

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

Harnessing Mutuality:

The Social Capital of Club Experience

A Framework for Examining Social Dynamics of Community Clubs

A dissertation submitted by

Mukesh Prasad

BA, PG Dip, MA (Development Studies)
The University of the South Pacific

for the award of

Doctor of Philosophy

2012

Abstract

The study examines the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in order to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues. It develops the Club Analytical Model to capture the multidimensional nature of the two constructs and to guide the interrogation and assessment of the relationship through correlation, regression, and thematic analysis. Based on the mixed methods design, data on club experience (patronisation of club facilities, participation in club services, and perception of club values) and social capital (structural interface, relational interface, and cognitive interface) was collected through a survey of club patrons, focus group discussions with club patrons and officials, and consultations with key club industry stakeholders. The findings were integrated using the conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital, which enabled an in-depth exploration of the social world of community clubs. They reveal a strong and positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, and this is generally evident in various club types and club activities. The relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is moderated by admission status of club patrons and length of association with community clubs but not by gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment of club patrons. The cohesive body of empirical evidence suggests that social dynamics go beyond participation in liquor and gaming services to harnessing social and psychological connections that exist between clubs and their patrons. The study makes significant conceptual and methodological advancements to the literature on mutuality by drawing attention to micro-processes and the pragmatic manner in which they can be studied in community clubs. Overall, the study has policy and practice implications for a range of stakeholders through the promotion of a better understanding of community clubs as a form of social enterprise that exist for the collective benefit of their members.

Certification

I certify that the ideas, experimental work, results, analyses, software, and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.

Signature of Candidate

Date

ENDORSEMENT

Signature of Supervisor/s

Date

Acknowledgements

No act of kindness, no matter how small, is ever wasted. Aesop (2012)

I cannot possibly count the number of people who have assisted me in completing this study. They include **accountants, teachers, doctors, ‘tradies’, students, and even a retired army general; in fact, whoever was sharing my seat** on the train to and from my place of work. A hello and a smile were all that it took to start a conversation, which inevitably led to ‘so, what’re you studying?’ Their candid insights, often backed by their experience in community clubs, have proved invaluable in informing this research.

Another two groups I wish to thank shall also remain anonymous but out of necessity to maintain confidentiality. They are **club patrons** who completed my questionnaire and **club patrons, volunteers, employees, and directors** who participated in the focus group discussions. Thanks also to the eight **club managers** who facilitated data collection at their respective venues. I could not have done it without your support.

These insights and assistance would have not come to fruition without the expert guidance of my supervisors. I am indebted to **Dr. Malcolm Brown** who became my principal supervisor in the third year. Your feedback on the draft chapters and your trust in me to complete this ‘journey’ made all the difference. I am also profoundly grateful to my former principal supervisor, **Prof. Don McMillen**, for continuing as my associate supervisor. You guided my initial steps, which laid a strong foundation for this study. Both of you encouraged and supported me unreservedly.

Then, to those who responded to my distress calls for assistance, I can only say I will ‘pass forward’ your kindness. I am grateful to numerous **scholars** who provided copies of their research papers for my reference. In particular, I want to mention **Dr. Ben Spies-Butcher** for the email ‘conversation’ we had on the utility of social capital and **Dr. Virginia Simpson-Young** for the phone discussion on using social capital to study community clubs. To **Dr. Jim Higgins**, The Radical Statistician, for helping me to be able to finally read numbers, I must say that you have empowered me, for the sweaty palms and racing heart when confronted by numbers are in the past now. Special thanks goes to **Dr. Rachel King** from the Office of Research and Higher Degrees Statistical Consulting Unit at the University of Southern Queensland for assisting me to get a better grasp of my data, which, in turn, enabled me to better analyse and interpret my findings.

I must thank **Prof. Croz Walsh** and **Dr. Doug Munro** for casting their eyes over the dissertation. The former supervised my Masters thesis and the latter supervised my graduate research project and both have taught me essential research skills that are reflected in this dissertation. You showed me that research could be a fulfilling endeavour and I ended up making a career out of it. “A teacher affects eternity....”

Given the seemingly endless demands of my full-time job, my colleagues at Clubs Queensland have been instrumental in supporting me. I want to thank **Penny Wilson**, former CEO, now CEO of RSL and Services Clubs Association (Qld), for sharing ‘over 25 years of industry knowledge’ with me, and for the million acts of kindness that have helped me reach dazzling heights in my career and life. I also want to thank **Doug Flockhart**, current CEO, for the occasional but ardent encouragement; **Ray Philips**, relationships manager, for facilitating high level contacts with clubs; **Rowan Todd**, accountant, for explaining the logic of numbers with amazing clarity; and **Amanda Hefez**, psychologist, for highlighting cognitive processes that underpin members’ activities in community clubs. Special thanks go to **Rose Edgar**, office manager, for being my mentor and ‘sounding board’; and **Damian Meed**, former communication officer, for conducting my focus group discussions with a level of mastery that awed the participants. I fondly remember **Elane Kruger** and the late **Ray Harris** for challenging me to ‘do something’ with the knowledge I was acquiring, which set me on the path of this study. All of you have inspired me to make informed choices that kept me moving, slowly but steadily, towards the attainment of this goal.

Friends are indispensable. I am thankful to **Sashi Bharos** for our rich friendship. Your thoughts on your PhD inadvertently alerted me to the ‘flaws’ of my approach. To my long lost childhood friend, **Lal Singh**: thanks for ‘appearing’ at the right time and reminding me that I should have paid more attention in the year 12 research class! To **Roy** and **Roshni Prabho**, two strangers who became part of our lives in a strange land, the generosity of your spirits is reflected in the astute treatment of the research topic.

Nothing can replace the support of family. I must thank **Pranesh** and **Veena Nair** for bouncing off my ideas. In a strange twist of fate, you become my brother and sister-in-law by marriage but we share a broader relationship that links to our university days. I must give credit to my brother and sister-in-law, **Ashok** and **Aruna**. You symbolise hard work and perseverance and the possibilities that flow when one reflects and reaches out to others. I can only stand in awe of my wife, **Ravina**, and my two children, **Reshaan** and **Saish**, who were born during my candidature, for they are constant reminders of the beauty of life itself. You take my breath away! Thank you, Lord, for the blessings of a loving family and a stable home, which have brought this dream within my reach.

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother. You did not live to see this day but your struggle to give me a life of love and security empowers my daily battles to be a better person. This project is another step - ‘a giant step’ - in that direction.

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Abbreviations and Meaning of Key Terms

Board or Management Committee	refers to the governing authority of community clubs. The term ‘management committee’ is used for a club that is registered as an incorporated association, while ‘board’ is used for a club that is registered as a company limited by guarantee. As corporate governance obligations of the management committee and the board are similar, the two terms are often used interchangeably. (See ‘registration’ below).
Club Activity	refers to various recreational pursuits available through community clubs. The study identifies eight club activities: gaming, bar, food, subclub, socialisation, music, greater good, and other (open category).
Club Experience	refers to the pursuit of common interests through the use of facilities and services provided by community clubs. Club experience has been measured in three ways for the purpose of the study: patronisation of club facilities, participation in club activities, and perception of club values.
Club Patrons	refers to people who visit community clubs for recreation. They can be members, guests of members, bona fide visitors, or other defined persons.
Club Type	refers to the orientation of community clubs, as per their main purpose. The study identifies eight club types: Returned Services Leagues Clubs (RSL Clubs), Surf Life Saving Supporters Clubs (SLSS Clubs), Bowls Clubs, Golf Clubs, Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, Cultural Clubs, and Recreational Clubs. Recreational Clubs is an open category that includes clubs that cater for diverse interests such as workers interests and hobbies, which cannot be readily placed in the other club types.
Community Club	refers to an incorporated association or a company limited by guarantee, which holds liquor and gaming machine licences under Queensland laws. While a community club can exist informally and without a liquor or gaming machine licence, the emphasis on formal registration (see ‘registration’ below) and liquor and gaming machine licences are to ensure clubs in the sample of the study offer the full range of facilities and services referred to in the research questions. ‘Clubs’ and ‘community clubs’ are used interchangeably in the study.
Common Interest	refers to recreational interests such as sporting activities; social and leisure pursuits such as gaming; special interests such as fishing; professional identification such as workers’ socialisation; and similar themes in club operation. Common interests represent collective interests of club patrons. Common interests determine recreational interests.
Constitution	refers to the governing rules of a community club, as approved by members and registered with the relevant government agency. The constitution outlines a range of matters such as member’s rights and privileges. It is based on the Model Rules, which apply by default and set

	minimum standards; hence, the constitution represents a customisation of the Model Rules to a club's specific operating parameters. 'Constitution', 'modal rules' and 'rules' are used interchangeably in the study.
Group Difference	refers to a comparison of two or more groups within a factor, for instance, males and females for the factor of gender, or Year 12 or less and Post Year 12 for the factor of education. The study focuses on eight factors: admission status, gender, age, marital status, language, education, employment, and length of association with community clubs.
Key Club Industry Stakeholders	refers to regulatory and industry authorities that oversee the operation of community clubs. The two key club industry stakeholders, identified for the purpose of the study, are the Queensland Government's Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation (OLGR) and the peak industry association and union of employers, Clubs Queensland (ClubsQld). The latter is the researcher's employer.
Laws	refers to four pieces of legislation that have the most impact on community clubs. They are the <i>Associations Incorporation Act 1981</i> (Qld), <i>Corporations Act 2001</i> (Cwlth), <i>Gaming Machine Act 1991</i> (Qld), and the <i>Liquor Act 1992</i> (Qld).
Local Community	refers to people who live within a 15 kilometre distance (by road) to a club. This distance requirement is a legislative restriction that deems (by default) any person whose usual place of residence is beyond 15 km from the club as a visitor. The 15 km 'rule' aligns with the requirements of community clubs to predominantly exist for the benefit of their members. Notwithstanding this, clubs can admit people, irrespective of where they reside, as temporary members but this class of membership expires after a set timeframe for which it is made available under the club constitution, thus reinforcing the paramountcy of members' rights and privileges.
Registration	refers to the legal framework of community clubs. A club can register as an incorporated association under the Associations Incorporation Act or as a company limited by guarantee under the Corporations Act. Registration gives a community club formal status as an entity that is separate from its members. Registration is a prerequisite for full liquor and gaming machine licences.
Social Capital	refers to resources in social interactions of club patrons such as trust, networks, and shared meanings that can be harnessed for a benefit or advantage. Social capital has been measured in three ways for the purpose of the study: structural interface, relational interface, and cognitive interface.
Social Dynamics	refers to the interactions that club patrons have with each other as they pursue and promote their common interests in community clubs.

Paramountcy of Members' Interests

*No member shall be entitled to any benefit or advantage from the club that is not shared equally by every member thereof, provided however, that honoraria may be paid to members in appreciation of services, provided the same has been recommended by Board, and approved by resolution of the Club at the Annual General Meeting.**

Clause 38(e) of the Constitution & By-Laws of the Killarney Bowls Club (2010)

*An example of a constitutional clause that establishes the paramountcy of members' interests over club operation. Many community clubs use the same or similar wordings to illustrate this overarching goal of their operation in their club rules or constitution. Sections 2.4, 4.3.1, 4.4, 5.2.4, 8.4.1, and 9.2.1 discuss this clause in respect to the present study.

Overview: Probing Community Clubs

*That is the beginning of knowledge - the discovery of something
we do not understand.*

Herbert (2008: 150)

1.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the study. It begins with the researcher’s personal and professional insights on community clubs to highlight the ‘gaps’ in knowledge in the understanding of community clubs as mutual associations. It then clarifies the themes, arguments, methods, findings, contributions, and limitations of the study. The chapter ends with an outline of the rest of the dissertation. While setting the boundaries of the study, the overview illustrates the importance of context and perspective in the study of community clubs.

1.2. Rationale and Motivation

1.2.1. Association with Community Clubs

My association with community clubs began as an afterthought through the Registered and Licensed Clubs Association of Queensland. Trading as Clubs Queensland (ClubsQld), the association is the peak industry representative body and union of employers of Queensland’s approximately 1,000 registered and licensed community clubs. ClubsQld “guides and leads the community clubs industry” and at the local level, assists community clubs to “operate efficiently and within legislative requirements and prevailing community standards” (ClubsQld, 2011a: 1-2). Given this industry mandate, it is somewhat incomprehensible that ClubsQld provided a career opening for me who had no prior professional – and even personal – experience of community clubs.

I commenced employment with ClubsQld as a Special Projects Officer in July, approximately five months after I migrated from Fiji in February, 2000. My initial job interview was for a Communication Officer's position but with no direct work experience in this area, it became obvious, very early in the interview, that I was not at all suited for this role. Ironically, I had always known this but was just 'pushing my luck' with this job application, as there was nothing on offer in the job market at that point in time that matched my expertise.

The most remarkable aspect of the job interview was not that I was called for it; rather, it was the intense scrutiny of my curriculum vitae and portfolio of previous work samples by the two interviewers. It was only after I made a follow-up call a few days later - again 'pushing my luck' - that I learnt they were contemplating offering a project management role to me. I was then told of the pressing need for ClubsQld to engage a researcher to assist the Executive Officer (who was one of the interviewers) respond to various industry issues and inquiries. Both interviewers, I learnt later, had found my skills and experience as a research analyst for the Embassy of Japan in Fiji, a position I held immediately before migrating to Australia, particularly relevant for this role.

I was offered a temporary research position on the conditions that I understand a detailed job description and a commensurate salary level did not exist for the role. It was to be on a 'trial basis' and limited in scope. It was made clear to me that ClubsQld would terminate this appointment if there were budgetary concerns or other factors, including unsatisfactory performance on my part. I did not realise then how significantly these conditions would motivate me to acquire a deeper understanding of community clubs.

I must have struck a chord with the lead interviewer, Penny Wilson, who was the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), with the difficulties of finding a suitable job that she encouraged me to "look past the temporary nature of the position, give it a go, and make the most of it" (P. Wilson, 2000, personal conversation, 18 July). I remember being assured that in the event ClubsQld decides to relinquish this position after my initial three-month contract period, the experience I would have gained could be a stepping

stone for “something better elsewhere, as I would have become familiar with at least one sector of the Australian economy” (P. Wilson, 2000, personal conversation, 18 July). I could not have asked for more, as I was desperate to find a job and to start my life in Australia.

My short-term contract put immense pressure on me to produce quality research outcomes in order to convince ClubsQld to retain me upon the conclusion of my projects. This was not easy because of my limited understanding of community clubs and the underlying socio-economic themes in their operation, having been in Australia for less than six months. In addition, I had nothing to relate to, since Fiji did not have the types of community clubs that existed in Queensland. It was very easy for me to then fall for the popular, but simplistic, view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues that are no different from pubs and casinos.

The simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues is largely because of a public perception created by media coverage on problem gambling. Despite the problem gambling rate being approximate 0.37% of the adult population of Queensland (OLGR, 2010a), the problem gambling ‘angle’ is often highlighted by the media at the expense of the positive aspects of club operation (such as provision of sporting facilities – see section 4.3.4) and linked to liquor service because this combination creates sensational headlines, for instance, “Pubs, Clubs Hit Jackpot” (Christiansen, 2008a: 10) and “Crackdown on All-hours Pokie Pubs and Clubs” (Giles, 2008: 3). The concentration of research on almost every aspect of problem gambling (for instance, see PC, 2010a) at the expense of the wider context in which gaming services are provided, in particular in the not-for-profit model of community clubs (Flockhart, 2009a & b) also adds to this misleading view (see the discussion in section 2.4). The recent development in federal politics, where the independent member for the seat of Denison, Andrew Wilkie, made implementation of problem gambling measures as a prerequisite for his support of the minority government of Prime Minister Julia Gillard (see section 5.2.4), has also drawn intense attention to gaming in clubs but with little or no regard for the strategic long-term financial viability of community clubs (ClubsQld,

2011b; Clubs Australia, 2012). As often is the case, perception creates a ‘reality’ of its own, which in this case is the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

Interestingly, industry stakeholders such as ClubsQld have attempted to refute this claim by commissioning economic impact studies (for instance, see DWS, 2009). However, these reports tend to highlight the economic contributions of community clubs such as statistics on club employment and community contributions (see section 5.3) but without a comprehensive or integrated discussion on social contributions in terms of the experience that clubs offer to their patrons. Research on the social contributions of community clubs, in particular on the experience of club members, therefore, is certainly warranted.

1.2.2. ‘Gaps’ in Knowledge on Community Clubs

The simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues represents a fundamental imbalance in the understanding of community clubs as social enterprises because this simplistic view is largely unfounded. I learnt through my research activities, for example, that the primary purpose of community clubs is to bring people together so that they can pursue and promote their common interests, which are not restricted to liquor and gaming services. As such, community clubs are an integral part of the socio-economic fabric of their local communities because of their impact on sporting, beach patrolling, support of war veterans and their families, avenues for cultural/ethnic expressions, and other social activities as enshrined in their rules or constitutions. In delivering these services, community clubs operate in a manner that is compliant with legislative requirements and prevailing community standards. In short, community clubs are major recreational hubs that provide safe and family-friendly social spaces for their patrons (ClubsQld, 2010a & 2010b; Hing, Breen, & Weeks, 2002).

These realisations were ‘an eye opener’ for me, particularly the facts that community clubs, unlike pubs and casinos, are not-for-profit, membership-based, and community-orientated organisations (OFT 2006 & 2010; ASIC, 2010a). As a consequence of this operating model, they are required legislatively to reinvest net surplus from their

operation into the provision of facilities and services to their members, which also indirectly benefits their local communities (OFT, 2006 & 2010; ASIC, 2010a). In practice, this means that no individual or group, commercial or otherwise, can personally profit from the operation of community clubs (other than through normal commercial contracts) because community clubs must serve the collective interests of their members (ClubsQld, 2000a; ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008). This principle stands in stark contrast to pubs and casinos, which are privately owned and not required to distribute any surplus for public good (though many do as part of their corporate social responsibility) (PC, 2010a: 6.5).

These facts on community clubs also counteracted to a large extent my cultural beliefs as an Australian (of Fijian-Indian origin) about the ill effects of gambling and alcohol. In hindsight, if I can call it my ‘moment of truth’, it was when I realised that it was in the best interest of community clubs to promote their services responsibly in order to support their overall operation. Put simply, no community club wants, or can afford in general business sense, to have a problem gambler or an alcoholic as its patron (ClubsQld, 2008a). Until I become acquainted with these facts on community clubs, my work at ClubsQld was stressful at best.

As I checked my understanding of community clubs, it became apparent to me that this simplistic view of community clubs was prevalent in the public perception of community clubs. This was mainly due to a limited understanding of what community clubs are, what they stand for, and how they operate on a daily basis. When asked for an explanation, the then CEO of ClubsQld, Penny Wilson, put it as follows:

Community clubs are good at what they do but not so good at telling the world what they do. They are full of good intentions and they do enormous social good – products, services, and support that wouldn’t exist if there are no community clubs. Unfortunately, much of these invaluable community contributions don’t make sensational headlines in the media because they involve ordinary people and everyday activities. Perhaps it’s time that community clubs start blowing their own trumpets (P. Wilson, 2001, personal conversation, 30 May).

Wilson (2007a: 3) notes several years later that the problem continued to exist, with community clubs being “modest in highlighting their achievements” which “has been to the industry’s detriment”.

The major detriment has been a limited understanding of the connection between community clubs and their members, as community clubs are often seen in the same light as pubs and casinos (Wilson, 2007a). While all three entities serve a similar purpose in terms of providing a public place for socialisation, for instance, dining, gaming, bar, and entertainment, community clubs, unlike pubs and casinos, exist to provide services and facilities directly to their members (and to a lesser extent to guests of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons) (see section 4.3.2). Their operation is, therefore, centered on the needs of members and not the general public, as it is in the case of pubs and casinos, which are not bound by any entry requirements. The failure to acknowledge this aspect has caused a significant blurring of the distinction between community clubs and pubs, which has contributed to the view that community clubs are just another form of a commercial entity.

Accordingly, I started incorporating the fundamental values of community clubs in my research and policy materials such as club codes and operational manuals, media articles, and industry submissions (for instance, see Prasad, 2005, 2007, & 2010). However, the limited understanding of community clubs continues to persist and seems to be more pronounced in culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) communities of Queensland. In the case of my community, for instance, the decision to patronise community clubs is greatly influenced by the cultural view that ‘a person of good character does not visit a place that offers alcohol and gambling’. This view is breaking down, though, as more and more Australians (of Fijian-Indian origin) embrace mainstream Australian values and lifestyles.

I am fortunate that ClubsQld realised the value of having an in-house researcher and formally established my role in a permanent position in August 2001, almost a year to my initial appointment. My role was expanded to include policy advice and research on

club operational matters as diverse as the club constitution, corporate governance, management responsibilities, responsible service of alcohol and gaming, smoking, food, financial and risk management, and trade practices. I am now completing my eleventh year at ClubsQld, the last eight as Policy and Research Manager.

1.2.3. Researcher's Approach

My role at ClubsQld is one of constant learning. I have seen community clubs presented with significant opportunities but also held back by major challenges to their operating environment in these eleven years. Although this close engagement with community clubs through ClubsQld does not make me an expert on club issues, it does provide opportunities to me to relate to them in a formidable manner. In many ways then, it puts me in a strong position to study community clubs and to some extent clarify their operating framework and role in the community (for instance, by accessing the 'pool' of industry knowledge that is accessible to me - see section 10.3.4).

The issue of subjectivity inevitably comes into play in this approach. However, if the researcher is overtly conscious of it, subjectivity can then be a source of research strength. As Maxwell (2005: 38) points out, a systematic omission of the researcher's experience about the setting or issues under study "can seriously damage the proposal's credibility" because this approach fails to capitalise on the knowledge of the researcher. In addition, it is not possible to have "God's eye view" because "*any* view is a view *from some perspective* [original emphasis] (Maxwell, 2005: 39). Despite the growing acceptance of drawing upon personal experience, Maxwell (2005) cautions that the researcher is not at liberty to impose uncritical personal values on the research.

In view of the above, I embrace the concept of "critical subjectivity" or:

a quality of awareness in which we do not suppress our primary experience; nor do we allow ourselves to be swept away and overwhelmed by it; rather we raise it to consciousness and use it as part of the inquiry process (Reason, 1988: 12).

This approach makes intuitive sense, as I am part of the ‘clubland’ that I am studying, familiar with various aspects of club operation, and have access to the ‘pool of industry knowledge’; all of which can inform this study.

Critical subjectivity also makes intuitive sense for the present study because it aligns with reflexive sociology of Bourdieu whose conception of social capital is employed by the study (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). For Bourdieu, reflexive sociology is the collective responsibility of researchers in a field to ensure the activity of research and researchers’ positions in relation to research are subject to critical evaluation (Wacquant, 1992). Such evaluation is necessary for quality research outcomes because it subjects the researcher’s role to critical self-analysis (Wacquant, 1992).

Reflexivity can also be localised in terms of the concepts being used in a study. The present study employs the concepts of club experience and social capital (see next section). In regard to social capital, Edwards (2004: 16) explains that it is “embedded in – and does not and cannot exist outside of – wider (explicit or taken-for-granted) understandings about the nature of society....”. Similarly, the concept of club experience is a product of the club ethos (see section 6.3.2). Being aware of the forces that influence these concepts in a particular context is critical to achieving better research outcomes.

Most importantly, reflexivity has a higher purpose for the study. As Cooper (2008: 19) explains:

Reflexive sociology also has ethical importance in that it prompts us to ask questions about what we are doing as researchers, whether we are justified in doing it, and more generally what our responsibilities and obligations are.... Reflection upon such issues, and subsequent consideration of the different ways in which our research might be designed, carried out and used, are vital to responsible, sensitive and critical research....

I embraced these values in the conduct of the study, and in the spirit of the acclaimed science fiction writer, Frank Herbert’s insight, beautifully expressed as: “That is the beginning of knowledge - the discovery of something we do not understand” (Herbert, 2008: 150).

1.3. Research Design, Outcomes, and Limitations

1.3.1. Key Variables: Club Experience and Social Capital

The study questions the simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues by focusing on ‘club experience’. Club experience refers to the pursuit of common interests through the use of facilities and services provided by community clubs. This approach has been chosen because the term draws attention to the fundamental tenet of community clubs as associations of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests (Newell, 2008).

The focus on club experience is underpinned by three important considerations. Firstly, it is, in the professional view of the researcher, the overarching concept that aptly characterises the mutual connection that exists between clubs and their patrons. Secondly, current studies on community clubs is piecemeal and largely in the form of market research that seek to quantify the macroeconomic value of community clubs, with little or no regard to the recreational pursuits of members (for instance, see DWS, 2009; JBAS, 2009). Finally, there is a limited understanding of how community clubs serve the interests of their patrons based on social, economic, and cultural factors such as admission (member versus non-member) status, gender, age, marital status, language, education, employment, and length of association with community clubs. An empirical investigation club experience, it is hoped, would assist in a comprehensive understanding of social dynamics of community clubs that could then help address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

Although many different approaches can be used for the purpose of the study, the researcher has chosen to locate club experience in a social capital framework. This is for heuristic reasons, in particular the perceived usefulness of the social capital concept in explaining social relations through social interactions (see section 3.2.3). Unlike similar concepts such as ‘sense of community’ or ‘community cohesion’ where social interactions are important in their own rights (Klein, 2011), social interactions in the

social capital framework have a potential extrinsic utility in achieving an outcome (Bourdieu, 1986). This suits the purpose of the study because the research goal is to provide a better understanding of community clubs as social spaces where club patrons do more than partake in liquor and gaming services.

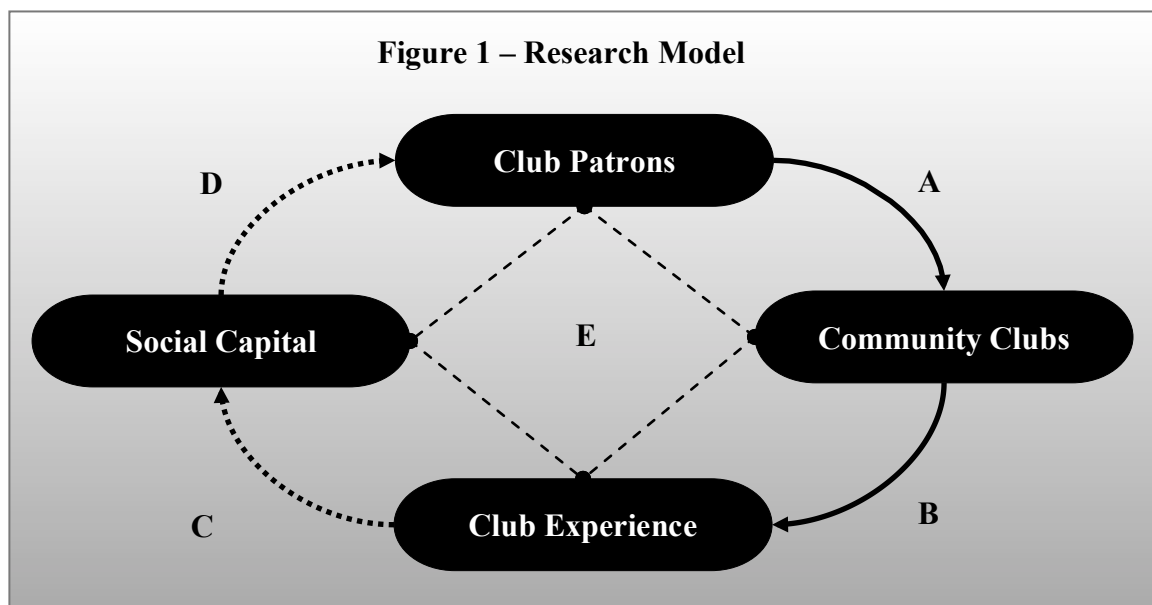
Social capital is a multidimensional concept that draws attention to factors such as trust, norms, and networks that underpin an actor's social transactions (Field, 2003; Haynes, 2009). While there is considerable disagreement on what exactly social capital refers to (Fine, 2001 & 2007; Fine & Milonakis, 2009), there is an emerging consensus on the usefulness of the concept to explain the value or resources inherent in social ties (for instance, see Halpern, 2005). Nevertheless, there is still no agreed theoretical position on social capital, with researchers adapting the concept to suit the purpose of their studies (Haynes, 2009).

This study interprets social capital as resources in social interactions of club patrons such as trust, networks, and shared meanings that can be harnessed for a benefit or advantage. This conception of social capital draws attention to individuals and various characteristics of their social networks in the Bourdieusian tradition (Bourdieu, 1986). It suits the purpose of the study because community clubs are comprised of patrons who operate within a defined social environment. The club environment provides opportunities for social interactions and, as such, enables club patrons to utilise their networks to advance their recreational experience.

In this regard, community clubs can be seen as individual “fields” (or defined social spaces), club experience as “habitus” (or accumulated disposition), and social capital as a form of “capital” (or resource) in Bourdieu’s language (ed. Grenfell, 2008). The concepts of field, habitus, and capital are critically examined in Chapter 3. They offer conceptual tools for the study to deconstruct social dynamics of community clubs in such a way as to effectively address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

1.3.2. Research Model

Figure 1 illustrates the scope of the study.



The scope of the study is determined by the interaction of club experience and social capital (as explained in the preceding section) with two other key concepts: ‘club patrons’, or people who visit community clubs for recreation, and ‘community clubs,’ which are formal associations that hold liquor and gaming machine licences under Queensland laws. The four concepts can interact in a specific way, for the purpose of the study, which then defines the boundaries of the study.

The four key concepts interact as follows. The solid arrows (A and B) represent what is currently known. Arrow A shows that people visit community clubs as members, guests of members, bona fide visitors, or other defined persons (collectively called club patrons). They then use the products and services, or otherwise benefit from the products or services, that community clubs provide, which shape their club experience (arrow B). While it is known anecdotally that social capital results from club experience, as club patrons must inevitably interact with each other in the pursuit of their recreational

interests, this link (arrow C) is dotted because it is unclear what the strength (whether strong, moderate or weak) or direction (whether positive or negative) are of the relationship that exists between their club experience and social capital. Similarly, arrow D is also dotted because it is unclear how social and economic characteristics of club patrons, in particular admission (member versus non-member) status, gender, age, marital status, language, education, employment, and length of association with community clubs affect this relationship. Arrow D, therefore, relates the relationship between club experience and social capital back to club patrons to see if it is affected by social and economic characteristics (termed group difference because each characteristic is a comparison of two or more groups, for example, males and females for the factor of gender). The dotted arrows (C and D) represent the research scope of the study.

It is important to note that the four key concepts have a symbiotic relationship (as represented by 'E') because each concept exists in relation to one another and builds on the preceding concept. This makes the relationship between club experience and social capital a function of the relationship between community clubs and club patrons. Similarly, social capital is a function of club experience (based on the relationship between club patrons and community clubs). Understanding the symbiotic relationship is essential in capturing social dynamics of community clubs through social capital as an outcome of the club experience of club patrons.

1.3.3. Proposition and Research Questions

In view of the research scope, the proposition scrutinised by the study is that club experience shapes the social capital of club patrons, which, in turn, provides insights into the social world of community clubs through social dynamics inherent in these two concepts. As alluded above, social dynamics is understood as the interactions that club patrons have with each other as they pursue and promote their common interests in community clubs. In other words, social dynamics act as a window to the social world of community clubs.

Table 1 lists the research questions of the study.

Table 1 – Research Questions of the Study

1. What is the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?
 - a. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of clubs?
 - b. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of club activities?

2. What is the overall group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?
 - a. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by selected socio-demographic factors?
 - b. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by the length of association with community clubs?

The two research questions focus on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the group difference on this relationship as follows:

Research Question 1 focuses on the first ‘gap’ in knowledge, as identified by arrow C in the research model above, by interrogating the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and then further examining this relationship by club types and club activities. The eight club types, identified for the purpose of the study, are Returned Services Leagues Clubs (RSL Clubs), Surf Life Saving Supporters Clubs (SLSS Clubs), Bowls Clubs, Golf Clubs, Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, Cultural Clubs, and Recreational Clubs (a generic club type that accommodates purposes that can not be readily placed in the other club types). The eight club activities, identified for the purpose of the study, are gaming, bar, food, subclub, socialisation, music, greater good, and other. ‘Other’ is an open category. The categorisation of clubs and recreational activities provided by community clubs is based on industry surveys (see section 5.3) and the researcher’s knowledge of community clubs.

Research Question 2 focuses on the second ‘gap’ in knowledge, as identified by arrow D in the research model above, by interrogating group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. Group difference refers to a comparison of two or more groups within a factor, for example, males and females for the factor of gender. The overall group difference, identified for the purpose of the study, is the admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons. The effect of group difference on this relationship is then further examined by gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment, as well as length of association with community clubs. The group difference factors are also based on industry surveys (see section 5.3) and the researcher’s knowledge of community clubs.

The research questions of the study are largely quantitative in design. However, they are informed by a set of qualitative questions (as listed in Table 21 for the focus group discussions) that draw out the experiences of club patrons in community clubs. The combination of quantitative and qualitative elements is essential because of the mixed methods design of the study (see next section).

The choice of club types, club activities, and group difference factors is an attempt by the researcher to ensure the study yields a cohesive body of empirical evidence that can complete the two ‘gaps’ in knowledge identified in the research model above. The researcher hopes that this approach would result in a better understanding of community clubs as social enterprises that operate for the mutual benefit of their members (with benefits also accruing to guests, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons who access community clubs for recreation). This would, in turn, counteract the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

1.3.4. Data Collection and Analysis

The two key concepts that underpin the research questions are club experience and social capital. The study does not define them because of the absence of a consensus on their precise meaning (see Chapters 2 and 3). Rather, the study alludes to a broad but informed understanding of these concepts. As Edwards (2004: 16) explains in regard to social capital: “The concept of social capital has been endorsed for its heuristic potential:

its capacity to open up issues to social analysis and provide fresh insights, rather than to provide definitive answers”. The same can also be said about club experience. On this premise, the study uses these concepts as heuristics in the Club Analytical Model (as explained in Chapter 6).

