I attend [city] Methodist Church but I love the cathedral and have enjoyed many events, acts of worship, concerts and enjoyed the wonderful choir'

'My love of the cathedral comes from my teenage years when it played an important part of my life'

'Please note that I am currently a Friend of 3 cathedrals but am not living in or immediately adjacent to their dioceses. I do so because I feel a special attraction for the place as a building. [city] is one of them'

'Being old and disabled … I have been abandoned by my 'friends'. Not so with the cathedral. That is like home and I am accepted for what I am and not for what I have or for what I can do.'

'Now I am an organist and cannot get to Sunday services in [city] living over 40 miles away I rarely travel there. It will always have a place in my heart'

'From birth to age 70, I was Roman Catholic. Widowed, I met a widower member of the cathedral and joined her at services. I grew to love the services and building and became very involved'

'My husband was ordained in [city] cathedral and we love it'

'I have a great love of the cathedral and regard it as part of the core of my being'

Cultural capital: indicator of the concept

As an indicator of cultural capital in this study, a short Cultural Capital Index (hereafter, termed the CCI) was devised. Employing the 5-point Likert-scale technique to measure intensity of feelings, the structure mirrored the individual sections of the religious social capital index (WRSCIM). Respondents were asked to indicate the level of their agreement/disagreement with the following clear statements (5 = agree strongly, through to 1 = disagree strongly): 'Through the cathedral Friends' association, I have enriched my cultural life', 'Through the cathedral Friends' association, I have become more competent in understanding cathedral artefacts', and 'Through the cathedral Friends' association, I have increased my empathy towards and appreciation of the historical and architectural aspects of the cathedral'. The result was a scale (maximum score 15, minimum score 5) which achieved an alpha of .81 (Table 15). The item-rest-of-test correlations indicate that the items have satisfactory levels of inter-item correlations.

Cultural capital was reasonably high in the sub-sample, judged by the level of endorsement of the items in the index. More than half of the respondents reported having enriched their cultural life through membership of the cathedral Friends' association; and around the same proportion reported having become more competent in understanding cathedral artefacts. In particular, the capacity of the Friends' association to increase members' empathy towards and appreciation of the historical and architectural aspects of the cathedral was notable, as judged by the high endorsement of the third item in the CCI.

Table 15: Scale properties of the Cultural Capital Index (CCI)

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association, I have enriched my cultural life	.591	57%
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association, I have become more competent in understanding cathedral artefacts	.721	58%
Through the Cathedral Friends' Association, I have increased my empathy towards and appreciation of the historical and architectural aspects of the cathedral	.659	77%

Scale alpha = .81; Mean = 10.46; SD = 2.65

It was reported earlier (Chapter 7) that a high proportion of Friends belonged to the National Trust. Although the likelihood of belonging to the National Trust did not increase with Cultural Capital accrued in the Friends' association, those with higher CCI scores were more likely to report that they had visited one or more National Trust sites in the last 12 months (No NT visits CCI $M = 10.12$, NT visit(s) CCI $M = 10.55$; $F(910,1) = 4.011$, $p < .05$). As also reported earlier, when compared with data for the general public, the proportions of cathedral Friends having visited heritage sites in the last year was much higher in most instances (Chapter 7, Table 10). Interestingly, Table 16 below reveals that the likelihood of cathedral Friends having made six sorts of visits in the last year (that is, all except to a park/garden) increased significantly with CCI.

Table 16: Comparison of mean CCI scores for cathedral Friends who visited a heritage site in the last year

Heritage sites	Mean CCI scores		
	No visit	Visited in last year	F (902,1)
Historic city or town	10.00	10.56	5.13, $p < .05$
Historical park or garden	10.20	10.56	NS
Historic building	9.99	10.58	6.75, $p < .01$
Castle, fort or ruin	10.23	10.65	5.64, $p < .05$
Historic place of worship	9.90	10.61	9.92, $p < .01$
Industrial history site	10.36	10.77	4.26, $p < .05$
Site of archaeological interest	10.28	10.80	8.39, $p < .01$
Sports heritage site	10.44	11.33	4.31, $p < .05$

Relationships between the four variables (WRSCIM, CSNI, CCI, RI)

A series of bivariate analyses examined the relationship between the four variables in the study: that is, between WRSCIM and CSNI; between CCI and WRSCIM and CSNI; between RI and CCI; and also between RI and WRSCIM and CSNI (Table 17).

Although WRSCIM and CSNI both measured religious social capital, they were accessing slightly different aspects of the domain. It was therefore expected that they should be strongly, but not completely correlated: this was indeed the case ($r = .514$, $p < .001$). It was expected that CCI would be strongly correlated with

WRSCIM, but not so strongly with CSNI: this too was the case ($r = .622$, $p < .001$ and $r = .268$, $p < .001$)[72]. Furthermore, RI was significantly correlated with CCI, and the effect size was relatively large ($r = .482$, $p < .001$). There was a significant positive correlation with a moderate effect size between RI and WRSCIM ($r = .436$, $p < .001$). It was anticipated that the relationship between RI and CSNI would not be so strong: this was certainly the case ($r = .246$, $p < .001$).

A further series of bivariate analyses examined the relationship between RI and the four individual components of WRSCIM (trust, bonding, bridging and linking). The relationships are also presented in the correlation matrix below (Table 17). Deconstructing the WRSCIM in this manner revealed that RI correlated significantly with all four components of WRSCIM. As theory suggested, the effect size for the correlation with the group of Bonding items was the most substantial ($r = .442$, $p < .001$), lending weight to the case that bonding with a cathedral, as corporate person, is related to bonding between human agents.

Table 17: Correlation matrix of the CSNI, RI and CCI against WRSCIM and its components

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.WRSCIM	1.00							
2.WRSCIM Trust (only)	.771***	1.00						
3.WRSCIM Bonding (only)	.903***	.580***	1.00					
4.WRSCIM Bridging (only)	.897***	.523***	.806***	1.00				
5.WRSCIM Linking (only)	.874***	.559***	.719***	.749***	1.00			
6.CSNI	.514***	.229***	.510***	.572***	.454***	1.00		
7.RI	.436***	.362***	.442***	.365***	.332***	.246***	1.00	
8.CCI	.622***	.463***	.556***	.575***	.548***	.268***	.482***	1.00

*** $p < .001$

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[72] With a large sample size, statistical significance can be achieved with relatively low values of correlation coefficient. This implies that it is very unlikely that there is no relationship, but the relationship is not very tight.

Summary

The contention was that the distinctive nature of social capital formed in a religious context should be reflected in indicators. For that reason, a recognized index developed in cathedral congregations (WRSCI) was adopted as the primary measure of religious social capital; the items were modified for use in the cathedral Friends' context. The underlying assumption of the WRSCI was that social capital would be generated in cathedral congregations through face-to-face contact during attendance at worship. Therefore, to measure religious social capital in cathedral Friends' associations, where there was no obligation for members to be active participants, it was judged necessary to employ a complementary measure. This second indicator of religious social capital (CSNI) measured the density of personal connections in the cathedral community and also the extent of informal relationships in the Friends' association. Taken together, the two indices (which were strongly correlated) provided a more complete picture of religious social capital in this context than use of WRSCIM alone.

CCI measured a related resource, cultural capital; and this was correlated strongly with WRSCIM and, to a lesser extent, also with CSNI. The Regard Index (RI) measured the intensity of feelings for the cathedral, as a corporate person; and this was correlated strongly with WRSCIM and CCI, and to a lesser extent with CSNI.

PART FOUR

RESULTS

The next two chapters analyze the core empirical data gathered early in 2011 from Friends of six Anglican cathedrals in England. The data for all respondents in the sub-sample of 923 were considered together; and no comparisons will be made here between the six cathedrals. The first chapter (Chapter 9) focuses on the factors that shaped Friends' religious social capital, their cultural capital, and also their regard for the befriended cathedral. To complement the quantitative data, certain comments written by Friends on the back-page of their questionnaires are included in the text. Naturally, such qualitative data are subjective and anecdotal: selected to lend weight to a particular point, they are not representative of the sample as a whole. Nonetheless, Friends' own words enliven the narrative. In the second chapter (Chapter 10), attention shifts to the capitals' consequences, which were measured in terms of seven types of gift-giving. The different variables and summative scales employed in the analyses will be described in the relevant chapter. The findings are summarized at the end of each chapter; and their broader implications will then be discussed in Part Five of the thesis.

CHAPTER 9
THE ANTECEDENTS OF
RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL,
REGARD FOR THE CATHEDRAL, AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The ability to establish and maintain social capital is beyond individual control (Messer, 1998, p. 7), but societal social capital ultimately rests on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals, who either enhance or detract from aggregate stocks (M. C. Green & Brock, 1998). Bearing that in mind, the focus of this chapter is social capital at the individual level, and how variance in individuals' characteristics, attitudes and behaviours can affect the formation of the resource (Brehm & Rahn, 1997). As stated previously, the interest goes beyond religious social capital (in the two forms defined here) to include two other forms of capital, namely, regard for the cathedral (as a variant of bonding social capital) and cultural capital.

Research design

The weight of opinion suggests that face-to-face interaction is crucial to the formation of social capital, so it was expected that higher levels of religious social capital would be possessed by the individuals with higher levels of social interaction. Put simply, cathedral Friends who were motivated in their membership by social factors, and who actively participated in the cathedral and/or voluntary association, were expected to score more highly on the two indices of religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI). It followed that the more opportunity Friends had for social interaction (for example, by living in their cathedral city, and being persistent in their membership of the Friends' association), the more religious social capital would have accrued to them. It was not anticipated that Friends' income would influence their social capital.

Theory suggests that social interaction enables individuals to increase their cultural capital, so it was anticipated that factors such as social motivation for joining, living in the cathedral city, active participation and persistence in membership would enhance Friends' cultural capital. It was likely that the influences on regard for the cathedral would be slightly different: naturally, these would include more frequent interaction with the cathedral as a Friend (by living in the city, attending worship there, and persistence in membership of the Friends' association), but it was not anticipated that a social motivation to join the Friends' association would influence regard for the building.

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Although religious social capital (as defined here) is so labelled because it was formed in a religious context (not because it necessarily depended on religious beliefs/practices), it was reasonable to suppose that Friends' religiosity was a candidate predictor of religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI). Likewise, it was reasonable to posit that how religious Friends declared themselves influenced their regard for the cathedral; but it was not reasonable to posit that religiosity would influence the volume of cultural capital they derived from involvement with the Friends' association.

Theory also suggested that individuals rich in social capital outside the cathedral and Friends' association (that is, rich in what is here termed secular social capital) would similarly be rich in religious social capital within the Friends' association. In other words, it was anticipated that the trust apparent in the Friends' association, and the social networks there, arose partly because of a general ability to make connections with friends/relatives, in neighbourhoods and in local organizations. It was not necessarily expected that an ability to make connections with friends, relatives and acquaintances would influence the ability to bond with the cathedral.

The analysis in this chapter addressed a total of 15 questions (Table 18), which focused mainly, but not exclusively, on opportunities for social interaction and on intensity of involvement. Descriptive statistics were employed to address the first seven questions. To address the next seven, correlations and/or comparison of means were run. Multiple linear regression was conducted to answer the final question, that is, to examine the power of the range of independent variables, taken together, to predict the different capitals.

Measurements

Chapter 8 discussed the indices employed in the analysis to quantify religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI), regard for the cathedral (RI) and cultural capital (CCI). Before the results are reported, the socio-demographic variables and other relevant measures will be described.

Table 18: Research design

	Research questions	Methods of analysis
1.	How religious did Friends rate themselves?	Descriptive statistics
2.	Did most Friends live close to their cathedral?	Descriptive statistics
3.	What were the key motivations for joining cathedral Friends' associations?	Descriptive statistics
4.	For how long had Friends been members of their association?	Descriptive statistics
5.	How often did Friends worship at the cathedral which they befriended?	Descriptive statistics
6.	To what extent did Friends actively participate in social gatherings organised by their cathedral Friends' association?	Descriptive statistics
7.	What levels of secular social capital did Friends possess? • Secular social networks • Social trust • Involvement in other voluntary organizations	Descriptive statistics
8.	Did the more religious Friends have higher levels of religious social capital, and regard for the cathedral?	Correlations
9.	Did Friends with more secular social capital have higher levels of religious social capital?	Correlations
10.	What influence did different reasons for joining the association have on Friends' levels of religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital?	Correlations
11.	Did Friends who lived in the cathedral city possess higher levels of religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital?	Compare means Correlations
12.	Did religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital increase with length of membership of the association?	Correlations
13.	Did levels of religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital increase when attendance at acts of worship in the befriended cathedral was more frequent?	Correlations
14.	Did members who were socially passive in the cathedral Friends' association have lower levels of religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital compared with active Friend?	Compare means Correlations
15.	Overall, what were the key determinants of Friends' religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital?	Multiple linear regression

Socio-demographic variables

The socio-demographic variables included as controls were: sex (1 = female; 2 = male); age (respondents were invited to write down their exact age); education (1 = no formal qualification; 2 = School Certificate, O Levels or GCSE (or equivalent); 3 = A Levels (A/AS/A2) (or equivalent); 4 = University/College Certificate or Diploma (or equivalent); 5 = Undergraduate Degree; 6 = Postgraduate Degree; 7 = other); and living with another, as a proxy for marital status (1 = live alone; 2 = do not live alone). For certain purposes, age was categorized in a different variable (1 = 50 years or less; 2 = 60-64 years; 3 = 65-69 years; 4 = 70-74 years; 5 = 75-79 years; 6 = 80-84 years; 7 = 85 years or more). For all purposes, education was categorized in a different variable (1 = no degree; 2 = degree).

Another item asked how near to the befriended cathedral Friends lived (1 = Within the town/city; 2 = Outside the town/city, but within the diocese; 3 = Outside the diocese, but within England; 4 = In Wales, Scotland or Ireland; 5 = Outside the British Isles). These data were subsequently recoded into a dummy variable 'Live in the cathedral city' (0 = No; 1 = Yes).

An obvious variable that might be assumed to predict giving to cathedral Friends' associations is the level of a member's income. This was information that was collected in the questionnaire, and some explanation is needed as to why the household income variable was excluded as a predictor of individual religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI), regard for the cathedral (RI) and cultural capital (CCI). Of the 923 Friends in the sub-sample, 134 either declined to answer the question about annual household income, or ticked the 'Prefer not to say' box. Had this variable been added to the list for later regression analyses, the sub-sample of Friends would have reduced still further ($N = 789$), and that was deemed unacceptable. In any case, simple bivariate analysis with the available data revealed no significant correlation between self-reported levels of household income and the capitals in the cathedral Friends' association (see Appendix 3 for discussion of Friends' household income, and the relationship with certain dependent variables).

Religiosity

Respondents rated how religious they were on an 11-point scale (0 = not at all religious, to 10 = extremely religious). Reliance on a single measure of religiosity may only provide a partial picture of overall faith (McAndrew, 2010, p. 89), but even sophisticated scales using a wider set of questions relating to personal religiosity and religious practise do not necessarily distinguish better between different categories of the religious (pp. 90-91). Data were collected on attendance at acts of worship in

the cathedral (see below); however, that variable became a measure of involvement within the befriended cathedral, rather than of religious practice in general.

Secular social capital

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) regularly measures social capital on behalf of the government. Given the similarities between the definition of social capital adopted for the present study and the ONS working definition (Cote & Healy, 2001, as cited by Harper & Kelly, 2003, p. 3; see also H. Green & Fletcher, 2003), it was decided to employ a cluster of seven items from the ONS full harmonised set. These tapped general social trust; social networks; and involvement in groups, clubs and organizations.

The ONS general social trust question is widely used elsewhere in social surveys (for example, World Values Survey, 2011). Those responding to the cathedral Friends' questionnaire were asked whether, generally, they would say that most people can be trusted (1= 'You can't be too careful in dealing with people'; 2 = 'It depends on people/circumstances'; 3 = 'Most people can be trusted'). A binary version of the general social trust question is employed in the British Social Attitudes (BSA) surveys (see, for example, A. Park, Curtice, Clery, & Bryson, 2010): the BSA item precludes the ONS 'It depends' response.

As an indicator of the structure of social relations (networks), five ONS questions asked about frequency of speaking by telephone and meeting up with relatives and friends, and about speaking to neighbours (1 = On most days, to 5 = Never; 6 = Don't know). Subsequently, each of these five items was reverse-coded, and option 6 (Don't know) was re-coded as missing data.

The last ONS question employed here asked respondents what had been their involvement in other groups, clubs and organizations, in the last 12 months. These ranged from hobbies/social clubs, sports/exercise groups (taking part, coaching or simply watching), local community/neighbourhood groups, groups for children/young people, groups for older people, environmental groups, health/disability/welfare groups, political groups, trade union groups, to religious groups. Respondents were invited to tick as many as applied; and they were also given the opportunity to specify other groups, or to answer 'None' or 'Don't know'. Subsequently, responses to this item were summed to create a new variable 'Involvement in Groups' (score = 1 to 12).

Factors motivating members to join their cathedral Friends' association

A set of 13 items probed motivations for joining the cathedral Friends' association. In each case, respondents were presented with a horizontal 7-point numerical rating

scale, with polarities labelled 'Totally unimportant' and 'Very important'. Specifically, the 13 items related to ideological commitment ('To preserve the cathedral as a place of worship'; 'To help raise money (e.g. for the fabric/music)'); self-interest ('Because the cathedral once did me a favour', 'To benefit from discounts in the cathedral shop/refectory', 'To enter the cathedral regularly without payment/donation', 'To have a say in the running of the cathedral'); social motivation ('To make new friends', 'To be part of a community of people with similar cultural interests', 'To participate in the programme of social activities'); volunteering ('Because I already volunteered for the cathedral'; 'Because I wanted to volunteer for the cathedral'); and informational motivation ('To learn about the history and/or architecture of the cathedral', 'To receive regular information about the cathedral').

Length of membership of the Friends' association

The length of membership was elicited with the question 'In total, for how many years have you been a Friend of your cathedral?'. Respondents were invited to write down the number of years. For certain analyses, these data were subsequently recoded into a different 7-category variable 'Years as a Friend' (1 = 1 year; 2 = 2 to 3 years; 3 = 4 to 5 years; 4 = 6 to 7 years; 5 = 8 to 10 years; 6 = 11 to 20 years; 7 = 21 years or more). This categorization followed Stolle (1998), who tested whether length of membership in a voluntary association was connected to the members' development of trust.

Intensity of involvement

The frequency of attendance by Friends at acts of worship in the cathedral was measured with a single item (1 = Never; 2 = A few times a year; 3 = At least six times a year; 4 = Once a month; 5 = Once a fortnight; 6 = Once a week; 7 = More than once a week).

The questionnaire sought information from respondents about their participation in the cathedral Friends' association in three ways: going on trips (1 = Never; 2 = Always; 3 = Sometimes); attending social events (1 = Never; 2 = Once a month; 3 = Once every three months; 4 = Once every six months; 5 = Once a year); and attending the Annual General Meeting (1 = Never; 2 = Always; 3 = Sometimes). From these three variables, another variable (Passive categorized) was computed (0 = Not passive, that is, socially active in one, two or three ways; 1 = Passive in all three ways, that is, trips, social events and AGM).

Results

Religiosity (Question 1)

When asked to rate how religious they were, using the 11-point scale, nearly all respondents (96%) reported themselves to be religious (Table 19). Only 4% of Friends declared that they were not at all religious, but a further 11% rated themselves between 1 and 3 on the scale, suggesting that they were not especially religious. More than two-thirds of respondents (69%) clustered around points 4 to 8 on the scale; and the final one-sixth (16%) reported being just below or at the very top of the scale (extremely religious). Although it is hard to make comparisons between this sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends and the respondents in the British Social Attitudes survey (which employed fewer and different categories), the impression is that cathedral Friends were far more religious than the general population: for example, 7% of the general population regard themselves as very or extremely religious, 30% as somewhat religious, 22% as neither religious nor non-religious, 11% non-religious and 26% very or extremely non-religious (Voas & Ling, 2010, p. 69).

Table 19: How religious Friends reported themselves

Self-reported religiousness	Percentage
(0 on scale) not at all religious (1)	4%
(1 on scale) (2)	5%
(2 on scale) (3)	2%
(3 on scale) (4)	4%
(4 or 5 on scale) (5)	20%
(6 on scale) (6)	11%
(7 on scale) (7)	19%
(8 on scale) (8)	19%
(9 on scale) (9)	9%
(10 on scale) extremely religious (10)	7%

Proximity to the cathedral (Question 2)

More than two-thirds of the respondents (70%) lived outside the town/city in which the befriended cathedral was located. It is reasonable to assume that their opportunity to make social connections within the cathedral community and with other Friends was not as great as for the 30% who lived in the cathedral town/city.

Reasons for joining (Question 3)

Overall, ideological motivations were the most important reasons for joining the Friends' associations (Table 20; Box 5)[73]. It was striking that nearly nine out of ten Friends rated preservation of their cathedral as a place of worship as an important motivating factor when they decided to join; and that this motivation was important to more Friends than simply raising money for the cathedral's fabric and/or music. This stance accords with Wright's (1992) view of ancient buildings, in his *Handbook of Christian Stewardship*. He stresses that it is more important for a beautiful building to serve the people than for people to serve the building: 'In my ideal church, the congregation value the traditions of an ancient and hallowed building but are able to recognize that it is the mission of the people of God, in worship, fellowship and service, which is a greater priority than even the most valued building' (p. 49).

Interestingly, the perceived need for a 'National Trust for cathedrals' was highlighted by several Friends (Box 5).

Box 5: Ideological motivations - in Friends' own words

'I became a Friend because I believe the cathedral is a very important sacred space which needs support'

'I have been going to the cathedral regularly for the organ recitals. This led me to feel that I should join the Friends to give my support'

'The National Trust … is a collective organization to care for beautiful places throughout the UK. Cathedrals do not have a collective organization in the same way. Therefore if you want to support cathedrals you have to join the Friends Association for as many as you can support. This could (in theory) mean a very large number of subscriptions!'

'Cathedrals must find a better way of working together to maximize revenue ... National Trust type? Annual UK-wide multi-cathedral membership'

'Strongly support the idea that Cathedral Friends nationwide should co-operate'

Informational reasons were next in order of priority (Table 20), with nearly two-thirds of Friends having joined to receive regular information about the cathedral, and just over half having been motivated by a desire to learn about their cathedral's history and/or architecture (Box 6).

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[73] The analysis is conservative in treating scale scores 3 and 5 as neutral. Had score 3 been interpreted as meaning Friends viewed the relevant statement as 'unimportant' and 5 as 'important', divergences between the two polarities would have been more marked.

For nearly one third of Friends, volunteering their time was an important motivating factor in joining their association (Table 20): 17% of respondents reported that their already being a volunteer was important in their decision to join, whereas a further 14% reported that a desire to donate their time by volunteering at the cathedral was important when joining.

Box 6: Informational motivations - in Friends' own words

> 'We joined the Friends to give the cathedral regular support from a distance – have just enjoyed the services when we were on holiday – it's also nice to keep up with the news from The Friends'
>
> 'I joined the Friends to get more information about what is happening in the cathedral'
>
> 'I live in the farthest parish from [city], and it is over two and a half hours journey at least, so we seldom go. We do like hearing about all your events, of what appears to be a very active association'
>
> 'Joined association to get news of happenings'
>
> 'I am 96 years and now rather affected by arthritis … I am very glad to be one of the cathedral Friends and receiving all the news'
>
> 'Virtually my only contact now is through the Friends association newsletter and the cathedral Newsletter, which are delivered by post'

The self-interested motivations were least important of all the reasons for joining (Table 20, Box 7). It may be surprising that as many as one in ten of the sub-sample of 923 reported that they joined the Friends to have a say in running the cathedral. However, having a say is not wholly selfish, and it is unlikely to be a solitary pursuit: those Friends may have seen membership of the association as providing opportunities to forge bridging and linking social capital with the individuals who governed their cathedral.

The question about entering the cathedral regularly without payment was relevant in the case of only one participating cathedral[74]; and the question about Friends'

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[74] Only one cathedral that participated in the postal survey charges for admission (£6 per adult); there, the Friends' membership card acts as a free entry pass. There is no admission charge at another cathedral, although it openly encourages donations; at the other four participating cathedrals, admission is free.

discount in the cathedral shop/refectory was relevant in only two cathedrals[75]. This explains the relatively small percentage of respondents who attached priority to such fiscal benefits when joining their Friends' association.

Box 7: Self-interested motivations - in Friends' own words

'My main reason for joining the Friends was to say a small thank you for all the gifts I had received from the cathedral'

'All I really wanted when I joined was to purchase a cathedral 'season ticket', so I could pop in for a quick prayer to escape the High Street in town for a short while'

'Question 8 'Because the cathedral once did me a favour' is very important to me. Our son died in 2008 and on his first anniversary my wife and I just wanted to be away from [home] and chose a few days in [city]. The Dean and cathedral gave us a very warm welcome and kindly remembered our son in prayers at Evensong. For this kindness we decided to become Friends. We received equal kindness when we visited on his second anniversary and we will be doing the same again in a few weeks time for [city] cathedral has become the place we wish to be when we remember him each year'

'I am a Friend because the cathedral was so important to my wife, and I took the responsibility when she died'

'The cathedral was where I committed to God: it was my place of worship and spiritual development through their many courses, quiet days etc. It is still my spiritual home. I go there when I can – often not for a service but for quiet reflection. That helps to explain why I am a Friend'

Turning to the social factors, it is noteworthy that more than a third of respondents reported that to be part of a community of people with similar cultural interests was an important motivating factor in their decision to join (Table 20, Box 8). Setting this alongside the expressed desire to learn about cathedral history/architecture, it is evident that cultural reasons motivated a fair number of Friends to join. For a quarter of respondents, to participate in the programme of social activities was important when joining. One sixth of members said that the opportunity to make new friends was important when they decided to join.

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[75] Friends of one of the six cathedrals are offered a 10% discount in the cathedral shop and refectory. The Friends at another cathedral are offered a 10% discount in their refectory. The other four cathedrals do not include discounts in their lists of Friends' member benefits.

Box 8: Social motivations - in Friends' own words

'I have only been a member of the Friends of the cathedral for three months having moved just four months ago. Already I am very pleased with my local committee and the friends I am making'

'We found that joining Friends of the cathedral was a great thing to do when we moved to [city]. It gave us interesting things to do and enabled us to make a lot of new friends'

'The Friends here are an asset to the large numbers of older people in the city, some lonely; some relish its short holidays as a lifeline'

Table 20: Motivations for joining the Friends' association

Motives for joining the Friends' association	Scale scores	Unimportant 1 to 2 Percentage	Neutral 3 to 5 Percentage	Important 6 to 7 Percentage
Ideological				
To preserve the cathedral as a place of worship		3%	11%	86%
To help raise money (e.g. for the fabric/music)		6%	26%	68%
Self-interest				
Because the cathedral once did me a favour		56%	35%	9%
To benefit from discounts in the cathedral shop/refectory		62%	37%	2%
To enter the cathedral regularly without payment/donation		56%	33%	11%
To have a say in the running of the cathedral		45%	46%	9%
Social				
To make new friends		37%	45%	17%
To be part of a community of people with similar cultural interests		24%	42%	35%
To participate in the programme of social activities		26%	49%	25%
Volunteering				
Because I already volunteered for the cathedral		41%	42%	17%
Because I wanted to volunteer for the cathedral		42%	44%	14%
Informational				
To learn about the history and/or architecture of the cathedral		9%	37%	54%
To receive regular information about the cathedral		6%	30%	64%

To facilitate subsequent analyses, summated rating scales were built from four sets of items concerning motivation for joining the Friends' association. The two items related to ideological commitment did not cohere when the reliability of a potential scale was tested: accordingly, these items were treated separately in the analysis. The scale properties of the Social Motivation Index, the Informational Motivation Index, the Self-interested Motivation Index, and the Volunteering Motivation Index are summarized below (Tables 21 to 24). In all instances, the item-rest-of-test correlations indicate that the sets of items have satisfactory levels of inter-item correlations. The indices achieve respectable or very good levels of acceptability.

Table 21: Scale properties of the Social Motivation Index

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
To make new friends	.752	17%
To be part of a community of people with similar cultural interests	.751	35%
To participate in the programme of social activities	.751	25%

Scale alpha = .87; Mean = 11.83; SD = 5.25

Table 22: Scale properties of the Informational Motivation Index

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
To learn about the history/architecture of the cathedral	.606	54%
To receive regular information about the cathedral	.606	64%

Scale alpha = .75; Mean = 10.88; SD = 2.76

Table 23: Scale properties of the Self-interested Motivation Index

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
Because the cathedral once did me a favour	.406	9%
To benefit from discounts in the cathedral refectory/shop	.645	2%
To enter the cathedral regularly without payment/donation	.544	11%
To have a say in running the cathedral	.453	9%

Scale alpha = .72; Mean = 10.55; SD = 5.40

Table 24: Scale properties of the Volunteering Motivation index

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements
Because I already volunteered for the cathedral	.627	17%
Because I wanted to volunteer for the cathedral	.627	14%

Scale alpha = .77; Mean = 6.46; SD = 3.66

Length of membership (Question 4)

There was a fairly high level of persistence in the membership of the Friends' associations (Table 25). Over a fifth of Friends who responded (22%) had been members for between six and ten years; and more than two-fifths (44%) had been members for 11 years or more. Around one in twenty was a new member of their Friends' association, that is, they had belonged for just one year. In total, a little over one-third (34%) had belonged to their Friends' association for five years or less. It followed that those with longer memberships would have had more opportunity to make social connections in the cathedral community and Friends' association.

