

To my loving grandmother...

THE APPEAL OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ANALYZING THE
CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

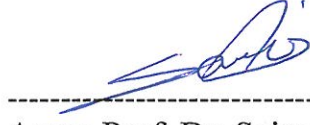
by
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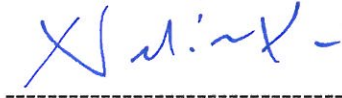
May 2018

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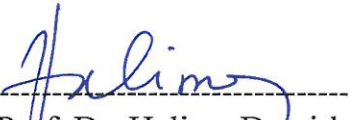
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ABSTRACT

THE APPEAL OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ANALYZING THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT

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This thesis aims to make an analysis of conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of ‘social capital’ in the social sciences. Therefore, this thesis looks for answers to the questions such as why the scientific community focused on the conceptualization and operationalization of this concept more frequently compared to several other concepts which could have gained popularity in social science literature, and how and why the number of references to the concept of social capital started to increase dramatically in literature during the 1990s and 2000s. For answering the two main questions of this thesis, the most cited academic studies according to Google Scholar were examined in detail to comprehend the main framework used by well-known scholars to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital. This thesis identified that the scientific community focused on the conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of social capital due to the explanatory power of the concept as opposed to concepts such as financial capital, physical capital and human capital for the transformation in and complexity of industrial societies. It does so by

also examining the types of and questions around measurement while using the concept. Other concepts were considered as less comprehensive for explaining the transformation processes especially in economic development, employment, poverty alleviation and democracy at the micro and macro levels in the modern world. Furthermore, by operationalizing social capital as the independent variable, scholars were also able to capture the post-1990 transformations in the advanced industrialized world better, especially when holding other variables constant. Thus, both its explanatory power and the shortcomings of the other concepts in capturing the transformation led to its appeal.

Keywords: Conceptualization, Cooperation, Social Capital, Social Network, Trust

ÖZET

SOSYAL SERMAYE KAVRAMININ ÇEKİCİLİĞİ: SOSYAL SERMAYE KAVRAMININ KAVRAMSALLAŞTIRILMASININ ANALİZİ

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Bu tez, sosyal bilimlerde ‘sosyal sermaye’ olarak adlandırılan bir kavramın kavramsallaştırılması ve işlevselleştirilmesini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, bu tez “literatürde birçok farklı kavram bulunmasına rağmen bilim dünyası neden bu kavramı kavramsallaştırma ve ampirik çalışmalar için işlevsel hale getirme ihtiyacı duydu?” ve “sosyal sermaye kavramına yapılan referansların sayısı 1990’lı ve 200’li yılların başında neden hızlı bir biçimde artmaya başladı?” sorularına cevap aramaktadır. Yukarıda belirtilen iki soruya cevap bulmak ve en popüler bilim adamlarının ampirik olarak bu kavramı kullanmak istemelerindeki ana motivasyonu anlayabilmek için bu tez, Google Scholar verilerine göre sosyal sermaye alanında en çok atıf almış akademik çalışmaları detaylı olarak incelemiştir. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda, bu tez, bilim dünyasının giderek daha da karmaşıklaşan sosyoekonomik olguları daha sağlıklı bir şekilde açıklayabilmek ve literatürde hali hazırda bulunan diğer kavramların değişen ve daha da karmaşıklaşan durumlar karşısındaki yetersizliğinden dolayı sosyal sermaye kavramını kavramsallaştırdığını ve

işlevselleştirdiğini iddia etmektedir. Ayrıca, bu tez, aynı zamanda sosyal bilim alanında önde gelen akademisyenlerin bu kavramı bağımsız bir değişken olarak kullanarak sosyal sermaye kavramının modern dünyada birçok sosyal ve ekonomik olgu üzerinde etkisi olduğunu kanıtlamakta oldukça başarılı olduklarını ortaya koymuştur. Bu sebeple, bu çalışma sosyal sermaye kavramının hem literatürdeki bağımsız bir değişken olarak açıklayıcı gücü hem de diğer kavramların günümüzün hızlı değişen dünyasında daha karmaşık sosyal ilişkileri ve sosyoekonomik olgularını açıklama konusundaki yetersizliklerinden dolayı kavramsallaştırıldığını, işlevselleştirildiğini ve en nihayetinde sosyal bilimlerde önemli bir popülerite kazandığını iddia etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güven, İşbirliği, Kavramsallaştırma, Sosyal Ağ, Sosyal Sermaye

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many species in the world are in need of cooperation because it brings benefits to them in terms of survival, improved living conditions and reproduction. Though cooperation has a functional role in the animal kingdom, cooperation among them is more limited than of the human being, because the human being has more capability to make much larger cooperations through collaborating with strangers to provide these large-scale benefits (Bowles & Gintis, 2011). Therefore, Bowles and Gintis (2002) consider cooperation among humans as unique, due to its function for the human being. Because large-scale cooperative skills of humans mostly combine their cognitive, linguistic, physical and psychological capacities and this enables humans to produce social norms and establish social institutions to regulate and enforce them (Bowles & Gintis, 2011). Thus, cooperative skills and the above-mentioned capacities have enabled humans as being the only living species that succeeded in building civilization.

In the ancient times, humans needed to act with solidarity to deal with other species and their competitors to survive, but the necessity of solidarity has maintained and increased its importance in people's lives due to similar reasons. In spite of the fact that people succeeded to cope with other species through bringing them under control

owing to their higher intelligence and cooperative capacities in the ancient times, they continued to struggle with each other for limited resources in the world. Yet, type of competition among people has transformed in modern times on account of rapid change in the form of production and technological developments. Thus, cooperative skills at the micro and macro levels have started to make many differences in many areas in advanced industrialized societies.

The popularity of the concepts of cooperation and solidarity has gradually increased in the social sciences as well. The essential work by Emile Durkheim on the division of labor in a society, focused on the concept of solidarity and its place in people's lives through examining different cases and comparing two different types of solidarity such as organic and mechanical solidarity. Durkheim (1984) supports the idea that rapid changes in societies affected the type of solidarity among people and thus, organic solidarity has started to shine out in the modern world due to rapid changes in the world forcing people to collaborate with others who have different values, ideologies, religious beliefs and socioeconomic status. This was defined by Durkheim as a transition from the social cohesiveness of undifferentiated societies to differentiated and more complex societies.

According to Durkheim, solidarity is the most important property of all societies (Evans, 1977). Therefore, he supports the idea that a lack of stable social bonds and social solidarity mostly cause decay of a society (Durkheim, 1984). It is possible to consider Durkheim's contribution to the social science literature as early efforts to produce new concepts for explaining the changing world. Durkheim's efforts inspired scholars to try to conceptualize and operationalize new concepts in the social sciences

because they were also dissatisfied with existing concepts to comprehend and explain social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies.

In this way, new concepts have started to gain strength and popularity in the social science literature including social capital. The concept of 'social capital' was conceptualized and operationalized for empirical research purposes at the end of the 20th century (Adler and Kwon, 2002). For example, Daurlauf (1999) considers social capital as a new concept for explaining social and economic developments in the world because instrumental effects of social capital on people's lives and social and economic development were noticed by scholars in the social sciences at the end of the 20th century. The scientific community also began to attach more importance to this concept to be able to find significant results in their empirical studies.

The concept of social capital has increased its appeal in the social sciences and Robert Putnam's empirical research on differences in regional development in Italy played a very significant role in the increasing intellectual currency of this concept among scholars. Putnam (1993) found significant effects of the level of social capital on the development of Northern Italy compared to Southern Italy in the 1990s and provided evidence to prove that trust and civic engagement played significant roles in social and economic development in the Northern part of Italy as follows:

In the North, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement have been embodied in tower societies, guilds, mutual aid societies, cooperatives, unions, and even soccer clubs and literary societies. These horizontal civic bonds have undergirded levels of economic and institutional performance generally much higher than in the South, where social and political relations have been vertically structured (Putnam, 1993:181)

Putnam's above-mentioned empirical study on the concept of social capital marked a new epoch in the social sciences because scholars had mostly preferred to use financial or human capital in a society to examine social and economic issues at the micro and macro levels of research until then. However, Putnam demonstrated that it is possible to explain the above-mentioned social and economic developments in advanced industrialized societies through operationalizing a different concept as an independent variable. Putnam's work encouraged scholars to be more interested in the concept of social capital for explaining various cases in the modern world and thus, Putnam's study contributed to the increase in the appeal of this concept. As a result, social capital has started to be used as an independent variable in various academic studies by many scholars and the number of academic publications on the concept of social capital increased dramatically in the 1990s and 2000s as it is shown below:

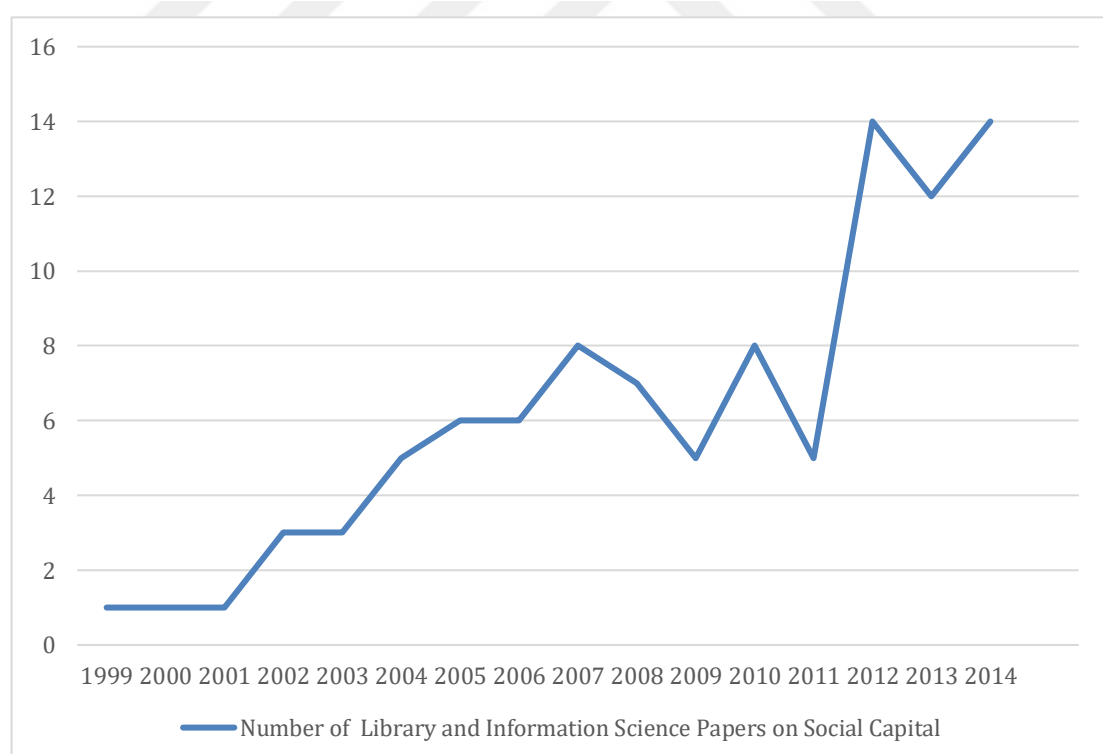


Figure 1. The Number of Library and Information Science Papers on Social Capital Between the Dates of 1999 - 2014

Source: Johnson, 2015

This data shows that the number of library and information science papers on the concept of social capital increased dramatically between the dates of 1999 and 2014. However, it should also be noted that David Halpern's study proves the popularity of the concept of social capital in the 1990s and 2000s through showing that the frequency of references to the concept of social capital started to rise dramatically between the dates of 1991 and 1999. (Halpern, 2005). Furthermore, it is also possible to measure the popularity of the concept of social capital according to the statistics on Google Scholars. When 'social capital' is searched on Google Scholars, the number of results increased from about 460.000 to about 520.000 between the dates of 2006 and 2013 as follows:

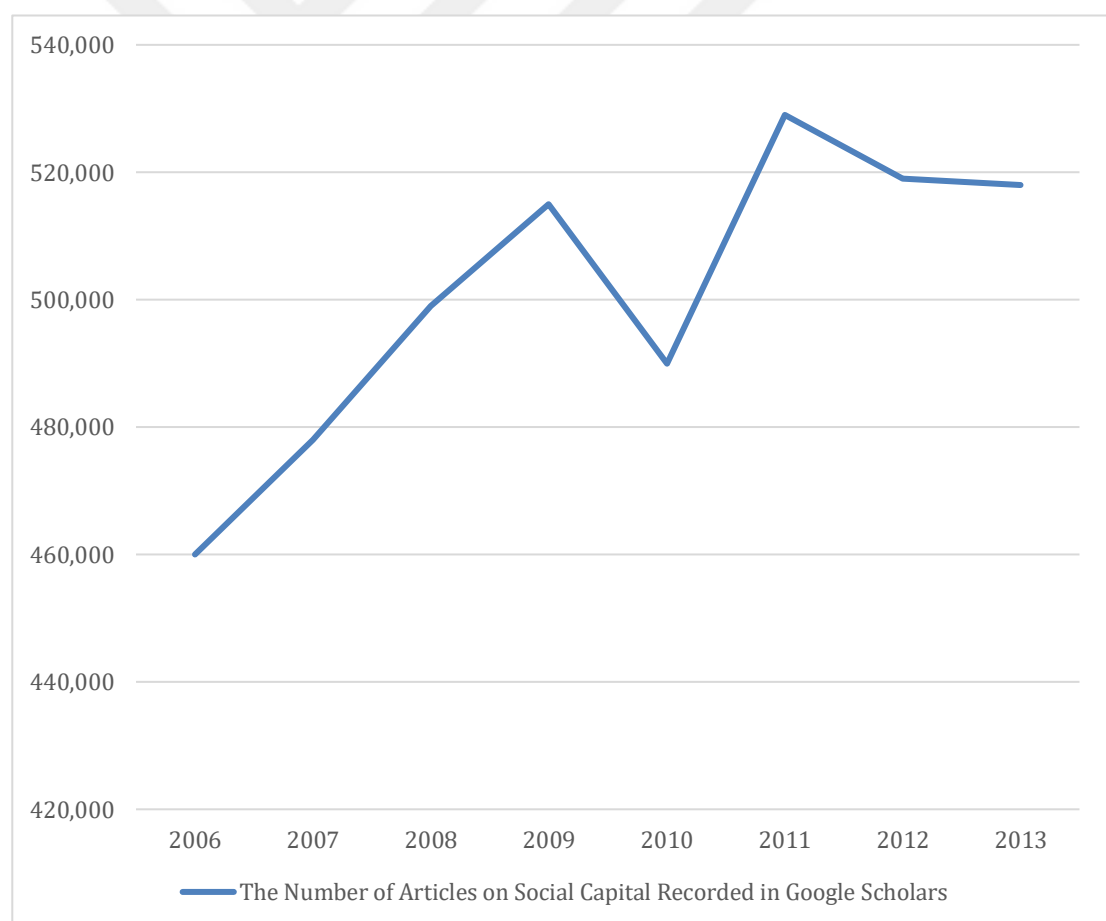


Figure 2. The Number of Articles on Social Capital Recorded in Google Scholars
Source: Google Scholars (Last calculated on 1st May, 2018)

The specific objective of this thesis is explaining the increasing trend of popularity of the concept of social capital through finding concrete answers to the questions such as why did the scientific community need to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital, and why and how this concept has become very popular in the social science disciplines in the 1990s and 2000s. This thesis only aims to explain the conceptualization process of social capital based on the social sciences literature that works with the concept and does not aim to promote or criticize the concept of social capital.

This thesis is organized as follows. Chapter I started with a brief analysis of the concept of cooperation and its role in people's lives in ancient and modern times. It then continued with a review on the philosophical and historical background of the concept.

Chapter II provides the literature review for tracing the origins of the concept of social capital. This chapter examines the most cited empirical studies to understand the main motivations of most scholars to conceptualize and operationalize this concept as an independent variable for their empirical research purposes in the social sciences. Chapter II also presents various definitions of the concept of social capital and its operationalization. It continues with an analysis of each type of social capital such as bonding, bridging and linking social capital to reveal that each of them has different origins and impacts on the different social and economic developments in advanced industrialized societies.

Chapter III examines the explanation of social changes through emphasizing how social capital is formed. The first part examines the concepts of trust, reciprocity, cooperative norms and social network separately to identify their impacts on the characteristics of social relations in the modern world. Then, Chapter III compares how the concept of social capital has come to be viewed as having more explanatory power in comparison to other forms of capital in examining the transformation in social relations and the attending consequences of the transformation on the social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies.

Chapter IV deals with the critique on the concept from within the studies that address social capital. Scholars criticize social capital for three reasons. The first reason is lack of definitional consensus on the concept. The second one is ambiguity in the measurement of social capital. The third one is some conceptual weaknesses of social capital. By reviewing the studies on its measurement, the critique about what social capital can and cannot explain, and the negative effects of the concept in leading to certain types of hazardous consequences such as organized crime, the research highlights the lack of consensus on its definition and therefore possibly negative consequences for its prolonged appeal. Chapter IV discusses the consequences of the ambiguities inherent to the concept to bring about a balance to the implications for its current and future prospects as an attractive concept in the social sciences.

