

## **Organisational social capital and the relations with quality of work and health – a new issue for research**

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### **Abstract**

Studies of the relations between psychosocial factors, quality of work and health tend to focus on the individual job function, as in for example the 'demand-control' and the 'effort-reward' models. However, it must be expected that workplace factors not related to the individual job function also have an influence on the quality of work and employee health. Conditions such as confidence in management strategy, management-labour relations, and organisational culture are important for the employees' perception of the workplace. Organisational social capital could be a concept which captures these more holistically oriented conditions. Our review of the literature has identified very few studies which have looked at the relations between social capital, job satisfaction, and self-reported health. The studies we have found indicate positive correlations, and we believe that further studies could open up for a more holistic approach to psychosocial factors and health, and subsequently introduce new possibilities for improvement of working conditions.

Organisational social capital is generally understood as the ability of the individuals in the organisation to work for the common good, and networking and trust are most often used to characterise organisational social capital. However, a social capital concept based on these dimensions may create a bias toward a harmony understanding which makes it difficult to capture the power asymmetry and the conflicts of interest between management and employees in an organisation. Our suggestion is therefore to include justice in organisational social capital. Individuals in the organisation are not likely to work for the common good if they believe that what is going on is unjust. We have reviewed the literature on organisational justice, and it points towards strong correlations between justice and psychosocial factors and health.

The network dimension in organisational social capital also needs consideration. The number and strength of contacts inside (and outside) the organisation are of obvious importance, but the nature of the contacts is equally important, as is the position of the actors such as employee-management or employee-employee. It could therefore be relevant to include a broader concept such as "collaboration" in order to express the amount, form, and content of these contacts.

Firstly, we need an understanding of the relations between social capital, psychosocial factors, and health. Secondly, we need to learn how social capital develops and which strategies can be used to increase social capital so it improves psychosocial conditions and health. In order to study both areas, development of proper theory and methods is needed. When considering social capital as a quality of the organisation, it is necessary to compare different organisations, and it is therefore important to develop methods which combine quantitative and qualitative analyses of the differences between organisations.

Against this background, this article presents a theoretical approach to studies of organisational social capital and work environment. The article should be seen in association with the other article that we present at this conference "Organisational social capital and the health and quality of work

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of the employees’ - two empirical studies from Denmark” where we present some of our own empirical results.

## **1. Introduction**

It has become customary to operationalise the psychosocial work environment by dividing it into six job factors: demand, influence, social support, meaning, reward and predictability, together with a number of associated risk factors (Arbejdsmiljørådet, 2005; Kristensen, 2002). Relationships with other people are part of these job factors, e.g. of social support, but the emphasis is on the individual’s job, and therefore the general understanding of the psychosocial work environment has become somewhat individualistic. This tendency has been further emphasised by the debate about stress which has taken place in recent years, and which to a large extent has dealt with stress as an individual problem (Bo Netterstrøm, 2007).

However, when looking at the development of companies and organisations over the last couple of decades, the collaboration between employees and management and among the employees has replaced bureaucratic management and become one of the most important coordination mechanisms.

In an increasing number of businesses, management delegates the planning of and responsibility for the production to self-managing groups, where the employees collaborate on development, planning and production. Generally it is positive because the increased collaboration leads to greater influence on the planning of the work and to greater social support from colleagues and management. At the same time, new problems with the psychosocial work environment develop. The employees become more dependent on each other, and this can cause conflicts between colleagues and between management and employees. An example could be when collaboration problems develop into bullying among colleagues.

On this basis, it is necessary to have an approach to the psychosocial work environment which includes the importance of collaboration and thereby the importance of social relations, and it is necessary to introduce the operational concepts which can describe collaboration and the social relations, and which can be related to concrete activities aimed at improving the psychosocial work environment. At the same time, there is a need for concepts which connect management and collaboration, as some studies show that the quality of management influences the psychosocial work environment, and that management is of increasing importance for improvements in the psychosocial work environment (De Hoogh et al., 2005; Dirk van Dierendonck, Carol Borrill, Clare Haynes, & Chris Stride, 2004)

In this article, we suggest that the concept of organisational social capital can be used for this purpose. The strength of this concept is that it can incorporate the company’s business objectives at the same time as it highlights the social relations which are important for the psychological work environment.