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Table 25: Length of memberships in the cathedral Friends' association

Years as a Friend	Percentage
1 year (1)	6%
2-3 years (2)	14%
4-5 years (3)	14%
6-7 years (4)	6%
8-10 years (5)	16%
11-20 years (6)	25%
21+ years (7)	19%

Interestingly, when the duration of socially passive and socially active memberships was compared, there was hardly any difference in the patterns (Table 26). This was contrary to findings (Cress et al., 1997) that the most persistent members of voluntary associations are among the least active, and the most active members are among the least persistent (see Chapter 6). Socially passive cathedral Friends in the present study did indeed have sticking power, but so too did socially active Friends.

Table 26: Cross-tabulation of involvement in the Friends' association by length of membership

Years as a Friend	Socially active ($n = 620$)	Socially passive ($n = 303$)
1 year	6%	8%
2 to 3 years	13%	17%
4 to 5 years	14%	14%
6 to 7 years	6%	5%
8 to 10 years	16%	16%
11 to 20 years	26%	23%
21 years +	19%	18%

Frequency of Friends' attendance at cathedral worship (Question 5)

Most of the sub-sample of 923 attended acts of worship at the cathedral which they befriended (Table 27), although for just over half this was as few as six times a year or less. About one sixth of the sub-sample never attended an act of worship at the befriended cathedral.   Four times as many active Friends (44%) as passive Friends (11%) attended acts of worship at the befriended cathedral at least once a month (Table 29).

Participation in Friends' association social activities (Question 6)

The majority of Friends in the sub-sample (67%) was active in some 'social' aspect of the Friends' association. This meant that one third was socially passive in the association, attending neither the AGM, nor social events, nor going on Friends' trips (Table 27). To find that membership of such an organization is not synonymous with active membership is not unusual. For example, analysis of data from the Citizenship Survey[76] conducted in Norway in 2001 revealed that, of those who claimed membership of a religious voluntary organization, 45% participated in the organization's activities (Stromsnes, 2008, p. 483).

Patterns of Friends' involvement differed according to the nature of the events, with social occasions attracting more members than the AGM, and Friends' trips attracting fewest participants. Interestingly, 17% of the sub-sample of 923 always attended the AGM, which was almost the same proportion as the friends/members of heritage organizations (18%) surveyed in 2006-7 (Holmes & Slater, 2007, p. 110). It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that although meetings do not necessarily involve the sort of exchanges which build social capital, such gatherings are nonetheless a place to start (de Souza Briggs, 1997).

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[76] Of the 5,000 randomly chosen people aged between 18 and 84 years of age who received the survey questionnaire, 2,297 replied (a 47% response rate) (Stromsnes, 2008, p. 479).

Table 27: Summary statistics of participation variables used in the regression models

Variables	Percentage
Attendance at acts of worship in befriended cathedral	
Never (1)	15%
A few times a year (2)	43%
At least six times a year (3)	9%
Once a month (4)	5%
Once a fortnight (5)	6%
Once a week (6)	14%
More than once a week (7)	7%
Attend Friends' AGM	
Never (1)	52%
Sometimes (2)	31%
Always (3)	17%
Attend Friends' social events	
Never (1)	43%
Once a year (2)	23%
Once every six months (3)	15%
Once every three months (4)	11%
Once a month (5)	8%
Go on Friends' association trips	
Never (1)	64%
Sometimes (2)	34%
Always (3)	2%
Overall social participation in Friends' association	
Not socially passive (0)	67%
Socially passive (1)	33%

Reasons cited for passivity in social events varied (Table 28), with distance from the cathedral posing an obstacle to participation for nearly half (45%). Poor health accounted for the passivity of 13%, and lack of transport for the passivity of 7% of respondents. Around one-fifth of passive Friends were either too busy socially and/or had diary clashes; a similar percentage was insufficiently interested in the Friends' social events. There was anecdotal evidence[77] that some passive Friends were apologetic about a lack of current involvement and/or anxious that former social activity should not be overlooked by the study (Box 9).

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[77] Marginal notes on completed questionnaires, in addition to back-page comments.

Table 28: Reasons cited for not participating in Friends' social events

Reasons	Percentage (*n* = 303)
Live too far away	45%
Events clash	21%
Not sufficiently interested	19%
Social life too busy	16%
Poor health	13%
Lack of transport	7%
Have no companion	9%
'I might feel out of place'	8%
Events are too expensive	7%
'I wouldn't enjoy it'	6%
Have to book too far ahead	3%
Events are boring	3%
Given insufficient notice	1%

Box 9: Being passive - in Friends' own words

'Although it would appear that I don't take part very much in activities of the cathedral Friends association, that is mainly because I am very involved in my own town and own parish church'

'I live 40 miles away, and access is difficult and time-consuming for a non-driver'

'I enjoy belonging to the cathedral Friends' association but as I am very busy with the music in our parish I don't get as involved as I could be'

'I would have socialised more but I was looking after a sick husband'

'Because of age I am not able to get involved with Friends activities as much as I would like. A 'no' answer does not necessarily mean disinterest'

'I am horrified at the cost of many of the events which are advertised, and should I live nearer the cathedral I would be financially constrained in how often I could attend'

'If I lived nearer [city] I would have a more active role in supporting the Friends'

'My answers concerning involvement in the cathedral would be different if I spent all the year at home, but I'm usually away 4-5 months a year'

'I am very much a 'sleeping friend' because of age'

'We joined the Friends when we were younger. We now tend to stay at home. I am blind'

If Friends were inactive in the association's social gatherings, they were more likely to be inactive within the cathedral too: there was a significant relationship between Friends' social passivity and worship at the cathedral once a month or less (Table 29); and also between Friends' social passivity and not volunteering at the cathedral (Table 30).

Table 29: Contingency table showing how many socially passive Friends attended acts of worship in the befriended cathedral at least once a month

Attendance at acts of worship in the cathedral	Socially active (*n* = 620)	Socially passive (*n* = 303)
Less than once a month	56%	89%
Once a month or more	44%	11%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive Friends were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Table 30: Contingency table showing how many socially passive Friends volunteered at the befriended cathedral

Voluntary input to cathedral	Socially active (*n* = 620)	Socially passive (*n* = 303)
No	57%	91%
Yes	43%	9%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive Friends were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Secular social capital (Question 7)

As reported earlier, three measures of secular social capital were employed in this study: general social trust and involvement in groups (Table 31), and secular social networks (Table 32).

Theory suggests that generalized interpersonal trust, which goes beyond the boundaries of kinship, and beyond friends and acquaintances, can act as a social lubricant that makes various forms of social interaction and co-operation possible; so, it tends to be selected as one of the main indicators of social capital (Stolle, 1998, p. 503). Just over half of the cathedral Friends (52%) said that most people can be trusted (Table 31). By way of comparison, the British Social Attitudes Survey

in 2009 found that 47% were of that view[78] (A. Park et al., 2010, p. 149). This suggests that, on the whole, Friends were a little more trusting than the general population.

Table 31: Summary statistics for secular social capital variables used in the regression models

Variables	Percentage
General social trust	
You can't be too careful in dealing with people (1)	9%
It depends on people/circumstances (2)	38%
Most people can be trusted (3)	52%
Involvement in groups	
Hobbies / social clubs	35%
Sports / exercise groups	27%
Local community or neighbourhood groups	39%
Groups for children or young people	11%
Adult education groups	23%
Groups for older people	19%
Environmental groups	12%
Health, disability and welfare groups	11%
Political groups	12%
Trade union groups	1%
Religious groups	50%

When it came to involvement in groups beyond the Friends' association, it was not surprising that half the respondents were members of religious groups (Table 31). Nearly two-fifths of respondents belonged to local community or neighbourhood groups; more than a quarter belonged to sports/exercise groups, and more than a third belonged to hobbies or other social clubs; and around one fifth belonged to adult education groups and groups specifically for older people. One tenth was involved with each of the following groups: groups for children or young people, environmental groups, political groups, and/or health, disability and welfare groups.

Overall, while one in ten respondents was not active at all in groups outside the cathedral Friends' association, 19% were active in one type of group, 23% in two types, 22% in three types and 13% in four types of group. The mean score for involvement in different types of group was 2.54 (SD = 1.67). As would be expected,

[78] This happened to be the highest proportion in the British Social Attitudes Survey at any point in the last 30 years (A. Park et al., 2010, p. 149).

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the mean varied according to age, peaking at age 60-64, and diminishing at 50 years or less, and even more so at 85+ years (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Involvement in different types of group outside the cathedral Friends' association, by age
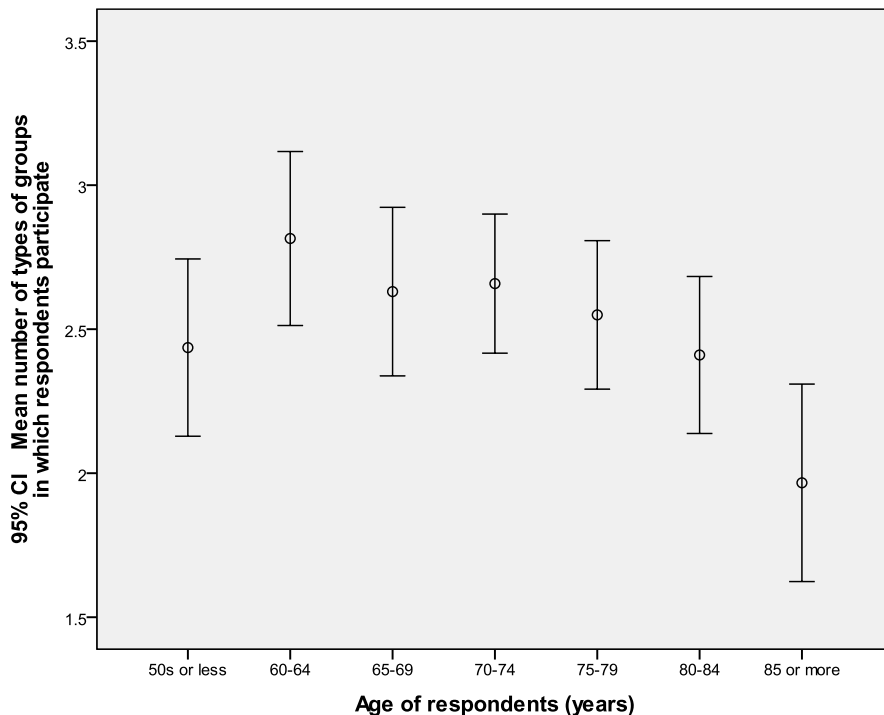
As explained earlier, five ONS items measured the extent of members' social networks outside the cathedral Friends' association among relatives, friends and neighbours. These items were subsequently combined to form a scale, the reliability of which was .59. Although just below a recognized threshold of acceptability[79], the alpha coefficient was judged satisfactory in this context, especially given that the five items have been employed together in multiple government-sponsored studies. The properties of the Secular Social Capital Index are set out below (Table 32).

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[79] See footnote 70.

Table 32: Scale properties of the Secular Social Capital Index

	Item-rest-of-test correlation	Percentage endorsements[¶]
Speak to relatives by telephone	.398	90%
Meet up with relatives	.338	59%
Speak to friends by telephone	.431	91%
Meet up with friends	.328	85%
Speak to neighbours	.256	95%

[¶] At least once or twice a month.

Scale alpha = .59; Mean = 11.57; SD = 2.84

Relationships between the variables (Questions 8 to 14)

A series of bivariate analyses examined the relationship between the four dependent variables (WRSCIM, CSNI, RI and CCI) and the 18 independent variables, and among the independent variables; and also between sex and the four individual components of WRSCIM (trusting, bonding, bridging and linking). The relationships are shown in the four correlation matrices below (Tables 33 to 36). The relationships between the four outcome variables were discussed in Chapter 8.

Initially, it is interesting to examine the relationships between the socio-demographic variables and the variables related to membership of the cathedral Friends' association (Table 33): this process illuminates the basic data on the respondents presented in Chapter 7. First, as would be anticipated, it was the men who were more likely to hold degrees, and the women who were more likely to live alone. Also, as age increased, so did the likelihood of not having a degree and of living alone. Friends' self-reported religiousness was not significantly correlated with their sex, age or education. Unsurprisingly, it was the older respondents who were more likely to have been persistent in their membership of the Friends' association, which confirmed Rotolo's (2000) findings. Men were more likely to be passive Friends than women; and men were also more likely to have been motivated by self-interest when joining. Women and those who did not have degrees were more likely to have been motivated by social and volunteering reasons. Women were also more likely to have been motivated by a desire to receive information about their cathedral. Social motivation for joining increased with age. There was no significant relationship between living with another and length of membership, contrary to Rotolo's (2000) findings that the married remain affiliated for significantly longer periods.

There were significant positive correlations between some but not all of the motivations. For example, there was a correlation between social and volunteering reasons (with a large effect size); between being motivated by a desire to preserve the cathedral as a place or worship and to raise money for its fabric/music; and between volunteering and self-interested reasons. There was also a significant positive correlation between informational motivation and on the one hand social reasons, and on the other hand the desire to preserve the cathedral as a place or worship.

The more religious Friends declared themselves, the more likely they were to have been motivated in their initial membership by a desire to preserve the cathedral as a place or worship. Those who lived in the cathedral city were more likely to have been motivated to join the Friends by social and volunteering reasons. As would have been expected, the Friends who lived in the city were likely to have attended cathedral worship on a more frequent basis; and those who attended cathedral worship more regularly were more likely to have been motivated in their initial membership by volunteering. Finally, as would also have been anticipated, the passive Friends were more unlikely to have been motivated by social reasons when they joined, and were more unlikely to have attended cathedral worship.

There was a significant positive correlation between religiosity and two secular social capital variables (the Secular Social Networks index and Involvement in groups), but not between religiosity and general social trust (Table 34). Interestingly, this was consistent with the British Social Attitudes survey, which found no significant relationship between religiosity (however measured) and generalized social trust (McAndrew, 2010, p. 103). A study conducted in Norway (Stromsnes, 2008) even found that membership of religious voluntary organizations was insignificant in relation to the individual's social trust; and attributed a correlation between religious involvement and social trust to the fact that women (who were found to be more trusting generally) were disproportionately involved in religion (p. 492). Interestingly, in the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends, there was no significant relationship between gender and social trust (Table 34), contrary to findings by Li et al. (2005), Hall (1999) and Putnam. On the other hand, holding a degree was positively associated with generalized social trust, and again that finding was in line with the BSA survey (p. 102) and also with Brehm and Rahn's (1997) study. On the basis of the BHPS data analyzed by Li et al (2005), it would have been expected that older people in the sub-sample would have been generally more trusting. However, there was actually no significant correlation between Friends' age and their general social trust, but this finding may have been due to the relatively limited age range in the dataset.

Turning to consideration of the variables related to the four forms of capital (Tables 34 and 35), it was noteworthy that only one of the socio-demographic variables (age) was positively correlated with WRSCIM, while there was a significant negative correlation between that form of religious social capital and another socio-demographic variable (degree). So, higher levels of religious social capital measured by WRSCIM were likely to be found in older Friends. Contrary to the finding of Huang and colleagues (2009) that education is a strong and robust correlate of individual social capital, higher levels of WRSCIM were possessed by those Friends who had lower educational attainment. There was no correlation between WRSCIM scores and gender; however, the other form of religious social capital (CSNI) was significantly correlated with being female. CSNI was also significantly correlated with age: the older Friends were, the more likely they were to score highly on that measure. Neither of these two dependent variables was significantly correlated with living with another; and, contrary to theory, there was no significant correlation between CSNI and education.

Although scores on the WRSCIM as a whole were not associated significantly with sex, deconstructing the index into its component parts revealed that sex (female) correlated significantly with the bridging and linking forms of religious social capital (Table 36). So, contrary to Furbey, Dinham, Farnell and Wilkinson's (2006) finding that women tend to forge bonding relationships, while men bridge and link, it was the case that female cathedral Friends were more likely to create bridging and linking social capital.

RI did not correlate significantly with any of the four socio-demographic variables, so neither the age, nor the sex, nor the education of Friends, nor whether they lived alone or with another, had an association with the strength of their bond with the cathedral.

There was a significant positive correlation between CCI and age; and, a significant negative correlation between CCI and degree, which was contrary to what might have been expected from Bourdieu's (2010b) study, where there was a close positive association between cultural practices and educational level (p. xxiv). So, in the case of cathedral Friends, it was the older, less well-educated respondents who were more likely to have enhanced their cultural capital through membership of the association. It is interesting to reflect on the finding about the correlation between lower education and cultural capital in the light of Boudieu's (1993) sociological theory of art perception (as reported in Chapter 3 above). It would seem that cathedrals are a safe environment in which Friends from all levels of society may acquire the necessary competencies to appreciate the cultural field.

Correlation between religiosity and the four forms of capital (Question 8)

There was a significant correlation between religiosity and all four capital indices (three at the $p < .001$ level), with the effect size[80] in respect of RI being the largest, and that in respect of CCI being the smallest ($p < .05$) (Table 34).

Correlation between secular social capital and the four forms of capital (Question 9)

There was a significant correlation between the Secular Networks Index and WRSCIM, and also between WRSCIM and the measure of involvement in groups (Table 34). Contrary to theory, there was no significant correlation between WRSCIM and general social trust; but there was a correlation between general social trust and CSNI. Religious social capital as measured by CSNI correlated significantly with the other two measures of secular social capital as well (the Secular Networks Index, and involvement in groups). RI and CCI correlated significantly with involvement in groups; but RI correlated with neither of the other secular social capital measures; while CCI correlated significantly with the Secular Networks Index. Accordingly, being a cathedral Friend was not a special case: trust and social networking in the religious association was related to a general ability to make connections outside the cathedral, with friends, relatives and neighbours, and in voluntary groups; and, in the case of CSNI, was related to a generalized trust of other people.

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[80] Field (2009) set out what constitutes a large or small effect: $r = .10$ (small effect, explaining 1% of the total variance), $r = .30$ (medium effect, accounting for 9% of total variance), $r = .50$ (large effect, accounting for 25% of total variance) (p. 57).

Table 33: Correlation Matrix of socio-demographic variables against variables related to membership of the cathedral Friends' association

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1.Male	1.00														
2. Age	.009	1.00													
3. Degree	.172***	-.169***	1.00												
4. Live alone	-.211***	.161***	-.079*	1.00											
5. How religious	.029	-.029	-.005	-.039	1.00										
6. Live in cathedral city	-.111***	.090**	.034	.065*	-.055	1.00									
7. Years as Friend	.012	.330***	-.049	.037	.100**	.051	1.00								
8. Informational motive	-.108***	.029	-.078*	.087**	.103**	-.031	-.030	1.00							
9. Social motive	-.170***	.138***	-.176***	.077*	.026	.241***	-.036	.337***	1.00						
10. Volunteering motive	-.148***	.067*	-.166***	.062	.076*	.209***	.037	.188***	.548***	1.00					
11. To preserve as place of worship	-.045	.035	-.076*	-.026	.236***	.005	.030	.274***	.139***	.088**	1.00				
12. To raise money for fabric/music	-.056	.066*	-.074*	.004	.006	.041	.031	.219***	.178***	.174***	.314***	1.00			
13. Self-interested motive	-.081*	.009	-.150***	.062	.035	.013	-.004	.244***	.409***	.471***	.079*	.061	1.00		
14. Attend cathedral worship	-.079*	.066*	-.015	.033	.160***	.443***	.020	.010	.311***	.288***	.098**	.085**	.046	1.00	
15. Passive in Friends' association	.134***	-.121***	.085**	-.045	-.021	-.274***	-.050	-.094**	-.435***	-.330***	-.071*	-.124***	-.070*	-.379***	1.00
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 34: Correlation matrix of the four dependent variables against the socio-demographic and secular social capital independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. WRSCIM	1.00												
2. CSNI	.514***	1.00											
3. RI	.436***	.246***	1.00										
4. CCI	.622***	.268***	.482***	1.00									
5. Male	-.059	-.141***	-.044	-.038	1.00								
6. Age	.101**	.089**	-.013	.076*	.009	1.00							
7. Degree	-.186***	-.057	-.029	-.097**	.172***	-.169***	1.00						
8. Live with another	.035	-.008	.048	.063	-.211***	.161***	-.079*	1.00					
9. How religious	.154***	.127***	.242***	.070*	.029	-.029	-.005	-.039	1.00				
10. Live in cathedral city	.180***	.401***	.042	.075*	-.111***	.090**	.034	.065*	-.055	1.00			
11. Secular Networks Index	.160***	.179***	.090**	.135***	-.131***	.026	.019	.049	.073*	.027	1.00		
12. Social Trust	.019	.071*	.042	.049	.019	.019	.075*	-.039	.047	.037	.217***	1.00	
13. Involvement in groups	.112***	.081*	.107***	.143***	-.094**	-.058	.043	.023	.153***	-.043	.243***	.123***	1.00
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

$^{*} p < .05$ $^{**} p < .01$ $^{***} p < .001$

Table 35: Correlation Matrix of the four dependent variables against independent variables related to membership of the cathedral Friends' association

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. WRSCIM	1.00												
2. CSNI	.514***	1.00											
3. RI	.436***	.246***	1.00										
4. CCI	.622***	.268***	.482***	1.00									
5. Years as Friend	.023	.169***	.076*	.023	1.00								
6. Informational motive	.268***	.040	.329***	.342***	-.030	1.00							
7. Social motive	.586***	.402***	.174***	.360***	-.036	.337***	1.00						
8. Volunteering motive	.422***	.404***	.182***	.199***	.037	.188***	.548***	1.00					
9. To preserve as place of worship	.164***	.070*	.200***	.110***	.030	.274***	.139***	.088**	1.00				
10. To raise money for fabric/music	.222***	.143***	.231***	.201***	.031	.219***	.178***	.174***	.314***	1.00			
11. Self-interested motive	.270***	.060	.111***	.141***	-.004	.244***	.409***	.471***	.079*	.061	1.00		
12. Attend cathedral worship	.342***	.593***	.261***	.136***	.020	.010	.311***	.288***	.098**	.085**	.046	1.00	
13. Passive in Friends' association	-.469***	-.507***	-.161***	-.328***	-.050	-.094**	-.435***	-.330***	-.071*	-.124***	-.070*	-.379***	)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 36: Correlation matrix of sex against WRSCIM and its components

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1.Sex (male)	1.00					
2.WRSCIM (full)	-.059	1.00				
3.WRSCIM Trust (only)	-.001	.771***	1.00			
4.WRSCIM Bonding (only)	-.031	.903***	.580***	1.00		
5.WRSCIM Bridging (only)	-.083*	.897***	.523***	.806***	1.00	
6.WRSCIM Linking (only)	-.086**	.874***	.559***	.719***	.749***	1.00

*$p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Friends with a propensity for involvement in other voluntary groups were likely to have higher regard for the cathedral. Although the case has been made for regard for the cathedral being broadly equivalent to bonding social capital with human actors, it is not associated with secular social capital in exactly the same way as religious social capital. The revealing comment written by an old and disabled Friend (Chapter 8, Box 4, quotation 5) about the constancy and integrity of the cathedral[81] (when compared with human friends, who 'abandon' someone needy) may throw light on the essential nature of regard for the cathedral. High regard for the cathedral, as corporate person, is unrelated to the quality of social networks in the community and, like WRSCIM, is unrelated to general social trust.

Correlation between reasons for joining the Friends and the four forms of capital (Question 10)

WRSCIM was significantly correlated with all six reasons for joining the Friends (Table 35). So, as the importance of those reasons increased, so did Friends' levels of that form of religious social capital. The effect sizes of the correlations with the

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[81] Interestingly, in one of his Presidential addresses to the Friends of Lincoln Cathedral, the Bishop of Lincoln (Saxbee, 2004) wrote: 'My experience is that our Cathedral repays our friendship with a care and constancy that few friendships manage to convey. It is quite simply always there for us'.

social motives and the volunteering motives were the greatest. CSNI was significantly correlated with all motives for joining, save the informational motive and the self-interested motive. Accordingly, as the importance of social and volunteering motivations increased, so too did levels of religious social capital as measured by CSNI; likewise, as the importance of joining to preserve the cathedral as a place of worship and to raise money for the fabric/music increased, so too did CSNI scores. RI correlated significantly with all six motives, and the effect size for the correlation with the informational motive was the greatest. CCI also correlated significantly with all six motives; and in this instance, the effect sizes in relation to the social motives and the informational motives were the largest. So, as the importance of all reasons for joining the Friends increased, so too did the strength of regard for the cathedral and the level of cultural capital. The most notable of all effect sizes were found in the correlations between WRSCIM and the social and volunteering motives, and between CSNI and the same variables.

Correlation between living in the cathedral city and the four forms of capital (Question 11)

There was a significant positive correlation between living in the cathedral city and each of the two measures of religious social capital (both $ps < .001$), the effect size in relation to CSNI being the greater (Table 34). Comparison of mean scores revealed that WRSCIM was significantly greater for those who lived in the cathedral city compared with those who lived elsewhere (in city $M = 37.33$, SD = 9.27; outside city $M = 33.54$, SD = 9.63; $F(921,1) = 30.77$, $p < .001$). The same was true for CSNI scores (in city $M = 9.70$, SD = 3.21; outside city $M = 6.70$, SD = 3.11; $F(921,1) = 176.49$, $p < .001$). These findings supported the assumption made earlier that Friends domiciled in the cathedral city had more opportunities for social interaction in the Friends' association and broader cathedral community.   There was also a significant positive correlation, albeit with a small effect size, with CCI. Mean CCI scores were significantly greater for the cathedral city dwellers (in city $M = 10.76$, SD = 2.55; outside city $M = 10.33$, SD = 2.69; $F(921,1) = 5.15$, $p < .05$). But there was no relationship between living in the cathedral city and the strength of regard for the cathedral (RI).   Although mean RI scores were slightly higher for those living in the city, the difference was not significant (in city $M = 11.90$, SD = 2.13; outside city $M = 11.70$, SD = 2.27; $F(921,1) = 1.66$, NS). It was interesting to find that feelings for the befriended cathedral were not heightened by proximity to the building: this points to the need for a mechanism to sustain the bonding relationship between distant Friend and cathedral.

Correlation between length of membership and the four forms of capital (Question 12)

As might be expected, there was a significant relationship between the density of social networks in the cathedral (CSNI) and length of membership in the association. However, the other measure of religious social capital (WRSCIM) did not have a significant relationship with years as a Friend (Table 35). There was a significant correlation between RI and years as a Friend ($p < .05$), although the effect size was not large. So, it appears that the strength of the bond with the cathedral was influenced to a certain extent by the duration of the Friendship. Interestingly, there was no correlation between persistence and cultural capital (CCI): so it did not follow that longer-serving Friends cultivated themselves to a greater extent. Perhaps it is affiliation with the association/cathedral that conferred the valued credentials, as Portes (1998) hinted: the gain in cultural capital may be related to the very act of belonging, rather than persistence in membership.

Correlation between attendance at acts of cathedral worship and the four forms of capital (Question 13)

There was a significant relationship between frequency of attendance at acts of worship at the cathedral and the levels of religious social capital, regard for the cathedral and cultural capital (Table 35). This finding was true for religious social capital measured in both ways, with the effect size being the largest for the correlation with CSNI. Accordingly, it appeared to be the case that regular worship in the befriended cathedral presented opportunities for social networking in that context, and also for strengthening the bond with the building, and enhancing cultural capital. Contrary to the well-known adage that 'absence makes the heart grow fonder', it is presence that makes the heart grow fonder in the case of the bond with the cathedral building. Nonetheless, this is not to suggest that it is only the active who have regard for the cathedral, as will be demonstrated below.

