

# Family, friends, acquaintances, colleagues, incomers and strangers: The role of Social capital in building resilience in rural communities

Case study of 2 villages in Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland



**Masterthesis Cultural Geography**  
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Pictures: left: Wanlockhead, right: Drummore,  
Dumfries&Galloway, Scotland (Made by researcher)

*∴ A friend nearby is better  
than relatives far away'*

*Proverbs 27:10b*

## Summary

This research is about the role of social capital in building resilience in rural communities in Scotland. The research is done in cooperation with the Scottish Agricultural College in Edinburgh, which carries out a research about the resilience of rural Scotland. The questionnaire for that research is used and extended for this research and interviews are held with villagers in two villages in the Dumfries and Galloway region. Social capital is important in building resilience in rural areas which have changed in the last 50 years. In order to be resilient social networks, trust and norms and values are important features of social capital in a community. Two forms of social capital are researched which are bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is about the internal bonding relationships and trust, where bridging can bridge the 'social gap' between villages and between groups in a village. When a village has strong social capital it is more likely to be resilient to change. In the two villages researched, Wanlockhead and Drummore, social capital is present in connections, networks, activities, trust, norms and values and both bonding and bridging social capital is found. But in both villages there is something to gain in order to get more social capital and be more resilient when changes occur. Bonding can get stronger in relations, activities and groups and between groups. Also Dumfries and Galloway council can do more for the villages in order to keep the villages vibrant.

## Preface

Within a short period of time the data for this research and for the C4C research was gathered and in a short period of time this research is written. It has been exhausting sometimes, but most of the time, especially in Scotland, it was really nice to be busy with this research. And now the research is finished and the end-product is what you are reading right now. I am glad that I finished in time, with stress, but in time. Another intensive year lies before me, but when teaching at secondary school I will use the good memories of doing this research in the beautiful country of Scotland. The four and a half week in Edinburgh, Wanlockhead, Drummorie and back to Edinburgh were great! I am really thankful for the opportunity given to me, together with Saskia, by the Scottish Agricultural College to join in the rural society research team. Marianna Markantoni, you were a great supervisor in Edinburgh, but already before we arrived, in Groningen. Thank you for arranging so many things for us, so that we had a wonderful and 'smooth' time up there. And thanks to Artur, Mike, Sarah and many other colleagues at SAC for the critical notes and fun at lunch, at the beach and during the working hours.

In Wanlockhead and Drummorie we were welcomed friendly by almost all participants and the cups of tea and coffee, the nice talks and the stories those kind people entrusted us are unforgettable. Thank you Saskia, for going to Scotland together, for talking hours about all our findings, for having fun in the hostel and having a good time together. Thanks to the many UB-mates in the summer I could go on with writing, because of the energy the breaks joined together gave.

Thank you Dirk Strijker for being so flexible in time to correct my writings and to support me when I didn't know how to write or structure things. Thanks for the quick responses on all the emails and having the door open at your office so that I could drop by and have a coffee!

Special thanks are to my mum and dad who always support me in who I am and what I do, emotionally and financially. I am thankful for the home they give me.

Next year I will do my masters in Education and after that I'll be free to go wherever I want to go. Who knows I'll once go back to Scotland, Edinburgh, Wanlockhead, Drummorie...

Hanneke Kuipers

Groningen, September 2012

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## 1. Introduction

The countryside changes and it has been changing for a long time already (Woods, 2005). In the last fifty years change had a great impact on sectors like agriculture, the rural economy, the community and the environment (Woods, 2005). The impact of modernization and change of the rural is a theme researched a lot by social scientists. One research focus is social relations within rural areas (Woods, 2005). The rural community is more extensively researched by anthropologists, trying to understand the studied communities. As a response to the restructuring of the countryside, 'top-down' policies are made by governments and the European Union and 'bottom-up' initiatives are taken by communities themselves.

Social and economic trends, which are for example population decline, decline of agriculture and increased levels of mobility, have all impacted the rural and its communities (Woods, 2005). Young people leave the countryside for education, whereas elderly people move in for retirement. The contemporary rural economy has less guaranteed jobs and is often low pay. Services and facilities have become less within the village, which affects the economic and social side of a community (Woods, 2005). All changes in the countryside affect the resilience of it. McManus et al. (2011) say that some argue that economics are stimulating decline, but that social participation can mitigate against that. This social participation in a community is important in order to be resilient to change. This research explores social capital in combination with the concept of rural resilience. The empirical research is carried out in two small villages in Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland.

The main question of this research is:

What role does social capital have in building resilience in rural villages in Scotland?

The main question is split up in sub questions which are:

What is social capital?

What is rural resilience?

What is the connection between social capital and rural resilience?

What role does social capital play in rural communities?

### **Rural development**

For rural development in many countries policies are made. Nowadays rural development is more than sectoral development (with focus on only one sector like agriculture) and focuses on the rural area as a whole. This is called 'the territorial approach' (Shucksmith and Chapman, 1998). Only investing in economic development is not enough to fight or at least to deal with population decline. Not only profits and job creation is important, also '*social development and norms and networks of civic engagement*' need focus, according to Putnam (in Shucksmith, 2000, p. 211). Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) say that many authors suggest that social networks make a strong relationship between a strong civil society and economic development.

In current rural development programmes emphasis is on participation and self supporting of the community. The social side of development has become more and more important, which is also the case in the LEADER programme. LEADER stands for Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale, meaning Links between the rural economy and development actions (ENDR, 2012). The European Union introduced LEADER in 1991 and extended it four times. The aim of LEADER is to increase capacity of local rural community and business networks, to build knowledge and skills and encourage innovation and co-operation in order to tackle local development objectives (Scottish government, 2012). As Shucksmith (2000, p.209) says: '*the essence of capacity-building in LEADER is viewed as the creation of social capital of various forms that could benefit the*

*whole community*'. To Dargan and Shucksmith (2008, p.279) LEADER 'seeks to strengthen communities by enhancing people's confidence, knowledge and skills, and their ability to work together'. LEADER was meant for rural areas and communities that needed to be more resilient, but those less resilient areas and communities had to take action themselves. The initiative is with the people; with the social capital they have they can subscribe for the money. But do small rural villages have this capacity to subscribe for an European fund? Do small rural villages have enough social capital; do they even have social capital?