Based on the literature review of mutuality as a basis for club experience and social capital (see Chapters 2 and 3), the study treats these overarching concepts as multidimensional constructs. The three dimensions of club experience that are identified for the purpose of the study are patronisation of club facilities, participation in club services, and perception of club values. Similarly, the three dimensions of social capital that are identified for the purpose of the study are structural interface, relational interface, and cognitive interface. Accordingly, these two concepts are operationalised, for the purpose of the study, as composite variables (as determined by their respective dimensions and indicators).

Babbie (2004: 175) articulates the usefulness of a composite variable as follows:

Single indicators of variables seldom capture all the dimensions of a concept, have sufficiently clear validity to warrant their use, or permit the desired range of variation to allow ordinal rankings. Composite measures, such as scales and indexes, solve these problems by including several indicators of a variable in one summary measure.

The author notes that indexes and scales “are intended as ordinal measures of variables” but the latter is a better option because scales such as the Likert scale, “take advantage of any logical or empirical intensity structures that exist among a variable’s indicators” (Babbie, 2004: 175). The Likert scale is the principal measurement method adopted for the study and the study treats the data from the Likert scale at the interval level, based on statistical advice (see section 7.3.1).

Given the complexity of measuring multidimensional attributes of club experience and social capital, the study develops the Club Analytical Model (see Chapter 6) to guide the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data. The mixed methods approach, based on the pragmatism paradigm, underpins the Club Analytical Model. According to

Creswell and Clark (2007: 8-9), mixed methods combine quantitative and qualitative approaches to provide “a better understanding of research problem than either approach alone”. It then strengthens the research outcomes at several levels such as by offsetting “the weaknesses of both quantitative and qualitative research” (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 9; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). The Club Analytical Model benefits from the mixing of the methods.

Accordingly, research data was collected in three phases. The first phase was a survey of club patrons on aspects of their club experience and social capital in eight types of community clubs (as identified above). The club patrons were recruited using the multistage cluster sampling method (Kumar, 1996: 153) and this stage of data collection yielded 828 valid responses. The second phase was two focus group discussions on how clubs shape club experience and the social capital of their patrons. The first focus group was comprised of six club patrons and the second was an open group made up of two volunteers, two employees, and two management committee members (board directors). The final phase was consultations with key club industry stakeholders – ClubsQld and the Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation (OLGR) - on their views on the social role of community clubs in the local community. The three levels of data collection were necessary to balance the different perspectives on community club operation and, in this sense, the three phases not only informed but also complemented each other.

The synergy between the data collection methods is perhaps best summarised by Edwards, Franklin, and Holland (2003: 13) when they note that:

...statistical analysis of participation in voluntary associations as an indication of the presence of social capital is only half the story. The meanings and motivations that volunteers invest in their actions is equally important. It is not enough to establish the presence of a network, there is also a need to examine its content in practice.

By yielding quantitative and qualitative data, the three phases of data collection enable the study to offer a cohesive body of empirical evidence that could be used to

comprehensively understand social dynamics of community clubs and address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

The data was analysed at two levels. Firstly, statistical tests (bivariate linear correlation and linear regression analysis) (Chen & Krauss, 2004: 1035) were performed on the quantitative (survey) data using the Predictive Analytics Software (PASW), known formerly as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Secondly, thematic analysis using the content analysis technique was performed on the qualitative (focus group) data using the data coding software, Leximancer (Leximancer, 2010). The quantitative and qualitative findings were illustrated with comments provided by key club industry stakeholders and integrated using the concepts of field, habitus, and capital (see section 3.4.2), as per the mixed methods design of the study.

This analysis strategy ensured a practical interpretation of the statistical findings of the study that were obtained through null hypothesis significance testing (NHST). The study uses confidence intervals and effect size for this purpose. Cumming (2012: 4) calls this approach “estimation thinking” because it shifts attention away from “dichotomous thinking” – to reject or not reject the null hypothesis - that underpins NHST, to evidence on the size of an effect and not just the presence of an effect as under NHST. In other words, the presence (or absence) of an effect is best understood in relation to the size of that effect and as per the context of the study (Cumming, 2012: 4).

1.3.5. Key Findings, Contributions to Knowledge, and Limitations

The study quantifies the social impact of community clubs, in order to address the simplistic view that they are just liquor and gaming venues. It reveals an overall strong and positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The strong and positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is evident in five of the eight club types (RSL Clubs, SLSS Clubs, Bowls Clubs, Golf Clubs, and Cultural Clubs) and in seven of the eight club activities (gaming, food, bar, subclub, socialisation, greater good, and other). The relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is moderate in the remaining club types (Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, and Recreational Clubs) and club activity (music)

but is still of practical significance. While the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is unaffected by socio-demographic factors of age, marital status, language, education, and employment, it is moderated by admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons, length of association with community clubs, and gender. In the case of admission (member versus non-member) status and length of association with community clubs, the group difference is moderate and of practical significance. This means that members have higher club experience and social capital than non-members, and people with long-term association with community clubs have the strongest relationship between club experience and social capital. However, the group difference based on gender, although statistically significant, is negligible and, therefore, of no practical significance. In all cases, there is a corresponding increase in social capital with an increase in the club experience of club patrons. By assessing the strength and direction of the relationship that exists between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and group difference on this relationship, the study highlights the nature and extent of mutual connections that exist between community clubs and their patrons broadly, rather than through a narrow focus on just gaming and liquor services.

The focus on club experience and the social capital of club patrons helps the study to achieve its 'big picture' objective of offering a cohesive body of empirical evidence to illustrate social dynamics that operate in the social space of community clubs. The findings refute the claim that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues because it shows club patrons establish meaningful and purposive relationships with their clubs, which extend beyond liquor and gaming services. While counteracting the simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues, the findings then have the effect of moving the current research on community clubs from a self-serving commercial market research perspective to a more balanced approach, based on an understanding of social dynamics of community clubs. In doing so, the findings of the study are expected to benefit a range of policy makers and stakeholders, including community clubs, which will gain a better understanding of their connections with their patrons and operation as social enterprises.

The above findings are enabled by the Club Analytical Model, which represents the major methodological advancement that the study makes to the current body of knowledge on mutuality. The Club Analytical Model not only captures the complex socio-economic reality of community clubs but operationalises this reality; hence, ensuring the theoretical framework is achievable by empirical methods (including, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, the first effect size guide specific to community clubs). In the absence of a robust measurement framework, the Club Analytical Model offers a pragmatic and theoretically grounded pathway for studying micro-processes in community clubs (and can be applied to other social enterprises that exist for the collective benefit of their members).

The study also makes significant conceptual advancements to the current body of knowledge on social capital by demonstrating an effective deployment of the social capital concept in the context of community clubs as social enterprises with economic goals based on mutuality. This is achieved by viewing the findings through Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital. This approach enables the study to capture the multidimensional nature of social capital and locate it in the context of club experience, hence enhancing its utility. As there is limited guidance in the literature on the Bourdieusian conception and application of social capital, the study represents a practical example of this approach.

Given the use of critical subjectivity and reflexivity perspectives to inform the study, as the researcher is actively involved with community clubs, an unintended but beneficial consequence of the study is the capturing of information on community clubs that may be otherwise lost over time. This information includes views of key persons associated with community clubs to chart the historical development of community clubs and insights on industry lobbying efforts to determine the impact of legislation on community clubs. This information is not publicly available in some cases, and even when it is publicly available, it is piecemeal, subject to confidentiality, and restrained by concerns about improper usage (such as the simplistic view that is refuted in this study). The study presents this information in meaningful contexts and in full recognition of the ethical obligations of the researcher as an employee of ClubsQld.

The study has several limitations that constrain the findings. Firstly, the study uses a particular conception of club experience and social capital. Social capital is a contested concept and the choice of indicators for the study only presents a selected view of the impact of community clubs on their patrons as defined by the researcher. The same can be also said of club experience. Secondly, the study has chosen to focus on club patrons and does not make a comparison with ‘non-club goers’ because the latter group is difficult to identify, as a majority of Queensland adults have visited one or more clubs (DWS, 2009; Hing, Breen, & Weeks, 2002: 21). Finally, the study does not make any direct comparisons with pubs and casinos, even though community clubs share some common operational aspects with them, because pubs and casinos operate under different business models. These limitations are significant in their own rights and need further research elsewhere (see section 10.4).

1.4. Organisation of the Dissertation

Following this introduction, the rest of the dissertation is organised in nine chapters. The nine chapters correspond broadly to five defined sections of a research dissertation (Walsh, 2005): conceptual and theoretical frameworks (chapters 2 and 3), local setting (chapters 4 and 5), method of data collection and analysis (chapters 6 and 7), research findings and discussion (chapter 8 and 9), and concluding remarks (chapter 10). The contents of the chapters are outlined below.

Chapters 2 and 3 establish the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the study in order to illustrate the multidimensional nature of club experience and social capital. Chapter 2 reviews the current literature on mutuality to understand the character of club experience and social capital in membership-based organisations. The concept of mutuality underpins associative relationships in community clubs and is used to identify the ‘gaps’ in knowledge that is addressed by the study. Chapter 3 reviews the current literature on social capital in order to clarify and justify the ‘notion’ of social capital that is best suited for studying club experience. The study chooses the Bourdieusian conception because this conception renders an intrinsic utility to social capital that provides insights into social dynamics of community clubs.

Chapters 4 and 5 locate the conceptual and theoretical frameworks in the research context of the study and, as such, offer an in-depth understanding of the socio-economic drivers of community clubs in relation to club experience and social capital. Chapter 4 discusses the regulatory framework of community clubs in Queensland. It defines community clubs under statute and common laws, explains key operational requirements that identify an organisation as a community club, and illustrates the administration and management of community clubs for the mutual benefit of members. Chapter 5 shows how the regulatory framework works in practice. It explores the historical development of community clubs, looks at the present state of the community clubs industry, and identifies key club industry stakeholders who oversee the community clubs industry.

Chapters 6 and 7 explain the analytical methods that were used to collect and analyse data to answer the research questions of the study. Chapter 6 constructs the Club Analytical Model to guide the data collection and analysis processes - a step necessary given the complexities associated with capturing the multidimensional nature of club experience and social capital and the absence of a tool that models various dimensions of club experience and social capital in one measurement framework. The Club Analytical Model is based on a mixed methods design that takes into account the conceptual and theoretical frameworks and the research context of the study. Chapter 7 discusses the data collection and analysis procedures, including sample size determination; design, pilot testing, and the formal administration of the survey questionnaire; conduct of focus group discussions; descriptive analysis; and inferential analysis using bivariate linear correlation and linear regression tests on the composite scores of club experience and social capital. It also explains the controls that were put in place to ensure integrity of the data collection and analysis processes.

Chapters 8 and 9 present and discuss the findings of the study. Chapter 8 presents results of the bivariate linear correlation analysis on the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and then by club types and club activities. It then presents the results of the linear regression analysis of the overall group difference on this relationship and then group difference based on socio-demographic factors and length of association with community clubs. Included in this chapter are also key insights that could be quantified from the

focus group discussions. Chapter 9 integrates the quantitative and qualitative findings using insights and themes that emerged from the focus group discussions and consultations with key club industry stakeholders, OLGR and ClubsQld. This interpretation is framed using Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital, which highlight the utility of social capital as an outcome of club experience.

Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation. It restates the rationale and motivation for the study, summarises the main findings, and highlights the conceptual and methodological contributions that the study makes to the current body of knowledge on mutuality, with implications for practice and policy, in particular that community clubs are more than just liquor and gaming venues. It also revisits the limitations of the study and suggests some options for future research on community clubs.

This organisation of the dissertation has been purposively chosen to ensure relevance and applicability of this research on community clubs at policy and practice level, given the limited understanding of social dynamics of community clubs in the current literature (as pointed out in Chapter 2). As such, it is reflected in the choice of the title of the dissertation as a 'framework' that harnesses club experience and social capital through mutuality. The researcher hopes that the study, and in particular the Club Analytical Model, would enable this wider application.

1.5. Summary

Community clubs are an integral part of the socio-economic life in Queensland. However, there is a limited understanding of what community clubs are, what they stand for, and how they operate on a daily basis, resulting in the simplistic view that they are just liquor and gaming venues that are no different from pubs and casinos. The study seeks to address the simplistic view by focusing on social dynamics of community clubs through an investigation of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the group difference on this relationship as a way of understanding the social world of community clubs. The next chapter reviews the character of club experience and social capital in mutual associations.

Club Experience and Social Capital in Mutuality

A moment's reflection suggests that, at their beginning, all non-profit organisations are products of social capital.

Lyons (2000: 179)

2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the character of club experience and social capital through a review of the current literature on mutuality. It begins by exploring the nexus between mutuality, social capital, and club experience. It then scrutinises the macro and micro processes of mutuality in order to understand club experience and social capital in practice. The chapter ends by relating the above discussion to community clubs to highlight the 'gaps' in knowledge that are addressed by the study. The focus on mutuality to understand club experience and social capital is justified because mutuality draws upon factors such as common interest, group dynamics, and social interactions that determine the character of club experience and social capital in social enterprises that exist to serve the collective interests of their members.

2.2. Mutuality in Associational Life

2.2.1. Locating Mutuality

An understanding of the character of club experience and social capital through the lens of mutuality must first establish the conceptual link between these concepts. Lyons (2000: 179-80) offers perhaps the most insightful description of this conceptual link as follows:

A moment's reflection suggests that, at their beginning, all non-profit organisations are products of social capital. The people who get together and form an association, whether to provide a service or advance a cause, draw on social capital to do so. Their behaviour is shaped, and perhaps motivated, by norms; they presume the trustworthiness of those they invite to join; they utilise networks of which each are already a part. They continue to draw on social capital to sustain or to build the organisation.

According to this view, mutuality provides a basis for club experience and social capital in associations, for it is necessary for collective action and collective action is possible if people are able to overcome their self-interest. As Ahn and Ostrom (2002: 10) point out, it is the second generation of collective action theories that have relevance to social capital because they tend to reconcile rational choice inherent in individualism with the collective desire for mutual benefit that also accrues to members of the group. This then shapes their individual and collective experience.

Mutuality is based on reciprocal relationships that people form with each other in order to pursue a common purpose as a group (Love, 2007). The common purpose binds the group; hence, there is a distinction between the people in the group and others. The former is often referred to as members who share benefits of their common associational activities (Love, 2007).

The key to mutuality is then membership of the group. However, Lyons and Simpson (2009: 4) point out that it is the structure of membership that often leads to difficulties in classifying mutual relations in organisations. They cite the mix up of the mutual form of association with charities, the former providing benefits to its members and the latter to others, even though both are sustained through the mutual efforts of their members. In another example, Lyons and Simpson (2009: 4) point out that some advocacy groups call their donors "members", when they are, in fact, sponsors and are not the direct beneficiaries of the groups' activities. Then, there are some organisations such as St. Vincent de Paul Society where the givers and receivers of the benefits overlap because in providing benefits to others, they, themselves, benefit such as through advancement of

faith in this case. Thus, mutual organisations take different labels such as church, club, society, non-profit, voluntary association and the like but incorporate some aspects of reciprocity in their organising principle. It is irrelevant if they are a for-profit or a not-for-profit organisation; the important consideration is that any surplus or profit is used for the collective benefit of members and not distributed as personal dividend (Lyons & Simpson, 2009: 4; ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008).

Several legal precedents underpin the concept of mutuality but mainly in the context of taxation laws (Love, 2007). In a comprehensive analysis of legal challenges in England and Australia, Love (2007) states that the common purpose, under mutuality, must be for the benefit of all members of the group. While members of the group give effect to the common purpose through their contributions into a common fund, they do not personally own the fund. The fund is only open to members and people can benefit as long as they remain members. If members' contributions are in excess to what is required to pursue the common purpose, the surplus cannot be returned as profit but must be reinvested for the collective good of members, which can include commercial activities involving non-members. For these reasons, members' contributions are not subject to income tax (see section 4.3.5) (PC, 2010b: 219).

The centrality of mutuality to associative relationships was dramatically illustrated in the Australian context when the Parliament of Australia acted to restore it by statute after the High Court of Australia ruled that it would not apply when a mutual association is prevented from distributing any surplus for members' benefits upon winding up (PC, 2010: 219; *Coleambally Irrigation Mutual Co-operative Ltd v. Commissioner of Taxation* [2004] FCAC 250). The case involved the Coleambally Irrigation Mutual Co-operative Ltd, which, like all not-for-profit associations, is required, as a condition of registration, to include a clause prohibiting distribution of surplus to members as personal profit in its constitution. The court argued that because the remaining surplus would not go towards members' benefits but another similar association, the parent body could not rely on the principle of mutuality. This case, at least, in the Australian context, puts mutuality at the core of associational life.

2.2.2. Attributes of Mutuality

The pre-eminent theorists of social capital – Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam (see section 3.3) – emphasise a range of mutual association attributes. These include norms, trust, obligations, reciprocity, and sanctions; all of which are synonymous with social capital. However, they are concerned with different aspects of social life, resulting in different roles of these attributes, but they all agree on the centrality of social interactions in the fostering of these attributes. In the words of Winter (2000: 24), this is because “social capital is a social product demanding social interaction”. The concept of social capital is critically examined in Chapter 3, which outlines the conceptual framework of the study, but is visited below in the context of mutuality.

Bourdieu does not mean that ‘membership of a group’ is literally a mutual entity, though it can be seen as institutionalised in cultural or societal settings (such as a golf club) and “reinforced through a complex set of interactions that shape and maintain social capital” (Prell, 2006: 2). Bourdieu’s treatment of social capital is tied to the notion of dominant practices in a given field or context, which can be used by individuals or groups to access other forms of capital to advance their social status. He argues that similar individuals have similar tastes that identify and reinforce their position in society because they use their networks to advance their mutual interests through an “accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities” (Bourdieu, 1993: 143) and by the process of socialisation which creates their disposition. It is purposive action that results in exclusionary relationships marked by group dynamics. The class structure is reinforced and renewed through a process of social reproduction and the interaction between the macro and micro level of social capital fosters group norms, which is institutionalised over time (Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002).

Unlike Bourdieu who locates social capital in actors, Coleman locates social capital in social structures that facilitate mutuality but, like Bourdieu, argues that social capital is available to actors through obligations, expectations, and sanctions. However, he

emphasises that these are shaped by rational choices made by actors in different situations. Coleman explains that shared norms shape collective behaviour and group characteristics and this process can be replicated to overcome economic disadvantage through the acquisition of human capital. The bonds between actors are a function of the specific contextual environment. In this sense, mutuality exists at the structural, not individual, level but is still accessible to individuals. This reinforces collective good by facilitating and sanctioning specific actions (Coleman, 1988 & 1990).

For Putnam (2000), mutuality, as expressed through voluntary organisations, takes a prime position in the development of social capital because it creates internal and external effects through civic engagement, reciprocity, and trust. The internal effects include shared responsibility and cooperation and the external effects include better democratic practices. Like Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam focuses on social interactions and socialisation of actors but locates social capital in the civil society *per se* because for him, participation in associational life leads to social cohesion for the public good (Putnam, 2000). As Anheier (2009: 1086) puts it, the Putnamian approach contends “that civil engagement creates greater opportunities for repeated trust-building encounters among like-minded individuals....”

In short, various attributes of mutuality are tied to the common purpose that is shared by a group of people and, as social capital, these attributes determine the experience of the group. As Schneider (2009: 647) explains, this is so because none of the major thinkers, despite their differences on “what constitutes social capital”, accept “that membership, volunteering, or providing a service to someone else automatically generates social capital among everyone involved in the activity”. Rather, they focus on “mutual, reciprocal relationships” that create social capital. The quality, as well quantity of membership experience is important in this regard.

2.3. Mutuality in Practice

Mutuality is often expressed through the formation of a mutual entity; a structure that effectively binds members to the promotion of the common purpose (Love, 2007). When legally constituted, the mutual entity exists as a separate entity from its members, yet the two parties must operate within the confines of each other (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008). In this sense, mutuality in practice has implications at macro and the micro levels.

2.3.1. Macrocism of Mutuality

The literature on social capital predominantly reflects Putnamian conception of social capital (despite the limitations of this approach as discussed in Chapter 3) because of the close link between voluntary association participation and civil life (Portes, 1998 & 2000; Field, 2003). It provides insights into how social capital is fostered through associationalism in different contexts and in relation to a range of common purposes that demand group dynamics. Mutuality is either an implicit or explicit part of this process.

This approach to studying social capital has created controversy on exactly what role, if any, associational environments play in the formation of social capital because some researchers such as Wollebaek and Stromsnes (2008) stress that it is not the socialisation of individuals but the presence of associations that impact on social capital in this arena. As they explain:

...the core contribution of voluntary organisations lies in representation through membership, not socialization through intense personal involvement. Unlike socialization, the institutional function applies to active and passive members alike. This implies that the scope of the sector, that is, the prevalence of organizational memberships, is more important than the activity level of those affiliated (Wollebaek & Stromsnes, 2008: 253).

Despite the above, they do not discount the role of associations, which is consistent with the general view that associations provide an important arena in which social capital can

be fostered (for instance, see Foley & Edwards, 1999; Stolle & Rochon, 1998). The implication is that “different strategies produce different results” in associational environments (King, 2004: 475).

Accordingly, associational life can have positive and negative effects on club experience and social capital. Ingen and Kalmijn (2010: 496-497) present three competing claims on associations. On the positive side, they say that people make a conscious choice with whom they want to associate with and choose a context that would maximise this possibility; associational life contributes to a sense of belonging because people share the common interest; and people get “opportunities for positive experiences with others under the ‘controlled’ circumstances of shared interest” because of the recreational goal of associations. Conversely, they point out that there is no guarantee that people will meet new people in an association because they may be already interacting with this group outside of the association; that the benefits of associationalism remain exclusive to the associational environment and do not “*spill over* to other contexts” [original emphasis]; and ties formed in associations may be weak (but not necessarily unproductive) because associational activities feature modestly in a person’s life when compared to other activities such as participation in family. The debate on the placement of social capital in associational life is far from being settled.

There is a broad positive view of club experience and social capital through mutual association. Writing in the context of non-governmental organisations as bridging organisations, Wallis, Killerby, and Dollery (2004: 235) note that “...NGOs can play a crucial role in framing problems in terms that require participation by all parties”. As such, according to Lyons (2000: 168), “mutual organisations institutionalise social capital” because “they serve as examples of the efficacy and practicality of social trust, and they practise people in it”. In this sense, Passey and Lyons (2006: 482) note that nonprofits act as “social oil because they have been seen as institutions through which broader social outcomes might be achieved”, which include “socializing groups of people into broader norms”. Associations and associational activities are then assumed to play a vital role in fostering social capital.

The way club experience and social capital is fostered in associational environments differs though. Newton (1997: 579) explains that the face-to-face interactions in voluntary organisations result in members learning civic virtues such as trust, reciprocity, and compromise. In addition, if people are members of several organisations, they then form “cross-cutting ties that bind society together”. Wollebaek and Selle (2003: 71) explain that multiple affiliations may have “a *moderating* and a *cumulative* effect” [original emphasis]; the former because associations enable people from diverse backgrounds to meet and the latter by encouraging trust and civil engagement through “more and broader interaction”. Social interactions in associations then have defined social capital outcomes depending on the way they are fostered.

This view is further reinforced by Alexander (et al., 2012) who reach similar conclusions in their study of the membership patterns of 4,001 people drawn from the Greater Melbourne area. They focus on the “relationship between type and intensity of associationalism and engagement” in a variety of associations such as trade unions, professional groups, and social clubs. They find that associationalism fosters civic activity but the effect is not consistent across the associational type because “the scope of association is a greater predictor of individual civic engagement than intensity of association” (Alexander, et al., 2012: 56). In other words, the “type of groups people participate in has a differential impact on their level of civic engagement” (Alexander, et al., 2012: 55). In view of this, they observe that the metaphor of “bowling alone” used by Putnam (2000) is not representative of the range of associationalism evident in civic society (Alexander, et al., 2012: 55).

The implication is that associational membership has an effect on bonding and bridging social capital (see section 3.3.2.). Comparing empirically the distinction between bridging and bonding character of social networks using Flemish survey data on voluntary association membership, Geys and Murdoch (2008: 443) find that there is “some support for the idea that members’ civic attitudes are more pro-social and tolerant in bridging networks than bonding ones”. This depends, however, on how these concepts are defined. This is similar to the conclusion Titeca and Vervisch (2008: 2216) reach in

their study of linking capital in three community associations in Uganda when they say that social capital “does not always promote democratic practices, but has different effects at different points”.

In addition, Iglie (2010) states that it is not just the civic but also uncivic attitudes that associationalism promotes. He studies the link between associationalism and social tolerance in Eastern and Western European countries and finds that “... strengthening social networks in conditions of low levels of generalized trust might create an even more closed and intolerant society” (Iglie, 2010: 731). This is because associations in the former foster more particularised trust compared to the generalised trust in the latter (Iglie, 2010: 731). In effect, bonding and bridging social capital in association depend on the internal workings of the association and are a function of members’ experience.

Bonding and bridging social capital in associational life are further complicated by the simplistic dichotomy that propound that bonding is the ‘dark’ and bridging is the ‘bright’ side of social capital. Coffe and Geys (2008) attempt to empirically determine this distinction and illustrate the flaws in the current method of counting multiple affiliations of members as evidence of bridging social capital because such a method does not overcome the problem of associational size. As they put it, this is because “... membership is by definition symmetric [and] the number of additional memberships of any association’s members is limited to the total number of members in other associations” (Coffe & Geys, 2008: 360). This results in larger association being seen as more bonding than bridging organisations. They find that “bridging outperforms bonding and that not correcting for the size-related bias downplays this effect” (Coffe & Geys, 2008: 365). They call for this bias to be corrected to inform public policy that seeks to facilitate bridging social capital.

Mutuality at the macro level is then a function of the operation of mutual organisation. It determines the parameters that define members’ actions and activities. In this sense, mutuality determines the ongoing character of the organisation, which, in turn, shapes member’s experience.

2.3.2. Microcosm of Mutuality

The positive view of members' experience in associations has been accompanied by a critical focus on micro processes in social interactions that underpin this experience. At the foremost is perhaps the tension between individualism-collectivism, resulting largely from the underlying assumptions of the modernisation theory that sees excessive individualism as the cause of social alienation (Lane, 1994). However, Allik and Realo (2004: 31) explain that these are not “mutually exclusive opposites” in relation to social capital:

...individualism does not necessarily jeopardize organic unity and social solidarity. On the contrary, the growth of individuality, autonomy, and self-sufficiency may be perceived as necessary conditions for the development of interpersonal cooperation, mutual dependence, and social solidarity (Allik & Realo, 2004: 32).

Through a cross-cultural study spanning 37 countries, they find that “individualism appears to be rather firmly associated with an increase of social capital both within and across cultures” because autonomous and liberated individuals “are more inclined to form voluntary associations and to trust each other and to have a certain kind of public spirit” (Allik & Realo, 2004: 44-45). This is similar to the findings by Triandis (1995) who explains that participation in associations can encourage individualism, which is good for collective benefit because it instills personal responsibility and trust in other people who are outside their immediate circle. In this perspective, individualism has a role in associational life because people interact with each other as individuals.

Associational life is, however, more complex than just assuming individuals would sacrifice their personal interest for the common good. Poulsen (2009: 41) explains that “to get cooperation, it is not enough to have reciprocity; the reciprocal people must believe other people will cooperate”. Introducing the connection between social capital and leisure, Glover and Hemingway (2005: 6) sum up this relationship as follows:

The advantages conferred by social capital exist only insofar as one is recognised as a member of such a network by other members and recognises them in return. Reciprocity exists not as a general cultural norm, but rather as an expectation attached to membership in a specific network. ...there is neither inherent equality between networks in the resources they make available to their members, nor inherent equality of access among members within any specific networks.

In other words, it is not just enough that people reciprocate; they must have an expectation that their reciprocal actions would be recognised and returned in some form by others – a notion that forms the core of members' experience.

Another micro process of mutuality is the intensity of membership. Stolle (1998: 447) tests the assumption that voluntary associations make their members “more trusting and cooperative” and finds that those with a longer history of association are more trusting than those with a brief exposure to the socialisation effects of the voluntary association. Nevertheless, Stolle (1998: 521) cautions that this does not constitute a “linear effect” and does not fully validate the overt claim that social capital theorists make of the role of voluntary association in generating social capital.

There are also concerns about the mechanics of participation in associational life. In an interesting study, Somma (2010) tests the overtly positive view of organisational membership and protest participation such as public marches and demonstrations. He focuses on protests because protests symbolise “classic collective action”. He constructs four hypothetical member profiles based on the level of involvement in organisations to understand why some members and not others participate in protest activities. These are:

... “classic joiner” – a member fully involved in a variety of ways in the organization; the “checkbook member” – who merely donates money; the “Olsonian member” – who participates in diverse ways in the organization (presumably for obtaining selective incentives) yet without getting psychologically attached to it; and the “hermit member” – who, in opposition to the “Olsonian member,” has strong subjective bonds to the organization but makes little tangible contributions (Somma, 2010: 385).

Somma (2010) finds that it is the classic joiner who benefits the most from organisational membership because of the higher level of involvement; the message being that associations should not treat all their members as uniform or internalising the values of the organisation equally.

There are also concerns on not only who benefits but also how they benefit from associational life. Ingen and Kalminjn (2010) question the importance placed on participation in voluntary associations as a means of accessing social resources because much of previous research is based on cross-sectional data. They operationalise social resources as “the extent to which an individual has a social network of nearby contacts that can be mobilised for help and support” and use longitudinal data (Ingen & Kalminjn, 2010: 494). The strength of this study is that they empirically test the “competing claims about the effects of participation” (as highlighted in section 2.3.1). While they find that “people who become a member of a voluntary association do not gain more social resources than those who remain uninvolved” (Ingen & Kalminjn, 2010: 502), there are, nevertheless, benefits accruing to certain groups, in particular “people above 55 years of age, without a partner, and from immigrant groups” (Ingen & Kalminjn, 2010: 507). They call for further research to distinguish between “fact and fiction regarding the effects of voluntary association” (Ingen & Kalminjn, 2010). This reinforces an earlier view by McDonald (1999) that many attributes of third sector organisations are simply accepted as facts without undergoing rigorous empirical testing because these organisations are seen in a different but more sympathetic perspective

Perhaps a significant dimension in sorting out the fact from fiction is to look at the entirety of the membership experience. As Hooghe (2003: 49) explains, “the usual method of questioning only current membership status in population surveys provides us with, at best, only partial information about the actual participation habits and experiences of the respondent”. He cites the example of people who are members of sports clubs all their life but who would be counted as non-members if the survey is conducted when they have temporarily withdrawn their membership because of reasons such as family commitments. When he takes into consideration previous experience of

respondents, and using attitudinal scales that run counter to the positive value of civic attitudes (in order to demonstrate presence of social capital through rejection of such negative attitudes), he observes a stronger link between participation and civic attitude than one that is evident when only current membership is taken into consideration (Hooghe, 2003: 63). Hooghe (2003: 64) defends this “biographical study of participation” by comparing it with measurement of education which captures number of years that have been completed successfully, thus capturing current and previous educational experience. Similarly, the scale of participation should also incorporate current and previous membership. Despite the attractiveness of this approach, there are questions about its transferability to other contexts for a range of reasons, including the ability of participants to recall a history of their membership.

Another micro process is the change in social capital accumulation with age; in other words, the changes in social capital across the life course. Given little empirical investigation in this regard, McDonald and Mair (2010: 15) undertake to explore what they call “age-based trajectories of social capital” in a range of networks, including voluntary associations, using the position generator approach. They find “steady increases in memberships early in the life course, diminishing returns and a reversal of the trend during the middle years, followed by slight uptake in membership among the oldest age group” (McDonald & Mair, 2010: 350). This is moderated by gender, with the number of women’s contacts increasing with age, compared to men’s contacts. They conclude that this is consistent with networks formed in other areas of life such as work-related contexts. They caution that qualitative research is needed in this regard because people age in a given context, which has an impact on social capital.

There is also some debate on the role of active versus passive membership. It is interesting to note that Stolle and Rochon (1998) find that associations with a larger active membership base do not necessarily generate higher levels of social capital than those with a generally passive membership base. The issue of passive members is an important one because of the notion that passive members do not have an active role in civic matters; hence, it has been largely ignored in Putnam’s conception of social capital.

As Wollebaek and Selle (2002: 37) explain, the “theory of *imagined communities* provides a clue” [original emphasis] in this regard because passive members often have a “psychological affinity”, based on generalised trust, to the group which “conveys a sense of cooperation for the common purposes” (Wollebaek & Selle, 2002: 57).

Finally, it is important to note who participates in voluntary associations, that is, the social and economic characteristics of the participants. As Osborne, Ziersch, and Baum (2008: 104) explain: “Research shows that men and women have different patterns of voluntary social and community involvement, and this has implications for how they gain access to social capital and its benefits.” Studying women’s involvement in voluntary associations to address health concerns, they find that “employment situation, living in a married relationship and having a university education were significantly associated with regular participation....” (Osborne, Ziersch, & Baum, 2008: 177). However, they do not make a comparative analysis because they do not include men’s experiences in voluntary associations. Others such as Lowndes (2004), nevertheless, have shown that men, unlike women, are able to use their social capital to “get ahead”.

In the case of ethnicity, Weisinger and Salipante (2005) find that associational activities of diverse communities promote bonding, rather than bridging and linking social capital, as people from these communities tend to keep to themselves in a foreign environment. This is in line with Putnamian conception of social capital, which advocates that ethnic communities tend to form more bonding than bridging linkages. Hence, qualities such as trust and reciprocity are mostly confined to members of the same ethnic community. These are forms of dense networks or multi-layered connections that members of a group have with each other based on common identity and need (Giorgas, 2000). When contrasted with Coleman’s conception, social capital is a resource that actors can use to overcome economic disadvantage, hence ethnicity can play a part in making accessible group resources but for Bourdieu, ethnicity is a non-dominant characteristics and does not feature much in the social reproduction process.

Mutuality at the micro level then exists in the form of actions and activities of members. This is within the parameters permitted by mutual organisations. In this sense, mutuality determines the scope of individual agency, which, in turn, impacts on the organisational culture.