Correlation between social passivity in the Friends' association and the four forms of capital (Question 14)

There was a significant negative correlation between being socially passive in the Friends' association and each of the two measures of religious social capital, with both effect sizes being relatively large, but that for CSNI being slightly greater (Table 35). There was also a significant negative correlation between being a socially passive Friend and RI and CCI, with the effect size in relation to CCI being the greater (but not as great as for the religious social capital variables). Comparison of means demonstrated that scores for religious social capital (measured in each of the two ways) for socially passive Friends were significantly lower than for those who

were socially active (passive WRSCIM M = 28.20, SD = 8.77; active WRSCIM M = 37.86, SD = 8.44; $F_{(921,1)}$ = 259.87, p < .001; passive CSNI M = 5.12, SD = 2.56, active CSNI M = 8.82, SD = 3.13, $F_{(921,1)}$ = 318.91, p < .001). Likewise, comparison of means revealed that those who were socially passive in the cathedral Friends' association had significantly lower levels of RI and CCI (passive RI M = 11.25, SD = 2.29; active RI M = 12.01, SD = 2.16; $F_{(921,1)}$ = 24.38, p < .001; passive CCI M = 9.21, SD = 2.87; active CCI M = 11.07, SD = 2.31, $F_{(921,1)}$ = 111.15, p < .001). Nonetheless, it is striking that, even though there was a statistically significant difference between mean RI and CCI scores for socially active and passive Friends, social passivity did not infer minimal levels of the two resources. This suggests there was a complementary mechanism by which regard for the cathedral was nurtured and cultural capital acquired. Given the importance attached by new members to receiving information and learning about their cathedral, it is reasonable to posit that associational reports and newsletters may have played a vital role in the formation of these capitals. The role of information in voluntary associations is a theme which will be discussed in Chapter 13.

It is axiomatic that the underlying assumption of the original WRSC Index (E. Williams, 2008a) was that bonding, bridging and linking social capital and trust would be generated in cathedral congregations through face-to-face contact during attendance at worship. Likewise, the assumption of the modified index was that bonding, bridging and linking social capital and trust would be generated in Friends' associations through face-to-face contact. The evidence now suggests that the Annual General Meetings, social gatherings and trips organized by the Friends' associations presented opportunities for Friends to make contact with fellow members: those who participated in these ways generated more religious social capital in that context, through the connections forged there, and they also increased their regard for the cathedral, and enhanced their cultural capital that way.

Differences in item percentage endorsements within the WRSCIM between active and passive Friends were unsurprising; and in no case was the percentage endorsement by passive members higher than that by active members (Table 37). The ratio of passive to active endorsements was lowest in the case of the bridging items about making face-to-face contact, which is unremarkable; and highest in the case of the items about trusting other people and trusting God.

An interesting pattern emerges in the respective rank orders of item percentage endorsements (Table 37). On the one hand, percentage endorsements by the passive membership were comparatively high (in the mid- to late twenties) for the bridging item about contributing to community life and for the two trust items

mentioned above. The finding that the top percentage endorsement from passive Friends was for the item about contributing towards community life may seem counter-intuitive; however, as shown in Chapter 5, it is well-established that there can be a shared sense of affinity to an important cause without direct interaction with fellow members (Maloney, 1999; Slater, 2005a; Whiteley, 1999; Wollebæk & Selle, 2002). On the other hand, percentage endorsements by the active membership were highest (in the fifties/sixties) for all three bridging items and one bonding item. Thus, for passive and active alike, the shared sense of belonging to a community of people in support of the cathedral ranked high; but, for the active, membership entailed important opportunities to socialize and to make personal connections and new friends. For that section of the membership, making Friends with a cathedral tended to revolve around making friends with other people. So, to return to the ambiguous title of the thesis, the data have now demonstrated that cathedrals making Friends do indeed make friends, that is, they foster personal relationships among members.

Predictors of the four forms of capital (Question 15)

The correlations and comparison of mean scores have demonstrated that many of the independent variables were correlated with the four forms of capital, as measured by the different indices. However, these analyses did not reveal the relative influence of the various factors, when taken together. So, in the light of the results of the correlations, multiple linear regressions were conducted to determine predictors of religious social capital (as measured first by WRSCIM and second by CSNI) and regard for the cathedral (as measured by RI) and cultural capital (as assessed by CCI).

Before proceeding with the results of the analyses, two words of caution about linear regression and the interpretation of models are necessary. The need for discretion with this technique has been highlighted elsewhere, for example, by the British Social Attitudes Survey team (A. Park et al., 2010).

First, it is important to recognize that the causal ordering, if any, between variables cannot be verified or falsified by the technique: causality can only be inferred. Thus, it will not be possible to reach a definitive conclusion here that the four types of capital in cathedral Friends' associations were shaped by certain socio-demographic factors, attitudes, or behaviours. However, it is not unreasonable for the analyst to make such an assumption on some occasions (A. Park et al., 2010, p. 241).

Second, strictly speaking, the technique assumes that the dependent is a continuous variable with a normal distribution, and that the independent variables are binary or ordinal categories (A. Field, 2009, p. 253). There are recognized strategies for

dealing with a violated assumption. For instance, it is common to use Likert-scale ordinal variables as dependent variables in linear regression: in that case, an underlying interval scale is assumed, with the difference between the observed ordinal scale and the underlying interval scale being due to random measurement error (A. Park et al., 2010, p. 241). To use categorical or nominal independent variables, data can be converted into dummy or binary variables (0 and 1 being the only valid scores). If there is no scope to employ an interval level measure as the dependent variable (for example, in the case of legacies in Chapter 10, where 1 signified a promise and 0 otherwise), the regression model can still be used to draw conclusions about the sample; however, a violated assumption means that findings cannot be generalized beyond the relevant sample (A. Field, 2009, p. 251). To determine predictors of the four types of capital in this Chapter violated no assumption; however, certain analyses in the next Chapter were potentially problematic. Since there is no intention to generalize beyond the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends analyzed here, proceeding with linear regression was deemed the best available technique in that instance. The two concerns having been noted, but tempered in these circumstances, it is now appropriate to report the procedures followed and the findings.

The choice of indicators was conceptually driven. Three of the standard socio-demographic variables (sex, age, degree) were included in all regressions, as controls. The fourth standard socio-demographic variable, live with another, was excluded since it did not correlate significantly with any dependent variable. All other independent variables were included in the four series of regression models, irrespective of whether they correlated significantly with the relevant dependent variable.

In each linear regression, independent variables were entered in blocks (Table 38) in order to estimate the significance of the change (R^2) at each stage. Table 39 presents comparative results for Model 4 in respect of WRSCIM, RI, CSNI and CCI (standardized Beta coefficients significant at the $p < .05$, .01 or .001 level, are shown in bold type). The order in which results for the four forms of capital are presented highlights the similarities and differences between them. Table 39 also reports the <u>final</u> R^2 (to reveal how much variance was explained by the model). Any relevant change in R^2 <u>between models</u> is reported in the text.

Table 37: Cross-tabulation of WRSCIM item percentage endorsements by activity in the Friends' association

WRSCIM items (Bonding shown in **bold face**; Bridging shown in normal face; Linking shown in *italic face*; Trust shown in CAPITAL FACE).	Percentage endorsements		
	Socially passive (rank order)	Socially active (rank order)	Passive: active ratio
Bridging Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to contribute to community life	28% (1)	60% (2)	.47
TRUST BEING IN THE CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION BUILDS UP MY SENSE OF TRUST IN GOD	27% (2)	38% (7)	.71
TRUST BEING IN THE CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION BUILDS UP MY SENSE OF TRUST IN OTHER PEOPLE	25% (3)	44% (6)	.57
Bonding **I feel close to the cathedral clergy**	18% (4)	34% (8)	.53
TRUST BEING IN THE CATHEDRAL FRIENDS' ASSOCIATION BUILDS UP MY SENSE OF TRUST IN MYSELF	15% (5)	29% (10)	.52
Bonding **I feel close to the members of the Cathedral Friends' Association**	14% (6=)	46% (5)	.30
Bridging Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to meet new people	14% (6=)	67% (1)	.21
Linking *Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to establish my place in the community*	14% (6=)	32% (9)	.44
Bonding **Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association helps me to make friends**	11% (9)	56% (4)	.20
Bridging Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have become friends with people who I would otherwise not have met	9% (10)	57% (3)	.16
Linking *Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have met different community leaders*	8% (11)	27% (11)	.30
Linking *Through the Cathedral Friends' Association I have met important people*	5% (12)	25% (12)	.20

Note. Differences between observed frequencies of active and passive Friends were tested on ratio of endorsement to non-endorsement, using Chi-Square test. The ratios were all significant at the <.001 level.

Table 38: Blocks of predictor variables added to the multiple linear regression models

Model	Predictor variables
1	<u>Socio-demographic</u> Sex; age; degree; how religious
2	<u>Secular social capital</u> Live in cathedral city; secular networks; general social trust; involvement in groups
3	<u>Motivation and persistence in the Friends' association</u> Social motivation; volunteering motivation; motivated to preserve as place of worship; motivated to raise money; self-interested motivation; informational motivation; how many years as a Friend
4	<u>Involvement</u> Attendance at cathedral acts of worship; participation in Friends' association events etc.

Religious Social Capital (WRSCIM)

The final model revealed that nine of the 15 independent variables were significant predictors of WRSCIM: being male; having lower education; religiosity; involvement in groups; three motives for joining (social, volunteering, and raising money); attendance at cathedral worship; and being socially active within the Friends' association.

So, WRSCIM was predicted by how religious Friends declared themselves, but the effect size in that instance was not large. Although theory suggested that the social capital in a religious setting would not necessarily be influenced by religiosity, this form of religious social capital did nonetheless depend in part on self-reported religiousness.

The final model explained 47% of the variance. It was the addition of the variables related to motivation and persistence in the Friends' association (Model 3) that had the highest explanatory strength (R^2 change = .288; $p < .001$). What is intriguing is the way the observed motivations had greater explanatory power than the measured levels of involvement. So, for example, a Friend's desire to be socially active in the association upon joining had greater power to predict his/her religious social capital than his/her actual involvement in the Friends' association social gatherings and his/her actual attendance at cathedral worship.

Regard for the cathedral (RI)

In the case of RI, the final regression model revealed that six independent variables were significant predictors. The pattern of predictors differed from that for WRSCIM, but there were similarities. For example, like with WRSCIM, how religious Friends declared themselves predicted RI, as did joining to receive information about the cathedral, joining to raise money, and attending cathedral services. However, unlike WRSCIM, age (being younger) was a predictor of RI, albeit not a strong one; years spent as a Friend was also a predictor of RI. It was interesting that attendance at cathedral worship emerged as an important factor shaping RI, even though activity in the Friends' association social gatherings did not.

The final model explained 25% of the variance in relation to RI. Although social activity in the Friends' association was not itself a predictor (Model 4), it was intriguing to find that the addition of the variables related to motivation and persistence in the Friends' association (Model 3) had the greatest explanatory strength when compared with the other models (R^2 change = .134; $p < .001$). Overall, the effect size for the informational motivation index was the most notable. Cause and effect cannot necessarily be inferred from regression models, however, in the case of information and Friendship, logic suggests that causation flows only in one direction. Evidently, information sustains the bond between Friend and cathedral. As noted earlier, the particular role that information plays in a voluntary association such as the Friends is a point that will be discussed in Part Five.

Religious Social Capital (CSNI)

The final model revealed that eight of the 15 independent variables were significant predictors of CSNI, but the pattern of predictors differed from that for WRSCIM. Living in the cathedral city and years as a Friend emerged as important factors shaping CSNI. Other important predictor variables were: secular networks; social and volunteering motives for joining; attendance at cathedral worship; and activity in the Friends' association social gatherings.

Age was a weak negative predictor of CSNI. Even if age (in this instance, being younger) was not a fundamental causal agent shaping this form of social capital, it may be a conspicuous index of alternative causal factors not directly measured in the study. Health and well-being (not assessed) would be prime examples of factors related to age which could have profound effects upon the ability and opportunity to forge strong networks in the cathedral community.

Two of the core socio-demographic variables (sex and level of education) had no predictive power in relation to CSNI; this was despite the earlier finding (Table 34)

that one (sex) had a significant negative correlation with CSNI. Religiosity also had no predictive power over CSNI. So, although this type of social capital was located in a religious setting, it was not influenced by how religious Friends declared themselves to be. This result marked CSNI out from WRSCIM.

Overall, the final model explained 54% of variance. The socio-demographic variables in Model 1 did not have great explanatory strength (R^2 = .045; p < .001). The addition of the secular social capital and involvement variables (Models 2 and 4) had the greatest explanatory strength (R^2 change = .176; p < .001; and .164, p < .001, respectively). The addition of the variables related to motivation and persistence in the Friends' association (Model 3) explained much the same amount of variance (R^2 = .154; p < .001).

Cultural capital (CCI)

Six independent variables were revealed as predictors of CCI in the final regression model: being male; involvement in groups; three motives for joining the Friends (informational, social and to raise money); and social activity in the Friends' association. The variables related to age, education, and proximity of home to the cathedral had no role in shaping cultural capital, even though the bivariate correlations were statistically significant (Table 34).

Overall, the final model for CCI accounted for 26% of variance. The greatest explanatory strength lay in the variables related to motivation and persistence in the Friends, added in Model 3 (R^2 = .172; p < .001). Again, it is intriguing that a Friend's desire to be involved socially, to raise funds and to receive information had greater power when taken together to predict his/her cultural capital than his/her actual involvement in the Friends' association (Model 4, R^2 = .036; p < .001). Moreover, in the case of CCI, attendance at cathedral worship had no predictive power, when taken together with other independent variables, despite the significant correlation reported earlier (Table 35).

Conclusions

The regression models have accounted for approximately half of the observed variance in the case of the two religious social capital variables (WRSCIM and CSNI) and around one quarter of the observed variance in the case of regard (RI) and cultural capital (CCI). Different patterns emerged in relation to significant predictors for the four outcome variables, but there were also some interesting similarities.

Broadly, the predictors of CCI had little similarity with those of CSNI: the only points of overlap were the social motivation index and activity in the Friends' association.

Again, there was little overlap between CCI predictors and RI predictors: just two motivations for joining the Friends' association (to receive information about the cathedral and to raise money) were common to both sets of predictor variables. As Table 39 also reveals, the greatest number of common predictors was found between WRSCIM and RI (religiosity, informational motivation, joining to raise money, and attendance at cathedral worship), lending support to the treatment of RI (the measure of bonding with the cathedral, as corporate person) as a form of social capital. There were three points of overlap between WRSCIM and CSNI predictors (social motivation and the two involvement variables). This outcome supported the decision to include CSNI in the analyses to complement WRSCIM, since the two measures accessed contrasting aspects of social capital, and were shaped in part by different sets of factors.

The picture about the extent to which Friends' religiosity influenced their stocks of capital in the cathedral Friends' association was not straightforward. The more religious Friends declared themselves, the more likely they were to score highly on WRSCIM and RI. In the case of CSNI, religiosity was a predictor in Models 1, 2 and 3, but did not emerge as a predictor once the variables measuring involvement in cathedral worship and in the Friends' association were added (Model 4). These overall findings are consistent with the initial conceptualization of religious social capital as a resource embedded or generated in a religious setting.

When it came to the predictive power of Friends' secular social capital, the evidence was rather mixed. The Secular Social Networks Index predicted social networks in the cathedral as assessed by CSNI; but of all the secular social capital variables, it was Involvement in groups alone that predicted WRSCIM. Social trust had no influence on religious social capital. None of the three secular social capital measures predicted RI; so there was evidently no link between bonding with the cathedral and social involvement with human actors outside the building.

Table 39: Predictors of the capitals: WRSCIM, RI, CSNI and CCI

Independent variable	Capitals			
	Religious Social (WRSCIM) *B*	Regard for Cathedral (RI) *B*	Religious Social (CSNI) *B*	Cultural (CCI) *B*
Sex (male)	**.083***	.004	-.028	**.066***
Age	-.018	**-.077***	**-.050***	-.016
Degree	**-.091***	.002	-.010	-.041
How religious are you	**.089***	**.141***	.048	.019
Live in the cathedral city	-.010	-.060	**.113***	-.007
Secular Networks Index	.051	.013	**.067****	.055
General social trust	-.031	.035	.035	.004
Involvement in groups	**.054***	.057	.036	**.089****
Social Motivation Index	**.355***	-.050	**.105***	**.183***
Volunteer Motivation Index	.056	.045	**.168***	-.038
Joined to preserve as place of worship	.006	.011	-.030	-.037
Joined to raise money for fabric/music	**.088***	**.147***	.041	**.093****
Self-interested Motivation Index	.039	.016	**-.093***	.003
Informational Motivation Index	**.069***	**.282***	-.035	**.257***
Years as a Friend	.004	**.087****	**.144***	.023
Attend cathedral services	**.116***	**.238***	**.365***	.009
Passive in Friends' Association	**-.237***	-.048	**-.238***	**-.219***
R Square	.471	.253	.539	.262

* *p* < .05   ** *p* < .01   *** *p* < .001

Note. This summary table presents results from the multiple linear regression for each of the four capitals. It shows the effect of each predictor variable on each type of capital, after controlling for all other predictors in the list. For ease of reference, standardized Beta coefficients significant at the *p* < .05, .01 or .001 level are shown in bold type.

CHAPTER 10
THE CONSEQUENCES OF
RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CAPITAL,
REGARD FOR THE CATHEDRAL, AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

The fundamental aim of this research was to demonstrate whether, as theory would suggest, increased giving to the cathedral Friends' associations was associated with higher levels of capital in the social arena. This chapter lies at the heart of the study: here, the data will be interrogated to reveal whether seven different types of gift were influenced by Friends' religious social capital and also their cultural capital. An alternative explanation suggested in Chapter 4 was that Friends' gifts were an intrinsic aspect of the 'economy of regard' (Offer, 1997): in other words, that the giving was a function of the love and affection heaped on the cathedrals by their befrienders. This explanation will also now be tested, and it will be revealed whether regard for the cathedral does operate in a similar way to bonding social capital, as the novel theory developed in this thesis suggested.

Research design

The fundamental hypothesis guiding this research maintained that the more 'capital' possessed by Friends in the social arena of the Friends' association, the more likely they would be to make gifts to the cathedral and/or the association. To test the hypothesis, the analysis categorized the gifts (the independent variables) as: (1) money, (2) prayer and (3) time. The analyses that follow were aimed at answering 5 questions about the 923 cathedral Friends in the sample under study (Table 40). Descriptive statistics were employed to address the first question; and correlations were used to address the next three questions. Reliance on bivariate analysis for understanding patterns of giving may, however, be inadequate. For example, when Warburton and Stirling (2007) analyzed factors motivating older adults' volunteering of time, they concluded that more sophisticated models may be needed to explore relationships because bivariate analysis can conceal a more complex picture (p. 40). Bearing such advice in mind, multiple linear regression was conducted to address the final question, that is to examine the independent predictive power of religious social capital, of cultural capital, and of regard for the cathedral. This technique was employed notwithstanding the caution expressed earlier (Chapter 9).

Table 40: Research design

	Research questions	Methods of analysis
1.	What voluntary gifts of money, prayer and time did members make to the Friends' association and/or cathedral?	Descriptive statistics
	• Payment of more than minimum Friends' association subscription • Donations to Friends' association • Legacy to Friends' association • Legacy to cathedral • Prayer for cathedral • Volunteer time for Friends' association • Volunteer time for cathedral	
2.	Was there a relationship between members' religious social capital and their giving of money, and/or prayer and/or time?	Correlations
3.	Was there a relationship between members' cultural capital and their giving of money, and/or prayer and/or time?	Correlations
4.	Was there a relationship between members' regard for the cathedral and their giving of money, and/or prayer and/or time?	Correlations
5.	Which capital had the greatest power to predict the extent of the giving of money, prayer and time, after allowing for the effects of other independent variables?	Multiple linear regression

Measurements

Outcome variables

On the basis of the categorization in Chapter 2, gifts of money were the focus of four separate items. The first measure of a monetary gift assessed whether the respondent chose to pay more than the minimum suggested subscription in the last 12 months (0 = No declared payment of more than minimum subscription; 1 = declared payment of more than minimum subscription). The next measure assessed whether the respondent had made any monetary donation to the association in the last 12 months (beyond the subscription and buying tickets for events) (0 = No declared donation; 1 = declared donation). The last two measures of monetary gifts explored whether there was an intention to leave a legacy to the

cathedral and whether there was an intention to leave a legacy to the association (in each case, 0 = no declared legacy; 1 = declared legacy).

Gifts of time were the focus of two items. The first related to whether the respondent volunteered his/her time for the association and/or more generally for the cathedral (1 = Yes, for the Friends' association; 2 = Yes, for the cathedral more generally; 3 = No). The second asked the respondent to specify in what capacity he/she volunteered, by selecting as many answers as appropriate from a list of 16 roles (such as Friends' information desk, Friends' office, member of Friends' committee; cathedral guide, cathedral steward, flower arranger). Two new variables were subsequently computed: Number of volunteer roles undertaken for Friends' association (0 to maximum 7) and Number of volunteer roles undertaken for the cathedral (0 to maximum 4).

The third gift related to prayer for the cathedral. It will be recalled that this prayer was treated as a gift in the analysis because it has been seen as a crucial activity since the inception of the Friends' associations (see Muskett, 2012a, p. 109, and also Chapter 2 here). Such prayer could be offered by Friends who attended at cathedral services and equally by those who did not. Respondents were asked 'How often do you pray specifically about your cathedral?' (1 = I never pray; 2 = I never pray about the cathedral; 3 = A few times a year; 4 = Once a month; 5 = Once a week; 6 = Every day). A new variable 'Prayer for the cathedral' was subsequently computed (1 = None; 2 = A few times a year; 3 = Once a month; 4 = Once a week; 5 = Every day).

In the questionnaire, the item about prayer for the cathedral was located beside items on religion, beliefs, going to church and general prayer; but, whereas religiosity and attendance at cathedral worship were deemed potential predictors of religious social capital, cultural capital and regard for the cathedral, frequency of prayer for the cathedral was treated as a potential outcome of the capitals.

Predictors

The independent variables in these analyses were the four types of capital discussed earlier: religious social capital as measured first by WRSCIM and second by CSNI; cultural capital (CCI); and regard for the cathedral (RI).

Results

Gift-giving to cathedral / Friends' association (Question 1)

In terms of gifts of money, the general pattern was that the more demanding the gift, the fewer Friends gave it: so, more Friends paid extra for their subscription than

made donations; and more made donations than pledged legacies. The detailed findings are as follows.

More than a quarter of the sub-sample (27%) paid more than the minimum suggested subscription in the previous twelve months; and around one-sixth (17%) had chosen to make a donation to the Friends' association in that period (Table 41).

Table 41: Summary statistics of outcome variables

Outcome Variables	Percentage
More than minimum subscription in past 12 months	
Did not report payment of more than minimum subscription (1)	73%
Paid more than minimum subscription (2)	27%
Donation to Friends' association in the last 12 months	
No declared donation in past 12 months (1)	83%
Declared donation in past 12 months (2)	17%
Prayer for the cathedral	
No (1)	35%
A few times a year (2)	35%
Once a month (3)	8%
Once a week (4)	18%
Every day (5)	5%
Intend to make legacy to Friends' association	
None declared (1)	92%
Yes (2)	8%
Intend to make legacy to cathedral	
None declared (1)	87%
Yes (2)	13%
Volunteer for Friends' association	
No (0)	89%
Yes – one role (1)	7%
Yes – two roles (2)	2%
Yes – three roles (3)	1%
Yes – four roles (4)	1%
Yes – five roles (5)	0%
Yes – six roles (6)	0%
Yes – seven roles (7)	0%
Volunteer for cathedral	
No (0)	68%
Yes – one role (1)	23%
Yes – two roles (2)	6%
Yes – three roles (3)	2%
Yes – four roles (4)	0%

Fewer had decided to leave a legacy; and the proportion intending to help the cathedral directly in this way was the greater (Table 41). The proportion of Friends reporting an intention to leave a legacy was slightly higher than in the general population. It has been found that, while 74% in the UK support charities, only 7% leave a legacy to them, despite the fact that 35% report that they would be 'happy to give a small amount to charity in their Will after they have looked after their family and friends' (Remember a Charity, 2012).

Overall, the active membership was more likely to donate monetary gifts than the passive membership. Active Friends were approximately twice as likely as passive Friends to have made a donation and/or to have intended to leave a legacy (Tables 43 to 45). But, in the case of paying more than the minimum annual subscription, there was not such a pronounced distinction between the two groups (Table 42).

Table 42: Contingency table showing how many socially passive Friends paid more than the minimum subscription in the previous 12 months

More than minimum subscription	Socially active ($n = 620$)	Socially passive ($n = 303$)
No	71%	79%
Yes	30%	22%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Nearly two-thirds of the sample reported offering prayer for the befriended cathedral (Table 41). Naturally, there is the possibility that prayer for the cathedral could have been a relatively passive act, when Friends joined in intercessory prayers offered at cathedral worship; alternatively, praying for the cathedral could have been an individual activity as part of personal prayer life. Separating out those who prayed for the cathedral at least once a week into a dummy variable showed that this dependent variable was indeed predicted by attendance at cathedral services, and also by how religious Friends were ($r = .353$, $p < .001$ and $r = .204$, $p < .001$, respectively). However, it is interesting to note in this connection that the proportion who prayed about the cathedral once a week (18%) was slightly higher than the proportion attending acts of worship there on a weekly basis (14%); and also that a number of Friends, albeit a relatively small proportion (5%), reported praying for the cathedral on a daily basis. The passive Friends were less likely than active Friends to pray at all and also to pray about the cathedral they befriended (Table 46).

Table 43: Contingency table showing how many socially passive Friends made a donation in the previous 12 months

Donation to Friends' association	Socially active (*n* = 620)	Socially passive (*n* = 303)
No	80%	89%
Yes	20%	11%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Table 44: Contingency table showing how many passive Friends intended to leave a legacy to the Friends' association

Legacy to Friends' association	Socially active (*n* = 620)	Socially passive (*n* = 303)
No	90%	95%
Yes	10%	5%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Table 45: Contingency table showing how many passive Friends intended to leave a legacy to the cathedral

Legacy to cathedral	Socially active (*n* = 620)	Socially passive (*n* = 303)
No	84%	93%
Yes	16%	7%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Nearly one-third of the sample (31%) gave their time to the cathedral, with most of those undertaking one volunteer role (23%). As reported earlier (Chapter 9, Table 30), passivity in Friends' association events was likely to result in a lack of involvement in volunteering activity at the cathedral.

Overall, fewer Friends (11%) gave their time for the Friends' association, and most of these had taken on one volunteer role (Table 41). Only 4 of the 303 socially passive Friends in the sub-sample of 923 volunteered for the Friends' association.

Table 46: Contingency table showing how often socially passive Friends prayed for their befriended cathedral

Prayer for the cathedral	Socially active ($n = 620$)	Socially passive ($n = 303$)
I never pray	5%	13%
I never pray about the cathedral	23%	37%
A few times a year	35%	34%
Once a month	8%	7%
Once a week	24%	7%
Every day	6%	2%

Note. Differences between observed and expected frequencies of active and passive were tested using the chi-square test. The ratios were significant at the .001 level.

Interestingly, the survey of friends and members of heritage organizations conducted in 2006-7 found that 40% of respondents had volunteered for the site and 29% for the membership association (Holmes & Slater, 2007, p. 110); whereas analysis of data from a Citizenship Survey[82] conducted in Norway in 2001 revealed that, of those who claimed membership of a religious voluntary organization, 38% participated in voluntary work for the organization (Stromsnes, 2008, p. 483). This suggests that the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends may not have been quite as generous with their time as some counterparts.

Relationships between the variables (Questions 2 to 4)

A series of bivariate analyses examined the relationship between the seven dependent variables (the gifts of money, prayer and time) and the four independent variables. The relationships between all 11 variables are shown in the correlation matrix (Table 47). All seven dependent variables[83] had significant relationships with each other, except prayer for the cathedral and the promise of a legacy to the

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[82] See footnote 77.

[83] The matrix includes some categorical variables scored as 0 or 1. Pearson correlation coefficients should be based on comparisons between normally distributed variables, but the procedure is fairly robust to violations in this assumption. Significant differences reported in this table were confirmed by more statistically correct tests using either comparison of means or contingency table tests. They are presented in this format here and elsewhere for the sake of convenience.

Friends' association. There were three sets of relatively weak relationships: between payment of more than the minimum subscription and the volunteering variables; and between volunteering for the Friends' association and intending to make a legacy to the cathedral. The strongest relationship was between intending to make a legacy to the cathedral and intending to make a legacy to the Friends' association. The next strongest relationship was between praying and volunteering for the cathedral.

Correlation between religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI) and gifts (Question 2)

There was a significant positive correlation between WRSCIM and all seven gifts, and also between CSNI and all seven gifts. So, as these two forms of religious social capital increased so too did the chances of a Friend giving money and time to the cathedral/association, and of offering prayer for the cathedral.

In the case of WRSCIM, the strongest relationships were with prayer for the cathedral, and the volunteering variables. The smallest effect sizes were found in the correlations between WRSCIM and legacy to the Friends' association, and with payment of more than the minimum subscription.