On this basis, we shall try to develop a concept for organisational social capital which is relevant in a work environment context, and then we shall illustrate the relevance of this concept with results from empirical projects. We will do this in two articles. In this article, we develop the theoretical framework for the association between organisational social capital and psychological work environment. In “Organisational social capital and the health and quality of work of the employees’ - two empirical studies from Denmark” we describe a number of Danish and international studies, which give empirical evidence for our theoretical approach. However, there is a need for further studies.

These two articles seek to meet the demand for study proposals and studies of organisational social capital in combination with other fields of study and using different research methods (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Möllering, 2006; Julia Storberg-Walker, 2007).

## **2. Social capital**

In recent years, the concept of social capital has been widely discussed within social science. The concept can be traced back to the founding fathers of sociology, but the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu is usually considered the one who introduced the concept in its current form. He wrote in French scientific journals in the 1960s and 1970s and published in English in the 1980s (Bourdieu, 1986). According to Bourdieu, capital is the force through which social differences materialise, and he distinguishes between three kinds of capital: cultural, social and financial. Social capital consists of *actual or potential resources which are associated with stable networks*. In this way, he accentuates those aspects which are often emphasised in connection with social capital, i.e. *networks*, whether formal or informal.

Bourdieu's work was carried forward by the American James Coleman, who has described the relationship between social capital and human capital (Coleman, 1988). He also used three different kinds of capital: physical, human and social. As with Bourdieu, social capital is something that develops between people, it is not an individual characteristic. However, there is a very important difference between the two, insofar as Bourdieu had a critical view of social capital as a driving force in the maintenance of social class differences, whereas Coleman viewed social capital as a quality which could be used to the advantage of members of a group or a society. You could say that the two theorists in this way each represent a characteristic aspect of European conflict-oriented theory and American consensus thinking.

In the 1990s, the American Robert Putnam was the first to open a broader debate about social capital when he published some startling studies of the development in different regions in Italy. In the book "Making Democracy Work" (Putnam, 1993) he described how the efficiency of Italian local government could be explained by the social capital in different regions. Subsequently, Putnam looked into social capital in America. His point of departure was the metaphor "Bowling alone", which described the drastic reduction in social capital in the US between 1945 and 2000. Putnam (1995) describes how more and more Americans have taken up bowling in their free time, at the same time as fewer and fewer are members of a bowling club: people are "bowling alone". During the same period, the Americans have spent less and less time with friends, neighbours and family and more and more time on television, computers and work.

In the discussions about social capital it is often argued that there is no overall agreement on the definition of the concept (Adler & Kwon list the different definitions (2002)). This is correct, but it might not be a serious problem. The concept is being used in so many different contexts that it would probably be a problem rather than an advantage if there were a rigid definition. In this article, we use Putnam's definition: "*Features of social organisation such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit*" (p. 67 1995).

Since 1990, there has been an explosion in the number of research and development projects which are based on the concept of social capital (Halpern, 2005). It has been used extensively within the following areas:

1. *Economic theory.* Within economic theory there has been a focus on social capital as the missing link which can explain "why the bumblebee can fly". For example, it has been argued that the very high social capital in the Nordic countries helps explain why these countries are so competitive despite a large public sector and a high level of taxation (Svendsen, 2006).

2. *Development aid.* Social capital has been used as a key concept in understanding why some countries are able to develop socially and economically, whilst other countries seem to go around in circles. The World Bank has long been one of the central actors in this field and carries out regular analyses of the social capital at an international level ([www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org)).

3. *Public health.* Within public health, there has been extensive research into the connection between social capital on the one hand and the health of different populations on the other. For example, Kawachi (1999) showed that the mortality rates in American states is very closely associated with the general level of trust in other people (interpersonal trust). It has also been shown that there is a clear connection between income inequality in different countries and the overall mortality rate.