In summary, mutuality in collective action is one way of looking at the character of club experience and social capital in associations. Both club experience and social capital take many forms, depending on factors associated with collective action. This then defines the link between club experience and social capital as per members' experience.

2.4. Mutuality and 'Gaps' in Knowledge on Community Clubs

Given the above state of the literature, it is not unreasonable to question the social world of community clubs in regard to club experience, social capital, and mutuality. Community clubs in Queensland provide a clue to answering this question in a clause they incorporate in their 'contract' with members. The clause, which is one of the many variants, is presented at the beginning of the dissertation. It alludes to the notion that "no member shall be entitled to any benefit or advantage from the club which is not shared equally by every member thereof...." This is certainly a bold assertion that has overt practical implications for club experience, social capital, and mutuality in the context of community clubs because a community club must exist to serve the collective interests of its members (see Chapters 4 and 5).

Community clubs in Queensland are associations formed by people to pursue and promote their common (recreational) interests. They are mutual entities that offer a diversity of facilities and services to their membership. The facilities most notably include the clubhouse and one or more sporting fields and the services include provision of gaming, liquor, food, and musical entertainment. By their very nature, community clubs are prominent 'recreational hubs' in their local communities (ClubsQld, 2010a & 2010b). As Hing, Breen and Weeks (2002: 3) note, "...most sizeable towns in Australia have at least one licensed club...."

The literature clearly points out that social capital and associationalism are intricately linked. Using an ethnographic approach, Simpson-Young (2008) focuses on the club participation of older club goers in a New South Wales club and finds that:

... registered clubs have a unique and important role to play in the lives of older Australians. This research indicates that, for this group of working class older men and women, club use was a major contributor to maintaining social participation and to the effective management of everyday life (Simpson-Young, 2008: 257).

While Simpson-Young (2008) marks an important step in the advance of knowledge on club participation and the resulting aspects of club experience and social capital such as reciprocity and shared meaning, the scope of the research is limited to only a section of the club membership, being older club goers and only one club, based in New South Wales.

While Simpson-Young (2008) focuses on older members in a community club, Robertson (2007) studies a different group, women, in a group of clubs called the VIEW (Voice, Interest and Education of Women) Clubs. The VIEW clubs, established and supported by The Smith Family (a non-religious charity) but autonomous and self-governing provide “a space outside the home where women could engage in social interaction, learning and community service, and develop and articulate their collective concerns as women in the community and polity” (Robertson, 2007: 3). Robertson (2007: 7) finds that “... interaction within the organisation generates reciprocity, trust and the capacity to work together and this can be capitalised on for women to realise power across individual, social and political dimensions”. Similar to Simpson-Young (2008), the focus of this study is also limited to a particular group in clubs.

In a broader study, Capling and Marijoribanks (2008) explore social participation but in the framework of the business considerations that act on the operation of community clubs. Using the example of the Australian Football Leagues (AFL) clubs, they highlight the tension between the business and civic functions of the clubs and find that the

process has led to the development of “hybrid identities that encompass both commerce and culture” in order for clubs to survive in a competitive business environment (Capling & Marijoribanks, 2008: 144). They note that club officials viewed corporatisation as necessary but it was at the expense of opportunities for members to contribute to the operation of the clubs. The overriding goals were “to win a premiership” and “to stay solvent”, which have the effect of commercialising the social participation of club members (Capling & Marijoribanks, 2008: 156).

Social participation has been given some attention in the context of regulatory reform. The Productivity Commission’s 2010 report, titled *Contribution of the Not-for-Profit Sector*, for instance, notes that one of the functions of organisations such as community clubs is “expanding the social networks available to individuals”, which has implications for their well-being (PC, 2010b: 37). In the 2008 review of the New South Wales Registered Clubs Industry, the Independent Pricing and Regulatory Tribunal (IPART) of the New South Wales Government notes that “the registered clubs industry’s net social contribution is positive” and although it is difficult to quantify the intangible benefits, they should not be ignored (IPART, 2010: 41). Notwithstanding the above, the focus of these regulatory reports (like industry research as explained below) is more on the economic contributions of community clubs.

According to Patford and Breen (2009: 220), “studies regarding Australian registered clubs are gradually accumulating”. This is not surprising, given that the first major study on club operation and management, described by the authors as the “first book of its kind on this important subject”, was only published in 1998 (Hing, Breen & Weeks, 2002). To date, studies of community clubs have focused predominantly on problem gambling (for instance, Hing, 2004) and alcohol use and abuse (for instance, Wolfenden et al., 2012). There is little or no empirical coverage of social participation in community clubs in these studies.

At least four reasons can be identified for this significant lack of analysis on social participation in community clubs. Firstly, there is no “Australian equivalent to the

Putnam work” (Carroll, 2006: 27), which has resulted in a ‘piecemeal approach’ to studying the voluntary sector. Secondly, even when this is the case, the focus is on voluntary organisations other than community clubs; a view confirmed by Simpson-Young (2008: 256) when she notes that “Australian researchers and policy makers have not considered registered clubs to be worthy of serious attention” because of the existence of other “good” associations to study, and Capling and Marijoribanks (2008: 143) when they note that “much of the literature focuses on not-for-profits in the social services, community development and employment services sectors”. Thirdly, even when community clubs are the focus of study, the attention is largely on liquor and gaming operations and less on other aspects of club operation (Hing, 2000: 480). Finally, there appears to be a greater focus on "club operation" over "club experience" in the current literature; the former being on how community clubs meet the recreational needs of their members and the latter on how members meet their recreational needs through community clubs. Much of this is either in the form of market research, for instance, *The Social and Economic Profile of Community Clubs in Queensland* (DWS, 2009) and *The Economic and Social Contribution of Surf Lifesaving in Australia* (Allen Consulting Group, 2005) or industry observations (for instance, as contained in industry submissions such as Clubs Australia, 2009 & 2011a). These interrelated reasons allude to the importance of the current study in addressing the ‘gaps’ in knowledge identified in Chapter 1.

The study attempts to correct this imbalance by examining the link between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. Aligned with the discussion in sections 2.2 and 2.3, the study groups various factors associated with club experience and social capital into two categories. The first category, club experience, includes patronisation of club facilities; participation in club services, and perception of club values such as visitation patterns, use of products and services, and affinity that exists between clubs and their patrons. The second category, social capital, includes structural, relational, and cognitive interfaces of social capital such as the size and strength of networks, confidence in relationship, and shared meanings (further explained in Chapter 3). Social capital, for the purpose of the study, is a product or outcome of club experience.

Accordingly, the research questions of the study test the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and group difference on this relationship. The research questions go beyond the recreational objective of club operation to scrutinising the dynamics of the recreation. In this way, they take into consideration the role of club experience and social capital through mutuality to offer insights into the social world of community clubs. This, in turn, provides a cohesive body of empirical evidence to address the claim that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

2.5. Summary

The concept of mutuality shapes associational activities of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests. As mutuality imposes a number of obligations such as trust and reciprocity, which determine how people organise themselves in groups, the impact is felt on the type of club experience and social capital that applies to the group. This is at the macro and micro levels, the former relating more to organisational aspects while the latter relating more to individual agency, with both impacting on the culture of associations. The next chapter examines the concept of social capital in order to ascertain the best way to harness its utility for the present study.

Working with the Concept of Social Capital

The concept of social capital is seductive, but infuriating.

Li, Pickles, and Savage (2005: 109)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter contributes to the literature review on mutuality and is warranted because of the polemics surrounding the concept of social capital. It begins by highlighting the broad understanding on social capital and the difficulties of defining it. It then looks at social capital from the perspectives of the dominant thinkers and establishes common underpinnings in their respective usages. The chapter ends with an explanation for choosing the Bourdieusian conception of social capital to study social dynamics of community clubs. A critical discussion of the concept of social capital is necessary to demonstrate and justify the manner in which social capital is deployed for the purpose of the present study.

3.2. The Efficacy of Social Capital

3.2.1. Definition and Appeal

There are many definitions of social capital, each with its own epistemological foundation (Fulkerson & Thompson, 2008; Portes, 1998). However, all of them allude to the benefits or advantages that become available to actors as a result of their interactions with other actors but in different ways and at different levels. Given the seemingly lack of a consensus, Cox (2007: 506) takes the “fuzzy logic” approach and explains “we haven’t solved the problem of what it is despite a decade plus of writing ... so let’s discuss its most effective usage, rather than looking for an agreed definition”. The study subscribes to this view and does not define social capital but uses it heuristically (see section 3.4).

Social capital is then understood, for the purpose of the study, as resources in social interactions of club patrons such as trust, networks, and shared meanings that can be harnessed for a benefit or advantage. This understanding of social capital, which is based on the Bourdieusian conception (see section 3.4), includes both the networks and the resources embedded in the networks because neither networks nor the resources, in isolation, can constitute social capital. Both are important, as Bebbington (2007: 156) points out, because the networks of two people can be similar but they may access different resources in their respective networks.

Put simplistically, social capital is about being connected with others and the benefits of these connections (White, 2002; Field, 2003). The advantages can accrue to one or both parties in a social relationship; for example, the obligation to return a favour may mean that different needs of givers and receivers are met through various reciprocal exchanges over time. As Waldstrom (2003: 3) points out, "...interactions between individuals only become social capital if it is useful for the individual's self-interests" but Cohen and Prusak (2001: 9) caution that the term "capital" should not be applied to everything of value because the term has certain basic connotations (as elaborated below).

The huge interest in the concept of social capital (for instance, see Field, 2003; Halpern, 2005) is a reaction, in part, to "excessive individualism" that underpins neo-liberalism (Field, 2003: 7; Lane, 1994). Many writers, most prominent among them, Putnam (2000), linked the decline in community life to social fragmentation resulting from lack of civic values. An alternative model was needed to account for community development because of the limitations of the current models. Social capital provided an attractive alternative because it offered to look beyond "economic rationalism" (Hopkins, 2002: 1; Spies-Butcher, 2002 & 2009).

The point that needs to be made is that social capital presents not a departure but what Roberts (2004: 489) calls a "new 'socialised' and 'humanitarian' ideology associated with neo-liberalism". He puts it, rather bluntly, that social capital:

...shows that capitalism in its current, particularly depressing, form is still reliant upon a coming together of ordinary people in their communities to solve common problems, even if social capital theorists often think about this in an essentially topsy-turvy manner (Roberts, 2004: 489).

This reading of social capital has inadvertently influenced an uncritical and a populist deployment of the concept, which is perhaps most apparent in the works of the World Bank that imply failure of some of its development assistance programs is because of factors, including lack of sociability (Fine, 2007 & 2010).

The tremendous appeal of social capital has prompted Akcomak and Stoneman (2010) who study the concept in relation to British history to question the novelty of the concept. They ask:

If social environment, norms and values could affect individual behaviour and if community character is important in explaining social and economic outcomes why did it take us, the social human beings, so long to invent a term like “social capital”? The existence of social capital should reach to the ages when human beings started to live in community (Akcomak & Stoneman, 2010: 5).

They argue that ideas underpinning social capital were present throughout history. Hence, it is the current conceptualisation that constrains the utility of social capital as a consistent analytical tool (Akcomak & Stoneman, 2010).

3.2.2. Inherent Complexities

The complexities of social capital are perhaps best summarised by Li, Pickles, and Savage (2005: 109) when they say: “The concept of social capital is seductive, but infuriating”. This impression is a common theme in the vast (and contradictory) literature that explores the theoretical construct of social capital because the term has been used in so many different ways across disciplines that it is unclear what the concept refers to precisely (Law & Mooney, 2006: 128). It is an “oxymoron” that can stand for

“anything and everything” (Fine, 2007: 50). The varied interpretations have resulted in multiple problems such as the lack of a universal definition, confusion over the sources and outcomes of social capital, and tautology or circular reasoning regarding the impact and influence of social capital (Fine, 2007; Haynes, 2009; Law & Mooney, 2006).

Critics of social capital often ask ‘what is “social” about capital?’ and, conversely, ‘what is “capital” about social?’ (for instance, see Chalupnick, 2010; Fine, 2001; Roberts, 2004; Smith & Kulynych, 2002). ‘Capital’, in the traditional sense, implies tangible properties that can be owned and used by actors but in the case of social capital, the focus is on relationships and the values inherent in the relationships such as trust, cooperation, and reciprocity, which have no specific owners or external existence (Chalupnick, 2010; Fine, 2001; Roberts, 2004; Smith & Kulynych, 2002). The use of the word ‘capital’, it has been suggested, is an attempt to give importance to the concept by comparing it with economic, physical, human, and other forms of capital. It is, as pointed out by Law and Mooney (2006: 127) “to speak as if something meaningful is under discussion”. This is so because social capital, as a “new arrival” is a “neologism” and “...neologisms are unfamiliar... [and] ... must have some reference point in the familiar if they are to be comprehensible at all” (Thompson, 2009: 146). Nevertheless, Bebbington (2004: 345) explains that social capital was coined in the language for reasons that include not only gaining attention of funding agencies but drawing attention to a certain developmental agenda (such as the failure of macro-economic policies to alleviate poverty in some regions while being effective in other regions).

Concerns have also been raised on the disconnection between measures of social capital with the concept itself in the race to look at various aspects of social life through the lens of social capital. As Stone and Hughes (2002: 2) explain “social capital measurement and ‘practices’ need to be theoretically informed. Otherwise, anything and everything is labelled as social capital and old ideas and concepts are simply repackaged in a new guise”. In some cases, social capital has been seen as a ‘cure all’ solution, even to the extent that it has been regarded as the “missing link” in development (Grootaert, 1998; Harriss & Renzio, 1997: 921). These treatments of social capital unwittingly mask the

presence of other factors that can more accurately explain the observed relationship in the measurement frameworks (Scanlon, 2004).

There are also concerns that social capital accentuates positive externalities by default, for instance, the thinking that a person with more social capital is better placed than one with less social capital. However, if the networks are closed, then access to resources is counterproductive, resulting in the reinforcement of negative social capital (Rostila, 2010). A typical example of negative social capital is the activities of crime groups where members are required to submit to group attitudes and behaviours. In such cases, more social capital is detrimental not only to the participants but to others outside the group who may be subject to the actions of the group (Rostila, 2010).

There are also concerns that social capital ignores key development concerns such as power structures, unequal access to resources (for instance, based on ethnicity), and gender inequalities (Das, 2006; Lin, 2000; ed. Morrow, 2001; Warr, 2006). Men and women have different access to resources based on factors such as division of labour, which often results in different types of networks that are accessible to them. In the case of women, these networks are usually “non-monetised labour exchanges”; not the economic types available to men (Adkins, 2005: 200). Similar claims can also be made in regard to the networks of the poor and the most vulnerable in society. Their source of vulnerability is not that their networks include more of the same type of people; rather, structural inequalities that restrict their participation in mainstream economy (Cleaver, 2005; Somers, 2005). Thus, there are calls to make “social capital concept ‘better’ via the provision of fuller accounts of the social relations in which social capital operates....” (Adkins, 2005: 201). The study takes up this challenge in the development of the Club Analytical Model (Chapter 6).

Accordingly, discourse on social capital leads to two seemingly irreconcilable views. On the one hand, social capital is seen as a useful tool for exploring a diverse range of social and economic issues such as health, poverty, education, and finance through a social

lens of networks or relationships. Wall, Ferrazzi and Schryer (1998: 319-20) sum up this view as follows:

Judicious treatment of social capital not only will enhance studies that employ it as a key feature, it will also add to the development of sociological theory. The incorporation of new concepts or ideas inevitably challenges existing ones and the contexts within which they are used. The resolution of those differences can lead to greater insights and a healthier discipline.

On the other hand, there are serious concerns about the rigorousness of social capital in explaining societal issues or social life because of the perceived inadequacy of its meaning and deployment. As Fine and Lapavitsas (2004: 18) note:

The most that could be said in its favour is that it has helped to increase awareness of the need to analyse the social context within which capitalist economies operate. But the concept of social capital gives inadequate guidance to those who wish to analyse the interaction of the economic with the non-economic in capitalist society.

The critics, thus, see social capital as either a useful or a vague concept but one that is “notorious” for challenging scientific discourse (Koniordos, 2008: 317, Reimer, et al., 2008).

3.2.3. Heuristic Deployment

This study considers social capital as a useful tool when deployed heuristically. This is on the basis that scholarly interest is clearly polarised on the concept. It ranges from those who embrace the concept (in varying degrees) to those who dismiss it, necessitating the former to explain how social capital is understood for their particular study (which inadvertently perpetuates the ongoing controversy on the definition of the concept). This study leans towards the former and advocates the use of social capital as a heuristic tool for the study of community clubs and their members through a broad

understanding, but not a definition, of social capital. This is to avoid the definitional debates as highlighted above.

The potency of social capital as a heuristic tool lies primarily in its ability to understand social interactions from a combination of economic and non-economic vantages. As Rostila (2010: 316) notes, social capital “brings a comprehensive view” and “contributes to a greater understanding of how various dimensions and levels of social relationships are related”. He cites network theories and theories on social trust, which he says focus on some “specific aspects of social relationships”, thus lack the comprehensive focus offered by social capital. He argues against abandoning the concept because it “may cause us to lose important knowledge on how to improve several fundamental social conditions in society....” Adler and Kwom (2002: 34) exonerate social capital as follows: “There does not, as yet, seem to be anything resembling a rigorous theory or metatheory that can incorporate the strengths of the existing, competing theories and transcend their respective limitations”. Using social capital heuristically is then the key to its effective deployment.

Such use of social capital, however, must be related to the context of the study in order to harness the explanatory power of the concept. This is not a problem for the present study because community clubs are specific entities (see Chapters 4 and 5). A context-specific approach is important because the “specific social context in which social capital is embedded not only influences its ‘use value’; it also shapes the means by which access to specific social resources is distributed and managed” (Foley & Edwards, 1999: 146). In other words, social capital, heuristically deployed, is a function of its specific context.

Most importantly, social capital as a heuristic tool must acknowledge the theoretical perspective of the study, as different approaches lead to “a different set of assumptions and values which inevitably influence the choice of indicators, the method employed, and the interpretation of results” (Wall, Ferrazzi, & Schryer, 1998: 318). In this regard, social capital has a rich theoretical tradition that can be applied to community clubs,

depending on the perceived appropriateness of the tradition (as explained in the next section). To use Healy's words, it "offers much promise" in this regard (2004: 5).

3.3. Theoretical Roots of Social Capital

3.3.1. Principal Thinkers

Although the concept of social capital has received widespread attention in recent years, it is not a new idea, having intellectual roots in early sociological thought such as that of Durkheim and Tocqueville (Portes, 1998: 2; Magliola, 2005). It shares similar connotations with other concepts, in particular the notion of group solidarity, but is subjected to a different interpretation as a result of the contemporary application of core ideas inherent in the concept. As Adam and Roncevic (2003: 156) observe: "we are dealing with a revival of this concept in a different historical context and with some kind of 'invention of tradition'".

The greatest influence on the contemporary application of social capital comes from Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam. Putnam follows Coleman and Bourdieu and is credited with popularising the concept. It has been argued that Coleman's use of social capital departed from the context-specific use by Bourdieu, thus allowing Putnam to deploy it in a very general sense (Fine, 2007). This transition represents progression of social capital from neo-Marxism to rationalism to neo-liberalism (Davies, 2001). There is excellent discussion of these three traditions of social capital elsewhere (for instance, see Portes, 1998), so only the following salient points are warranted for the present study.

Putnam (1995: 67) defines social capital as "features of social organisation such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit". He draws insights from a longitudinal study of democratic institutions and economic development in Italy and level of civil engagement and political and economic outcomes in the United States. Putnam's conception of social capital recognises it as a

community level resource in the form of associational life and civic activities, which he looks at through the lens of bonding and bridging capital (discussed further below). He concludes that social capital was in decline through the deeply perceptive metaphor of “bowling alone” (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam has been criticised on several fronts. The criticisms, in particular, have been at the tautological, inherently positive, and celebrated nature of his conception of social capital, which fail to acknowledge economic sources of inequity (Field, 2003; Fine, 2007). The implicit assumption in Putnam’s conception is that social capital is “more broadly equal to the participatory attitude in a community” and greater civicness results in better development (Konoirdos, 2008: 326). This robs the concept of its “specificity”. Consequently, it also undermines the “heuristic power” of the concept if conceived in the Putnamian tradition (Konoirdos, 2008: 327).

In contrast, Coleman draws insights from studying differences in educational attainments in American ghettos and by exploring the interconnection between social capital and human capital. He defines social capital as “...not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of the individuals – whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure” (Coleman, 1988: S98). Coleman explains social capital in terms of rational choice theory, where system-level standards such as mutual obligations, trust, and sanctions bind and compel members to act within these standards. In other words, actors do not create social capital on purpose but it results from their cooperation with one another in the pursuit of their interests (Coleman, 1988 & 1990).

A major criticism of Coleman’s position is the discounting of the value of social connections between actors. Social capital for Coleman is defined by its function and is universal, with explicit connotations of “social integration and control” (Coradini, 2010: 569). While Coleman rejects extreme individualism, he, nevertheless, argues that actors

can use it in their personal pursuit of self-interest. For Coleman, social capital can be used as a tool for “social engineering” (Coradini, 2010: 569).

Unlike Putnam and Coleman whose conceptions of social capital are intrinsically linked to “political interests and prevailing ideologies” (Coradini, 2010: 564), Bourdieu offers the most integrated view of social capital as a form of capital, together with economic, cultural and other capitals, that underpin conflict and social hierarchy, particularly among the privileged classes because of its symbolic value. Bourdieu’s views are shaped by his study of French bourgeoisie. He defines social capital as the:

... aggregate of the actual and potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, membership in a group (Bourdieu, 1986: 249).

Bourdieu’s definition has specific connotations. As such, it differentiates between social relationships that actors use to accrue resources and the amount and quality of these resources. He links social capital to economic capital but cautions that it cannot be compacted into an economic form (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu’s conception of social capital has also not escaped criticisms. Critics point out that Bourdieu’s focus is on class privilege and ignores the view that less privileged individuals can benefit from their social connections. In addition, Bourdieu’s views heavily emphasise culture and class reproduction, which cause “heavy abstraction” (Fine, 2001: 53). Most importantly, social capital for Bourdieu is an investment in one’s economic status (Coradini, 2010). Bourdieu’s notion is further discussed in section 3.4.

A number of writers have followed Putnam, Coleman, and Bourdieu to add a diversity of views on social capital. This diversity seeks to enhance the utility of social capital (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009: 1511). Exploring the idea of the “strength of weak ties”, Granovetter (1973) argues that weak ties are also important because they are necessary to achieve certain outcomes through resources that can only diffuse, for

instance, from acquaintances (weak ties), rather than friends (strong ties). Lin (2001) stresses an opposing view and argues about the size, strength, and value of strong ties that can offer the needed benefit. For Burt (1992), there is a role of brokerage in his idea of “structural holes” when two unrelated networks are linked with each other through a third player who derives a benefit from this brokerage activity. For Fukuyama (1995), social capital is determined by the level of trust in a society; hence, it is synonymous with trust. Portes (1998) shows that social capital has a “downside” too that is counterproductive in the civil sense. Woolcock (2001) highlights that social capital, in addition to bonding and bridging forms, can also link people who occupy different positions in the social structure (linking social capital). In short, scholars depart from the common position that social capital has value and focus on different ways of harnessing the value. There is excellent discussion of these contributions elsewhere (for instance, see Portes, 1998; Field, 2003).

Given the diversity of views, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) offer a useful classification of the extensive literature on social capital according to four perspectives: a communitarian view (relating to number and density of associations); a network view (relating to vertical and horizontal interactions between people and organisations); an institutional view (relating to the role of political, legal, and other institutions); and a synergy view (relating to complimentary functions of various elements of civil society). As Hopkins (2002: 4) puts it, “emerging literature relates back to Bourdieu, Coleman or Putnam – or a blend of all three”.

3.3.2. From Theory to Practice

Despite the different theoretical underpinnings, the study seeks to benefit from the major consensus that social capital has explicit and implicit utility. Like physical and human capital, social capital has multiple resources (“assets” in economic terms) that can generate benefits. Hence, like machinery for physical capital and knowledge for human capital, the resources for social capital include trust, reciprocity, goodwill, and networks

in a community club context. The assets are not universal but determined by the social context (Ostrom & Ahn, 2008: 4-5).

The two important differences between physical and human capital, and social capital are that social capital resources are not tangible and also do not have specific owners because they result from the interactions of individuals. Hence, they reside in relationships between people and can operate at the individual, group, and community levels and actors at each level can benefit from their presence or lack thereof. The resources require active involvement through socialisation (“investment” in economic terms) and are lost when the relationship ends. For these reasons, “relationships matter” (Field, 2003: 1), which is certainly true for community clubs if they are regarded as “meeting places” by their members.

The resources and relationships become social capital when harnessed for a benefit. As this process takes place in a social context, the social context determines the dimension of the social capital. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) identify the dimensions of social capital as structural, relational, and cognitive social capital. The three dimensions complement each other and provide the study with the potential to see interactions in community clubs in their totality – “a comprehensive view” (Rostila, 2010: 316).

Structural social capital results from social structures such as the size and strength of social networks, including ‘strength of weak ties’ (Granovetter, 1973) and ‘brokerage’ (Burt, 2005). Bonding, bridging, and linking social capital are three forms of the structural dimension. As Tsai and Ghoshal (1998: 465) put it “The location of an actor’s contacts in a social structure of interactions provides certain advantages for the actor”.

Bonding, bridging and linking social capital describe the structure of networks. ‘Bonding social capital’ results from interactions between individuals who share similar characteristics, for example, family members and close friends. It can be used to exclude others, sustain group dynamics, or create a levelling effect by putting undue pressure on members to conform to group standards. The latter may undermine individual

contributions and allow ‘free riders’ because the collective good is accessible to everyone. ‘Bridging social capital’ results from interactions between individuals who are from different backgrounds, for example, professionals from two occupations. ‘Linking social capital’ results from interactions between individuals who occupy different hierarchies in society, for example, voters and politicians. Bridging and linking social capital encourage people to interact with others outside their immediate social circle. Linking social capital, in particular, promotes vertical interactions, compared to the horizontal interactions of bonding and bridging social capital. A social context that is characterised by vibrant interactions of its members with one another is said to have more of bridging and linking social capital (Farr, 2004; Halpern, 2005; Field, 2003; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). It is likely that community clubs, as membership based organisations, will exhibit all three forms of structural social capital.

The second dimension of social capital identified by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) is relational social capital. Relational social capital results from the underlying foundations of social relationships such as trust and reciprocity. This can easily apply to community clubs, which are mutual entities by law (see Chapter 4). It has been asserted that an environment where there is trust or reciprocity may influence actors to reflect these values in their relationships with others (Tsai & Ghoshal, 1998: 465).

The last dimension of social capital identified by Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) is cognitive social capital. Cognitive social capital results from a system of meaning that is acquired through shared experiences, culture, and beliefs. All community clubs, at their core, have a set of values enshrined in their constitution or rules that govern members’ rights and responsibilities, including access to services offered by community clubs. “Such a common understanding,” according to Tsai and Ghoshal (1998: 465), “is appropriable by the collective as a resource”.

In short, the study treats social capital as a multidimensional concept, with the three dimensions being structural, relational, and cognitive social capital. The ‘building blocks’ of these three dimensions are the resources and relationships that manifest in the

community club environment. Different social capital traditions look at them differently and the study chooses the Bourdieusian conception based on the perceived strengths of Bourdieu over Coleman and Putnam's conceptions.

3.4. Bourdieu's Social Capital and Community Clubs

3.4.1 Rationale for Selection

This study takes the view that the Bourdieusian conception of social capital provides a useful way of viewing social capital in community clubs. Unlike Putnam and Coleman, Bourdieu's uses a reflexive method, precise language, and locates social capital in the 'theory and practice of capitals'. This presents the flexibility to view social capital as subjective and objective manifestations, using a mixed methods design (see Chapters 6 and 7), consistent with reflexivity. The latter warrants particular attention because the researcher is part of the clubland that he is studying (as highlighted in Chapter 1) (Acciaioli, 1981; Bourdieu, 1977 & 1990; Fries, 2009).

Bourdieu does not treat social capital as a metaphorical or a standalone concept (Bourdieu, 1986). While he departs from the traditional sense of capital, for instance, by saying "my theory owes nothing, despite appearances, to the transfer of the economic approach" (Wacquant, 1989: 42), his notion addresses the limitations of the Marxist view of capital. As such, Bourdieu gives social capital the context-specific framework that is missing in Coleman and Putnam's conceptions. The study benefits from this meaning of capital because not all interactions in community clubs are for "purely economic" or rational reasons.

In addition, Bourdieu, unlike Coleman and Putnam, emphasises the convertible nature of capital. While economic capital is the principal capital, other forms of capital can be converted to the economic form. As Bourdieu (1986: 242) points out: "It is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognised by economic theory".

Members visit community clubs with all forms of capital; for instance, some are more educated than others, but share the same common recreational goal.

Bourdieu also relates social capital to agency and structure. As Blackshaw and Long (2004: 250) explain:

We want to argue that Bourdieu offers a more convincing approach because it is located in a sociological framework proper. It not only takes into account individual agency and structural determinants but also in the process dissolves the opposition between the two, as well as with the implications of the material and symbolic realms of capital (social, cultural and economic) in the process.

In taking this approach, Bourdieu questions the “objectivism-subjectivism” of the social reality (Wacquant, 2008: 266-267). This is critical, as community clubs are institutions and a way of life for some members.

Bourdieu perhaps offers greater insight into how social capital can be understood in terms of gender, class, and race than Coleman and Putnam (for instance, see Allard 2005). This is because Bourdieu links social capital to socio-economic wellbeing and the presence of power relations to sustain the dominant social practices. His notion of symbolic violence comes into play here, which underpins shared habitus in a field (further elaborated in the next section). This is an important aspect because club patrons come from all works of life and compete for recreational opportunities that is available through community clubs.

3.4.2. Application to Community Clubs

The relevance of Bourdieusian conception of social capital for the present study lies in the interaction of capital, field, and habitus, which can explain the social dynamics of community clubs. Community clubs as fields impose a certain social reality on their members’ club experience or habitus, which influences their access to resources in the

form of social capital. This process produces and reproduces group dynamics in community clubs.

The conceptualisation of capital in relation to field and habitus is the key to understanding Bourdieu's application to community clubs. Bourdieu identifies three main forms of capital – economic (found in monetary wealth), cultural (found in knowledge, customs, art) and social (found in social connections) – and advocates that they have symbolic value when they obtain “explicit or practical recognition” (Bourdieu 2000: 242). In his words, “Symbolic capital is any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perceptions which cause them to know it and to recognise it, to give it value” (Bourdieu, 1998: 47). Limitations exist on this recognition based on what is and is not recognised and, in this sense, Bourdieu departs from the traditional definition of capital by stating that a social resource can have value, hence capital. For him, a fuller meaning of capital includes both material and non-material goods. Social resources arising from social relations are then a form of capital – social capital – because they function like capitals to enable the actor to obtain a benefit (Bourdieu, 1998).

Bourdieu locates capitals in a field, which he understands as any context that is governed by its own logic and where there is a competition for strategic advantage. While the logic appears natural, it is determined by actors who act, and are acted upon, in the field because of the different ways in which they internalise the logic. Hence, the field imposes certain requirements that actors must comply with in order to remain in the field. Within the field, people must compete for capital and since capital is distributed unequally in the field, it is not “accessible to every possible subject” due to their position in the field. It is the field that determines the value of capital and capital may be different for different fields (Bebbington, 2007: 156; Bourdieu, 1977 & 1990).

The access to capital in a field is determined by the respective habitus of actors. Habitus is shaped by past experiences that determine the present outlook and influences future

options of actors. It is created and reinforced through ongoing socialisation of the agents in a field. As Houston (2002: 157) explains, “Implicit within the concept, then, is an acknowledgement that social structure is deeply ingrained within us all, that our ways of interpreting the social world are influenced by our social milieu”. Accordingly, habitus guides actors to “strategise, adapt, improvise or innovate in response to situations as they arise” (Houston, 2002: 157). This leads to class inequality because actors with similar levels of capital will have similar dispositions because they are conditioned to react in accordance with their habitus (Swartz, 1997: 104). Action is then a product of the habitus operating in a particular field (Swartz, 1997: 141; Houston, 2002).

In short, the value of social capital as a form of capital is in individual and collective club experience that is determined by the habitus of club patrons and the field of community clubs. As Bourdieu says, “history becomes nature” by which he means the dominant culture gets legitimised over time. The system itself then reproduces the social reality. To rephrase Bourdieu’s famous insight, using a community club flavour: community clubs affect members’ behavior, which in turn, in its totality, reproduces community clubs (Fries, 2009: 328).

3.5. Summary

Social capital is a highly contested concept and views on the perceived utility of the concept go the full length of the ideological spectrum. It is pertinent, therefore, to clarify the epistemological and ontological stance when deploying the concept in research inquiry. The Bourdieusian notion of social capital appears best suited for the present study because of the interplay of capital, field, and habitus. This gives a useful framework to study social dynamics of community club, given that community clubs operate as a field and shape members’ individual and shared habitus, which, in turn, affects access to social capital. The next chapter discusses the regulatory framework that makes community clubs a specific field of operation.

Regulatory Framework of Community Clubs

*The club exists solely to achieve the objectives of its members.
It does not declare dividends but instead applies all the proceeds of the
club to achieve the member's objectives.*

Goff (2006: 1)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the regulatory framework that governs the field of community clubs. It begins by examining definitional issues associated with the term 'club' and how the community clubs industry has responded to this challenge. It then outlines key operational requirements that identify an entity as a community club. The chapter ends with a discussion of the administrative and management structure of community clubs that is permitted by the regulatory framework. The regulatory framework impacts on club experience and the social capital of club patrons because it determines the social environment in community clubs.