The relationship between CSNI and payment of more than the minimum subscription was the weakest of the fourteen. Overall, by far the largest effect size was found in the relationship between CSNI and volunteering for the cathedral. So, volunteering for the cathedral was associated with denser social networks there. Of course, this result would have been expected, but it is impossible to infer the direction of the casual effect: the greater a Friend's social networks in the cathedral, the greater his/her opportunities for volunteering; and the more volunteer tasks the Friend undertakes, the greater his/her social networks will become, as he/she meets more volunteers, staff, congregants and visitors in the process. The effect size of the relationship between CSNI and prayer for the cathedral was also relatively large. Again, the casual direction cannot be inferred from the bivariate analysis; and, in any case, praying for the cathedral is strongly (but not perfectly) correlated with attendance at cathedral worship ($r = .485$, $p < .001$).

Correlation between regard for the cathedral (RI) and gifts (Question 3)

There was a significant correlation between regard for the cathedral and six of the seven gifts. Regard for the cathedral did not correlate significantly with intending to make a legacy to the Friends' association. The weakest significant correlation was found between regard and volunteering for the Friends' association. These findings suggest that the relationship between Friend and cathedral was direct, and did not necessarily have indirect benefits for the Friends' association. The effect size in

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relation to prayer for the cathedral was the largest: the higher Friends' regard for the cathedral, the more likely they were to pray for it.

Correlation between cultural capital (CCI) and gifts (Question 4)

There was a significant positive correlation between cultural capital and six types of gift. The effect sizes in relation to paying more than the minimum subscription and making a donation were relatively high. The strength of the relationships between cultural capital and the two volunteering variables was comparable. It is interesting that there was no significant correlation with a legacy to the association, although there was a significant positive correlation (albeit with a small effect size) with a legacy for the cathedral.

Table 47: Correlation matrix of the seven dependent variables against all independent variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.More than minimum subscription	1.00										
2.Donation to Friends' association	.116***	1.00									
3.Legacy to Friends' association	.124***	.133***	1.00								
4.Legacy to cathedral	.115***	.112***	.309***	1.00							
5.Prayer for cathedral	.135***	.144***	.060	.219***	1.00						
6.Voluntary input for Friends' association	.080*	.142***	.221***	.086*	.210***	1.00					
7.Voluntary input for cathedral	.079*	.118***	.107***	.205***	.290***	.210***	1.00				
8.WRSCIM	.113***	.174***	.107***	.140***	.354***	.271***	.268***	1.00			
9.CSNI	.084*	.161***	.101**	.228***	.391***	.361***	.537***	.514***	1.00		
10. RI	.130***	.141***	.062	.133***	.300***	.101**	.190***	.436***	.246***	1.00	
11. CCI	.146***	.145***	.035	.080*	.215***	.154***	.152***	.622***	.268***	.482***	1.00
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

$* \ p < .05$ $** \ p < .01$ $*** \ p < .001$

The independent effects of the four forms of capital (Question 5)

The correlation matrix revealed that almost all of outcome variables (gifts) have a significant relationship with the independent variables, that is, religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital. But the picture provided by the correlation matrix is incomplete. The problem is two-fold. First, the relative influence of the independent variables on gift-giving is as yet unknown. Second, the four independent variables are themselves correlated significantly (Chapter 8, Table 17). Therefore, a series of multiple linear regressions was conducted to determine independent predictors of the seven types of gift, and ultimately to address research question 5. Tables 49 to 55 below present the results to test the effects of the range of independent variables on gift-giving. Predictor variables were added in four blocks (Table 48), and the amount of variance explained by each model (R^2) was calculated for each gift.

Table 48: Blocks of predictor variables added to multiple linear regression models

Model	Predictor variables
1	Religious social capital (WRSCIM)
2	Religious social capital (CSNI)
3	Regard for the cathedral (RI)
4	Cultural capital (CCI)

Payment of more than the minimum annual subscription

As reported earlier (Table 47), there was a significant positive correlation between WRSCIM and payment of more than the minimum subscription. When CSNI was added to the regression model (Table 49, Model 2), some of the influence of WRSCIM was lost. So, some of the relationship between WRSCIM and payment of a higher subscription was because CSNI correlated with the dependent variable, and WRSCIM correlated with CSNI. When RI was added (Model 3), the influence of both WRSCIM and CSNI were lost. Again, this was because of relationships between the independent variables themselves. In Model 4, only one of the four independent variables predicted payment of more than the minimum annual subscription: this time, it was Cultural Capital. Accordingly, the relationships between the outcome and the other three forms of capital (Table 47) were actually spurious.

The final model explained just 3% of the variance, so other factors (not measured in this study) played a much greater part in accounting for payment of more than the minimum subscription.

Table 49: Predictors of payment of more than the minimum Friends' association annual subscription

| Variable | Declared payment of more than the minimum Friends' association subscription | | | |
	Model 1 B	Model 2 B	Model 3 B	Model 4 B
WRSCIM	.113***	.096*	.054	-.001
CSNI		.035	.032	.039
RI			.099**	.072
CCI				.101*
R Square	.013	.014	.022	.027
R Square Change	.013***	.001	.008**	.006*

$* p < .05$ $** p < .01$ $*** p < .001$

Donations to the Friends' association

In the first three models (Table 50), the two religious social capital variables (WRSCIM and CSNI) predicted donations to the Friends' association. The beta value of WRSCIM fell in Model 2, since some (though not all) of the relationship between WRSCIM and donations was because CSNI correlated with the dependent variable and WRSCIM correlated with CSNI. Once RI was added (Model 3), the beta values for WRSCIM and CSNI fell, because RI picked up some of the variance. Once CCI was added (Model 4), the influence of WRSCIM was lost altogether; at that stage, the influence of RI was also lost, because CCI accounted for a certain amount of the variance. When all four types of capital were taken together, it was only CSNI which influenced the outcome.

The model explained just 4% of the variance. So, again, other factors (not measured here) played a greater role in accounting for donations to the Friends' association.

Table 50: Predictors of declared donation to the Friends' association

Variable	Declared donation to Friends' association in past 12 months			
	Model 1 B	Model 2 B	Model 3 B	Model 4 B
WRSCIM	.174***	.124***	.091*	.067
CSNI		.098**	.095*	.099**
RI			.078*	.066
CCI				.045
R Square	.030	.037	.042	.043
R Square Change	.030***	.007**	.005*	.001

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

A legacy to the Friends' association

Table 51 reveals that only WRSCIM had any influence over the promise of a legacy to the Friends' association. This was despite the significant positive correlation with CSNI reported earlier (Table 47). When CSNI was added (Model 2), the initial influence of WRSCIM was lost, because CSNI correlated with the outcome and WRSCIM correlated with CSNI. Again, the final model (Model 4) explained a very small proportion of the variance: just 2%. So, factors not included in the model played a far greater role in accounting for donations to the Friends' association.

Table 51: Predictors of legacy to the Friends' association

| | Declared legacy to Friends' association | | | |
| | Model 1
B | Model 2
B | Model 3
B | Model 4
B |
Variable				
WRSCIM	.107***	.074	.067	.098*
CSNI		.063	.062	.058
RI			.018	.033
CCI				-.057
R Square	.011	.014	.015	.016
R Square Change	.011***	.003	.000	.002

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

A legacy to the cathedral

As Table 52 demonstrates, CSNI influenced the outcome in the case of the promise of a legacy direct to the cathedral (Model 4). There had been a significant positive correlation between WRSCIM and a legacy to the cathedral, but the influence of WRSCIM was lost once CSNI was added to the regression model (Model 2). This was because CSNI was correlated with legacy to the cathedral, and WRSCIM was correlated with CSNI. RI also had an influence upon the outcome, when all four capitals were taken together (Model 4). The final model explained 6% of the variance, so there were other factors at play in relation to this outcome as well.

Table 52: Predictors of legacy to the cathedral

| Variable | Declared legacy to the cathedral | | | |
	Model 1 *B*	Model 2 *B*	Model 3 *B*	Model 4 *B*
WRSCIM	.140***	.031	-.004	.010
CSNI		.211***	.209***	.207***
RI			.083*	.089*
CCI				-.025
R Square	.020	.053	.058	.058
R Square Change	.020***	.033***	.006*	.000

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Prayer for the cathedral

Three capitals (WRSCIM, CSNI and RI) influenced prayer for the cathedral (Table 53, Model 4). When CSNI was added to the model, the beta value for WRSCIM fell, but both were still significant: thus, some (but not all) of the relationship between WRSCIM and prayer was because CSNI correlated with prayer and WRSCIM correlated with CSNI. The same was true when RI was added to the model (Model 3): the beta value for WRSCIM dropped further, because RI picked up some of the variance. CCI played no role when the four independent variables were taken together, despite the significant positive correlation reported earlier (Table 47). When CCI was added, the beta value for WRSCIM did not decrease: CCI originally correlated with prayer for the cathedral, but this appeared to be entirely an indirect effect, because its correlation with the other measures of capital led to the relationship.

Overall, the regression model explained 21% of the variance in relation to Friends' offering of prayer for the cathedral.

Table 53: Predictors of prayer for the cathedral

	Prayer for the cathedral			
Variable	Model 1 B	Model 2 B	Model 3 B	Model 4 B
WRSCIM	.354***	.208***	.136***	.162***
CSNI		.284***	.279***	.275***
RI			.172***	.185***
CCI				-.049
R Square	.125	.185	.209	.210
R Square Change	.125***	.059***	.024***	.001

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Giving time to the Friends' association

Table 54 reveals that the gift of time by Friends' to the association was predicted by the two religious social capital variables, with CSNI having the greater explanatory strength. The beta value for WRSCIM fell when CSNI was added (Model 2); so, some (though not all) of the relationship between WRCSIM and voluntary input for the association was because CSNI was correlated with volunteering in this manner and WRSCIM was correlated with CSNI. RI and CCI played no role, despite the significant positive correlations between those variables and volunteering for the Friends' association reported earlier. This suggests that those two correlations (Table 47) were indirect. The final model (Model 4) explained 14% of the variance.

Table 54: Predictors of volunteering for the Friends' association

| | Volunteer for the Friends' association | | | |
| | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
Variable	*B*	*B*	*B*	*B*
WRSCIM	.271***	.116***	.129***	.121**
CSNI		.301***	.302***	.303***
RI			-.030	-.033
CCI				.013
R Square	.073	.140	.141	.141
R Square Change	.073***	.067***	.001	.000

* *p* < .05   ** *p* < .01   *** *p* < .001

Giving time to the cathedral

Friends' gifts of time direct to the cathedral were overwhelmingly influenced by CSNI (Table 55, Model 4). Although there had been a significant positive correlation between giving time in this way and WRSCIM (Table 47), the effect of that form of religious social capital dissipated as soon as CSNI was added to the model (Model 2). So, some of the relationship between WRSCIM and volunteering for the cathedral was due to the correlation between CSNI and volunteering in this way, and between WRSCIM and CSNI. RI also predicted the giving of time to the cathedral (Models 3 and 4), but the extent of its influence was far less than that of CSNI. CCI played no role as a predictor of volunteering for the cathedral, which suggests that the significant positive correlation reported earlier (Table 47) was spurious. Overall, the final model explained 29% of the variance.

Table 55: Predictors of volunteering for the cathedral

	Volunteer for the cathedral			
Variable	Model 1 *B*	Model 2 *B*	Model 3 *B*	Model 4 *B*
WRSCIM	.268***	-.011	-.043	-.040
CSNI		.543***	.541***	.540***
RI			.076*	.077*
CCI				-.005
R Square	.072	.289	.293	.293
R Square Change	.072***	.217***	.005*	.000

$* \ p < .05 \quad ** \ p < .01 \quad *** \ p < .001$

Conclusions

This chapter sought to address the element of the research question concerning the consequences of the four 'capitals' in the social arena of the Friends' associations. Theory suggested that the more religious social capital individual Friends possessed, the more likely they would be to make gifts to the cathedral and/or its Friends' association. Theory also suggested that the greater members' regard, the more likely they would be to make gifts to their Friend, the cathedral. It did not necessarily follow that the more cultural capital individual Friends had, the more likely they would be to make gifts to the cathedral and/or its Friends' association. However, the strong theoretical and empirical relationship between the two forms of capital (religious social and cultural) suggested that cultural capital might also have the capacity to predict gift-giving.

The regression models are summarized below (Table 56). Significant standardized beta values are highlighted in bold type. This table shows that, in some way, religious social capital played a role in predicting six of the seven types of gift, thus supporting the hypothesis. The sole gift not to be predicted by either form of religious social capital (WRSCIM or CSNI) was payment of more than the minimum Friends' association subscription. It was the latter gift alone that was influenced by the extent of Friends' cultural capital (CCI). This finding suggests that when Friends derived greater member benefits from enlarging their mind by learning about the cathedral's history, architecture and artefacts, and generally enriching their cultural lives, they were prepared to pay a premium for that privilege. It is perhaps puzzling that neither increased networking with fellow members, nor heightened regard for the cathedral were reflected in a similar willingness to pay more than the minimum Friends' subscription.

In total, CSNI predicted five different gifts, while WRSCIM predicted three gifts. Operating together, the two forms of religious social capital predicted two gifts (that is, voluntary input for the Friends' association and also prayer for the cathedral). It is interesting that, apart from its power to influence prayer for the cathedral, WRSCIM influenced only gifts to the Friends' association (that is, a legacy and volunteering); whereas, the power of CSNI to predict outcomes ranged across gifts direct to the cathedral and those mediated by the Friends' association. In particular, the ability of CSNI to predict voluntary input to the cathedral was notable: the standardized beta value in this instance was comparatively large, and the amount of variance explained by the whole regression model was the greatest of all seven models run here.

Friends' regard for the cathedral (as measured by RI) was a predictor of three types of gift. Interestingly, all three gifts were directed to the cathedral which members befriended. The gifts in question were: the promise of a legacy to the cathedral, prayer for the cathedral, and volunteering for the cathedral. So, in line with theory, the greater the extent of Friends' bonding with their cathedral, the more they were prepared to give (in the form of legacies, time and prayer) to support its ongoing work: this neatly exemplifies the economy of regard (Offer, 1997). Furthermore, the data appear to support the theoretical treatment of regard for the cathedral as a form of bonding social capital, comparable to the bonds inherent in networks between human actors.

Table 56: Summary of predictors of the seven gifts

Independent variable	Gifts						
	More than minimum FA subscription *B*	Donation to Friends' association *B*	Legacy to Friends' association *B*	Legacy to cathedral *B*	Prayer for the cathedral *B*	Volunteer for Friends' association *B*	Volunteer for cathedral *B*
WRSCIM	-.001	.067	**.098***	.010	**.162****	**.121****	-.040
CSNI	.039	**.099****	.058	**.207****	**.275****	**.303****	**.540****
RI	.072	.066	.033	**.089***	**.185****	-.033	**.077***
CCI	**.101***	.045	-.057	-.025	-.049	.013	-.005
R Square	.027	.043	.016	.058	.210	.141	.293

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Note. This summary table presents Model 4 results (only) from each of Tables 49-55. This model shows the effects of each predictor (capital) on each type of gift, after controlling for all other predictors in the list. For ease of reference, significant standardized beta values at the $p < .05$, .01 or .001 level are highlighted in **bold** type.

PART FIVE

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Of the three discussion chapters in this part of the thesis, two are broadly theoretical in nature, whereas the other takes a practical approach.

First, Chapter 11 will evaluate the utility of the 'capital' paradigm, in the light of the results; it will also consider some alternative paradigms. The chapter will then reflect on an instrumental approach to the generation of social/cultural capital and propose the notion of 'fiat capital' to describe a resource created by an organization.

The second chapter in this part (Chapter 12) evaluates the results reported in Chapters 8, 9 and 10, and then speculates about their implications, on the assumption that cathedrals will adopt an instrumental approach in anticipation of enhanced gains. It uses worked examples to show how social/cultural capital could be accumulated through the exploitation of different styles of Friendship.

In Chapter 13, the contribution of the passive Friends will be considered. After pondering putative sources of their assessed religious social capital, the chapter will introduce the concept of vicarious social capital (a theory developed at greater length in Muskett, 2012b).

Broad conclusions will then be drawn in Chapter 14, which will revisit the reasons for undertaking the research and consider what the study has accomplished — in particular, it will assess the originality of the research and its contribution to knowledge.

CHAPTER 11
THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES:
EVALUATING THE UTILITY OF THE 'CAPITAL' PARADIGM

Bearing in mind the conclusion of *American Grace* (Putnam & Campbell, 2010), that church networks are the most influential factor in shaping the distinctive giving and volunteering behaviour of churchgoers (a conclusion which has recently been endorsed by Gill, 2012, p. 186), it was natural to analyze Friends' gifts to their cathedrals by employing social capital theory (which seeks to put a value on such networks). The theoretical framework had already been recognized as yielding fruitful insights in explorations of three relevant domains: cathedral congregations (E. Williams, 2008a, 2008b; E. Williams & Francis, forthcoming), religious charitable giving (Nemeth & Luidens, 2003), and friend and member organizations in the heritage sector (for example, Collins, 2007; Spracklen, 2007). In the voluntary associations which support the fabric and mission of their diocesan mother church, two strands of social capital theory conveniently came together; and the approach was validated by the discovery that religious social capital (as here defined and measured), and also cultural capital, had the capacity to add value within the cathedral Friends' associations in varying ways. However, the point can be made that the capital metaphor limits as well as advances understanding (see, for example, Baker, 2009, p. 117). So, in the light of the study's results, the strengths and weaknesses of the 'capital' paradigm, and possible alternatives, will now be considered.

Alternative paradigms

As shown in Chapter 3, one fundamental objection to social capital theory, in general terms, relates to the lack of novelty in the concept. To argue, for example, that social capital merely re-presents existing theories in a more attractive guise (Furbey et al., 2006; Pahl, 2000; Portes, 1998) would advocate a return to those underlying frameworks. An objection to using social capital theory specifically in the context of faith communities is the functionalist approach that the capital motif suggests. Dinham (2012) argued that 'we need to relearn social capital as it relates to faith, and put it in its place as just one way of looking at things and by no means the dominant or even the most helpful perspective' (p. 34). For his part, Davey (2007) argued that, to avoid the natural consequences of the application of the language of capital to faith, a reversion to 'intuitive models of critical engagement' is required.

Against that background, three possible alternative ways of conceptualizing the construct of capital will be assessed. Each of the three solutions — the metaphor of 'the gift', notions around the 'everyday' and the 'ordinary', and friendship theory— has the potential to be peculiarly appropriate in the context of cathedral Friends' associations.

The metaphor of 'the gift'

It will be recalled that there were various ways in which cathedral Friends' charitable behaviour could be described as 'gifting'. Conceptualizing the outcomes of cathedral Friendship in that way emphasized that giving is a social phenomenon; it served as a reminder that all gifts come from God. So, there is a natural link between the data here and the first paradigm offered as an alternative to social capital. It is the metaphor of 'the gift'. This was found in Maddox's (2007) treatment of aboriginal reconciliation in Australia, and it has been suggested as an alternative paradigm by Baker (2009), who analyzed the language of encounters between faith groups and other agencies. According to Baker, the paradigm of 'the gift' encompasses the notion of something 'offered freely, without an ulterior motive or the expectation of a return on investment, which the harder-edged language of capital might suggest' (p. 119). In one sense, the idea echoes the *Faithful Cities* report (Archbishops' Council, 2006), which by means of the 'faithful capital' concept attempted to capture what it described as a 'particular gift to communities' offered by churches and Christians, at their best (p. 3).

Although this alternative language may be appealing, it actually overlooks the fact that the whole idea of gift-giving is that it takes place in a context of reciprocity (see Chapter 2). To suggest that this alternative paradigm has the capacity to portray offerings which are unencumbered with expectations of return misses the essential point of gifts. As Douglas (1990) put it in her foreword to Mauss's monumental essay on *The Gift*, 'a gift that does nothing to enhance solidarity is a contradiction' (p. x). Of course, the reciprocity can be delayed[84] or indirect[85], but it is nonetheless axiomatic, and motivates the subsequent cycle of exchange. Since gifts are given in

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[84] In that connection, Offer (1997) cited as an example the hospitality exchanged through middle-class dinner parties and the small gifts that accompany them: the value and timing of the reciprocal gesture is often tightly regulated by custom (p. 451).

[85] There, Offer (1997) used unconditional hospitality to strangers in the Middle East and Asia as the example: there may be no direct return from the beneficiary (who may be unknown), but a credit with the whole community, to be reciprocated at some other time/place (p. 451).

a dynamic context, the present study has been careful to treat such offerings as dividends of the resource under consideration, rather than the resource itself. The money, prayer and time signified the actions of the community. The point can be further illuminated by reference to God's self-giving. As noted earlier, sacraments are commonly defined as the outward sign of an inward grace (Weil, 1983, p. 2); and Jesus is the basic sacrament of God's saving presence in human history (Cooke, 1992, p. 234). Pursuing that analogy, the religious social networks under study here would equate to the grace, while each gift, as a sacrament, would be the product of that grace. Thus, the metaphor of the gift is tautologous in the present context: gifts cannot be both source and consequence.

Everyday faithfulness

The second alternative, the notion of 'everyday faithfulness', has been used by Davey to articulate the prophetic nature of the commonplace activity of faith groups (2007, p. 17, as cited by Baker, 2009, pp. 117-118 ; 2010, p. 35). Accentuating the prosaic in that way also echoes the *Faithful Cities* report (Archbishops' Council, 2006), which was introduced in the following way:

> Faith is not just signalled in church spires … It is also powerfully present in the hearts and minds of millions of twenty-first century citizens and, springing from those faithful lives, it is present too in the countless daily actions inspired by religious hope, belief and obligation. (p. 1)

For his part, Halpern (2005) observed that the concept of social capital is intended to capture the 'everyday fabric of connection and tacit cooperation' (p. 3); and he pointed to the writing of Hanifan (1920) who used the term social capital to refer to 'those tangible assets [that] count for most in the daily lives of people: namely, goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse' (p. 78, cited by Halpern, 2005, p. 6). The emphasis on the everyday[86] is reflected also in Dinham's (2012)

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[86] Interestingly, such emphasis upon the mundane finds resonance elsewhere. The prime example is Astley's (2002) notion of 'ordinary theology'. Somewhat paradoxically, that phrase attributed significance to 'the theology and theologizing of Christians who have received little or no theological education of a scholarly, academic or systematic kind'; and it derived from the dictionary definition of 'ordinary person' as one 'without exceptional experience or expert knowledge' (p. 56). It has been taken up by Cartledge (2010) in an investigation of the contribution that ordinary discourse makes in the construction of Pentecostal identity; and by Christie (2012) in her book about ordinary Christology, defined as 'the account given by ordinary believers of who Jesus was (or is) and what he did (or does)' (p. 1). Another example may be found in the distinction made by Village (2007) between 'ordinary' Bible readers and those selected for ministry and trained in the methods and insights of Biblical scholarship.

'relationships in ordinary'. This was an idea that sprang from Lash's (1988) *Easter in Ordinary*, analyzing the manner in which Easter appears in, and makes a difference to, everyday life[87]. For Dinham, who has questioned the reinterpreting of faith-based networks as social capital and taken exception to commodifying subjects and rendering their relationships 'mere lubricants' (p. 73), there was a clear advantage to the concept of 'relationships in ordinary'. He did not employ 'ordinary' as a pejorative term[88]: the adjective simply served to assign a worth to relationships that would happen in any case. He argued that the term is constructive for the following reason:

> It decouples the relationships in faith communities from their rendering as 'social capital'. It recasts them as ordinary; that is, non-instrumentalized. Their purpose is not some other – a policy goal, welfare delivery, community cohesion or whatever. These are ordinary relationships which happen *anyway* (Dinham, 2012, p. 17).

The notion of ordinary relationships as a counterbalance to social capital theory is appealing, especially in the context of cathedrals. It serves to emphasise that the observed social ties may well have been ordinary: to quote Dinham further, 'that is, taking place anyway, regardless of policies for social capital' (p. 27). People are more energized by being together, by the interaction with each other on social occasions, and in tasks they undertake in the life of the cathedral, and indeed in the wider community. There is nothing like sharing a task, whatever it might be, to enable individuals to get to know and trust one another. So, the approach could serve to emphasize that observed relationships based around the cathedral Friends' associations had value in themselves, whether or not they delivered a good which could be recognized by policy (as discussed by Dinham in pp. 186-187).

On this basis, regard for the cathedral (the bond between Friend and cathedral) has the potential to be the most conspicuous 'ordinary relationship' in this context; and the habits of gift-giving that were shown to arise from it (prayer, volunteered time and legacies) may well have happened anyway, regardless of policy. For certain Friends, their activity within/through the association is part of a broader nexus of relationships in the cathedral (for example, being a worshipper or a volunteer steward/guide). In such circumstances, joining the Friends' association is an extension of what happens anyway: so, making Friends with a cathedral could legitimately be termed an ordinary relationship. But for other Friends, those who do

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[87] The title of Lash's *Easter in Ordinary* (1988) can be explained by reference to a sonnet by George Herbert about prayer, which contains the phrase 'heaven in ordinarie' (see p. 295, footnote 8).

[88] See also Village (2007), who emphasized that 'ordinary' was not a pejorative term and not to be taken to imply ignorance (p. 1).

not already have a bonded or bridging tie to a social/religious network based around the cathedral (that is, the 30% of the sub-sample of 923 who know no-one with a special role in the cathedral; the 34% who know no-one in the association as a personal friend; or the 26% who know no other Friend even by face) (Chapter 8, Table 13), the model is not appropriate. Thus, for such people, being a cathedral Friend is not 'ordinary', in the sense that it might <u>not</u> happen anyway. In that scenario, befriending a cathedral is a conscious activity undertaken for an apparent purpose (for instance, to preserve the cathedral as a place of worship, to raise money for its fabric/music, to receive information, to learn, to be part of a community of like-minded people and so on).

Friendship

When the language of social capital is regarded as too market-oriented (Dinham, 2012, p. 186), reducing human relationships to an 'instrumental currency' (Archbishops' Council, 2006, p. 3) and thereby giving rise to theory based on ordinary, everyday relationships, what better paradigm could there be in the present context than friendship itself? A reversion to friendship theory has much to commend it here, especially since the characteristics of cathedral Friendship map well onto those of the personal relationship known as friendship, suggesting that the organizational nomenclature is apt (Muskett, 2013). It is striking that elsewhere in the heritage sector, where research suggested that the 'Friends' label was old-fashioned and unprofessional (Burns Sadek Research Ltd., 1992), certain organizations have been transformed into membership schemes[89]. Slater's attempt to articulate the distinction between Friends and members in the heritage sector was grounded in a notion that genuine personal friendships are not developed or maintained purely for instrumental reasons (see, for example, Allan, 1986): Friends are altruistic, whereas members behave instrumentally, calculating whether the membership fee offers value (Slater, 2005c). No cathedral has followed the trend set elsewhere in the heritage sector. The persistence of the term 'Friends' implies not only that a cathedral has the capacity to be party to a humanlike relationship, but also that the proponents value a distinctive relationship, one in which the parties respond to each personalistically (see P. H. Wright, 1982).

In both their networks and norms, social capital and friendship have common characteristics. In order to build a picture of friendship, it is helpful to engage in conversation with different disciplines, because no single approach to the study of

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[89] The schemes at Tate (see Blackadder, 2005; Slater & Armstrong, 2010) and the National Galleries of Scotland (see Thierfeldt, 2005) are examples.

personal relationships is better than any other (Duck, West, & Acitelli, 1997): insights can be drawn from sociology, philosophy in the classical era, Christian theology, anthropology and literature. Data from four studies (conducted in different countries/cultures) enabled Argyle and Henderson (1984) to distinguish a set of friendship rules: those to receive the strongest support included volunteering help in time of need, and trusting the other (Argyle & Henderson, 1984, pp. 233-234). According to Waddell (2002), who identified the characteristics of Christian friendship, the relationship is based on the norms of trust and faithfulness, which in turn involve sharing information and confidences; and it is characterised by benevolence, mutuality and reciprocity. Studies of friendship by Allan (1986) and Jerome (1990) concur that a key norm is reciprocity. Reciprocity within friendship may be informal: maintaining a rough balance so neither side takes advantage of the other, without ever negotiating the basis of exchange (Allan, 1986, p. 5). The time-frame for reciprocity and the measurement of equivalence of exchange varies across relationships (Allan, 1998), with delays even to the point where friendship resembles the non-contingent character of kinship (Jerrome, 1990). Thus, friendship can resemble bonded social capital, as well as bridging/linking forms of the resource.

Friendship is more fundamental to dominant sociological concerns than often recognised (Allan, 1998, p. 686). Whereas the part played by the family in social cohesion has been acknowledged for centuries, far less attention has been devoted to friendship as a form of social glue (Spencer & Pahl, 2006, p. 30); and a deliberate focus on the complexity of individuals' micro-social worlds, rather than civic participation, enables a cooler evaluation of contemporary social life (p. 208). Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1990) and Putnam (2000) recognized that friendship informs debates about the prevailing individuation of society and the concept of social capital. Friendship's existence deepens the reservoir of social capital. Indeed, as Summers (2009) has observed, 'friendship offers the best in human relationality: seeking the good of "the other" and encouraging the friend to be another self – this particular instantiation of love is a relationship capable of engendering wider social capital' (p. 129). On this basis, and especially in the present context, it may well be reasonable to substitute friendship for social capital.

