

Social Exclusion in a Comparative Context

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The analysis of social exclusion has encountered significant challenges when comparative approaches are utilised. How can we establish a basis for comparison across regions or nations, for example, especially where the standards for adequate income, housing, or even social participation vary considerably? On the other hand, without such comparison, we are unable to identify the conditions and policies that might contribute to greater inclusion and less exclusion.

In this paper, we offer a partial solution to this challenge¹. Rather than focus on the conditions and consequences of social exclusion, we provide a framework for looking at the processes by which social exclusion and inclusion might occur. By doing so, we avoid the problem of establishing a common benchmark for the level of exclusion and direct our energies to answering questions regarding the principal ways in which exclusion occurs, its manifestations in different social and policy environments, and the conditions under which inclusion might be facilitated and exclusion reduced.

The discussion is organised in three main sections. First, we introduce a general framework regarding four types of social relations that underlie inclusion and exclusion: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal. This section combines the theoretical material with results from a Canadian national research project in which that material has been developed. Second, we apply the framework to the characteristics and changes in rural Canada as a means to develop some core hypotheses and demonstrate its utility. Finally, we discuss some of the policy and research implications of our analysis, particularly as they might contribute to facilitating inclusion under the new conditions of the rural economy.

Conceptualizing Social Exclusion and Inclusion

The research literature

Following the lead of Room (1995b), Shucksmith and Chapman (1999), and Commins (1993) we treat social exclusion as multidimensional, dynamic, multi-leveled, and relational. Social exclusion is multidimensional because one can be excluded from different institutions, social groups, specific benefits, or even particular events. It is dynamic because it is a process that is highly conditional

on time, place, and circumstance. Inclusion in many social clubs, for example, depends on a previous history of acceptable behaviour (indeed it is often a formal condition for inclusion). Boisterous behaviour in a bar is likely to contribute to social inclusion, but the same behavior in a church is bound to have the opposite effect. Social exclusion is also multi-leveled since inclusion within a small group can imply exclusion from the perspective of a larger group. This is often the case where cliques or gangs emerge in social settings such as schools or small communities. Most importantly, we treat social exclusion in relational terms (Shucksmith 2001, p. 5). It is not a condition of individuals in isolation, but an integral part of the relationships in which they are embedded. It is this feature of social exclusion that justifies the four-fold taxonomy we propose.

Social exclusion and inclusion are about having access to the assets and resources critical to well-being (Room 1995b; Chapman et al. 1998). People and groups gain access to these assets and resources in many ways. The processes are far from random, however. They are organised through systems of habits, rights, and entitlements that give priority to some over others, coordinate the activities required, and condition the conflicts that inevitably emerge. These systems of rights and entitlements are organised within a wide range of values, norms, institutions, infrastructure, and regulations as people adjust to the contingencies of nature and the outcomes of their own creations. In the process, some are denied access to resources through design or consequence, coercion, or sacrifice.

Social exclusion includes both distributional and relational aspects (Shucksmith 2001). On the one hand it implies that some people or groups may be excluded from access to resources or services that are available to others. From this point of view, the analysis of exclusion tends to focus on outcomes such as poverty, access to services, and stratification of various forms (Bollman and Biggs 1992; Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty 1993). On the other hand, exclusion implies that some people or groups may not be integrated into social networks or institutions that are available to others (Commins 1993; Berghman 1995). From this point of view, analysis focuses on social relations, entry and exit into poverty, and participation in various types of social institutions. It is time for these two somewhat disparate perspectives to be integrated.

Polanyi's three 'modes of economic integration' (1944) provided the initial inspiration for integrating the distributional and relational nature of social inclusion processes, but we have modified them somewhat to suit contemporary social relations.² Polanyi identified 'market exchange', 'redistribution' and 'reciprocity' as three basic forms. We use market relations in essentially the same way as he did, but argue that 'redistribution' takes two different forms in contemporary society.

The first is the bureaucratic form, where integration occurs through the division of labour in hierarchic organisations, using formally identified rules and roles. Giddens (1991) identifies this form as one of the major characteristics of modernity. It becomes a key mechanism of reflexivity.

The second is the associative form, whereby integration occurs through the sharing of common interests. In contemporary society, single-interest groups of this nature may occur within a wide range of contexts - including the Internet (where space and time are no longer necessary elements for the relationships to occur). They need not take the hierarchal form proposed by Polanyi.

This distinction also has the effect of modifying Polanyi's interpretation of the reciprocal mode. We place more emphasis on the multiplicity of exchanges that take place under reciprocity and reserve single interest relations to those found more often in the associative form. By doing so, we reduce the geographical restriction that underlies Polanyi's formulation of reciprocity and recognize the distinct form of single interest associations, whether they be organised within neighbourhoods, across regions, or globally, over the Internet. We suggest that such relations are significantly different than the multiple-interest interactions of family and close-friendship relationships. For this reason, we have redefined Polanyi's 'redistribution' and 'reciprocal' modes into three new types: bureaucratic, associative, and communal.