4.2. Working Definition of 'Community Clubs'

Queensland does not have an overarching definition of the term 'club' because the two foundation laws - *Associations Incorporation Act 1981* (Qld) and the *Corporations Act 2001* (Cwlth) - do not make a direct reference to community clubs. Instead, s. 5 of the *Associations Incorporation Act* deems community clubs as "associations" and s. 112 of the *Corporations Act* deems them as "companies limited by guarantee"; both terms being synonymous with membership-based organisations, as they cannot be applied to private enterprises. These notions of community clubs are then reflected in functional laws applicable to community clubs, in particular the *Gaming Machine Act 1991* (Qld) and the *Liquor Act 1992* (Qld).

The principal difference between foundation and functional legislation is that the former clarifies the legal basis of community clubs, while the latter governs one or more operational aspects of community clubs. There is controversy on the use of these terms to classify laws because each law is a standalone Act of Parliament. However, it is possible to use them to describe the interdependence of the laws because functional laws draw upon the requirements of foundation laws to delimit their applications (Moroney, 2008).

Community clubs are then defined for the purpose of a liquor or gaming machine licence. Section 4 of the Liquor Act defines clubs as an “association of persons who meet periodically (a) with an interest in promoting some object; or (b) for social purposes”. An entity that meets this definition can apply for and hold a Community Club Licence. Schedule 2 of the Gaming Machine Act states that a club is a “body corporate that holds a community club liquor licence”. An entity that meets this definition can apply for and hold a Category 2 Gaming Machine Licence. The synergy between these functional definitions means that an entity cannot apply for a Category 2 Gaming Machine Licence unless it holds a Community Club Licence, and the entity must be either an association or a company limited by guarantee (OLGR, 2009a).

The absence of an overarching definition of clubs has been problematic for the community clubs industry (ClubsQld, 2000a: 12). In a submission to the Queensland State Government, ClubsQld pointed out that historically the term “club” has been associated with "non-profit entities with membership based on common interests" and the present use by some venues is inconsistent with this philosophy, resulting in some non-club venues trading “on the good name of the club industry" (ClubsQld, 2001: 8). In response, the government stated that the term has “become part of common parlance” and “it is not possible to effectively define the term in a way which would allow the type of enforcement ClubsQld seeks” (ClubsQld, 2001: 8). The matter was resolved in the interim that the activities of community clubs should be the primary determinant of what a community club is, instead of “any definition or reliance on a name” (ClubsQld, 2001: 8). Most recently, ClubsQld has argued for a dedicated Registered Clubs Act (as in New

South Wales), which clarifies what is and (by implication) is not a ‘club’ (ClubsQld, 2010a).

In view of the above, the industry preference is to refer to clubs as ‘community clubs’ and to interpret community clubs as “an association of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests” (for instance, see Newell, 2008). As Flockhart (2009a: 1) points out in the club industry’s submission to the Queensland Parliament’s Law, Justice and Safety Committee’s (LJSC) Inquiry into Alcohol-Related Violence in Queensland:

You would have noticed my use of the term “community clubs”, rather than just “clubs”. It seems anyone can use the term “club” these days because the term implies “a group of people coming together for a purpose”. The purpose can go from profit generation, to mutual benefit, to benevolence. Community clubs occupy the middle ground; they are mutual associations. But they are more than that because all their facilities and services are delivered in such a way that, on balance, the local community benefits from their presence. Hence, the term “community” in their name. This is both a legislative requirement and a common law obligation.

In other words, the term ‘community clubs’ is considered holistic because it focuses on collective ownership (as opposed to private ownership of pubs and casinos) (Goff, 2006). The definition has its roots in the common law because it evokes the notion of ‘service onto oneself’ or ‘mutuality’ (see Chapter 2). Geoff (2006: 1) makes this point explicit when he points out: “The club exists solely to achieve the objectives of its members. It does not declare dividends but instead applies all the proceeds of the club to achieve the member’s objectives”. This interpretation is attuned with the fundamental nature of community clubs as not-for-profit, membership-based, and community-orientated organisations that offer defined social environments where patrons can pursue and promote their common recreational interests (Newell, 2008).

This approach to labelling and interpreting community clubs has important implications for the study of club experience and social capital at four levels, all of which have

implications for community clubs as fields. Firstly, a community club is an ‘association of people’ because it is comprised of a group of people who are bound by certain interests and norms. Secondly, a community club allows people to ‘come together’ through provision of facilities such as the clubhouse, or activities such as sports. Thirdly, a community club enables people to ‘pursue and promote’ certain objectives for which members have established the community club, for example, beach patrolling for surf life saving clubs. Finally, a community club is based on ‘common interests’, which can be any lawful recreational purpose that is shared by members, for example, bowling. These implications refer to the underlying socio-economic themes in club operation such as reciprocity and cooperation which are fundamental to the concepts of club experience and social capital and which inevitably get reflected in the operational requirements of community clubs (ClubsQld, 2010a; Flockhart, 2009a; Hing, Breen & Weeks, 2002; Newell, 2008).

4.3. Operational Requirements of Community Clubs

The key legislative requirements that characterise the distinct nature of community club operation are registration and licensing, entry rules and admission status, constitutional ‘contract’ with members, community contributions, and concessional tax treatments. They also differentiate community clubs from other business models. As with the definition of community clubs, these requirements impact on club experience and social capital because they influence and define the social environment that community clubs offer to their patrons.

4.3.1. Registration and Licensing

Registration and licensing are separate legal processes for community clubs. Registration ensures that community clubs become legal entities in their own right, with the rights and privileges of a natural person, while licensing enables community clubs to offer regulated services such as the sale and service of alcohol and conduct of gaming. Registration is a prerequisite for licensing, though both processes are optional because

community clubs can exist informally and without a liquor or gaming machine licence (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008; OFT, 2006 & 2010; Pennell, Adrian, & Stephens, 2007).

Community clubs that choose to register have two options: either as an incorporated association under the Associations Incorporation Act or as a company limited by guarantee under the Corporations Act. Both Acts stipulate minimum requirements for an organisation to gain registration such as it must have members; rules or a constitution that guide the internal operation of the community club; an elected management committee (or board) to govern the community club on behalf of members; and expressed prohibitions on the distribution of any net surplus for personal gain of members so that the club operation benefits the collective membership (as reflected in the clause at the beginning of the dissertation). These requirements define the social environment of community clubs because they are designed to prevent for-profit entities from registering as incorporated associations or companies limited by guarantee and operating as community clubs (ASIC, 2010a & 2010b; OFT 2006 & 2010).

Upon registration, a community club can apply for liquor, gaming or food licences. The Community Club Licence permits the sale and service of alcohol to members, guests of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons. To ensure that alcohol is only sold or supplied to authorised persons, community clubs must maintain members' and visitors' registers, as well as implement procedures to ensure those on club premises (in particular reciprocal members and guests) are authorised to be there (Liquor Act 1992). The Category 2 Gaming Machine Licence permits community clubs to operate a maximum of 280 gaming machines for the benefit of members, guest of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons (Gaming Machine Act 1991). Many community clubs also offer additional gaming services such as raffles, bingo, keno, and wagering under the *Charitable and Non-Profit Gaming Act 1999* (Qld), *Keno Act 1996* (Qld), and *Wagering Act 1998* (Qld). Finally, community clubs that sell meals on at least 12 days in each financial year must obtain a licence from their local government authority (Queensland Health, 2006: 5). These licences are subject to stringent conditions,

including harm minimisation from alcohol abuse or problem gambling, which, in turn, safeguard the social environment that community clubs provide to their patrons because the relevant licence could be suspended or cancelled in the event of a significant breach of the relevant law.

The community clubs industry views the Community Club Licence as the primary licence because its application (in the absence of a dedicated Registered Clubs Act as operating in New South Wales) extends beyond the sale and service of alcohol to the general operation of the community club (ClubsQld, 2010a). The Community Club Licence, for instance, determines trading hours because the sale and supply of alcohol and conduct of gaming can only occur during approved liquor licensed hours (ClubsQld, 2010a). This does not, in itself, prevent community clubs from opening outside the approved licensed hours; for example, a golf club may open at 5 am even though its liquor licensed hours start at 7 am, but commercial realities make opening during these hours, without the revenue from liquor and gaming, financially unviable (ClubsQld, 2008c & 2008d). The Community Club Licence, thus, has far-reaching social impact on community club operation.

4.3.2. Entry Rules and Admission Status

The Community Club Licence determines the entry rules for community clubs. As alcohol can only be sold or served to members, guests of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons under this licence type, community clubs restrict entry to only these categories of people. They do this by checking the admission status of every person at the entrance. If a person is a guest of a member or a visitor, then he or she is asked to sign the relevant register. Members and reciprocal members only have to show their membership card and not sign any register (unless it is a requirement in the club rules or constitution for the latter). The effect is that community clubs are not open to the public in the same way as pubs and casinos where any member of the public can walk in and enjoy the services and facilities on offer. This makes community clubs defined social spaces (Liquor Act 1992).

The rationale for this access restriction is obvious: community clubs are membership-based organisations and they must be able to control who comes into the club so that they can operate for the collective benefit of their members. OLGR (2009b) explains this aspect in a Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) factsheet as follows:

[Question]

I live near a club – why can't I use the facilities like everyone else? I don't want to have to pay annual fees and be involved with the club.

[Answer]

A club is a place for members and their guests. The public is only permitted access in certain circumstances. Hotels offer pokies, entertainment and meals to the general public. If you wish to use the club facilities you will have to meet the entry criteria or be a member of the club.

The practical reality is that no one can access a community club, unless they can prove to the club's satisfaction that they are a member, guest of a member, bona fide visitor, or a defined person.

Members, guests of members, and bona fide visitors have special meaning in the context of community clubs. Table 2 explains their interpretations in regard to the social environment of community clubs. A person who does not fall into one of these categories of club patrons is termed 'defined persons' for the purpose of the study. There are severe penalties under the Liquor Act 1992 for a breach of these provisions.

Table 2 – Types of Club Patrons

Member	A member is a person who resides within a 15 kilometre (km) journey (by road) to a community club, has formally applied for and has been accepted as a member, and has paid the required membership subscription fee. This means that people living within a 15 km journey to a community club cannot access the club on their own, unless they become members (or temporary members if allowed by the club rules).
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Guest of a Member	A guest of a member is a person who has been invited by a member to accompany him or her to a community club. Guests usually include family members or friends of members. If these people live within a 15 km journey (by road) to a community club, they can become members in their own right. However, many of them decide to remain guests primarily because they do not visit community clubs regularly and see little benefit in going through the membership application process and paying the required membership fee. Guests have limited rights; for instance, they cannot purchase takeaway alcohol or vote in a club meeting. Guests must always remain in the company of their hosts (members who have invited them to the club) and if their hosts leave the club, they must not remain on the premises.
Bona fide Visitor	A bona fide visitor is a person who lives outside the 15 km journey (by road) to a community club. While these people can access community clubs in the company of members as their guests, often this is not a viable option because they are usually from outside the local area. Bona fide visitors must show evidence of address and like guests, they have limited access privileges such as they cannot buy takeaway alcohol. In most cases, bona fide visitors are inter-state and international travellers.
Defined Persons (who are not members, guest of members or bona fide visitors)	
Defence Personnel	A defence personnel is a current or former member of the defence force. They can access any RSL Club if they are a member of the RSL Sub-Branch and another RSL Club. This access privilege is accorded to them in recognition of their service to the country and the historical association of RSL Clubs with the provision of welfare services to returned soldiers and families of deceased soldiers. Normal criteria apply if defence personnel want to access other clubs.
Reciprocal Member	A reciprocal member is a member of a community club who visits another club on the basis that the two clubs have formal arrangements for reciprocity. This arrangement is significant because it allows members of one club to enjoy most membership privileges at the other club in the reciprocal arrangement without being restricted as a guest of a member or a bona fide visitor. The notable exception is that reciprocal members are not entitled to voting rights at the other club.
Function Guest	A function guest is an invitee who attends a function organised by the club (such as a stage show) or by another party (such as a wedding) on the club premises. The invitee must remain in the function area of the community club. Normal entry rules apply if the guest wants to access non-function areas of the community club.

Sports Players	A sports player is a member of a visiting sports team or a person who plays the club's sport, for example golf at a golf club. In this case, the team list or other evidence such a scorecard is required to provide them with access to the community club.
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Source: Liquor Act 1992

In short, entry rules of community clubs have the effect of restricting who can access community clubs and the level of benefits they can enjoy while on the club premises. This is an essential part of club operation because community clubs must exist to serve the collective interests of their members. Entry rules are one way of achieving this organisational goal (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008; OFT, 2006 & 2010; Pennell, Adrian, & Stephens, 2007).

4.3.3. Constitutional 'Contract' with Members

As membership-based organisations, community clubs must operate for the collective benefit of their members. This principle must be stated explicitly in the rules that govern club operation. The rules can be the model rules, as provided in the *Associations Incorporation Regulation 1999* (Qld), or replaceable rules, as provided in the Corporations Act. Alternatively, a community club can develop its own rules, called 'constitution', which must meet the minimum standards provided in the model rules or replaceable rules. Most community clubs operate with a constitution because of the ability to customise rules specific to their operation; for instance, they state in the constitution which organisations would benefit from the community contributions provided by the club (see section 4.3.4). This, in turn, gives them an ability to influence the social environment they can provide to their patrons (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008; OFT, 2006 & 2010; Pennell, Adrian, & Stephens, 2007).

The rules or constitution control the internal operation of the community club. This is because the rules or constitution outlines a range of matters, including the purpose or objects of the community club, classes of membership (for example, full, associate, honorary, social, and junior members), provisions relating to admission and termination

of membership, conduct of elections for positions on the management committee, voting rights, requirements for special and general meetings, and winding up provisions. The rules or the constitution acts as the ‘contract’ between community clubs (the legal entity) and their members on these matters. Community clubs that do not abide by their rules or constitution face the risk of deregistration (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008; OFT, 2006 & 2010; Pennell, Adrian, & Stephens, 2007).

The rules or constitution is registered with the Office of Fair Trading (OFT) in the case of incorporated associations or with the Australian Securities and Investments Commission (ASIC) for companies limited by guarantee. Once registered, it becomes binding and can only be amended by a special resolution of members. A special resolution is defined as at least three-quarters of the votes of members who are present and eligible to vote on the motion in a meeting to amend the rules or constitution. The board or management committee is the ‘custodian’ of the rules or constitution and has the power and authority to interpret and enforce it at the club. No club business can be conducted in contravention of the rules or constitution, which is yet another way to preserve the social environment of community clubs (ed. McGregor-Lowndes, 2008; OFT, 2006 & 2010; Pennell, Adrian, & Stephens, 2007).

4.3.4. Community Contributions

The concept of community contribution is central to community club operation because community clubs must use any net surplus for the collective benefit of their members, as per their not-for-profit status and in line with their rules or constitution. The concept, based on common law principles, describes direct and indirect benefits that accrue to members from the presence and operation of community clubs such as provision of sporting and recreational facilities, donations to local community groups, and support for social and charitable causes. Views differ on what constitutes community contributions, with some community clubs taking the ‘catch-all’ position that anything and everything that a community club does, other than the costs associated with operating the club, is community contributions (Wohlsen, 2008). The concept of community contributions

links the social environment of community clubs to the external world (commonly referred to as the “local community” of community clubs) because, on balance, the more successful a club is, the greater its community contributions.

Section 305 of the Gaming Machine Act currently requires community clubs with 51 and more gaming machines to lodge an annual Community Benefit Statement (CBS) with OLGR. The statement must list the cash and in-kind support provided by these community clubs to charitable, sporting, recreational, and other community purposes. This ‘cut-off’ point, based on the number of gaming machines, is seen as a compromise to shield smaller clubs (those with 50 or less gaming machines) from the perceived onerous accounting requirements needed to formally record such transactions. However, smaller clubs often include community contribution amounts in their annual report. In both cases, the beneficiaries of community contributions are often stated or alluded to in the rules or constitution of community clubs (Wohlsen, 2008).

In a majority of cases, the major beneficiaries of community contributions are subclubs. Subclubs are various interest groups that exist within the club. They may have a historical association with the club or are entities that benefit from the club’s financial support (with or without being a subclub). An example of the former is in bowls clubs, where the men’s and women’s divisions are subclubs. An example of the latter is the Legacy arm of RSL Clubs, which looks after the welfare of returned soldiers and families of deceased soldiers. Subclubs are discussed further in section 5.2.3.

The concept of community contributions forms an important basis for government policy towards the community club industry, as it helps to justify tax and other concessions (such as a maximum of 280 gaming machines for community clubs, compared to a maximum of 45 gaming machines for pubs) enjoyed by community clubs. This notion underpins the liquor and gaming machine licences of community clubs through an explicit recognition that any revenue derived from gaming and liquor operations must benefit members in terms of the product or services that are available to them and ultimately the local community through donations and grants. On this basis,

community contributions are often viewed as compensating for the shortfall in tax revenue because of concessions enjoyed by community clubs.

4.3.5. Tax Concessions

The tax regime for community clubs is modeled on their membership-based structure. The three significant tax regimes are the principle of mutuality, sporting club tax exemption, and gaming machine tax. They are concessional tax regimes designed to maximise benefits to members through the creation of a social environment, as per their wishes, from the club revenue. This is achieved through ongoing club development and reduced cost of club operation from savings derived from tax concessions.

The principle of mutuality is a federal income tax concession on the revenue derived from members. It applies to all community clubs. As the Australian Taxation Office (ATO) (2010: 7) explains:

The mutuality principle is a legal principle established by case law. It is based on the proposition that an organisation cannot derive income from itself. The principle of mutuality provides that where a number of persons contribute to a common fund created and controlled by them for a common purpose, any surplus arising from the use of that fund for the common purpose is not income. This principle, of course, does not extend to include income that is derived from sources outside that group.

In other words, revenue derived from members for their own benefit is not classed as income and, therefore, not subject to income tax laws. (Chapter 2 offers a broader discussion of mutuality that extends beyond the taxation regime.)

The sporting club income tax exemption is a federal income tax concession that is in addition to the principle of mutuality concession. This tax concession, however, only applies to the income of sporting clubs if they are able to meet three conditions of operation. The first is that the sporting club is not operating for the purposes of profit or gain of its individual members; the second is that it is operating for the encouragement of a game or sport; and the third is that the encouragement of a game or sport must be

the sporting club's main purpose. The ATO (1997) has taken the position that a sporting club must satisfy all three conditions on balance; in other words, the main purpose of the sporting club must be for the promotion of sport even when it provides social activities.

The gaming machine tax is a state tax on revenue derived from gaming machines. It is based on metered win (MW), which is the amount lost by players on gaming machines or the gross amount earned by community clubs from gaming machines (QGC, 2009: 13). It is a tax concession (for clubs) because it applies on a sliding scale for club, compared with a flat rate for pubs. This sliding scale recognises that gaming machines in community clubs are for the benefit of members, unlike gaming machines in pubs, which are accessible to the general public. This distinction is understood in the community clubs industry as ‘community-owned gaming’ versus ‘entrepreneurial gaming’ (Flockhart, 2009b: 3).

The tax concessions are necessary because community clubs operate in the “social economy” (Flockhart, 2009b: 3). The social economy relating to community clubs is perhaps best explained in contrast to pubs, and in relation to gaming machines, as follows:

There is a big difference that needs to be considered when one talks about hotels and clubs. In hotels, the gaming machines are there for the private profit of the person who owns the hotel or the licensee of the hotel who runs the establishment. The profit from those gaming machines goes directly to that individual or to that company. In relation to clubs, irrespective of whether it is a little club or a large club which can have the maximum number of machines of 280, the profit goes to the betterment of the members or to the areas where the board of directors may direct their money, that is, to organisations. So there is a difference. Clubs and hotels have always been treated differently in terms of gaming machines, and that is why we have different numbers and why they pay different rates of tax—because of the way that the profits are treated (Queensland, House of Representatives, 2002: 1438).

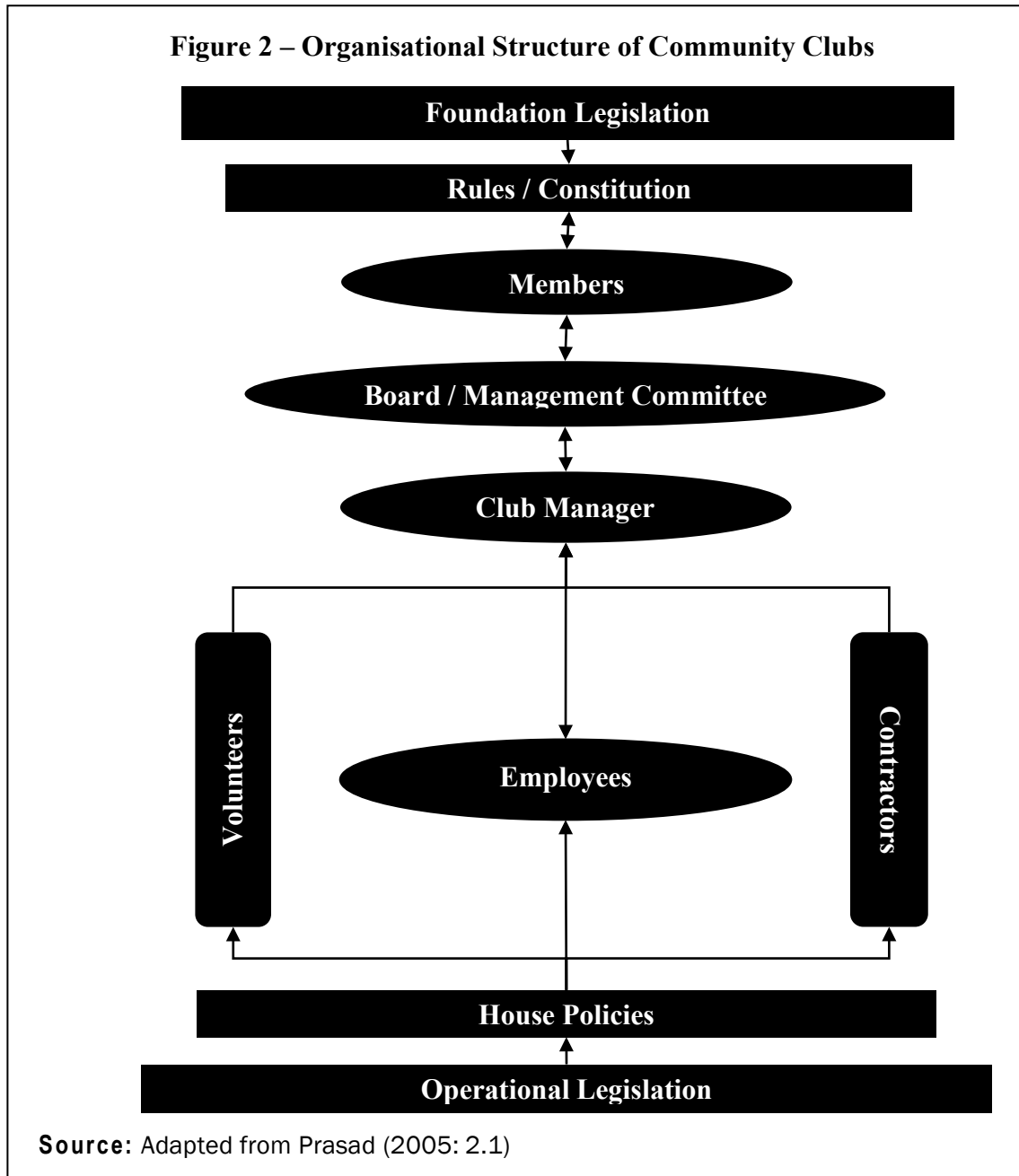
This clarification shows the importance of the membership structure of community clubs for concessional tax treatments and, indeed, for clubs to be recognised as mutual entities.

4.4. Administration and Management of Community Clubs

Figure 2 shows the organisational structure of community clubs as determined by the regulatory framework. This organisational structure has been adapted from one of the researcher's policy documents on community clubs. Titled, *Corporate Governance Manual for Community Clubs in Queensland*, (Prasad, 2005), the publication explains the role and responsibilities of each party in the operation of a club and the need for the board or management committee to understand the scope of their role in relation to the roles of the other parties. This is in order to ensure they facilitate the creation of the social environment desired by members, as per the objects of the club. As highlighted in Chapter 1, this policy material is an example of the researcher's attempt to address the limited understanding of what community clubs are, what they stand for, and how they should operate on a daily basis.

The organisational structure is made up of six parties. They are members, board or management committee, club manager, employees, volunteers, and contractors. All parties function to serve the collective interests of members and are either directly or indirectly accountable to members.

The board or management committee is usually comprised of eight volunteers who are elected by members to administer the community club on their behalf. The term 'board' applies to a community club that is registered as a company limited by guarantee, while the term 'management committee' applies to a community clubs that is registered as an incorporated association under the Associations Incorporation Act and Corporations Act, respectively. Despite the different terminologies, the role and responsibilities of the board or management committee are similar, which is to provide strategic leadership, oversight, and stewardship, commonly referred to as corporate governance (Standards Australia, 2003). In governing the club, the board or management committee derives its powers and authority directly from the rules or constitution made by members and as provided for under the foundation laws, hence, the board or management committee is directly accountable to members.



The board or management committee appoints the club manager to operate the club on a day-to-day basis. The club manager is either an employee or a third party such as a management company. The club manager must implement the instructions of the board or management committee, as well as ensure the club complies with the operational legislation. The operating legislation is simplified as house policies for effective

compliance. The club manager reports directly to the board or management committee (Prasad, 2005).

Employees, volunteers, and contractors support the role of the club manager. Employees are paid staff of the community club, while volunteers are people who offer their services to the community club without an expectation of a gain, financial or otherwise, though the community club may cover their incidental expenses. Contractors are individuals or companies that provide services, under a commercial arrangement, to the community club such as a catering company appointed by the board or management committee to run the kitchen. Employees, volunteers, and contractors report to the club manager and are guided and directed in their respective roles by the house policies (Prasad, 2005).

In most medium-sized and large community clubs (such as those with more than 40 or 120 gaming machines, respectively), board directors or management committee members have no direct professional contact with staff, except through the club manager. However, in some small community clubs that have no employees, this demarcation is not always present, as a board director or management committee member may have to perform the dual roles of sitting on the board or management committee and also carry out the day-to-day operation of the community club. In these instances, it becomes vital that any conflict of interest is actively avoided or declared to preserve the benefits to members (Prasad, 2005).

In short, the organisational structure of community clubs recognises the paramountcy of members' interest. This is achieved through direct and indirect reporting requirements to members, which apply to all other parties in the administration and management structure. The social environment, as per members' interests is then created through this process.

4.5. Summary

Community clubs are subject to a complex regulatory framework that determines their field of operation. The central premise of this framework is service to members. All operating requirements then build on this central premise and are supported by a member-centered administration and management structure. A community club that is not true to its ethos faces a significant risk of deregistration, de-licensing or loss of tax and other privileges. The next chapter explains the principal forces that interact in the field of community clubs by showing how the regulatory framework works in practice.

Community Club Operation in Practice

*Out of friendship, community and common ground,
Queensland's first club emerged. To this day the proud tradition
continues, with clubs and their members making a positive difference
to the communities that surround them.*

(ed. Raissis, 2005: 196)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the operational dynamics of community clubs. It begins with a historical overview of factors that have contributed to the development of community clubs. It then presents vital statistics that describe the scope of the community clubs industry. The chapter ends by identifying key club industry stakeholders and their respective roles in ensuring community clubs remain strategically viable and vibrant. Community clubs are a product of various socio-economic forces that act on their operation and understanding them is critical in order to fully appreciate this field of operation.

5.2. Historical Overview

5.2.1. First Clubs

It is difficult to ascertain which was the first community club formed in Queensland because community clubs can exist informally and have no registration records. Even when community clubs have registration records, the date of their formation and the registration date may be different. Many community clubs have also registered some time, even years, after their formation, so one or both dates may be unknown or incorrectly recorded. Of significance also is that some community clubs have based their founding dates on anecdotal evidence that is difficult to verify in the absence of supporting evidence, especially when there are limited recordings of their past activities.

These reasons make it difficult to say with confidence that a particular community club is the first community club formed in Queensland.

Despite the above, one of the oldest community clubs, acknowledged as early as 1934 as the ‘first’ community club established in Queensland (“Lead”, 1934: 6), is the Booroodabin Bowls Club. The club was formed in 1888 in the Brisbane Botanic Garden. After several name and location changes, the club currently operates from Newstead and is affectionately known as ‘The Boo’ to its members. With changing times, the Booroodabin Bowls Club no longer considers itself a traditional bowls club but a social destination. The club’s website states: “Combining barefoot bowls with a relaxing environment, an outstanding menu, an extensive range of premium beers and wines makes 'The BOO' a unique social experience” (The Boo, 2010).

The Booroodabin Bowls Club is significant for two other reasons. Firstly, it claims to be the first ‘bowls’ club in Queensland and for being part of the “formative history” of Brisbane and Queensland. The club had Lord Lamington (often associated with the ‘invention’ of the lamington cake) who was the Governor of Queensland from 1896-1901 as its founding patron and Sir Thomas MacIlwraith, the then Premier of Queensland as its inaugural president, together with “a long line of distinguished Queensland family names” as members (The Boo, 2010). The club is iconic in this regard.

Secondly, as part of the 2005 Queensland Week Celebrations to mark the formal separation of Queensland from New South Wales in 1859 (Department of Premier and Cabinet, 2010), ClubsQld presented the Booroodabin Bowls Club as a symbolic representation of the community clubs movement in Queensland. The entry (Appendix A) in the commemorative publication, *Queensland: A Great State of Mind*, reads:

Out of friendship, community and common ground, Queensland’s first club emerged. To this day the proud tradition continues, with clubs and their members making a positive difference to the communities that surround them (ed. Raissis, 2005: 196).

Such sentiments still hold true today and is noticeable in RSL Clubs where the Ode of Remembrance (Appendix B), a tribute to the sacrifice of Australian defence personnel who lost their lives in battle, is observed every evening, often with great reverence and respect (for instance, see Kedron-Wavell Services Club, 2010 in Appendix B).

Sentiments like these aptly summarise the historical triggers for the formation of community clubs. Some of the oldest community clubs that continue to exist today include the Townsville Golf Club (formed in 1893 and seemingly the ‘first’ golf club formed in Queensland), Tweed Heads and Coolangatta Surf Life Saving Club (formed in 1911 and seemingly the ‘first’ surf life saving club formed in Queensland), Yeronga Football Club (formed in 1910 and seemingly the oldest football club currently in existence in Queensland) and Cairns RSL Club (formed in 1939 and seemingly the oldest RSL Club currently in existence in Queensland) (Cairns Sub Branch RSL, 2007; Townsville Golf Club, 2010; Winders, 1969; Yeronga Football Club, 2010). Like the Booroodabin Bowls Clubs, these clubs have also responded to changing times and have to some extent diversified their operation (for instance, see Christiansen, 2008b: 22).

5.2.2. Response to Community Needs

While the above sentiments have laid the foundation for the formation of community clubs, responding to a particular community need has shaped their predominant purpose or focus (Lyons, 2001). Sporting clubs, for instance, came about in response to developments of various sporting codes, thus giving people an opportunity to participate in these sports (for instance, see Yeronga Football Club, 2010). With the development of ‘beach culture’, surf life saving clubs have been formed to address community calls for safer beaches (Winders, 1969). RSL clubs developed as a means of remembering and honouring the memory of soldiers who died in the service of Australia and to provide social activities and welfare services to former and current soldiers and their families (RSL Queensland, 2010). Many cultural and ethnic clubs have been formed because of the need to provide an avenue for cultural expression and a meeting place for members of an ethnic group (Mirosh, 2007). Finally, special interests clubs have been formed to

promote hobbies and leisure activities (Lyons, 2001). These impetuses reinforce the basic premise of community clubs as associations of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests (Lyons, 2001).

The rapid growth in the number of community clubs came after the Second World War. As Lyons (2001: 67-68) explains, this was due to “increasing wealth and leisure time, the spread of population in the major cities and the failure of the hotel industry to adjust to new demands”. He explains that many hotels were small and offered “a very limited opportunity for socialising, especially socialising between men and women” because “women were excluded from all but small ‘lounge’ bars”. Thus, the alternative was the family-friendly environment of “licensed social clubs” and “many developed out of existing nonprofit organisations: football clubs, bowls clubs, golf clubs, Returned Services Leagues sub-branches” (Lyons, 2001: 67-68).

Hing, Breen, and Weeks (2002: 20-21) describe the impact of this transformation as follows:

In reviewing the history of leisure in Australia, many historians have commented on Australians’ inordinate appetite for drinking, gambling, and sport. Given the importance of these leisure pursuits, it is not surprising that licensed and registered clubs in Australia have evolved from the small elitist clubs of the nineteenth century to the widespread leisure establishments of today, many of which are large and provide a diverse range of facilities and for members and visitors. Along with the expansion of the club industry, the profile of members has also changed dramatically – no longer being limited to the aristocracy, but now encompassing people from all social backgrounds. A large proportion of adult Australians are members of at least one licensed or registered club.

They note that this transformation has embedded community clubs in the social fabric of their local communities, making them open and accessible to everyone, subject to basic membership requirements. They are “no longer the privileged domain of the upper class” now (Hing, Breen, & Weeks, 2002: 9), though some aspects of their histories

continue to apply today such as the need for a new member to be proposed and seconded by an existing member (OFT, 2010) or a dress code under the Liquor Act (Appendix C).

5.2.3. Response to Regulatory Impasse

The emerging community clubs faced a major challenge in responding to these social trends because the Liquor Act of the time effectively prohibited them from holding a liquor licence if their membership included a person under the age of twenty-one (Goff, 2006: 2). Many community clubs responded to this challenge by splitting into dual entities. The first entity was the primary or original club and the second entity was the associated or social club (Goff, 2006).

Table 3 shows the primary and associated entities of three club types that adopted the ‘dual entity’ strategy.

Table 3 - Primary and Associated Entities		
Club Types	Primary Entity	Associated Entity
RSL	RSL Sub-Branch	RSL Services Club
Sport	Football Club	Leagues Club
Surf	Life Saving Club	Supporters Club

Source: DWS, 2009: Appendix 6.