## Rural

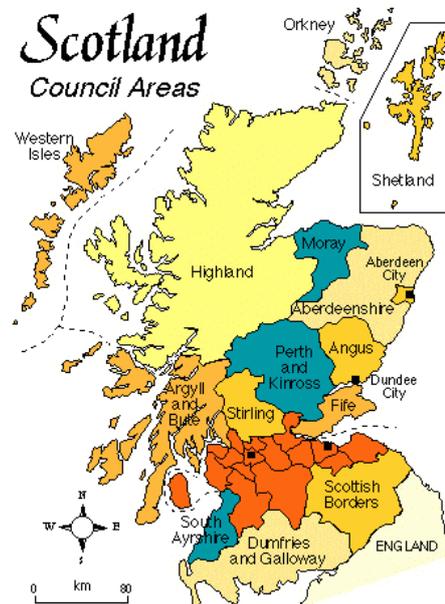
There are different ways to define the rural and to measure when rural is rural and every way is arguable (Woods, 2005). Most of the time rural is measured descriptively, by population. But a village can be seen as rural when it has less than 300 inhabitants as in Iceland, or with a maximum population of 10,000, used in England. Where in one area a settlement of 1,000 inhabitants can be a real centre for the surrounding area, in another area it can be a very small village without meaning. Somewhere has to be drawn a line in defining what number of population is rural and what number is urban, but it is all very arbitrary. A village of 1,001 inhabitants is urban, a village with two people less is rural.

Since this empirical research is done in Scotland, the definition of 'rural' as used in Scotland is used here as well. According to the Scottish Executive study, who used the Urban Rural Classification, small towns have between 3,000 and 10,000 population and rural areas have less than 3,000 population (Rural Scotland in Focus, 2012).

## Scotland

In Scotland the population has grown a bit every year (up to 0,6 percent per year) since 2003 (Scottish Government Statistics, 2012). Population growth is highest in the big cities, whereas the population in rural areas declined year after year. Now the predicted population change 2010-2035, published by National Records of Scotland (in Rural Scotland in Focus 2012), suggests population growth in most Local Authorities (LA's) of Scotland and a population decline in four rural LA's, being Eilean Siar (Western Isles), Argyll and Bute, South Ayrshire and Dumfries and Galloway (see map 1).

In Dumfries and Galloway this research is done. The region has only one real city, which is Dumfries and a number of small towns (between 3,000 and 10,000 population). Most of the region can be classified as rural. Dumfries and Galloway is expected to have a population decline of 4.7 percent. In the Rural Scotland Focus 2012 the reason given for this decline is the high proportion of older people within the population (natural population decline of 7.5 per cent), while there is a positive net migration of 3 per cent. Now when the population declines and becomes older and the working predicted age population becomes 13,1% less until 2035 in Dumfries and Galloway (Rural Scotland in Focus 2012), can rural communities be resilient to that? What role does social capital play in these communities?



Map 1: Map of Scotland's Council Areas or Local Authorities. Source: Electric Scotland

**Structure of the thesis**

In chapter 2 the theoretical background of the concepts of quality of life, social capital and rural resilience is explained as well as the link between the concepts. In chapter 3 the bridge between theory and empirical research will be made where in chapter 4 the methodology as used in this research is explained. Chapter 5 consist of the empirical data concerning social capital found in Wanlockhead. Then the empirical data about social capital found in Drummorie is described in chapter 6. The last chapters, 7 and 8, contain the conclusion and the discussion concerning this research.

## 2. Quality of life, social capital and rural resilience

### Quality of life

In areas of population decline and small communities the quality of life is important. Quality of life is a subjective concept (Shortall, 2008), often used in rural development, but rarely explained. Quality of life to Van der Ploeg and Marsden (2008) consists of three components: the physical (landscape), social life and economic life. Not only economic capital is important for quality of life, but also social capital and the surrounding. For this research the social axis of quality of life is explored, where social capital is the central concept, in relation with rural resilience.

### Social capital

In this research the central concept is social capital. Social capital became a more and more used and discussed concept since Pierre Bourdieu used it in his article 'The forms of capital' in 1986. The concept social capital is broad and many authors use it in different ways. There is not one definition of the concept which is agreed upon. Social capital is used in economic literature and in sociology, wherein Bourdieu an important author is. Also is social capital used in rural studies, where social capital is used as a means for rural development (Sutherland and Burton, 2011; Van der Ploeg and Marsden, 2008).

Social capital is seen as a means for development and growth. There are more forms of capital, like economic and human capital. Portes (1998, p. 7) explains the differences this way: '*Whereas economic capital is in people's bank account and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships.*' So according to Portes, social capital is about relationships. Tisenkopfs et al. (2008, p.88) put the definitions of social capital of three main authors in sequence: '*Bourdieu defines social capital as social resources that provide access to economic capital; Robert Putnam defines it as networks that enable cooperation; James Coleman understands social capital as shared values and trust.*' To Bourdieu social capital is used to develop in an economic way, Putnam and Coleman define social capital more socially, in the form of relationships. Networks are relationships and shared values and trust are conditions for relationships.

Tisenkopfs et al. (2008, p.88) explain the name social capital this way: '*Social*' presumes the existence of networks, shared norms, collective action, whereas capital implies an individualistic approach and rational choice.' Social capital can be used individually, but is also used in communities and between communities or organizations, or between government and communities.

When seen as individualistic concept, Tisenkopfs et al. (2008, p.89) say that '*social capital is primarily an individual means to reproduce status, power and social class.*' But when seen in a holistic perspective the essence of social capital according to them is: '*within networks, shared values, norms and trust. Reciprocity, participation and solidarity are central features (p.90).*' The individual will use his social capital for his own to develop, but this can also count for groups and communities wherein altruism plays a big role.

Social capital is a social concept and interaction is the key word in definitions of it. People interacting with each other is a main requisite for using and building social capital. As Halpern (2005, p.2) explains: social capital is '*the everyday networks, including many of the social customs and bonds that define them and keep them together.*' Also in the definition raised by Falk and Kilpatrick (2000, p.103) interaction is important: '*Social capital is the product of social interactions with the potential to contribute to the social, civic or economic well-being of a community-of-common-purpose.*' Dekker and Uslaner (2001, p.3) state: '*Social capital is fundamentally about how people interact with each other.*' Tisenkopfs et al. (2008, p.87) say that: '*social capital might be defined as the capacity to get*

*things done collectively*. To Woolcock and Narayan (2000, p.226) social capital is not the subject but the people are: *'Social capital refers to the norms and values that enable people to act collectively'*. When using social capital, using networks of people, things will be gotten done in a cooperative way. People need other people to develop, what makes that people need engagement, interaction, networks and relations. And those features come together in the concept of social capital. Wiesinger (2007) and Tisenkopfs et al. (2008) both bring forward Robert Putnam with his argument that social capital is embodied in social groups and networks and civic engagement. This social organization can help improving communities and overcoming dilemmas. The features of social capital proposed are again trust, norms and networks.