This new classification parallels an extensive treatment of types of relationships provided by Fiske (1991) in his analysis of the elementary forms of human relations. His work goes well beyond Polanyi's focus on economic integration by introducing implications for values, social motives and emotions, intuitive social thought, and moral judgement. Our primary difference from Fiske's framework occurs where he identifies 'market pricing' with 'rational-legal' legitimacy and a 'social contract' orientation (Fiske 1991, p. 27). Although market pricing may include legal structures and contracts as a means of reducing deception and deceit, the structures need not be of these forms. In fact, rational-legal structures may serve as a basis for non-market types of relations. Indeed, Weber contrasts the bureaucratic distribution of resources based on status rather than productivity as one of the important points of difference from market relations (Gerth and Mills 1967, p. 196f). As Coase argues, the abstract, formal, universalistic nature of rational-legal rules is better understood as a type of social relationship that is independent from the market form (Coase 1991). Market calculations are often made outside of a rational-legal framework just as rational-legal structures of authority operate outside of market relations.

To accommodate these qualifications of the frameworks proposed by Polanyi and Fiske, we propose that social exclusion can be best understood as a feature of four fundamental types of social relations: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal. They represent four relatively coherent ways in which people organize their relationships to accomplish tasks, legitimize their actions, allocate resources, and structure their institutions. Exclusion and inclusion can occur with respect to any or all of these types of relationships: simultaneously creating both distributional and relational manifestations of the problem.

Market Relations

Market relations are those based on the exchange of goods and services within a relatively free and information-rich context. The classical economic market, for example, is envisaged as individuals bringing surplus goods, searching for those things they desire, and striking an exchange that is mutually acceptable (Swedberg 1991, p. 21). This may take the form of barter, where goods or services are exchanged for other goods or services, or it may involve the mediation of money, where goods and services are exchanged with the help of some currency. To exchange in this way, people must have assets to exchange, be willing and able to equate their goods and services to a common standard or currency and they must be confident that the exchange will be completed in a dependable manner. Distribution within this system is primarily based

on principles articulated by classical economics for free markets: supply and demand, pricing, transaction conditions, and information flow (Coase 1991).

Market relations function best where all actors have control over some resources, information is plentiful, mobility of goods and labour are high, trust is high, uncertainty is low, and people are relatively free to move in and out of relationships (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992, p. 61). The relationships established tend to be short-term and limited for the purpose of exchange.

From this perspective, successful integration into market relations requires access to tradeable goods or services, adequate information about markets and prices, good negotiation skills, and a high level of mobility. Individuals and groups that have these qualities will have fewer barriers to inclusion.

Bureaucratic Relations

Bureaucratic relations are those based on a rationalised division of labour and the structuring of authority through general principles and rules. They are the 'rational-legal' relationships originally explored by Weber (1947; 1978): impersonal and formal, with the distribution of resources based on status positions rather than productivity. Individuals relate to each other through the roles they are ascribed rather than individual characteristics. Examples of these types of relations are found in state or corporate structures organised as hierarchies where authority is delegated from central to subordinate positions. Bureaucratic relations may also be organised using a more flat structure so long as there is considerable division of labour and power and control are assigned to positions rather than individuals. A critical feature of such relations is the explicit or implicit articulation of rights and entitlements through these positions.

Distribution within this type of relationship is primarily based on the allocation of rights and entitlements through formal charter or legal document. As with any formal system, they are usually backed up with law and access to enforcement related to law. Bureaucratic relations are status-related with integration requiring deference to others largely because of the position they hold.

Bureaucratic relations function best under conditions of stability or predictable change. Since they require explicitly coordinated rules of relationships, they take time to establish and tend to resist change as the individuals involved form expectations and take on commitments dependent on the bureaucratic relations. This reinforces their aversion to risk-taking and lower transaction costs – two of the critical points where they diverge from market relations (Williamson and Winter 1991). The articulation and enforcement of objectives, strategies, and structures also require a context where the rule of law is legitimised and mechanisms for its enforcement are in place.

Bureaucratic relations directly exclude individuals and groups through the formulation of objectives and the organisational structures created to reach those objectives. The charters and by-laws of government and corporate organisations are key points of reference for identifying the allocation of rights and entitlements. Indirectly, they also exclude by requiring individuals and groups to meet the personal and collective conditions of formal structures. This includes the cognitive ability to operate in terms of roles and generally applied principles, the facility to frame

individual and collective interests in terms of those principles, and sensitivity to the manner by which formal organisations operate – including at an informal level. Individuals or groups who are unable to separate persons from roles or who are already committed to more personalised relations are likely to find themselves excluded from the distribution of resources or services controlled through bureaucratic relations.