Today we are in a situation where the concept social capital is used in many different disciplines and inspires development projects within very different sectors, ranging from the health of school children in America to the spread of new irrigation methods on Java.

### **3. Organisational social capital**

A significant factor in the development of this concept is that it has only to a limited extent been used in an intra-organisational context. In a new Danish book about social capital (Svendsen & Svendsen, 2006), organisational social capital is not mentioned. When the literature deals with social capital and companies, the focus is largely on relations *between* companies or relations extending from the company, as in Gabbay & Leenders (Gabbay & Leenders (eds.) 2007). However, research into organisational social capital does exist, and here social capital is described as an advantage both to the company and to the employees (See fx Adler et al., 2002; Leana & Buren, 1999; Leana & Pil, 2006). Also Human Resource Development (HRD) has adopted the concept, which has led to several studies highlighting the importance of social capital for work systems and different HRD outputs (Jon Gant, Casey Ichniowski, & Kathryn Shaw, 2002; Jody Hoffer Gittel, Rob Seider, & Julian Wimbush, 2007; Julia Storberg-Walker, 2007).

At the same time, there are very few direct references to the working environment within the literature about social capital. The first attempt was made in a Finnish study (Liukkonen, Virtanen, Kivimäki, Pentti, & Vahtera, 2004) which finds a weak correlation between organisational social capital and employee health. However, in this study, social capital was reduced to a measure of the conditions of employment (temporary, permanent, etc.) and to social support from colleagues.

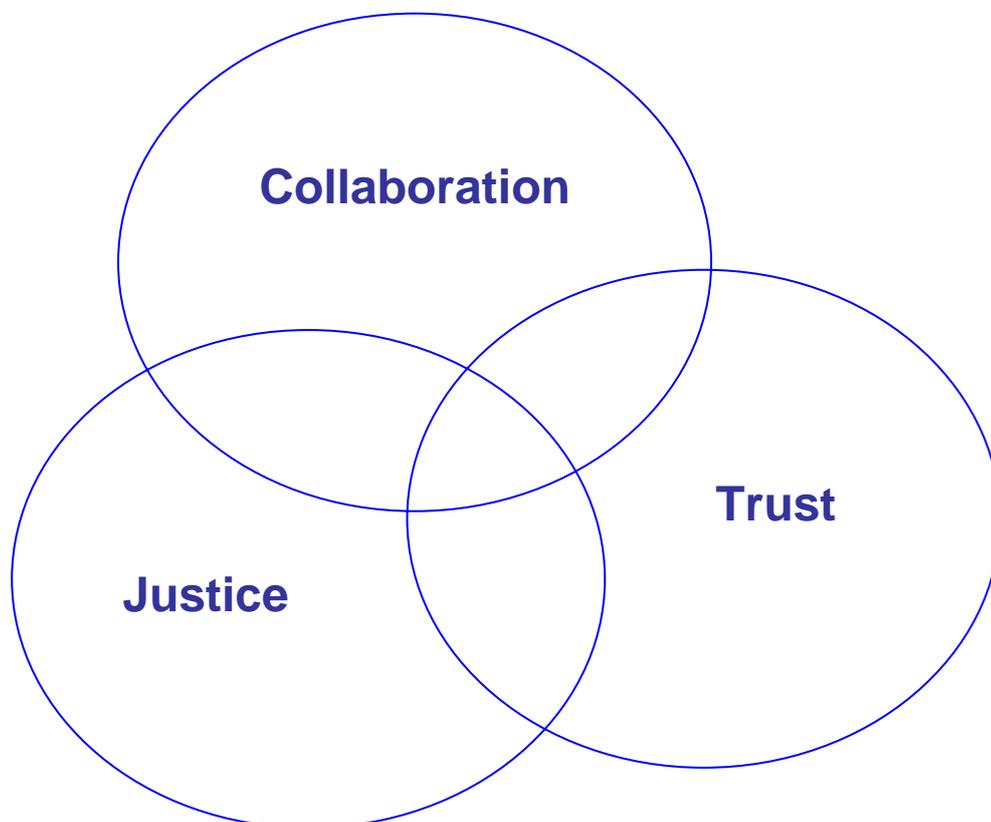
In a qualitative Danish study of slaughter houses, a correlation is found between social capital, the influence on the working environment and absence (Hasle & Møller, 2005), and in a newly published Finnish article (Kouvonen et al., 2006), the authors find a correlation between social capital at the departmental level and self-rated health.