### **Bonding and bridging social capital**

There are two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging. Dekker and Uslaner (2001, p.3) use the two forms in their definition of social capital. They say: *'Social capital is all about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity'*. Robert Putnam (2000) explains the difference between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is also called 'exclusive' social capital and is more inward-looking. Ties in homogeneous groups are getting strengthened; people out of the same corner of society or sociological niche come together in their group. To Granovetter (1973) bonding social capital are the strong ties that links someone to relatives and friends, intimates. Bridging social capital is outward looking, 'inclusive' social capital and to Putnam (2000, p.22) it *'encompasses people across diverse social cleavages'*. Granovetter (1973) calls bridging social capital 'weak ties', because the links are more distant. The one form of social capital is not more needed or better than the other. Both are helpful in other situations. Where bonding is a more intense, multi-stranded form of support, is bridging more useful in getting information, opportunities and jobs, according to Halpern (2005). Bonding social capital can be used for 'getting by' in life, bridging social capital for 'getting ahead' (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

### **Features of social capital**

Many different features of social capital are named by many authors. The main ones, observed in a lot of the definitions and explanations of social capital are: networks, trust and norms and values (Dekker and Uslander, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Tisenkopfs et al., 2008; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

#### *Networks*

Without networks, all kinds of networks, social capital cannot exist, be build or used. As Shortall (2008, p.451) says: *'Social capital relies on social inclusion; it cannot develop if people are unwilling or unable to participate.'* Social capital can be build and stocks can grow when the frequency and intensity of interactions increase; when social capital is practised and exercised (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Tisenkopfs et al., 2008). But stores of social capital may also fall when the frequency and intensity drops. Activities, or other participation in networks make people come together, what binds people. Bonding of people builds trust. Shortall (2008) states that participation in social activities is central to social well-being and is positive to the quality of life.

#### *Trust*

In Putnam's work 'making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy', the dimension trust is a very important dimension of social capital (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000). Reciprocity, honesty and trust are the 'touchstone' of social capital, they *'lubricate the inevitable frictions of social life'* (Putnam, 2000, p.135). To Tisenkopfs (2008) collective action is enabled by trust; Kahn et al. (2007) says that trust creates social cohesion. When groups, individuals and institutions trust each other, it is easier

to achieve something. Trust can be social trust, which means trust in other people, and can be trust in government: local, regional or national (Putnam, 2000).

#### *Norms and values*

Shared norms and values are important to sustain social capital (Tisenkopfs, 2008). The norms should lead to cooperation and achievement of common goals (Fukuyama, 2001). Values or virtues like honesty, reciprocity and reliability are related to the norms and therefore needed in cooperation. Values, to Tisenkopfs (2008), are the link between the past, present and future and come to light in history, tradition, identities and social structure.

#### **Social capital in connection to rural resilience**

Networks, trust and norms and values are features of social capital and essential in community life. Especially in small rural villages with less facilities, social capital, both bonding and bridging, helps the community to 'survive'. Since rural communities change socially, demographically, physically and economically (Woods, 2005), they have to be resilient in order to survive. Rural resilience is the ability to embrace change and absorb disturbance and at the same time to retain the basic function and structure (McManus et al., 2011). Social capital can enable communities to cope with changing circumstances (McManus et al., 2011). Wilson (2010, p.366) argues that *'resilient rural communities are characterised by well-developed economic, social and environmental capital'*. To Wilson, a community will be most resilient when having all three types of capital. A community cannot be resilient when having a lot of economic capital but no social capital, though the levels of the capitals can vary and do vary in real life. In this research the focus is on social capital as a means for quality of life in and resilience of the community.

A sense of community spirit is important to keep the community resilient (McManus, 2011). There is community spirit *'when people identify with and feel a sense that their local community is vibrant'* (McManus, 2011, p.5). This community spirit can be gained within networks and with activities. Therefore both bonding and bridging social capital is important, with bonding creating links within homogeneous groups and with bridging linking those groups together. For rural development the symbolic construction of the community and people's wish to believe in their community is important to build on (Shucksmith, 2000). Therefore the little talks to neighbours and other community members, that is interactions, are important in the sense of community spirit. Communities can build social capital themselves and policies can help promoting trust between local actors as well, says Wiesinger (2007). He gives the example of LEADER initiatives as a resource for encouraging cooperation and providing opportunities for learning. But policy can also work the other way around by closing facilities or infrastructure which communities itself cannot compensate for. Policy makers have to recognise the importance of local towns and villages, which are important to enhance rural resilient (McManus, 2011).

Social capital is a prerequisite for sound rural development (Wiesinger, 2007), but can also generate negative effects (DeFilippis, 2001; Nardone et al., 2010; Wiesinger, 2007; Woolcock, 1998). Wiesinger (2007) mentions causing social exclusion, exclusion from groups or associations and rejection of incomers in the closed community. Nardone et al. (2010, p.64) say that networks can be used to gain *'narrow and sectarian interests against the well-being of the wider community'*. Shucksmith (2000, p.215) agrees with that and states that the dominant class will define many things in the community, like *'whose interests are seen as the community interests and what should be objectives of the initiative'*. In communities with a very high level of bonding social capital the chance of exclusion and rejection is higher and can obstacle improvement (Nardone et al., 2010; Wiesinger, 2007).

### **3. The bridge between theory and empirical evidence**

How to measure or research social capital? Social capital is discussed a lot in many articles, but is not much researched empirically. Most studies which do empirical research on social capital are quantitative, with questionnaires with many questions about trust, engagement and activity. Qualitative research is done by Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) using ethnographic techniques for their ethnomethodological research. Next to interviews they let participants audio-tape spontaneous stretches of conversations. Sutherland and Burton (2011) researched how social capital is generated and maintained in farming communities through interviews with both scale questions and open questions. For the research carried out here next to a questionnaire with scale questions and open questions semi-structured in-depth interviews are used to grasp the sense of social capital in a community and to hear the stories behind the front doors.

Social capital is hard to put on scale, and therefore it is hard to compare different villages. But by knowing what is going on in the villages, you can say which side of social capital is stronger or less strong and with that knowledge the results of the research can be used to increase the social capital.

## 4. Methodology

This research is a cooperation with the Scottish Agricultural College (SAC), based in Edinburgh, Scotland. The Rural Society team of the Land Economy and Environment Research Group of SAC (see Rural society group, 2012) carries out a research for the Capacity for Change programme (C4C) about resilience in small rural communities. This C4C programme is a programme which wants to reach rural communities with less than 500 inhabitants and which did not apply for subsidies before. It is carried out by Dumfries and Galloway council. SAC research has the aim to measure rural resilience of villages in Dumfries and Galloway, the most southern region in Scotland, and it will become a follow up research when a village chooses to take part in the C4C project. Results of the research can help C4C to look what a community needs and what actions should be taken together with the villagers in order to help the community in getting more resilient.

For this study a questionnaire is made by SAC and implemented in small rural communities in the Dumfries and Galloway region. The questionnaire aims to identify socio-economic aspects of individual and community resilience.

As part of the cooperation Saskia (my fellow student) and I had to go to two rural villages in Dumfries and Galloway to run the prefabricated questionnaire. The villages, Wanlockhead and Drummore, are chosen by SAC. The questionnaire contained questions about individual social resilience, individual economic resilience, community social resilience and community economic resilience. The questionnaire was composed of 32 questions of which 12 questions to capture the demographic background and 20 scale questions about different components of resilience. We added nine short questions to the questionnaire which were useful for our own researches: for this research about social capital in building rural resilience and Saskia's research about place attachment in the rural villages. The four questions added for this particular research were about people's connection with each other, about trust, activities and positive and negative experiences. The questionnaire with additional questions is only run in the two villages researched by Saskia and me and the additional questions are only used for our theses.