Associative Relations

Associative relations are primarily based on shared interests. Individuals come together because they are interested in the goals and concerns of the group (Olson 1977; Gunn and Gunn 1991, p. 156). Social clubs, social action groups, internet chat rooms, spectator events, hobby groups, and food banks are examples of these relations. They are often characterised by focused objectives and informal structures, but they can take more complex forms, particularly in those groups where recognition, respect, or camaraderie are included as group objectives. They also frequently address more long-term objectives by being transformed into more formal structures.

Associative relations are most likely to be found where interests are focused, such as under conditions of a natural disaster or social crisis. Under these conditions they provide a strong basis for social cohesion, but they are not likely to remain strong once the crisis has past. According to Putnam's analysis (2001), even in the case of major national disasters, the effects are unlikely to remain for more than three months.

Frequent interaction or the existence of a charismatic leader are also likely to facilitate the emergence of such relations. This feature has often been championed as a basis for community economic development with a call for 'leadership' or 'entrepreneurial capacity' (Flora and Flora 1993). The difficulty of such an approach is made apparent, however, when we see the many ways in which market and associative relations are in tension.

The distribution of resources within associative relations is typically based on acceptance of the group objectives and perspectives. In some cases this will require individuals to follow closely those objectives, even where it may involve some compromise on their part in order to benefit from the collective. This provides a strong motivation for the 'boundary maintenance' activities found in associative relations: manifested in symbols, rituals, initiation rites, and secrecy (Barth 1969; Cohen 1982). In others, the group interests may be more limited and specific, allowing for people with very divergent backgrounds and interests to accomplish very specific goals (Gray 2002).

Social exclusion is likely to occur in these relations where information about others' interests is limited, interests diverge, or where there is insufficient contribution to the goals on the part of a member. Many of these conditions can be exacerbated by prejudice and communication infrastructure. Stigmatisation, secrecy, and racism, are mechanisms whereby people or groups are excluded from this type of relationship as are public representations that champion only certain interests to the exclusion of others (Goffman 1963; Hackler 1999). In this respect, media representations are critical to the formation and maintenance of associative relations, becoming important mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion.

Communal Relations

Communal relations are based on a strongly shared identity. Members are treated as

equivalent, usually referring to ascribed characteristics of birth, ethnicity, or location as a basis for such equivalence (Fiske 1991, p. 258ff; Benokraitis 1997). Family, friendship, gangs, and clan relationships are common examples of such relations (Whyte 1993). The rights and obligations of members are strongly associated with this identity, largely developed and maintained by custom (Hamilton and Biggart 1992). Reciprocity obligations tend to be complex and long term. Commitments form to specific individuals or groups, not to particular interests.

Communal relations are most likely to emerge under conditions of proximity and frequent, long-term contact – facilitated by ascriptive characteristics. They require a high level of personal trust and the expectation of loyalty to individuals. In some cases these conditions are nurtured or demanded through initiation requirements or hazing found in gangs or cults. The multi-dimensional nature of communal obligations makes them particularly resistant to erosion, even under conditions of uncertainty.

Goods or services are usually distributed to members according to need, age-gender status, or personal loyalties rather than formally defined roles or ability to pay. This does not imply, however, equality of distribution (Clay and Schwarzweiler 1991). Exchanges typically involve obligations beyond the goods themselves and they are often mediated through networks of relations that carry indirect obligations by virtue of common identity. Family members, for example, may be held responsible for one member's debts: an obligation that may be transferred to subsequent generations.

Communal relations require a high level of trust and loyalty, especially where exchanges are long term or the 'objects' of exchange are unclear. For that reason, they are often associated with strong markers of inclusion and exclusion such as rituals, symbols, and ascribed characteristics (Cooley 1922).

Social exclusion within communal relations is most likely to occur where there is infrequent interaction, reduced personal trust, or challenges to identity. As a result, changes in communication and mobility are important issues for developing and maintaining these types of relations. In this respect, modern technology has both enhanced and hindered communal relations. It is now easier to meet with family and friends, but at the same time, the opportunities for a broader range of commitments has increased.

Social exclusion can also occur where personal trust is undermined. The failure to reciprocate in the past can undermine willingness to do so in the future (Mauss 1990; Dayton-Johnson 2001). If the conditions under which trust is established is a lengthier one than its erosion, the process may have a tendency to dissolve. If the former is shorter than the latter, it is likely to tend toward robustness. As a result, the identification of these two types of conditions is crucial to understanding exclusion processes.

Interrelations of the four types of social relations

These four types of relations operate with considerable internal consistency. Norms of behaviour, values, perspectives, and ways of operating surround each of them in such a way that particular expectations emerge to reinforce the legitimacy of action and the particular bases for the distribution of resources. In many cases, these norms become formalised in law with associated methods of enforcement.