It is, however, possible to find more connections between work environment and social capital if one takes a closer look at the *main components* of social capital. As is evident from Putnam's definition, *network* and *trust* are components in nearly all social capital definitions. Our interest lies in *social capital as those social relations within the company, which influence whether or not the interaction between the employees and between management and employees is of a character that supports the company objectives and improves the working conditions for the people involved.* Networks as a concept invites to a very open interpretation of social contacts, which are not

restricted to the company. There are many relevant aspects of networks between companies, but we choose to focus on the internal social relations between the company's agents, because the company constitutes a legal, economic and organisational entity. We replace the concept of networks with the concept of *collaboration*. In our view, this concept is better able to describe the internal dynamics in the relations among the employees and between management and employees which contribute to the development of social capital.

The greater part of the literature about social capital does not deal explicitly with power and inequality, and therefore social capital often appears to grow in a harmonious and conflict-free universe. Alternatively, conflicts are attributed to a lack of social capital. Within a given company, there will always be a considerable asymmetry between management and employees, and this reduces the usefulness of a concept like organisational social capital which does not include this asymmetry. We suggest that *justice* is introduced as a third component in the concept of organisational social capital (Figure 1). We discuss the three elements in the section below.

**Figure 1.**



### **3.1 Collaboration**

Good collaboration between groups and individuals within a company is highly dependent on trust and justice, both of which are discussed below, but in addition to that, a certain competence and experience with collaboration is necessary.

The ability to collaborate develops through everyday practice, where the different parties learn to collaborate with one another. In this way, the parties learn to understand the position and reactions of the collaboration partner. Through practical experience, norms and values for collaboration

develop, and these can be the basis of a good collaboration practice. However, the opposite might also happen, where norms and values are based on an experience of opposing interests, where power-based conflicts are viewed as necessary. Lysgaard describes how this was the case for the norms in the traditional workers collectives (1967). However, it is also possible to develop new norms and values which promote the collaboration without necessarily destroying the community. This has been proved possible in the Danish slaughter houses which used to be characterised by a culture of conflict (Hasle et al., 2005).

With the concept of organisational social capital, we emphasise the company's collective collaboration competencies and the productive qualities of these competencies.

Collaboration is not restricted to the collaboration which takes place in staff-management collaboration committees and safety committees, although these fora are important. The most important are the competencies for collaboration which form the basis of management and coordination on a daily basis, and which influence the ongoing development of methods and technology. Collaboration competencies are the basis of flexible relations between employees and management and among the employees. Social capital could be the ability to engage in dialogue, to solve problems in collaboration with others, to solve conflicts and to understand the situation of others. These competencies are part of the relations between the employees and between management and employees. Often people are not conscious of these competencies, which are part of the working culture. A significant element of social capital is that the business objectives of the company, as well as the different roles that managers, employees and staff representatives have, are all perceived as legitimate.

Collaboration competencies are the equivalent, conceptually, to the means of production in the traditional concept of capital. Collaboration contributes directly to production, and production can be made more efficient by investing in collaboration competencies. The word "capital" means that social capital is a resource which the organisation is based upon and invests in, and which subsequently can be used by the organisation.

Just as with economic capital, relevant investments in social capital will increase this capital's value and become a greater resource for the organisation.

Trust and justice are an expression of the social relations between management and staff. Confidence and justice are not "tools" of production in the same way as collaboration, but they constitute a vital framework for the development of collaboration in production.

An organisation's social capital consists therefore of three components: Collaboration competence, trust and justice.