The primary entity is where the core businesses of the community club (such as a game of sport for sporting clubs, provision of welfare services for RSL clubs, or beach patrolling for surf life saving clubs) take place. The associated entity is where the social activities (such as provision of alcohol and gambling services) take place. In this way, the ‘dual entity’ strategy effectively addressed the restriction on the presence of minors who were allowed in the primary entity but prohibited from the associated entity (Goff, 2006; DWS, 2009).

This ‘dual-entity’ strategy marks a turning point in the development of community clubs at two levels (P. Wilson, 2011, personal conversation, 15 April). Firstly, it enabled

community clubs to open and expand their membership to non-core members, commonly referred to as social members. Unlike the core members who visit community clubs to participate in club activities such as sports, social members access community clubs for general recreation, dining, and entertainment. Thus, they function in a supporting capacity to core members, which is most obvious in the case of surf life saving clubs where the licensed club is called the ‘supporters club’. On this basis, social members do not have voting rights and other privileges enjoyed by core members. Nevertheless, these restrictions are now being relaxed by many community clubs, in order to streamline their membership categories in response to declining numbers of core members (P. Wilson, 2011, personal conversation, 15 April).

Secondly, the associated entity got entrenched because the primary entity, in most cases, continued to exist informally (without any form of registration), while the associated entity become registered and licensed in order to hold a liquor and gaming machine licence. Thus, the primary entity, which was the original club, became a subclub within the associated entity – an irony that is not lost, particularly in regard to taxation matters. This is because the ATO (2007) has taken the position that some associated clubs could no longer enjoy income tax concessions if they are now operating almost independently of their original clubs.

Although the restriction on the presence of minors was dropped in the 1973 amendments of the Liquor Act, the primary and associated entities continued to exist separately. This was not only because social members started outnumbering core members but significant impediments prevented the unification of the two entities. Amalgamation of the two entities, for instance, requires a rewriting of the club rules or constitution, transfer of the liquor licence from the associated entity to the primary entity, and surrender of the gaming machine licence by the associated entity because the gaming machine licence is non-transferrable. These processes entail major risks, as there is no guarantee that the primary entity will receive or be able to accommodate all the privileges of the associated entity (ClubsQld, 2010b, Prasad, 2012). In any case, the associated entity has such a strong presence as the revenue generator for the primary

entity that it is unthinkable to close it down now (for instance, see Christiansen & Chalmers, 2009: 14).

The emergence of associated entities exposed the need to reform the association laws to make it easier for new clubs to register and hold a liquor licence and for existing clubs to transfer to a simpler and inexpensive registration structure. Prior to 1981, the only formal structure available to clubs was as a company limited by guarantee under the Corporations Act. Although the Associations Incorporation Act came into full effect in 1982, a majority of community clubs that were registered as a company limited by guarantee prior to 1982 continued to retain their legal structure after 1982 because of various amalgamation impediments (as outlined above).

5.2.4. Response to Machine Gaming

The monumental development of community clubs occurred with the introduction of gaming machines in 1992. Prior to 1992, most community clubs were small in size, often with a one-room clubhouse and limited facilities mostly restricted to bar, catering, bingo, and raffles (KPMG, 2001: 21). This was because many of them were struggling financially, as membership revenue was not sufficient to fund wider club operation. Some were even on the verge of collapse. Recognising this situation, the State Government introduced gaming machines in Queensland through the passing of the Gaming Machine Act on 18 May 1991 that provided the much-needed lifeline for community clubs (Queensland Treasury, 1994). The first gaming machine was switched on at the Kedron Wavell Services Club at 11:30 am on 11 February 1992 (QGC, 2003). The impact of gaming machines on club development was so dramatic that the then Treasurer, during a debate an amendment bill to the Gaming Machine Act, described gaming machine as “catalyst for enormous growth in the club industry” (Queensland, House of Representatives, 1998: 3463).

According to Wilson (2007b: 4-5), "the issue of gaming provides an interesting pathway to the history of the Club Industry" because:

Clubs in Queensland needed gaming machines so that they could have a similar offering and to be able to grow their clubs and thereby support their sports and their communities in the way that Clubs in NSW were able to do.... We did get machines in 1992, courtesy of the Goss Government. With that, the nature of the industry changed and continues to change to this day.

Wilson (2007b: 7) notes that community clubs that "embraced the opportunity to have machines" have done "exceedingly well" and "the expansion was on for good and old!".

The impact of the introduction of gaming machines on community clubs' ability to service their membership is well articulated in the first yearly review (Queensland Treasury, 1994). The review highlights the notable increase in club membership, with more families, women, and older people joining clubs. It concludes that community clubs and their members were well placed to benefit from the introduction of gaming machines (Queensland Treasury, 1994).

The Brothers Leagues Club Ipswich, which was struggling financially prior to 1992, summaries the impact as follows:

The road to success was not always smooth for Brothers.... By late 1991, the club's membership had been reduced to 300 and credit was non-existent. Fortunately 1992 saw the introduction of gaming machines into Queensland which were the 'saviour' of many clubs. An extended and renovated clubhouse was opened on September 18, 1993 by then Governor-General, Bill Hayden, and once again Brothers was booming. It enjoyed a renewed resurgence in the community as a venue for social gatherings and good quality food and entertainment (Brothers Leagues Club, 2010).

By assisting club redevelopment and better provision of membership services, revenue from gaming machines enabled many clubs to become 'social hubs' in their local communities (Wilson, 2007a: 4). The 'classic' examples are Queensland two largest and most successful community clubs, Kedron-Wavell Services Club and Greenbank RSL Services Club, both of which emerged from humble beginnings and became multi-

million dollar recreational facilities on the north and south of the Brisbane City, respectively (Greenbank RSL Club, 2010; Kedron-Wavell, 2010).

The introduction of gaming machines also enabled clubs to cross-subsidise their membership services, in particular the provision of cheap meals and to reduce their membership subscription rates to almost ‘token’ amounts in some cases. This is an area of intense contention because it leads to arguments that gaming, on the one hand, is necessary for clubs to remain viable and vibrant (Flockhart, 2009) and, on the other hand, is a public health concern for people who can least afford to engage in this form of recreation (which may lead to problem gambling). Nevertheless, cross-subsidisation has enabled community clubs to attract and retain members and remain ‘grassroots’ organisation as per their rules or constitution.

Concerns over problem gambling have imposed unprecedented and ongoing reforms of almost all facets of community club operation. The whole of industry, *Queensland Responsible Gambling Code of Practice* (Queensland Treasury, 2004), for instance, stipulates legal and voluntary standards for physical layout, lighting, and other features of the club house, which are not necessarily restricted to gaming rooms but can even extend to a community club’s website. Most recently, Prime Minister Julia Gillard struck a ‘deal’ with the independent member for the seat of Denison, Andrew Wilkie, to pass laws to impose mandatory pre-commitment technology on gaming machines and a cash withdrawal limit of \$250 on Automatic Teller Machines (ATM) in clubs and pubs in return for his support of her minority government. Although the mandatory pre-commitment arrangement has not materialised in its original form, largely because of the lobbying efforts of Clubs Australia (including ClubsQld – see section 5.4.2) (ClubsQld, 2011b), it has drawn intense attention to gaming machine operation in clubs and pubs and even calls to have gaming machines removed from these venues (for instance, see the range of views in Clubs Australia, 2011b).

Despite these restrictions and adverse publicity, there is ‘no turning back’ for most community clubs because gaming revenue now accounts for more than half of their annual revenue. There is also little, if any, motivation on the part of the state

governments to remove gaming machines from clubs and pubs because of the impact on tax revenue (Akerman, 2010: 7; Lunn, 2010: 4; Wohlsen, 2006). Thus, gaming, being a historical trigger for the rapid development of many community clubs, could also ironically be a potential trigger for the slow demise of some community clubs.

It is important to note that not all community clubs have gaming machines. Clubs without gaming machines account for approximately 40% of the community clubs industry (Sarquis, 2012). These clubs are generally very small because they cater for a handful of dedicated members who operate the clubs on a voluntary or ‘as per need’ basis. These clubs are registered and liquor-licensed but have no significant commercial presence; hence, they have little or no asset. They are the ‘invisible’ clubs.

There are a few notable exceptions, though. The prime examples are the United Service Club Queensland (established in 1892) and The Brisbane Club (established in 1903), which act as meeting places for business leaders and provide special services such as they act as venues for weddings and professional functions (The Brisbane Club, 2010; United Service Club Queensland, 2010). The exclusivity of these clubs, which is built on close networks of “industry pioneers, business leaders, professionals and distinguished representatives from the services, academic and artistic communities” (The Brisbane Club, 2010), and a “rich heritage and traditions” associated with the military (United Service Club Queensland, 2010), helps them generate enough revenue from membership subscriptions, corporate sponsorship or other social events. They also enjoy premium city locations because of their historical colonial roots. Such advantages are not enjoyed by a majority of community clubs that do not have gaming machines.

In short, community clubs in Queensland are products of their unique histories. Keen (1999: 658) locates community clubs in the overall history of associations in Australia:

Australia’s coming of age is evident in the advent of popular associations specific to its own culture and environment after the wars, such as the RSL, Legacy, and the War Widows Association.... Australian associationalism has tended to be purposive in nature, seeking social improvements for individuals, families, and the wider community.

The purposive nature of community clubs is deliberate because community clubs are formed by people to pursue and promote their common interests; in order words, to provide services to themselves (as alluded in the constitutional clause presented at the beginning of the dissertation).

5.2.5. The Present State

There has been a net decline in the number of community clubs in recent years, (Queensland Treasury, 2009), which points to the notion that the community clubs industry is undergoing a rationalisation process. This is inconsistent with the current trends such as the increased demand for sporting, socialising, entertainment, and other recreational facilities in new residential areas or ‘greenfield sites’ that have developed in response to the rapid population growth of Queensland. These areas require services that community clubs can ideally provide to the local communities. However, no community club has been successfully formed in these areas (ClubsQld, 2010b).

Four reasons have been identified by ClubsQld (2010b) to account for the failure of community clubs to be established in greenfield sites. Firstly, the decision to establish community clubs must be made in a forum of members and it takes time to organise such a forum in an area that does not yet have strong neighbourhood bonds. Secondly, community clubs do not have easy access to start-up capital because their not-for-profit business model makes it harder for them to access loans or credit. Thirdly, there are onerous requirements to prove community need for liquor and gaming services: processes that work to the detriment of community clubs if other non-community club venues already offer these services in the greenfield sites. Finally, community clubs’ heavy reliance on volunteers who may not be well versed with operational and corporate governance requirements undermines their strategic foundation. In view of these impediments, ClubsQld has called upon the government to support the development and operation of new community clubs in greenfield sites with “appropriate regulatory measures” that give new clubs a headstart in terms of infrastructure, liquor and gaming machine licences, and access to management expertise (ClubsQld, 2010b).

It appears that the future of community clubs is for established community clubs to set up ‘satellite’ clubs in new areas. Unless the laws are changed to make this proposal attractive such as concessional treatment of gaming tax revenue and gaming machine numbers at the satellite club to offset the cost burden on established community clubs, there is little incentive for established community clubs to venture into the new areas (P. Wilson, 2011, personal conversation, 10 October). In any case, established community clubs are mostly unwilling to operate a satellite club at the expense of their current members, which provides insights on the strength of their loyalty and commitment to serving their members’ interests first.

5.3. Statistical Snapshot

According to the Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation (OLGR), Queensland had 936 registered and licensed community clubs in 2012 (Sarquis, 2012). This number represents the number of Community Club Licences (same as a liquor licence). The number of Community Club Licences, rather than registration records, is often used to determine the number of community clubs because the former specifically relates to community clubs, while the latter refers to associations. As not all associations are community clubs, registration records are an unreliable measure. It is important to note that community clubs are formed and may cease operating at any time, thus it is difficult to accurately ascertain the exact number of community clubs at any given point in time; hence, the overall figure of 1,000 community clubs used by ClubsQld (see section 1.2.1).

The most comprehensive whole-of-industry data on community clubs is available through ClubsQld. In 2008, ClubsQld commissioned an update of its 1999 *Social and Economic Impact Study (SEIS) of Community Clubs* (KPMG, 1999) with the following message to the industry:

We need hard data to tell our side of the story – the millions of dollars we invest back to our local communities, the facilities and services we provide, the employment we create, the volunteer input generated, the amount of active sporting hours we generate and the taxes and levies we contribute (DWS, 2009: Appendix 6).

The report, renamed as *The Social and Economic Profile (SEP) of Community Clubs in Queensland* (DWS, 2009) targeted clubs with a liquor licence. It analysed the findings at three levels - state, region, and venue (club type and average per club) - and an independent third party verified the findings. The researcher was on the team that managed this project.

At the state level, SEP found that there were 939 liquor licensed community clubs (though it acknowledged that there could be more community clubs that hold one-off liquor licence but being very small were unable to be captured by the study). The total number of memberships held in community clubs was estimated to be approximately 3.48 million. The community clubs industry directly employed 26,900 people and enjoyed the services of about 3,000 full-time equivalent volunteers. The total revenue generated was estimated at \$1.9 billion (which represented approximately 1% of the State’s gross product); of which \$668 million was returned as community benefit in the form of grants, donations, sponsorships, coordination of volunteers, maintaining community assets (such as bowling greens and golf courses), and through taxes and levies (DWS, 2009).

Table 4 summarises selected findings of the SEP at the regional level.

Table 4 – Regional Profile of Community Clubs						
Regions	Number of Clubs	%	Memberships (million)	%	Revenue (\$ million)	%
Far Northern	110	12%	0.15	4%	166.31	9%
Western	176	19%	0.17	5%	144.41	8%
Central	293	31%	0.81	23%	530.82	28%
South East	360	38%	2.34	68%	1,053.93	56%
All Regions	939	100%	3.48	100%	1,895.47	100%

Source: DWS, 2009.

For profiling purposes, the State of Queensland was divided into four regions: Far Northern, Western, Central, and South East (Appendix D). The South East region had the largest number of community clubs and, as a result, the highest number of memberships and revenue. As explained in Chapter 7, this profile of community clubs in South East justified locating the present study in Southeast Queensland (which is the same as South East, as the study uses the boundaries defined by the SEP – see step 1 in Table 19).

Table 5 summarises selected findings of the SEP at the venue level (club type).

Table 5 – Venue Profile of Community Clubs						
Club Types	Number of Clubs	%	Memberships (million)	%	Revenue (\$ million)	%
Bowls Clubs	311	33%	0.35	10%	205.51	11%
Football Clubs	114	12%	0.68	20%	487.06	26%
Golf Clubs	193	21%	0.15	4%	235.83	12%
RSL Clubs	81	9%	0.81	23%	406.95	21%
Sports/Community Clubs	200	21%	1.26	37%	363.12	19%
Surf Clubs	40	4%	0.21	6%	196.99	10%
All Club Types	939	100%	3.48	100%	1,895.47	100%

Source: DWS, 2009.

Community clubs were categorised into six club types as follows: bowls clubs, sports/community clubs (including, for example, cricket, boating, multi-sports, workers, aero, horse racing, hockey, ethnic), golf clubs, football clubs (e.g. rugby union, rugby league, soccer and Australian Football Leagues clubs), RSL clubs, and surf clubs (including supporters clubs). The top three club types in Queensland were bowls clubs (which represent a third of all clubs), sports/community clubs (which represent a fifth of all clubs) and golf clubs (which also represent a fifth of all clubs). Sports/community clubs also had the highest number of memberships but football clubs generated the most revenue. It is important to note that sports/community clubs represent diverse club types (in particular, cricket, boating, multi-sports, workers, aero, horse racing, hockey,

ethnic), which explains their greater impact. In view of this, the present study divides the sport/community club category into multisports, cultural, and recreational clubs (see step 2 in Table 19).

Table 6 summarises selected findings of the SEP on an ‘average per club’ basis.

Table 6 – Profile of an ‘Average’ Community Club		
Club Types	Average Membership (million)	Average Revenue (\$ million)
Bowls Clubs	1,144	0.66
Football Clubs	6,027	4.27
Golf Clubs	761	1.22
RSL Clubs	10,043	5.02
Sports/Community Clubs	6,321	1.82
Surf Clubs	5,297	4.92
Overall	3,706	2.02

Source: DWS, 2009.

On average, RSL clubs had the highest number of memberships, as well as revenue per club. Overall, a community club had, on average, 3,706 memberships and generated revenue of \$2.02 million. As the SEP states that clubs range from the very small (only a handful of members) to the very large (with over 60,000 members), these averages should be used with caution. In order to overcome this disparity, the present study sets five criteria so that the chosen clubs are representative of their respective club type and can be compared against each other (see step 3 in Table 19).

The SEP also explored the social contribution of community clubs by calculating the number of active sporting and recreation hours that clubs offer to their members. Active hours was explained as follows: “Active hours include club members’ and associates’ time spent engaging in sporting and active leisure participation, either on a social basis or within an organised competition or training environment” (DWS, 2009: 19). Active sporting and recreation hours were calculated from the perspective of the club management; for instance, a bowls club was asked to estimate the number of bowlers and the number of hours engaged in the activity of bowls in a typical week and then extrapolate these figures for the calendar year.

Table 7 summarises active sporting and recreation hours identified in the SEP by region and club type.

Table 7 – Active Sporting and Recreation Hours Provided by Community Clubs						
Regions	Active Hours (million)	%	Club Types	Active Hours (million)	%	Average Hours Per Club
Far Northern	3.88	8%	Bowls	9.14	18%	29,402
Western	9.26	18%	Football	5.04	10%	44,249
Central	16.23	31%	Golf	27.20	52%	140,947
South East	22.28	43%	RSL	3.61	7%	44,561
All Regions	51.64	100%	Sports/Community	5.53	11%	27,637
			Surf	1.12	2%	28,084
			Total	51.64	100%	55,007

Source: DWS, 2009.

Clubs in South East Queensland provided almost half of the total number of active hours. In terms of club type, golf clubs provided at least half of the total number of active hours. The SEP explains that the large difference between the active hours for golf clubs and other clubs is because of the “average length of time taken to complete a game” (DWS, 2009: 20). Overall, a community club, on average, generates about 55,007 hours worth of sporting and leisure activity per year for its membership.

The above data on community clubs is not readily comparable with other data sources because of different methodologies used. OLGR focuses only on community clubs that hold a gaming machine licence for its *Survey of Gaming Machine Venues* survey series (OLGR, 2011). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) targets only hospitality clubs, defined as clubs that provide drinking facilities, gambling, meals, and other hospitality services, excluding sporting clubs, for its *Clubs, Pubs, Taverns and Bars, Australia*, survey series (ABS, 2005). Clubs Australia (see section 5.4.2) relies on secondary data sources and information provided by their members (but recognising this challenge has commissioned a national club census). As a result, information from these sources can only present a partial snapshot of community clubs in Queensland. Not surprisingly, the

Productivity Commission (PC, 2010b: xli) has called for "a more detailed assessment of the contribution of the not-for-profit sector over time".

5.4. Club Industry Stakeholders

All industry sectors have their stakeholders who guide, direct, influence, and protect the vested interests of that sector. The stakeholders for the community clubs industry can be grouped into two types: government and industry. The 'government category' includes the regulators and the 'industry category' includes the peak industry representative bodies.

5.4.1. Government Regulators

A number of federal and state agencies regulate the operation of community clubs in Queensland. Table 8 lists the prominent regulators and their principal areas of concern for community clubs.

Table 8 – Prominent Regulators of Community Clubs		
	Regulator	Focus
State	Office of Fair Trading	Incorporation
	Queensland Health	Smoking, Food hygiene
	Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian	Blue Card (Working with children check)
	Department of Workplace Relations	Working conditions
	Department of Natural Resources and Mines	Leasehold Land
	Queensland Transport	Courtesy Bus
	Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation	Liquor, Gaming
Federal	Office of the Information Commissioner	Privacy
	Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre	Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing
	Australian Communications and Media Authority	Email, Internet, Spam
	Australian Securities and Investments Commission	Company Limited by Guarantee
	Australian Competition and Consumer Commission	Trade Practices
	Australian Taxation Office	Income Tax

Source: www.qld.gov.au and www.australia.gov.au.

Given the number of state and federal agencies overseeing the operation of community clubs, community clubs are one of the most regulated entities in the economy.

The Office of Fair Trading (OFT) and the Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation (OLGR) are two regulators most widely accessed by community clubs because they oversee registration and licensing matters, respectively. The OFT administers the Associations Incorporation Act under which a majority of community clubs are registered as incorporated associations. As such, community clubs must submit their annual reports to the OFT. The principal laws that the OLGR administers are the Liquor Act and the Gaming Machine Act and community clubs must exercise due diligence in their liquor and gaming operation. The OFT and OLGR have offices across the State.

There is a marked difference in the way the OFT and OLGR deal with community clubs. The OFT prefers not to actively interfere in the internal operation of community clubs because each community club must operate as per its rules or constitution (which are formally approved by the OFT). In contrast, the OLGR takes an active role and controls not only its respective regulatory areas but also influences the administration and management of community clubs. The OLGR requires, for instance, that the board or management committee must make sure no one personally profits from machine gaming and it regulates external influence on the decision-making processes of the board or management committee in this regard. These reasons make the OLGR the pre-eminent regulator of the community clubs industry because of its impact on the day-to-day operation of community clubs, which it exercises through the Community Club Licence and Gaming Machine Licence.

The OLGR came into existence on 1 July 2008 as a result of the amalgamation of three separate agencies: Queensland Office of Gaming Regulation, Liquor Licensing Division, and the Office of Racing. Only the functions of the former two agencies are relevant for the regulatory oversight of community clubs. OLGR's liquor functions include issuing liquor licences and permits, creating awareness on responsible service of alcohol, and investigating complaints. Similarly, OLGR's gaming functions include issuing gaming

machine licences, creating awareness on responsible conduct of gaming, and investigating complaints. As liquor and gaming are pivotal to club operations, OLGR exerts significant regulatory influence on community club operation.

5.4.2. Peak Industry Representative Bodies

There are several peak industry representative bodies for community clubs in Queensland. They include the Queensland Golf Union, Queensland Bowls Association, Leagues Clubs of Queensland, Confraternity of Brothers Leagues Clubs, Returned and Services Leagues (Queensland), Surf Life Saving Queensland, and Clubs Queensland (ClubsQld). With the exception of ClubsQld, all peak industry representative bodies are sectoral organisations and only cater for their respective constituents (for instance, see JBAS, 2009).

ClubsQld's membership includes approximately 98% of clubs with liquor and gaming machine licences. These clubs account for approximately 60% of the community clubs industry. As explained above (see section 5.2.4), about 40% of community clubs only have a liquor licence and no significant commercial presence. For these clubs, membership of ClubsQld (or other peak industry representative bodies) is not a viable option for two reasons: firstly, most member services would be irrelevant to them because of their limited operation; and secondly, they are often not in a position to pay the annual membership fees (which is a few hundred dollars in the case of ClubsQld) because of limited or no revenue. Given this situation, and when appropriate, ClubsQld speaks on behalf of the whole community clubs industry and on this basis, the Queensland Government recognises ClubsQld as the principal body to negotiate with on all matters affecting community clubs.

The broad membership also makes ClubsQld eligible for membership of Clubs Australia, a federated national peak industry representative body for all community clubs in Australia. Clubs Australia is made up of peak industry representative bodies from each Australian jurisdiction. By virtue of this membership of Clubs Australia,

ClubsQld is able to influence federal laws and proposals (such as the ‘Wilkie deal’ – see section 5.2.4) that could potentially impact on community clubs in Queensland (ClubsQld, 2011b).

ClubsQld provides a range of services to its member clubs. The services include advice on various laws that impact on community clubs, workplace relations mediation, training on corporate governance and operational matters, an industry expo and conference, and an annual awards system that recognises the most outstanding clubs in key operational areas such as best food or best sport. These services are well established, which again reinforces the influence that ClubsQld has as a peak industry representative body.

The pre-eminence of ClubsQld over other peak industry representative bodies is perhaps best described in the historical context of community clubs because:

the history of the Club Industry is intricately tied with the history of ClubsQld. Put in another way, ClubsQld, as the peak body, is both the historian and custodian of the Club Industry (Wilson, 2007b: 2).

As disclosed in Chapter 1, the researcher is employed by ClubsQld in the key area of policy and research, which includes provision of advice and assistance on corporate governance, legislative compliance, and day-to-day management matters (such as patron management).

5.5. Summary

Community clubs have an interesting existence because of their historical roots, which saw them emerge from humble beginnings to substantial operations. A major trigger of this evolution has been their liquor and gaming operations, which continue to exert significant influence over their current operation. As an industry, community clubs have their regulators and peak industry representative bodies to oversee their interests. The next chapter presents the analytical framework, as informed by the field of community clubs, for studying club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

Club Analytical Model

A club's culture is a complex thing to measure.

Cameron (2010: 38)

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the Club Analytical Model as a framework for examining social dynamics of community clubs through club experience and the social capital of club patrons. It begins by explaining the philosophical orientation of the model. It then discusses the manner in which the model operationalises club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The chapter ends with some comments on the strengths and drawbacks of creating composites of club experience and social capital using a model. In the absence of a measurement tool to examine club experience and the social capital of club patrons, the Club Analytical Model provides a practical pathway to answering the research questions of the study.

6.2. Philosophical Stance

6.2.1. Nature of the Research Proposition

The study scrutinises the proposition that club experience shapes the social capital of club patrons, which, in turn provides insights into the social world of community clubs through social dynamics inherent in these two concepts. The proposition offers a heuristic understanding of social dynamics of community clubs in a way that could counteract the simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gambling venues. This is on the basis that club experience and social capital relate to mutual associational outcomes that warrant social interactions between club patrons in a broader context than just liquor and gaming operation.

The research questions of the study, as outlined in Table 1 (Chapter 1), examine this proposition by interrogating the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the group difference on this relationship. As such, the research questions intrinsically explore the culture of community clubs. Cameron (2010: 38) notes that this is not an easy task:

A club's culture is a complex thing to measure. The most obvious contributing factors are those such as the rules and regulations that govern members and staff. Then, there are the more subtle, unwritten rules and expectations that have evolved over time. These covert forces may be operating in ways that contribute positively or detrimentally to the quality of your workplace and to the member's experience and enjoyment of the club. These subtle influences are the result of the tribalism of being human and of our need for acceptance and belonging.

In other words, a community club's culture consists of quantitative and qualitative aspects and requires a paradigm that can encompass these qualities, so that a reliable assessment could be made of social dynamics inherent in the field of community clubs.

6.2.2. Research Paradigm

According to Blaikie (2004: 785), a paradigm is “an established system or way of doing things”. When applied to research, a paradigm influences “how we view the world and, thus, go about conducting research” (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 21). As such, a paradigm incorporates aspects such as theories, assumptions, rules, and values that determine what research questions to ask, how and what data to collect to answer the research questions, and how to interpret the findings. This is done as per the particular worldview promoted by the paradigm (Bergman, 2010; Kuhn, 1970).

Creswell and Clark (2007: 21-23) identify four dominant research paradigms (which they call worldviews because of different definitions that exist for the term ‘paradigm’). These are post positivism, constructivism, advocacy and participatory research, and pragmatism. As they note:

All four worldviews have common elements but take different stances on these elements. They represent different views on the nature of reality (ontology), how we gain knowledge of what we know (epistemology), the role values play in research (axiology), the process of research (methodology), and the language of research (rhetoric) (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 23).

The authors explain that the four paradigms are not “rigid classifications but rather organizing frameworks to use in viewing different stances” (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 22). This is an aspect worth noting because of controversies surrounding the use of the term ‘paradigm’, due to the range of theoretical approaches and frameworks it can encompass when it is used as a worldview (Bergman, 2010: 173).

The study adopts pragmatism as the research paradigm of the Club Analytical Model (as presented in the next section). Pragmatism attempts to bridge the divide created by the ‘paradigm wars’ by acknowledging that post positivism and constructivism have their strengths and weaknesses and can offer interesting insights if certain aspects are combined in a study. In this regard, pragmatism views reality as comprising of both subjective and objective realms, thus requiring multiple perspectives to understand it (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Murphy, 1990; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). By giving primary importance to the research questions over the methods to answer the research questions, pragmatism does not force on research the goals of “theory verification” (as in the case of post positivism), “theory generation” (as in the case of constructivism) or “empowerment” (as in the case of advocacy and participatory research) but a “problem centred” approach to research (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 22). The focus is on “what works” in the real world (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 23).

Pragmatism is an appropriate paradigm for the Club Analytical Model for two reasons. Firstly, club experience and social capital are multidimensional concepts. Based on the review of these concepts, the three dimensions identified for social capital are the structural interface, relational interface, and cognitive interface (see section 3.3.2). Investigating these dimensions in relation to club experience requires a notion of “what works” because of the absence of an agreed methodology, hence the three dimensions

identified for club experience are patronisation of club facilities, participation in club services, and perception of club values (see section 2.4). Secondly, pragmatism offers a rationale for understanding the “interplay of structure and agency in human behaviour” (Fries, 2009: 326). As Fries (2009: 328) observes in relation to Bourdieu’s reflexive sociology: “Society affects individual behavior, which in turn, in its totality, reproduces society”. The same can be said of community clubs as associations of people sharing common interests, which, in turn, creates the primary purpose for the existence of community clubs. Pragmatism then offers the flexibility to relate club experience and social capital to the recreational pursuit of club patrons and address the structure-agency concern in a comprehensive manner.

6.2.3. Mixed Methods Design

Creswell and Clark (2007: 4) explain research design as the “plan of action that links the philosophical assumptions to specific methods”. Each paradigm leads to a specific research design and the mixed methods design is increasingly being accepted as a research design for pragmatism (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Unlike quantitative research design, which is associated with positivism; qualitative research design, which is associated with constructivism; and emancipatory research design, which is associated with advocacy and participatory research; mixed methods design uses a multidimensional perspective as per its worldview. This is useful for the purpose of the study because “the combination of qualitative and quantitative data provides a more complete picture by noting trends and generalizations as well as in-depth knowledge of participants’ perspectives”(Creswell & Clark, 2007: 33) on the two multidimensional composites, club experience and social capital. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007: 118) caution, however, that the term ‘methods’ in mixed methods should be “viewed broadly” because it refers to the design, rather than just the method of data collection and analysis.

There are numerous definitions for mixed methods designs. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007: 123) offer the following definition after analysing several existing definitions:

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration.

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007: 118) explain that the mixed methods design has been referred to by other names such as “integrative research”, “multimethod research”, “multiple methods”, “triangulated studies”, “ethnographic residual analysis”, and “mixed research” in the past but the term “mixed methods” is increasing gaining popular currency.

Creswell and Clark (2007: 59-79) identify four types of mixed methods design: triangulation design, embedded design, explanatory design, and exploratory design. The study uses explanatory design and looks at social capital in community clubs from the point of views of club patrons, officials, and key club industry stakeholders. The multi-level perspectives serve a complementary purpose in answering the research questions of the study with sufficient “breadth and depth of understanding” (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007: 123). As Feilzer (2010: 8) puts it, mixed methods design “offers to plug this gap by using quantitative methods to measure some aspects of the phenomenon in question and qualitative methods for others”.

The relevance of explanatory mixed methods design is highlighted by the researcher’s belief that the research questions posed by the study cannot be answered solely by a quantitative or qualitative approach. It is a choice guided by others. Woolley (2009: 8), for instance, states that the research design should offer the “best hope of answering the project’s objectives and questions” and Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner (2007: 18-19) stress “there is no reason for researchers to be constrained to either one of the traditional, though largely arbitrary, paradigms when they can have the best from both”. On this basis, mixed methods design, in the view of the researcher, offers the necessary flexibility as the research design of the study.

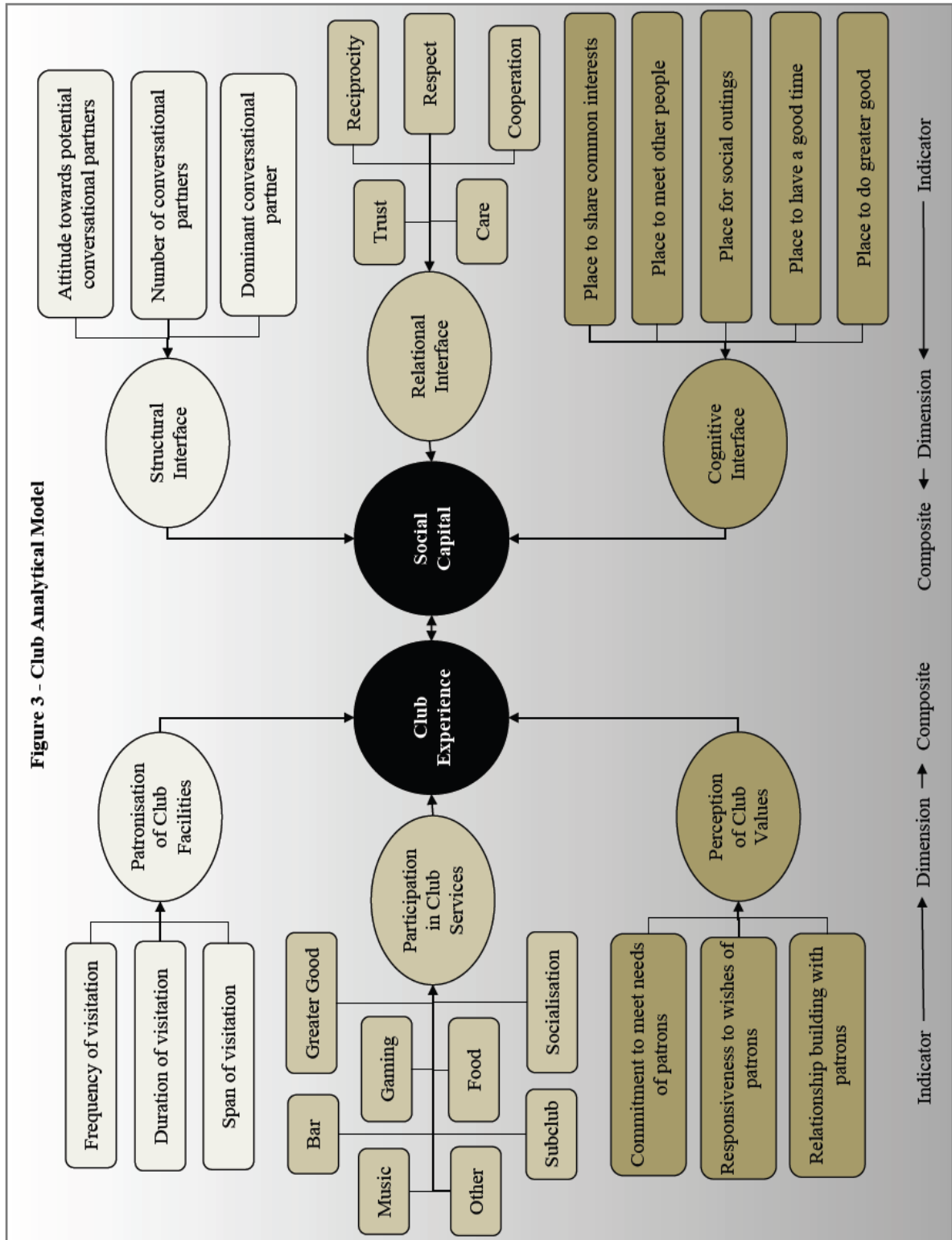
Like other research designs, the mixed methods design has its strengths and drawbacks. One of the major strengths of this design is that it offers quantitative and qualitative insights, thus providing a comprehensive understanding of the research problem. The precondition for this advantage is that it requires competency in both types of data collection and analysis, which demands additional time and resources, and is contingent upon the researcher's skills. This latter aspect (relating to the researcher's skills) can be somewhat offset because mixed methods design still allows data to be collected, analysed, and presented using the traditional methods (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 66). There is also the challenge of integrating quantitative and qualitative data in a single study and what decisions to make if the data sets do not reconcile with each other. Woolley (2009: 8) provides an effective solution to this dilemma: "... quantitative and qualitative methods provide differing perspectives on a subject and this is why the use of both may be viewed as complementary rather than validatory". The researcher subscribes to this view of mixed methods design, which has influenced the construction of the Club Analytical Model as an explanatory tool to measure club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

6.3. Analytical Model

6.3.1. Model

Lave and March (1993: 3) define a model as a "simplified picture of a part of the real world". They point out that a model only includes some aspects of the real world, so it is just one way of looking at the real world; the implication being that there can be different models of the same social reality. Models can be classified in different ways and Turner (1991) makes a distinction between casual and analytical models, the former showing cause and effect and the latter showing a complex set of relationships among the variables through the arrangement and connection of the variables in the model. As the name suggests, the Club Analytical Model is an analytical model.