Market relations, for example, are supported and controlled by trade agreements, competition legislation, labour law, and civil law. Bureaucratic relations are controlled by legislation, corporate law, and the better business bureau. Associative relations are controlled by civil law and municipal by-laws. Communal relations are controlled by family law, service agencies, and public norms. As a result, people come to depend on the secure operation of the system for access to resources and services. Threats to the operation of the system will activate resistance and those who benefit from it are likely to champion its survival and expansion. In this respect it can become self-regulating in a weak or strong sense.

On the other hand, the types of relations are not isolated from one another. Executives make business decisions on the golf course and social action groups organize themselves in bureaucratic relations in order to accomplish their objectives. All four of these types of relations usually operate in a specific situation, although only one or two may be dominant. Analysis of the Canadian General Social Survey shows, for example, that business entrepreneurs are more likely to be involved in non-business associations than non-entrepreneurs (Reimer 1997), suggesting a basic compatibility between market and associative relations. An Alberta farmer told us how his Internet-based business network (maintained with others in the cut flower business) provides him a primary social support group even though his family lives close by. Citizens in a Québec town have recounted how they turned a hobby group with an interest in lilacs into a marketable programme for their community – eventually attracting tourists from international destinations for lilac festivals and events. Each of these cases, illustrate how market and associative relations can reinforce one another. To the extent that the common interests of the associative relations are organised to match market objectives, the advantages of the two systems might be realised.

However, this is not always the case. There are many ways in which the demands of one type of relation conflict with another. The complaint within social action groups that the organisation has become ‘too bureaucratic’ can be seen as a reflection of incompatibilities between associative and bureaucratic relations. Where the associative interests of a group are short-term, flexible, and spontaneously generated, the relative inflexibility of bureaucratic relations may undermine the original objectives, or divert them to a more limited set of goals. The preference given to roles and positions in bureaucratic relations frequently conflicts with the status given to individuals and their kin relations in communal relations. In Atlantic Canada, the government (through the Marshal Decision) restricted Aboriginal control over traditional fishing rights. This provides an example where bureaucratic and market relations conflict with the traditional distribution of resources based on associative and communal relations. The ensuing bitter conflict demonstrates some of the problems that can emerge when one mode of operating is insensitive to others.

Our research on voluntary associations (Bruce and Halseth 2001) demonstrates how the regulations of government bureaucracies are particularly difficult to reconcile with the associative relations at the basis of voluntary groups. Members are primarily integrated into voluntary organisations because they share a common interest in an activity or outcome. The accountability and organisational demands of bureaucratic-based funders are often perceived as diversions from achieving these outcomes and place considerable strain on membership maintenance. Similar tensions exist

between market and associative relations. Anecdotal evidence from our study sites suggests that certain business people such as bankers and merchants are unwelcome in some of the special interest and volunteer groups since their concern for market objectives might compromise those of the group. This is compounded by the feeling that the information acquired in the volunteer group could be used for market gain in other circumstances. Market success does not always lead to associative or communal-based status in small communities.

Social exclusion in rural Canada

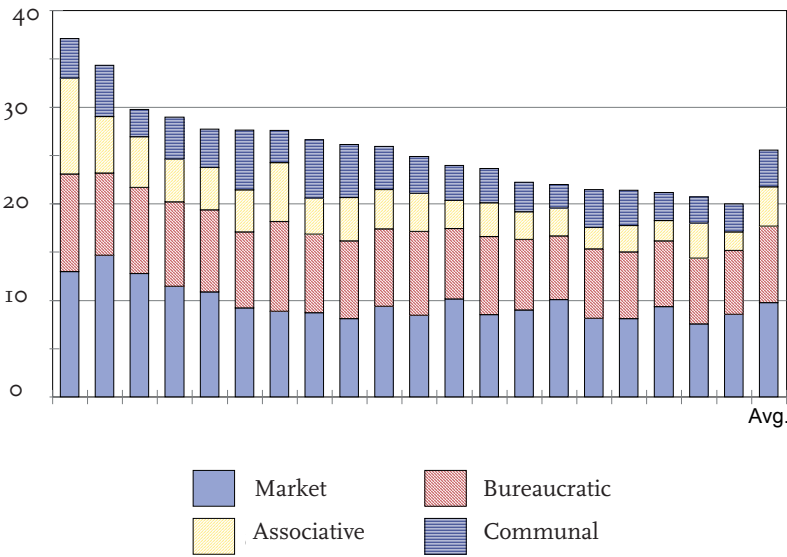
This framework has been developed within the context of a Canadian national research project initiated by the Canadian Rural Revitalisation Foundation (CRRF). Entitled *Understanding the New Rural Economy: Options and Choices (NRE)*, the project has involved over 15 researchers in collaboration with rural citizens and policy-makers since 1998.³ We have collected information regarding changes in rural Canada at a macro level using census and survey materials, at the community level using interviews, surveys, and participant observation techniques, and at the household level using a randomised survey in 20 systematically selected sites in all parts of the country (Reimer 2002). This data allows us to examine selected aspects of our framework in an empirical context. Although not a full test of the framework, it provides an illustration of its utility for understanding key changes in the rural context.