To gain more in-depth information about social capital in building rural resilience for this research interviews are held. In the questionnaire after some scale questions an explanation of the chosen number was asked, but the questionnaire was aimed to community resilience and not to social capital. And with the few numbers gathered from the added questions only some sides of social capital is captured. The stories of the villagers are important to really get an idea of social capital in the village. With interviews more in-depth information will be gained, because of the type questions asked, i.e. open questions. The interviews were semi-structured in contrast to the structured questionnaire. As Gill Valentine (2005): 'Interviews take a conversational, fluid form, each interview varying according to the interests, experiences and views of the interviewees. They are a dialogue rather than an interrogation.' In-depth interviews are not representative, but 'the emphasis of interviews', Valentine says, 'is on considering the meanings people attribute to their lives and the processes which operate in particular social contexts'. So with interviews the deeper layer will come to the front, the information that is needed to understand the way social capital is build up in the village. Using both quantitative and qualitative methods to confirm each other is called triangulation. The limitations of each method are mitigated by using both and results are strengthened (Dudwick et al., 2006).

The intended participants for the questionnaire as well as for the interview were people closely connected to the village researched. To get a good overview of the village, there is tried to get a wide range of villagers involved: persons who lived for several years in the village, persons who lived

there for just a few years, younger and older people, still working or retired, with children or without children.

Participants were recruited initially by the snowballing technique. About five phone numbers of people in the villages were given to us by the project worker of the C4C programme. We asked those villagers if they wanted to participate in the research and to pass some names of other villagers who could be willing to participate in the research. By asking the new contacts the same thing we 'build up layers of contacts', as Valentine (2005) describes it.

Before arriving in the villages a lot of participants were already recruited and at the end of the questionnaire again we asked people if they knew any others in the village whom would be willing to participate in the research. In Wanlockhead 18 participants are surveyed and in Drummore 22 people participated in the questionnaire. The population of Wanlockhead is approximately 160 inhabitants, which makes that 11% of the inhabitants are captured in this survey. In Drummore the population is approximately 300 inhabitants, which makes that 7,5% of the inhabitants are captured in this survey.

Some people who participated in the survey were also asked to take part in the in-depth interview. Those people were recruited on their knowledge and view on the village, and being an 'incomer' or having lived in the village for (almost) all their life. Other participants who were interviewed did not do the questionnaire. The eight participants, four women and four men, in Wanlockhead were aged between 36 and 74; the five participants, three women and two men, in Drummore were aged between 46 and 68. In Drummore the saturation point was reached earlier than in Wanlockhead, what might be because of the higher number of questionnaires done in Drummore and therefore having a better idea of what's going on in the village.

See the appendix (page 30) for the interview questions used.

Before the questionnaire or interview started the participants were made aware that all information given is kept confidential and that the participants stay anonymous. Participants may speak more freely then about their personal opinions about several affairs happened in the village. With this statement of confidentiality the researchers may be trusted more. Participants were asked permission to record the survey or interview before it started. If they refused that extra notes were made.

Although English is not the native language of the researcher, it was good enough to understand participants and it did not lead to inconvenience.

Data-gathering took one week data-gathering in Wanlockhead and one week in Drummore. After that the data is analysed in SPSS and excel and a report is written for SAC and C4C about the outcomes of the questionnaire; about the different components of resilience and the overall resilience of the two examined villages. This report is owned by SAC and will be used in their research about the state of rural Scotland.

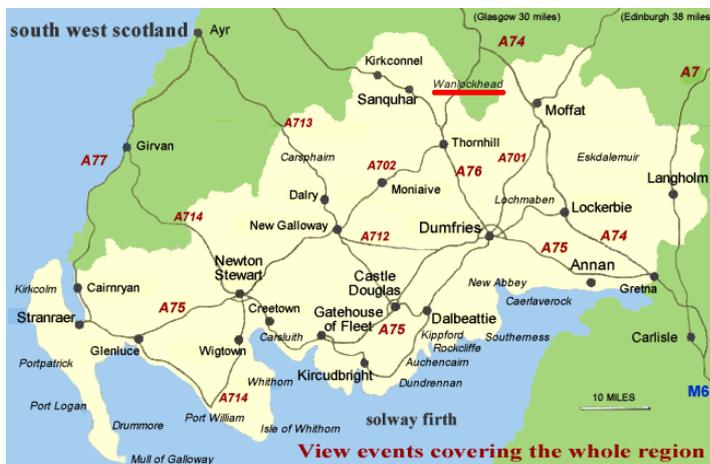
The in-depth interviews were transcribed and after that analysed with MAXQDA, a programme which is useful when making an analysis through coding of the data. MAXQDA itself does not make the analysis.

## 5. Social capital in Wanlockhead

The villagers in Wanlockhead are described as a friendly group of people by all respondents, but what role does social capital play in this small village in Dumfries and Galloway? In this section social capital is split up in the 5 segments found in literature (see chapter 2): networks, trust, norms and values, bonding social capital and bridging social capital. They altogether form the social capital in the village. Through interviews opinions and stories of the villagers are asked and it is their perceptions described here. The participants are not named, only their sex and age are written down, to keep the participants anonymous.

### *Wanlockhead situated*

Wanlockhead is a village with about 160 inhabitants and is the highest village in Scotland (1531 feet above sea level, see picture 1 and map 3). It is situated in the north of Dumfries and Galloway, near the border of South Lanarkshire (see map 2). 18 people have done the survey, eight people are interviewed. The biggest group in the village is retired people, but there are also working people and some with children. The facilities the village has are a pub, the highest pub in Scotland, and the museum of hidden treasures, about the mining history of the village. There is a doctor coming three times a week and a library bus drops by every week. A bus stops in the village every hour. Leadhills is one mile away from Wanlockhead and has a small shop and a primary school. Some children from Wanlockhead go to school in Leadhills, others go to Sanquhar. Sanquhar is about 8 miles away from Wanlockhead and has more facilities like shops, a post office and schools. Working people in Wanlockhead have to commute to their work, which is in different places in Dumfries and Galloway, in Glasgow and Edinburgh or even down in England. Most of them have to travel about half an hour before they are at work.



Map 2: Wanlockhead in Dumfries and Galloway. Source: Maps-of-Scotland (2012)



Picture 1: The sign of Wanlockhead with the notion of being the highest village in Scotland. Source: researcher



Map 3: The village of Wanlockhead. Source: Google  
Maps (2012)

## Networks

The first segment of social capital described is networks. Networks are intertwined in many things, so it is divided in three components: interaction, activities and groups and clubs.