Chapter V also summarizes the findings, highlights the significance of this study and its implications for further research.

CHAPTER II

TRACING THE ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT

This chapter consists of three sections. In the first section, the definition of the concept of social capital and recognition of the concept by the most prominent international organizations are examined. In the second section, the conceptualization and operationalization process of social capital in the social sciences are reviewed and presented. In the last section, different types of social capital including bonding, bridging and linking are examined to make the comprehensive analysis of the concept and supply evidence to answer the research questions.

2.1. Definition and Recognition of the Concept of Social Capital

As it is mentioned in Chapter I, the concept of social capital has started to be used by scholars for empirical research purposes and has gained popularity as a new concept in the social sciences in the 1990s and 2000s. In spite of this, a consensus on the definition of the concept could not yet be provided among scholars in the social sciences. Therefore, there are different definitions of social capital. For example, Nan Lin (2001:19) defines this concept as an “investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace”. Furthermore, Francis Fukuyama (2000:1) considers social capital as “an instantiated informal norm that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals”. Dekker and Uslander (2001:3) also define social capital as a concept which “is all about the value of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging

between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity”. As the most popular one, Robert Putnam (1993: 167) explains social capital as the concept which “refers to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions”. On the other hand, Paxton (2002:256) conceives social capital as “the notion that social relations can facilitate the production of economic or noneconomic goods”. Paxton (2002:256) also highlights that “social capital requires objective associations among individuals, and associations of a particular type-reciprocal, trusting and involving positive emotion”.

Additionally, Bourdieu and Coleman, as pioneers of the concept of social capital in the social sciences, define the social capital as follows:

social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized 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 collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986: 248)

social capital is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors-whether persons or corporate actors-within the structure (Coleman, 1988: 98).

Though scholars in the social sciences do not arrive at a consensus on the definition of the concept of social capital, it is clearly seen that cooperation, social relations, social networks, trust, reciprocity, associations and cooperative norms are the most preferred concepts which were used by the most cited scholars to define social capital. Therefore, this thesis recommends that social capital briefly refers to the volume and quality of social networks, the level of trust, cooperation and civic engagement at the micro and macro levels in a society.

This thesis emphasizes that the concept of social capital did not only attract scholars' attention, but social capital also aroused the interest of the most influential organizations around the world. This contributed to the popularity and role of social capital in international politics as well. For example, World Bank organized a workshop in 1997 to introduce and highlight the importance of the concept of social capital in economic life. Two years later, Dasgupta and Serageldin (1999) published a book titled as *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective* to provide institutional and statistical analyses and a brief literature review on the concept. In addition to this, World Bank published various studies about the concept of social capital to shed light on its importance on capturing the post-1990 transformations in the advanced industrialized world (Rothstein, 2005).

World Bank's interest in the concept of social capital encouraged other international organizations to attach more importance to the concept. For instance, IMF also published a working paper on the concept and emphasized the importance of social capital on economic growth and recommended this concept as a prerequisite for liberal democracies in 2000 (Fukuyama, 2000). Besides, OECD has posted several case studies and research papers on its website as well to illustrate the impacts of the concept of social capital on the above-mentioned issues. In addition to this, OECD also published a working paper on social capital and declared the official definition of the concept as "networks together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups" (OECD: 2001,41). OECD's official definition of social capital demonstrates that there is a consensus between scholars and international organizations in terms of concepts which are used to define social capital such as networks, cooperative norms and cooperation.

In summary, international organizations including IMF, World Bank and OECD highly contributed to the recognition and popularity of social capital internationally. However, it should be emphasized that academic studies which conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital in the social sciences literature played a very significant role in the popularity of social capital among international organizations. Therefore, the following section examines the most cited academic studies to comprehend and explain the conceptualization and operationalization process of social capital in the literature.

2.2. The Conceptualization and Operationalization of Social Capital

This section examines the most cited academic studies which focus on the conceptualization and operationalization of social capital in the social sciences literature to trace the origins of the concept.

2.2.1 Public Safety, Equality, Education and Social Reproduction

Jane Jacobs (1961), one of the modern inventors of the concept of social capital, firstly used social capital in her famous study *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and defines the concept as neighbourhood networks. Obviously, Jacobs' main motivation to use the concept of social capital was establishing a relationship between the function of social capital and the level of trust in communities on public safety and claiming that neighbourhood networks play a more significant role than the level of economic development and human capital on public safety (Smith, Phillipson, & Scharf, 2002).

Glenn Loury (1976) also used this concept in his doctoral dissertation as well to criticize classical view on the principle of equal opportunity as follows:

An individual's social origin has an obvious and important effect on the amount of resources that is ultimately invested in his or her development. It may thus be useful to employ a concept of "social capital" to represent the consequences of social position in facilitating acquisition of the standard human capital characteristics (Loury, 1976: 176).

The main purpose of Glenn Loury to use this new concept was criticizing neoclassical theories on racial income inequality and their policy implications through explaining why the African Americans could not succeed to reach the same level of development with others, even though equal opportunity regime came into force in the United States (Clement, 2014). The reason why Glenn Loury used this concept as an independent variable is that he thinks that the principle of equal opportunity ignores the role of the social backgrounds and differences among people in access to training resources to increase their skills and invest in human capital. Loury argues that implementation of equal opportunity programmes and policies are not sufficient ways to reduce racial inequalities (Portes, 1998). This is because social origins and backgrounds of people also have an important impact on their development.

Loury succeeded to initiate a discussion on the principle of equal opportunity and challenged its function in securing the social justice through using a new concept which is called 'social capital'. Whereas other capital forms were considered as the most important assets to reach success in the fields of education and business life, the concept of social capital emerged as an alternative concept to challenge and refute this

classical view and defeat other concepts in the social sciences by providing an alternative explanation on the function of equal opportunity in society.

James Samuel Coleman also conducted an important study to examine the role of the concept of social capital in the creation of human capital. According to him, social capital is an important asset for people to improve the quality of their lives like other capital forms. This is because he asserts that social capital has an extremely significant role in the creation of human capital (Coleman, 1988). According to Coleman, the level of social capital in the family and community plays as much of a significant role in a child's success at school as other capital forms. His study reveals that the time and effort spent by the parents to improve their children's skills contribute to their school success as follows:

In one public school district in the United States where texts for school use were purchased by children's families, school authorities were puzzled to discover that a number of Asian immigrant families purchased two copies of each textbook needed by the child. Investigation revealed that the family purchased the second copy for the mother to study in order to help her child do well in school (Coleman, 1988: 110).

Coleman's above-mentioned example, reveals that social capital is a significant asset, at least as much as financial, physical and human capital for parents and children in the field of education. Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that the high-level of social capital within the families and communities, enables children who come from families with comparatively lower socioeconomic status, to find more opportunities to compete and deal with others. Coleman's findings also show that explaining children's success in school with the existing theories and concepts such as socioeconomic status and/or parents' educational background are no longer sufficient in the social sciences

because it is apparent that numerous students can be more successful than others even though they do not have equal material resources and well-educated parents.

Coleman also makes an analysis of another important issue in the field of education to highlight the importance of the concept of social capital on students' school performance. Coleman examined the effects of the level of social capital on dropout rates by selecting parent's presence, the number of additional children, and mother's expectation for child's education as independent variables. Thus, Coleman measured the level of social capital within families and he proved its positive impact on dropout rates as follows:

Table 1. Dropout Rates of Students and the Level of Social Capital in Their Families

		Percentage Dropping Out
Parent's Presence	Two Parents	13.1%
	Single Parents	19.3%
Additional Children	One Sibling	10.8%
	Four Siblings	17.2%
Parents and Children	Two Parents, One Sibling	10.1%
	One Parent, Four Siblings	22.6%
Mother's Expectation for Child's Education	Expectation of College	11.6%
	No Expectation of College	20.2%
Three Factors Together	Two Parents, One Sibling, Mother Expects College	8.1%
	One Parent, Two Siblings, No College Expectation	30.6%

Source: Coleman, 1988.

Besides, Glaeser, Scheinkman, Laibson, and Soutter (2000) conducted another research on the same issue and found that school dropouts are low in states which have high-level of trust. It is obvious that Coleman achieved to highlight the influence of social capital on dropout rates and Glaeser, Scheinkman, Laibson, and Soutter confirmed that Coleman's argument is not only significant at the micro level but also

it is very significant at the macro level, because not only the level of social capital within families have an important impact on dropouts, but the level of social capital within states also has an important effect on dropout rates. Therefore, strong family ties and the high-level of trust and social capital within the family and community, have gained more importance for evaluation and explanation of children's school performance. Therefore, families came to believe that if they spend more time and effort to improve their children's school performance, they can provide opportunities for their children to overcome the obstacles and deal with others even though they are behind them in terms of their socioeconomic status and level of human capital.¹

It is obviously seen that Loury (1976) and Coleman (1988) made a breakthrough in the social sciences through conceptualizing and operationalizing the concept of social capital to highlight the importance of social background, social relations, and family ties in the creation of human capital because they briefly support the idea that strong family ties and social backgrounds, play a very significant role in reaching resources to invest in human capital to be successful in school and business life. Until then, other capital forms such as financial, physical, and human capital were seen as the only factors that affect people's success through enabling them to reach more resources to invest in human capital. This shows that social capital started to narrow the dominance of existing concepts in the social sciences owing to Loury and Coleman's studies.

¹ According to data collected by Pew Research Center's, parents started to spend more time for caring for their children in the U.S. at the present time than 1960's. Varathan, P. (2017). Modern parents spend more time with their kids than their parents spent with them. Retrieved from <https://qz.com/1143092/study-modern-parents-spend-more-time-with-their-kids-than-their-parents-spent-with-them/>

Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most popular scholars in the social sciences, also attached high importance to the concept of social capital. The main motivation of Pierre Bourdieu was looking for answers to questions like how the society reproduces itself and how the dominant classes achieve to retain their positions in a society. According to Bourdieu, capital is the most important tool for elites to reproduce themselves. He claims that there are three capital forms including cultural, economic and social capital which play a very significant role in the reproduction of the society in the world. For example, he considers cultural capital as an asset to be used by elites as a cultural knowledge to retain their status in the social structure. Furthermore, Bourdieu also points out that economic capital enables elites to have means of production and thus, it also contributes to the reproduction of their wealth and status in a society (Bourdieu, 1986; Gaunlett, 2011).

However, Field (2008) claims that Bourdieu conceives social area as a casino and he asserts that not only economic capital, but also social capital is important asset to win at gambling. Therefore, Bourdieu highlights the importance of social relations and networks in people's lives to pursue their interests and retain their position in a society. According to Bourdieu, bourgeoisie frequently invest in their social capital in order to expand their social network through being a member of the most prestigious associations or organizing events to find an opportunity to promote themselves or establish new strategic relations with others. Because the volume of social capital is a significant asset which enables elites to reproduce their wealth and retain their higher status in the society (Häuberer, 2010).

Clearly, Bourdieu considers social capital as an important investment tool like other capital types, including cultural and economic capital, because the size and quality of social network can be easily transformed to other capital forms and that brings material benefits for people. Additionally, Bourdieu thinks that Bourdieu also claims that social capital enables elites to prevent the participation of some people in their circles to reinforce his thesis on the dark side of social capital for society and benefits of this capital form for elites in the modern world (Gaunlett, 2011). Therefore, bourgeoisie is fully aware of the return of their investments in social capital to maximize their interests in the short-run or long-run. In this regard, he points out that social capital is among the main reasons of social and economic inequalities in the society.

Nan Lin (2001) also touches upon the inequality in access to social capital. According to Lin, relations can only be established among individuals and/or collective actors. Yet, the positions of these actors in labor market are the most important assets to access to resources embedded in social relations. In light of this, Lin supports the idea that the quality of social relations depends on the positions of actors in the labor market and this causes inequality in a society. For example, having relations with a general manager or senior public official brings more benefits than having relations with a person of lower status. Therefore, Lin's arguments on the impact of positions in labor market on access to social capital are similar to Bourdieu's above-mentioned approach towards social capital since he also refers to the dark side of social capital in his study. Besides, Lin highlights four elements such as information, influence, social credentials and reinforcement to look for an answer to the question of why social capital has an instrumental effect in a society. According to Lin, social capital firstly provides an opportunity to facilitate the flow of information easier in the market to reduce the

transaction cost of organizations. Second, the high-level of social capital increases influence on the institutions through putting pressure on decision-makers to affect their decisions. Third, social credentials play a very significant role in the maximization of organizations' interest because organizations benefit from the individual's strong social ties in terms of their accessibility to resources. Fourth, the volume of social networks and social relations enables individuals to reinforce their recognition in the society because social networks and social relations bring not only emotional support or mental health but also, they bring public acknowledgment (Lin, 2001). As a result, Lin answers the question of how social capital works in instrumental actions through providing pieces of evidence to claim that social capital brings mutual benefits to both individuals and organizations in the modern world.

In addition to Lin, Henk Flap (2004) also examines the concept of social capital from an instrumental perspective and defines the social capital as “a theory assumes that individuals take an active stance, they try to produce a good life, and social networks are a capital good that helps to produce goals that would otherwise impossible to achieve.” (Flap, 2004: 4). Flap considers the concept of social capital as an instrumental tool to make life better. Therefore, he defines the personal network as a means to achieve individual goals within the scope of the concept of social capital (Flap and Völker, 2001). Flap also determines as elements of social capital the number of person, the strength of the relationship and the resources of these persons (Lin, 2001). That's why increasing the number of persons who are always ready to help and establishing relations with people who have larger resources to mobilize, are the most appropriate ways to invest in social capital for people. Flap's instrumental approach towards the concept of social capital shows that social capital is as a pool of resources

for the individuals. Therefore, his main motivation in using this concept in the social sciences can be summarized as examining the role of social capital in individuals' pursuit of happiness and goal attainment (Gaag & Snijders, 2005).

2.2.2 Economic Development, Poverty Alleviation and Employment

Not only sociologists and political scientists but also economists or other scholars who are interested in political economy contributed to the conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of social capital through conceptualizing and operationalizing this concept as an independent variable in their empirical studies to explain social and economic issues and measure the impact of social capital on economic development, poverty alleviation and employment in advanced industrialized societies. In the past, financial, physical and human capital were considered as the most significant assets to foster economic growth and employment because having machinery and equipments or workers with high-level of human capital and skills were the most important assets for mass production. Therefore, investing in improving labor skills and purchasing new machines for mass production were regarded as the most appropriate ways to contribute to productivity and profitability of companies and countries in the past. However, it was noticed that trust, social network, and cooperative skills have started to be significant assets for economic performance, poverty alleviation and employment as much as the above-mentioned capital forms in the modern world. This is because the transition from the pre-modern societies to advanced industrialized societies started to change characteristics of social relations among people, the quality of social relations and cooperation among them. This has started to be a more important asset than others in the modern world.

Recently, Beugelsdijk and Smulders (2009) conducted a quantitative analysis to measure the impact of social capital on economic development. They found that social capital has a positive effect on economic growth. In the social science literature, there are also several pieces of evidence to prove the positive effect of social capital on economic growth. For example, the high volume of social network and trust provides more opportunities for companies in business life to collaborate with different companies and individuals to drum up business and make more profit. Furthermore, the high-level of trust enables employees in a firm to cooperate with each other congruously to produce more value-added products and companies to resist against crisis situations. For instance, Francis Fukuyama (1995) reveals the importance of the level of trust between employees and employers in survival of the firms in his famous book *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* by providing concrete examples from economic history to compare companies who have high and low levels of trust between employees and employers. Fukuyama also found that the high-level of trust among employees in companies increases the level of loyalty among them and this affects their resistance against crisis situations positively in comparison with other companies with low-levels of trust. For that reason, the high-level of trust enables companies to avoid high turnout in tougher times and deal with financial difficulties easier than others.

As stated above, Robert Putnam (1993) used the concept of social capital to find an answer to the question of which conditions affect the development of good governance and economic progress (Siisainen, 2000). Putnam (1993) found that horizontal civic bonds in Northern Italy affected the level of economic and institutional performance better than Southern Italy. In addition to this, Putnam (2000) also examined the

relationship between social capital and economic prosperity in his popular book titled as *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* and indicates that social connections are not only important for people who grow up in rich families, but also for people who grow up in poor and isolated families. This is because strong ties among poor people enable them to hand up and contribute to their goal attainment. Therefore, social organizations and associations should also be considered as necessary for empowering poor communities at the present time in more complex and industrial societies. In this regard, poor people are willing to establish social organizations and associations to help each other to improve their living conditions as well. Therefore, it can be argued that social capital plays a very significant role in poverty alleviation as it enables poor people to act with solidarity and establish relations with outsiders to gain a chance to combat poverty through making investment strategies in order to have more resources and increase their pressure on policymakers, who in turn could make new policies according to their needs and expectations in the areas of public health, economic growth, housing and education to improve their living conditions (Saegert, Warren, & Thompson, 2001).