Adopting an instrumental approach

There is unease at applying the capital language to informal social networks in the context of faith communities (Furbey et al., 2006, p. 5). Another common objection to use of the capital motif in the religious field is that it encourages an unfortunate focus on the utility of the resource (Davey, 2007; Dinham, 2012; Graham, 2008). By

contrast, it is precisely the utility of the resource which is of interest in the present study, given the charitable purposes to which cathedral Friends' associations are dedicated (as set out in Chapter 2). Because registered charities must operate within the legal framework overseen by the Charities Commission[90], it is reasonable to assume that Friends' Councils will act rationally to maximise benefits and minimise costs when they choose between different courses of action, in order to get the best outcomes according to their preferences. Indeed, it was argued in Chapter 1 that charities must be able to demonstrate that member benefits which may appear at first sight private (such as Friends' social activities and learning opportunities), do in reality enhance the public benefits of the charity (that is, reap rewards). So, in this particular context, the adoption of an instrumental approach to religious social capital and cultural capital is warranted; and advantages of the 'capital' language seem to outweigh perceived disadvantages.

'Fiat' capital

In the context of the cathedral Friends' associations, religious social capital (like social capital) is the sum of the resources that accrue to the group by virtue of the networks of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992); and these relationships facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for the benefit of the organization (Putnam, 1995b). Thus, the resource depends ultimately on social cohesion. Sandefur and Laumann (2000) make a distinction between social cohesion that comes about naturally (for example, as a result of strong, family ties) and that which arises over time (through the perpetuation of weaker ties):

> Social solidarity may exist among interrelated actors by fiat, as when cultural values, backed by effective norms, dictate that family members will look out for another and care for one another. Or, solidarity may arise out of conditions of repeated interaction among the same actors over time, during which forms of social capital such as trust and mutual obligations accumulate. (p. 80)

The data in the present study have revealed that there were both sorts of social solidarity in cathedral Friends' associations, but that most solidarity occurred through repeated interaction among Friends without strong ties (that is, bridging or linking, rather than bonding capital) (Chapter 8, Table 12). Chapter 13 will consider the

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[90] For example, an effective charity should be 'clear about its purposes, mission and values, and [use] them to direct all aspects of its work'; and in order to achieve that, it must be able 'to explain how all of its activities relate to and support its purposes, strategy and mission, and benefit the public' (Charity Commission, 2008).

question of whether it is necessary for the 'repeated interaction' to take place face-to-face and face-to-place (as appropriate) or, alternatively, whether passive forms of communication (say, computer-mediated or written) might suffice.

In the quotation above, Sandefur and Laumann employed 'by fiat' as a descriptor of strong ties: in their definition, the bonding social capital is an axiom because of primordial relationships. By contrast, I shall employ 'fiat' here to describe the specific capital sponsored by an organization adopting an instrumental approach. My usage of the adjective 'fiat' (from the Latin, 'it shall be') has resonance with the act of creation, when God said 'Let there be light' ('Fiat lux') (Gen 1:3). Fiat capital takes its cue from the economic discourse rife in the field of social capital. It derives from the notion of 'fiat money' (Friedman & Schwartz, 1986; Ritter, 1995), which is a 'creature of the state' (Selgin, 2003, p. 155) —not fixed in objective terms to the value of gold— and created internally in a community to make feasible trades that would otherwise not be possible.

Fiat social capital would be a subset of what is commonly termed 'corporate social capital' (carried by a business) (see, for example, Leenders & Gabbay, 1999), which in turn is distinct from personal capital, with inward benefits (Francis & Williams, 2010; E. Williams, 2012)[91]. Just as certain commentators are uneasy about applying the capital language to informal social networks in the context of a faith community, so using 'corporate' language in relation to a faith-centred charitable organization could be equally uncomfortable. The notion of 'social capital management' to refer to 'the purposeful alteration of social structure to fit … goals' (Leenders & Gabbay, 2000, p. 491) is not objectionable (since the very premise of this thesis is that private benefits can be manipulated ultimately to yield public benefits), but it may be a step too far in the context of cathedral Friends' associations to use business-type language to describe a resource at the disposal of the organization.

It will be recalled that, while individuals have the capability to create social capital themselves, it is not necessarily in their interests to bring it into being, because the 'public good' aspects are experienced by others (J. S. Coleman, 1990). This being the case, it falls to the Friends' associations to actively foster the resource. Social capital is not an asset that can be imitated from place to place: rather, this unique resource is built through organic, bottom-up accumulation, and policy-making may play a central role in setting the process in motion (Lorenzen, 2007, p. 811). Here,

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[91] As Williams (2012) has pointed out, 'personal capital' (Francis & Williams, 2010), is consistent with the notion of 'psychological capital' (Avey, Luthans, Smith, & Palmer, 2010) that can bring about an internal psychological gain in terms of well-being.

then, 'fiat' serves to make a clear distinction between on the one hand the endogenous resource that springs from relationships occurring naturally, and on the other hand the resource (social capital or, indeed, cultural capital) that can be fabricated through the co-ordinated efforts of a Friends' association, as policy-maker, taking an active role in the engineering of the social structure. It may be particularly relevant for such policy-making to galvanise the input of those outside the cathedral and indeed the non-religious, for Friends' associations are a crucial mechanism by which such individuals may act together and ultimately have more leverage than when acting alone.

Regard for the cathedral, as a form of bonding social capital, may be the most obvious example of an endogenous as opposed to fiat resource. As suggested earlier, authentic regard as a form of bonding social capital could be <u>sustained</u> by the efforts of policy-makers, but it is unlikely that the organization could set in motion the process by which regard is initially accumulated. The geography of social capital implies that there is a requirement for some degree of the 'face-the-place' basis of co-presence (Urry, 2002) for the formation of regard for the cathedral.

The notion of fiat capital further helps to conceptualize the production process. Theory suggests that Friends' Councils could invest deliberately in their members for a time-limited period and then draw down the capital that has accrued, and use it to fund a particular project. But theory also suggests that stocks of capitals can become depleted (J. S. Coleman, 1990): relationships die out if not maintained, obligations wither over time, and norms depend on regular communication. This implies that there should take place a further period of sustained capital building, with policy-makers creating and/or boosting social relations.

This study has not furnished data to demonstrate whether fiat or indeed endogenous capital does become depleted over time, but it would be possible to design a longitudinal, companion study to explore that phenomenon (taking into account both life histories of Friends and also the trajectories of the organizations to which they subscribe).

Inherent risks?

The practical applications of fiat capital will be discussed in the next chapter; but, in the meantime, it is worth pausing to note that there could be inherent risks when Friends' associations adopt an instrumental approach. There is a negotiated path to tread in relation not only to the membership exploited in this way, but also to the cathedral Chapter, otherwise one or both parties could be alienated.

First, it is crucial to keep in step with members' motivations. The literature review showed that one of the hallmarks of a subscription charity (of which cathedral Friends are an example) is that it is accountable to its membership. Innes (1996) recounted how, from their inception in the late seventeenth century onwards, subscription charities devoted considerable energy to keeping their members well-informed about activities and funds raised and spent, and to giving the membership a voice in management. Lansley (1996) has highlighted the continuing importance of accountability to members, and warned about the danger of taking members for granted, especially when they are treated as 'instrumental resources' (p. 235). Even if an ordinary membership is largely passive and has little involvement in running an association, it can set limits to the degree to which it will be taken for granted; and beyond that it may remind those who run the organization about latent powers (as once happened in a high-profile dispute within the National Trust) (p. 236). In particular, Lansley advises that strong ideological views must be taken into account.

As results have shown here, it is ideological views that are fundamental in motivating members to join such organizations in the first place (Chapter 9, Table 20). Naturally, the extent and nature of the motivations vary among the membership; so differing emphases in the priorities of the association are likely to find greater favour with some sections rather than others. One obvious dilemma would be whether to focus on raising money to preserve the historic fabric of the building or to embellish the cathedral with potentially controversial works of modern art.

Second, it is crucial for an association to keep in step with its cathedral Chapter. There is a risk that, interacting with their cathedral Chapter, a Friends' association may build valuable fiat capital, but then use the resource to achieve ends not necessarily seen as a priority by the Chapter. So, a Dean and Chapter may in due course regret the expenditure of cathedral resources and their energies when fiat capital is drawn down to fund, say, new building developments that render the cathedral more hospitable to tourists and pilgrims, but do not foster worship. This may be an extreme example, but is provided to illustrate the importance of associations working hand-in-hand with their Dean and Chapter to build fiat capital, in line with charitable aims and objectives (which were discussed in Chapter 2).

Strengths of the capital paradigm and weaknesses of the alternatives

As an alternative paradigm, the metaphor of the gift, which seemed promising at first sight, has been rejected because it overlooks the dynamic context of gift-giving and confuses the resource with its consequences. On the other hand, as an alternative

to social capital, friendship theory offers a framework through which to analyze gifts, in particular as the fruit of a sustained and caring relationship (see, for example, Gill, 2012). Viewing what is vested in communities as 'ordinary relationships' may also be a helpful way of conceptualizing certain networks and norms which have demonstrable consequences.

In one sense, however, wrangles over nomenclature are futile — the basis of the argument is semantic rather than substantive. Whatever the resource in the social realm is called —be it 'ordinary relationships' (Dinham, 2012); 'everyday faithfulness' (Davey, 2007); friendship; social energy (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), social capabilities, social cohesion and social infrastructure (Woolcock, 2001), community (Bowles & Gintis, 2002)— the crucial thing is what it achieves. The weakness of alternative approaches is that they do not bring the distinctive properties of the resource into clear focus: as Woolcock (2001) put it, they remove 'a convenient discursive shorthand vis-a-vis other factors of production' (p. 70).

When exploring outcomes in a voluntary organization brought into being for a charitable purpose, it is vital to be cognizant of the properties of the resource vested there. This is important because social capital really is capital (Robison, Schmid, & Siles, 2002), at least when applied to sympathetic relationships (of which, naturally, cathedral Friendship would be an exemplar). The concomitant discourse reminds policy-makers that, like other forms of physical capital, social capital can be used to create forms of capital different from itself. Therefore, the capital motif is superior within a para-religious organization where the aim (implicitly at least) is to exploit the fungibility of different kinds of resource to meet charitable objectives. Furthermore, the language helps to conceptualize the production process (Robison et al., 2002) and emphasizes not only that lasting rewards of capital depend on making regular deposits and withdrawals into a system of relationships, some casual, some intimate (de Souza Briggs, 1997, p. 113), but also that the resource can become depleted if not well-maintained.

Summary

There were precedents for using the capital paradigm (i) in the context of cathedrals (ii) in friend/member organizations in the heritage sector, and (iii) to explore the structural basis of gift-giving. Discovering that certain gifts to cathedrals/associations were predicted by social capital or cultural capital suggested that the choice of theoretical framework and methodology was valid. Since there have been objections to use of the 'capital' language in faith communities, the strengths and weaknesses of the capital paradigm and also a number of alternatives have been assessed. It

has been concluded that certain options have limited merit. However, the arguments about nomenclature are semantic, rather than substantive. The 'capital' paradigm (and its attendant discourse) is superior in the context of cathedral Friends' associations, where the adoption of an instrumental approach to achieve charitable aims is warranted. Against that background, the notion of 'fiat' capital has been proposed; and this will be applied in Chapter 12, which explores the implications of the study and provides worked examples to illustrate the instrumental approach.

CHAPTER 12
PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS:
FRIENDSHIP STYLES AND FIAT SOCIAL CAPITAL

At the outset of the study, it might have been imagined that the 55,000 or so cathedral Friends would be an homogenous group of like-minded people, who, in the words of *Heritage and Renewal* (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994, p. 111), support their cathedral entirely out of a feeling of affection. However, while the sub-sample of 923 was not as varied as the population at large, the data reported in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 revealed that there were many individual differences in the sub-sample. Such variety was found, for example, in respondents' age, education, religiosity, home location, interests, motivations for joining, in the extent of their involvement in cathedral worship, and their conduct within the association. The data presented in Chapter 10 revealed variety in the pattern of Friends' gift-giving as well. This chapter will look at what those individual differences mean for styles of cathedral Friendship; and it will explore the implications of evidence-based Friendship styles for the Councils that govern the associations.

Cathedral Friends' associations: making connections between God, people and place

On the basis of the review of Friends' publications, it was suggested in Chapter 2 that a cathedral can be receptive to a variety of people through its Friends' association. The data reported in this study (Chapter 9) have now shown that the differing interests, motivations and levels of engagement of the eclectic sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends draw attention to the capacity of these para-church organizations also to make connections between God, people and place. It will be recalled that the relational view of God, people and place was expressed diagrammatically by Inge (2003, p. 47) (see Chapter 2, Figure 2).

For a Friend, any point into Inge's triangulation can be an equally valid route to membership. Entry might be through the sacred (God): a new recruit may be a pilgrim or a congregant wishing to preserve the cathedral as a place or worship, or he/she may be one of those on or beyond the Christian periphery with whom the cathedral makes a spiritual connection. Once an individual decides to join, and identifies with the fellowship, there will be differing opportunities for exercise of the cathedral's mission: these can present themselves through the foundational, explicit

or vocational domains of mission (Morisy, 2004), depending on the Friend's prior experience.

Alternatively, the point of entry to the Friends' organization might be through culture, history, art and/or architecture (the place): a new recruit may wish to cultivate him/herself and expand his/her knowledge in the cultural field, or he/she may be affected by the cathedral's capacity to convey the history and tradition of the locality. For some, community (the people) may be the entry point: a new recruit may wish to meet new people, and participate in social events, and/or to use his/her skills and expertise as a volunteer. Naturally, entry to the Friends' organization might be through a combination of two points, or a unity of all three. In circumstances where interests overlap and members are linked with each other and the cathedral in more than one way, their multiplex networks (Boissevain, 1974; J. S. Coleman, 1988) have the potential to be especially fruitful. The key message is that there will be differing consequences for the cathedral in terms of the Friend's particular contribution, depending on the entry point(s) to the organization.

Cathedral Friends' associations: capitals in the social arena

The aim of the study was to discover whether different types of capital within the social arena of Friends' groups yielded differing outcomes in terms of the gifts that benefit the cathedrals. Earlier, the causal relationships between the forms of capital in the associations, their predictors and outcomes were represented in simple diagrammatic form (Chapter 6, Figure 6). Chapter 9 has now revealed which predictors were associated with the various forms of capital in the surveyed cathedrals; and Chapter 10 has shown how those capitals shaped gift-giving outcomes. Together, the results presented in those two chapters may be summarized as follows.

Predictors and outcomes

Six of the seven forms of gift were linked with religious social capital (in one, or the other, or both forms, as defined here). However, those two forms of religious social capital were not predicted by exactly the same characteristics, motivations and behaviours in the Friends. The strongest predictors of WRSCIM were social motivations for joining, and Friends' involvement within the cathedral and the association. Other predictors were sex (male), education (non-graduate), religiosity, joining the Friends to raise money for the fabric/music, and to receive information about the cathedral, and involvement in groups outside the cathedral. In the case of CSNI, the strongest predictors were, unsurprisingly, involvement within the cathedral and in the association; and, to a slightly lesser extent, living in the cathedral city, the

duration of the Friendship, joining for social and volunteering reasons, not joining for reasons of self-interest; and, to a much lesser extent, the strength of Friends' secular networks. Of the socio-demographic variables, only age (being younger) had some predictive power in relation to CSNI.

Interestingly, the single form of gift-giving not associated with religious social capital (that is, payment of more than the minimum subscription) was shown to be related to a different form of capital measured in the study. This time the crucial type was cultural capital; and the greater Friends' cultural capital in the association, the more likely they were to pay an annual subscription above the suggested minimum amount. It was not surprising to find that Friends' cultural capital was predicted by their activity in the association, nor that it was associated with an expressed desire upon joining to be informed about the cathedral. Friends' cultural capital was also predicted by sex (male), the extent of their involvement in groups outside the Friends, and social reasons for joining.

The form of bonding social capital between Friends and the cathedral as corporate person was related to three types of gift; and, consistent with theory, the cathedral was the direct beneficiary of each of those gifts. Accordingly, the greater a Friend's regard for the cathedral, the more likely he/she was to support it by means of prayer, volunteered time and, in due course, a legacy. One of the predictors of regard for the cathedral was joining the Friends to raise money for the cathedral fabric/music; so it was not surprising that an increased likelihood of pledging a legacy flowed from this form of capital. The other predictors of regard for the cathedral were worshipping there, being motivated to join the Friends by informational reasons, and also religiosity, and years spent as a Friend. Theory suggested that the more Friends related to their friend the cathedral —by spending time in the relationship, by being religious, by visiting as a worshipper, by wanting to learn more about it and also to help it financially— the higher their regard for it. This proved to be the case, so the data supported the novel theory.

There was no evidence that higher household income was associated with higher capitals (or, indeed, with higher giving of money). That this is counter-intuitive strengthens the fundamental argument in the thesis: namely, that the cathedral associations are genuine friendship organisations, more than philanthropic ones in the usual sense. These charities, designed to raise funds for a cathedral, do so in ways that are unrelated to the income of the donors. Returning once again to the ambiguous title of the thesis, the study has revealed that cathedrals reap benefits by making their own Friends and then helping Friends to make friends among themselves. The financial wealth of the cathedral Friends (as measured in terms of

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their self-reported annual household income) had no bearing either on the Friends' wealth in terms of other types of 'capital', or directly on their generosity with money to the cathedral/association.

Styles of cathedral Friendship

In light of the data, a portrait can now be painted of different styles of cathedral Friendship, expressed by members with varying motivations, characteristics, and habits within the association. It will be recalled that motivations are especially interesting: in the case of religious social capital, regard, and also cultural capital, observed motivations had greater explanatory power than measured levels of involvement (Chapter 9). The suggested Friendship styles outlined below take into account both the predictors of the capitals and also their observed outcomes.

The Sociable Friend

The Sociable Friend is more likely to volunteer for the association, to pray for the cathedral and to remember the Friends' association in his/her Will. Men and non-graduate members are more likely to express this style of Friendship. The style is related to being religious, and to a certain extent to being involved in other groups. In particular, people are likely to have been the initial point of contact with the association for the Sociable Friend: he/she is likely to have been motivated to join for social reasons (although, interestingly, not by volunteering reasons). For this Friend, a desire to raise money for the fabric/music, and to receive information and learn about the cathedral was also important upon joining. Importantly, this style of Friendship is likely to be expressed by members active in the association and who worship at the cathedral.

The Networked Friend

The Networked Friend is more likely to volunteer his/her time (with the Friends' association and also the cathedral benefitting). He/she is also more likely to pray for the cathedral, to donate extra money to the Friends' association, and to remember the cathedral in his/her Will. The Networked Friend is likely to live in the cathedral city and to have been a Friend for a longer period. For such reasons, he/she is likely to be active in the Friends' association and to attend cathedral services (although religiosity will not have a bearing on this style of Friendship). He/she will definitely not have been motivated to join the Friends by the member benefits. Rather, the point of contact is likely to have been people: social and volunteering reasons are more likely to have been uppermost for the Networked Friend. This style of

Friendship is more likely to be found in younger members, and those with stronger secular networks.

The Cultured Friend

The Cultured Friend is the only sort of Friend likely to pay more to belong to the association. Perhaps this is because he/she appreciates the scale of cultural benefits derived from membership, which have the potential to enlarge the mind and develop capacities. The forces that drive the knowledge accrued by the Cultured Friend are not the same as those that drive the Networked Friend. The Cultured style of Friendship is more likely to be found in men, and in those Friends who are involved in other groups. The Cultured Friend is more likely to have joined to learn about and receive information about the cathedral: in this case, place is likely to have been the entry point to the organization. Notwithstanding that motivation, social reasons are also more likely to have been important upon joining. Unlike the other three styles of Friendship, this one is not so likely to involve worship at the cathedral. Furthermore, how religious a Friend is has no bearing on the style.

The Attached Friend

The Attached[92] Friend is likely to be more religious, to worship at the cathedral, to pray for the cathedral, and to support the work of the cathedral with volunteered time. This pattern suggests that the sacred (God) is likely to have been the entry point to the organization. This style is more likely to be found in members who joined to raise money to support the fabric and/or music of their friend the cathedral. It is also more likely to be found in those who joined to benefit from opportunities to learn about their friend, and in those who have been committed to membership for a longer period. Despite that, the Attached Friend is more likely to be younger. In contrast to other types of Friendship, the level of activity in the association is unlikely to affect the style of the Attached Friend.

Cathedral Friendship styles within a relational view of God, people and place

Naturally, as the Venn diagram below illustrates (Figure 8), the styles of cathedral Friendship are not mutually exclusive, especially if the initial encounter with the cathedral Friends' association was through more than one point of the triangulation between God, people and place (Inge, 2003).

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[92] The definition of the verb 'to attach' (usually in the passive) is: 'bind in friendship, make devoted' (Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 2002).

Figure 8: The relationship between cathedral Friendship styles
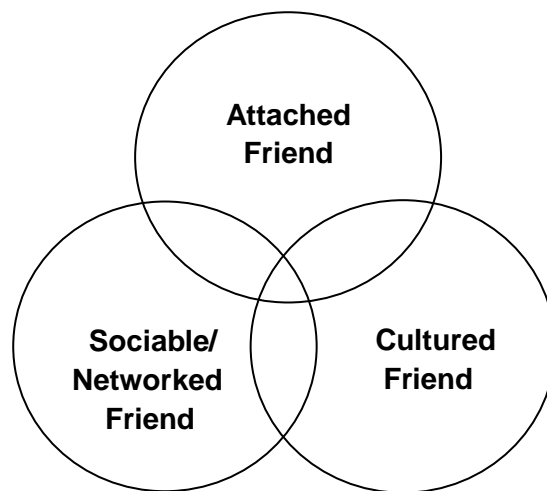
Although four distinct styles have been identified, the Sociable Friend and the Networked Friend are closely related due to their connection with people. For that reason, the two styles occupy the same circle within the diagram. The intersections emphasize that relations within the organization may be multiplex. It should be borne in mind, however, that Figure 8 is necessarily a stylistic representation, which cannot accurately capture the size of the points of intersection.

In the subsequent diagram (Figure 9), the overlapping Friendship styles are laid onto the relational view of God, people and place (Inge, 2003), as discussed above (see also Chapter 2). The diagram captures how the route(s) to membership can impact upon the nature of a Friend's relationship with the cathedral/association.

Figure 9: Cathedral Friendship styles, within a relational view of God, people and place
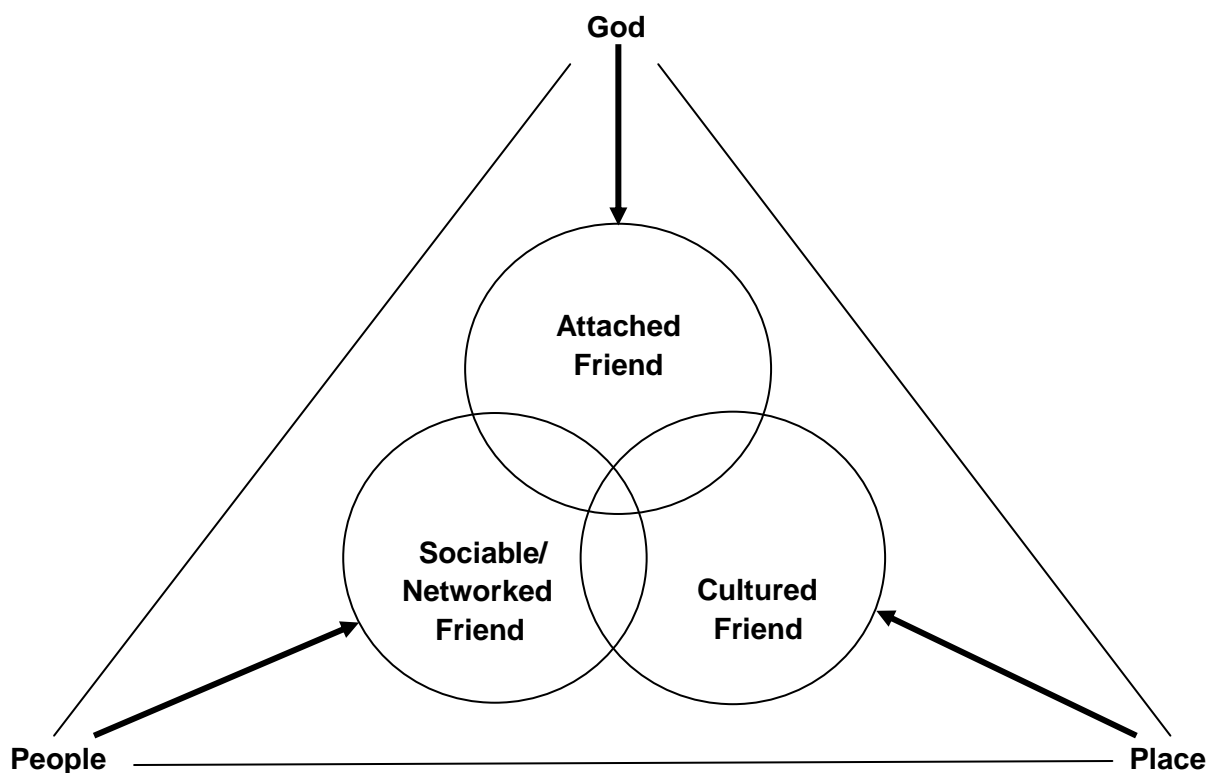
The application of the Friendship styles

This section will take the work to a practical level, by looking at what the study's findings might mean for cathedral Friends' associations, and how they might tailor their programme to reflect the aims and needs of existing and potential members.

In one sense, this approach is not novel. A study of involvement by a cross-section of members at Tate Britain and Tate Modern in London in 2008 concluded by advising managers of such membership schemes to 'collate a membership offer that reflects existing and potential members' underlying motivations, needs, goals, and values that make up their involvement' (Slater & Armstrong, 2010, p. 743). What is new in the present study is the evidence on which to base strategic plans.

The strongest impression to emerge from the data is that outcomes differ according to the types of capital within the fellowship. This may seem like a statement of the obvious; yet, unless it is acknowledged by Friends' Councils, they may be handicapped in planning appropriate strategies to meet fundraising objectives. Second, it is evident that different characteristics, motivations and behaviours among

the membership may shape the generation of capital resources in the associations in different ways.

Generating fiat capital

It was argued in Chapter 11 that there is a distinction between endogenous social/cultural capital (which grows from within and would exist anyway, regardless of organizational policy) and what has been termed here 'fiat' social/cultural capital (that can be engineered by the organization, through the adoption of specific strategies in relation to the social structure). The challenge of 'social capital management' (Leenders & Gabbay, 2000, p. 491), and indeed also of what could be termed cultural capital management, is to apply theoretical principles (derived from empirical work) in order to build and sustain appropriate networks in order to maximize the organizational capital. But what would such an instrumental approach involve?

The observations that (i) outcomes differ according to the type(s) of capital vested in the fellowship, and (ii) individual differences in the Friends shape the capital resources in different ways, suggest a three or four stage strategic planning process for Friends' Councils (Figure 10). As the diagram suggests, a desired outcome could be achieved through recruitment and/or engineering social structures. So, a Council could focus on the recruitment of a particular type of Friend (by appealing to those who would favour one entry point to the organization above the other two); although, in certain circumstances, a blend of Friendship styles may be needed to achieve a desired end. Or, the Council could boost the production of the relevant capital(s) by driving the social/cultural activities of the association in a particular direction, or possibly also by choosing the sort of projects that it funds.