### *Interactions between village members*

In Wanlockhead almost everybody knows each other, people are friendly and compared to a city or town, where some lived before they came in Wanlockhead, there is much more interaction. People get to know each other by for example going to the pub. The pub is a specific place where much interaction takes place and where you get to meet people. Besides the pub people talk to each other on the street or drink a cup of tea together.

*'I know everybody and everybody knows me and especially my daughter' (Woman, 37)*

By knowing people they create a network which is useful when someone needs help. The villagers are helpful and keep an eye on each other, for example a man who keeps an eye on an old neighbour:

*'And I go along with (a man) over there, because he doesn't keep too well euhm, so if it seems to be cold weather I go there and if his son is away, ... , I go along when he cannot manage to keep his fire let, I go there to get his fire let to prevent from the cool...I do a lot of jobs for him.'* (Man, 74)

Other examples of helpfulness given in the interviews are that in winter time, when there is a lot of snow, people do groceries for each other. And when someone is busy fixing the house, they just have to ask and people are ready to help.

Villagers who are less engaged with the community are free to do so, although the engaged villagers do rather see them being engaged. Or as a woman (65) explains:

*'if you come and want to be on your own, people will allow you to be, and if you don't then there is always someone who will talk with you. So it is the type of village where you can hide or socialize.'*

Not everyone is as positive about the interactions and social life in the village as others. As a woman (37) says:

*'So they will do anything for you, but there is always a wall that stops you getting that little bit further in, if that makes any sense to you at all.'*

People in the community are quite happy to interact with each other, but don't want or need to be very close friends. The tightness of the community is working against the will to get friends. The woman (37) herself gives this explanation for it:

*'because it is so small and everybody knows everybody's business, I think people can be quite guarded ..so we'll see each other for a coffee and a chat but it is never more than half an hour.'*

### *Activities*

There are activities organised in the village. The activities are made known by using the notice board and The Villager, a monthly newsletter for everybody in the village. Some activities are open for everyone, like the coffee morning; some are only organised for retired ones, like the mystery tour once a year for pensioners. The activities there are, are often well attended.

*'There is a lot of people support the activities that go on. When we had a Burns night, around 50 people coming, which is a third of the population. We have occasionally there is entertainment, there has been a couple of plays going on. The community centre, they have various events.'* (Man, 62)

The pub plays a role in the activities organised. They organise karaoke nights and other party's with Halloween and Valentine's day. The activities attract different people, since not everyone is going to the pub and not everybody is at home for the coffee morning for example. For the elderly population it is good to go to a coffee morning so they keep being integrated in the society. One woman (37) misses the activities for the whole village:

*'But it is still very much here, when you come here in an evening, everybody is behind their doors and keep themselves to themselves. ... there is not anything really organised euhm as a group.'*

#### *Groups, clubs and committees*

Groups and clubs are most of the time open for a specific group of people. In Wanlockhead there are a few groups and clubs which are there for their interest, like the heritage group and the walking group. There are also committees in the village like the community centre committee, the community garden committee, the allotments society and the community council. These committees are there for the good of the community and they try to set new things up, like the allotments society trying to get allotments at the place where the bowling green used to be, or keep things going, like the garden which has to be maintained.

The existing committees do organise most of the activities in the community, like the coffee mornings and the lunch bunch.

With regard to the community committees some respondents were worried about the possessions taken by the villagers, since not so many people are likely to take the possessions.

*'No, they just seem not to come forward for them, because I would gladly give up some of them, well not give up, but become less involved in some of the things I am involved in, if somebody else would be willing to take it.'* (Woman, 65)

*'.. there are so few people in the village, few people inclined to do something like that.'* (Man, 45)

People in the community seem to be less active as before, since a couple of community activities and clubs, like the bowling club stopped. For most clubs and activities people have to go to the next village, Leadhills where a lot of clubs are based. This affected social life in the village:

*'Euhm, there are, there isn't so many people involved, there isn't the bowling club now, the badminton has more or less gone and the pool has more or less gone, euhm people don't seem to want to commit themselves to euh regular things anymore. (...) I think the social life here has euhm isn't as good as it used to be, unless you go to the pub.'* (Woman, 65)

On the question 'To what extent are all members in the community encouraged to be involved in community life?', the mean number was 7.6 out of 10. People in the village are encouraged to come, but not everybody does come to activities or join committees and clubs.

#### **Trust**

For trust there are three components, namely trust in terms of safety, trust in village members and trust in authority, being the regional Dumfries and Galloway council and the village council.

#### *Safety*

All respondents say that they feel safe in this village, people don't lock their doors or car. There is very little crime and if there is, it is done by people from outside the village. A man (36) gives his reason for the safety in the village:

*'It's all ok and it's very little if any crime up here, because everybody is watching out for everybody else.'*

### *Trust in village members*

People are watching about for everybody else in the village, which can be very good in terms of safety. And village members trust each other in that sense. But on the other hand people know a lot from each other and gossip goes around quickly. As a man (36) puts it:

*'everything spreads, it's like wildfire.'*

People know that they are talked about. This makes them sometimes suspicious or not being as open as they would like to be. The woman's (37) answer on the question of people trust each other in the community is meaningful:

*'Euhm, to a limit. that would be my experience of it. They trust you to go and do their shopping if they're stuck or to get the kids up from the school but perhaps wouldn't trust you to tell there is a thousand pounds beneath their mattress or that sort of things. But yes that would trust you with keys of the house and stuff, but not intimate things if that makes sense.'*

### *Trust in authority*

The village council is trusted by the community in their tasks and organised activities. The Dumfries and Galloway council is not very trusted. They do some standard things like emptying the garbage cans, but a lot of respondents said the same as this woman (46):

*'We tend to be forgotten about by D&G council. In Dumfries it doesn't snow but here it does. There's not a lot of services here, we have to fight for them.'*

On the question 'How far is there a sense of trust in the community' the mean was 6.5 out of 10. Because trust has those different components this number is also interpreted differently. But the mean score gives a sense of quite some trust in the community, though there is still some trust to gain.

### **Norms and values**

In a small village as Wanlockhead there are norms in the village and unwritten rules. Those things came to the forefront in pieces of the interviews, though most of the time not specifically named by the respondents as norms and values. With regard to incomers, people coming in the village to live there, there is a clear norm:

*'If you come open-minded, you're accepted. (..) You don't swear and you abide by the rules and regulations' (Man, 74)*

*'I don't mind who comes to the village as long as they fit in and don't start upsetting it.' (Woman, 62)*

Incomers in the village all felt welcome in the village. Some are trying to reform the management structure of the museum and they are talked about in the village. They are open-minded, but apparently didn't abide by the rules. That is a contradiction in the norms there are.