Putnam also examined the impact of social capital on employment and conducted an empirical research to measure the effect of social capital on taking a job. According to Putnam's research, approximately 85% of young people used their personal network to find employment. Besides, Putnam found a positive relationship between church attendance and the possibility of getting a job because church attendance provides an opportunity for people to expand their social networks and this enables them to use their networks to find a job (Putnam, 2000). Therefore, Putnam's work indicates that social relations and networks have started to be more important in comparison with

the past for finding employment in the modern world. In this sense, it would not be wrong to point out that the concept of social capital has become a very significant asset as much as human capital and other capital forms for people to find employment in the modern world.

In addition to this, Rothstein (2005) similarly provides an example to shed light on the positive impact of social capital on academics because he claims that in academia, high-quality studies would not be sufficient for goal attainment because scholars always need to have the high-level of social capital through expanding the volume of their social networks to get invitations to important conferences or find employment. All these empirical findings reveal that existing capital types including financial, physical, and human capital have started to lose their effects on employment in different sectors in the modern world whereas social networks and relations, in other words, social capital, have become the most prevailing way to find employment.

Outstanding scholars in the social sciences such as Glenn Loury (1976), Francis Fukuyama (1995), and Robert Putnam (1993, 2000) conducted worthwhile academic studies for explaining various social and economic phenomena by operationalizing the concept of social capital as an independent variable in their studies. As it is mentioned above, international organizations such as OECD, IMF, and World Bank are also extremely interested in the concept of social capital and recognized this concept as an important asset for economic prosperity and social development in the modern world. It is possible to explain the great interest of the most prominent economists and international organizations to the concept of social capital for two reasons:

First, existing concepts and capital forms have started to lose their intellectual currency to explain the success of some individuals, social groups, firms, and countries in the field of economy in modern times because it is noticed that having more money, hiring high-skilled professionals and purchasing new technologies and machinery are not sufficient to increase the economic performance of social groups, firms, and countries. In advanced industrial societies, the quality of cooperation, social relations, cooperative norms and the level of trust have started to play a very significant role in the field of economy as it is explained in this section. Therefore, intellectual currency of the volume of social networks and the level of trust have increased in comparison with other concepts in the social sciences.

Second, in light of Putnam's empirical study on the concept of social capital and its impact on employment (Putnam, 2000), having strong skills and an educated background have begun to lose their function to find employment due to the vast majority of people beginning to indicate that they used their personal network to find employment rather than traditional ways. Furthermore, many people have started to use various tools including social media accounts, to invest in their social networks to find a job. These prove that the volume and quality of social networking allowed a more important role in finding a good job compared to human and financial capital, and people have started to be extremely willing to expand their social network rather than invest in their skills.

To sum up, the concept of social capital is recognized by economists, other scholars and international organizations because social capital has started to be more functional in comparison with existing concepts in the fields of economic growth, poverty

alleviation, and employment in advanced industrialized societies. Therefore, this phenomenon encouraged the leading scholars to conceptualize and operationalize a new concept which is called as social capital for capturing the post-1990 transformations in the field of economics.

2.2.3 Health and Well-Being

The concept of social capital is also used as an independent variable in the area of health as a number of scholars accepted that social connectedness is a strong asset for the improvement of individuals' health at the present time. Kawachi, Kennedy and Glass (1999) support the idea that social capital affects health positively due to two main reasons. First, social capital easily promotes healthy norms in a society. Second, social capital strengthens social control over deviant health-related behavior. Therefore, social capital is equated with quitting smoking in the literature and some scholars frankly suggest that moving to a high-social-capital state provides benefits for people at least as much as quitting smoking (Putnam, 2000).

However, it should be emphasized that the relationship between social connections and individuals' well-being is not a new phenomenon in the social sciences. Many sociologists such as Emile Durkheim (1975) and House, Landis and Umberson (1988) conducted academic studies to show the impact of social relations on health and well-being. For instance, Emile Durkheim (1975) classified suicide types into four groups and claims that individuals' isolation from society increases the number of suicides. According to Durkheim, higher rates of suicide appeared to be associated with higher levels of extreme individualism (Halpern, 2005) and suicide rates are higher in societies with low levels of social integration (Field, 2008). Durkheim's analysis of

suicide and social connectedness revealed that social connectedness has a very significant influence on people's mental health and there is a positive relation between mental, general and public health in a society.

In addition to this, other scholars also conducted studies to examine the relationship between social capital and individuals' health as well. For example, Putnam (2000) presents statistical evidence to prove that mortality is lower in high-social capital states, to reinforce his argument that there is a positive relationship between the level of social capital and people's health. Recently, Rodriguez-Pose and Berlepsch (2014) published an empirical study for supplying evidence using ordinal logistic regression analysis to claim that social capital has a significant impact on the level of happiness.

Each of the above-mentioned studies clearly proves that the concept of social capital is not only an important asset for explaining social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies because it is clearly seen that social capital also has a significant influence on individuals' state of health and well-being. Therefore, it would be argued that social integration has started to play a progressively more important role in people's health and well-being in the modern world and thus, scholars have started to operationalize the concept of social capital to measure the effects of the above-mentioned concepts on people's health and well-being.

2.2.4 Criminal Activities

The concept of social capital is also used to make a comprehensive analysis of the number of criminal activities. For example, John Field (2008) touches upon the relationship between the concept of social capital and the number of criminal activities in the community, and indicates that the level of social capital and trust reduces

criminal activities, because the high-level social capital means that the majority of people achieved to integrate into the society and social integration frequently retains people to commit an illegal act. Furthermore, Halpern's empirical study also supplies quantitative evidence to support the idea that the high-level of social capital reduces crime rates as follows:

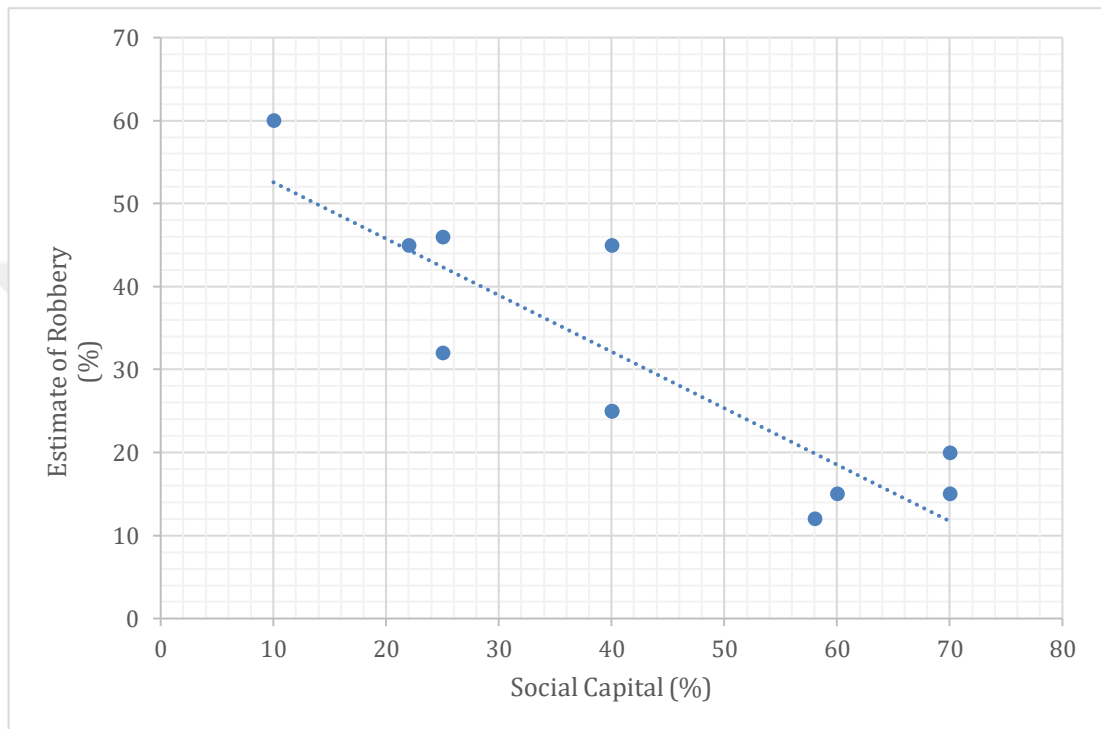


Figure 3. Social Capital and Estimation of Robbery (%)

Source: Halpern, 2005

David Halpern (2005) examines the relationship between social capital and criminal activities at the micro, meso and macro levels. At the micro level, he found that strong relationships, stable and trustworthy parenting causes low crime rates. At the meso level, low violence and high socioeconomic status lead to informal social control and clear rules in the community, and this also decreases the number of criminal activities in the community. At the macro level, Halpern also indicates that low economic inequality and low ethnic diversity reduce crime rate through reinforcing common values, norms and increasing the level of trust in society.

Moreover, Sampson, Raundenbush, and Earls noticed that social capital has a greater impact on the number of criminal activities than socioeconomic status because they found that violent crime is less frequent in communities with a higher level of social capital, owing to the high-level of collective action (Larsen et.al, 2004). In addition to this, Field (2008) puts forward that social capital enables people to show respect for law enforcement agencies. Therefore, effective social ties in a society contribute to the level of prestige of the law enforcement agencies and this also enables the state and law enforcement agencies to fight against criminal activities in a more effective way.

In brief, it is noticed that social relations and the level of social trust among people in a community are the most important attributes in diminishing the crime rates rather than socioeconomic status. Therefore, we can easily understand the main motivations of scholars to operationalize the concept of social capital in the field of crime and the rising popularity of social capital in the literature.

2.2.5 Democracy

Democracy is still a hot topic in the social sciences. Therefore, there are numerous academic studies on democracy and democratization processes in the literature. For example, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* could be accepted as one of the most important. In his famous book, Tocqueville argues that civic engagement plays a very significant role in people's lives and the well-being of communities by providing a concrete example from American cases as follows:

In their political associations, the Americans of all conditions, minds, and ages, daily acquire a general taste for association and grow accustomed to the use of it. There they meet together in large numbers, they converse, they listen to each

other, and they are mutually stimulated to all sorts of undertakings. They afterward transfer to civil life the notions they have thus acquired, and make them subservient to a thousand purposes. Thus it is by the enjoyment of a dangerous freedom that the Americans learn the art of rendering the dangers of freedom less formidable (Tocqueville, 2002: 593)

Alexis de Tocqueville points out that associational life is a very important foundation of social order because civic engagement enables people to share their ideas and cooperate with each other much better. Furthermore, Tocqueville argues that democracy can work without state (Edwards, Foley, & Diani, 2001). Therefore, Tocqueville considers the weak state as better for the health of democracy, and perceives the high-level of civic engagement as a more important asset than the strong state to protect democracy from despotism (Field, 2008).

However, Pamela Paxton (2002) claims that there is not too much quantitative evidence to support the idea that the concept of social capital has positive effects on the democratization of a non-democratic state or consolidation of democracy in a democratic state. In spite of this, she also identifies that social capital affects democracy in two ways. The first one can be called as the endogenous effect of social capital. Paxton argues that social capital helps the rise of democracy in a non-democratic country through providing the opportunity to develop anti-governmental discourse and a way for active opposition against the existing regime. The second one can also be called as the exogenous effect of social capital, as Paxton points out that social capital can maintain or improve an existing democracy owing to the high-level of social ties and social trust in a community due to the high-level of the above-mentioned elements of the concept of social capital encouraging people to participate in politics, which increases quantity and quality of political participation of citizens.

However, Paxton does not only focus on the positive effects of social capital on democracy but also emphasizes the importance of the possible negative impact of social capital on democracy. According to Paxton, the high-level of social capital in isolated associations can damage the democracy in any country. For example, an extremist ethnic or religious group might have the high-level of internal social capital, but this can harm democracy through escalating existing social cleavages in a society. In sum, Paxton supports the idea that social capital is an asset for democratization and/or maintenance of democracy. However, the high-level of social capital in isolated groups can directly harm democracy.

Civic engagement is a very popular issue in America, as American communities are best known for their participation in associational life. However, in the early 2000s, Robert Putnam (2000) conducted a study to highlight the dramatic decrease of civic engagement in America between the dates of 1960s and 2000s and the possible negative effects of this decline of civic engagement on democracy and other social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies.

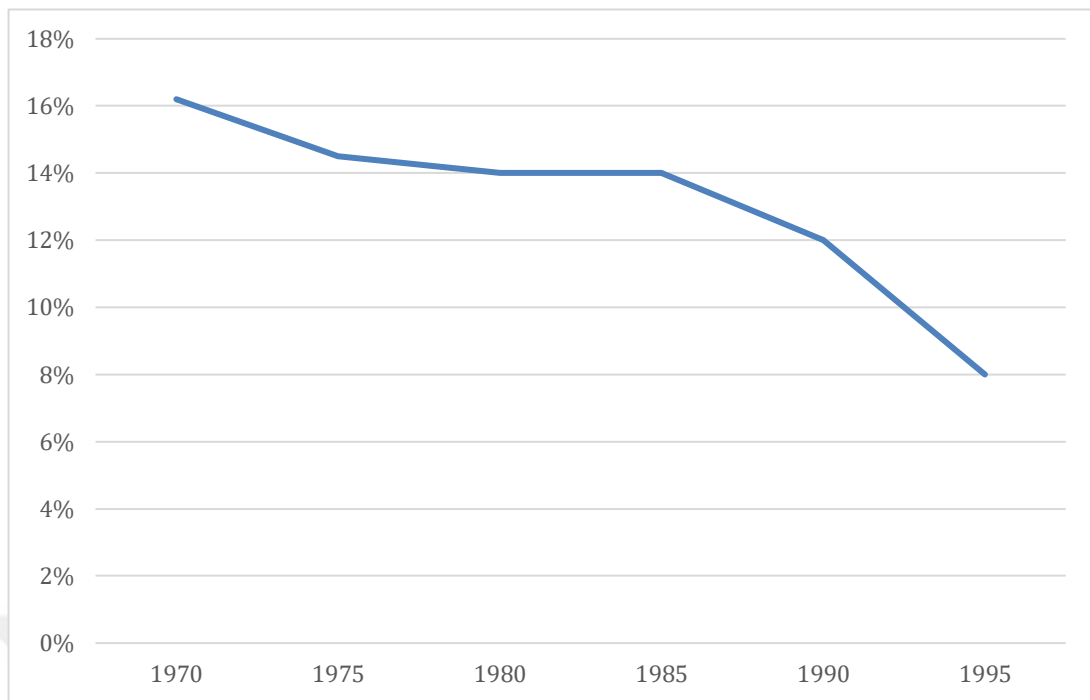


Figure 4. Civic Engagement in the U.S. 1973 - 1994

Source: Putnam, 2000

Putnam argues that civic engagement is an important foundation of a society and it has a more significant impact on democracy, economic prosperity, stability, and good governance than other concepts and capital forms including economic, physical and human capital. Therefore, Robert Putnam's thesis on the concept of social capital is called as a Neo-Tocquevillian thesis in the social sciences because Putnam argues that strong civil society is essential for stable democracy like Tocqueville (Katalin, 2016). Therefore, as Alexis de Tocqueville, Putnam also considers the decline of civic engagement as a threat to democracy in America. To shed light on the importance of civic engagement on democracy, Putnam's above-mentioned empirical research on the Italian case would be given as a concrete example as follows:

Some regions of Italy, such as Emilia Romagna and Tuscany, have many active community organizations. Citizens in these regions are engaged by public issues, not by patronage. They trust one another to act fairly and obey the law. Leaders in these communities are relatively honest and committed to equality. Social and political networks are organized horizontally, not hierarchically. These "civic communities" value solidarity, civic participation, and integrity. And here democracy works (Putnam, 1993:36).

The above-mentioned finding of Robert Putnam proves the importance of civic engagement on the performance of democracy. In brief, there is a consensus on the positive effects of civic engagement and associational life on democracy. However, it should not be ignored that whereas civic engagement strengthens democracy, the high-level of social capital in anti-democratic isolated groups can harm democracy (Paxton, 2002). Therefore, the effects of social capital can be different according to structures and ideologies of social groups. In this regard, social capital is categorized into three groups such as bonding, bridging and linking social capital and they are examined in the next section of this thesis.

2.3 Types of Social Capital: Bonding, Bridging and Linking

The main aim of this categorization of social capital is to make an analysis of the origins and structures of social networks and social relations in a society, and identifying and comparing their efficacies in terms of their effects on socioeconomic issues at the micro and macro levels. During the categorization process of the concept of social capital, homogeneity and heterogeneity of social networks are used as bases and each type of social capital including bonding, bridging and linking is examined separately as follows:

2.3.1 Bonding Social Capital

Lollo (2012:32) exemplifies bonding social capital by claiming that “the perfect example of bonding social capital is found in family networks in which roles are defined, individuals feel that they share a common identity and they meet frequently, thus reinforcing the strength of expectations and obligations among them”. Bonding

social capital is the most common kind of social capital because the majority of people have a tendency to establish relations with others who come from the same race and/or ethnicity, religious belief, political view, socioeconomic status, profession, and educational background because these people can have much more common interests to enjoy to spend more time together than others and have common purposes to achieve. For that reason, people frequently establish homogenous social organizations to pursue their common purposes. The number of fellow countrymen, ethnic and/or religious associations can be considered as the most concrete examples of the high-level of bonding social capital in a society because these associations have homogenous structures and members of these associations have common identities, religious beliefs and so on. In this regard, bonding social capital is more common in closed communities and/or families because they are unwilling to establish a relationship with strangers (Halpern, 2005).