Figure 10: How the findings might influence the strategic planning process in a cathedral Friends' Council

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Step 1: Decide which gift(s) to encourage │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                    │
                    ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  Step 2: Recognize which capital resource(s) │
│    is/are likely to yield the desired outcome │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
        │                        │
        ▼                        │
┌─────────────────────────────┐  │
│  Step 3: Recruit Friends likely to fit │  │
│   the appropriate Friendship style │  │
└─────────────────────────────┘  │
          │                      ▼
          │        ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
          └──────▶ │  Step 4: Foster the production of the │
                   │  relevant capital(s) by driving the activity of │
                   │  the association in an appropriate direction │
                   └─────────────────────────────────────────┘
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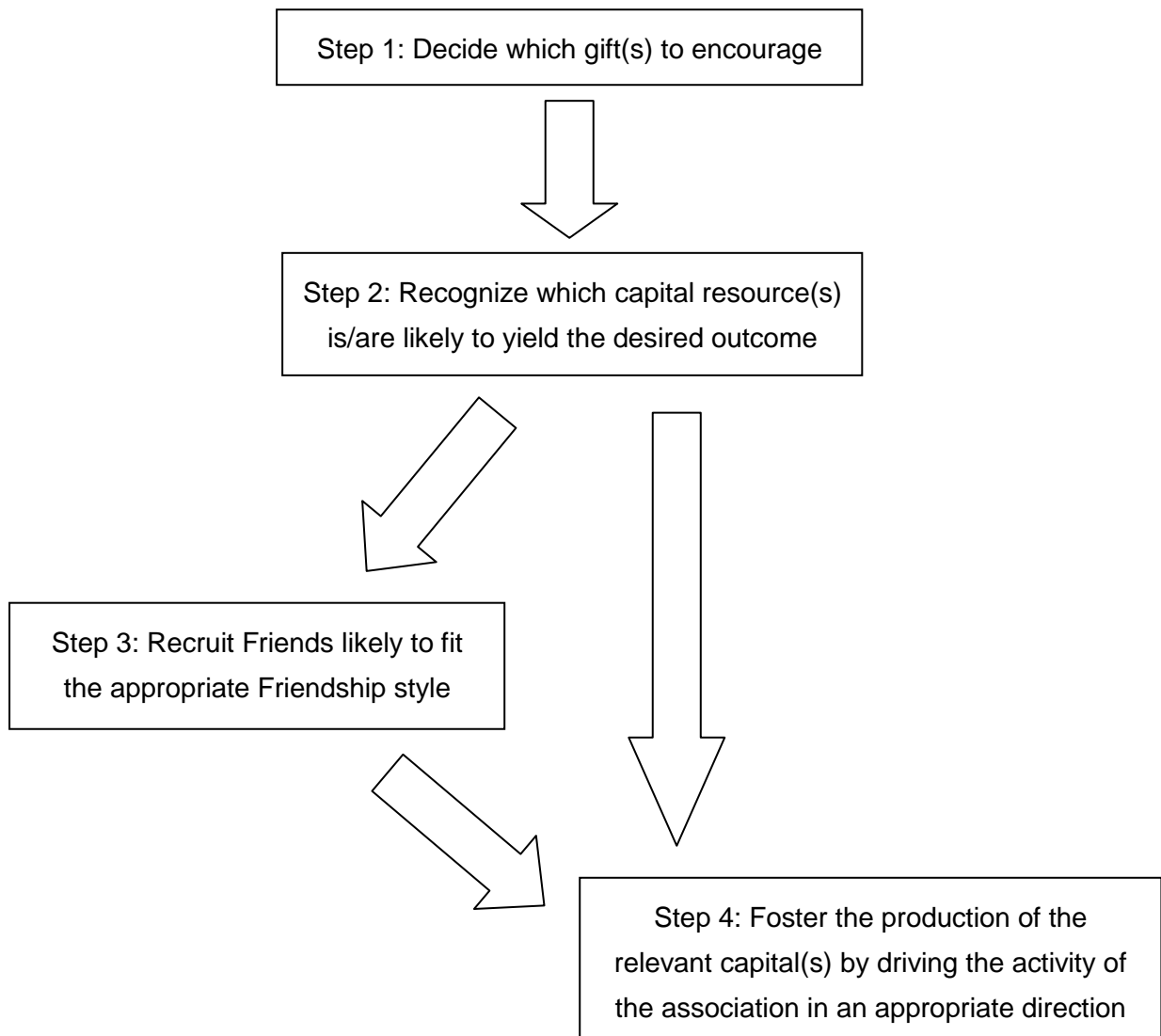
Let us now consider some ways in which the Council of a cathedral Friends' association might proceed to create fiat capital, in particular by applying the knowledge about Friendship styles discussed earlier.

If, on the one hand, a cathedral wishes to increase its subscription income, it might be advised to recruit those who aspire to cultivate themselves, enlarge their mind and develop their own capacities: by attracting and then maintaining the interest of people who fit the Cultured Friends model, the cathedral will be able to enhance fiat cultural capital. But, on the other hand, if it is a priority to increase the likelihood of prayer being offered for a cathedral's work, a cathedral would be wise not to recruit such Cultured Friends. If more volunteer help is needed by the Friends' association,

it would be advisable to recruit Sociable Friends or Networked Friends, and then to sustain their interest with appropriate activities, thereby enhancing fiat religious social capital. If it is the cathedral (rather than the association) that requires voluntary assistance, then it should look to recruit individuals who are going to be Networked Friends (to build the CSNI type of fiat religious social capital). A cathedral wishing to increase the likelihood of being remembered in death by its Friends should aim to recruit individuals who fit the model of Networked Friend or Attached Friend. But it is a moot point whether the type of bonding social capital known as regard for the cathedral can be fabricated.

Overall, the best wager from the cathedrals' point of view is to target potential members who will become Networked Friends, since the chances of their volunteering their time and energy for the cathedral is the highest (volunteering is relatively strongly predicted by CSNI). This way, cathedrals have a chance to enhance fiat religious social capital. However, there are two points to bear in mind in this connection. First, the data predict that Networked Friends are likely to be embedded in the worshipping community, so it is hard to determine which way causation flows: it might flow from volunteering to Friendship, or alternatively, from Friendship to volunteering. Second, it is worth recalling that volunteering was a reason to join for those in the style of the Networked Friend; but also that, overall, more respondents joined their association because they already volunteered, rather than because they wanted to volunteer. Taken together, these two points suggest that the networked form of religious social capital (CSNI) may be endogenous, and not amendable to generation by the organization.

Since WRSCIM and RI increase with religiosity, religious recruits should be favoured over the non-religious or slightly religious, if there is a desire to rely upon those forms of fiat religious social capital. Recruits eager to enhance their knowledge of the cathedral are likely to increase levels of regard for the cathedral; and also to enable the generation of fiat cultural capital and fiat religious social capital (WRSCIM); but they would not enhance stocks of the sort of religious social capital that was captured by CSNI. Targeting recruits who live in the cathedral city is more likely to foster fiat religious social capital (CSNI). Younger recruits are more likely to enhance the stock of regard for the cathedral. The recruitment of additional younger members also holds out the possibility of enhanced levels of fiat religious social capital (CSNI). Men are the people to recruit if a cathedral needs fiat religious social capital (WRSCIM) and/or fiat cultural capital. Those who are interested in joining the Friends to raise money for the fabric/music are unlikely to increase the level of religious social capital measured by CSNI. Fiat religious social capital and cultural capital are likely to be fostered if new recruits are motivated to join by social reasons,

while regard for the cathedral is unlikely to be built in that way. Potential recruits who will become active in the Friends' association are more likely to enhance fiat religious social capital and cultural capital, but not the stock of regard for the cathedral.

As the scenarios outlined above have demonstrated, the data have the capacity to assist cathedrals and their Friends' associations to plan appropriate strategies not only for recruitment (through one or more of the three entry points), but also for retention. Although the nature of funding campaigns and how they are projected to members may influence the creation of fiat capital, it is probable that the programme of activities will be the most vital tool in relation to fiat capital. In order to appeal to recruits and existing members who fit the profile of Cultured Friends (that is, for whom place would be the predominant entry point), it would be advisable to offer a varied calendar of events (perhaps with certain activities combining learning and social opportunities), and also to have a regular flow of high-quality information about the cathedral. To appeal to Friends who would help to increase stocks of regard for the cathedral and also fiat religious social capital as measured by WRSCIM (for whom God and/or people would be the entry point), it would be valuable to publicise Friends' projects well: such a strategy would demonstrate how effective the fundraising efforts are, and reassure potential recruits that their own objectives in relation to the fabric and/or music can be met. To recruit Friends whose membership would enhance fiat religious social capital measured by CSNI (again, for whom people would be the entry point), a good strategy would be to publicise the organization through the cathedral congregation, and through outlets within the cathedral city. Advertising the Friends' organization through other voluntary groups could appeal to those who fit the model of Sociable and Cultured Friends, because they are the more likely to be involved in such groups. A special effort could be made to distribute flyers about the cathedral Friends' association to voluntary groups with a male or predominantly male membership (Probus, for example), because such a strategy would be more likely to recruit Sociable Friends.

The specific content and design of newsletters and annual reports may be relevant, especially to Friends who fit the Attached and Cultured model, but also to a lesser extent those in the style of Sociable Friends. Relevant information about the cathedral, its history, art and architecture will be valued by those yearning to cultivate themselves and enhance their knowledge (for whom place would be the entry point). For those with social motivations (for whom people would be the entry point), photographs and first-hand reports of Friends' social activities and outings may also be of interest. Whetting the appetites of Sociable Friends is a relatively conspicuous role for associational newsletters and annual reports. In the next chapter, it will be

contended that theory suggests an equally crucial, but more subtle, role for such communications to play.

Summary

Cathedral Friends' associations have the capacity to make connections between God, people and place. Drawing on the results reported earlier, specific Friendship styles have been identified, which are likely to have different entry points to the organization: Sociable, Networked, Attached, Cultured. The form of capital contributed by Friends varies according to style; and outcomes for the associations differ according to the capital(s) contributed.

Bearing in mind that Friends' Councils are likely to adopt an instrumental approach to pursue their charitable purpose, it has been suggested that the identification of the Friendship styles will assist strategic planning. Councils might, for example, decide to favour one Friendship style over another, in anticipation of enhanced gains for the cathedral. A three- or four-step planning process has been suggested; this has the capacity to enable Councils not only to exploit endogenous resources contributed by Friends but also to create fiat capitals. A range of suggested strategies and their consequences have been outlined, in order to illustrate the process.

CHAPTER 13
ACCOUNTING FOR THE CONTRIBUTION OF
PASSIVE CATHEDRAL FRIENDS

The survey of associational publications (Chapter 2) highlighted the distinction between active Friends and passive Friends; and it reached a tentative conclusion that the nesting of secondary groups (that is a set of active, local members) within largely tertiary (that is, passive) associations might be one of the great strengths of the cathedral Friends' movement. The data reported subsequently revealed that, in the chosen sample of cathedrals, there was indeed a mix of activists and those who, for one reason or another, did not participate in the AGM, social events and/or associational trips (Chapter 9, Table 27). A lack of physical proximity was cited most often as the reason for Friends' passivity in associational social events (Chapter 9, Table 28).

There are marked differences of opinion on the relevance of physical proximity in the formation and conduct of personal friendships. Aristotle argued that friendships cannot survive if the friends do not spend significant time together, whereas Augustine claimed that friends could be hundreds of miles away, seldom see one another, but still have intimacy (Waddell, 2002, p. 90). Buber (1947/2002) claimed that 'not only is the shared silence of two persons a dialogue, but also their dialogical life continues, even when they are separated in space, as the continual potential presence of the one to the other, as an unexpressed intercourse' (p. 115). In support of a similar point, Vernon (2010) highlighted Wineapple's (2008) study of the friendship between the nineteenth-century American poet Emily Dickinson and Thomas Higginson, based on 'absence, geographic distance, and the written word', that enabled them to '[create] out of words a nearness we today do not entirely grasp' (cited by Vernon, 2010, p. 116). Supplanting letter-writing today, the Internet has made possible the establishment of virtual communities and radically reshaped social relations (Spencer & Pahl, 2006, p. 11), even though friending[93] by that means does not necessarily equate to befriending.

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[93] With the rise of social networking technology (and the apparent incidences of friendship) has come the addition of a new verb to the English lexicon: 'to friend', meaning 'to link to'. This is distinct from befriending (which entails getting to know the other) (Vernon, 2010, p. 107). When sets of 'friends' are displayed on social networks as a badge of popularity, making friends may have been reduced to a quantitative, rather than qualitative activity (Summers, 2009, p. 33).

The literature review (Chapters 3 and 5) drew attention to differing opinions about whether intensity of involvement affects stocks of social capital in voluntary associations. It was noted that some theorists have argued that not every type of association has the capacity to generate social capital, whereas others have pointed to the contribution that a passive membership can make. The spotlight in Chapter 12 necessarily fell on active and local cathedral Friends, and on how associations might drive the production of fiat capital in the social arena by appealing to their desires to be sociable and to learn. However, data from the study also revealed not only that an inactive Friend could lay claim to some capital in the organization, but also that cathedrals could derive benefits from such a Friend.

This paradox can be exemplified in a range of ways. First, it was striking that the mean WRSCIM score for Friends who did not participate in social gatherings (the AGM, social events, and trips) was above the minimum possible scale score of 12 ($M = 28.20$, SD = 8.77) (see Chapter 9 for detailed discussion of comparison of active/passive mean scores). Second, certain monetary gifts and the gift of prayer were not limited to Friends currently active in the association's social gatherings (Chapter 10, Tables 42 to 46). Third, social activity within the Friends' association was not a significant predictor of regard for the cathedral. Instead, regard was related to being motivated to join by the prospect of receiving information and learning about the cathedral. Information and the opportunity to learn are member benefits that can be experienced by Friends who live at a distance from the cathedral, and/or who do not have the resources (financial or health-wise) to make the journey there. Fourth, the mean score of socially passive Friends on the index of Regard for the cathedral ($M = 11.25$, SD = 2.29) was less than one point below the mean score for active Friends ($M = 12.01$, SD = 2.16). Fifth, the mean score of passive Friends on the index of cultural capital ($M = 9.21$, SD = 2.87) was less than two points below the mean score for active Friends ($M = 11.07$, SD = 2.31) (again, see Chapter 9 for detailed discussion of comparison of all means).

On the basis of the importance attached by new members to receiving information about their cathedral, it was proposed that associational reports and newsletters were likely to have been vital in the production of <u>cultural</u> capital. Against that background, the case for associational information being vital as a complementary, or indeed compensatory, mechanism in the creation of <u>religious social</u> capital will now be advanced.

The formation of social capital: face-to-face contact

As discussed earlier (Chapters 3 and 5), it is the social connection within voluntary associations that creates social capital in the de Tocqueville (1838/1956) model of

social capital. Thus, for Putnam (2000), it is not simply nominal membership but active and involved membership that is crucial from the point of view of social capital and civic engagement (p. 58). Following that tradition, the underlying assumption of the original WRSCI (E. Williams, 2008a) was that bonding, bridging and linking social capital and trust would be generated in cathedral congregations through face-to-face contact during attendance at worship.

Assessed social capital in the absence of face-to-face contact: possible explanations

Theory (Newton, 1999) would suggest that non-participating Friends were motivated to belong largely for symbolic reasons. So, why did they have some associational social capital; and why were there certain outcomes from that? There are four possible explanations for assessed social capital in the absence of face-to-face contact in a Friends' association. First, rather than being a generator of social capital for passive Friends, the Friends' association was merely a store of social capital generated by the Friends active within the cathedral community. Second, passive Friends were relying on social capital generated during an earlier, active phase of membership. Third, the passive Friends' social capital was not real, but ersatz (see M. C. Green & Brock, 1998, 2008). Fourth, the passive Friends generated social capital vicariously (Muskett, 2012b). Each of these theoretical possibilities will now be considered, against the background of the debate over the role and relative importance of passive participants in voluntary associations, outlined in Chapter 5.

The first possible explanation for assessed religious social capital in the absence of face-to-face involvement in Friends' association events is that passive Friends were relying on endogenous social capital generated in the wider cathedral community. This line of reasoning would suggest that, despite a desire to be allied with the cause, passive Friends were not inclined to commit time and effort to the Friends' association; instead, they preferred involvement in cathedral worship and/or volunteering in the cathedral. Accordingly, they built social capital in wider cathedral networks, rather than in the specific setting of the Friends' association. This was not a fiat resource: theory suggests that the tertiary section of the Friends' association could be viewed as an institutionally-embedded store of trust, norms and networks, rather than as a catalyst for the generation of social capital (Wollebaek & Selle, 2004; Wollebaek & Stromsnes, 2008).

So, is this reasoning consistent with the data presented earlier? Clearly, the explanation should not be discounted: it may have held true for the relatively small proportion of passive Friends who worshipped regularly (at least once a month) at

the cathedral (Chapter 9, Table 29); and also for the slightly smaller proportion that was part of the volunteer community at the cathedral (Chapter 9, Table 30). However, the data imply that most passive Friends were not embedding religious social capital generated in the cathedral. So, aggregate social capital attributed to passive Friends was not wholly explicable in this manner.

The second possible explanation for assessed religious social capital in the absence of face-to-face involvement in Friends' association events is that passive Friends were relying on historic social capital, that is, an asset (perhaps endogenous, perhaps fiat) built up during an earlier phase of membership, when they were active in the association[94]. Events in the life-course and changes in motivation or in the availability of resources (in particular, time, money and health) can cause active support to be transformed into passive membership. Likewise, different events (for example, children leaving home, retirement, or partner loss) can cause the previously passive to rethink their style of membership and become active (Wollebaek & Selle, 2003).

Consistent with this theory was the limited amount of anecdotal evidence from passive Friends who were apologetic about a lack of current involvement and/or anxious that former activity should not be overlooked (Chapter 9, Box 9). Perhaps they had moved away and wished to keep in touch, or had become elderly and/or infirm. Although there was no systematic attempt to collect detailed life history data, it is known that 30% of passive Friends used to live nearer to the cathedral, as compared with 22% of active Friends. However, data also revealed that passive Friends were not disproportionately older than active Friends; and that there was not a relationship between being passive and holding longer membership (Chapter 9, Table 26). So, on balance, it is hard to determine whether speculation about historic social capital was well-founded.

The third possible explanation for assessed religious social capital despite absence of face-to-face involvement in Friends' association events is that the resource was not real or, at the very least, that it was closer to the ersatz (substitute) endpoint of the real-ersatz continuum (see M. C. Green & Brock, 1998, 2008; M. C. Green et al., 2005). It is entirely possible that passive Friends were engaging in one-sided, ersatz

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[94] In this connection, it is interesting to note that the evolution and trajectories of Friendships with cathedrals appear to have similarities with personal relationships, such as those analyzed by Spencer and Pahl (2006). Focusing on frequency and regularity of contact, they identified categories of friend, including 'historical' (where there is no contact), and 'nostalgia' friends (with a positive presence in friends' lives, despite a lack of contact) (pp. 74-75).

social interaction, through written and/or electronic media sponsored by the Friends' association. However, it is illogical that such para-social interaction[95] would have a positive effect upon gift-giving in the same manner as active Friends' social capital (at the real end of the real-ersatz continuum). Unfortunately, Green and Brock's theory focuses on what has been termed elsewhere 'network' social capital (see, for example, Mouw, 2006, p. 79). So, while it has been shown (M. C. Green & Brock, 1998) that college students may derive individual benefits from ersatz social engagement, ersatz social activity is predicted to result in decreased aggregate social capital (see, for example, M. C. Green & Brock, 1998, p. 531, Figure 1); furthermore, broader societal consequences of 'ersatz social capital' have not yet been teased out.

To overcome the suspicion that ersatz social capital would not drive real societal outcomes, the fourth possible explanation for assessed religious social capital in the absence of face-to-face involvement is offered by vicarious social capital theory, a concept developed in greater detail elsewhere (Muskett, 2012b).

Advancing theory about vicarious participation

As discussed in Chapter 5, Maloney (1999) and Wollebaek and Selle (2004) have suggested that participation by proxy may be a consequence of passive associational membership. Within the sociology of religion, Davie's (2008) theory of vicarious participation accounts for contrasting behaviours of the active and the passive: in that case, the active are those who believe in God and belong to a church, and the passive are those who may believe, yet do not belong. I made the case (Muskett, 2012b) for aspects of Davie's theory having wider applicability. The debate surrounding intensity of involvement in voluntary associations can be illuminated by her construct which, with a more nuanced approach, may account for how passive participants contribute to social capital in voluntary associations. It is not unusual to advance theory by comparing voluntary associations and religious congregations. Just as Harris (1998) and Cameron (2004) shed light on the organizational structure of congregations by identifying that they resemble voluntary associations in certain respects, so I argued that the discourse on social capital can

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[95] Para-social interaction was first proposed by Horton and Wohl (1956) in relation to television viewing, and subsequently taken up by Rubin and Step (2000) in relation to talk radio listening. It is characteristically one-sided and likely to be governed by little or no sense of obligation, effort or responsibility on the part of the participant (Horton & Wohl, 1956). A para-social bond creates an 'illusion of intimacy'; in some instances, it is compensatory in so far as it provides the isolated with 'a chance to enjoy the elixir of sociability' (Horton & Wohl, 1956).

be informed by applying principles of congregational normative behaviour to voluntary associations.

'Believing without belonging' and 'vicarious religion' theory

The decline in the popularity of Christian churches in Britain over the twentieth century was credited with stimulating research into the attitudes and beliefs of those who are outside organized religion but not opposed to it (Bruce & Voas, 2010, p. 243). To understand this constituency (reckoned to be approximately half of the population), Davie sought to develop tools and concepts, of which the phrase 'believing without belonging' was the first attempt, subsequently refined by the notion of 'vicarious religion' (2010, p. 261). One of the most accepted theories within the sociology of religion (Day, 2011), believing without belonging was Davie's way of depicting the way large parts of the population in Europe continue to be attached to their historic churches, even though they may not attend these institutions regularly (p. 262). However, there is a consensus that the notion should now be retired (Davie, 2007, p. 33, note 13; Voas & Crockett, 2005). Claimed to be more penetrating and accurate, vicarious religion (Davie, 2007, 2008) is one way of probing implicit and explicit connections between the passive majority and the historic churches (Davie, 2010, p. 262). The intention of the term vicarious religion is to convey 'the notion of religion performed by an active minority but on behalf of a much larger number, who (implicitly at least) not only understand, but, quite clearly, approve of what the minority is doing' (Davie, 2007, p. 22, original emphasis removed). Davie (2010) illustrated the more explicit acceptance of vicarious religion by reference to parts of Europe (Nordic countries and Germany) where a form of church tax is still in force: with only a relatively small number of tax-payers choosing to contract out of this system, she concluded that most tangibly support their churches.

From vicarious religion to vicarious social capital theory

Although Davie's concept is not without its detractors (for example, Bruce & Voas, 2010), my contention was that vicarious religion is helpful, not least because the idea of the passive benefiting from vicarious action resonates with the public good aspect of Coleman's (1990) and Burt's (2000) theories of social capital[96]. The essential principles of Davie's concept are that the passive –implicitly at least– not only

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[96] Coleman (1990) provided the example of a school Parent Teacher Association, which constitutes social capital not only for the participants (organizers) but also for the school and non-participants (the students and other parents) (p. 313). For his part, Burt (2000) discussed social capital being 'borrowed' by managers in firms (pp. 400-405).

understand[97], but also approve of what the active do on their behalf. If these principles are imported to the social capital field and applied to life in a tertiary association with a nested secondary-type group such as cathedral Friends' associations, there is at once need of a 'mechanism' (Knoke, 1981; Simon, 1979) whereby the passive can understand what the active do. My contention was that associational information fulfils that role.

Preliminary support for the proposition that the supply of information, in the form of associational newsletters, plays a vital role in sustaining the sense of belonging was provided by the findings of Wollebaek and Selle (2004). Echoes are found in the writing of de Tocqueville (1838/1956), who pointed to the importance of information, gleaned through newspapers, in the formation of voluntary associations. The potential of information in relation to voluntary associations and/or social capital has been highlighted in both theoretical and empirical research (Burt, 2000; J. S. Coleman, 1990; de Souza Briggs, 1997; Knoke, 1981; Widén-Wulff et al., 2008). Association memberships entail access to sources of knowledge and information (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002, p. 201), which is important in providing a basis for action (J. S. Coleman, 1990, p. 310), regardless of trust (J. S. Coleman, 1988, p. S104, see also Mondak, 1998, p. 436). Information is likely to enhance awareness of needs and opportunities for service, such as fund-raising drives (Wuthnow, 1990, pp. 12-13). A prerequisite for a group's unity as a network is the mutual exchange of information (Widén-Wulff et al., 2008, p. 348).

In an article that predated the major theorizing on social capital, Knoke (1981) claimed that the absence of normative communication (encompassing, implicitly, both verbal and non-verbal forms) would lead to a worsening of members' commitment and an increasing indifference to the group (p. 144). He tested empirically the proposition that 'the more extensive the amount of communication within a voluntary association, the greater the level of members' commitment and the lower their detachment from the organization' and proposed two alternative models. The first, 'consistency', following Smith and Brown (1964), asserted that to elicit high

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[97] I have argued elsewhere (Muskett, 2012c) that a legitimate criticism of Davie's construct could be founded on the validity of the principle of 'understanding'. Although it is hard to disagree with Davie's (2000) statement that doing something on behalf of others implies that both the minority and the majority 'has some idea of what is going on' (p. 178), 'understanding' may be an unrealistic component of the vicarious religion model, especially given 'the profoundly inarticulate nature' of what Ahern and Davie (1987) termed 'common religion' (see Davie, 1994, pp. 79, 91). Notwithstanding my point about the religious domain, the principle of understanding remains appropriate in the model of vicarious social capital as applied to voluntary associations.

levels of member involvement, the communication and decision-making processes must complement each other; whereas the second, 'compensation', asserted that extensive communication may offset or compensate for the weakness of direct participation. Knoke's data demonstrated that to a certain extent communication can offset an absence of personal involvement in the policy process, especially in the case of those members whose support might be at most risk without such contacts (pp. 153-155). The problem with Knoke's research was that it focused on the internal political structure of voluntary associations: he acknowledged that the effects might be suspect on the grounds that some voluntary association members do not desire extensive involvement in the internal politics of the organization. Nevertheless, there were two key findings. First, that 'group norms of loyalty and dedication to the group are reinforced by the flow of information about the prevailing orientations, evaluations, and behaviours of the organization's participants'. Second, that the socializing function of information appears to be of especial importance where members lack first-hand involvement (p. 155). Knoke concluded that his analyses left little doubt about the primary function of communication in producing supportive memberships, but he conceded that further work was needed on precisely how information functions as an integrative mechanism. To flesh out Knoke's (1981) compensation model requires a novel dimension. This is where Davie's principles (2007) can be applied. The putative mechanism whereby the passive can understand what active fellow members do is illustrated below (Figure 11): this is the last of a series of three models presented in the original article (Muskett, 2012b).

In Figure 11, the link between information and activity is bi-directional: the dissemination of information (notification of forthcoming events) spawns action, and action is subsequently captured in a rather more collaborative form of information (first-hand accounts and photographs of events), which in turn reinforces experience. Again, this process resonates with de Tocqueville's (1838/1956) insights about the role of newspapers in the initial formation of associations. In his words, there is 'a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers: newspapers make associations, and associations make newspapers' (p. 203). On the other hand, the relationship between information and passivity is uni-directional: the transmission of information by the gate-keeper officials is hierarchical rather than collaborative. Written communication compensates for and/or offsets the lack of direct personal involvement by the passive. By means of information, the passive supporters learn about and understand associational affairs and, in particular,

Figure 11: The vicarious social capital model (from Muskett, 2012a, Figure 3)
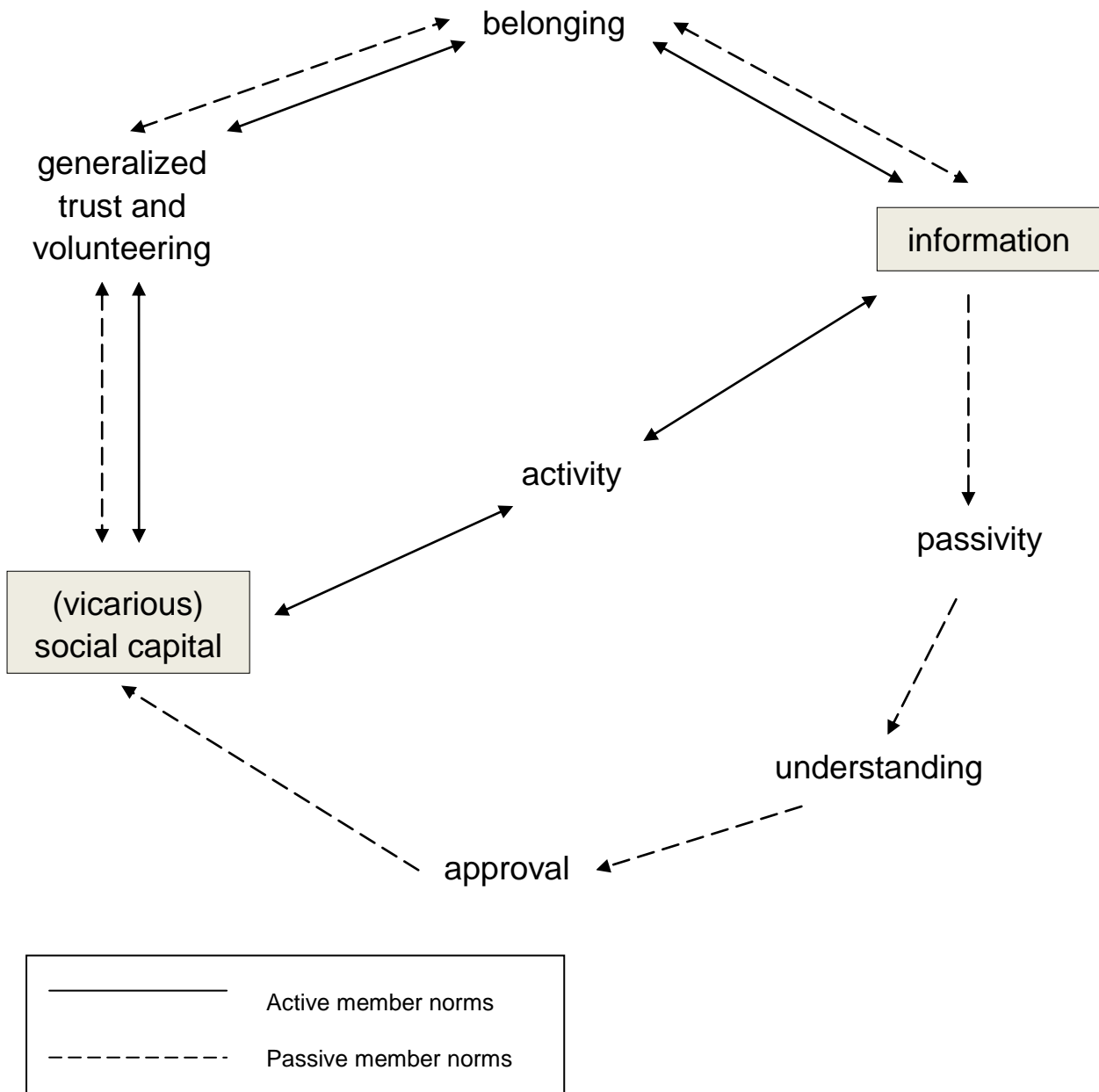
they learn about the normative behaviour of the active members. The advantage of the model over Davie's construct is that it accounts for how the passive participants understand the 'on behalf of' element. This reasoning ascribes greater significance to the role of information than in, say, Wollebaek and Selle's (2004) and Slater's (2005a) characterization of associations, where the dissemination of information merely sustains the sense of belonging.