### **3.2 Trust**

The literature about trust is extremely extensive and reaches far beyond the relation to social capital (Luhmann, 1979; Korczynski, 2000; Se fx Nooteboom 2003b; Möllering, 2006). Again, this is a concept with many definitions, but we choose to base our understanding on Sabel (1992, p. 225): "the mutual confidence that the other party to an exchange will not exploit one's vulnerabilities". In this definition, the vulnerability of a relation of trust is highlighted. Without this vulnerability, trust is not actually necessary. It is implicit in this definition, that there is an element of reciprocity, despite the usual situation being that one person shows trust in another. There are several different kinds of trust (Möllering, 2006): rational/economic trust (whether it is worthwhile showing trust), emotional trust (personal, close relations) spontaneous/routine trust (this is the simplest to use in an

everyday situation) institutional trust (institutions usually work) and reflexive trust (develops concurrently with relations and collaboration).

Trust is something which cannot be demanded of others, as it is entirely dependent on the person who might or might not *have trust* in someone else. The recipient of trust can act in a *trustworthy* manner, and this might lead to more trust. Trustworthiness generally comprises two elements, trust in a person's ability to live up to the expectations of others, and trust in a person's good intentions (Bart Nooteboom, 2007). An example of trustworthiness could be a senior manager who on a daily basis collaborates in a way which means that she complies with the norms and values that form the expectations of the employees in the company. In this way, she might be found to be trustworthy.

It can be very difficult for senior managers to create trustworthiness in their relationship with employees, as they do not have the daily contact where personal and close relations can determine whether or not employees have trust in the senior manager. Without the daily contact between senior management and employees the result is often that employees judge the intentions of senior managers on the basis of the activities that they initiate, often without concern for the actual intentions of the senior managers, but on the basis of expectations formed by previous experiences with the senior management. Expectations are generally formed by experiences that are accumulated over time and form cultural patterns which the employees maintain and repeat in their ongoing evaluation of the trustworthiness of senior management. When the activities initiated by the senior managers form general expectations among the employees with regard to the intentions of the senior managers, one could say the senior management becomes an institution that the employees can have varying levels of trust in. Bart Nooteboom (Bart Nooteboom, 2007) also differentiates between trust in institutions (institutional trust) and trust in persons because they belong to a certain institution (institution-based trust). The article "Organisational social capital and the health and quality of work of the employees" - two empirical studies from Denmark" illustrates that institutional trust can help explain why change processes in some companies cause problems with collaboration and work environment, but in other companies change processes can take place in close collaboration, where both parties respect their conflicts of interest and trust each other's good intentions.

So far, trust as an important factor for the work environment has only been examined in very few studies. In 1980, (Cook & Wall) developed two scales to measure trust in the workplace by means of questionnaires, one examining trust between the employees, the other between the employees and the management. However, these scales have not subsequently been very widely used. In 1999, (Spreitzer & Mishra) published a study of the American car industry, where they set out to answer the question: "How can middle management delegate control to the staff without losing control?" Many middle managers felt vulnerable because they were worried that staff might take advantage if they were trusted with a higher level of control, e.g that staff would produce less or take advantage in other ways. Spreitzer and Mishra's study showed that trusting the staff increased staff involvement at the same time as it was more effective than, say, performance-related pay. Increased trust led to increased productivity as well as more innovation and better collaboration.

Three other American studies have dealt with different outcomes of trust in the workplace. Harvey et al (2003) found that having faith in the management acted as a buffer between high quantitative demands on the one hand and stress and burnout on the other. In other words, if there was a high level of trust, the level of stress and burnout was lower, regardless of the quantitative demands. Kay & Hagan (2003) showed an association between trust and different aspects of involvement at work among employees in law firms. Finally, Serva et al (2005) showed in a field experiment how collaboration increased the level of trust between collaborating teams.