In these groups, the level of particularized trust is higher in comparison with generalized trust. Therefore, the high-level bonding social capital mostly brings the high-level of solidarity within the group structure (Babaei, Ahmad & Gill, 2012). For example, solidarity among family members or religious groups at the highest level decide to be a member of these homogenous groups owing to the high-level of solidarity and cooperation among members to feel secure against the hardships and uncertainties of the life. Therefore, bonding social capital has an important place in poor people's lives because strong social bonds and social organizations such as church, schools, institutions, business associations, and so on, can enable poor people to develop their capacity to cope with poverty and gain control over their lives (Saegert et.al, 2001). Therefore, impoverished people who are fully aware of the importance of

cooperation and solidarity can improve their living standards. They mostly strive to contribute to their social integration and inclusion into society through participating in civil society organizations to benefit from social solidarity to deal with the absence of social welfare state (Larsen et al., 2004).

Despite the positive side of the high-level of bonding social capital for closed and isolated families and communities, bonding social capital impedes people to make larger-scale cooperation with people from other ethnic origins, religious beliefs or socioeconomic status. Therefore, with the globalization of the modern world, bonding social capital has started to lose its importance due to its restrictive structure as the high-level of bonding social capital causes the high number of extractive institutions, and these institutions do not fulfill the need of the modern world (Robinson & Acemoglu, 2012). This is because development requires more inclusive institutions and the high-level of generalized trust in the modern era as we are living in the communication age and people have many opportunities to establish relationships with others from different countries, cultures and socioeconomic status. Therefore, inclusive institutions and the high-level of generalized trust has started to gain more importance in this age. In this respect, bridging and linking social capital achieved to increase their role in the modern world owing to globalization and communication revolution, whereas bonding social capital is more restrictive for outsiders. In other words, bridging social capital enables people to establish completely inclusive social organizations and institutions and turn cutting across ethnicity, race, culture and other social cleavages advantage for social and economic development at the present time (Babaei et. al, 2012).

2.3.2 Bridging Social Capital

Hawkins & Maurer (2009: 1780) defines bridging social capital as a concept which “refers to relationships amongst people who are dissimilar in a demonstrable fashion, such as age, socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, and education.”. Bridging social capital mostly emerges when members of different groups establish relationship with each other for common or diverse purposes. In this regard, bridging social capital exists in social relationships among people who have different norms, identities, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Therefore, it would be considered as a product of globalization because, with the industrialization, people started to have to cooperate with others to improve their living standards and technological development also make cooperation with people who have the different social norms, culture, and background easier. That is why, the level of bridging social capital is higher in industrialized nations such as Sweden, the United States of America, and Central Europe (Halpern, 2005). In this sense, Pamela Paxton (2002) supports the idea that bridging social capital or cross-cutting social organizations play a very significant role in the creation of toleration. Besides, according to Paxton, bridging social capital also prevents particularized trust and closed social networks. Therefore, it would be inferred that democracy can work better in societies with the high-level of bridging social capital.

Furthermore, Beugelsdijk and Smulders (2009) conducted an empirical study to answer the question of does bridging social capital have positive effect on economic growth. At the end of their empirical study, they found that participation in open networks prevents opportunistic behavior for members of society and contributes to the establishment of a more efficient exchange system for economic development. Furthermore, Beugelsdijk and Smulders’ empirical research on the relationship

between social capital and economic growth also revealed that bridging social capital has more positive effect on economic growth than bonding social capital because whereas bridging social capital encourage people to make larger-scale cooperation, bonding social capital diminishes the degree of sociability outside the closed social circle negatively and this prevents societies with the high-level of bonding social capital to benefit from business opportunities in outside of their social circles.

Besides, bridging social capital is a tool for elites to reproduce themselves easily because making large-scale cooperation with others requires more resources and even though people have the high-level of generalized trust and they are so willing to cooperate with strangers, resources play a key role in the emergence of bridging social capital. Therefore, as it is mentioned in previous sections, some scholars emphasize the negative effects of social capital including inequality in access to social capital because people do not have equal opportunity to establish relations with others due to limited and unequal distribution of resources and it is believed that social capital contributes to unequal distribution of resources in a society as well.

In spite of this, bridging social capital also provides benefits and opportunities for poor people as well. For example, Saegret, Warren and Thompson (2001) argue that bridging social capital does not only help elites to reproduce themselves and contribute to unequal distribution of resources in a society, it also helps poor people to reach greater resources and opportunities through increasing poor people's effectiveness to contribute to national consensus on poverty alleviation thanks to their social networks. For example, poors who have the capability to invest in their bridging social capital can easily cooperate with rich or more influential people and collaborate with them to

put pressure on policymakers and/or raise awareness of public opinion on poverty alleviation. For that reason, investing in bridging social capital should also be accepted as a significant asset and investment method for poor people. This is because increasing the volume and quality of social networks enables lower-income people to combat poverty through establishing a relationship with more affluent and influential groups and other poor communities from different ethnic origins, culture, and religion.

2.3.3 Linking Social Capital

Szreter and Woolcock (2003:6) define linking social capital as “norms of respect and networks of trusting relationships between people who are interacting across explicit, formal or institutionalized power or authority gradients in society.”. Linking social capital is also considered by Hawking and Maurer (2010: 1780) as “the extent to which individuals build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power over them”. Therefore, this type of social capital is conceived as an important concept for the social development because enables different social groups to access more resources to gain wealth, social status, and power because linking social capital connects individuals to others who have strong influence, authority, and power in society (Jordan, 2015). According to Woolcock, although weak ties lead to the emergence of linking social capital, it brings benefits for a society through providing more opportunities for people to access and connect to power structures and institutions (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Proponents of the concept of social capital also claim that linking social capital is essential for the well-being of lower-income people and marginalized groups because linking social capital contributes to the accession of poor people and marginalized groups to more resources to deal with poverty, improve their living standards and integrate into society (Babaei et al, 2012).

To sum up, bonding, bridging and linking social capital has different origins, functions, and impacts on various social groups and social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies at the micro and macro levels. For example, whereas bonding social capital provides more incentives for poor people to access resources, bridging and linking social capital enables upper classes to reproduce their wealth and retain their position in a society. Therefore, having full knowledge of each type of the concept of social capital and their functions in a society is very significant for researchers to have accurate and reliable results.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Chapter II provided a broad literature review about the concept of social capital and revealed that scientific community focused on the conceptualization and operationalization of the concept of social capital due to the explanatory power of the concept as opposed to concepts such as financial capital, physical capital and human capital for the transformation and complexity of modern industrial societies because different cases emerged in the modern and industrial world and other concepts started to be considered as less comprehensive for explaining the transformation processes especially in economic development, education, employment, poverty alleviation, health and well-being, crime and democracy at the micro and macro levels. In this regard, the concept of social capital was conceptualized and operationalized and this concept achieved to narrow the dominance of the above-mentioned other concepts in the literature.

CHAPTER III

THE APPEAL OF EXPLAINING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES THROUGH SOCIAL CAPITAL

Chapter III examines the explanation of social and economic changes through emphasizing how social capital is formed. Therefore, popular concepts which influence the characteristics of social relations in the modern world including trust, reciprocity, cooperative norms and social network are examined separately in this chapter. Furthermore, this chapter compares social capital with the existing capital forms to answer the question like how the concept of social capital has come to be viewed as having more explanatory power in comparison to other forms of capital in examining the transformation in social relations and the attending consequences of the transformation on the social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies.

3.1. Trust

There is a conceptual ambiguity in the definition of the concept of trust. According to the following study, it is found that there are 72 different definitions of the concept of trust in the literature as it is presented below:

Table 2. Trends in Trust Definitions

Year	Number of Definitions	Fraction
1960 – 1969	4	5.6%
1970 – 1979	5	7%
1980 – 1989	19	26.4%
1990 – 1999	44	51%

Source: Castelfranchi and Franco, 2010

The same research also shows that subject, action, will, expect, belief, outcome, rely, trust, confident, and willingness are the most ten frequently used terms to define trust in the social sciences (Castelfranchi & Franco, 2010). Based on the frequently used terms to define the concept of trust, as Gambetta said that trust is a subjective term and expectation of an individual about others' actions (Gambetta, 1988).

In the social sciences, there is a very important debate about the concept of trust because whereas some scholars consider trust as a psychological term, others handle the concept of trust as an only sociological term. In this thesis, the concept of trust is used in a sociological term and the following definition of the concept of trust by David Lewis and Andrew Weigert is given as the most comprehensive sociological definition of trust:

From a sociological perspective, trust must be conceived as a property of collective units (ongoing dyads, groups, and collectivities), not of isolated individuals. Being a collective attribute, trust is applicable to the relations among people rather than to their psychological states taken individually (Lewis & Weigert, 1985: 968)

Earle and Cvetkovich (1995) recommend that the history of trust can be analyzed in light of its increasing importance in the more complex and industrial societies. This is because societal differentiation began to be based on functional subsystems and this increased people's need in trust in the modern world because trust has started to play a very important role in the emergence of characteristics of social relations among

people in advanced industrialized societies. Therefore, trust has become one of the most necessary concepts in people's lives to survive, maintain their daily routines and improve life standards with the industrialization of the world because in the past, people were living in small and closed communities until the rest of their lives and they were not in need of establishing relations or cooperation with strangers to survive or improve their living standards (Uslaner, 2002). However, the rapid industrialization of the world forced people to migrate to more complex industrialized areas and larger cities and thus, people had to contact with others who come from different ethnic origin, religious belief, worldview, culture and socioeconomic status and need to make a cooperation with them for maintaining their daily routines, improving their living conditions or act with solidarity to pursue their common interests. Therefore, the importance of the concept of trust has increased day by day in advanced industrial societies because of complexity and uncertainties of the modern and industrial world.

It is a well-known fact that modern industrial societies are organized as more complex structures (Lewis & Weiger, 1985). Luhmann (2017) conceives trust as the concept which reduces the complexity of modern industrial society's structures because trust allows people to establish social relations in simple and more confident ways. Therefore, it can be clearly claimed that the level of trust is an asset for people to control social relations in modern societies (Lewis & Veigert, 1985). For example, Newton and Zmerli (2011) consider that trust has a very significant place in western societies because they are more industrialized. Therefore, they support the idea that trust is crucial in large-scale, mobile and heterogeneous societies. The above-mentioned arguments on the function of trust in modern industrial communities provide evidence about the impact of the high-level of trust and/or distrust on

economic growth, cooperation, democracy, and so forth at the present time. However, before examining the function of trust in people's lives in the social sciences, tracing the origins of the concept of trust is better in terms of comprehensiveness of theoretical analysis of this thesis.

In the ancient Greek, the concept of trust was described as a means of dealing with the dangerous uncertainties of life (Earle & Cvetkovich, 1995). This shows that the idea of trust played a very significant role in people's lives even in ancient times to cope with life-sustaining problems. In the modern times, trust has started to be considered as the basis for collective behavior and productive cooperation among people (Newton, 2001). For example, Russel Hardin (2006) points out that the level of trustworthiness enables people to cooperate with each other easier. Therefore, the concept of trust would be considered as an important factor which increases the volume of social networks owing to its function to enable people to establish strong relations with strangers and collaborate with them to pursue common or diverse interests.

Under favor of the importance of the idea of trust, scholars in the social sciences have started to be more interested in this concept and perceive trust as a very significant independent variable which extremely affects people's lives at the micro and macro levels. For example, Francis Fukuyama (1995) examined the importance of the concept of trust on economic development. Robert Putnam (2000) also highlighted the role of trust in economic development, civic engagement and crime. Besides, Braithwaite (2003) examined the relationship between trust and governance. In addition to these, the concept of trust is also examined from philosophical and sociological perspectives as well by various scholars in the social sciences for making

a comprehensive analysis of the origins of the concept of trust (Sztompka, 1999; Cook, 2003; Gambetta, 1998; Govier, 1998; Markova and Gillespie, 2008; Misztal, 1996; Uslaner, 2002).

It is a fact that there are various approaches toward the origins of trust in the literature. For instance, as Möllering said that Simmel conceives the concept of trust as one of the most synthetic forces within society (Möllering, 2001). The idea of trust is also considered as a probability by many scholars in social sciences because deciding to trust others depend on trusters' expectations or beliefs about others' actions (Gambetta, 1988; Bauer, 2015). In this respect, Sztompka (1999) conceives trust as a bet about the others' future actions, and Uslaner conceives trust as an optimistic worldview and/or behavior of people about future actions of others. In this regard, he supports the idea that trust brings us several benefits including higher rates of economic growth, good governance, and high living standards (Uslaner, 2002).

In addition to this, trust achieved to maintain its significance in people's daily lives as well. In this sense, Misztal (1996) considers trust as essential for the most routine of daily lives and Luhmann (2017) explains the importance of the concept of trust in people's daily lives through supporting the idea that the absence of trust would constrain people from even getting up in the morning. In this thesis, two basic functions of the concept of trust in people's daily lives can be given to reinforce Luhmann's and Misztal's arguments and shed light on its importance on daily activities. First, we have to trust drivers to take the bus to go to work. Second, we have to trust bakers to eat bread. These simple examples show that the loss of trust can even cause us to be unable to perform our daily life activities. In short, if the level of trust

decreases in a society, it would directly affect people's daily routine negatively in the modern and industrialized world.

Trust is very popular but, it is not a homogenous concept because the idea of trust is categorized into two groups such as moralistic and strategic trust in the literature. First, moralistic trust is defined as faith in others without having any information about others' background because moralistic trust is an individual's belief that others have the same moral values (Uslaner, 2002). Therefore, moralistic trust can be conceived as a product of automatic thinking because individuals frequently decide to trust without having any knowledge about others or making a cost-benefit analysis before making their final decision to trust another person. However, strategic trust is different from moralistic because making a decision to trust other people through getting knowledge about how they will act in the future is a procedure of controlled thinking. People frequently develop strategic trust through getting more and more information about others (Uslaner, 2002). Therefore, Misztal (1996) supports the idea that strategic trust mostly assumes risks. In light of the Misztal's approach, recruitment process can be given as the most basic example of strategic trust because employers frequently ask various questions to mitigate risk through getting more information about applicants to make sure that whether they are trustworthy or not.

There is another categorization of the concept of trust in the literature according to different dimensions of the concept such as particularized and generalized trust. Generalized trust is defined as a general belief that most people can be trusted. Namely, generalized trusters have more optimistic view about strangers' future actions in a society. In light of this, generalized trust is accepted as a more optimistic worldview

than particularized trust. This is because particularized trust is more restricted and it can only develop when people have information about others. In sum, people who have particularized trust rather than generalized trust do not easily trust strangers. In this sense, the level of generalized and particularized trust also play a very significant role in the structure of social organizations. Needless to say that the high-level of generalized trust enables people to establish more open and inclusive social organizations and make larger-scale cooperations. For that reason, the difference between particularized and generalized trust is similar to Putnam's categorization of social capital as bonding and bridging social capital according to Uslaner (2002). Accordingly, it would not be wrong to say that whereas particularized trust contributes to bonding social capital through strengthening closed and extractive social organizations and institutions, the high-level of generalized trust promotes bridging social capital by enabling people to establish more inclusive and open social organizations and institutions. This is because particularized trusters generally think that people, unlike themselves, cannot be trustworthy, and thus, they cannot be a part of their moral community but, generalized trusters have positive views toward both their own in-group and out-group members and this enables them to increase the volume of their social networks for pursuing their individual and/or common interests (Uslaner, 2002).