Distributions of the four types of social relations

Using data collected from this project we developed indexes for the four types of social relations as they are reflected in the activities of rural people. In the summer of 2001, 1995 people in 20 rural sites were interviewed regarding their labour force, participation, social support, and informal economy activities.⁴ As part of that survey, we received information regarding the types of services they used and who they turned to for social support in times of change. We classified these activities according to the type of relation that is likely to predominate in them and used this classification as a basis for examining the distribution of types of relations within the 20 field sites.⁵ These data also provide an opportunity to examine the site-level and household-level characteristics of respondents who are dependent on the different types of relations. In this way, we can identify those who are most vulnerable to different forms of exclusion in the rural context.

As shown in Figure 1, there is considerable variation in the pattern of use of these four types of relations between sites. Overall, market and bureaucratic relations predominate, but their relative size varies among the sites. It is with respect to the associative and communal types of relations that we see the greatest variation. This variation between sites reinforces Room's (1995a) suggestion that exclusion processes operate at the local or regional level as well as the individual or household levels. At this point, however, our focus will be on the individual and household-level sources of that variation. Since we have considerable data regarding the site levels, future work will be possible to evaluate the relative contributions and potential interactions between these two levels.

Figure 1: NRE Field Sites by 4 Types of Relations



Interrelations between the four types of social relations

Data from the NRE household survey also allows us to examine the extent to which the various types of relations are interrelated from an empirical point of view. Table 1 provides the results of that examination.

Table 1: Correlations between levels of use of 4 types of relations (N = 1995)

	Use of Bureaucratic relations	Use of Associative relations	Use of Communal relations
Use of Market relations	.32 *	.29 *	.19 *
Use of Bureaucratic relations	-	.38 *	.32 *
Use of Associative relations	-	-	.22 *

* p < 0.1

As shown in Table 1, the strongest relations are found between bureaucratic and the other three types whereas the lowest are found between communal and market or associative relations. People who participate in environmental, religious, or recreation groups, for example, are more likely to make use of government services, public education, or write a letter to a public official. Those who make use of family and friends are least likely to seek private-sector sources for the resolution of financial or employment problems.

These results also make clear how few tradeoffs occur between the four types of social relations. If we interpret them as indicators of the extent to which people are dependent on one or the other of the four types, we see that exclusion from one type of support, means that exclusion is likely to occur from the other types. This challenges the assumption that withdrawal of state social supports (primarily bureaucratic), for example, will be compensated for by an increase in third sector support (primarily associative). Both these data and anecdotal evidence from our field sites suggest this is not likely to be the case. If one is cut off from state support, one is vulnerable to being excluded from voluntary and family supports as well (Ellison et al. 1997).

Changing conditions of social exclusion

This framework for social relations assumes that different types of people or households use different types of relations to gain access to resources and services. Access to resources and social benefits requires one to meet the norms of the dominant types of relations found in specific circumstances. Failure to do so means exclusion from those social relations and their associated resources. Successful inclusion requires one to recognize the dominant types of relations operating under particular circumstances and to behave according to these norms. Variation in the use of the four types of relations is, therefore, partly due to the relations within which the resources are organised and partly due to the skills and preferences of the individuals. Our data can be used to identify some of the patterns which emerge as a result of these processes. We will focus primarily on the characteristics of people and households that reflect changing rural conditions: economic organisation, mobility, and family structure. In this way, the analysis will provide clues regarding the future reorganisation of exclusion and inclusion.

Table 2 provides results from this analysis. Using simple correlations ⁶ we have identified the extent to which the four types of relations are used by individuals in various types of households. We have also used the index of qualitative variation to measure the extent to which households make use of many or few of the four types of relations. This index provides some indication where they might be vulnerable to changes in one of the types of relations (the index of variation would have a small value) or where their dependencies are spread among many types.

We see, for example, that households composed only of seniors are unlikely to use market or even communal-based relations for social support. Bureaucratic and associative-based relations appear unrelated to this household type. This pattern confirms the vulnerability of elderly households and the extent to which they are disconnected to both markets and family relations. Single parent households, on the other hand, are more dependent on bureaucratic and communal-based relations such as those reflected in government transfer payments or family support. They appear relatively excluded from market-based relations. This suggests that programmes directed to job creation and even support for voluntary groups may have relatively small impacts on single parents without adequate development of the opportunities or skills of these parents to take advantage of them.