There are some unwritten rules in the village, which means that the community is bonded to such extend that people know how to behave and what to do in some cases:

*'when a neighbour passes by, you say hello, Everybody does. Even people you don't know. You find yourself waving at people and think: Who is that?'* (Man, 36)

*'Yeah, I think there is an incentive to help everybody out in different ways and keep an eye open when the children are out playing you know.'* (Man, 74)

*'..we get a lot of tourists up here and people and they leave rubbish, but anybody if they see it they pick it up, so you know the village is cared for.'* (Man, 36)

*'When you go to the pub, you buy everybody in the pub a drink.'* (Man, 65)

*'I think an unwritten rule is that you respect everybody, and everybody, 99% of the people do it.'* (Man, 65)

### **Bonding social capital**

Villagers in Wanlockhead are quite strong connected to each other. They know each other and are very willing to help each other. The activities and interactions make people talk to each other and know more about each other. For some people this small talk is not in depth enough, while others don't go so much in depth because they are afraid of the gossip. As a woman (65) says about small irritations:

*'It is magnified because it is such a small community.'*

There is not much changed in the village, which some older people (over 70) find very good and nice, but younger people would like to see more things happening. Especially incomers look at the village with a different view and see that things like the management of the museum can be better and the former bowling green can be used for other things, like allotments. They see capacity in the village where especially the older generation would like to keep things as they are. This sometimes gives irritations.

The mean number people gave to the question 'to what extent do people in the community feel related to each other?' is 5.9 out of 10. This number is not too high, what can be due to less activities for the whole community and the suspiciousness.

### **Bridging social capital**

For a lot of activities and clubs people go to Leadhills. Especially the people who have an active life in the village, do also go a lot to Leadhills for dancing, knitting or a mothers group. Activities like the Gala day for children is organised together by the two villages. There has always been rivalry between the two villages, but they also need each other for organising activities because of the low number of inhabitants.

*'Leadhills is next door, cause we know each other, we know most of the people in Leadhills as well. Euh, they come up here, we go down there, for the art classes'* (Man, 74).

The bridge between Wanlockhead and Sanquhar is less strong, since Sanquhar is bigger and further away and more independent.

Social capital in Wanlockhead is there; there are interactions between villagers every day, there are activities organised through the year and there are clubs and committees to join. Leadhills is quite important for the clubs, because Wanlockhead itself does not have so many clubs. Common interest is sometimes lacking and therefore less activities and clubs are there, which can be caused by the gossip through which people can become suspicious. But people are willing to help one another and do trust each other mostly. There is potential in Wanlockhead to build social capital and to get together more to strengthen the networks there are and building up new networks.

## 6. Social capital in Drummore

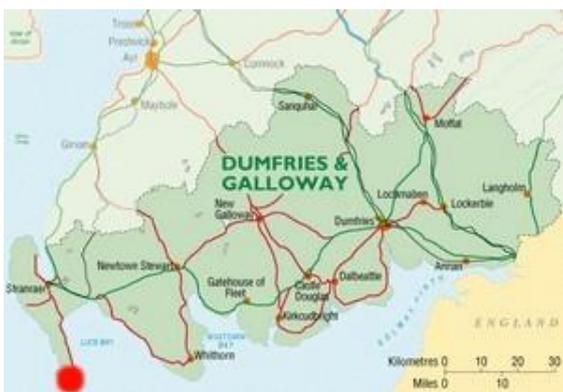
Drummore is the second village researched. Here again the question is what role social capital plays in this other village in Dumfries and Galloway? The structure of this chapter is the same; social capital is split up in 5 segments: networks, trust, norms and values, and bonding and bridging social capital. Those segments are the main features of social capital as seen in the literature, what is explained in the theory chapter. They altogether form the social capital in the village. Through interviews opinions and stories of the villagers are asked and it is their perceptions described here. Here again the participants are not named, only their sex and age is written down in order to keep them anonymous.

### *Drummore situated*

Drummore is most southern village of Scotland and has about 300 inhabitants (see picture 2, map 4 and map 5). 22 people are surveyed and 5 people are interviewed in Drummore. The village has a shop, a post office, three pubs, one hotel, a coffee shop, a doctors post and several bed & breakfasts. There is a church in the village which is still open and running and a primary school where all children in the village go to. The bus comes in the village once an hour and a library bus comes once a week. There is a harbour where the tide comes in and which is used poorly. Drummore lies in the Mull of Galloway, as the most southerly point of Scotland is called. The biggest group of inhabitants are pensioners, but there is also still a group of youth living in the village. Most people that work, work in the village itself at the pub, hotel, shop or at home. Port Logan is the nearest village, 4.5 miles away, but smaller. Sandhead is about the same size and 9.5 miles away. The next village with more facilities than in Drummore is Stranraer, 17 miles away. For a hospital people have to go to Dumfries, Glasgow or Edinburgh, which is about a three or four hours drive. This indicates the rurality of the village.



Picture 2: Mill street in Drummore. Source: researcher



Map 4: Drummore in Dumfries and Galloway. Source: Luxury holiday cottages (2012)



Map 5: The village of Drummore. Source: Google Maps (2012)

## Networks

The first segment of social capital described is networks. Networks are intertwined in many things, so it is divided in three components: interaction, activities and groups and clubs.

### *Interactions between village members*

Most interactions happen in the street. In the morning people are going to the shop for the paper and meet each other, talk and go their own way. As a woman (58) says:

*'It can take an hour just to walk down the street with people around. People are nice and we speak and we talk.'*

The pub is a very good place to get up to date about what is going on in the village. Some villagers go to the pub every day just after work to drink something, talk and go home again. The interaction has changed, says a woman (68):

*'No it is, it's the same but different. Still people are meeting to talk, but if you had come here 50 years ago you would have seen, (...) at the bottom of the street, and one group of men would gather all there and discuss all the village happenings. And then another group would meet at (...) the bridge, (...), so there would always be people hanging around, all blathering, talking, talking, chatting.'*

Interactions mostly take place in activities and clubs.

### *Activities*

By different groups activities are organised for the whole community. There are fund raising activities for the different clubs and institutes in the village and for charity. With New Years' day there is a buggy race and there is an annual flower show. The activities organised are almost always open for everyone, so you can choose yourself to join or not. The activities are announced by the notice board, or in the shop or the post office and by word of mouth.

There is a riddle in the events that happen, but it seems to be the same people organising the same activities. A couple of people are the main actors in the village. Those people are the key persons in the community for the church or other groups and activities and are named as natural community leaders by some respondents. Without those people, the community would be very different.