The concept of trust is used as an independent variable by scholars for their empirical research purposes to explain various socioeconomic issues in the modern world. For example, as it is stated in the previous sections, the idea of trust is an optimistic behavior and/or worldview of individuals. Therefore, people with the high level of generalized trust are more likely to participate in voluntary associations to make life

better for disadvantaged and marginalized groups. To shed light on this, the following graph is presented to show the positive impact of generalized trust on participation in voluntary associations:

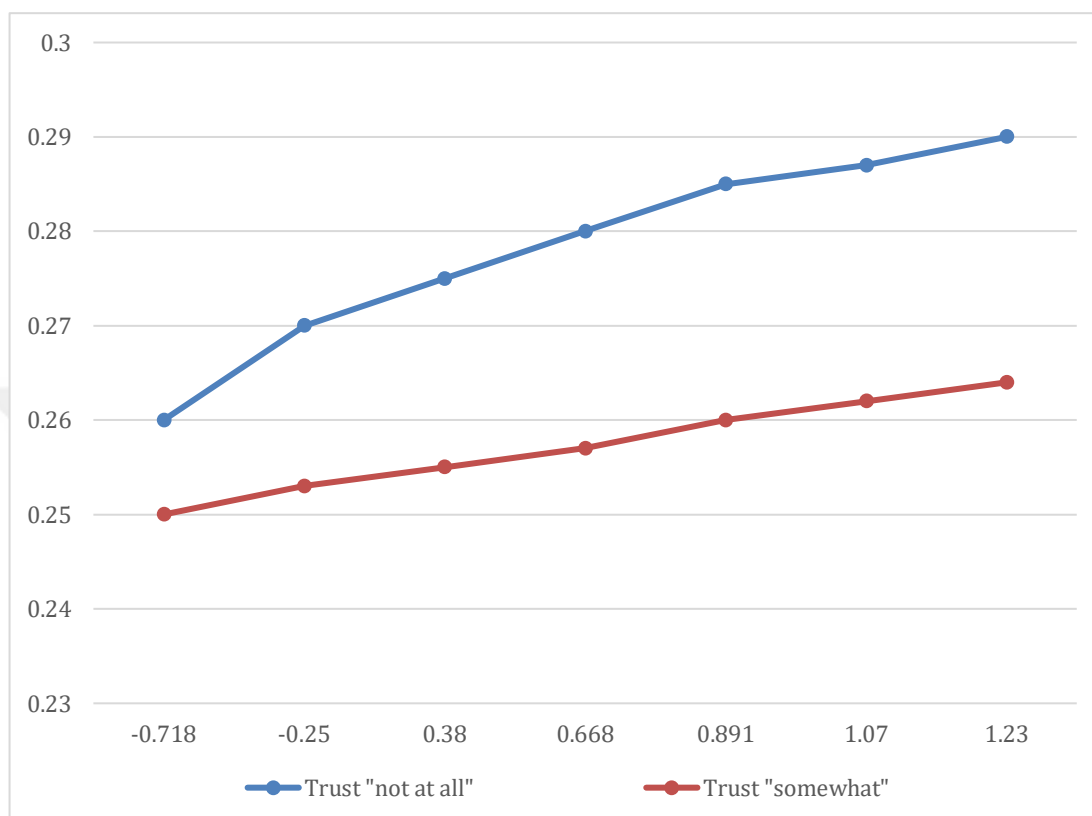


Figure 5. Role of Types of Trust on Voluntary Association Membership

Source: Glanville and Story, 2018.

Additionally, trusting societies have more effective governments and performance in the field of income redistribution (Gould and Hijzen, 2016). Tilly (2005) supports the idea that trust did not lose its importance in people's lives in our age and it still affects people's various practical activities including employment, migration, political engagement, and marriage. For instance, Knack and Keefer (1997) performed an empirical research and supplied statistical evidence to prove that in spite of some exceptions, the possibility of attracting investments and having the high-level GDP is

higher in the countries with high-level trust than countries with lower-level trust as it is presented below:

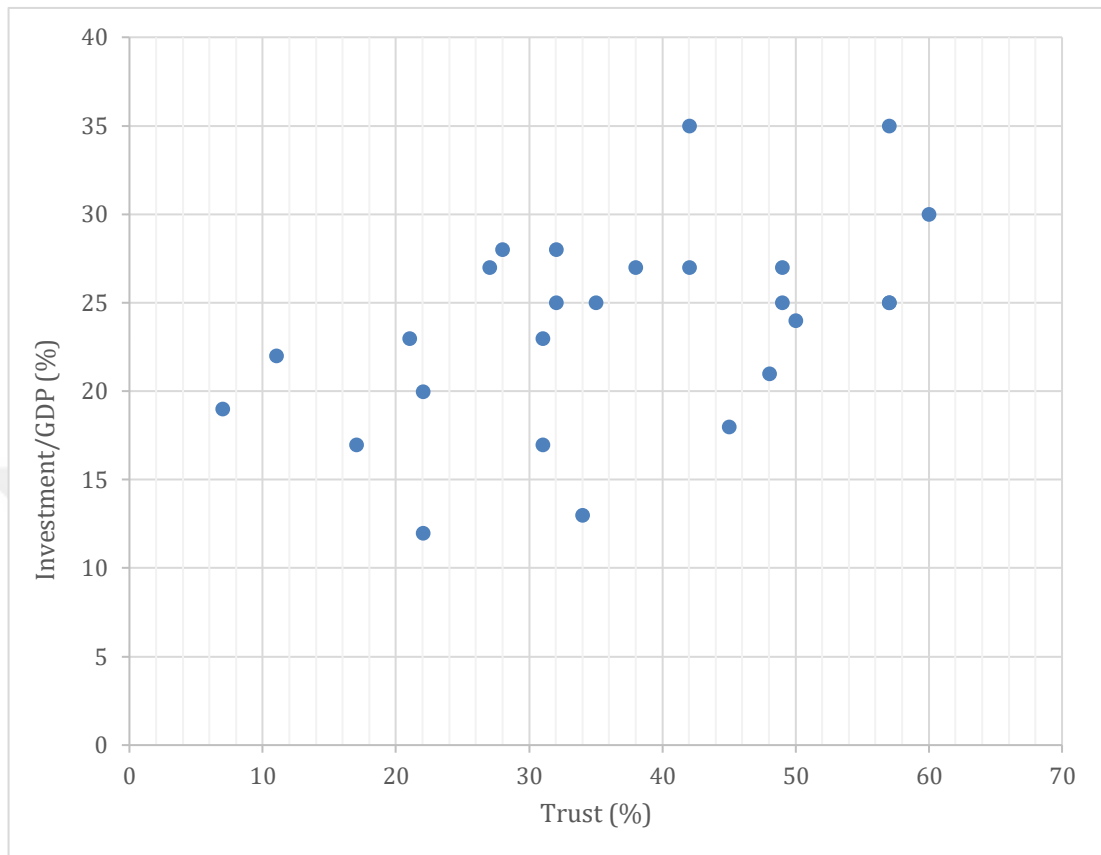


Figure 6. Trust and Investment/GDP

Source: Knack and Keefer, 1997

After a while, Katja Schmidt (2003) performed a similar study and found that generalized trust causes the general cooperative behavior and it leads to positive economic outcomes because she found that when other influences on growth are held constant, countries with high level of generalized trust have higher GDP than countries with low level of generalized trust as it follows:

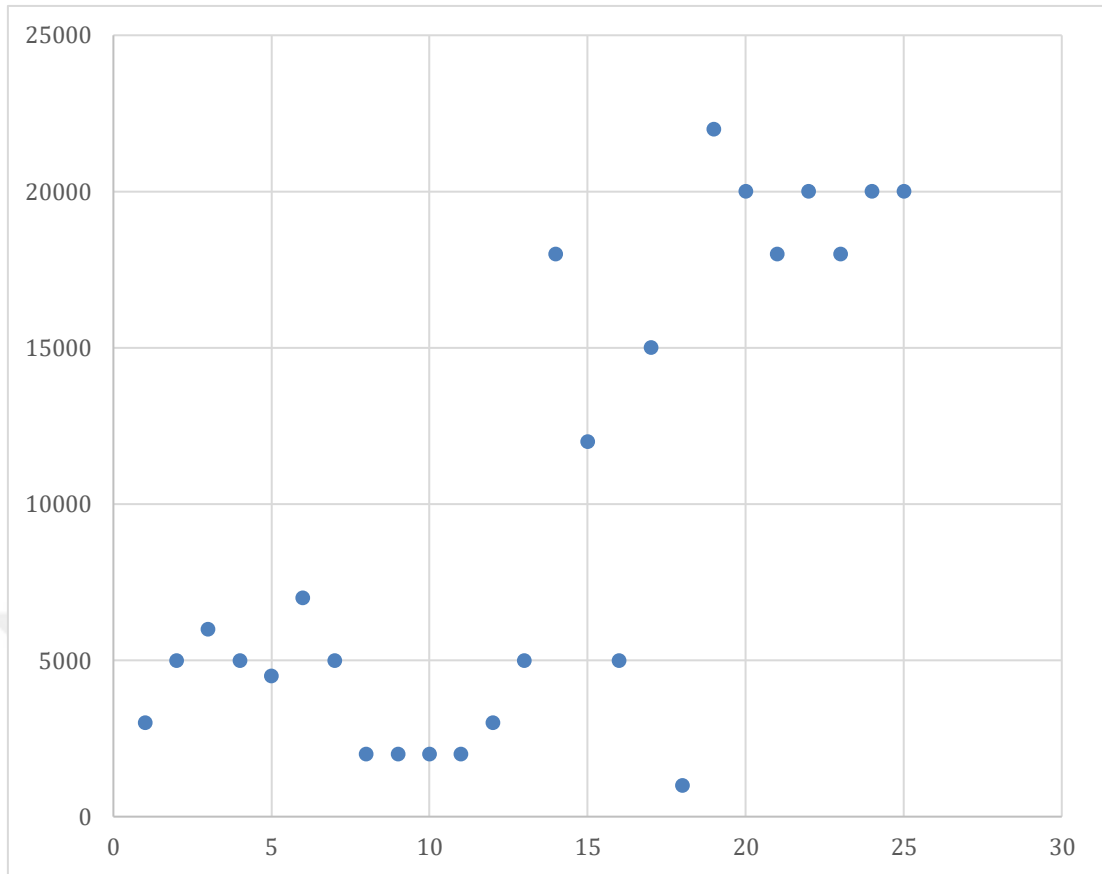


Figure 7. Relationship Between Trust and Per Capita GDP

Source: Schmidt, 2003.

In addition to these, Robert Putnam’s popular research on regional differences between the North and South Italy can be given as another empirical example in this field again. Putnam explains regional differences between the North and South Italy and argues that “in the civic regions of Italy, by contrast to Naples, social trust has long been a key ingredient in the ethos that sustained economic dynamism and government performance” (Putnam, 1993: 171).

Besides, as it is mentioned in Chapter II, Pamela Paxton (2002) examined the relationship between the level of trust and democracy. In her one of the most-cited articles, she supports the idea that the high-level of trust contributes to the maintenance of democracy because high-level of trust in a society encourages people to participate

in politics more and political participation should be accepted as an important factor which enables democracies and democratic institutions to work better. In addition to Paxton's research on the level of trust and democracy, Inglehart also argues that trust plays a very significant role in democracy because democratic institutions depend on trust to survive and maintain their functions (Warren, 1999). To shed light on this argument, Inglehart also provides quantitative data to reveal the positive effect of the high-level of trust on democracy as follows:

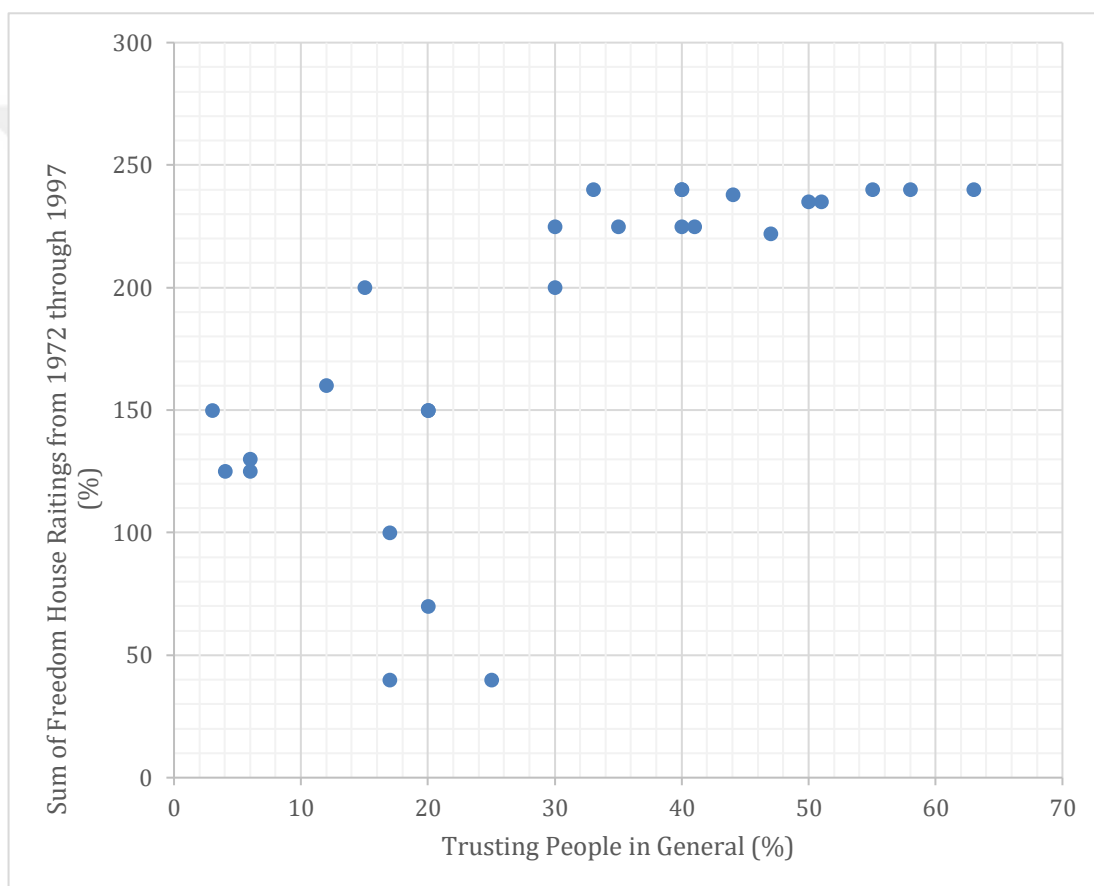


Figure 8. The Relationship Between the Level of Trust and Democracy

Source: Warren, 1999

Inglehart's quantitative study proves that countries with the higher level of interpersonal trust have more scores than countries with the lower level of interpersonal trust in the fields of civil liberties and political rights. This data also confirms Richard Dees' arguments about the correlation between the level of trust and toleration. Dees (2004) supports the idea that the high-level of trust increases the level

of toleration in communities and this enables democratic regimes and institutions positively to perform better. Furthermore, the relationship between trust and political stability is also examined and it is found that the high-level of trust brings political stability because trust impedes political turnover and lower political turnover in high trust states cause political stability (Nunn, Qian, & Wen, 2017). Therefore, this should be asserted that the level of trust is a very important asset for societies to be more stable and democratic in the modern world.

Additionally, Akcomak and Weel's research on the concept of social capital and trust can also be given as another important empirical study in the literature which shows the impact of level of trust on innovation. They argue that the high-level of social capital and trust makes societies enable to manage the process of innovation because creative efforts are more respected and rewarded in societies with the high-level of trust than societies with the low-level of trust (Akcomak and Weel, 2008). At the present time, it is widely accepted that economic growth is positively correlated with innovation because innovation enables individuals, companies and countries to produce more value-added products and this contributes to economic development at the micro, meso and macro levels greater than other products and services. In this regard, it would not be wrong to argue that Akcomak and Weel's study contributed to the social science literature through supplying evidence to prove the impact of the level of trust on innovation and economic development because innovation is a hot topic among scholars and policymakers at the present time and the effects of the level of trust on creative efforts and innovation has started to attract scholars' attention.

Although scholars frequently make empirical analysis to find evidence to show the effects of concept of social capital and trust on social and economic dynamics of

advanced industrialized societies, it should also be highlighted that strong institutional performance, the quality of democracy, good governance, the rule of law, and freedom of speech have strong impact on the emergence and the rise of trust in a society (Newton & Zmerli, 2011). Therefore, it should be argued that trust is an interdependence concept.

In conclusion, the number of empirical and theoretical studies on the concept of trust has started to increase and made the concept of trust one of the most popular concepts in social sciences due to two main reasons. First, social interactions and relations have started to be more complex due to rapid industrialization and globalization of the world. Thus, people have to contact with strangers because they noticed that surviving without cooperation and trust cannot be possible in these societies. Second, it is also noticed that the decline of trust in advanced industrialized societies, in particular, United States, due to demographical, technological and generational changes causes diverse serious social and economic problems in these countries such as decline of civic engagement, economic recession, violation of democratic rights and institutions, political instability, rise of criminal activities and crime rates, and so on (Putnam, 2000; Uslaner, 2002; Hardin 2006). Therefore, the concept of trust has gained intellectual currency in the social sciences, and its intellectual currency also contributed to the popularity and the recognition of the concept of social capital.

Despite this, it is very important that Hardin (2006) warns that considering social capital as a product of trust is a mistake because various other concepts have also important role in the characteristics of social relations such as reciprocity, cooperative norms, and social networks which enable people to cooperate with each other to protect

their interests, pursue and accomplish their common or diverse goals in a society. In this regard, they are also briefly examined in following sections.

3.2. Reciprocity

Lawrance Becker (1990) argues that the concept of reciprocity has an important place in social development and it is the best way which enables people to cope with prisoners' dilemma or the tragedy of the commons games because the high-level of reciprocity helps people to trust others easier in a society than society with the low-level of reciprocity to deal with ambiguity in social life.² Therefore, reciprocity is an important concept which influences the characteristics of social relations among people in advanced industrialized societies. In this sense, Becker defines the concept of reciprocity as follows:

...that we should return good for good, in proportion to what we receive; that we should resist evil, but not do evil in return; that we should make preparation for the harm we do; and that we should be disposed to do those things as a matter of moral obligation. Reciprocity is a deontic virtue (Becker, 1990:4).