A qualitative Swedish study of hospital employees (Nilsson, Hertting, Petterson, & Theorell, 2005) analysed the association between pride and trust on the one hand and the psychological work environment of the employees on the other. The study concluded that pride and trust acted as buffers against the negative effects of cut-backs in the health sector. In 2002, the most comprehensive literature review to date regarding "trust in leadership" at the workplace was published (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002). This review included 106 American studies with 27,103 participants. Dirks and Ferrin worked with a model which states a number of conditions for trust (transformational management, influence at work, etc.) and a number of presumed consequences (primarily effort, satisfaction and involvement at the workplace). According to Dirks and Ferrin, the presumed associations are confirmed, but as the analyses were based exclusively on quantitative assessments of correlations, it is difficult to estimate the theoretical and methodological quality of the studies included in the review.

In summary, it can be concluded that there are very few non-American studies in this field, and that hardly any studies include central factors from work environment research, as for example the wellbeing and health of employees, absenteeism and staff turnover.

### **3.3 Justice**

Modern research regarding justice in respect of daily group-based activities – including justice at work – goes back to the 1960s where a number of authors took interest in justice or the somewhat gentler concept of fairness. The most important of these pioneers were Gouldner (Gouldner, 1960), Homans (Homans, 1961), Adams (Adams, 1965) and Blau (Blau, 1964), who around the same time proposed theories about equity, social exchange and distributive justice. These theories focused on the idea that the concept of a just distribution of goods plays a central role in the way groups function, whether we consider pay, power, esteem or the "right" to win a game of bowling. The central element in distributive justice is whether the distribution of goods is felt to be fair in relation to the contributions that each member of the group makes. If the goods are not distributed fairly, the outcome will be instability, conflict, lack of loyalty, anger, frustration, etc. In that context, it also seems valid to include justice or fairness in the concept of organisational social capital, since individuals in the organisation are not likely to work for the common good if they believe that what is happening is unjust.

In 1975, Thibaut & Walker introduced the concept of *procedural justice* in their book about legal procedures. The point was, that it is not only the result of a process that matters to the participants, but also to a large extent whether or not the process is felt to be just, and that all involved parties are heard. After Thibaut and Walker, Leventhal et al were the first to apply the concept of procedural justice to workplaces and organisations (Leventhal, 1980; Leventhal et al, 1980). Leventhal et al listed six criteria for a fair process in an organisation:

1. Consistency (everyone should be treated the same)
2. No individual preferences (the attitudes of managers should not affect the process)
3. Relevant information (the background to decisions should be valid and known)
4. Opportunity to correct (it must be possible to reverse decisions)
5. Participation (the employees should be heard and participate in the process)
6. Ethics (relevant ethical principles should be adhered to).

During the following years, a large number of empirical studies were carried out, showing clearly that procedural justice is highly significant and at least as important as distributive justice when it comes to staff satisfaction, wellbeing and involvement at the workplace. This very extensive

research has been reviewed in two articles, both published in 2001 (Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001). In these articles, 190 and 183 empirical studies are reviewed, respectively.

New concepts have been added concurrently to the understanding of justice. Bies and Moag (Bies & Moag, 1986) introduced the concept of *interactional justice*, thereby focussing on the concrete treatment which each employee gets from the management and from other relevant actors in the workplace. Finally, Greenberg in 1993 (Greenberg, 1993) suggested that this concept should be divided into two sub-concepts, i.e. *interpersonal justice*, the degree of respect and dignity with which the employee is treated, and *informational justice*, focussing on the information and explanations which employees receive about processes at the workplace.