For the queens diamond jubilee, in June 2012, nothing was organised, where the year before the royal wedding of prince William was celebrated with a street party, organised by a 90 year old lady. The lack of organising something by younger people in the village is a pain point for older people and a concern for the future. As a woman (60) said:

*'And someone said to me (...) that people are very generous here (...) with money to support a charity or whatever (...), but what they don't give or they are reluctant to give is time.'*

### *Groups, clubs and committees*

The groups, clubs, committees and activities are very important says a woman (58):

*'Oh yeah, they are, they are very important. Yeah because without this sort of gathering and people getting together, nobody is going to know others'*

Another reason for joining in is that incomers get more accepted when they are prepared to get involved. Most groups exist of retired villagers, while all people are encouraged to join in clubs and activities and many clubs announce their gathering so that people can join. But as a woman (68) says:

*'The social life is what you make it. There are many, many opportunities for things like, the bowling green, the church, the craft groups, the walking groups, reading groups, it is up to the people whatever..there is a nature, a natural history group, it is up to the people what they make, so.'*

On the question how villagers who are less engaged are treated a woman (60) answered:

*'People are different, so, you know, you don't expect everybody to be enthusiastic and want to join in. Some people want to be quite and private for their own reasons.'*

In the questionnaire people are asked 'To what extent are all members in the community encouraged to be involved in community life? The mean number of the answer of the 22 respondents was 6.6 out of 10. The main reasons for low numbers were that people do not mix with each other and the same people do the jobs. The groups in the village do not work together, they all have their own activities. Some respondents said that there is quite a bit of apathy around with regard to getting involved. The reason for that is not known, but it indicates that the community is less involved than some people would like to see it. Some new groups started last years but also stopped since there was not enough interest for them. These negative experiences are not encouraging people in organising new things.

### **Trust**

#### *Safety*

In the questionnaire respondents' mean number on the question 'how far is there a sense of trust in the community', was 8.6 out of 10. The main reasons for the high numbers is that people feel very safe and do not have to lock doors and cars. As a reason for that a woman (58) says:

*'in rural communities, people keep euhm, are more aware of what's happening around them, they are more observing'*

#### *Trust in village members*

On the whole people trust each other in Drummore, but some people have had negative experiences with village members through which they don't trust everybody. And there are some people who do not have a good reputation in the village because they are a big block in the development of the harbour and surrounding.

Incomers are more trusted when they are staying in the village rather than having a holiday home in the village and live there for only a few months a year. Due to the holiday homes less people live in the village and especially in winter time the village is less vibrant.

*'But I heard people saying they like having people coming in. And I know we were asked when we moved, are you going to stay, or is it a holiday home? Euhm, that's a big difference, because, everybody was glad when we said no, we are here to live.'* (Woman, 58)

#### *Trust in authority*

Drummore has a community council, which is a set body with more authority than a village council. A community council has more direct contact with the regional council of Dumfries and Galloway. The village would like to see more investment in the village by the Dumfries and Galloway council with regard to the roads and cleaning the beach. Not everyone has much trust in the community council, mainly because people don't see what the council is doing. But villagers do know where to find the community council, especially when there are potholes before their home for example. Trust in the community council can be increased when the harbour, which is barely accessible due to the tide and dirt, gets cleaned and developed.

*'Euhm, I think the biggest challenge would be if the harbour plan does come of, because that would make an enormous impact and hopefully it would get rid of a lot of negativity,*

*because whenever you try to do certain things like that, you'll always get people saying ooh, we've seen it all before, that would never happen.'* (Woman, 60)

### **Norms and values**

During the interviews two norms came to the forefront. Two incomers mentioned them:

*'I don't think, and certainly my experience with small villages is that people don't like incomers coming in and immediately taking over everything, no they quite like people to be there and then gradually say oh yes, I'll volunteer to go on that committee or whatever.'* (Woman, 60)

*'And you know if you have difficulty to get there, then somebody will always pick you up, and give you a lift.'* (Woman, 58)

Only one unwritten rule came up:

*'And here it is, you know, when they are just stopping by, just for a few minutes you say would you like a cup of tea or coffee or whatever and you would always put out, just as a, without asking, biscuits or cake or something.'* (Woman, 58)

### **Bonding social capital**

A 6.8 out of 10 is the mean number given by respondents on the question 'to what extent do people in the community feel related to each other?' In Drummore some villagers are very content with how the village is running, while others want to see improvements and more involvement.

People socialize with each other on the street and in the pub and there are quite some clubs in which villagers come together. Nevertheless not all villagers know each other and the initiators of several things seem to be the same people. But there is enough gossip going around which make people less trusting and in the small community small things can become very big:

*'I think it is like a small splash and there come big ripples they come  
The other week there was a tiny little incidence and it became very big, talk of the village.  
And there was no need for.'* (Woman, 58)

With regard to change people are not trusting. Different clubs have been set up and stopped and activities which are initiated are not always a success. As a respondent of the questionnaire said: people rather see you fail than succeed. Initiatives for a new village hall also didn't work out and now with regard to the harbour plans people first have to see before they believe.

### **Bridging**

Because Drummore is a small place and doesn't have a proper village hall, groups are often situated in Sandhead, 9.5 miles away. The art group has its meetings in Sandhead and the Womens Rural Institute has outings with people from all places in the South-West of Scotland. The church and the school do also work together with church and school in Sandhead, Ardwell and other places in the region. Otherwise the outings are too expensive. Activities are open for everyone and so villagers get along with people from other places and have friends in those places.

*'Yes, we all have friends in various places, but as a community..though the flowershow is one of the successes in this area, it is an open flowershow and we get people showing, they live in Kirkcum, Portpatrick, you know, they all come for that kind of thing.'* (Woman, 60)

In Drummore social capital in the village has two sides. On the one side people are active, want to make something of the place and see chances for development and want to have to village to take those chances. They want to get together as a village and increase the bonding social capital. On the other hand there is a group of people who don't really care about what is happening in the village

and don't worry about the development. They are not indifferent, but do not care so much as others and can be negative about change. So the bonding social capital can be increased much more as the village comes together, where the bridging social capital is needed to keep the village alive.

## 7. Conclusion

In this research social capital is researched qualitatively by doing interviews and quantitatively by using the questionnaire which is held in cooperation with the Scottish Agricultural College. The research is conducted in two rural villages, Wanlockhead and Drummole, in the Dumfries and Galloway region, Scotland. The aim of the research is to find out what role social capital has in small villages and how social capital can grow in order to build resilience in a village. The main question is: 'What role does social capital have in building resilience in rural communities in Scotland?'

Social capital is a component of quality of life (Van der Ploeg and Marsden, 2008) and when well-developed social capital, together with economic and environmental capital, makes rural communities most resilient (Wilson, 2010). When a community is resilient it will be able to survive and retain its basic function and structure when changes occur (McManus et al., 2011). The three main features of social capital as found in literature are: networks, trust and norms and values. With interactions networks are build, trust creates social cohesion and norms and values leads to cooperation and achievement of common goals. Social capital has two forms: bonding social capital which is inward-looking, bonding similar people and bridging social capital is outward-looking, bridging diverse groups and communities.

The two villages researched are rural, with less facilities and a big town of 30.000 inhabitants at a distance of more than 30 minutes. Wanlockhead has 160 inhabitants and no facilities except the pub, a museum and the bus service. Drummole has 300 inhabitants with basic facilities like a shop, post office, bus service and pubs. The villages are different but both have social capital; networks, trust and norms and values are and both bonding and bridging social capital come to light through the interviews.