Reciprocal behavior is defined as a virtue by Becker. According to Ostrom and Walker (2003), this virtue is the most basic norm of societies because human beings determine their actions in light of the level of reciprocity in their communities even in ancient times. In this regard, reciprocity is also defined by Ostrom and Walker as below:

All reciprocity norms share the common ingredients that individuals tend to react to the positive actions of others with positive responses and to the negative actions of others with negative responses. Many sequences of actions could qualify as a form of reciprocity (Ostrom & Walker, 2003: 42)

² The problem of prisoners dilemma and the tragedy of commons emerge when non-cooperation provides more benefits for individuals than cooperation in the short-term. This is a problem for individuals because in the long-term, non-cooperation does not bring any benefit for individuals (see: Hardin, 1968; Rothstein, 2005)

As it is mentioned in previous chapters of this thesis, human beings always needed to cooperate with others to defeat their rivals to survive and access more resources to improve their living conditions in ancient times. In this sense, reciprocity can also be considered as a primordial norm which enables people to cooperate with others through being sure about others' future reciprocal actions to struggle with other living creatures in the world. However, the concept of reciprocity has maintained its importance even in the modern industrial societies because people's need for cooperation with others did not end due to the more complex structure of advanced industrial societies. Therefore, reciprocity has also become an important privilege for people and societies in various fields such as civic engagement, economic exchange, and politics through enabling them to deal with the complexity of the modern societies.

Scholars in the social sciences widely accept that reciprocity plays a very important role in the emergence of social relations and social networks in a society (Torche & Valenzuela, 2011). Diekmann (2004) argues that the issue of reciprocity recently started to be a very popular concept in the fields of sociology, political science, and economics within the scope of the debates about the concept of social capital. For example, the concept of reciprocity is examined in light of its positive impact on the emergence of social networks and people's social relations and interactions in the field of sociology (Putnam, 2000; Halpern, 2005; Field, 2008). In economics, it is accepted that the high-level of reciprocity increases the number and volume of investments, market productivity, the set of enforceable contracts (Fehr, Gächter & Kirchsteiger, 1997). This is because the high-level of reciprocity helps people and communities to cope with economic uncertainties and thus, it fosters the volume of investments and economic growth. Furthermore, as it is widely known that the concept of reciprocity

has also an important place in international relations, diplomacy, international law and social relations among people at the present time. Therefore, this concept has started to be more influential on political outcomes, and thus, it has increased its popularity in the field of political science as well (Carlin, Love & Elizabeth, 2014; El-Attar, 2007; Deremer, 2016).

Despite the positive effects of the concept of reciprocity on social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies, considering reciprocity as a completely useful and positive concept for people's and communities' well-being would not be an accurate analysis. This is because there are some negative effects of the principle of reciprocity in many fields including criminal law. For example, the ethics of tit for tat, in other words, eye for an eye was the earliest characteristic of reciprocal behavior and it was used as a code to regulate social relations and inflict punishment on others. However, the understanding of tit for tat caused serious problems in communities in the fields of law and politics because it led to negative results that are contrary to human rights. Therefore, reciprocal actions in the field of criminal law started to lose their popularity and validity in affluent liberal democracies.

In sum, the level of reciprocity plays a very significant role in the emergence of relations and networks because the high-level of reciprocity enables people to deal with social and economic uncertainties through increasing the level of trust and cooperation among them. Under these circumstances, people have become willing to participate in voluntary organizations and expand their social networks. Thus, collective and productive actions have become widespread in societies with the high-level of reciprocity.

3.3. Cooperative Norms

Not only individual preferences but also socially expected certain types of behaviors which are known as norms in the literature play a very significant role in the characteristics of social relations and people's actions in a community (Scrivens & Smith, 2013). This is because the majority of people frequently chose to act according to the logic of appropriateness rather than the logic of consequences due to their need for integration to the society or social groups and the fear of marginalization. Therefore, norms are widely accepted as the most important unwritten rules in all societies that shape people's actions (Halpern, 2005).

Whereas the rational choice theorists consider people's actions as the result of choice for maximization of their interests, the social-norm theorists conceive behavior as a result of conformity to norms to be integrated into society. In light of this, James S. Coleman (1987) defines norms as rules which determine which actions are right or which actions are wrong in a society. In addition to James S. Coleman's definition, norms are also defined as "the shared understanding in a community about what actions are proper or correct, or improper or incorrect, and actors enforce norms to perpetuate the social systems to which they are committed" (Chen, Yang, Hull, An, Dietz, Frank, Lupi & Liu, 2016: 134).

Knack and Keefer (2008) supports the idea that cooperative norms enable societies to cope with obstacles which hinder their social and economic development because cooperative norms have a positive impact on cooperation and trustworthiness. This is because cooperation and the high-level of trust encourages people to participate in

social organizations and thus, they contribute to the emergence and the volume of social networks in a community.

On the other hand, Scrivens and Smith (2013) warns that whereas cooperative and trustworthy norms affect societies positively and enable people to deal with various social and economic problems through establishing large-scale cooperations, not all shared norms should be considered as useful for a society because there are numerous norms which encourage people to use violence against women, discourage parents to send their children to school, and canalize young people to acquire bad habits. Therefore, this thesis emphasizes the importance of cooperative norms on the characteristics and quality of social relations rather than other norms.

In sum, whereas cooperative norms have the positive impact on the emergence of social relations, networks, and social capital, negative norms frequently hinder the emergence of social networks or contribute to arise of the dark side or negative effects of social capital such as economic and social inequalities. Therefore, categorization of norms would be useful for scholars who are interested in conducting empirical studies on the concept of social capital.

3.4. Social Network

As it is mentioned in previous chapters of this thesis, people were living in closed communities and they were not in need of a cooperation with others from different cultures, ethnic origins, religious beliefs, and socioeconomic status in the past to survive, find a good job or improve their living standards because interdependence among people was at the low level in the past. However, it is noticed that social

relations with those people have started to provide various benefits for people such as employment and expansion of business connections in advanced industrial societies.

Scholars have begun to be more interested in the concept of the social network due to its impacts on people's lives, and thus, the quality of social relations and social network have begun to be defined as a different form of capital. For example, Coleman (1988) considers the social network as an important asset for economic growth and benefits in the modern world. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu asserts that membership in a social network or having strong social relations mostly enable individuals to access to resources as much as having more money and educational background in the modern world (Scrivens and Smith, 2013). In addition to these, Castells (1996) wrote a book about the rising importance of network in people's lives because according to him, industrial economies, open market, and the emergence and popularity of information and communication technologies contribute to the importance of network in advanced industrial societies and they increased people's dependency on network. Therefore, Castells preferred to produce a new term which is called as a network society to highlight the transformation of the modern society and effects of the network on the characteristics of social relations in the advanced industrial societies.³

The above-mentioned review is mostly relevant to my thesis' main arguments because the network has increased its importance and influence in people's lives due to the rapid industrialization, globalization and technological developments. Therefore, people are mostly willing to be a part of social organizations and invest in their social networks to expand their volume to gain more advantage in advanced industrialized societies. For instance, rich businessmen donate to some social organizations or they

³ I am grateful to Assoc.Prof. Nedim Karakayalı for bringing Castell's book to my attention.

are enthusiastic to be a president or member of the most prominent social or voluntary organizations in a community. The most important purpose of them is expanding their social networks and promoting their recognition. That is why this would be considered as a significant evidence of the importance of social network in modern times.

It should be emphasized that considering the social network as an aspect of the high-level of trust, reciprocity and cooperative norms would be an accurate analysis but, social networks should be conceived as more complex structures because there are various kinds of social networks that are identified by Sabatini (2006) as follows:

...informal networks of strong family ties (i.e. bonding social capital), informal networks of weak bridging ties connecting friends and acquaintances (i.e. bridging social capital), formal networks connecting members of voluntary organizations (i.e. linking social capital) and formal networks of activists in political parties (Sabatini, 2006: 22).

In addition to this, effects of social network on social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies are also empirically analyzed in detail in the social science literature. For example, Durkheim (1975) found that suicide rates are lower in societies with the high-level social integration and this shows that social networks have a strong influence on people's well-being and health. In addition to this, Putnam (1993) inferred that types of social networks have a significant impact on the development of Northern Italy by comparison with Southern Italy and this proves that social network plays a very significant role in regional development. Besides, Jane Jacobs (1961) examined the impact of the social network on the safety of cities to support the idea that the high-level of social integration makes cities safer than other cities with the low-level trust and social integration. Jacob's empirical study also proves that social network can decrease criminal activities in a city owing to its positive effects on the emergence of more inclusive social institutions and people's social integration.

Briefly, Chapter III supplied evidence that concepts such as trust, reciprocity and cooperative norms have begun to increase their influence on the characteristics of social relations in the modern world and over diverse social and economic dynamics of advanced industrial societies. Thus, they have become very popular concepts among scholars in social sciences. This is because it is noticed that having money, educational background, and means of production have become less sufficient concepts to explain more complex socioeconomic issues in the modern world and scientific community needed to start to operationalize the above-mentioned concepts to explain them well. Therefore, instrumental effects of the concepts of trust, reciprocity, cooperative norms and social network contributed to the popularity of the concept of social capital in comparison with other existing concepts in the social sciences and capital forms which have been used by scholars for empirical research purposes for a long time.

3.5. The Appeal of Social Capital in Comparison with Other Capital Forms

In this section, capital forms are briefly examined and they are compared with the concept of social capital for identification of their strengths and weaknesses in the modern world on the purpose of finding concrete answers the questions like why scientific community needed to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital and how the concept of social capital increased its popularity among scholars in social sciences although various capital types exist in the literature for explaining different cases. However, providing a brief literature review would be better to comprehend what scholars mean when they talk about capital before answering the above-mentioned questions of this thesis in this section.

A literature review on the concept of capital shows that the most popular scholars used the term of capital for only explaining economic development. This is because capital was considered as an only way to make more profit, create more wealth, and the most influential asset on people's economic status and living standards (Halpern, 2005). To shed light on this, various definitions of the concept of capital by the most popular scholars in the past would be given in this section. For example, Fischer (1904:387) defined capital as "a stock (of wealth or property, or the value of either) existing at an instant of time". Ricardo (2004:95) also defined the term of capital as "part of the wealth of a country which is employed in production, and consists of food, clothing, tools, raw materials, machinery which are necessary to give effect to labour".

Capital is still widely accepted as a tool of production and profit. However, various capital forms have emerged in the modern world and the importance of them have changed due to the rapid changes such as industrial and technological developments because these developments have dramatically changed economic and social structures in the world. For example, with the industrial revolution, physical capital such as machinery, equipment, and buildings started to increase its influence on people's lives through determining people's social status in a society and consequently the concept of physical capital started to be more important in economic life because it is conceived as means of production and this provides benefits for their owners to make more profits and create wealth (Goodwin, 2003; Halpern, 2005).

In spite of this, people achieved to produce more complex machinery and they enabled companies to produce more value-added products with the passing years. However, the invention and the proper use of the modern machinery began to require some

important human skills. Therefore, development of physical capital during the industrialization phase of the world enhanced the importance and the popularity of the concept of human capital in the production process, and thus, capitalists started to provide more education opportunities for workers to invest in their skills. (Galor & Moav, 2004). Thus, human capital has started to increase its influence in the market because companies have also started to need more skilled labor force to maintain their capacities to produce more goods and sustain and increase their profits. In addition to this, countries have also started to attach more importance to the level of human capital to create sustainable economic and social development at the macro level because the level of skills of people in a country also started to make a difference at the macro level in terms of production and economic capacities of countries. For that reason, I think that it would not be wrong to argue that the importance of the concept of human capital has increased in light of the requirements of the modern industrial world for social organizations, companies, and countries to produce more value-added products and compete in the market at the micro, meso and macro level.⁴

The brief story I mentioned above highlights that the capital forms are frequently conceptualized and operationalized in light of the major historical developments. Therefore, I think that arguing that rapid changes in the world including industrial, technological, and social developments bring new requirements and these requirements entails the emergence and conceptualization of new capital forms in social sciences would be an accurate analysis in this thesis. For that reason, examining these historical developments and rapid changes that encourage scholars to conceptualize the new capital form which is called as social capital would be

⁴ The concept of human capital was firstly introduced by Gary Becker as a concept in 1960s and scholars widely used this concept for explaining differences in economic development among countries (Rothstein, 2005).

appropriate in the following section for answering one of the main questions of this thesis. Therefore, I compared the concept of social capital with existing capital forms in light of the above-mentioned developments and the most prominent scholars' academic studies to answer the thesis questions through identifying its strengths in comparison with others in the modern world. In the following paragraphs, I also compared capital forms based on empirical studies in the social sciences literature.

It should be emphasized that comparison among capital forms in terms of their definitions and functions is not a new phenomenon. For example, Portes compares capital forms as follows in his empirical study which focuses on the concept of social capital:

Whereas economic capital is in people's bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage (Portes, 1998:7).

It is a fact that financial capital which is defined as the symbols and rights has always been played a very significant role in people's lives and it is still widely accepted as the most important asset for economic growth (Robison, Schmid & Siles, 2000). However, due to the above-mentioned historical, technological and social developments, financial capital has started to lose its hegemony because, with the industrialization and globalization of the world, it started to lose its explanatory power in the modern world. Therefore, two important capital forms including physical and human capital emerged as alternative assets for people and companies and they were conceptualized and operationalized by scholars to interpret and explain the above-mentioned socioeconomic cases.

Recently, societies have become more complex and industrialized, and urbanization has increased dramatically in the modern world. Therefore, people needed to establish social relations with others because in the more complex and industrialized societies. Professionalism is also at the high level, and this requires cooperation to survive and maintain daily activities for people. Furthermore, these requirements have started to increase their effects in these societies at the macro level because people have started to need social network to find employment, companies have started to need the high-level of generalized trust and cooperation to make more profit, countries have also started to need to the high-level of trust and reciprocity at the macro level to enable democratic institutions to work better and foster economic growth. Thus, scholars have achieved to explain more complex socioeconomic issues at the micro and macro levels thanks to the concept of social capital through holding all other variables constant in the social sciences. Therefore, the concept of social capital has gained intellectual currency in the social sciences and its popularity has increased among scholars in comparison with other existing concepts in the social sciences (Robison, Schmid & Siles, 2000). That is why the operationalization of the concept of social capital and its popularity in the social sciences are examined below in a more comprehensive manner to prove that social capital started to narrow dominance of the existing concepts in the social sciences by increasing its sphere of influence in the social sciences.

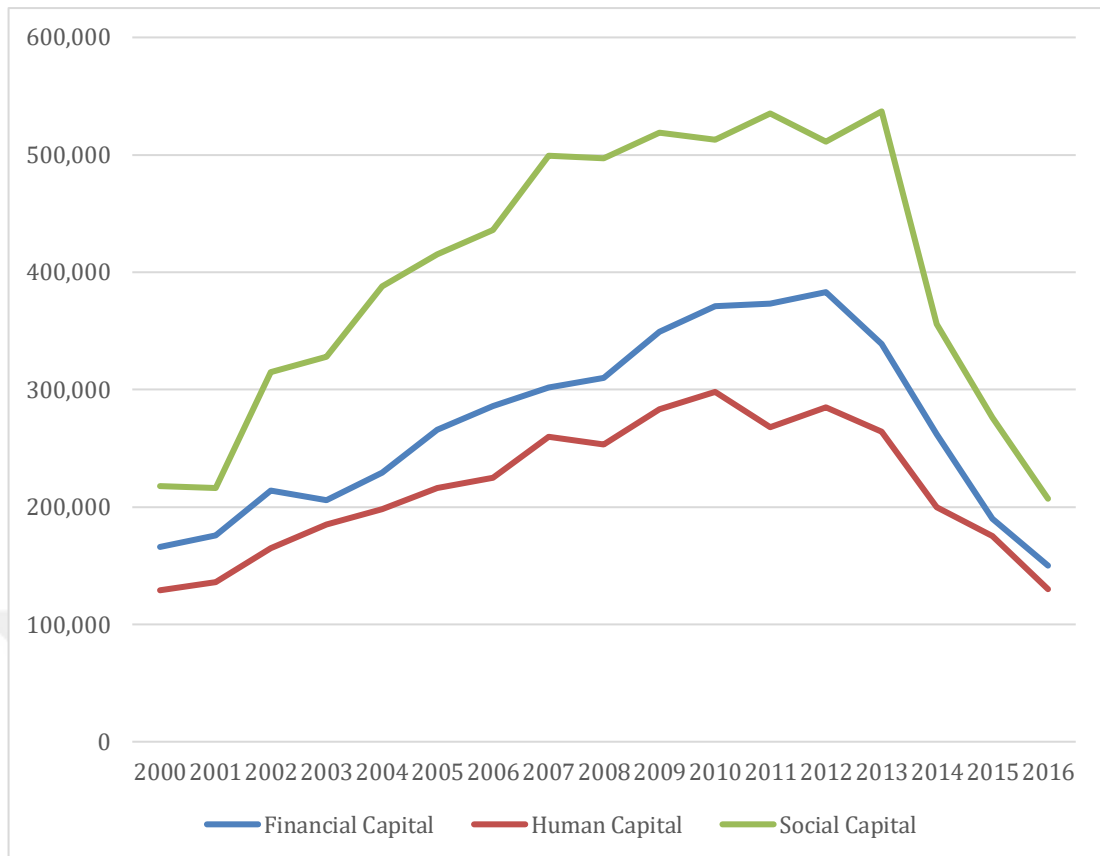


Figure 9. The Number of Articles on Financial Capital, Human Capital and Social Capital Recorded in Google Scholar Between 2000 - 2016

Source: Google Scholar (Last calculated on 1st May, 2018)⁵

First, as it is mentioned in Chapter II, Coleman (1988) provides evidence to prove that financial capital is no longer the most important factor which determines students' school success and attendance rates because even though it is still widely accepted that financial capital and socioeconomic status of students provide more opportunities for them to invest in their skills better than others and thus, increases their chance to reach success in school, Coleman contributed to the literature through supplying evidence to support the idea that strong family ties increase students' school success and their attendance rates. Furthermore, Acar (2011) also performed an empirical study to

⁵ Figure 9 proves that the number of articles on the concept of social capital started to increase dramatically in comparison with existing capital forms including financial and human capital and the number of articles on social capital recorded in Google Scholar is still higher than the number of articles on other capital forms.

measure the effect of social capital on school performance and found that social capital has some benefits for education because social capital brings higher achievement on tests, higher graduate rates, lower dropout rates, higher college enrollment, and greater participation in school and community organizations. In addition to this, Ince (2015) suggests that even though parents' financial capital plays an important role in students' academic achievement through affecting the type of school that the student attends, only financial capital is no longer sufficient because students must have all forms of capital including financial, social and, cultural capital in the modern world. Furthermore, Abrar-ul-haq, Akram, and Farooq (2015) conducted an empirical study to examine the effect of social capital on educational attainment in rural areas of Pakistan and they found that societies with intense social capital are able to generate more efficient human capital than societies with the low-level of social capital and they argue that social capital has started to be a more important asset than financial and human capital in the modern world at the micro and macro level.