Table 2: *Correlations between Household Characteristics and the Use of the 4 Types of Relations*

	Market	Bureaucratic	Associative	Communal	Variation
Seniors only in HH (65+)	-0.45	-	-	-0.09	-
Single parent in HH	-0.05	0.06	-	0.07	-
Older youth(s) in HH (18-24)	0.26	-	-	0.06	-
At least 1 HH member employ FT	0.63	0.05	0.08	0.11	0.08
Education of respondent	0.37	0.23	0.20	0.10	-
Amount of time in the community	0.05	0.08	0.11	-	-
Born in community	-0.05	-0.07	-0.10	0.05	-
Lived all life in community	-	-0.09	-0.10	-	-
Newcomer to community	0.05	0.07	0.10	-0.05	-
Own a home	0.08	-	-	-	-
Own a business	0.56	0.07	0.10	-	-
Have access to vehicle	0.48	0.08	0.10	0.05	-

$p < 0.5$

As might be expected, households with older youths, at least one member employed full time, and higher education are most integrated with market relations. This is consistent with the fact that these types of people are most likely to be involved in the labour market and to have the income resources that permits them to pay for resources and services when in need. Those with full-time employment are also involved in a wide variety of relations as indicated by the correlation with the index of variation. This suggests that both full-time employment and education provide opportunities for spreading dependency among more types of relations, thereby increasing integration possibilities.

These data also provide some indication that the length of time in the site is an important factor for the type of integration considered. The details of that time are equivocal, however. Being born in the community is associated with greater use of communal-based relations, but a lower level of use within the other three types. Newcomers show the opposite pattern: using market, bureaucratic, and associative-based relations with less involvement in the communal type. This includes participating in associative relations. These data suggest that voluntary associations may be more reliant on recent in-migrants rather than the long-term residents: a feature that may contribute to their membership problems (Bruce and Halseth 2001).

Owning a business also increases the range of relation-types utilised. Business owners even show associations with more types of relations than owning a home. These results are consistent with others that show how social capital (primarily measured as associational relations) and economic performance are associated (Reimer 1997; Putnam 2001).

Finally, the data regarding vehicle access confirm the importance of transportation for rural life. This appears highest for market and associative relations. Lack of

access to transportation, therefore, will increase the chance of exclusion through all four types of relations (Chapman et al. 1998)

Evaluating outcomes of the four types of relations

A central proposition of our framework is that the four types of relations will provide access to different resources and services depending on how the latter are organised. In Canadian society, for example, financial resources are most often organised and distributed within market-based relations. Social support, on the other hand has traditionally been provided through communal (family), associative (charities), or more recently, bureaucratic (government) types of relationships. Accessing the different types of resources or services, therefore, requires the ability to operate within these different types of relations.

Our household data provide an opportunity to examine some of these claims by looking at the relationship between the four types of relations used and indicators of resource and service levels in the households. The results of this type of analysis can be found in Table 3.

Table 3: *Correlations between Resource Levels and the Use of the 4 Types of Relations*

	Market	Bureaucratic	Associative	Communal	Variation
HH Income	0.53	0.10	0.21	-	-
Government transfer payments	-0.36	0.23	-	-	-
Poverty indicators	0.20	0.22	-	0.17	-
Low government-dependent income	0.48	0.05	0.11	0.05	0.07

$p < 0.5$

As expected, income appears to be most strongly associated with market-based relations. High income households are also ones that make use of associative-based types of relations, and to a lesser extent, bureaucratic-based ones. This is consistent with the findings from our analysis of voluntary organisations that makes clear how an adequate level of income is necessary for participation (Bruce and Halseth 2001) as well with the work linking business ownership to such participation (Reimer 1997).

Receiving government transfer payments is negatively associated with market-based relations and positively related to bureaucratic-based ones. This is consistent with our expectations. We separated out those households receiving social assistance related to very low incomes as a proxy for poverty status.⁷ As shown in the table, these types of households make use of market, bureaucratic, and communal types of relations. As a basis for comparison we identified those households that make few demands on government sources of income. They appear to make use of a wide variety of sources as reflected in the correlation with the index of variation. Although these results require more analysis to clarify the processes underlying them, they confirm how the types of relationship utilised are differentially related to the various outcomes, thereby building credibility for the framework.

Our final analysis examines the use of various types of relations for a broad

range of social support. This analysis is derived from a series of questions we asked regarding the major changes occurring in the household over the previous year. After identifying the most important change, we asked respondents to provide information on the responses they made to those changes and the outcomes of those responses. We were able to classify the responses into the four types of relations and used this to identify the relationships between the nature of the change and the type of relation sought to deal with the change. The results are provide in Table 4.

Table 4: % of Households Using 4 Types of Relations by Nature of Change

Type of Change	Market	Bureaucratic	Associative	Communal	N
Finance/income	32	32	5	44	528
Health	12	76	23	71	543
Relationships	20	29	9	66	185
Other	24	42	18	66	149
Total	22	50	14	60	1405

These results confirm the significant variation in types of response to various types of changes. In general, people seek support within their circle of family and friends for all types of changes. For financial or income changes, they were equally likely to seek support through market or bureaucratic-based relations, although results from subsequent questioning revealed that they were less likely to rate these as helpful in comparison to the communal-based sources. Communal and bureaucratic-based relations are most likely sought for health-related changes, as one would expect under the Canadian medicare system. Relationship changes are supported by communal, bureaucratic, and marketbased relations more than associative ones. As the data show, associative-based relations are consistently the least likely avenue of support. This suggests that the current emphasis on volunteer and other 3rd-sector groups as a replacement or backup for government support may be misplaced – the greatest burden is carried by family and friends.