In the vicarious social capital model, it is axiomatic that Davie's principles (understanding and approving of) account for how passive members are empowered to contribute to voluntary associations. Notwithstanding the fact that the role of associational newsletters has hitherto been down-played or trivialized by scholars, written communication is the candidate mechanism in this social process. The model predicts that, by means of information, the passive share vicariously the stocks of social capital generated (or merely embedded) within a voluntary association, and that they possibly also experience the benefits thereof. Unlike ersatz social engagement theory (M. C. Green & Brock, 1998, 2008; M. C. Green et al., 2005), vicarious social capital theory allows for positive outcomes of the social capital.

So, can vicarious social capital theory account for the religious social capital of passive cathedral Friends? Since the data gathered in this study was limited, the theorizing here necessarily raises more questions than it answers. Further empirical enquiry would be required to resolve such a question fully. For example, to address the 'understanding' aspect of the model, it would have been helpful to collect data on passive Friends' habits in relation to written associational information (that is, newsletters and annual reports) and also computer-mediated communication (webpages and emails). Whether the passive approve of the action of their active counterparts is a moot point, but one also susceptible to testing empirically. Indeed, in this study, the cathedral Friends who did not participate in associational social events were invited to tick one of the following statements: 'I am happy that social events are run for cathedral Friends' or 'The cathedral Friends' association shouldn't be running social events'. Of the 400 Friends (43% of the sub-sample of 923) who never attended social events promoted by the Friends' association, 383 (96%) said that they were happy that such events were run. Of course, an item such as this could be regarded as a leading question, even though respondents had an ability to rebut the implied answer (Bryman, 2008, p. 242). Nonetheless, the overwhelming response was indicative of genuine approval of Friends' social activity, which in turn implies a measure of empirical support for vicarious social capital theory.

Summary

Four possible explanations have been proposed for assessed religious social capital and gift-giving in the absence of face-to-face contact with other Friends. The study provided insufficient data on which to base firm conclusions about the source(s) of passive Friends' social capital. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to speculate that (i) some passive Friends embedded social capital generated in the cathedral community; (ii) for some, historic social capital (whether endogenous or fiat) continued to have salience; and (iii) by means of associational information, some Friends shared vicariously the stocks of social capital generated (or merely embedded) within the Friends' organization.

CHAPTER 14
CONCLUSION

This final chapter will revisit the reasons for undertaking the research and consider what the study has accomplished. In particular, it will assess the originality of the research and its contribution to knowledge in two fields of study.

The study conceptualized cathedral Friends' associations as para-church organizations that promote various forms of capital in the social arena, including bonds with the cathedral, as a corporate person. The aim was to examine the utility of social capital models to explain the ways in which belonging to a Friends' association can promote various types of gift-giving to the cathedral. The analysis of data from the 923 Friends who participated in the research supported four initial assumptions: that, in building associations with Friends, cathedrals were capturing a valuable resource; that this resource was multi-dimensional; that the nature and extent of the resource were related to certain attributes of the subscribing Friends; and that the resource had predictable outcomes for the cathedrals, in so far as it yielded gifts of money (in the short- and/or long-term), and also of time and prayer.

The findings lead to the conclusion that Friends' Councils invest (consciously or unconsciously) in a resource, which can be capitalized for the benefit of the cathedrals. Accordingly, it has been possible to demonstrate that member benefits which might at first sight appear private (such as opportunities to socialize and learn) do have the capacity to enhance the public benefits of the charities, and thereby to reap rewards for the cathedrals. If Councils adopt an instrumental approach, fiat (as well as endogenous) capitals can be exploited for charitable ends.

Contributions to knowledge

Cathedral Studies

The first contribution to knowledge made by this thesis lies in adding to the limited, but growing corpus of academic work (and, indeed other literature) on the role of cathedrals in contemporary society. Visitors or congregations have been the theme of most of the work to date, so studying a different constituency of people connected with cathedrals adds a new dimension. In addition, use of a recognized index (E. Williams, 2008a) to measure religious social capital in this study now enables comparisons to be made between the resources embedded in cathedrals by their Friends and by congregants.

This study of the religious social capital of cathedral Friends supplements the existing work on cathedrals at an especially propitious moment. Apart from the general interest in the role of cathedrals engendered by recent developments outlined in Chapter 1, there are two particular reasons for the timeliness of this thesis.

First, interest in the significance of cathedrals nationally has been heightened by the publication of *Spiritual Capital* (Theos and The Grubb Institute, 2012), the main findings of which were discussed in Chapter 1 here. Second, interest in cathedrals is likely to be heightened still further in the autumn of 2013, when the report of a new study on patterns of church growth in the Church of England is published (see The Church of England Archbishops' Council, 2012). The Church Growth Research Programme explicitly includes a strand on cathedrals[98], and the team began by inviting discussants to ponder such questions as 'What is the key role of a cathedral' and 'What might explain the growth in attendance at cathedrals'. Discovering the characteristics, motivations and patterns of behaviour of a sample of individuals who express their membership of a cathedral community either solely or partly through Friendship, may go some way towards addressing such pressing questions.

Social capital theory

The second contribution to knowledge made by this thesis lies in developing social capital theory. The case rests on two different aspects of the study. First, the notion of vicarious social capital (originally published as a theoretical paper) has been elaborated in the context of an empirical study. Now, juxtaposed with cathedral Friends' data, vicarious social capital has become one of four possible explanations for assessed social capital when there was an absence of face-to-face contact with fellow members in meetings, at social events, and on trips. Of course, the study has only speculated about the significance of participation by proxy as a means of generating social capital in the associations; nonetheless, data have sharpened not only the rationale for the theory, but also its outworking, and potential applications. In the vicarious social capital model, information is the putative mechanism by which the passive understand their peers' activity (Chapter 13, Figure 11). It is striking that the sharing of information has been a theme running through this thesis: for

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[98] The relevant strand of the Church Growth Research Programme 'will clarify attendance trends between different acts of cathedral worship, between different types of cathedral and between different parts of England'. That general statistical analysis is intended to be 'a foundation for qualitative work on the profile of those attending cathedral congregations and explaining why this growth is happening' (Church of England Archbishops' Council, 2012).

example, as an esoteric benefit of the early Friends' concept; as a key member benefit of current Friends' schemes; as one of the most important motivations when Friends joined an association; and, ontologically, as the defining feature of authentic friendship in Christ, as opposed to servanthood. An axiom in cathedral Friends' associations, information not only sustains the sense of belonging, but may also play a pivotal role in enabling the passive to contribute to the achievement of charitable aims.

Second, the notion of fiat capital has been articulated, in order to highlight what could be achieved if Friends' associations adopt an instrumental approach to social capital, on the basis of the model of the predictors and consequences of religious social capital in cathedral Friends' associations. If we accept the proposition that the social capital paradigm is essentially superior, because it locates the positive consequences of sociability in the framework of a broader discourse of capital (Portes, 1998), then it is helpful to have extended the attendant lexicon to include a term for the type of capital created intentionally by an organization. As a corollary to Davey's (2007) paradigm of 'everyday faithfulness' or Dinham's (2012) 'relationships in ordinary', the notion of fiat capital emphasizes the distinction between endogenous resources that grow organically out of relationships that happen anyway, and those that are fabricated when the social structure is engineered by policy-makers. Fiat capital is not substantively a new idea, but it is a neat formulation derived from the economic discourse, which avoids the connotations of <u>corporate</u> social capital (that may be undesirable in a religious charity).

Responding to challenges

The study did not set out specifically to respond to challenges posed by other researchers, but the various themes pursued here provided evidence to address certain questions. Three recognized challenges were related one way or another to religion. First, Slater (2005a) had identified the need to investigate the influence of faith on the nature of membership schemes affiliated to cathedrals. The second challenge, this time posed by Cameron (2003), was to discover whether affiliation to Friends' groups provides a new way of 'belonging' to the church, at a time when it is declining as a local membership organization. Third, Brown and Ferris (2007) had called for research on the extent to which religiosity increases giving through its impact on social capital.

This study categorized the Friends' associations as faith-permeated / faith-centred para-church organizations; and it has shown that they extend a welcome to those Friends who are religious, and equally to those who are not (Chapter 2).

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Notwithstanding the inclusivity of the associations, only a small proportion of the Friends who responded to the questionnaire (4%) declared that they were not religious, and did not attend worship at their cathedral or at another church. Nearly three times as many (11%) said that they were only slightly religious (Chapter 9, Table 19). By contrast, nearly half of the Friends who responded (46%) attended a church at least once a week; and more than a fifth (21%) attended cathedral worship at least weekly. Thus, although Cameron may have been right to suggest that some affiliates 'belong' to the church through Friends' groups, it is reasonable to conclude that Friendship with a cathedral was a <u>supplementary</u> rather than an alternative way to express belonging for the majority.

It was striking to find that, even though Friends were anxious to raise money for the fabric of their cathedral building and/or its musical life, it was rather more important to them to support their cathedral by <u>preserving</u> it specifically <u>as a place of worship</u> (Chapter 9, Table 20). Here, then, was a broadly religious community sustaining the mission of their diocesan mother church. The multiple linear regressions revealed that Friends' religiosity predicted the level of their religious social capital (WRSCIM) and the extent of their regard for the cathedral; but religiosity did not predict the level of their religious social capital as measured by CSNI, or their cultural capital (Chapter 9, Table 39). In turn, religious social capital as assessed by WRSCIM was related to offering prayer for the cathedral, and gifts to the association (volunteered time and a legacy); whereas regard for the cathedral was related to generosity to that object, in the form of prayer, a legacy and gifts of time (Chapter 10, Table 56). Overall, a range of gifts was influenced by religiosity through its impact on social capital.

A fourth challenge laid down in the literature was to employ Williams' (2008a) Religious Social Capital Index in a different religious community, with a sample size larger than the original 720 cathedral congregants. Use of the Williams index here, albeit in a slightly modified form, has now more than doubled the number of cases through which construct validity has been tested; and the present study has also demonstrated the utility of the index within a more disparate cathedral community. However, it was claimed here that measuring the social capital of a cathedral community with nested associability (that is, with a blend of active and passive members) posed a distinct challenge, which the WRSCIM alone could not meet. A complementary index (the CSNI) was required to capture other dimensions of social capital in the new context. The strong, but incomplete, correlation between the two indices demonstrated that they were accessing slightly different aspects of the Friends' religious social capital (Chapter 8, Table 17), and supported the research strategy.

Finally, in response to Woolcock's (1998) challenge to explore the mechanisms that create, nurture and sustain the types and combinations of social relationships conducive to building dynamic societies, this study has measured four different types of Friends' capital. By using three indices to take into account a wide range of relationships (not only with people, but also with a building as corporate person), it has been possible to access different dimensions of social capital.

Following the lead taken by Brehm and Rahn (1997), this study has emphasized the importance of accounting for the production of social capital. To this end, it has taken into account socio-demographic factors, together with array of other potential predictors; and the result was that differing combinations of factors created and nurtured different capitals. What was especially interesting was that motivations upon joining influenced social capital to a greater extent than observed activity in the associations.

The claim to originality

There are three claims to originality here. First, the thesis reports a ground-breaking empirical study of cathedral Friends in the Church of England. Second, the study has employed a novel measure of social networks and also a measure of bonds between people and their cathedral, to test the utility of social capital models to explain gift-giving. Third, it has measured social capital in combination with cultural capital.

The first rigorous study of cathedral Friends

As Chapter 2 made clear, until recently, little attention had been given to understanding the national cathedral Friends' movement. Cathedral Friends had been mentioned, in passing, in three publications (Beeson, 2004; Churchill & Webster, 1991; English Tourist Board, 1979) and in one major report on the role of cathedrals (Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals, 1994). In addition, the literature review uncovered a single empirical study on cathedral Friends (Slater, 2005b); however, the rigour with which it had been conducted did not stand up to scrutiny, and the report had not been subject to peer-review.

The analyses of the origins of cathedral Friendship (Muskett, 2012a), of their royal patronage, past and present (Muskett, 2011) and of the aptness of their nomenclature (Muskett, 2013) begin the process of illuminating the distinctive contribution made by cathedral Friends. Through its rigorous analysis of quantitative data collected from nearly 1,000 cathedral Friends, the present study adds a new dimension to research on the phenomenon.

Novel measures of social capital

Williams (2008b) identified that one of the limitations of his doctoral study of cathedral congregations was the restricted range of items concerning social capital in the questionnaire. By employing two measures of religious social capital (WRSCIM and CSNI), my thesis has demonstrated that the resource has different aspects: it was important to take due account of both aspects, because they are associated with some different predictors and, in turn, they predict rather different outcomes. In the light of the findings, it is therefore recommended that the WRSCI (modified as appropriate) and a version of the CSNI be employed together in future studies of the social capital of religious communities.

In addition to its use of a second measure of Friends' social capital, the study is original in so far as it valorized the bonds between Friend and cathedral, as a corporate person. Although the evidence-based theory articulated here was essentially novel, it derived from an idea by James (2006) and built on Offer's (1997) seminal work on the economy of regard. The discovery that regard influenced certain gifts to the cathedral demonstrated construct validity. It is now recommended that further empirical work be carried out to test the theory of bonding with a building as a corporate person: there would be scope to pursue such research in relation to other places of worship, heritage sites, theatres, galleries and museums, and possibly also educational institutions supported through Friendship. It may even be possible to incorporate the thee-item regard index into the (modified) Williams Index, to form a single, more comprehensive index for use in such contexts.

Measuring cultural capital in combination with social capital

On the basis of the claim that it is necessary to acknowledge the variety of forms of capital in order to provide a comprehensive account of the structure and energy of a particular society (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), the present study has measured Friends' cultural capital as well as their social capital. As the literature review in Chapter 3 revealed, a natural link can be made between social and cultural capital; however, measuring the two resources in a single, rigorous study is unusual. Consistent with theory and the findings of other studies, a strong correlation was found between the Friends' cultural and social capital (WRSCIM), and a weaker correlation was found between their cultural capital and networked social capital (CSNI).

Limitations

Naturally, the results of this study should be interpreted in the light of its limitations. The particular limitations of the research reported here relate to sampling procedures, the size of the sample of Friends, and also to nature of the statistical analyses employed.

Sampling

The literature review showed that every cathedral is different and that there was variety in the cathedral Friends' associations too. The costs of conducting the research necessarily restricted the number of cathedrals involved in the study, and the blend of purposive and convenience sampling methods was the only realistic strategy to pursue.

Sample size

The overall response rate (32%) was good for a survey of this nature; but it was a pity that there was not a higher response from the two cathedrals where the questionnaire pack accompanied a planned mailing, and that more Friends did not complete all relevant questions. Analyzing data from the sub-sample of 923 Friends introduced a very small amount of bias, but this point was addressed in Chapter 7 and Appendix 2. As discussed earlier, without reliable external data, it was difficult to know whether the Friends who completed the questionnaire were representative of the whole population of cathedral Friends. As reported earlier, it was deemed unacceptable to reduce the size of the sub-sample to 789 in order to include household income in the list of variables in the regression analyses; in any case, exploratory analysis found no significant correlation between Friends' self-reported annual household income and the level of their religious social capital, cultural capital and regard for the cathedral.

The findings from the sub-sample of around 1,000 may be less robust than from a study with a larger sample. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the sub-sample of 923 Friends was more than two and a half times larger than the original sample of cathedral congregants studied by Williams (2008b) and nearly one third larger than the sample through which Williams (2008a) tested his religious social capital index. The sub-sample here was also much the same size as in Rotolo's (2000) survey of members of voluntary associations in ten communities in Nebraska; nearly two-thirds larger than Stolle's (1998) sample of Swedish/German members of voluntary associations; and 40% larger than Holmes and Slater's (2007) sample of friends/members of heritage organizations.

Statistical technique

A further limitation concerns the type of statistical analyses employed to investigate the predictors of the capitals and gifts. As acknowledged in Chapter 9, certain assumptions were violated in the multiple linear regressions, so this was not a perfect technique here. However, the parametric methods employed are generally robust against such violations.

Agenda for future research

A further limitation may be the overall ambition of the research undertaken. The thesis has achieved much, but naturally it could have achieved more. The boundaries imposed by the time-limited nature of doctoral study militated against wider terms of reference. This section therefore speculates on how the research reported in this thesis could be extended. There are four main avenues through which to achieve this end. First, data from the individual cathedrals could be compared. Second, the scope of the research on English cathedral Friends should be broadened to include analysis of data collected on personality that has not yet been interrogated. Third, the existing questionnaire could be employed with samples of Friends' groups in other places of worship or indeed in a related heritage sector. Fourth, social capital theory developed in the thesis could be tested.

Comparing the data from individual cathedrals

Comparing the characteristics, motivations and behaviours of the Friends of individual cathedrals, their stocks of capital and gift-giving habits would reveal whether there were any significant patterns in the data (for example, between north and south of the country, between historic and modern cathedrals, between Dean and Chapter and Parish Church Cathedrals, between an association with royal patronage and the rest). But, not only would there be potential problems with regard to size of sub-groups in any such analyses, there would also be an inherent problem in so far as comparisons would make it much harder to preserve the anonymity of the participating cathedrals.

Two years' worth of associational information (letters, invitations, flyers, newsletters, magazines, annual reports etc.) has already been collected from each of the six cathedrals that participated in the research. It was known, for example, that one of the participating cathedrals distributes information to its Friends four times a year, whereas most send out only two mailings a year. Once content analysis has been performed on this information, and data collated on the frequency, volume and nature of the mailings, it will be interesting to discover whether there was a

significant correlation between levels of religious social / cultural capital and patterns in the dissemination of information. Given the finding that regard for the cathedral was associated with joining to receive information and persistence in membership, and that it was not associated with activity in the association, it would be especially interesting to investigate how observed patterns in the dissemination of information relate to levels of this form of capital.

The influence of Friends' personality

As will be evident from the questionnaire included in the Appendix, the instrument was conceived as part of a somewhat broader project; and some data collected from the Friends of the six English cathedrals have not been employed in the present study. The most conspicuous data relate to Friends' personality (Section H of the questionnaire).

Personality is an influence that has been overlooked by all but a small number of social capital researchers: notable exceptions have been Bekkers (2005), Dekker (2004), Scheufele and Shah (2000), Village and Francis (2010), and Whiteley (1999). By and large, civic engagement tends to be studied in relative isolation by researchers in different academic disciplines —sociologists pay little heed to personality, while psychologists pay insufficient heed to social conditions (Bekkers, 2005)— so, the problem is not a shortcoming of social capitalists alone.

In particular, personality data may shed light on the paradox concerning the determinants of social trust, and help to establish whether trusting increases the likelihood of joining (Putnam, 1995b) or whether civic engagement increases trust (Brehm & Rahn, 1997). For his part, Dekker (2004) advocated a greater focus on 'personality indicators' than 'involvement and network indicators' (p. 103); but he was extremely pessimistic about the extent to which such a concept would find general acceptance by mainstream social capitalists:

> 'Personality strength' probably sounds strange to those involved in the progressive social capital discourse about the benefits of horizontal trust and democratic participation. These are evidently words from a completely different discourse about individuals and their inequality; and about personal leadership. Although research in this field could contribute to the adjustment of some naïve beliefs in the miracles of civic community that are held within the social capital school, it seems unlikely that a psychology of differences would get a hearty welcome. It is already hard enough to get the attention of this school for simpler persistent differences such as the ones of education, socio-economic status or social class. (pp. 103-104)

Nonetheless, Dekker called for survey research to discover 'groups and personality types that are in general more or less inclined to contribute to or to be dependent upon ("praiseworthy") social capital' (p. 105). So, including personality as an

additional predictor of cathedral Friends' religious social capital could yield interesting results. There would also be scope to test whether personality influences cultural capital generated in the Friends' associations, and also levels of regard for the cathedral.

Extending the research beyond the English cathedrals

Another possibility for future research would be to extend the enquiries beyond the Anglican cathedrals of the Church of England. This could involve other types of church in England, other churches within the Anglican Communion, or even the Friends' organizations of different heritage sites. The ability to draw comparisons between the current sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends and other samples of Friends could be valuable.

As mentioned earlier, broad findings from the study have already been presented to the National Conference of the Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches. Given the interest which this Conference expressed in the research, one obvious way in which it could be developed is to invite Friends of other cathedrals to complete the same questionnaire: taking this step would increase the size of the overall sample and enhance robustness. But perhaps there would not be a sufficient gain for the effort involved. A second way to extend the research through the goodwill built in the Conference would be to invite the cathedral-like abbeys and Greater Churches to participate by completing a broadly comparable questionnaire. Yet a third way to extend the research would be to use the questionnaire (modified as appropriate) with a range of parish churches (possibly in the same dioceses as the six cathedrals). Taking that step would allow data from abbeys / parish churches to be compared with the cathedral data. It could be interesting, for example, to discover whether Parish Church Cathedral Friends have more in common with their counterparts from the historic cathedrals or from parish churches. There may be other similarities and/or variations to observe: whatever the outcome, it is likely that Councils could learn lessons from each other. Interestingly, the Church Growth Research Project (The Church of England Archbishops' Council, 2012) has already invited discussion around the question of what parish churches can learn from cathedrals and vice-versa.

A few empirical studies have been conducted in cathedrals of the Church in Wales (Francis et al., 2010; Francis, Williams, Robbins, & Annis, 2008; E. Williams, 2008b; E. Williams & Francis, forthcoming; E. Williams et al., 2007): but, again, these have concentrated on visitors or congregations. Interest in the research on Friends has already been expressed by two of the six cathedrals in Wales, so there is some

reason to believe that co-operation might be forthcoming to extend the cathedral Friends' research into the Principality, if this were desirable.

Internet searches reveal that cathedrals in other parts of the Anglican Communion (for example, Australia, the United States, Canada) have long-standing Friends' associations with broadly similar aims/activities. So, if there were sufficient interest from such other countries[99], the same instrument could be employed, in order to yield data that could be compared with the English data.

As already mentioned (Chapter 2), Friends and members in the broader heritage sector have been audited and surveyed; and that work resulted, for example, in the development of a useful typology of such schemes (Slater, 2005a). Research in the heritage sector has also conceptualized the Friends as organizations that promote social capital (Holmes & Slater, 2007) and cultural capital (Spracklen, 2007). For that reason, comparisons between the sub-sample of 923 cathedral Friends and samples of Friends supporting different types of heritage site (museums, galleries, theatres etc) could prove fruitful. It would be especially interesting to test theory on 'regard' in relation to other types of building with a rich heritage.

Testing the novel theory

In relation to 'vicarious social capital' theory, which was developed in Chapter 13 to explain how passive members contribute alongside activists in a hybrid association, discussion has thrown up as many questions as it has answered. When the theory was first placed in the public domain (Muskett, 2012b), I proposed a range of scenarios in which the model might be tested. The examples included a hybrid voluntary association with <u>three</u> levels of membership: Mothers' Union is one exemplar (where branch, diocesan, and national members make different commitments regarding the degree of face-to-face contact). I suggested that a critical test of the vicarious social capital model would be to examine the extent to which passive Friends actually read associational newsletters and reports (and thereby 'understand' the activity of their counterparts). If higher levels of religious social capital were discovered in readers, and lower levels of religious social capital in recipients who failed to read the material, then there would be support for the theory. Testing precisely how information functions as an integrative mechanism in voluntary associations would complement the original study by Knoke (1981).

The vicarious social capital model might also be used as a tool to determine the optimal frequency of contact with members, and the optimal volume of published

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[99] General interest in the research on English cathedral Friends has already been expressed on behalf of one Australian cathedral.

information. This could be achieved, for example, through a longitudinal study of one or more Friends' associations, taking into account organizational activity/rewards, as well as Friends' patterns of behaviour, over one or two annual cycles. Friends could also be asked about engagement with the associations by two-directional means (social media, email). Of course, researchers may face methodological challenges in collecting data about Friends' habits with regard to reading newsletters: there might be a tendency for members to give inaccurate responses (as has been found elsewhere in the case of self-reported volunteerism - see Chapter 7).

Extending the research in this way could assist Friends' Councils to plan their offer to members. In purely financial terms, it might be tempting, for example, to reduce administrative overheads by reducing the number of mailings, or by limiting the volume of information disseminated by one-directional means. However, if passive members are not adept at accessing information through new technologies, there are likely to be unintended consequences for the association. For example, if members cease to read about how the Friends support their own ideological concerns (that is, raise money for the fabric, and preserve the cathedral as a place or worship) they may become disenfranchised and cancel subscriptions.

Social capital and cathedral friendship: a last word

In his preface to *Social Capital*, Halpern (2005) remarked that 'sometimes something does come out of those curious questionnaires you fill in, even if it takes a little while' (p. xi). The point certainly holds true here. Launched at the biennial National Conference of the Friends of Cathedrals, Abbeys and Greater Churches in the autumn of 2010, the project came to fruition when data from one of those 'curious' questionnaires was reported to the 2012 National Conference.

The study had its origins in a question —about the public benefit of private benefits— that was essentially curiosity-driven: no organization or policy-maker had commissioned the research. However, positive feedback has already demonstrated that the question was pertinent and that the results of the study have the capacity to assist cathedral Friends' Councils in their pursuit of charitable aims. The more esoteric aim —to examine the utility of social capital models to explain the ways in which belonging to a Friends' association can promote gift-giving to cathedrals— is unlikely to have a direct impact in the Friends' National Conference. The cynical cathedral Friend who wrote 'what is this really about?' on the back-page of his questionnaire would not be surprised that the study had a more subtle intention. Although it can be important to demonstrate that research has social, economic or

cultural impact, this study has benefits at a different level. Within the academy, the research contributes to the application of social capital models, and also to the development of social capital theory. Since the argument can be made that changes in the religious life of Western Europe can only be understood alongside parallel changes in the secular sphere (Davie, 2004), there is a natural link between widespread concerns about social capital and explanations for secularization, which become ever more pressing as the proportion of non-religious people grows and of Christians decreases (Office for National Statistics, 2012c).

Chapter 1 began by highlighting the deliberate ambiguity in the thesis title. The data have now shown that cathedrals provide distinctive settings, not only where people can befriend an edifice, but also where they can form and conduct human friendships (through social events, learning opportunities, and volunteering activities). For Waddell (2002), who regarded friendship as an endangered species in our present culture, the church is an appropriate environment to preserve it. He wrote: 'If the church is faithful to its identity as the friends of God, it should be a befriending community that not only welcomes all who come to it but also offers them a place where the grammar of intimacy and friendship can be learned' (p. 53). Making connections with a cathedral community through Friendship opens up a range of possibilities, especially for those more marginal to church life: the most conspicuous might well be to grasp the behaviours and norms of the personal relationship, in a Christian setting, responding personalistically to those created in God's image (Gen. 1:27). Thus, a challenge for the Friends' associations early in the twenty-first century is to preserve for future generations not only cathedral fabric but also key norms and values of friendship, against the prevailing trends, indentified by Putnam and others, of an increasingly individuated society.

APPENDIX 1
THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The instrument posted to cathedral Friends in Spring 2011 is set out below.