All these studies supply evidence to support the idea that spending time provides benefits as much as spending money for parents to contribute to their children's success in school. In this regard, it would be argued that although financial and human capital have started to lose their intellectual currency in the field of education, strong social relations, backgrounds, and family ties, in other words, social capital have started to increase their popularity in the social sciences to make analysis of students' performance in the area of education.

As another important study, Glenn Loury (1976) examined the performance of African Americans in education and other fields through comparing them with others to answer

the question of why the African Americans could not reach the same level of success and development with others even though equal opportunity regime was put into place in the United States. Loury's main aim was refuting the argument that whether equal opportunity regime was put into place, any other factor cannot impede the success of African Americans because the majority of people was supporting the idea that equal opportunity regime diminishes the impact of economic inequalities. However, Loury challenged this argument by emphasizing the importance of other social factors including social backgrounds on success in education and other areas rather than economic inequalities. Therefore, Loury's study can also be accepted as a very important research which contributes to the intellectual currency of the concept of social capital in the social sciences.

Second, financial and physical capital have also started to lose their popularity in the field of economic growth because as it is mentioned above, at the present time they are no longer sufficient for companies to survive, sustain or increase their profits by themselves. To shed light on this, various empirical studies and quantitative data exist in the literature but, Fukuyama's famous book *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* would be considered as a milestone which enables scholars to compare the concept of social capital with others in the market because Fukuyama (1995) supplies evidence from economic history to prove that the high-level of trust plays a much more important role than other assets in the survival of companies, especially in crisis situations. This is because the high-level of trust increases people's loyalty to their companies and employers and this impedes the high-level of turnout rates in economically difficult periods. Therefore, even though companies with the low-level of trust frequently face with lack of capacity due to high turnout rates in

crisis situations, others easily achieve to maintain their capacities to perform at the same level and thus, can weather the storm easier than companies with the low-level of trust. Furthermore, Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) asserts that the high-level of social capital enables companies to create and increase the level of human capital. In this regard, Fukuyama and Nahapiet and Ghoshal highlighted that apart from existing capital forms including financial, physical and human capital, the level of trust and social relations, in other words, the level of social capital, should also be considered as a very significant asset for companies to continue to survive and compete with other companies in the market.

In addition to this, Robison and Schmid (1995) performed an empirical study to measure the impact of social capital on economic growth and presented four important findings. According to their studies, social capital affects the acceptance of catastrophic risk, decreases transaction and information costs, increases profits and returns to lenders. In this regard, they consider social capital as a productive asset in the field of economics, and they support the idea that social capital is an asset like money because it makes assets more productive and saves various costs.

Besides, the social network has become a very significant asset for companies to make more profits at the macro level because if companies have good relations with the most influential people or institutions, they find more opportunities to enlarge the business better than others in the globalized world.

In addition to this, the social network has also started to increase its influence on employment in the modern world. As it is mentioned in previous sections, Putnam

highlighted the importance of social networks on employment through providing statistical evidence that around 85% of people noted that they found employment thanks to their social networks. Furthermore, Job Seeker Nation Study also revealed that 60% of job seekers referred someone to work at their company in America.⁶ Moreover, the rise in the popularity of new social media tools including LinkedIn which enable people to expand their social networks proves that people are fully aware of the influence of the social networks on employment in the modern world.⁷ In this regard, it should be claimed that social network has gradually been increasing their importance in the job market for a long time in comparison with other capital forms, in particular, human capital. Therefore, the volume and quality of social networks came into prominence at least as much as having high skills to find employment in the modern world. In light of this, empirical studies show that although skills have started to lose their currency in the field of economics at the present time, social capital continues to increase its influence on economic progress and employment in today's globalized world.

The concept of social capital does not only increase its influence on the job market and companies, but also this concept has become very popular in the field of innovation. For example, Akcomak and Weel (2008) performed an empirical analysis to measure the effect of social capital on innovation and they found that societies with the high-

⁶ Recruiters consider that referrals and social networks are the most effective sources of quality of hires in the modern world. The Jobvite Recruiter Survey (2015). Retrieved from https://www.jobvite.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/jobvite_recruiter_nation_2015.pdf

⁷ LinkedIn, as the most popular professional network web-site, has reached to 500 million users in 2018 and 250 million of them are monthly active. In addition to this, LinkedIn is also very popular among university students and new graduates because approximately 40 million university students and new graduates are actively using LinkedIn to expand their social network and this shows that new generations are fully aware of the importance of social network on employment. Aslam, S.(2018). LinkedIn by the Numbers: Stats, Demographics and Fun Facts. Retrieved from <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/linkedin-statistics/>

level of trust and social capital are able to manage the process of innovation better. The main reason for this that creative efforts are more respected and rewarded in these societies than others⁸. Before Akcomak and Weel, Patton and Kenny also examined the impact of social capital on innovation and presented their finding as “network forms of organization are better suited to knowledge-intensive production than either markets or hierarchy, and that they are therefore more successful in fostering innovation” (Patton & Kenney, 2003:22).

In this regard, the above-mentioned empirical studies revealed that there is an indirect effect of the concept of social capital on the economic prosperity in the modern world because innovation is widely accepted as the most important sector which creates economic development as it is mentioned in previous chapters of this thesis and these studies show that the level of trust, networks, and norms have increased the production of value-added and innovative products in this age.

Third, the concept of social capital has also started to be conceptualized and operationalized for explaining democracy and democratization processes in the social sciences because even though there are some popular theories about democratization such as modernization theory that examine impact of economic development on democracy and democratization processes in different countries (Lipset, 1959; Przeworski and Limongi, 1993, 1997; Boix and Stokes, 2003), some scholars have

⁸ Global Innovation Index 2017 declared that Switzerland, Sweden, Netherlands, United States of America, United Kingdom, Denmark, Singapore, Finland, Germany, and Ireland are the most ten innovative countries in the world. According to Eurostat, the level of trust in others at the highest level in Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and Ireland in Europe. Global Innovation Index (2017) Retrieved from https://www.globalinnovationindex.org/UploadedFiles/Indepths/Files/Indepths_9db22f7962064f1282db29c9aec30365.PDF

noticed that other factors including civic engagement, the level of trust, reciprocity and cooperative norms in a society also have significant effects on democracy and democratization processes (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Paxton, 2002).

The above-mentioned empirical studies revealed that the level of trust, reciprocity, and social norms that encourage cooperation have concrete benefits for the democratization of a non-democratic country or survival of democracy in a democratic regime. This is because trust, reciprocity, and cooperative norms can encourage people to involve in public life and increase civic engagement and the high-level of involvement of people in public life and civil society impede governments to tend to authoritarianism or violate the democratic rights. Thus, it is defended that involvement in public life enables democratic institutions to work better in the modern world because people can easily find an opportunity to organize to resist or raise their voices against the government (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Paxton, 2002; Tilly, 2005).

To reinforce this argument, the following empirical data would be given as an example to shed light on the close relationship between democracy and the concept of social capital:

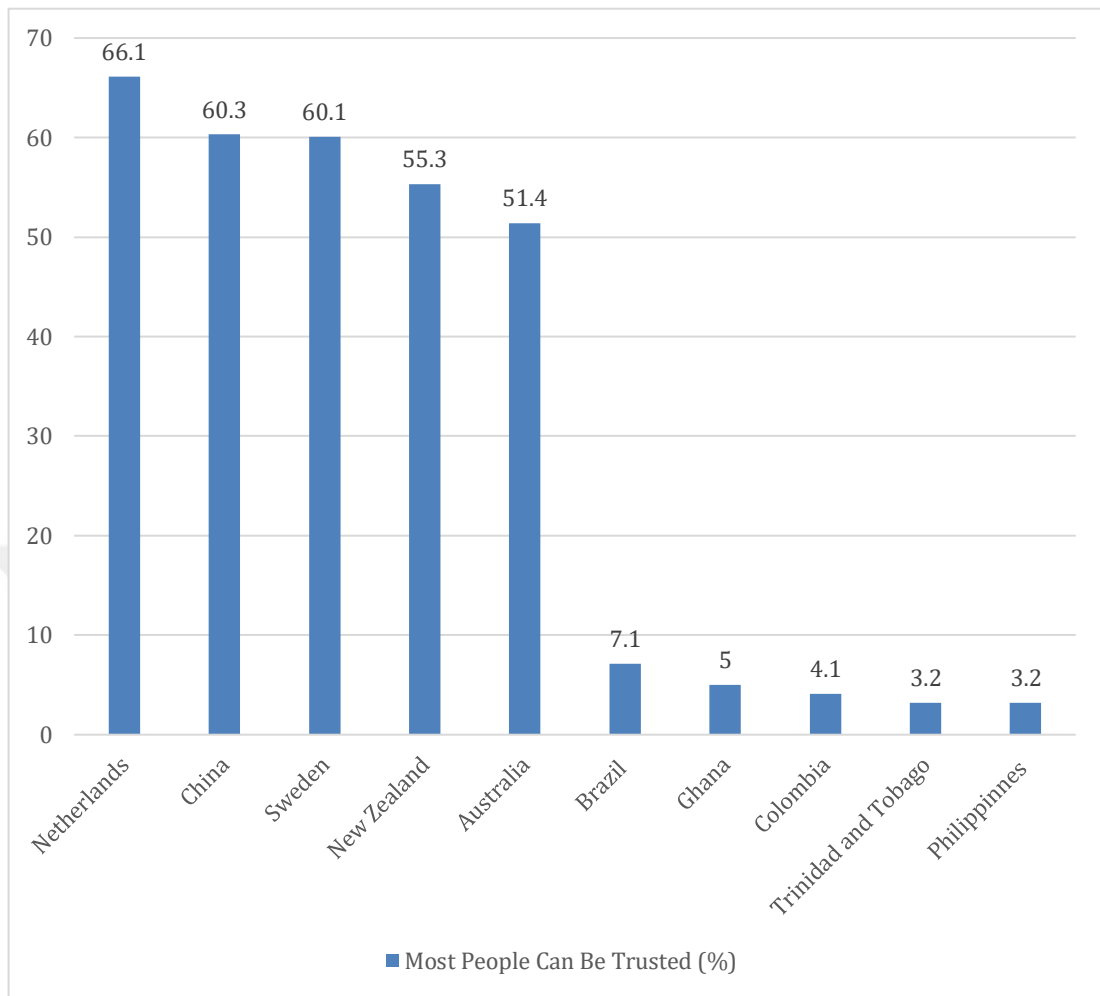


Figure 10. Countries with the Highest and Lowest Level of Trust

Source: World Values Survey

World Values Survey's data about the level of trust shows that countries with the high-level of trust have higher scores in democracy index. For example, according to The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, whereas Netherlands, Sweden, New Zealand and Australia are classified as countries have full democracy, countries with the lowest level of trust such as Brazil, Ghana, Colombia, Trinidad and Tobago and Philippines are categorized as hybrid regimes in the world.⁹ This shows that if all other factors are held constant, we can claim that the level of trust has a strong influence on

⁹ The Economic Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (2016). Retrieved from <https://infographics.economist.com/2017/DemocracyIndex/>

democracy and democratic institutions to perform better. Thus, it would be argued that apart from economic growth and human capital, it is noticed that social relations, the level of interpersonal and/or institutional trust, reciprocity, and cooperative norms also have the strong influence on democracy.

In addition to this, the concept of social capital has also been used by some scholars to measure its impact on political stability. For instance, Nunn, Qian, and Wen (2017) performed an empirical research and supplied evidence to prove that the high-level of trust has a positive effect on political stability due to two main reasons. First, the high-level of trust enables democratic institutions to maintain their capacities to work. Second, the high-level of social trust contributes to institutional and political trust and thus, impede the high turnout rates in politics. This study also highlights the importance of the concept of social capital on political stability in comparison with other concepts because the above-mentioned study shows that political stability can be explained by the level of trust rather than human capital or economic growth in a state.

Fourth, the concept of social capital has increased its intellectual currency not only in political science, sociology, and economics but also in law and health. This is because various scholars who are specialized in the fields of law and health noticed that social integration, social inclusion, norms, the level of trust and reciprocity play a very significant effect on crime rates, safety of cities, and people's well-being as much as other capital forms (Jacobs, 1961; Durkheim, 1975; House, Landis & Umberson, 1988; Putnam, 2000; Saegert et al, 2001; Lin, 2001; Ostrom & Ahn, 2003; Halpern, 2005; Field, 2008). This is because in the past, socioeconomic status and the level of human capital was used for explaining criminal activities and people's health in the

social sciences but the above-mentioned studies proved that social capital provides an alternative explanation in these fields.

In summary, high cohesion, interconnections, and more frequent interactions among different people and groups have started to characterize the contemporary world. This is because due to the industrial revolution, historical, economic and technological developments, urbanization has increased and led to the emergence of more complex industrial societies. Thus, people's social relations have changed rapidly and this increased importance of relations with strangers and the volume of social networks to survive or improve living standards in the modern world. In this regard, whereas questions of 'what you know?' and 'who you are?' have gradually started to lose their significance, the question of 'who you know' has achieved to be more significant place in people's lives. This is because reciprocal social network enables people to reach more effective outputs including employment, academic achievement, school success, well-being, profit, and production at the present time and thus, people's collaborators have started to have an important place in society (Kucerova, 2011). In this regard, reciprocal social networks and other relevant concepts were capitalized in the social sciences as the concept of social capital and it has gained a popularity among scholars as it is explained in previous sections of this thesis.

CHAPTER IV

CHALLENGES TO USE SOCIAL CAPITAL AS AN EXPLANATORY CONCEPT

Chapter IV refers to the main challenges to use social capital as an explanatory concept based on the measurement problems and criticisms of the most cited scholars towards the concept of social capital in the social sciences. It should be emphasized that this thesis does not try to promote or criticize the operationalization of the concept of social capital because the main objective of the thesis is examining the studies on the concept of social capital in the social sciences to answer research questions. By reviewing the studies on its measurement, the critique about what social capital can and cannot explain, and the negative effects of the concept in leading to certain types of hazardous consequences the research highlights the lack of consensus on its definition and therefore possibly negative consequences for its prolonged appeal.

4.1 Problems in Measurement of the Concept of Social Capital

This thesis underlines the fact that there is no widely accepted measurement method of the concept of social capital among scholars in the social sciences. In this sense, some academics criticize the concept of social capital in terms of its methodological and dimensional weaknesses. Despite this, the most cited scholars who performed empirical studies on the concept of social capital preferred to use different methods to measure the level of social capital at the micro, meso and macro levels. Therefore, this

section provides information about each measurement method of the concept to identify the methodological weaknesses of the concept of social capital and answer the question like why the concept of social capital is still harshly criticized by some scholars in the social sciences even though it has gained popularity in the 1990s and 2000s.