Conclusion

Social scientists owe an enormous debt to Polanyi for his contribution to our understanding of inclusion processes. We argue, however, that modifying his classification makes it more appropriate for contemporary social relations in a number of ways. First, the modified framework is more sensitive to important distinctions in the way individuals and groups are included or excluded in the distribution of resources and assets. It highlights the individual and social skills necessary to gain access to those resources and at the same time suggests how requirements for access become institutionalised in different forms. This new framework also allows us to analyze the interdependent nature of the four types of relationships. Within a particular social context or social organisation, for example, all four types may be manifested. This is consistent with the complex nature of social exclusion as we have come to understand it.

Second, our framework makes comparison, and particularly international

comparison, more manageable. Instead of debating the problem of national or regional standards for poverty, our focus shifts to the ways in which each of the four types of relationships are manifested within different national or regional contexts. Instead of asking "What is an appropriate poverty line for Britain, or Greece, or Canada?" We ask "How does market exclusion in Britain compare with Greece or Canada?", "How does it emerge?", "How is it maintained?", "How does it change?", and "To what extent is it used over other types of social relations?"

This shift in focus illustrates the third major advantage of our framework. By focusing on the process of social exclusion and inclusion we identify more direct policy relevant implications than levels or standards of poverty. It is the processes by which people become poor that are amenable to effective policies and programmes rather than the identification of the poor themselves. In addition, this perspective forces policymakers to recognize the complexity of exclusion processes, thus avoiding the single focused solutions that had been so ineffective in the past.

More specifically, we can identify several policy directions emerging from our perspective and analysis. First, the results highlight the importance of market and bureaucratic types of relations for social inclusion since they have come to dominate so much of our rural context. Building local capacity to operate in these types of relations therefore remains a key policy objective. For market types of relations this includes the traditional focus on human skills development, but must also be extended to more relational aspects such as providing the means for local administrations to control property and assets. In Canada, innovations in this regard can be found in the emergence of local economic development corporations, community forest management, and watershed-based plans. For bureaucratic types, it includes innovations in service delivery and access to those services along with improvements in the forms, public relations, and infrastructure that facilitate the primary contacts with the public. One-stop access, community health clinics, and the Canadian programs for providing Internet access to remote locations are examples of experiments in this regard. Our research identified specific types of people as particularly dependent on these relations (e.g. employed, educated, vehicle owners) whereas others (e.g. seniors) are excluded from them. By focusing on specific types of relations and using them as conduits for the provision of services, we can improve our policy-targeting.

Second, we need to recognize the ways in which non-market and nonbureaucratic relations can support these types. By highlighting the interrelation between the four types of relations, our perspective makes visible some of the unintended consequences and unrecognised opportunities of policy action. An economic development policy that focuses only on market relations, for example, is bound to create problems if its implications for associative or communal relations are not considered. Similarly, development programmes that do not recognize the potential of strong local associative or communal relations for building market and bureaucratic capacity can easily miss opportunities for local action and growth. The goal should be to identify and build the structures that facilitate increased capacity within all four types of relations. This includes building the social networks (both within and outside the community) that support local development. New models for partnering between bureaucratic organisations and civil society should be explored.

This includes providing adequate resources for informal groups to meet

bureaucratic requirements and techniques and for bureaucratic organisations to integrate more opportunities for risk-taking. The potential for associative capacity to be used for a variety of purposes should be recognised and supported. This includes the provision of resources and infrastructure, but also the reorganisation of bureaucratic and market relations to better accommodate the conditions supporting associative relations. Any procedures that make it possible for volunteer groups to focus on their central interests rather than grantsmanship or accountability activities contributes to this end.

Third, our results confirm how associative-based organisations are related to a large number of positive social and economic benefits (ISUMA 2001). Integrating this knowledge into economic models driving policy can only help to make their contribution more visible and thereby justify more appropriate public support. Policies that support middle class families and women are most likely to strengthen associative relations in the process. Most volunteers come from the middle class but only where the pressures for double incomes and long working hours are relatively low. Women are particularly implicated in this process (Bruce and Halseth 2001).

Finally, our results show how communal types of relations remain the most important source of social support across all types of household changes. Policies that support families, and especially women, will therefore contribute to building all forms of resilience. We also find that communal relations are least connected to market relations. This suggests that those who are dependent on communal relations are most likely to be isolated from the dominant form of resource distribution in our society. As a result, special attention should be given to supports for these types of relations in order to offset the exclusion that might otherwise occur.