Cathedral Friends' Associations Questionnaire

SECTION A: _Your involvement with your Cathedral Friends' Association._

1   **In total, for how many years have you been a Friend of your Cathedral?** *(Please write the number of years here)*   _____ Years.

2   **To how many <u>other cathedrals</u> are you a Friend?** *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ None   ☐ 1
☐ 2   ☐ 3 or more

3   **To how many <u>parish churches</u> are you a Friend?** *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ None   ☐ 1
☐ 2   ☐ 3 or more

4   **To which of these organisations are you also a Friend?** *(Tick ALL boxes that apply)*

☐ None   ☐ School
☐ Hospital   ☐ Heritage site
☐ Museum, Art Gallery   ☐ Theatre
☐ Other – please specify _____

5   **How near to your Cathedral do you live?** *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Within the town/city
☐ Outside the town/city, but within the Diocese
☐ Outside the Diocese, but within England
☐ In Wales, Scotland or Ireland
☐ Outside the British Isles

6   **How long have you lived where you now live?**

(Please write the number of years here)   _____ Years.

7   **(a) Have you ever lived nearer to your Cathedral than you do now?** *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ No *(Now go to question 8)*
☐ Yes, within the town/city
☐ Yes, outside the town/city, but within the Diocese
☐ Yes, elsewhere

      (b) If 'YES', how long ago was that?   _____ Years.

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**8   Think about why you first joined your Cathedral Friends' Association.
Some possible reasons are listed below. How important were these reasons <u>for you</u>?**
(Please circle ONE number on each line)

To preserve the Cathedral as a place of worship
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

Because the Cathedral once did me a favour
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To help raise money (e.g. for the fabric/music)
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To make new friends
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To be part of a community of people with similar cultural interests
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To participate in the programme of social activities
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

Because I already volunteered for the Cathedral
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

Because I wanted to volunteer for the Cathedral
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To benefit from discounts in the Cathedral shop/refectory
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To enter the Cathedral regularly without payment/donation
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To have a say in the running of the Cathedral
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To receive regular information about the Cathedral
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

To learn about the history and/or architecture of the Cathedral
Totally unimportant   3   2   1   0   1   2   3   Very important

9   Do you know anyone who has a special role within the Cathedral (such as chorister, server, clergy, assistant in shop/refectory, flower arranger)?
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)

☐ No-one
☐ Not sure
☐ Yes, an immediate family member
☐ Yes, another relative
☐ Yes, a close friend
☐ Yes, an acquaintance
☐ Yes, a neighbour

10   Think about the people you know who are members of the Friends' Association of this Cathedral. *(Now please answer for each of the three statements below)*

   (a) Roughly how many members of the Association do you know as <u>personal friends</u>?
   (Tick ONE box)
   ☐ None
   ☐ No more than 5
   ☐ No more than 15
   ☐ No more than 50
   ☐ No more than 150
   ☐ More than 150

   (b) Roughly how many members of the Association do you know <u>ONLY by first name</u>?
   (Tick ONE box)
   ☐ None
   ☐ No more than 5
   ☐ No more than 15
   ☐ No more than 50
   ☐ No more than 150
   ☐ More than 150

   (c) Roughly how many members of the Association do you know <u>ONLY by face</u>?
   (Tick ONE box)
   ☐ None
   ☐ No more than 5
   ☐ No more than 15
   ☐ No more than 50
   ☐ No more than 150
   ☐ More than 150

11   Do you go on trips (e.g. to other cathedrals, holidays abroad) organised by your Cathedral Friends' Association? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Never
☐ Always
☐ Sometimes

12 **(a) Do you attend social events run by your Cathedral Friends' Association?**
(Tick ONE box)
☐ Never
☐ Once a month   )
☐ Once every three months)   *Now go to*
☐ Once every six months   )   *question 13*
☐ Once a year   )

(b) If you answered 'NEVER' to question 12(a), what is the reason?
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)

☐ Events clash with work/community/caring commitments
☐ My social life is too busy
☐ Events are too expensive
☐ I have to book too far in advance
☐ My health isn't good enough
☐ Events are boring
☐ I might feel out of place
☐ I wouldn't enjoy it
☐ I'm not interested enough
☐ I'm not given enough notice of date(s)
☐ I lack transport
☐ I live too far away
☐ I don't have anyone to go with
☐ Other – please specify

_____

(c) If you answered 'NEVER' to question 12(a), which of the following statements applies to you? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ I am happy that social events are run for Cathedral Friends.
☐ The Cathedral Friends' Association shouldn't be running social events.

13 **Do you attend the Annual General Meeting of your Cathedral Friends' Association?**
(Tick ONE box)
☐ Never
☐ Always
☐ Sometimes

14 **How far are you, as a member, able to influence the Friends' Association's activities and projects?** *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ A lot
☐ A fair amount
☐ Somewhat
☐ Not very much
☐ Not at all
☐ Not sure

15   How much do you trust the Friends Association of your Cathedral to spend money wisely?
(Tick ONE box)
☐ Completely
☐ A fair amount
☐ Somewhat
☐ Not very much
☐ Not at all
☐ Not sure

16   How much do you trust the Dean & Chapter of your Cathedral to make the right decisions regarding the fabric of the Cathedral? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Completely
☐ A fair amount
☐ Somewhat
☐ Not very much
☐ Not at all
☐ Not sure

SECTION B: *Volunteering.*

17   (a) Do you volunteer your time for the Friends' Association of your Cathedral and/or more generally for your Cathedral?
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)
☐ Yes, for the Friends' Association
☐ Yes, for the Cathedral more generally
☐ No

> **(b) If 'YES', in what capacity do you volunteer?**
> *(Tick ALL boxes that apply)*
> ☐ Friends' Information desk
> ☐ Friends' Office
> ☐ Member of Friends' Committee
> ☐ Friends' Association Office-holder (e.g. Honorary Secretary, Treasurer)
> ☐ Organising or helping to run a Friends' Association activity / event
> ☐ Catering for the Friends' Association
> ☐ Editing Friends' Association newsletter
> ☐ General secretarial, administration or clerical work for the Friends' Association
> ☐ General financial work for the Friends' Association
> ☐ Cathedral Guide
> ☐ Cathedral Steward
> ☐ Flower arranger
> ☐ Cathedral Shop
> ☐ Cathedral Refectory
> ☐ Cathedral Information desk
> ☐ Other(s) – please specify
>
> _____

(c) Has volunteering for the Cathedral Friends' Association and/or in your Cathedral
encouraged you to volunteer your time/expertise elsewhere? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ No
☐ Yes – please specify
where_____

18   Do you volunteer your time/expertise for another church? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Yes
☐ No

19   During the last 12 months, have you given any unpaid help to any other groups, clubs or organisations in any of these ways? *(Tick ALL boxes that apply)*
☐ Raising or handling money / taking part in sponsored events
☐ Leading a group
☐ Serving as a member of a committee
☐ Organising or helping to run an activity or event
☐ Visiting people
☐ Befriending or mentoring people
☐ Coaching or tuition
☐ Giving advice / information / counselling
☐ Secretarial, administration or clerical work
☐ Providing transport / driving
☐ Representing (e.g. addressing meetings, leading a delegation)
☐ Campaigning (e.g. lobbying, canvassing, letter writing)
☐ Conservation / restoration
☐ Officiating (e.g. judging, umpiring, refereeing)
☐ Work in a charity shop
☐ Other practical help (helping out at school, religious group, shopping)
☐ Any other help

      – please specify
      _____

20   Thinking about all the unpaid help you have ticked, would you say that you gave this kind of help ...
(Tick ONE box)
☐ At least once a week
☐ At least once a month
☐ At least once every three months
☐ Less often

SECTION C: _Your attitude towards your Cathedral_
and your Cathedral's Friends' Association.

The questions in this section take a slightly different form.

Please read each of the following statements carefully and think 'Do I agree with it?'

If you **Agree Strongly**, put a ring round..	(AS)	A	NC	D	DS
If you **Agree**, put a ring round..	AS	(A)	NC	D	DS
If you are **Not Certain,** put a ring round.......................................	AS	A	(NC)	D	DS
If you **Disagree**, put a ring round...	AS	A	NC	(D)	DS
If you **Disagree Strongly**, put a ring round.................................	AS	A	NC	D	(DS)

Being in the Cathedral Friends' Association ...

builds up my sense of trust in God..	AS	A	NC	D	DS
builds up my sense of trust in myself...	AS	A	NC	D	DS
builds up my sense of trust in other people.......................................	AS	A	NC	D	DS
helps me to make friends..	AS	A	NC	D	DS
helps me to meet new people…………………......................................	AS	A	NC	D	DS
helps me to contribute to community life ………………….....................	AS	A	NC	D	DS
helps me to establish my place in the community............................	AS	A	NC	D	DS
helps me to feel involved in a good cause..	AS	A	NC	D	DS
enables me to develop specific skills..	AS	A	NC	D	DS
enables me to develop my leadership potential................................	AS	A	NC	D	DS
makes my feelings for the Cathedral grow stronger.........................	AS	A	NC	D	DS

I feel close to the cathedral clergy... AS   A   NC   D   DS

I feel close to the members of the Friends' Association .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

Through the Cathedral Friends' Association, I have ....

become friends with people who I would otherwise not have met.. AS   A   NC   D   DS

met important people... AS   A   NC   D   DS

met different community leaders... AS   A   NC   D   DS

enriched my cultural life.. AS   A   NC   D   DS

become more competent in understanding cathedral artefacts....... AS   A   NC   D   DS

Increased my empathy towards and appreciation of the historical
and architectural aspects of the cathedral.. AS   A   NC   D   DS

The Cathedral ....

for me, is mainly an historical place .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

for me, is mainly a spiritual place .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

seems to be a heritage site rather than a place of worship.............. AS   A   NC   D   DS

is really grateful when the Friends' Association provides funds for
special projects .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

is a building with which I have a strong bond .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

is a building that I love intensely .... AS   A   NC   D   DS

SECTION D: *Religion, Beliefs, Going to Church, and Praying.*

21 On a scale from 1 to 10, where '1' represents 'slightly' and '10' represents 'extremely', please indicate how religious and how spiritual you would say you are. This is regardless of whether you belong to a particular religion.

(Please tick ONE box in each of the scales below)**.**

How RELIGIOUS are you?

☐ Not at all
☐ 1 [slightly religious]
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5
☐ 6
☐ 7
☐ 8
☐ 9
☐ 10 [extremely religious]

How SPIRITUAL are you?

☐ Not at all
☐ 1 [slightly spiritual]
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5
☐ 6
☐ 7
☐ 8
☐ 9
☐ 10 [extremely spiritual]

22 Do you belong to a religious group? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Yes
☐ No *(Now go to question 24)*

23 What is your denomination? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Anglican / Church of England
☐ Baptist
☐ Methodist
☐ Pentecostal
☐ Presbyterian / URC
☐ Roman Catholic
☐ Other – please specify

_____

24 On average, how often do you attend a service in your Cathedral (apart from weddings, baptisms and funerals)? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Never
☐ A few times a year
☐ At least six times a year
☐ Once a month
☐ Once a fortnight
☐ Once a week
☐ More than once a week

25   On average, how often do you attend a service in <u>any other church</u> (apart from weddings, baptisms and funerals)? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Never
☐ A few times a year
☐ At least six times a year
☐ Once a month
☐ Once a fortnight
☐ Once a week
☐ More than once a week

26   How often do you pray? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Never
☐ I only ever pray in church with others
☐ I hardly ever pray by myself
☐ A few times a year
☐ Once a month
☐ Once a week
☐ Every day

27   How often do you pray specifically about your Cathedral? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ I never pray
☐ I never pray about the Cathedral
☐ A few times a year
☐ Once a month
☐ Once a week
☐ Every day

28   Your beliefs

Once again, please read each of the following statements carefully and think 'Do I agree with it?'

If you **Agree Strongly**, put a ring round……………………………………	(AS)	A	NC	D	DS
If you **Agree**, put a ring round………………………………………………	AS	(A)	NC	D	DS
If you are **Not Certain,** put a ring round……………………………………	AS	A	(NC)	D	DS
If you **Disagree**, put a ring round…………………………………………	AS	A	NC	(D)	DS
If you **Disagree Strongly**, put a ring round…………………………………	AS	A	NC	D	(DS)

I believe ....

in God………………………………………………………………………	AS	A	NC	D	DS
that God created the world in six days and rested on the seventh	AS	A	NC	D	DS
that Christianity is the only true religion………………………………	AS	A	NC	D	DS

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SECTION E: _You and your lifestyle_

This section asks for some important information about you and your lifestyle.
Your answers will greatly help us to interpret your responses in the other sections of the questionnaire.

29   Your age

☐ Under 40   ☐ 40s   ☐ 50s   ☐ 60-64   ☐ 65-69
☐ 70-74   ☐ 75-79   ☐ 80-84   ☐ 85-89   ☐ 90+

30   Your gender   ☐ Female   ☐ Male

31   Please indicate the HIGHEST level of qualification you have. _(Tick ONE box)_

☐ No formal qualification
☐ School Certificate, "O" Levels or GCSEs (or equivalent)
☐ "A" Levels (A/AS/A2) (or equivalent)
☐ University/College Certificate or Diploma (or equivalent)
☐ Undergraduate Degree
☐ Postgraduate Degree
☐ Other – please specify

_____

32   Roughly, which amount in the list below is closest to your annual household income (from all sources, before Income Tax)? _(Tick ONE box)_

☐ £10,000   ☐ £15,000   ☐ £20,000   ☐ £25,000
☐ £30,000   ☐ £40,000   ☐ £50,000   ☐ £60,000 +
☐ Prefer not to say

33   (a) Are you in paid work at present? _(Tick ONE box)_
☐ Yes
☐ No

        (b) If 'YES', what are your working hours? _(Tick ONE box)_
        ☐ Part-time
        ☐ Full-time

34   What sort of paid work do (did) you do?
(Please write the title of your present or last paid job below)

_____

35   If you are not in work at present, is this because you are ...
(Tick ONE box)
☐ a student   ☐ looking after family/home
☐ in poor health   ☐ retired
☐ choosing not to work   ☐ unable to find work

36   Are there any children under 16 in your household? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Yes
☐ No

37   (a) Do you live alone? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Yes
☐ No *(Now go to question 38)*

        (b) If you live alone, is this because you are ...
        (Tick ONE box)
        ☐ single
        ☐ separated/divorced
        ☐ widowed

38   Generally, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? *(Tick ONE box)*

☐ Most people can be trusted
☐ You can't be too careful in dealing with people
☐ It depends on people/circumstances
☐ Don't know

39   So that we can get a general idea about the pattern of your social connections in everyday life (outside the Friends' Association), please tell us how often you do any of the following.

Speak to relatives on the telephone *(Tick ONE box below)*
☐ On most days
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less often than once a month
☐ Never
☐ Don't know

Meet up with relatives who are not living with you *(Tick ONE box below)*

☐ On most days
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less often than once a month
☐ Never
☐ Don't know

Speak to your own friends on the telephone *(Tick ONE box below)*
☐ On most days
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less often than once a month
☐ Never
☐ Don't know

Meet up with your own friends who are not living with you *(Tick ONE box below)*
☐ On most days
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less often than once a month
☐ Never
☐ Don't know

Speak to neighbours *(Tick ONE box below)*

☐ On most days
☐ Once or twice a week
☐ Once or twice a month
☐ Less often than once a month
☐ Never
☐ Don't know

40 **Which of the following activities do you do in your spare time?**
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)

☐ Watching television
☐ Spending time with family/friends
☐ Shopping
☐ Reading
☐ Listening to music
☐ Eating out in restaurants
☐ Days out
☐ Gardening
☐ Going to the cinema
☐ Sport / exercise
☐ Internet / emailing
☐ Playing computer games
☐ Arts and crafts
☐ Playing a musical instrument
☐ DIY
☐ Cooking
☐ Other(s) – please specify

_____

41 **Which arts events have you attended at least once in the last 12 months?**
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)

☐ Visual art exhibition (paintings / photography / sculpture)
☐ Craft exhibition (not crafts market)
☐ Event which included video or digital art
☐ Culturally specific festival
☐ Theatre performance (play / drama / pantomime)
☐ Opera / operetta / musical theatre

☐ Street arts (in everyday surroundings like parks, streets or shopping centres)
☐ Circus
☐ Carnival
☐ Live music event (excluding jazz and classical music)
☐ Classical music performance
☐ Jazz performance
☐ Live dance event (e.g. ballet, contemporary)
☐ Event connected with books or writing
☐ None of the above

42   In the last 12 months, what has been your involvement in other groups, clubs and organisations? *(Tick ALL boxes that apply)*
☐ Hobbies / social clubs
☐ Sports / exercise groups (including taking part, coaching or going to watch)
☐ Local community or neighbourhood groups
☐ Groups for children or young people
☐ Adult education groups
☐ Groups for older people
☐ Environmental groups
☐ Health, disability and welfare groups
☐ Political groups
☐ Trade union groups
☐ Religious groups
☐ Other group - please specify _____
☐ None of these
☐ Don't know

43   Which historic sites have you visited at least once in the last 12 months?
(Tick ALL boxes that apply)
☐ A city or town with historic character
☐ An historic building open to the public
☐ An historic park, garden or landscape open to the public
☐ A place connected with industrial history or historic transport system
☐ An historic place of worship, as a visitor
☐ A monument (such as a castle, fort or ruin)
☐ A site of archaeological interest
☐ A site connected with sports heritage

44   Are you a paid-up member of The National Trust? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Yes
☐ No

45   How many National Trust sites/ properties have you visited in the last 12 months?
(Tick ONE box)

☐ None
☐ No more than 5
☐ 6 or more

SECTION F: _Giving money to your Cathedral Friends' Association._

46   (a) Do you pay an annual subscription to your Cathedral Friends' Association?
(Tick ONE box)

☐ Yes
☐ No, because I'm simply on the mailing list   )   *Now go to*
☐ No, because I'm a Life-member   )   *question 47*

> **(b) If 'YES', did you choose to pay more than the minimum suggested annual subscription in the last 12 months?** *(Tick ONE box)*
>
> ☐ Yes
> ☐ No
> ☐ Don't remember
>
> **(c) If 'YES', will you renew your subscription next year?** *(Tick ONE box)*
> ☐ Yes
> ☐ No
> ☐ Not sure

47   In the last 12 months, have you made any monetary donation(s) to your Cathedral Friends' Association (beyond the annual subscription and buying event tickets)?
(Tick ONE box)

☐ No
☐ Don't remember
☐ Prefer not to say
☐ Yes

48   Do you intend to leave a legacy to your Cathedral Friends' Association? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Not made a Will
☐ Don't know
☐ Prefer not to say

49   Do you intend to leave a legacy direct to your Cathedral? *(Tick ONE box)*
☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Not made a Will
☐ Don't know
☐ Prefer not to say

SECTION G

This final section is different from the rest. It asks some personal questions. The questions may seem strange, but they have been professionally formulated to give a brief personality profile of respondents. Completing this section will greatly help us to interpret the results.

Please *TICK **ONE** BOX* next to that characteristic which is **closer** to the real you, even if you feel both characteristics apply to you. Tick the characteristic that reflects the real you, even if other people see you differently. People sometimes find it difficult to choose – this is normal. **Please make a choice, and do your best to answer every question.**

Do you tend to be more ...	active	☐ or	☐	reflective
Do you tend to be more ...	interested in facts	☐ or	☐	interested in theories
Do you tend to be more ...	concerned for harmony	☐ or	☐	concerned for justice
Do you tend to be more ...	happy with routine	☐ or	☐	unhappy with routine
Do you tend to be...	emotional	☐ or	☐	unemotional
Are you more ...	private	☐ or	☐	sociable
Are you more ...	inspirational	☐ or	☐	practical
Are you more ...	analytic	☐ or	☐	sympathetic
Are you more ...	structured	☐ or	☐	open-ended
Are you mostly ...	contented	☐ or	☐	discontented
Do you prefer ...	having many friends	☐ or	☐	a few deep friendships
Do you prefer ...	the concrete	☐ or	☐	the abstract
Do you prefer ...	feeling	☐ or	☐	thinking
Do you prefer ...	to act on impulse	☐ or	☐	to act on decisions
Do you mostly ...	feel secure	☐ or	☐	feel insecure
Do you ...	dislike parties	☐ or	☐	like parties
Do you ...	prefer to design	☐ or	☐	prefer to make
Do you ...	tend to be firm	☐ or	☐	tend to be gentle
Do you ...	like to be in control	☐ or	☐	like to be adaptable
Do you tend to ...	stay stable	☐ or	☐	have mood swings
Are you ...	energised by others	☐ or	☐	drained by too many people
Are you ...	conventional	☐ or	☐	inventive

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Are you ...	critical	☐	or	☐	affirming
Are you ...	happier working alone	☐	or	☐	happier working in groups
Do you tend to ...	get angry quickly	☐	or	☐	remain placid
Do you tend to be more ...	socially detached	☐	or	☐	socially involved
Do you tend to be more ...	concerned for meaning	☐	or	☐	concerned about details
Do you tend to be more ...	logical	☐	or	☐	humane
Do you tend to be more ...	orderly	☐	or	☐	easygoing
Do you tend to ...	feel guilty about things	☐	or	☐	feel guilt-free
Are you more...	talkative	☐	or	☐	reserved
Are you more...	sensible	☐	or	☐	imaginative
Are you more...	tactful	☐	or	☐	truthful
Are you more...	spontaneous	☐	or	☐	organised
Are you generally...	at ease	☐	or	☐	anxious about things
Are you mostly ...	an introvert	☐	or	☐	an extravert
Do you mostly focus on ...	present realities	☐	or	☐	future possibilities
Are you mostly ...	trusting	☐	or	☐	sceptical
Are you mostly ...	leisurely	☐	or	☐	punctual
Do you tend to ...	stay calm	☐	or	☐	panic easily
Do you ...	speak before thinking	☐	or	☐	think before speaking
Do you prefer to ...	improve things	☐	or	☐	keep things as they are
Do you ...	seek for truth	☐	or	☐	seek for peace
Do you ...	dislike detailed planning	☐	or	☐	like detailed planning
Do you ...	frequently get irritated	☐	or	☐	rarely get irritated
Are you ...	happier with uncertainty	☐	or	☐	happier with certainty
Are you ...	up in the air	☐	or	☐	down to earth
Are you ...	warm-hearted	☐	or	☐	fair-minded
Are you mostly ...	unbothered by things	☐	or	☐	easily bothered by things
Are you ...	systematic	☐	or	☐	casual

This page is reserved for any additional comments you may have about the survey or the issues it has raised.

Using the reply-paid envelope supplied, please return this questionnaire to:

Cathedral Friends' project, Theology & Religious Studies,
York St John University, Lord Mayor's Walk, York YO31 7EX.

It will be extremely helpful if replies are received <u>within the next month or so</u>.

Thank you for your time and valuable help with this research

APPENDIX 2
THE SAMPLE

The questionnaire: distribution and response rates

Table 57 includes information about how the questionnaire was distributed to cathedral Friends, and the response rates.

Table 57: Cathedral Friends' questionnaire - distribution and response rates

	Mailing		Number	
	Date	Type	Sent	Returned
Cathedral 1	25.1.11	Mass	808	179 (22%)
Cathedral 2	10.2.11	Separate	500	218 (44%)
Cathedral 3	14.2.11	Separate	735	241 (33%)
Cathedral 4	17.3.11	Mass	625	152 (24%)
Cathedral 5	10.3.11	Separate	843	270 (32%)
Cathedral 6	16.3.11	Separate	1,548	563 (36%)
Total			**5,059**	**1,623 (32%)**
Other[100]	-	-	-	14
Overall total				**1,637**

Comparing the sample (*n* = 1,637) and sub-sample (*n* = 923)

In surveys of this kind, it is normal to find missing values, which reduce the number of cases that can be employed in more sophisticated statistical analyses. Where respondents choose not to answer particular items or skip questions in error, one strategy is to impute values. The pattern of missing data in this study was often for whole sections or pages to be omitted, which made imputation difficult. Therefore, cases were deleted list-wise until there were no relevant missing values. Accordingly, the analyses in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 are based on 923 respondents for whom there was full data on the groups of variables employed. To estimate the

---

[100] Instances where Friends received the questionnaire through one of the six associations, but answered as a Friend of a different cathedral.

impact, key characteristics and behaviours of the sub-sample were tested against the full sample (Table 58). On the whole, the differences were negligible. Reducing the sample size resulted in a disproportionate loss of older women (less well-educated, and living alone), and a very slight gain in the proportion more likely to favour the Friends' association (by paying more than the minimum subscription and promising a legacy).

Table 58: Comparison of key characteristics of sub-sample with whole sample of Friends

Variable	Sample ($n = 1,637$)	Sub-sample ($n = 923$)	Difference
Gender (female)	57%	52%	-5%
Age (50 years or less)	11%	14%	+3%
Age (85+ years)	10%	7%	-3%
Education (no degree)	59%	56%	-3%
Very religious (9 or 10 on scale)	15%	16%	+1%
Not at all religious (0 on scale)	4%	4%	0
Live alone	40%	35%	-5%
Live in cathedral city	31%	30%	-1%
Active in FA	68%	67%	-1%
Declared payment of more than minimum FA subscription	25%	27%	+2%
Declared donation to FA	17%	17%	0
Voluntary input to FA (one role)	7%	7%	0
Declared legacy to FA	7%	8%	+1%
Declared legacy to cathedral	13%	13%	0
Voluntary input to cathedral (one role)	24%	24%	0

APPENDIX 3
FRIENDS' HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Rationale for excluding Friends' household income from analyses

As explained above (Chapter 9), the Friends' income variable was excluded as a predictor of individual religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital. Of the 923 Friends in the sub-sample, 134 either declined to answer the question about annual household income, or ticked the 'Prefer not to say' box. The results below show that, where the information was available, there was no evidence of any significant effect of income levels on religious social capital, regard for the cathedral, and cultural capital or, indeed, directly on giving. Given the reduction in sample size ($N = 789$) that would result from the inclusion of this single variable, and the strong evidence that this would not add to the predictive power of any of the models, it seemed sensible to remove this variable from the analysis.

Basic data on Friends' household income

As would be expected, there was a significant correlation between Friends' household income and age ($r = -.209$, $p < .001$), and also between household income and living with another ($r = -.369$, $p < .001$). Given that by far the greatest number of Friends in the sub-sample were over the state retirement age (see Table 8 above), it was not surprising that the annual household income of two-thirds of those who answered the question was close to £30K or less, nor that the households of just over one-third were living on around £20K a year or less (Table 59).

Table 59: Basic data on Friends' household income

Friends' annual household income	Percentage
Closest to £10K (1)	8%
Closest to £15K (2)	12%
Closest to £20K (3)	14%
Closest to £25K (4)	18%
Closest to £30K (5)	15%
Closest to £40K (6)	12%
Closest to £50K (7)	8%
Closest to £60K+ (8)	13%

Correlation between household income and the capitals and gifts

Interestingly, exploratory analysis of data revealed that there was no significant correlation between income and any of the four capitals studied here (WRSCIM, CSNI, RI, CCI) (Table 60).

The specific interest in this study (Chapter 1, and Figure 6) was in examining the relationship between two pairs of variables:

> (i)   the capital resources in cathedral Friends' associations and seven types of gift to the cathedral / Friends' association; and
>
> (ii)   a range of predictors (including socio-demographic factors, motivations, persistence, proximity, religiosity etc.) and the capital resources.

Accordingly, interest here was <u>not</u> in predicting the <u>direct</u> relationship between, for example, a socio-economic variable and monetary gifts to the cathedral / Friends' association (that is, paying more than the minimum subscription / making donations / pledging legacies). Nonetheless, in that connection, it is worthy of note that there was no significant correlation between household income and the giving of money in any observed way to the cathedral/association. In fact, only one of the seven gifts (voluntary input to the cathedral) correlated significantly with household income: and the correlation was negative, with just a small effect size ($r = -.086$, $p < .05$) (Table 61).

Table 60: Correlation matrix of dependent variables (four capitals) against self-reported household income

Variables	1	2	3	4	5
1.Household Income	1.00				
2.WRSCIM	-.037	1.00			
3.CSNI	-.055	.514***	1.00		
4.RI	-.042	.436***	.246***	1.00	
5.CCI	.017	.622***	.268***	.482***	1.00

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. $N = 789$.

Table 61: Correlation matrix of self-reported household income against dependent variables (seven gifts)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Household Income	1.00							
2.More than min sub to FA	.028	1.00						
3.Donation to FA	.040	.116***	1.00					
4.Declared legacy to FA	.042	.101***	.133***	1.00				
5.Declared legacy to cath	.003	.114***	.112***	.355***	1.00			
6.Voluntary input to FA	.013	.080*	.111***	.221***	.063*	1.00		
7.Voluntary input to cath	-.086*	.079*	.098***	.205***	.195***	.201***	1.00	
8.Prayer for the cathedral	.012	.128***	.143***	.057	.210***	.289***	.205***	1.00

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$. $N = 789$.

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