Figure 3 illustrates the Club Analytical Model of the study.



The Club Analytical Model seeks to capture the multidimensional nature of club experience and the social capital of club patrons in a practical and pragmatic manner through a weighting scheme (as explained in section 6.3.4) at two levels. The first level involves a set of indicators, which measure the dimensions; for example, ‘frequency of visitation’ is one of the three measures of ‘patronisation of club facilities’. The second level involves weighting the contribution of each dimension that shapes the composites; for instance ‘participation in club services’ is one of the three dimensions of ‘club experience’. The end product is the composite scores of club experience and social capital, as derived from the weighting of their respective dimensions and indicators of each dimension.

Creating composites of club experience and social capital in the Club Analytical Model through their respective dimensions and indicators is guided by the pragmatism paradigm of a “practice oriented understanding of the real world” and a focus on “what works” in the real world (Creswell & Clark, 2007: 22-23). This approach is justified, given that neither club experience nor social capital can be directly observed *per se*. It has also been guided by the literature review that identifies different aspects of club experience and social capital. The result is that club experience and social capital are functions of their respective dimensions and indicators, based on the pragmatism paradigm. More importantly, the Club Analytical Model, in the absence of a measurement tool on club experience and social capital, offers the best chance of answering the research questions of the study.

It is important to note that the Club Analytical Model is a formative measurement model because the indicators determine the dimensions, which in turn determine the composites (as illustrated by the direction of the arrows in Figure 3). This is in contrast to a reflective measurement model where the composites determine the dimensions, which, in turn, determine the indicators (in which case, the arrows would be in the opposite direction to that shown in Figure 3). The direction of the structural relationships is important because of the measurement implications. In formative measurement models, the perceived impact flows from indicators to the dimensions and finally to the

composites, while it is reversed for the reflective measurement model. This distinction is warranted, in the words of Coltman et.al (2008: 1250), to “assign meaningful relationships” in the structural model.

6.3.2. Club Experience

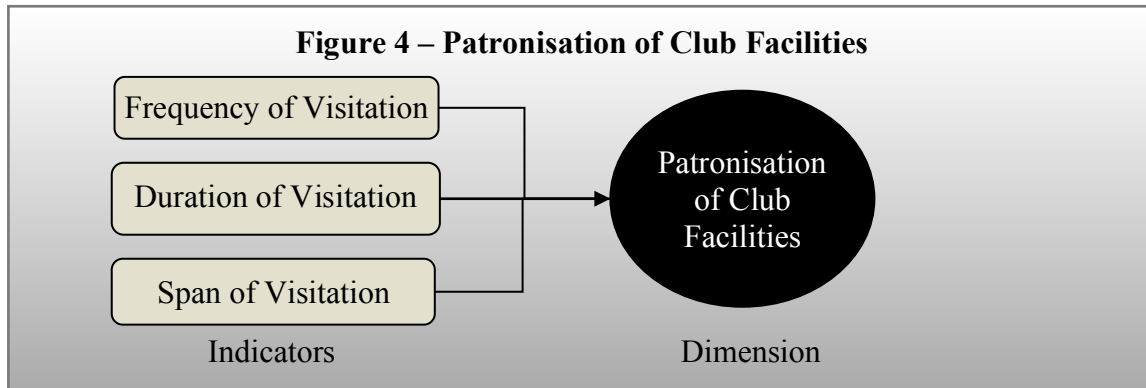
Club Experience can be interpreted as the ‘independent’ composite in the Club Analytical Model. This label is used to achieve greater clarity in the understanding of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The researcher is aware that this label is misleading in a correlational analysis because correlation is not causation (Walsh, 2005: 226).

Club experience is understood, for the purpose of the study, as the pursuit of common interests through the use of facilities and services provided by community clubs. This is a broad understanding, rather than a definition of club experience. This approach enables the researcher to avoid definitional debates and measure club experience heuristically for the purpose of the study.

Club experience is more than just visiting community clubs. It encompasses the intrinsic value that the club environment offers to club patrons. Hence, patronisation of club facilities, which focuses on visitation patterns, is one of the three dimensions of club experience. The second dimension is participation in club services, which seeks to capture how club patrons use the products and services on offer in community clubs. The third dimension is perception of club values, which seeks to capture how club patrons believe their clubs are serving their collective interests. As the three dimensions contain elements of subjective and objective measures, the mixed methods design offers a robust framework for their analysis.

6.3.2.1. Patronisation of Club Facilities

Figure 4 illustrates ‘patronisation of club facilities’, which is the first dimension of club experience.



This dimension of club experience has been chosen to capture the visitation patterns of club patrons. As such, it draws upon three indicators: frequency of visitation, duration of visitation, and span of visitation.

Table 9 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of patronisation of club facilities for the purpose of the study.

Table 9 – Meaning and Measurement of Patronisation of Club Facilities		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
Frequency of visitation	Number of visits to clubs in a typical fortnight	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • One • Two • Three • Four • Five and more
Duration of visitation	Amount of time spent in a typical visit to clubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less than 1 hour • About 1 hour • About 2 hours • About 3 hours • About 4 hours • About 5 hours or more

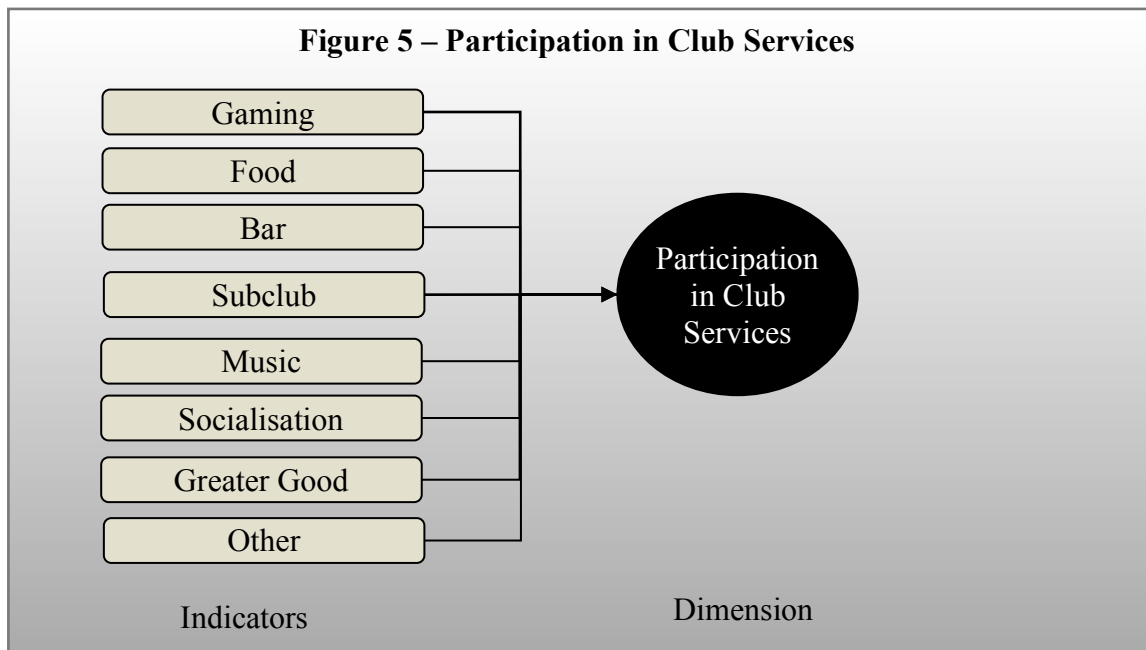
Span of visitation	Number of years of association with clubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less than 1 year • About 1 year • About 2 years • About 3 years • About 4 years • About 5 years or more
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* See questions 8, 9 and 11 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F).

The meaning and measures of the indicators of patronisation of club facilities broadly reflect the visitation patterns of club patrons, which is the measurement goal of this dimension.

6.3.2.2. Participation in Club Services

Figure 5 illustrates ‘participation in club services’, which is the second dimension of club experience.



This dimension of club experience has been chosen to capture the involvement of club patrons in the services offered by community clubs. As such, it draws upon eight club

activities: gaming, food, bar, subclub, music, socialisation, greater good, and other (which is an open category).

Table 10 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of participation in club services for the purpose of the study.

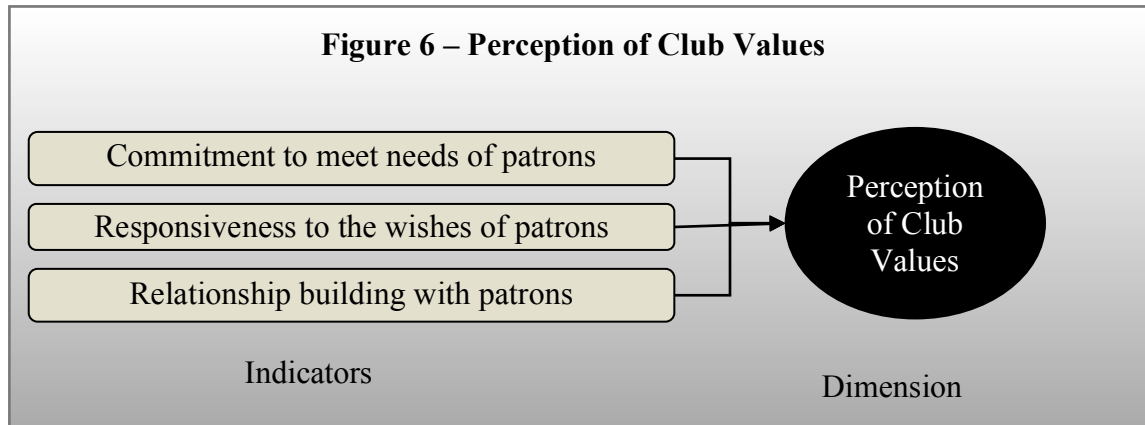
Table 10 – Meaning and Measurement of Participation in Club Services		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
Gaming	Engaging in any form of gaming (e.g. gaming machines, Keno, TAB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not in any visit • Rarely in any visit • In some visits • In most visits • In all visits
Food	Consumption of food that can be eaten with cutlery, excluding snacks	
Bar	Consumption of alcoholic beverages, excluding those with meals	
Subclub	Taking part in a special interest activity within the club (e.g. fishing)	
Music	Enjoying musical entertainment on offer (e.g. live band)	
Socialisation	Meeting with other people	
Greater Good	Engaging in a club cause (e.g. volunteering)	
Other	A reason other than the above	

* See question 12 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F)

The meaning and measures of the indicators of participation in club services broadly reflect the involvement of club patrons in the services offered by community clubs, which is the goal of this dimension.

6.3.2.3. Perception of Club Values

Figure 6 illustrates ‘perception of club values’, which is the third dimension of club experience.



This dimension of club experience has been chosen to capture the affinity that club patrons have with their clubs. As such, it draws upon three indicators: commitment to meet needs of patrons, responsiveness to the wishes of patrons, and relationship building with patrons.

Table 11 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of perception of club values for the purpose of the study.

Table 11 – Meaning and Measurement of Perception of Club Values		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
Commitment to meet needs of patrons	Effort by the club to retain your business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • Very little • Some • A fair bit • A great deal
Responsiveness to the wishes of patrons	Level of influence you can exert over club operation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • Very little • Some • A fair bit • A great deal

Relationship building with patrons	The ‘difference’ your club makes in your life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very negative • Negative • Neither negative nor positive • Positive • Very positive
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* See questions 14, 19 and 20 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F)

The meaning and measures of the indicators of perception of club values broadly reflect the affinity between club patrons and their clubs, which is the goal of this dimension.

6.3.3. Social Capital

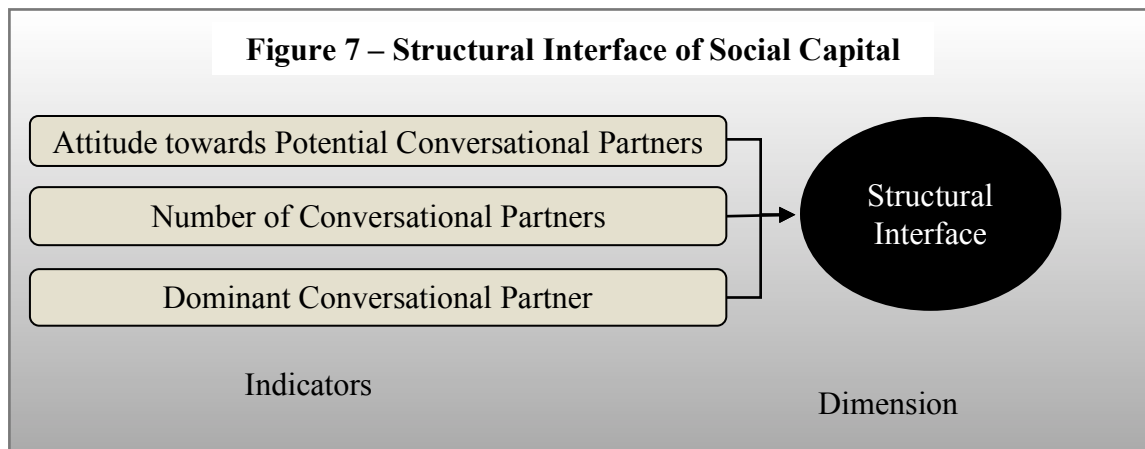
Social capital can be understood as the ‘dependent’ composite in the Club Analytical Model. As explained above, this label is used to achieve greater clarity in the understanding of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The researcher is aware that this label is misleading in a correlational analysis because correlation is not causation (Walsh, 2005: 226).

Social capital is understood, for the purpose of the study, as resources in social interactions of club patrons such as trust, networks, and shared meanings that can be harnessed for a benefit or advantage. This is a broad understanding, rather than a definition, of social capital. This approach enables the researcher to avoid definitional debates and to measure social capital heuristically for the purpose of the study.

Similar to the arguments for the composite of club experience, social capital is not just about the networking aspects of social interactions, which is captured by the structural interface. It is also about the building blocks of social interactions and the shared meaning that promote social interactions. The former is captured by the relational interface and the latter by the cognitive interface. As the three dimensions contain subjective and objective measures, the mixed methods design again offers a robust framework for their analysis.

6.3.3.1. Structural Interface

Figure 7 illustrates the ‘structural interface’, which is the first dimension of social capital.



This dimension of social capital has been chosen to capture the social networks of club patrons. As such, it draws upon three indicators: attitude towards potential conversation partners; number of conversational partners; and the dominant conversational partner.

Table 12 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of the structural interface of social capital for the purpose of the study.

Table 12 – Meaning and Measurement of Structural Interface of Social Capital		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
Attitude towards potential conversational partners	Personal assessment of fellow patrons in regard to having a conversation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very unwilling • Somewhat unwilling • Neither unwilling nor willing • Somewhat willing • Very willing
Number of conversational partners	Number of people conversed with in a typical visit to a club	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • None • One • Two • Three • Four • Five or more

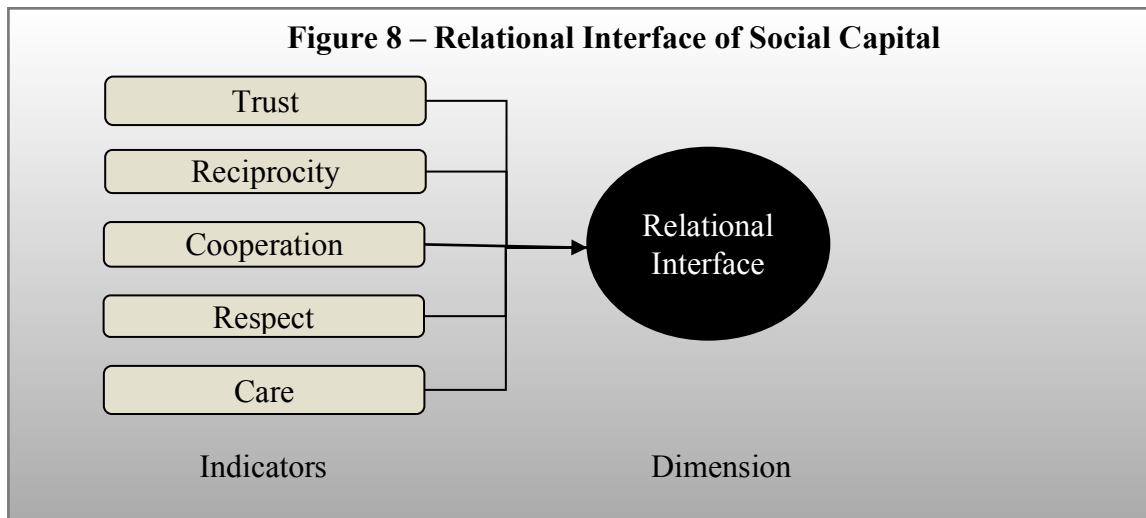
Dominant conversational partner	<p>Importance placed on conversing with:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families (people related to you by blood ties) • Friends (not family but those with whom you share a close bond) • Acquaintances (not family or friends but you know them generally) • Strangers (people you don't know at all) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not important • Low importance • Medium importance • High importance • Absolute importance
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* See questions 15, 16 and 17 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F)

The meaning and measures of the indicators of the structural interface of social capital broadly reflect the social networks of club patrons, which is the goal of this dimension.

6.3.3.2. Relational Interface

Figure 8 illustrates the ‘relational interface’, which is the second dimension of social capital.



This dimension of social capital has been chosen to capture the qualities that shape social interactions of club patrons. As such, it draws upon five indicators: trust, reciprocity, cooperation, respect, and care.

Table 13 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of relational interface of social capital for the purpose of the study.

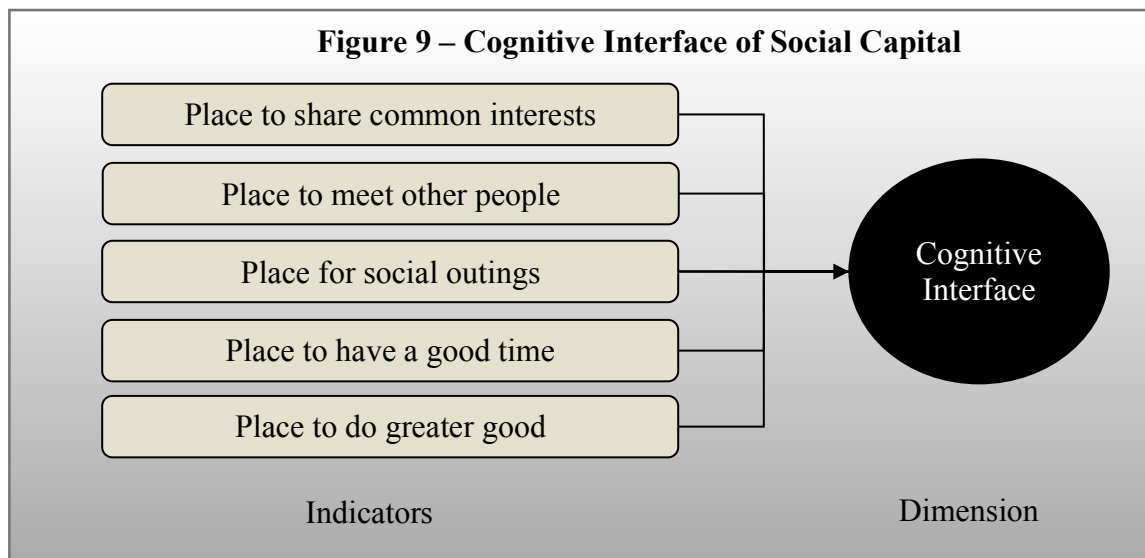
Table 13 – Meaning and Measurement of Relational Interface of Social Capital		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
Trust	Do the right thing	In relation to families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers as follows: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never • Rarely • Sometimes • Often • Always
Reciprocity	Return a favour	
Cooperation	Work together	
Respect	Being courteous	
Care	Look after each other	

* See question 18 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F)

The meaning and measures of the indicators of the relational interface of social capital broadly reflect the qualities that shape social interactions of club patrons, which is the goal of this dimension.

6.3.3.3. Cognitive Interface

Figure 9 illustrates the ‘cognitive interface’, which is the third dimension of social capital.



This dimension of social capital has been chosen to capture aspects of the club ethos. As such, this dimension draws upon five indicators: a club is a place to share common interests; a club is a place to meet other people; a club is a place for social outings; a club is a place to have a good time; and a club is a place to do greater good.

Table 14 explains the operationalisation of the indicators of cognitive interface of social capital for the purpose of the study.

Table 14 – Meaning and Measurement of Cognitive Interface of Social Capital		
Indicator	Meaning	Measurement*
A club is a place to share common interests	Alludes to clubs offering opportunities to share in the collective interests of members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strongly disagree • Disagree • Neither disagree nor agree • Agree • Strongly agree
A club is a place to meet other people	Alludes to clubs offering opportunities to meet people from diverse backgrounds	
A club is a place to go for social outings	Alludes to clubs offering opportunities to enjoy events outside the home environment	
A club is a place to have a good time	Alludes to clubs offering opportunities for fun and entertainment	
A club is a place to do greater good	Alludes to clubs offering opportunities to pursue altruistic goals	

* See question 13 in the survey questionnaire (Appendix F)

The meaning and measures of the indicators of the cognitive interface of social capital broadly reflect aspects of the club ethos, which is the goal of this dimension.

6.3.4. Weighting Scheme

Figure 3 (above) shows the Club Analytical Model as comprised of the ‘independent’ composite, club experience, and the ‘dependent’ composite, social capital, and their respective dimensions and indicators. The preceding section explained the meaning and

measurement of the composites, dimensions, and indicators. This section outlines the weighting scheme of the indicators (in order to calculate a summary score for the dimensions) and of the dimensions (in order to calculate a summary score for the composites). For ease of understanding, the former is labeled ‘dimension score’ and the latter ‘composite score’ for the purpose of the study. As explained in section 6.3.1, this approach to constructing composites of club experience and social capital is warranted because, firstly, they cannot be observed directly and, secondly, to capture their multidimensional nature.

There is no standard method of weighing indicators and dimensions. Hoskins and Mascherini (2009: 474) point out that weighting is “highly debated in the literature” and “can heavily influence the outcome of a CI [composite indicator]”:

Therefore, weights should ideally be selected according to an underlying and agreed, or at least clearly stated, theoretical framework. Whatever method is used to derive weights, based either on statistical models or on elicitation of experts judgment, no consensus is likely to exist. This is because the weighting implies a “subjective” evaluation, which is particularly delicate in the case of complex, interrelated and multidimensional phenomena.

Interestingly, Saltelli (2007: 69) notes that the “lack of consensus is a defining property of composite indicators” because it provides the necessary flexibility for effective usage.

The lack of consensus, however, has led to a number of different weighting schemes. Decancq and Lugo (2010: 11) provide an excellent summary of eight common approaches, which they classify in three categories: data-driven, normative, and hybrid approaches:

Data-driven approaches let the ‘data speak for themselves’ and depend solely on the distribution matrix X . Data-driven weights are not based on any explicit value judgement about how the trade-offs between the dimensions should be. Normative approaches, on the other hand, only depend on the value judgements on the trade-offs and are not based on the distribution matrix X . In other words, if one of the achievement vectors in the society changes, but the valuations of the individuals stay the same, the weights obtained by a data-driven approach will change, but the ones obtained by a normative procedure will remain unaffected. A hybrid approach combines both approaches and uses information on the value judgements together with information on the actual distribution of the achievement vectors, summarised in X .

They stress that there is no right or wrong approach and a lot depends on the “common sense” of the researcher in applying a weighting scheme that is relevant for the purpose of the study (Decancq & Lugo, 2010: 21; and personal communication with Decancq, 26 July 2011).

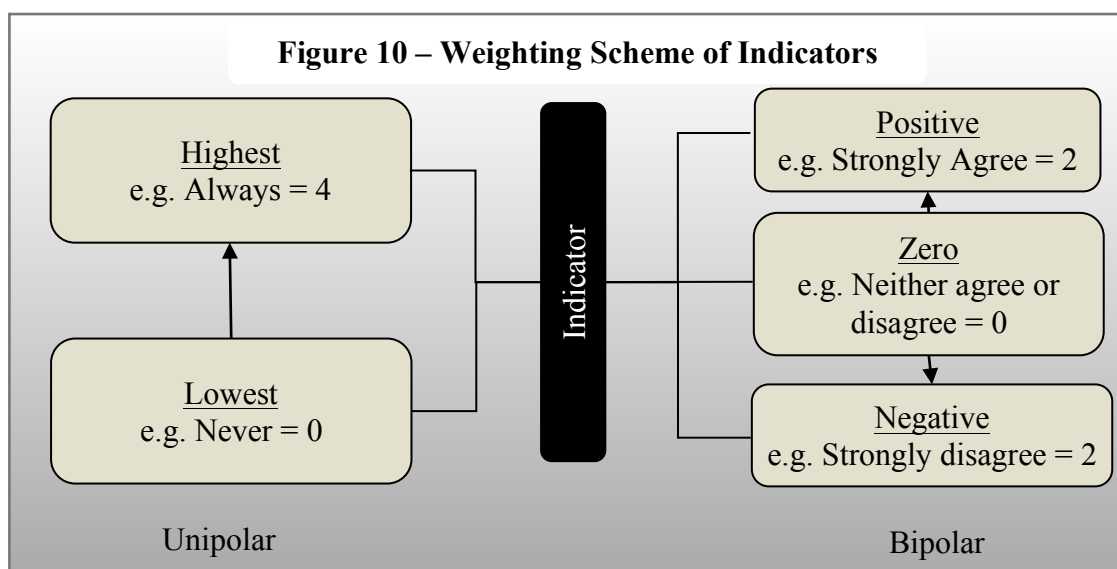
In view of the above, the study draws upon the pragmatic approach that is outlined earlier in the chapter and takes into consideration Booyesen (2002: 129) advice that “composite indices should remain relatively simple in terms of their construction and interpretation”. The preference of the study, therefore, is for a variant of the hybrid approach that uses opinion of focus group participations (see section 6.3.5). Decancq and Lugo (2010: 17) call this approach “stated preference weights” but at a different level as they include views of all survey participants, not just a selected few as in the focus group. They see this approach eventually becoming a method of choice. At the pragmatic level, the appeal of this approach for the study is that it is neither overtly rigid as the data-driven approaches, nor overtly subjective as normative approaches (Decancq & Lugo, 2010: 17; and personal communication with Decancq, 28 July 2011).

Appendix E gives the weighting scheme used in the Club Analytical Model (see Table 15 below for explanation on the combination of some category responses). The weights are based on the relative importance, firstly, of each indicator within a dimension and, secondly, the relative importance of the dimensions themselves. As explained below, the

preference is for an unequal or differential weighing scheme for the former and an equal weighting scheme for the latter.

6.3.4.1. Weighting Scheme of Indicators

The first part of the weighting scheme relates to indicators of each dimension. Figure 10 illustrates the weighing scheme used for the indicators.



The weights are unipolar (lowest to highest) or bipolar (positive, no difference, and negative) and, therefore, represent a differential weighting scheme (Spector, 1992: 22).

Babbie (2004: 160) points out there must be a strong justification for using differential weighting over equal weighing, with the latter being the norm, rather than the exception. The justification for the study is that some measures strengthen the contribution of the indicators for the respective dimensions of each composite and require a positive weight, some undermine the contribution of the indicators and require a negative weight, and some do not add anything and require a zero weight. In addition, some measures contribute more than the other measures, so receive a higher score than the other measures of indicators. The contribution of the measures are based on intensity; for example, visiting a club five times or more per fortnight is considered more important

than visiting a club once per fortnight for the purpose of the study. The intensity, based on the level of importance, is reflected in the aggregation of the scores for the composites (as explained in Table 15).

Table 15 provides an example of the unipolar (lowest to highest) and bipolar (positive, zero, and negative) methods used to aggregate scores of all indicators of a dimension. The example for the unipolar method is an indicator of perception of club values dimension of club experience, whereas the bipolar method is an indicator of the cognitive dimension of social capital.

Table 15 – Example of Unipolar and Bipolar Dimension Scores Calculation					
Indicator:	Commitment to meet needs of patrons (from “Perception of Club Values” dimension)				
Measure:	None	Very Little	Some	A Fair Bit	A Great Deal
Unipolar weight:	0	1	2	3	4
Score:	1 (example)				
Indicator:	A club is a place to have a good time (Cognitive Interface of Social Capital)				
Measure:	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Bipolar weight:	-2	-1	0	1	2
Score:	-2 (example)				

The effect is that, for example, if a person scores 1 on the unipolar weighting scheme, the total for the perception of club values dimension of club experience increases by 1. Similarly, if a person scores -2 on the bipolar weighting scheme, the total for the cognitive interface of social capital dimension reduces by -2. In both cases, a score of zero means no difference to the dimension scores.

To enable consistent and reliable weight calculations, a basic data transformation was performed, with the goal of keeping the calculations as simple as possible (if the Club Analytical Model was to have broader application in the field by community clubs). This transformation was to make all scales comparable to a five point Likert scale. As the

measurement only uses a cardinal scale and a Likert scale, the cardinal scale was made consistent with the Likert scale. Table 16 explains this transformation by converting six cardinal scale response categories into five Likert scale response categories by treating scores of “two” and “three” as of ‘medium importance’.

Table 16 – Conversion of Cardinal Scores to Likert Scale Scores						
Indicator:	Frequency of visitation (in a typical fortnight)					
Measurement using cardinal Scale:	None	One	Two	Three	Four	Five and more
Weight:	0	1	2	3	4	5
Score:	3 (example)					
Measurement on equivalent Likert Scale:	Not important	Slightly important	Moderately important	Very Important	Extremely important	
Weight:	0	1	2	3	4	
Score:	2 (example)					

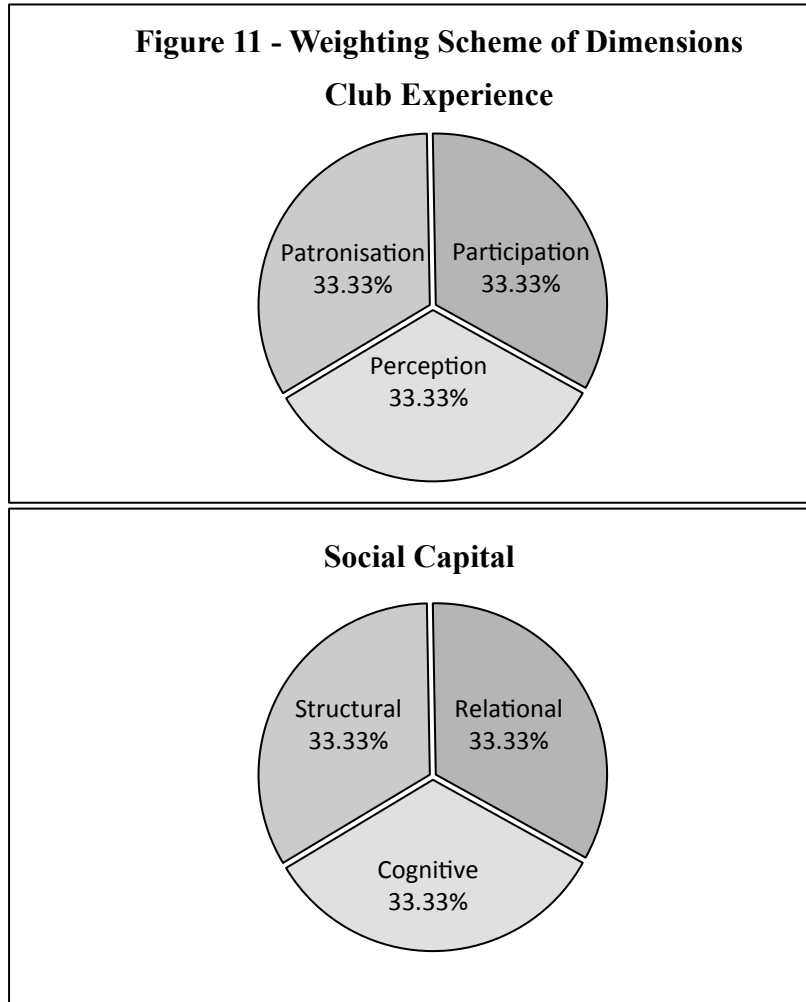
This transformation is on the basis that scores of “two” and “three” are mid point responses and can be regarded as of “moderate importance”. The logic of this transformation was to standardise the variance of the cardinal scale and Likert scale responses so that they are of equivalent weight. This is important given that cardinal scores have no upper limit, unlike the Likert scale responses. In view of the above, the example score of 3 on the cardinal scale becomes 2 on the Likert scale.