Firstly, the majority of the most cited scholars and the most prestigious international organizations preferred to measure the level of social capital through using dimensional approach. In this sense, they frequently use trust, reciprocity and social network which were examined in a more comprehensive way in Chapter III for their empirical research purposes. For example, Robert Putnam equated civic engagement with social capital and measured the level of social capital in Italy and United States through measuring participation in civil society organizations, politics, and religious associations (Putnam, 1993, 2000). Furthermore, Svendsen and Sorensen (2006) preferred to measure the level of social capital through using the density of voluntary associations as the main indicator. Grenler and Wright (2003) and Paxton (1999, 20002) also consider volunteering as a more robust method to measure the level of social capital as well. In this sense, arguing that participation in voluntary associations is one of the most common measurement methods of the concept of social capital would not be a wrong analysis in light of the above-mentioned empirical studies.

Secondly, whereas trust is conceived as an asset to increase civic engagement in a society, some scholars equate the level of trust with social capital. That is why they frequently use survey method to measure the level of trust through designing and conducting questionnaires and surveys. For example, various scholars frequently ask the questions like would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you cannot

be too careful in dealing with people and/or would you say that some specific political institutions are trusted or not to measure the level of trust in a community (Newton, 2001; Uslaner, 2002; Knack & Keefer, 2007; Rothstein & Stolle, 2008; Takakura, Hamabata, Ueji & Kurihara, 2014). Therefore, trust comes to the forefront as an important indicator for the measurement of the level of social capital in a society.

Thirdly, Nan Lin (2001) produced a different method which is called as position generated method to measure the level of social capital. According to Lin, the level of social capital should not be measured by the number of the person in people's social network because establishing a relationship with a person who has a higher status in society would bring more benefits than having a relationship with numerous people who do not have any influential position in society in the modern world. In this regard, Lin designs questionnaire to ask respondents to indicate their close contacts with people in some important positions in a society to measure the level of accessed social capital (Lin, 2001).

Fourthly, participation in civil society organizations, neighborhood, family and friends connections, the level of tolerance, work connections, reciprocity, hierarchy, security, crime, family stability and integrity are some concepts which were used to create a social capital index by some important institutions including The Barometer of Social Capital in Colombia, New South Wales Study, Index of National Civic Health in USA, and UK Health Development Agency (Narayan & Cassidy, 2001; Harper & Kelly, 2003). Furthermore, allocating time for socialization, the scope of social activities, and the distribution across age, economic status, educational background, and gender are

also accepted as other indicators to measure the level of social capital by some scholars in the social sciences (Grenler & Wright, 2003).

In addition to these, Grootaert, Narayan, Jones and Michael Woolcock (2004) introduced a new tool for measurement of social capital which is named as the Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ). This tool basically consists of six dimensions including groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, social cohesion and inclusion and empowerment and political action and all these dimensions are measured by questionnaires.

Not only the most cited scholars in the social sciences, but also the most prestigious and influential international organizations and some national statistical institutions have developed various methods for the measurement of social capital well. For example, OECD organized international conferences to produce an internationally accepted measurement method for social capital and social participation, social networks, reciprocity, and trust, and civic engagement are identified as indicators of the concept of social capital for its measurement. Moreover, World Bank preferred to use the above-mentioned Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ) as a tool to measure social capital. In addition to international organizations, The New Zealand Statistical Office, as a national governmental body, developed a statistical framework which consists of four main components including behaviors, attitudes and values, population groups, and organization to measure the level of social capital. As another national governmental body, Australian Bureau of

Statistics also chose network qualities, network structure, network transactions and network types as main indicators to measure the level of social capital (Iisakka, 2006).

This section of the thesis revealed that even though there are various preferred methods in the literature and international organizations make efforts to produce an internationally recognized measurement method for the measurement of the level of social capital, there is still no widely accepted measurement method of the concept of social capital among scholars, international organizations and governmental bodies through providing a brief literature review and analysis of the measurement methods of scholars and international and national institutions about the measurement of social capital. In light of this, questionnaires and dimensional approach can be conceived as the most popular measurement methods in the literature. However, scholars, international organizations and national governmental bodies frequently formulate different questions and attach more importance to some dimensions than others to measure social capital. In this regard, this section proves that there is a confusion among scholars, international organizations and governmental bodies on the measurement of social capital by supplying evidence from the most cited academic studies in the social sciences.

4.2 Criticisms Towards Social Capital in the Literature

The concept of social capital has gained a popularity in the social sciences but this popularity has also brought harsh criticisms against this concept at the same time. Social capital has often been criticized by some scholars in the social sciences due to three main reasons. The first one is the definitional ambiguity of the concept of social capital. The second reason is lack of consensus among scholars on the measurement of the concept. The third one is some conceptual weaknesses of social capital. In this regard, each of them is examined in this section as follows:

First, as it is mentioned and examined in Chapter II, a consensus on the definition of the concept could not be provided yet among scholars in the social sciences. Therefore, scholars criticize the concept of social capital because of this reason. For example, Durlauf (1999) supports the idea that the most important problem of the concept is its definitional ambiguity. This is because there are numerous different definitions of social capital and different scholars attribute different meanings to the concept in the social sciences.

In addition to this, Daly and Silver (2008) point out that meanings and indicators of the concept of social capital are partially overlapped, and they are sometimes used interchangeably in academic studies. For example, some scholars equate civic engagement, trust, and social network with social capital and they frequently prefer to use one of the above-mentioned three concepts rather than social capital in their studies. However, as it is examined in Chapter III of this thesis, indicators of all these terms are slightly different from each other, and they should not be equated with social capital in academic studies. In this regard, it would not be wrong to claim that if

scholars have no consensus on the definition of a concept, measurement of its effects on various social and economic phenomena would not be carried out well.

Second, ambiguity in the measurement of social capital is among the main criticisms towards the concept in the literature. In the previous section of Chapter IV, various measurement methods which are highly preferred by scholars to measure the level of social capital are presented and analyzed. Even though scholars prefer to use different methods for their empirical research purposes, some other scholars harshly criticize the concept due to the ambiguity of its measurement, and they support the idea that the concept of social capital cannot be considered as a unified and coherent concept in the literature (Haynes, 2009). Empirically, some scholars tried to measure the level of social capital but they point out that observational data cannot be successful to identify substantive forms of social capital. Therefore, they found the measurement of norms and social trust at the national and international level too difficult (Foley and Edwards, 1999; Durlauf, 1999). Furthermore, some other scholars claim that social capital is often used to measure individual choices but, it is not possible to measure individual choices. Therefore, they consider social capital as a concept which is not measurable (Barton, 2016). In this regard, the intellectual currency of this concept is also criticized in the social sciences due to its methodological weaknesses and ambiguity in the literature because opponents of the concept of social capital claim that if the level of social capital at the micro, meso and macro level cannot be measured adequately, its effect on social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies cannot be measured well.

Thirdly, scholars also bring conceptual criticisms towards the social capital. For example, they found the social capital literature insufficient to identify that which factors increase social capital and how the high-level and low-level of social capital affect other social and economic phenomena. Therefore, Haynes (2009) does not consider social capital as an explanatory concept due to its a tautologous logic¹⁰ (Barton, 2016). As another conceptual criticism towards the concept of social capital, Woolcock's argument would be given. According to Woolcock, social capital has various dimensions and forms. Therefore, the concept of social capital has a conceptual risk in the literature because scholars may explain too much with too little through using the concept of social capital as an independent variable (Woolcock,1998).

Another critique of the concept of social capital in the literature is about the name of the concept because some scholars think that social capital is not a capital form. For example, Bowles and Gintis (2002) consider capital as an asset which can be owned. Therefore, according to them, social capital cannot be considered as a capital form because the scholars in the social capital literature frequently refer to social relationships among people and social relationships cannot be owned or traded. In addition to Bowles and Gintis, Arrow (1999) also argues that the term of capital has three features including deliberate sacrifice for future benefit, alienability and extension in time but, the concept of social capital does not have any of the above-mentioned implications of the term of capital.

¹⁰ I am grateful to Assoc. Prof. Dilek Çınar for her suggestions to provide more information regarding the tautological logic of the concept of social capital and criticisms and weaknesses of this concept. Tautological logic means that something can be true in all circumstances. Therefore, social capital is criticized due to its tautological logic because someone argue that this concept basically support the idea that if all people hold each other's hands, everything will be okay in the world.

To sum up, this section examines the criticisms towards the concept of social capital in the social science literature. In light of this, the main criticisms would be summarized as ambiguity in definition and measurement of the concept and some conceptual problems of the term of social capital. Therefore, this section revealed that despite the popularity of the concept of social capital, criticisms against social capital also exist in the literature but, it should also be admitted that their impact in the social sciences is smaller than followers of the concept of social capital.¹¹

4.3 The Dark Side of Social Capital

Though this thesis mostly underlines the positive effects of social capital on social and economic dynamics of advanced industrial societies, it should also be emphasized that social capital has also some negative impacts on some cases at the present time. Therefore, this section reveals the dark side of social capital for societies in light of the most cited academic studies in the social science literature as follows:

Firstly, as Bourdieu claims that capital is the most important tool for elites to reproduce themselves in society. He also points out that social relations, in other words, social networks have started to be an important tool for the winners of society to attain their goals because social networks bring more job and business opportunities, increase people's reputation in a society and enable people to get a high-quality education to invest in their human capital. That is why social network is considered as a capital form because membership in social networks brings access to valuable resources for

¹¹ There is an imbalance between the promotion and critique of the concept of social capital in this thesis because this thesis does not aim to promote or criticize social capital to be used as an explanatory concept in the literature. The main concern of this thesis is depending on the literature to comprehend that how the concept of social capital is studied in the social sciences. Therefore, it should be emphasized that in the social sciences literature, criticisms towards the concept of social capital to be used as an explanatory concept is smaller than promotion of the concept.

some segments of society. However, it is a well-known fact that nobody has equal opportunities to access these networks to invest in their social capital and some people have natural advantage thanks to their family background to establish strong social relations with more influential people, it should be highlighted that social capital causes economic, social, ethnic and religious inequalities and enables elites to prevent the participation of the people from other ethnic or economic classes in their circles even though they are very successful or talented (Edwards and Foley, 1998). In this sense, social capital can also be considered as a hindrance to economic progress due to its negative effects on the meritocratic system (Haynes, 2009). This is because if the meritocratic system is abolished, unqualified people can easily find opportunities to be able to work in sensitive positions to make important decisions which directly affect people's lives and their decisions probably cause many problems which damage economic and social development (Bourdieu, 1986; Gaunlett, 2011).

Secondly, as it is mentioned above, social capital should be considered as a weapon that can be used for bad purposes because social capital can cause some problems through providing cooperation among people for harmful actions for society because owners of capital such as the leader of associations or groups can benefit from actions which affect society negatively (Field, 2008). For example, terrorist organizations probably have the high-level of in-group trust and network but they use this asset for their harmful actions for society such as spreading fear and murdering someone. In addition to this, the level of trust, reciprocity and the volume of social networks can also be at the high-level among organized crime organizations, and they also use these assets for their criminal actions to attain their goals (Putnam, 2000).

Thirdly, Pamela Paxton (2002) emphasized that all associations do not have equal effects on democracy because some associations and groups can be against democracy and participation in these associations and level of social capital among members of them lead to the violation of democracy. Therefore, Paxton claims that high within-group trust and networks and low between-group trust and networks have negative effects on democracy in the modern world. In this regard, considering social capital as a concept which has only positive effects on democracy is not an appropriate analysis. This is because societies that have higher within-group trust and networks than between-group trust and networks cannot internalize democratic values such as toleration, freedom of speech, and diversity and thus, democratic institutions and rules cannot work properly in these societies. In this sense, structures of associations should be taken into consideration during the preparation of methodological infrastructure of an empirical research on the concept of social capital and democracy.

The negative effects of the concept of social capital are discussed on the above-mentioned three main themes in the social science literature. In light of the most cited academic studies in the field of social capital, it would be argued that the high-level of social capital in small organizations can easily be used for diverse harmful actions by owners of social capital. In this regard, this section also supplied evidence to support the idea that bonding social capital comes to the forefront as the most harmful type of social capital as it is asserted in Chapter II of this thesis. Therefore, investing in bridging or linking social capital should be considered as an important way to eliminate or diminish the negative effects of social capital on the above-mentioned three main themes because bridging social capital enables people to establish open institutions and organizations and relationships with people from various ethnic and

religious groups and economic classes. Thus, the negative effects of social capital on the meritocratic system at the present time can also be eliminated.



CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis was only analyzing the conceptualization process of social capital in the social sciences based on the literature through answering the questions like why did scientific community need to conceptualize and operationalize the new concept in the social sciences for explaining social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies and how the frequency of references to the concept of social capital dramatically increased in the 1990s and 2000s in the literature.

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, this study examined the most cited academic studies, in particular empirical studies, in a comprehensive manner to understand the main motivations of scholars in the social sciences and make an analysis of other factors which pushed scholars to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital as an independent variable even though other capital forms exist as popular concepts in the social science literature for explaining more complex social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized countries.

5.1 Findings

Based on the reviewed most cited academic studies, this thesis defends that scientific community needed to conceptualize and operationalize a new concept which is called as social capital due to two main reasons as follows:

Firstly, the world has rapidly industrialized, urbanized and globalized and this process has affected people's lives at the micro and macro levels. This is because people have started to need to establish social relations with others to maintain their daily activities and improve living conditions. As it is presented in the previous chapters of this thesis, trust, reciprocity, and cooperative norms have started to play a very significant role in the establishment and characteristics of social relations in modern times. In this regard, effects of the above-mentioned concepts on people's lives at the micro and macro levels have gradually increased, and scholars in the social sciences could not be indifferent against this phenomenon. Therefore, they needed to conceptualize and operationalize this concept to explain more complex social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized countries.

Secondly, existing concepts including capital forms have become to be insufficient for explaining more complex social and economic dynamics of advanced industrial societies because societies have become more complex and thus, scholars have difficulty to explain several social and economic cases by continuing to operationalize the existing concepts adequately. As a consequence of that scholars plunged into a quest of other possible factors which affect more complex social and economic cases in the modern world and they found that trust, reciprocity, cooperative norms and social networks have important impacts on them. Therefore, they needed to

conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital in the social sciences literature.

Furthermore, this thesis defends that the frequency of references to the concept of social capital dramatically increased owing to the success of leading scholars to explain various socioeconomic cases in the modern world by operationalizing this concept in their empirical studies because they mostly achieved to find significant results by operationalizing the concept of social capital through holding other factors constant in the social science literature. In this regard, scholars have started to attach more importance to this concept and preferred to examine social and economic dynamics of advanced industrialized societies through using the concept of social capital as an independent variable rather than other concepts.

In brief, success of leading scholars such as Loury, Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, Fukuyama and so forth to operationalize this concept for their empirical research purposes inspired other scholars to conduct their studies on the concept of social capital in the social sciences and this made the concept of social capital is a very popular concept among scholars and policymakers in the modern world. Thus, both the explanatory power of the concept of social capital and the shortcomings of the other concepts including financial, physical and human capital in capturing the transformation led to its popularity in the social sciences.

5.2 Significance of the Study and Future Implications

The vast majority of scholars mostly preferred to use this concept for their empirical research purposes in the social sciences literature. In this regard, they frequently used the concept of social capital to measure its effects on various social and economic developments. However, this thesis mainly focused on the main motivations of the most cited scholars to conceptualize and operationalize the concept of social capital in their empirical studies even though there are similar concepts in the literature.

Therefore, this thesis would probably be considered as the first study which contributes to the social science literature through supplying evidence in light of the most cited empirical studies on the concept of social capital for answering the questions of why did scholars need to conceptualize a new concept in the social sciences and how the frequency of references to the concept of social capital increased in the social sciences. In this regard, this thesis provides a framework for understanding why some concepts become more popular than others in certain periods of time in the social sciences.

This thesis also implies that even though the frequency of references to the concept of social capital dramatically increased in the social sciences in the 1990s and 2000s, this concept has still many problems such as ambiguity in its definition and measurement methodology as they were examined in previous chapters. Therefore, this thesis considers that forecasting the future of the concept of social capital in the literature is too difficult. Yet, it should be highlighted that some indicators enable us to make some implications for the future of this concept in the social sciences.

First of all, it can easily be observed that people have numerous tools to contact with strangers to share their ideas or cooperate with them to pursue common interests owing to technological development at the present time. Furthermore, people have also started to benefit from technological development through using websites and other tools to invest in their social capital by increasing the volume of their social networks to find employment or other material and/or non-material benefits. In light of this, it would be argued that all these developments and facts enable this thesis to estimate that the concept of social capital will continue to maintain its instrumental importance in people's lives at the micro level in the near future.

Secondly, it is obvious that complexity of modern societies will continue to make some concepts including cooperation, trust, reciprocity, cooperative norms and social network essential for people and countries to survive and develop. This is because, with the globalization of the world, societies have become more and more complex structures in comparison with the 1990s and early 2000s. This shows that the above-mentioned concepts will continue to affect various social and economic phenomena in the future and thus, social capital will continue to be an important concept in people's lives at the macro level. Therefore, this thesis anticipates that the concept of social capital will continue to be used by scholars in the social sciences as an independent variable for explaining economic development, democracy, social and income equality, health, crime, school success, poverty alleviation and so forth due to increasing complexity of the modern societies.

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