To this point, our analysis has focused on the exclusion processes as they have operated at the individual or household level. For this reason, most of the policy suggestions have been limited in their scope to these levels. Following Room's advice (1995a), the next step will be to introduce the site-level characteristics into the analysis. Using data regarding the services, businesses, agencies, and transportation available to local citizens will allow us to identify the relative contribution of each level to the exclusion processes. This will contribute even more to the identification of how it might be overcome.

Notes

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² These comments also apply to similar distinctions based on Polanyi's framework (Mingione 1991; Meert 2001).

³ Details regarding the project can be found via <http://nre.concordia.ca>.

⁴ Randomisation procedures were adopted for the selection of households and the respondents within each household. Quota sampling ensured that generalisations to each field site are dependable.

⁵ A summary of the items used for the indexes can be found in Appendix 1. The full instrument can be seen on the NRE web site (<http://nre.concordia.ca>). A summary of the

characteristics of the four types of relations can be found in Appendix 2.

- 6 In this case we used Pearson product-moment correlations. Analysis with nonparametric correlation measures (Spearman's rho) produced similar results.
- 7 This included receiving income from employment insurance, child tax benefits, social assistance, or welfare.

Appendix 1: Indicators of the Use of Social Relations - 4 types of relations

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
Market-based Use					
access to market relations - employ or own business	1995	0	14	2.12	2.01
use internet for market relations	1995	0	4	0.47	0.88
market public services used	1995	0	12	5.65	1.22
number of market participation groups	1995	0	4	0.08	0.31
income from market sources	1995	0	4	1.40	0.98
total market supports	1995	0	4	0.19	0.49
summary indicator for market-based use	1995	0	27	9.77	3.79
Bureaucratic-based Use					
use internet for bureaucratic relations	1995	0	6	0.53	1.09
bureaucratic public services used	1995	0	14	5.37	2.16
number of bureaucratic actions taken	1995	0	1	0.13	0.34
income from bureaucratic sources	1995	0	7	1.38	1.15
total bureaucratic supports	1995	0	7	0.49	0.80
summary indicator for bureaucratic-based use	1995	0	21	7.90	3.07
Associative-based Use					
use internet for associative relations	1995	0	1	0.06	0.24
associative public services used	1995	0	2	0.29	0.46
number of associative participation groups	1995	0	21	2.24	2.88
number of associative actions taken	1995	0	5	1.37	1.16
total associative supports	1995	0	4	0.12	0.38
summary indicator for associative-based use	1995	0	26	4.07	3.66
Communal-based Use					
use internet for communal relations	1995	0	2	0.50	0.73
total types of sharing from family and friends	1995	0	11	2.34	1.93
total communal supports	1995	0	8	1.00	1.47
summary indicator for communal-based use	1995	0	15	3.84	2.67
Total of 4 types of use	1995	4	59	25.58	9.03

Appendix 2: Four types of Social Relations - summary characteristics

Type of Relation	Characterization	Examples where type dominates	Basis of Distribution	Conditions Favouring this Relation	Skills Favoured	Exclusion Processes
Market	free exchange of goods or services	farmers market; stock exchange	supply and demand; prices	high information; certainty; trust; low transaction costs	tradeable goods; information; negotiation skills; mobility;	few goods; low tradeable skills; little information; poor negotiation; low mobility
Bureaucratic	relations structured by general rules and principles; division of labour	governments; legal systems; corporations	objectives; formal structures of status	stability; certainty; low risk; good communication	rationalization skills; low mobility; consistency; obedience	outside objectives; low knowledge; high mobility
Associative	shared interests	clubs; churches; recreation groups; social action groups	shared interest	common interests; good communication; mobility	clear interest; charisma	isolation from information; stigmatization
Communal	common identity	family; close friendship groups; churches; gangs; clans	common identity and need	low mobility; ascribed characteristics; boundary maintenance	sharing of ascribed characteristics; loyalty	stigmatization; isolation from information; boundary maintenance

Appendix 3: *Classification of Sources of Support into Four Types of Relations*

Source of support	Market	Bureaucratic	Associative	Communal
Family [spouse, parents(s), child(ren), other relative(s)]				X
Friend or neighbour [close personal friend(s), friend(s), work mate(s), neighbours(s)]				X
Business people [your employer, financial advisor, accountant, business friend(s), business, other]	X			
Professional people [doctor, health professional, lawyer, legal professional, counselor, social service professional, teacher, education professional]		X		
Professional people [accountant]	X			
Local government [mayor, council member, staff economic development officer]		X		
Other government department(s) [employees, programmes, elected representative(s)]		X		
Community or voluntary organisation [health, social service, society and public benefit, religious, education, youth, other]			X	
Community or voluntary organisation [law and justice]		X		
Community and voluntary organisation [employment or economic]	X			

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