6.3.4.2. Weighting Scheme of Dimensions

The second part of the weighting scheme relates to the dimensions of each composite. Figure 3 (above) illustrates that club experience and social capital have three dimensions each. Unlike the differential weighing scheme used for the indicators of each dimension, an equal weighting scheme was used for each dimension of club experience and social capital on the assumption that each dimension contributes equally to the respective composite score. This is on the basis that it is not readily apparent (as it is in the case with indicators where greater intensity equates with greater importance) what the respective contribution is of each dimension. As a result, the assumption of equality is

used and the contribution of one dimension is considered as important as the contribution of another dimension for the purpose of the study. Hence, the three dimensions are weighted at 33.33% each, giving the total of 100% for the composite.

Figure 11 illustrates the dimension weighting of club experience and social capital.



Both club experience and social capital have three dimensions each and the one-third weighting for each dimension ensures that each dimension is of equal importance. This approach ensures that the dimensions contribute equally to the composite scores, even though they have unequal number of indicators and thus a higher or lower dimension score. Put differently, a dimension with more indicators does not have an advantage over a dimension with few indicators using this method.

Table 17 outlines the steps that were taken to determine the composite scores.

Table 17 – Composite Scores Calculation	
Step 1	Calculate the relative contribution of each dimension by dividing the sum of scores obtained for the dimension with the maximum dimension score and then multiplying it by one-third.
Step 2	Add the relative contribution of each dimension to obtain the composite score.
Step 3	Express composites score on a five point Likert scale as follows: 0 = Not importance 1 = Slightly important 2 = Moderately important 3 = Very Important 4 = Extremely important

Steps 1 and 2 ensured that each dimension of club experience and social capital contributed equally towards the composite score (despite having different number of indicators). Step 3 was for ease of interpretation of the composite scores (as explained in the example below).

Table 18 illustrates the above steps by providing an example of the composite score calculation for club experience and social capital.

Table 18 – Example of a Composite Score Calculation					
Dimension	Respondent's Scores	Maximum Dimension Score	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Example for Club Experience					
Patronisation of Club Facilities	4	12	0.11	0.47	1.88
Participation in Club Services	6	32	0.06		
Perception of Club Values	9	10	0.30		
Example for Social Capital					
Structural Interface	15	22	0.22	0.68	2.72
Relational Interface	62	80	0.26		
Cognitive Interface	6	10	0.20		

In the above example, the composite score for club experience is 1.88 and 2.72 for social capital on a five-point Likert scale. Based on the Likert scale (step 3), the scores can be interpreted as “moderately important” and “very important”, respectively. The composite scores are used to test the relationship between club experience and social capital and the group difference on this relationship (as explained in Chapter 7).

In short, the practicality of the Club Analytical Model is best explained by revisiting the basic assumption that underpins the model, which is that a pragmatic approach is used, based on the relative contributions of the indicators and dimensions to the composite on a standardised five-point Likert scale. The cumulative effect is that indicators have been weighed on their importance (for example, visiting a club five times or more per fortnight is considered more important than visiting a club once per fortnight for the purpose of the study). Secondly, literature has shown that club experience and social capital are multidimensional concepts and in the absence of an indication on the relative importance of each dimension, all three dimensions are weighted equally (based on an assumption of equality for the purpose of the study). The adherence to these notions makes the Club Analytical Model a functional model for the purpose of the study.

6.3.5. Dependability Checks

The researcher ensured that the Club Analytical Model was relevant and robust by testing its dependability at two levels:

The first was to test for multicollinearity using the statistical diagnostic tool of Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). Multicollinearity is a serious concern in a formative measurement model like the Club Analytical Model because if the predictors show a high level of collinearity, then it means that they are not independent of each other. As the composites of club experience and social capital derive meaning from their respective dimensions and indicators, multicollinearity in the indicators and dimensions would result in the overlap of similar information which does not add to the meaning of the composite. As Mackenzie, Podsakoff, and Jarvis (2005: 712) note, this is because “formative measures

only capture the entire conceptual domain as a group”. The results of the VIF tests were less than 10 across all measures.

The second level was a non-statistical procedure. It involved ‘pilot testing’ the Club Analytical Model in the focus group discussions (see section 7.2.2). The goal of this exercise was to ascertain how closely the Club Analytical Model captured social interactions in community clubs and whether the dimensions and indicators served the intended purpose of capturing social dynamics of community clubs. The focus group participants generally gave positive feedback and the Club Analytical Model was fine-tuned based on their comments.

The researcher acknowledges that other dependability tests could also be performed on the Club Analytical Model. However, these two levels of confirmation were considered adequate from a practical point of view. This was on the basis that they yielded basic information to make an informed decision on the usability of the Club Analytical Model for the purpose of the study.

6.4. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Approach

According to Bernard and Ryan (2010: 121), “Models are simplifications of complicated, real things”. They further add that “All models, whether build on qualitative or quantitative data, are reductions of complex realities. We build models to better understand these complexities and help others understand them as well” (Bernard & Ryan, 2010: 126). Inherent in these statements are the primary strengths and weaknesses of a formative measurement model like the Club Analytical Model.

The strengths of the Club Analytical Model are no different from those of other formative measurement models, which are succinctly summarised by Saisana and Tarantola (2002). At the foremost is the ability of the Club Analytical Model to capture the multidimensional nature of club experience and social capital, which is not readily possible, as these composites cannot be observed directly *per se*. Another significant

advantage is that the Club Analytical Model captures the bigger picture, rather than restricts the study to compartmentalised analysis of each dimension of club experience and social capital and their respective indicators, which would be confusing at best. As club experience and social capital are inherently complex and arbitrary concepts, the Club Analytical Model also offers a simpler and more meaningful format to aid in the understanding of these concepts. These strengths make the Club Analytical Model particularly appealing for the study.

There are also some drawbacks of this approach (Saisana and Tarantola, 2002). The Club Analytical Model is a largely subjective framework because it is based on value judgement, for instance, in the allocation of weights or the choice of indicators. Even when the value judgements have an ingrained logic (as explained in the previous section), they cannot be verified empirically. Another major concern of the Club Analytical Model is the loss of information as several indicators and dimensions are collapsed to arrive at a single summary score. It is not readily possible to say with confidence what information is lost or retained at each stage of data consolidation. Then, there is little consensus on what is the best method of constructing a composite model, which may vary from study to study and according to the preferences of a researcher, as is the case of the current Club Analytical Model. These drawbacks can be addressed by making the composite model development processes as robust and transparent as possible but they cannot be fully compensated for in any study.

Given the above, the value of the Club Analytical Model should be considered in the framework of the overall contribution of the study (see section 10.3.4). The Club Analytical Model provides a pathway for studying the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and seeks to do this holistically. It is not a perfect model but offers scope for subsequent research to build upon or further refine it. Most importantly, it is not a generic model but one that is highly focused and functional in capturing the social reality of community clubs. As Booyesen (2002: 129) notes, “the choice of method employed in weighting and aggregation is ultimately dependent on the nature and scope of the particular study”.

6.5. Summary

Club experience and social capital are multidimensional concepts and this necessitates that the measurement framework adequately captures their layered meanings. The Club Analytical Model is one such measurement framework and represents the key methodological contribution of the study to the current body of knowledge on mutuality. The Club Analytical Model is not a perfect model but one that is highly focused and functional, which enables it to examine social dynamics of community clubs holistically, rather than in a compartmentalised manner. The next chapter outlines specific procedures that were used to collect, analyse, and maintain the integrity of data on club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

Data Collection, Analysis, and Integrity

When we understand correlation, we can do more than describe what happens. We can anticipate or even create what happens.

Few (2009: 245)

7.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the procedures used for collecting, analysing, and maintaining the integrity of data on club experience and the social capital of club patrons. It begins by outlining the steps that were followed for the conduct of the survey of club patrons, focus group discussions with club patrons and officials, and consultations with key club industry stakeholders. It then explains the statistical tests - bivariate linear correlation and linear regression - that were performed on the quantitative data and thematic (content) analysis that was performed on the qualitative data. The chapter ends with a discussion of the controls that were put in place to address data integrity issues. The procedures for data collection, analysis, and maintaining data integrity were guided by the Club Analytical Model to ensure they offer a cohesive body of empirical evidence on social dynamics of community clubs.

7.2. Procedures for Data Collection

The study used a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques, as per the mixed methods design discussed in Chapter 6, to collect descriptive, behavioural, and attitudinal data to answer the research questions of the study. The three techniques used were survey of club patrons, focus group discussions with club patrons and officials, and consultations with key club industry stakeholders. The three forms of data collection were designed to be complementary so that they could inform each other.

7.2.1. Survey of Club Patrons

The first method of data collection employed by the study was a comprehensive survey of people who visit community clubs for recreation. A survey yields quantitative data (Babbie, 2004). It is a method of data collection from a sample of a population using a questionnaire. One of the biggest strengths of the survey method is the cost-effective and fairly consistent manner in which views of a large number of people could be obtained in a relatively short timeframe. Conversely, one of the biggest drawbacks is that the survey method does not readily allow respondents to communicate their thoughts and feelings as part of their responses because the question may only give the option of a 'yes' or 'no' or a checkbox option (Babbie, 2004). The survey method was useful for the study because views of club patrons could be collected efficiently from all eight clubs types through this method.

Three major steps were followed for this mode of data collection. They were development and pilot testing of the survey instrument, selection of a representative sample, and administration of the questionnaire. These steps are described below.

7.2.1.1. Development and Pilot Testing of the Survey Instrument

The final questionnaire is contained in Appendix F. The questionnaire was finalised after pilot testing with six club patrons - three males and three females of varying ages - who provided in-depth comments on the structure and design of the questions and the overall questionnaire. To maintain objectivity, the researcher recruited the six club patrons from a community club that was not in the study sample. No specific criterion was used to select this group of people, other than access and convenience, because the goal was to assess the usability of the questionnaire from an end user's perspective.

The final questionnaire starts with an overview of the study and matters relating to research ethics, including privacy, confidentiality, and informed consent of the survey respondents. It contains 20 questions that require responses in a range of formats, but

predominantly cardinal numbers (for example, one, two, three) and Likert scale (for example, very negative, negative, neither negative nor positive, positive, and very positive). The questions were arranged in the most logical order in five sections, starting with basic demographic information of the respondents and then progressing to complex queries on aspects of club experience and social capital as highlighted in the Club Analytical Model. While it can be argued that demographic details should be asked last in order to increase the response rate on these 'personal questions' (Fowler, 2009) the researcher chose to be upfront on the basis that only generic information was required and all responses were to be provided in confidence.

A number of design issues were reconciled in the final questionnaire (Fowler, 2009: 376-412). These included ensuring that the questions are not leading questions or double barrel, can be consistently understood by the respondents, and do not result in socially desirable answers. The latter was particularly important for the study because of the emotional attachment some club patrons have with their community clubs. Where possible, club-specific terminology was used.

7.2.1.2. Selection of a Representative Sample

The study used the multistage cluster sampling method to select the survey respondents. This method involves selecting subjects from defined groups in the population (Kumar, 1996: 160). However, not all subjects are sampled in the selected clusters in each stage for various reasons such as the complete list of subjects in each cluster is unavailable or the cost is too much to sample every subject. These reasons make multistage cluster sampling a highly targeted probability sampling method (Babbie, 2004).

Each community club is regarded as a cluster for the purpose of the study because community clubs, by definition, are groups of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests. Based on this premise, which aligns with the notion of community clubs as fields, the study employed a three-tier multistage cluster sampling, the first anchored on the geographical location of community clubs, the second on

different types of clubs, and the final being the target clubs themselves. The survey respondents were then randomly selected from the target clubs but this was stratified to ensure the sample broadly reflected selected socio-demographic factors such as gender and age of club patrons in the target clubs. The final sample was then considered to be a representative sample of club patrons in Queensland.

Table 19 explains the three-tier multistage cluster sampling.

Table 19 – Sampling Procedures for the Survey of Club Patrons
Step 1 – Choosing the location of the research (First Level Cluster)

Community clubs are situated across Queensland; however, time and budgetary constraints only allowed studying community clubs that are situated in Southeast Queensland.

The choice of Southeast Queensland was influenced by four factors. Southeast Queensland:

- has over a third of community clubs in Queensland (360 out of 939 clubs or 38% - see Table 4 in Chapter 5).
- has over two-thirds of club memberships (2.34 million out of 3.48 million memberships or 68% - see Table 4 in Chapter 5).
- is the smallest geographical area that includes all club types, for example, Surf Life Saving Supporters Clubs, which are located on the Gold Coast and Sunshine Coast.
- is the most culturally diverse population in Queensland (Multicultural Affairs Queensland, 2010).

The Southeast Queensland region was defined as the two statistical divisions of Gold Coast and Brisbane ranging from the NSW border up to Sunshine Coast and West as far as West Moreton (Appendix D).

This boundary of Southeast Queensland has been used in *The Social and Economic Profile of Community Clubs in Queensland* (DWS, 2009) and there was no credible reason to use a different boundary for the present study. On the contrary, adopting this boundary puts the findings of the study in common context with industry surveys.

Step 2 - Deciding on different types of clubs (Second Level Cluster)

Community clubs in Queensland can be categorised by their dominant focus. Accordingly, the study classified community clubs into eight dominant club types:

- Returned Services Leagues Clubs (RSL Clubs)
- Surf Life Saving Supporters Clubs (SLSS Clubs)
- Bowls Clubs
- Golf Clubs
- Football Clubs
- Multisports Clubs (more than one sport)
- Cultural Clubs (based on ethnicity of club members)
- Recreational Clubs (based on hobby and other interests not represented above)

The eight club types are present in Southeast Queensland and a list was compiled using *The Social and Economic Profile of Community Clubs in Queensland* (DWS, 2009) and ClubsQld's internal database. Each club was placed in one of the club type categories.

As community clubs differ considerably, for instance, in the size of their operation and membership levels, they were required to meet five criteria to ensure consistency in comparison across the club types:

- have at least 1,000 adult members* but similar in overall size (as measured by the total number of members)
- hold a liquor and gaming machine licence
- offer a range of services, including meals
- have reasonable facilities (such as a clubhouse and one or more sporting fields in the case of sports clubs)
- are not located in the same suburb (so that they do not cater for the same club patron, though this is impossible to control as people can visit any club either as reciprocal members or bona fide visitors)

A total of 250 community clubs (out of 360 community clubs) in Southeast Queensland met the criteria and were included in the sampling frame.

*Minors or persons under the age of 18 years were excluded from the sample because they are unable to participate in all club activities, in particular liquor and gaming services, because of age-based restrictions. Liquor and gaming services are two fundamental services provided by clubs. The researcher took the view that the inability to participate in these services means a person is not exposed to the full range of club experience that is examined in the study. The exclusion of minors from the sample of the study then made intuitive sense because the goal of the study is to offer a cohesive body of empirical evidence to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

Step 3 - Selecting the Community Clubs (Third Level Cluster)

One club was randomly selected from each of the eight club types to be representative of that club type. This resulted in eight community club clusters. While the study acknowledges that one club cannot be a ‘true’ representative of other clubs in that club type, it assumes the five criteria above ensured the social operation of selected community clubs are broadly representative of other community clubs in their respective club types.

It is important to note that the procedures used to select club clusters result in the total membership of clubs situated in Southeast Queensland, rather than the general population of Southeast Queensland, being the target population of the study. The target population is not the same as the general population of Southeast Queensland because patronage of clubs is determined by a range of factors such as sporting interests, which are not distributed evenly in Southeast Queensland. In other words, this sampling strategy was purposively used to ensure that the sample of the study from the eight club types present in Southeast Queensland resembled this target population (that is, the membership of all clubs in Southeast Queensland) and not the general population of Southeast Queensland (which would include minors).

Step 4 - Selection of Club Patrons (Stratification)

The overall sample size was tentatively fixed as 800 club patrons, or at least 100 clubs patrons from each club type to ensure there is an adequate representation of subgroup factors (such as males and females for the factor of gender and single, married, and other for the factor of marital status).

The researcher set this sample size with the aid of power analysis, given that the study tests the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the effect of group difference on this relationship. Power analysis ensures that a statistical test would reject the null hypothesis when it is false. In other words, it would ensure that an effect is detected by the statistical test if the effect does exist in the population.

The club patrons were randomly selected as they arrived at the selected clubs. The club managers of the selected clubs gave a general profile of the club membership to the researcher, which the researcher used to stratify the sample. However, it was not always possible to achieve relevant quotas due to the different patterns of club visitation (for example, it was likely that many club patrons of interest to the study may not have been present at the club when the survey was completed). As explained in sections 7.2.1.3 and 7.4.2, the researcher addressed this issue by conducting the survey over an eight month period and at different times of the day and on different days of the week.

The maximum margin of error for this sample size is approximately 3% for the overall sample size and approximately 10% for each club type. These ranges were considered acceptable by the researcher. It was a trade off in terms of budgetary concerns as well.

In short, multistage sampling method was an appropriate sampling strategy for the purpose of the study because community clubs are located across Queensland and clustering of clubs, based on predetermined criteria, is economical and effective for data collection purposes. In addition, club members vary by age, gender, and other socio-demographic factors and stratification made the sample broadly representative of the target population. Notwithstanding the above, the researcher is aware of the limitations of this sampling technique, in particular the omission of other, perhaps more representative, clusters in the final sample.

7.2.1.3. Administration of the Questionnaire

A total of 920 questionnaires – 115 questionnaires for each club - were distributed in the eight community clubs (in order to achieve the desired sample size of 800 club patrons). The questionnaires were administered in each club with the assistance of the club manager who sought permission from the management committees (board of directors) to have the study undertaken at the club. The club managers readily agreed to assist the researcher as many of them had liaised with the researcher at some point in time to seek operational advice, which falls within the scope of the researcher's duties, at ClubsQld.

The researcher asked the club managers to place the questionnaires at the reception desk and to instruct reception staff to offer them to patrons to complete as they arrived at the club. The club managers were further told by the researcher to instruct reception staff not to coerce any patron to complete the questionnaire or be selective in choosing the respondents to complete the survey. The explicit advice was to give out the questionnaires randomly throughout the trading day. Club patrons were told to either return the completed questionnaire to the reception desk or give it to an employee of the club.

The data collection period spanned approximately eight months. This timeframe ensured that different types of club patrons (for example, working, non-working, and retired) and visitation times (for example, morning, afternoon, evening, weekday, and weekend) were catered for in regard to club visitations. It also allowed the researcher to make two unannounced visits to each community club in the sample and observed anonymously the distribution and completion of the questionnaires as part of a quality control regime for this stage of the research. No major discrepancies were found in these visits. The researcher believes this timeframe was a crucial factor in the good overall completion rate achieved for the survey questionnaire (828 useable questionnaires – see Chapter 8).

7.2.2. Focus Group Discussions

The second method of data collection employed by the study was the focus group discussion (Bernard & Ryan, 2010; Babbie, 2004). A focus group discussion is an informal discussion of issues put to a selected group of people by the researcher or a facilitator engaged by the researcher. Participants in the focus group discussion are often chosen for their knowledge or expertise in an area. The major strengths of this method of data collection include in-depth discussion of issues through the articulation of opinions and experiences by the participants (who are perceived to be knowledgeable in the given area) and the ability to probe deeper into a given response during the discussion. As such, the focus group discussion yields qualitative data. The drawbacks include the risks of offering only socially desirable answers (because of group dynamics) and the emotional involvement of the researcher, facilitator or participants in the discussion (Bernard & Ryan, 2010; Babbie, 2004). Data from the focus group discussion played a complementary role for the study by offering insights into the quantitative findings from the survey of club patrons.

Initially, three focus groups of six persons – the first comprising of club patrons, the second comprising of club employees, and the final one comprising of management committee members (board directors) – were planned from the eight clubs in the sample of the survey method. However, the practical reality of organising the focus group discussions meant that it was easier to have just two focus groups, the first being a dedicated group of six club patrons and the second being an ‘open’ group comprising of

six club officials: two volunteers, two employees, and two management committee members (board directors). The researcher liaised with the club managers of the eight clubs to recruit participants for the two focus groups. As with the administration of the survey questionnaire, the researcher's familiarity with the club industry made it possible to get this diverse group of people in one room for the two focus group discussions.

To maintain objectivity, the focus group discussions were held at a community club that was not in the sample of the survey method and a facilitator conducted the discussions. The facilitator was a former employee of ClubsQld and was engaged by the researcher because of his knowledge of the club industry and communication skills (The facilitator was employed as a communication specialist by ClubsQld – see Acknowledgments). Prior to the commencement of the focus group discussions, the researcher briefed the facilitator on the purpose of the meeting and on his expectations in regard to the research objectives of the study.

The researcher started the focus group discussions by outlining the purpose of the discussions. He then highlighted matters relating to research ethics, including privacy and confidentiality, the need to obtain consent of participants, and permission to record the discussions. These matters are outlined in Appendix G.

The facilitator then set three ground rules for discussion. Table 20 presents the three ground rules.

Table 20 – Ground Rules for Focus Group Discussions

1. **There is no right or wrong answer:** This discussion is about sharing your experiences as club members or official and we all tend to see and perceive things differently. Tell us your positive, as well as your negative experiences.
2. **Respect the speaker:** Please speak one at a time. Let the person finish speaking before you begin. Do not interrupt. Write your thoughts on a piece of paper if you think you may forget them by the time the current speaker finishes speaking.
3. **Always speak on the topic:** Our time is limited and there is a lot to cover. Please be succinct but add an example if that clarifies your viewpoint. If possible, please avoid repeating what has already been said but you are most welcome to bring a fresh perspective to the issue.

The three ground rules were designed to encourage robust discussions in a conducive and amicable environment.

The facilitator conducted the discussions using the pre-prepared transcript contained in Appendix H. In essence, eight questions formed the basis of the discussions in the two focus groups. Table 21 lists the eight questions.

Table 21 – Guiding Questions for Focus Group Discussions

1. What is special about community clubs that makes it possible for them to bring people together?
2. Do you believe people genuinely interact with each other when they visit community clubs?
3. What do you think are some key benefits of social interactions in community clubs?
4. How much do you think visiting community clubs enables people ‘to stay socially connected with each other’?
5. Do you think people can gain confidence with each other by sharing club facilities?
6. What do you think are some key values that community clubs pass onto their patrons?
7. Do you think age, gender, language, or other similar factors influence how people interact with each other in community clubs?
8. How important do you think club membership is to a person in the overall scheme of things in his or her life?

The eight questions relate to different aspects of club experience and social capital and these were pointed out, where possible using examples, by the facilitator to aid the discussion (see Appendix H for some examples).

The focus group discussions ended with a brief discussion on how much importance they would place on various aspects of their club experience and social capital such as visiting clubs once a fortnight versus more than once a fortnight or conversing with family members versus conversing with others (friends, acquaintances, or strangers). The purpose of this divergence was for the researcher to get a ‘feel’ of the weights for each indicator of the Club Analytical Model (see section 6.3.5). While there was often

an absence of total agreement, the brief discussion provided an insight into the positive, negative or zero weights for various aspects of the model, which was presented in a preliminary form at the meetings.

7.2.3. Consultations with Key Club Industry Stakeholders

The final method of data collection employed by the study was stakeholder consultations. As explained in section 5.4, there are many stakeholders for community clubs. However, the pre-eminent stakeholders, identified for the purpose of the study, are OLGR and ClubsQld.

For this stage of data collection, the researcher liaised with the Deputy Executive Director of OLGR and the Corporate Governance Manager of ClubsQld. The Corporate Governance Manager was the CEO of ClubsQld prior to an organisational restructure to implement a succession plan. Consequently, the Corporate Governance Manager became the researcher's immediate supervisor in this newly created role. The Deputy Executive Director and the Corporate Governance Manager were chosen by the respective organisation as the best person to provide feedback to the researcher.

The stakeholders were consulted using the questionnaire in Appendix I. In addition to explaining the safeguards on privacy, confidentiality and ethics, the researcher also clarified to both stakeholders that this was a private and independent study. In particular, the researcher clarified to OLGR that he worked for ClubsQld; the study was funded entirely through the Federal Government's Research Training Scheme (RTS); he was under no obligation to discuss or reveal OLGR's responses to ClubsQld; and, most importantly, he will not use OLGR's responses for policy development or lobbying efforts by ClubsQld. Similar clarifications were also provided to ClubsQld prior to data collection. These assurances were necessary to address a potential conflict of interest situation resulting from the researcher's position as an employee of ClubsQld and to reconcile the fact that ClubsQld is itself a stakeholder of OLGR.

OLGR and ClubsQld responded to all questions put to them by the researcher. They also provided reasonable access to the researcher for an opportunity for follow-up by telephone and email. The researcher did not see a need to engage in a follow-up with the stakeholders.

7.3. Procedures for Data Analysis

The research data was subjected to statistical and thematic analysis as follows:

7.3.1. Statistical (Quantitative) Analysis

The quantitative data from the survey of club patrons was prepared for meaningful statistical analysis as per the Club Analytical Model. The quantitative data, for instance, was checked for errors, coded, and logged into a database. This stage required some ‘collapsing of categories’ to make the data meaningful (for instance, converting cardinal scores to Likert scale scores as explained in Chapter 6). Careful attention was paid to the issue of reverse coding to ensure the codes reflected the coding protocol. A master sheet containing the instructions and codes was developed for this purpose.

Descriptive analysis was then performed to identify the basic features of the quantitative data. Descriptive measures reveal basic characteristics of the data such as the central tendency of the distribution (Jackson (2012)). Descriptive analysis was used to summarise the overall data, as well as data by club types, club activities, and demographic characteristics of club patrons.

Finally, the quantitative data was subjected to inferential analysis using the Predictive Analytics Software (PASW) (previously known as the Statistical Package for Social Sciences or SPSS). Inferential analysis was performed because the study is hypotheses-driven. As Walsh (2005: 185) points out, hypotheses are the “ultimate refinement” of the research questions, as they provide the “direction and limits” of the research. The hypothesis “tests one relationship, and one aspect of that relationship” (Walsh, 1996:

66). Inferential analysis enables sample findings to be extrapolated to the target population.

Table 22 lists the research hypotheses of the study.

Table 22 – Research Hypotheses

H ₁	There is a relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation.
H _{1a}	The relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who attend community clubs is evident in each club type.
H _{1b}	The relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who attend community clubs is evident in each type of club activity.
H ₂	There is group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who attend community clubs for recreation.
H _{2a}	The group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who attend community clubs for recreation is moderated by selected socio-demographic factors.
H _{2b}	The group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who attend community clubs for recreation is moderated by length of association with community clubs.

Hypotheses 1 test the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the hypotheses 2 test group difference on this relationship. The three level of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons are overall, by club types, and by club activities. The three levels of group difference are overall (admission status), socio-demographic factors (gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment), and length of association with community clubs. These hypotheses complete the ‘gaps’ in knowledge identified in the research model (as presented in Chapter 1) of the study.

Using the accepted convention, it is the null hypothesis that is tested for significance. As Moore (2001: 444) explains, a statistical test seeks to answer the question: “Could the effect we see in the sample just be an accident due to chance or is it good evidence that the effect is really there in the population?”. If the evidence supports the null hypothesis, then it is accepted. However, if the evidence does not support the null hypothesis, then

the alternative explanation, as postulated in the research hypothesis is most likely the case. The focus on the null hypotheses is because we cannot prove the research hypotheses; we can only disprove the null hypotheses (Moore, 2001: 444).

Hypotheses 1 were assessed using Pearson's r . Pearson's r is a parametric statistical test and assumes a linear relationship between the two variables. Although the composite scores of club experience and social capital were weighted from Likert scale (as explained in Chapter Six), and therefore could be interpreted as ranked data demanding a nonparametric equivalent test (Spearman's correlation), the researcher chose Pearson's r because of the convention to treat Likert scale data as interval data if there is sufficient coverage in the data. The composite scores of club experience and social capital made this possible. Statistical advice from the university statistician also confirmed this approach. The researcher ensured that the data met the assumptions of Pearson's r , including checking for linearity between the variables by creating scatter plots and histograms.

A total of nine outliers were discovered in this process. A closer inspection revealed that three outliers were data entry errors, four outliers were extreme values because they deviated significantly (on visual inspection) from the general distribution illustrated by the scatter plot, and two outliers were responses that were outside the reasonable range permitted by the survey questionnaire (for instance, a respondent indicating that he interacted with 1,000 people on a visit to a club). There are many ways of dealing with outliers, including statistical tests (for instance, see Hawkin, 1980; Hills and Lewicki, 2006) but the researcher took the pragmatic approach of removing all nine responses containing the outliers from the final sample. The researcher is aware that an extreme value is not necessarily an outlier but favoured the above (simpler) treatment because the target sample size of 800 responses had already been achieved (the final sample size, as explained in Chapter 8, is 828 responses).

The outcomes of the bivariate correlation analysis are the correlation coefficient (r) and the coefficient of determination (r^2). The correlation coefficient (r) gives an indication of

the strength and direction of the linear relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the coefficient of determination (r^2) shows the amount of variance or change in the social capital of club patrons that can be accounted for by their club experience. The value of r ranges from -1 (perfect negative relationship) to 0 (no relationship) to 1 (perfect positive relationship).

The significance of a correlation analysis for the study is perhaps best summed up in the words of Few (2009: 245):

When we understand correlation, we can do more than describe what happens. We can anticipate or even create what happens. Perhaps more than any other quantitative relationship, correlations open our eyes to the future, giving us the ability to mold it in the best of cases, and, where that's not possible, to at least prepare for what's likely to happen.

The study affirms this view because the purpose of Hypotheses 1 was to empirically assess the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

Hypotheses 2 were assessed using linear regression in a general linear model (GLM) setup. GLM was used to analyse the main effects of the covariate or the continuous independent variable, being club experience, and categorical factor variables, being admission (member versus non-member) status, gender, age, marital status, language, education, employment, and length of association with community clubs on the continuous dependent variable, being social capital, as well as the interaction of the covariate and the factors on the dependent variable. All variables were entered as separate variables and with the relevant product terms (for example, club experience*gender or club experience*age) in one regression model. As with Research Question 1, the researcher ensured that the data met parametric assumptions that underpin linear regression (Sheskin, 2007).

Table 23 illustrates the data analysis pathway for testing hypotheses 1 and 2.

Table 23 – Data Analysis Pathway

Research Question 1 - Overall Correlation		Social Capital
All Clubs	Club Experience	Finding

Subsidiary Question 1a - Correlation by Club Types		Social Capital
RSL Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
SLSS Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Golf Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Bowls Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Football Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Multisports Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Cultural Clubs	Club Experience	Finding
Recreational Clubs	Club Experience	Finding

Subsidiary Question 1b - Correlation by Club Activities		Social Capital
Gaming	Club Experience	Finding
Food	Club Experience	Finding
Bar	Club Experience	Finding
Subclub	Club Experience	Finding
Socialisation	Club Experience	Finding
Music	Club Experience	Finding
Greater Good	Club Experience	Finding
Other	Club Experience	Finding

Research Question 2 - Overall Group Difference		Social Capital
Admission Status (Member versus non-member)	Club Experience	Finding

Subsidiary Question 2a - Group Difference by Socio-demographic Factors		Social Capital
Gender (male versus female)	Club Experience	Finding
Age (young adults versus middle-aged versus seniors)	Club Experience	Finding
Marital Status (single versus married versus other)	Club Experience	Finding
Language (English versus other)	Club Experience	Finding
Education (year 12 or less versus post year 12)	Club Experience	Finding
Employment (not working now versus working now versus Other)	Club Experience	Finding

Subsidiary Question 2b - Group Difference by Length of Association with community clubs		Social Capital
Length of association with community clubs (short-term versus medium-term versus long term)	Club Experience	Finding

The “finding” refers to the outcomes of the bivariate linear correlation analysis of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons at three levels (all clubs, club types, and club activities) and the outcomes of regression analysis on this relationship, based on three levels of group difference (admission status; socio-demographic factors of gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment; and length of association with community clubs). This illustration of the analysis pathway was necessary, given the huge amount of data (derived from 828 useable questionnaires as explained in Chapter 8). As such, the analysis pathway provided clear guidance to the researcher on how the data was to be analysed in order to establish a cohesive body of empirical evidence to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

Table 23 (above) illustrates that multiple tests were performed on the quantitative data. The researcher sought advice from the university statistician who identified the importance of controlling the experiment-wise error. As Abdi (2007:1) explains:

The more tests we perform on a set of data, the more likely we are to reject the null hypothesis when it is true (*i.e.*, a “Type I” error). This is a consequence of the logic of hypothesis testing: We reject the null hypothesis if we witness a *rare* event. But the larger the number of tests, the easier it is to find rare events and therefore the easier it is to make the mistake of thinking that there is an effect when there is none. This problem is called the *inflation* of the alpha level. In order to be protected from it, one strategy is to correct the alpha level when performing multiple tests. Making the alpha level more stringent (*i.e.*, smaller) will create less errors, but it may also make it harder to detect real effects. [Original emphasis]

While there are a number of alpha correction methods, the researcher chose Sidak correction which is less pessimistic (than, for instance, the Bonferonni correction) although it is harder to calculate because it involves fractional power (Abdi, 2007: 5). Alpha was corrected for each hypothesis of Research Question 1 because each of them focused on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in different contexts (overall versus club type versus club activities) and required specific testing in each of these areas, unlike the hypotheses of Research Question 2 which were all concerned with group difference on this relationship (and tested in one model). The null hypotheses were rejected if the p-value fell below the alpha threshold.