In Wanlockhead and Drummole people interact much with each other, mainly on the street and in the pub. People know each other and are helpful. Activities are organised, some for pensioners, but most of the activities are open for everyone and in Drummole some activities are only for the groups which organise them. The working people are less engaged with the village than the pensioners and mothers without a job or with a part-time job. In Drummole there are many groups to join, plausibly because the number of inhabitants. In Drummole there are a few people who are active in organising groups and activities and who are the key people in the village. Those natural community leaders are very important for vibrant social community life.

In Wanlockhead there are two groups and a couple of committees for the benefit of the community. In Wanlockhead as well the same people do organise things and are member of the committees, they are driving forces for the community.

In Drummole and Wanlockhead in terms of safety there is a lot of trust, and there is no crime because people are watching out for everybody else. But when it comes to sharing personal or intimate things to each other, people are more reserved since gossip goes fast in a small village. In Drummole people trust each other more than in Wanlockhead, what may be because of the number of inhabitants and the tightness of the community since in Wanlockhead people know everybody else in the village which isn't so much the case in Drummole.

The councils of the villages are trusted very much in what they do for the community. Dumfries and Galloway council is not trusted so much, in both villages they feel that the council forgets them. The council does do some standard things, but nothing more.

Shared norms and values lead to cooperation and achievement of common goals. In Wanlockhead and Drummole the norms are aimed on incomers, who are very welcome but have to abide by the

rules and regulations. The new people in the village have to confirm to the settled inhabitants, like gradually getting involved in village life and not taking over immediately.

In Wanlockhead more unwritten rules came to the forefront than in Drummore, probably because of the tightness of Wanlockhead. The unwritten rules are all positive and might be helpful in order to get socially connected.

In both villages bonding social capital is present. There are networks and relations between people, there are norms and values which count for the village and there is trust between village members, especially with regard to safety. This bonding social capital can be strengthened in both villages when more villagers become active and try to involve in community life. In Wanlockhead trust can be gathered when villagers do more activities together and collaborate and achieve things together. When there is something all villagers can be proud of, this will strengthen their bond.

Bridging social capital is also present in both villages researched. Wanlockhead is very much connected with Leadhills, which is one mile away, in activities and groups. Leadhills has other facilities than Drummore and they need each other's population for activities and groups. Drummore is less connected with villages in the surrounding, though people have friends in neighbouring villages and go to other places for groups to meet or do outings together. But Drummore has quite some facilities itself as a result of which they don't need other places in that way. In Drummore bridging social capital can be strengthened more between groups in the village. When they work together more, their bond becomes better and achievement of common goals gets easier.

Dumfries and Galloway council can also help in getting the communities more resilient when they show the villages in what they do for the villages that they aren't forgotten by the council. This will give the communities more confidence and show that the village do matter.

Social capital as researched in this thesis is present in Wanlockhead and Drummore. The villages show a similar image of social capital in their village, where social capital is bonding people in the village and in their groups and it is bridging between groups and communities. But in both villages (the role of) social capital can get stronger in order to get more resilient and to cope with changing circumstances.

## 8. Discussion

Social capital is hard to capture because communities are interweaved with relations, networks, trust and norms and values. There is not one definition where researchers agree about and thus it is difficult to say what social capital exactly is. In this research three components (networks, trust and norms and values) and two forms of social capital (bonding and bridging) have been leading, where many other components and forms could have been researched. Internet activities for example are more and more important in people's social life and can become a substitute for the need of social contacts in the village or as a binding factor in a webpage for the village for example.

This research is explorative in finding out what role social capital has in building resilience in small rural communities in Scotland. The results are not applicable for all small rural villages in Scotland or even in Europe, since every village is composed differently. The results of this research could be used when a subsidy programme like Capacity for Change, implemented by Dumfries and Galloway council, goes ahead in Wanlockhead and Drummore.

The research method used in many articles and books to research social capital is mostly quantitative. Extensive questionnaires are done to capture social capital of a village, city or country in numbers. Just a few researchers use qualitative methods in researching social capital. Social capital is a subjective concept and has different meanings for different people. Qualitative research does find out more about where social capital comes to light in relations and networks in a village. But a few interviews are not representative for a big population, or for more villages. Using the quantitative numbers of the questionnaire next to the interviews does strengthen the statements made by the participants, which is done in this research.

Participants were gathered by using the snowball technique. This in the first place for getting participants for the questionnaires. For the interviews people who were willing to participate again for an interview were interviewed. Some participants are only interviewed. Participants who did both the questionnaire and afterwards the interview could have been biased in the answers they gave, since the topics in the questionnaire and the interview were related. But the answers of participants seemed not to differ much.

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## Appendix

### Interview questions – Social Capital in less-resourced villages

#### Introduction:

This research is about social capital in the village, therefore I want to know how social life in this village is organised and what connections and interaction between people there are. This to see if social interactions make a village stronger and if social capital makes villages more resilient to changes in the village (like population decline).

#### Begin with personal characteristics

##### Experience of social life in community

-You live here for ... years, how do you see/experience social life in this village? How would you describe this?

*Good/bad, became better/worse, changed over time..how?*

-Can you describe what your experience is with social life in the village?

*Do you interact daily with your neighbour*

*Visit people in the village*

*Do kids play together with others*

*Interactions outside the village*

*Elderly people*

*Friends? From in the village?*

*What kind of contact with other community members*

-Do people do things together?

*Start things together (clubs/workshops)*

*Do activities together*

-Have you had any unpleasant experiences in relation to other local residents/community members?

-Could you also give an example of a positive experience? Or an experience you have never forgot/keeps staying in your mind?

-How does this community deal with newcomers?

*How are newcomers welcomed in this community?*

*Do you invite newcomers?*

##### Clubs/Activities

-Are there clubs in the village?

*What clubs? For who?*

-Are there (other) activities in the village?

*What kind of activities? Community activities, individual activities, group activities*

*Who organises these activities?*

*How are the activities spread? →by poster, verbal, by computer, by phone*

-What is the role of the local authority in organising activities?

-And of Local businesses?

-Who is (allowed to be) involved in these activities?

*Special members, men/woman, kids, elderly, only from the village, are fees asked?*

-Who does benefit from these activities?

-What impact do these activities have on individuals?

*Does it make you happy, do you get connected/bonded to the community? Do you get your network from it, do you make friends? For professional reasons?*

And on the community?

*Does the community get connected/bound/tight more.*

### **Trust**

-To what extend do people trust each other in this village? 1-10

*Why do you think that?*

-Are there community leaders in the village?

*Who, why (not)*

-To what extend are they trusted?

-Are there specific norms and values in the village? Believes, unwritten/unspoken rules, agreements

-Are there people in this village who are less engaged in the community?

*In the village/newcomers/outside the village/import*

-Can you give a reason for how it comes that the members of this community are so (less) connected to each other?

### **Other communities**

-How are community members/this community connected to people in other communities?

-Wherefore do people live in this community? Why did you choose this village to live in?

*Only residential/for work/for holidays/for retirement, or combination?*