Before 2000, research focussed on staff wellbeing, satisfaction, loyalty, commitment, and productivity, but in the following years, a new type of study emerged. Studies of this type were more epidemiologically oriented, setting out to investigate the association between fairness at work and the health of the employees, using stringent methods. Some of the health indicators investigated were blood clots in the heart (Kivimäki et al., 2005), diagnosed depression (Kivimäki, Elovainio, Vahtera, Virtanen, & Stansfeld, 2003; Ylipaavalniemi et al., 2005), self-reported depressive symptoms (Elovainio, Kivimäki, & Vahtera, 2002; Elovainio, Kivimäki, Vahtera, Keltikangas-Järvinen, & Virtanen, 2003; Ferrie et al., 2006; Laaksonen, Rahkonen, Martikainen, & Lahelma, 2006), sleep problems (Elovainio et al., 2003), self-rated health (Elovainio et al., 2002; Kivimäki, Elovainio, Vahtera, & Ferrie, 2003; Kivimäki et al., 2004; Laaksonen et al., 2006), stress, (Sutinen, Kivimäki, Elovainio, & Virtanen, 2002) and absenteeism (de Boer, Bakker, Syroit, & Schaufeli, 2002; Elovainio et al., 2002; Kivimäki et al., 2003; Elovainio, Kivimäki, Steen, & Vahtera, 2004; Elovainio et al., 2005). The vast majority of these studies were carried out by a Finnish-English group of researchers, led by Kivimäki, Elovainio and Ferrie. Nearly all are prospective studies, in which the participants have been asked questions about justice (usually procedural justice) at the start of the study, and the association between this self-reported dimension and new cases of depression, blood clots, absence, etc. during the follow-up periods (of 2-9 years) have subsequently been analysed. The quality of these studies is usually high, although the method of measuring justice in some of the studies is open to criticism.

All in all, the last few years have produced quite convincing documentation of the correlation between injustice at work and a number of stress-related illnesses and conditions. So far, only articles from Finland and England – and a single study from the Netherlands – have been published, which of course is a problem if one is interested in applying the results to other countries and cultures.

#### **4. Perspectives**

One of the advantages of a three dimensional social capital concept as we suggest here is that it enables us to study the connection between the development of the psychosocial work environment and company efficiency and competitiveness. Those researchers who have studied social capital in a company perspective (Adler et al., 2002; Leana et al., 1999), emphasise social capital as a means of developing the company potential. Research results are beginning to point to social relations as important for company production, mainly for company efficiency, HRD and competitiveness.

In summary, the development of social capital is also a way of improving and spreading a collaboration that is based upon trust and justice. This kind of collaboration is not based upon an understanding of common interests in all areas, but upon an open acknowledgement that the parties involved have different interests and upon respect for the right to pursue those interests. There is

considerable literature concerning staff involvement – a variant of collaboration, which is often evident in the involvement in one's own work (as in the classic demand-control model (Karasek & Theorell, 1990)) or in the form of collaboration with union representatives (Knudsen, 1995). However, in this connection it is necessary to think about these concepts together (Hvid & Hasle (eds) 2003a). With regard to trust and justice, there are only sparse recommendations for action in the literature (Kim & Mauborgne, 2003; Möllering, 2006) (Leventhal, 1980; Leventhal, Karuza, & Fry, 1980). Research now has an important task in reaching consensus as to how organisations can work with the construction of social capital.

As presented above, social capital is a concept that expresses the collective capability in an organisation to fulfil the business objectives for the common good, whilst at the same time expressing the inherent conflicts of interest and power imbalances. Social capital therefore becomes an expression of the ability of the organisation to handle those conflicts of interests which will always exist, primarily between the owners and the employees, but also between the different groups within an organisation. .

A high level of social capital can aid productivity at the same time as it can improve the psychosocial work environment, but it is important to be aware that social capital can also take a negative form. High social capital in one group can exclude others who are outside that group. Perhaps this is the negative aspect of former workers' collectives which stood united against the management (and often also against others who were different), and it might be this negative aspect which is sometimes seen in disputes between different professional groups or departments. It is therefore important that social capital develops to encompass the entire organisation. We have observed that Danish employees are particularly well equipped to contribute to the development of the company and to increase the organisational social capital.

The concept of social capital opens up for initiatives aimed at improving the psychosocial work environment – initiatives that go over and above the job of each individual employee. It might seem difficult to find a way in which the overall company strategy can support the psychosocial work environment, but negative effects on the work environment of mergers and other large-scale changes can possibly be prevented. The concept of social capital can help include overall company events in the work environment effort. Such events could be external changes, e.g. in the market place, new laws, changes in status and image, or it could be the internal context where there might be strategic changes, change of ownership, restructuring or redundancies.

In conclusion, it seems that social capital is a concept that can be used to understand how public and private companies can live up to increasing demands with regard to quality, productivity and service at the same time as the work environment of the employees develops and improves.

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