It is important to recognise the tension between statistical significance and practical significance. As Huck (2009: 228-229) puts it:

Statistical significance can (and often does) exist in the absence of practical significance.... For example, whether a correlation of .50 has practical significance is purely a matter of judgement. One researcher might claim that such an *r* is important while a different researcher (in the same discipline) might claim it does not. What’s viewed as being important in a practical way, in a very real sense, “is in the eye of the beholder”.

In other words, statistical significance in itself cannot tell if the finding is important in the context of the study (Kirk, 2001: 213).

The practical importance of a finding is assessed with a measure of the effect size. Cumming (2012: 38) explains effect size in the most basic way as “the amount of anything that might be of interest”. He points out that the p-value is not an effect size, which makes the reporting of effect size extremely important for “statistical cognition” or a greater understanding of statistical output. Making a judgment based on effect size should be the “primary interpretation of research” (Cumming, 2012: 42).

In the absence of prior guidance on effect size in the research on community clubs because of a limited number of studies in this area (as explained in Chapter 2), the researcher drew upon Cohen (1988, 1990, 1992, 1994) for guidance on the effect size. Although the conventions suggested by Cohen (1988, 1990, 1992, 1994) are used in the field of psychology, it has some relevance to the present study in the sense that club experience and social capital are, to some extent, psychological constructs. The researcher also utilised his experience in the community clubs industry to make this call. The critical subjectivity and reflective perspectives outlined in Chapter 1 assisted the researcher in this regard.

There is nothing unusual about this approach, as Kirk (2001: 214) explains:

One of the appeals of null hypothesis significance testing is that it is considered to be an objective, scientific procedure for advancing knowledge. On the other hand, deciding whether effects are useful or practically significant involves an element of subjectivity. The judgment is influenced by a variety of considerations, including the researcher’s value system, societal concerns, assessment of costs and benefits, and so on. However, I believe that researchers have an obligation to make this kind of judgment. No one is in a better position than the researcher who collected and analyzed the data to decide whether the effects are trivial or not.

This approach makes it clear that effect size must be interpreted in the context of the

study and a generic effect size (borrowed from elsewhere) is often of little or no practical use.

Based on the above premises, the researcher developed a simple effect size guide for community clubs. Table 24 presents the effect size guide.

Table 24 – Effect Size Guide for Community Clubs			
Correlation Coefficient (Pearson r)	Equivalent Eta Squared	Percent of Shared (or Accounted for) Variance	Effect Size Interpretation
Less than 0.10	Less than 0.01	Less than 1%	Negligible
Between 0.10 and 0.30	Between 0.01 and 0.09	Between 1% and 9%	Weak
Greater than 0.30 but less than 0.5	Greater than 0.09 but less than 0.25	Greater than 9% but less than 25%	Moderate
Greater than 0.5	Greater than 0.25	More than 25%	Strong

The effect sizes are represented by the correlation coefficient and the equivalent eta squared and range from negligible to strong. Roberts (2011: 2) explains that eta squared is “equivalent to R^2 ”. As such, eta squared can be easily related to the correlation coefficient and understand “as the percent of variance accounted for by a variable” (Levine & Hullett, 2002: 619). A negligible effect size is understood to be no practical significance, while a strong effect size is understood to be of great practical significance.

7.3.2. Thematic (Qualitative) Analysis

The qualitative data obtained from focus group discussions was subjected to thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 79), thematic analysis involves organising data in a meaningful way and then extracting information that highlights certain patterns (themes) relevant to the objectives of the study. Given concerns about privacy and confidentiality of the focus group participants (see section 7.4.5), thematic analysis allowed the researcher to group responses by themes, rather than subjects’ names, thus eliminating the need to identify any participant. On this basis, the study put

a greater value on ‘what was said’ over ‘who said it’ (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79), which is consistent with the pragmatic paradigm discussed in Chapter 6.

The researcher ensured that the qualitative data from the focus group discussions involving club members and officials was transcribed correctly and used a transcription service for this purpose. Upon the receipt of the transcript, the researcher checked the accuracy of the transcript with the notes taken during the discussions. No major discrepancies were found in this process.

The thematic analysis was carried out using the content analysis technique. Berg (2007: 303-304) explains content analysis as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings”. As a technique, the major advantages of content analysis are its unobtrusive focus on social interactions through the recorded transcript and the ability to offer deeper insights into complex motives and thoughts of the respondents. The drawbacks include loss of meaning because no analysis can fully capture all intentions of respondents and the difficulty in coding, which is often arbitrary such as count of key words (see Figure 21 in Chapter 8). In view of this, the advice is to align as much as possible content analysis procedures with the theoretical orientation of the study (Berg, 2007: 303-304; Crano & Brewer, 2002).

The researcher used the data coding software, Leximancer, to perform content analysis on the focus group data. Developed by researchers at the Queensland University of Technology, Leximancer is “a text analytics tool” that extracts and displays concepts and themes embedded in the text visually (Leximancer, 2010: 4). The visual display is in the form of “a conceptual map that provides a bird’s eye view of the material, representing the main concepts contained within the text, as well as information about how they are related” (Leximancer, 2010: 4).

This software package was particularly suited for the study because it enabled the researcher to perform a conceptual content analysis and a relational content analysis,

given that club experience and social capital are conceptually related to each other. The analysis was performed on the focus group data through an inbuilt “concept learning” ability that developed “a thesaurus of terms for each concept” automatically from the actual text through a weighting system. As the Leximancer Manual (Leximancer, 2010: 9) explains:

Terms are weighted so the presence of each word in a sentence provides an appropriate contribution to the accumulated evidence for the presence of a concept. That is, a sentence (or group of sentences) is only tagged as containing a concept if the accumulated evidence (the sum of the weights of the keywords found) is above a set threshold.

This thesaurus building function enabled the researcher to objectively assess the conceptual and relational themes, as the themes were constructed independently of the researcher’s preconceived ideas (given his involvement in the club industry as explained in Chapter 1). Notwithstanding, the software has the flexibility to accommodate other key words if the software did not detect them. The researcher takes confidence from Leximancer’s stable reputation and from its use in similar contexts (for instance, see Drennan, et al., 2010; McKenna & Waddell, 2007).

7.4. Procedures for Maintaining Data Integrity

There are a number of data integrity issues in any research. The following five were identified as most important for the present study: reliability and validity, response and respondent errors, research and researcher’s bias, ethical considerations, and confidentiality and privacy. The researcher’s approach to managing these issues is outlined below.

7.4.1. Reliability and Validity

The first issue relates to the reliability and validity of measurement. Reliability refers to the dependability of the measuring process and instrument, while validity refers to how

accurately a construct fits with the actual reality (Neuman, 2003: 180-182). The researcher improved reliability and validity in several ways, including carefully defining the concepts, sometimes using industry-specific language; using levels of measurements that were highly specific; measuring several indicators of a construct rather than depending on only one dimension as illustrated in the Club Analytical Model; question wordings and reverse coding; pilot testing the questionnaire; and using a facilitator and providing detailed instructions to him. These measures ensured a good balance between the reliability and validity of the measurement tools and a simple and consistent understanding of the key concepts of the study.

7.4.2. Response and Respondent Errors

The second issue relates to response and respondent errors. Response and respondent errors can occur under several conditions such as data collection takes place at a time that is inconvenient to respondents, or respondents are unable to properly understand the questions (Walsh, 2005: 205). This also includes 'non-response' or the "failure to get a valid response for every sampled respondent" (Neuman, 2003: 183). The researcher minimised response and respondent errors by working closely with club managers and the focus group facilitator. In addition, the survey was conducted over an eight month period to cater for different types of club patrons (for example, working, non-working, and retired) and different visitation times (for example, morning, afternoon, evening, weekday, and weekend). The researcher also simplified the data collection instruments as far as reasonably possible. The anonymity granted to respondents (see section 7.4.5) also helped reduce non-responses. Finally, the researcher ensured that a respondent only completes one questionnaire, given that the respondent may be visiting more than one club in the sample, based on multiple club memberships. In this regard, an exclusion clause was added in the 'Instructions' section of the questionnaire.

7.4.3. Research and Researcher's Bias

The third issue relates to research and researcher's bias. There are many sources of research bias such as the sample may not be representative of the target population; the questionnaire may contain questions that are loaded or leading; the interviewer may influence respondents through his tone; or the data may be analysed and reported incorrectly (Jackson, 2012). The researcher ensured that research bias was controlled by following acceptable guidelines, for instance, in the selection of the sample and construction of the questionnaire, and used a checklist to identify various design flaws in order to 'tick off' on their control measures. The researcher asked the club managers to instruct their reception staff not to coerce any patron into completing the questionnaire and also instructed the focus group facilitator to use neutral language and give each participant an 'equal' opportunity to express his or her views. Related to this integrity issue is the researcher's position in the club industry. As explained in Chapter 1, the researcher adopts the 'critical subjectivity' approach and, where possible, has made explicit all assumptions in his decision-making process, which is consistent with reflexivity. Not all bias can be controlled and where the bias cannot be controlled, the researcher has strived to report them (for instance, making sure key club industry stakeholders understand that the study is not being conducted by the researcher's employer, which is the peak representative body for community clubs).

7.4.4. Ethical Considerations

The fourth issue relates to ethics in the conduct of research. The underlying principle of research ethics involving humans is that "no harm occurs to the research participants"; in other words, the "welfare and the rights of participants in research are protected" (USQ, 2006). The researcher ensured that the study complied with the *National Standard on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* and any associated guidelines issued by the University of Southern Queensland (USQ). In this regard, an ethical clearance application that explained the purpose of the study, procedures for obtaining informed consent of respondents, confidentiality and privacy safeguards, ability of respondents to

opt out of the survey and focus group discussions at any stage, avenues for redress, and other matters was submitted to the Office of Research and Higher Degrees (ORHD) of the university. No data was collected until formal ethical clearance was given. All collecting instruments reflected the provisions of the approved ethical application in a dedicated introductory section. These provisions were also reiterated at the start of every data collection task. The researcher made sure that club managers facilitating the survey instrument at their respective venues, focus group facilitator, and the key club industry stakeholders were aware of the above ethical safeguards.

7.4.5. Confidentiality and Privacy

The final issue relates to confidentiality and privacy. This was a particularly sensitive matter because the data was collected at a time when the community clubs industry was under intense scrutiny by the federal government, which had commissioned significant research on the industry, for instance, on ‘problem gambling’ and ‘contributions of the not-for-profit sector’ through the Productivity Commission (PC, 2010a & 2010b), as well as entered into an agreement with the independent member for the seat of Denison, Andrew Wilkie, on problem gambling reforms in return for his support of the minority government of Prime Minister Julia Gillard (see section 5.2.4.). It became apparent to the researcher that many club managers were only willing to cooperate with the researcher if the identity of their clubs was kept confidential. This was to protect the reputation of their clubs in the event of any adverse findings in the study (which could be potentially used by the government). They also pointed out to the researcher that they owed a ‘duty of care’ to their members and requested the researcher to maintain privacy and confidentiality of their members (which was another way to protect the identity of their clubs). The researcher agreed to these conditions because they encouraged a higher participation rate, without adversely impacting on the conduct or objectives of the study. On the contrary, these conditions enhanced the study because they increased confidence in the findings of the study (as outlined in Chapter 8) because of the objectivity inherent in the research design. In view of the above, all collecting instruments contained explicit privacy and confidentiality clauses relating to collection, use and disclosure, and storage of the data.

7.5. Summary

Procedures to collect, analyse, and maintain data integrity underpin the robustness of any research. Guided by the Club Analytical Model, and using the mixed methods design because of the ability to combine quantitative and qualitative approaches, research data was collected at three levels: survey of club members, focus group discussions with club members and officials, and consultations with key club industry stakeholders. The data was subjected to correlation, regression, and content analysis techniques, which tested for statistical significance of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and group difference on this relationship. The integrity issues were resolved, controlled, or otherwise reported. The next chapters present the findings of the study.

Linking Club Experience to Social Capital

I am convinced that each research method is suited to answering certain types of questions but not appropriate to answering other types

Thomas (2003: 7)

8.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It begins by describing the research data that was obtained through the survey of club patrons and focus group discussions with club patrons and officials. It then reports on the results of the bivariate linear correlation analysis, which ascertained the strength and direction of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The chapter ends by presenting the results of the linear regression, which ascertained group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The findings offer a cohesive body of empirical evidence on social dynamics of community clubs through club experience and the social capital of club patrons to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

8.2. Research Data

The research data of the study was collected using a mixed methods design. As Thomas (2003: 7) points out “I am convinced that each research method is suited to answering certain types of questions but not appropriate to answering other types. Furthermore, the best answer frequently results from using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods.” The study draws on the strengths of both methods in the form of a survey of club patrons, focus group discussions with club patrons and officials, and consultations with key club industry stakeholders.

8.2.1. Survey of Club Patrons

A total of 920 questionnaires were distributed to club patrons in eight community clubs in order to achieve a desired sample size of 800 club patrons or approximately 100 patrons from each club type (see section 7.2.1.3). After data cleaning, in particular

accounting for incomplete responses, and identifying outliers (see section 7.3.1), 828 responses were considered suitable for statistical analysis. The high response rate could be partly attributed to the researcher seeking assistance of club managers of each club in the sample to administer the questionnaire.

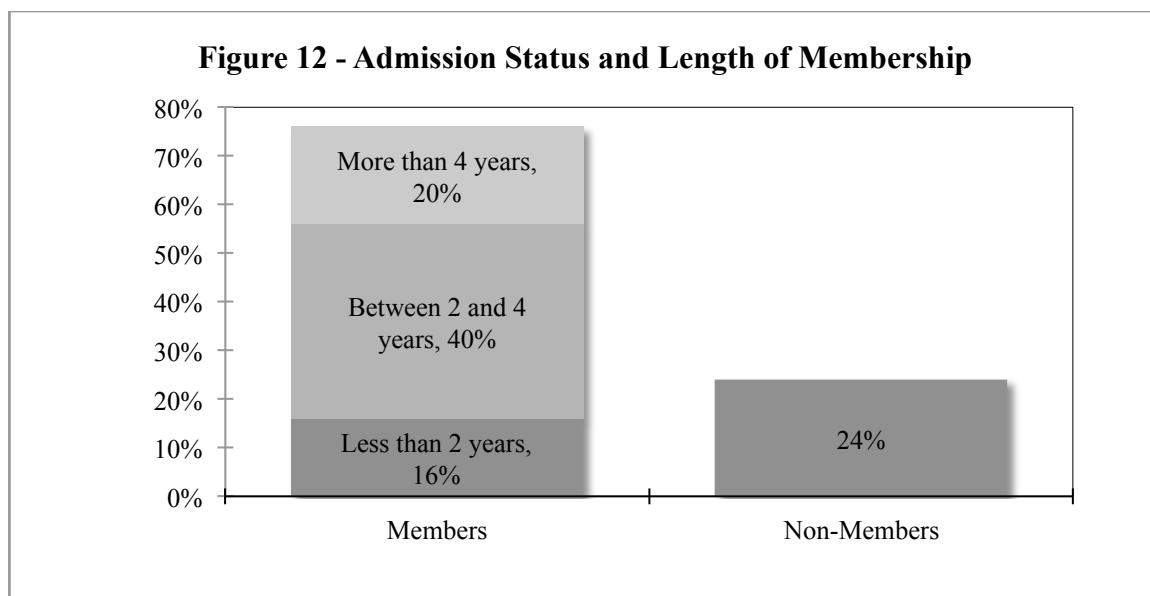
Table 25 shows the composition of the survey respondents.

Table 25 – Composition of Final Survey Respondents*			
		Number	Percent
Patron Type	RSL Clubs	103	12%
	SLSS Clubs	101	12%
	Bowls Clubs	106	13%
	Golf Clubs	103	12%
	Football Clubs	104	13%
	Multisports Clubs	102	12%
	Cultural Clubs	103	12%
	Recreational Clubs	106	13%
	All	828	100%
Gender	Male	492	59%
	Female	336	41%
	All	828	100%
Age	Young Adults (18-44 years)	340	41%
	Middle-Aged (45–65 years)	315	38%
	Seniors (66 years and over)	173	21%
	All	828	100%
Marital Status	Single	245	30%
	Married	367	44%
	Other	216	26%
	All	828	100%
Main Language	English	596	72%
	Other	232	28%
	All	828	100%
Level of Education	Year 12 or less	466	56%
	Post Year 12	362	44%
	All	828	100%
Employment Status	Not Working Now	197	24%
	Working Now	432	52%
	Other	199	24%
	All	828	100%

*Note the sampling limitation as discussed in Step 3 of Table 19 (Section 7.2.1.2)

The final sample had almost an equal number of club patrons from the eight club types that make up the community clubs industry in Queensland. However, there were slightly more males (59%) than females (41%) in the final sample. In terms of the age distribution, the largest group in the final sample was young adults (41%). Similarly, the largest group in terms of marital status was married at the time of the survey (44%). Almost three-quarters (72%) of club patrons indicated that English was their first language. A majority of club patrons (56%) were educated up to Year 12 and more than half (52%) were employed at the time of the survey. A detailed breakdown of the characteristics of the survey respondents by club types is given in Appendix J.

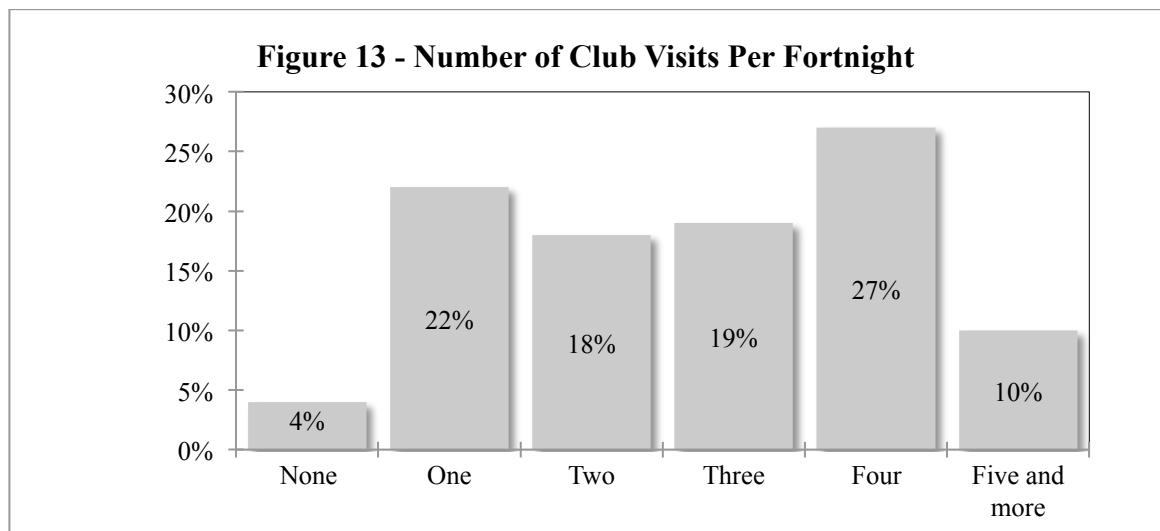
Figure 12 shows the admission (member versus non-member) status and length of membership of club patrons. Length of membership refers to the number of years a person has been a club member, while admission status refers to the type of club patrons as outlined in Table 2 (Chapter 4). Admission status can be broadly classified as members or others (who are, in effect, non-members). Community clubs check the admission status of people as they enter the club in order to comply with liquor laws that accord additional privileges to members (such as the ability to purchase takeaway alcohol). By implication, this scrutiny assists clubs to avoid possible breaches of the laws (for instance, they can identify guests of members or bona fide visitors and refrain from selling takeaway alcohol to them).



A majority of club patrons (76%, n = 631) visited community clubs as members. This was expected because community clubs cater predominantly for the recreational needs of their local communities and a person usually becomes a member if he or she lives within a 15 kilometre distance (by road) to the club. However, there was a marked difference in the length of membership held, with those holding club membership between 2 and 4 years (40%, n = 331) accounting for almost twice the number of those who held membership for less than 2 years (16%, n = 136) and more than 4 years (20%, n = 164). The non-member category (24%, n = 197) accounted for almost a quarter of patrons. This group includes guest of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons.

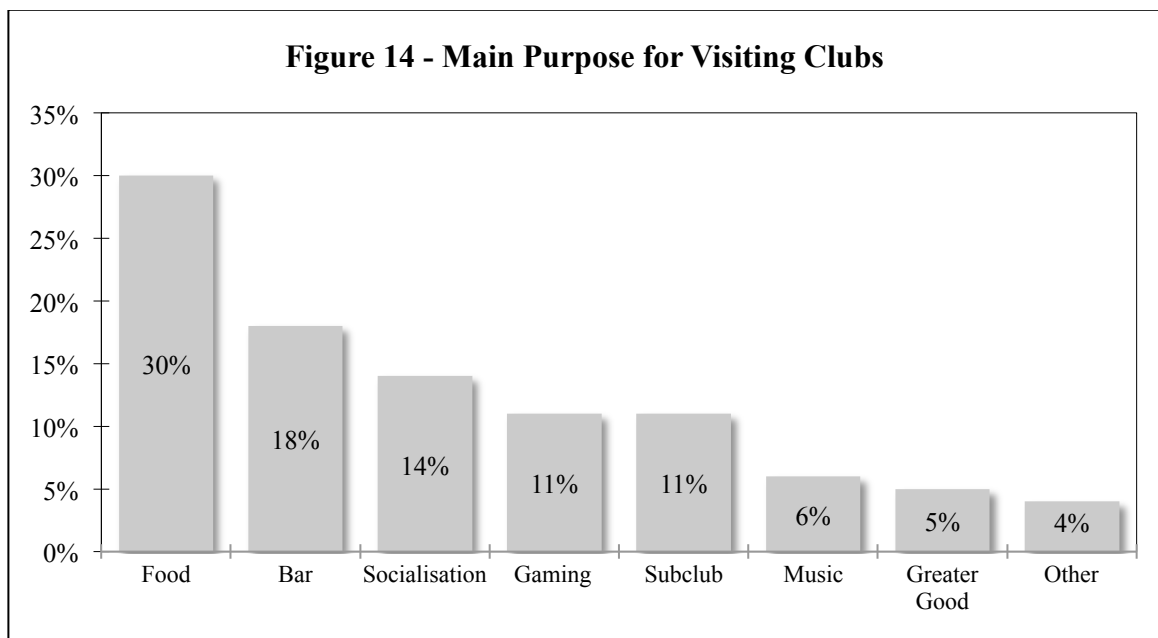
Put in another way, approximately one out of four respondents visited community clubs for recreation as a non-member. Given the high percentage of non-members, the inclusive term ‘club patron’ is used to describe all respondents. This was to capture anyone who was present at the club at the time of the survey.

Figure 13 shows the number of visits that the respondents made to community clubs in a typical fortnight (Mean = 2.16, Standard Deviation = 1.0). A typical fortnight is understood for the purpose of the study as any two-week period that is considered ‘normal’ by the respondents. The researcher took the view that only the respondents could determine what is considered ‘normal’ in their circumstances.



A majority of respondents (96%, n = 797) visited community clubs in a typical fortnight. Of these, more than a quarter of club patrons (27%, n = 223) visited community four times in a typical fortnight. In effect, 86% (n = 712) of club patrons visited community clubs between one and four times in a typical fortnight. Interestingly, 10% (n = 83) of club patrons visited community clubs five or more times in a typical fortnight, which is more than twice the number of club patrons who did not visit community clubs at all in a typical fortnight (4%, n = 31).

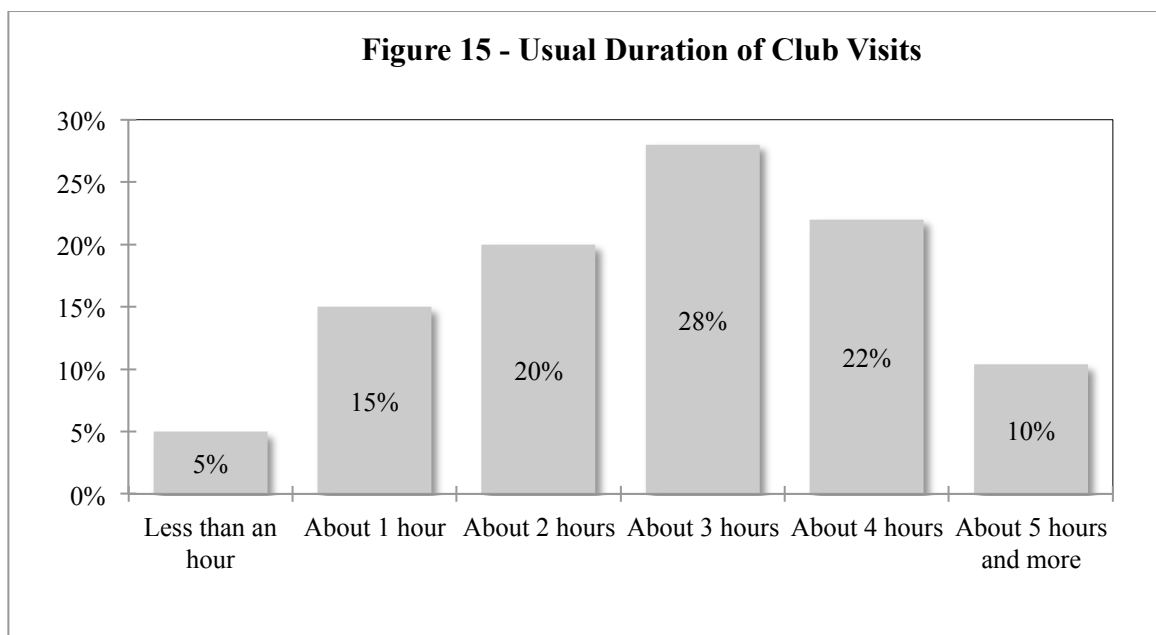
The respondents visited community clubs for a range of reasons. Figure 14 shows the main purpose that the respondents stated for visiting community clubs. The respondents could only choose one main reason for their visitation.



The top three reasons for visiting community clubs were for food (30%, n = 248), bar (18%, n = 147), and socialisation (14%, n = 118). However, almost twice the number of patrons visited community clubs for food than for bar. Interestingly, gaming was the fourth reason for club visitation (equal with subclub at 11%, n = 93). In this sense, it can be said that gaming and liquor do not dominate the main reasons for club visitation

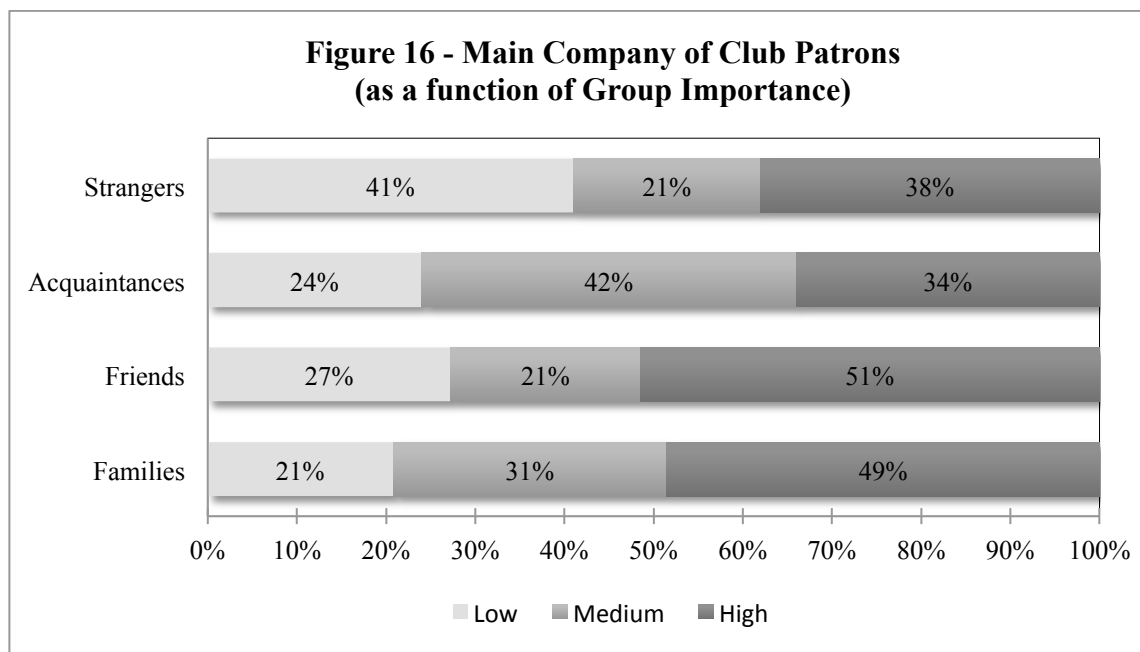
(which is a prelude to the discussion of the findings in the next chapter). The other category (4%, $n = 32$) predominantly included people visiting community clubs for functions.

Figure 15 shows the ‘usual’ duration of a visit to community clubs (Mean = 2.17, Standard Deviation = 0.96). A usual duration was understood as the typical time a respondent spent on the club premises. The usual duration is a function of a range of factors such as waiting time in the case of meal purchase.



A majority of club patrons (95%, $n = 790$) spent about an hour or more at the club, with more than a quarter spending about three hours (28%, $n = 234$). This was expected as many club services (such as participating in sports) take from one to three hours to complete. Interestingly, slightly more club patrons spent about 4 hours at the club (22%, $n = 185$), compared to about 2 hours at the club (20%, $n = 165$), which confirms the upward trend of time spent at the club from the initial one hour. The number of club patrons spending 5 hours and more (10%, $n = 79$) was double of those who spent less than 1 hour (5%, $n = 38$).

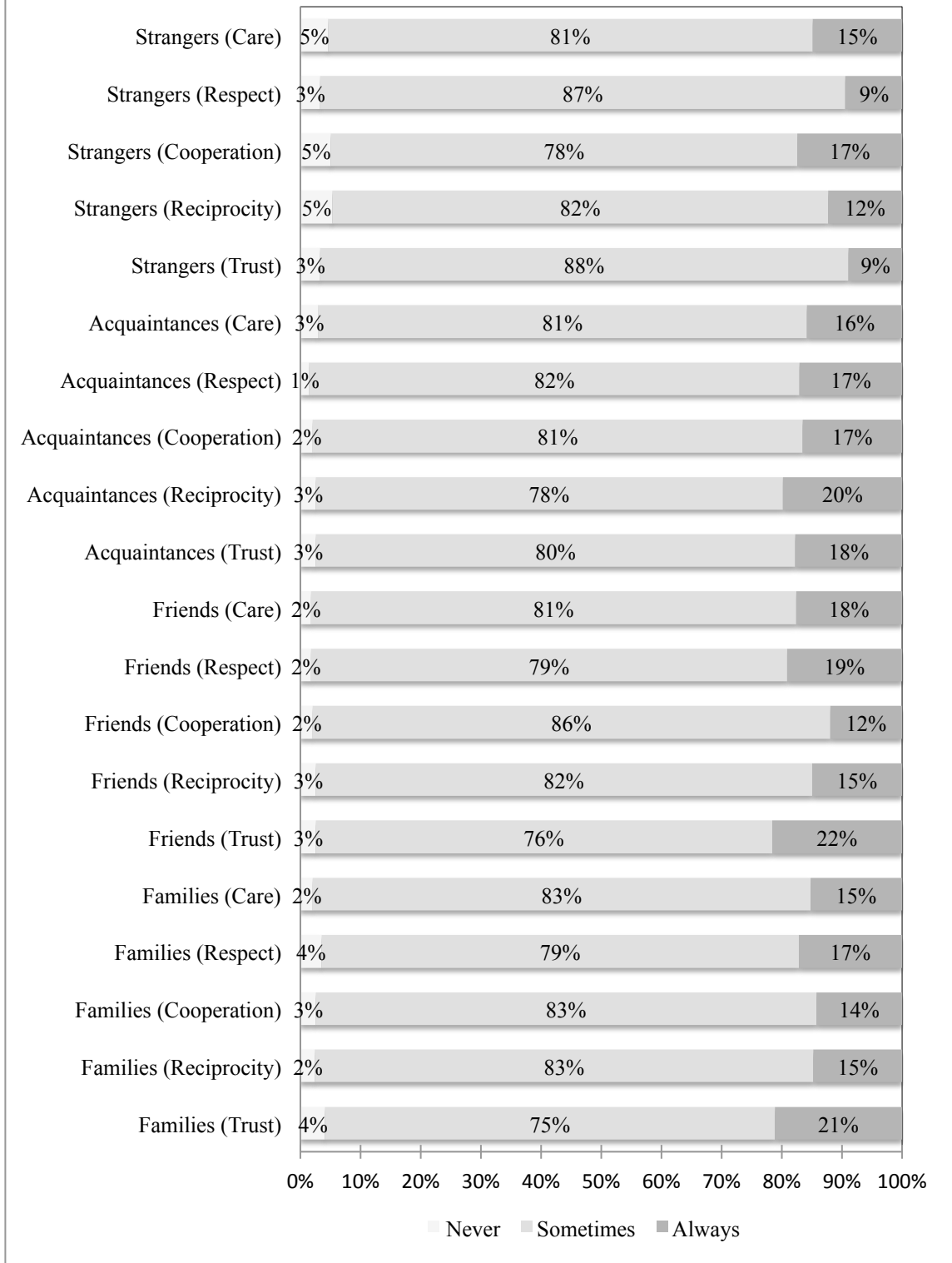
A club patron, on average, interacted with five other club patrons per visit to the community club. Figure 16 shows whether these five people were mostly families, friends, acquaintances, or strangers, based on the importance that club patrons placed on whom they interacted with the most at the club.



The most important company of club patrons was friends (51%, n = 423), followed by families (49%, n = 402), strangers (38%, n = 318), and acquaintances (34%, n = 282). Interestingly, acquaintances were of medium importance for most club patrons (42%, n = 345). Similarly, strangers were of low importance for most club patrons (41%, n = 340).

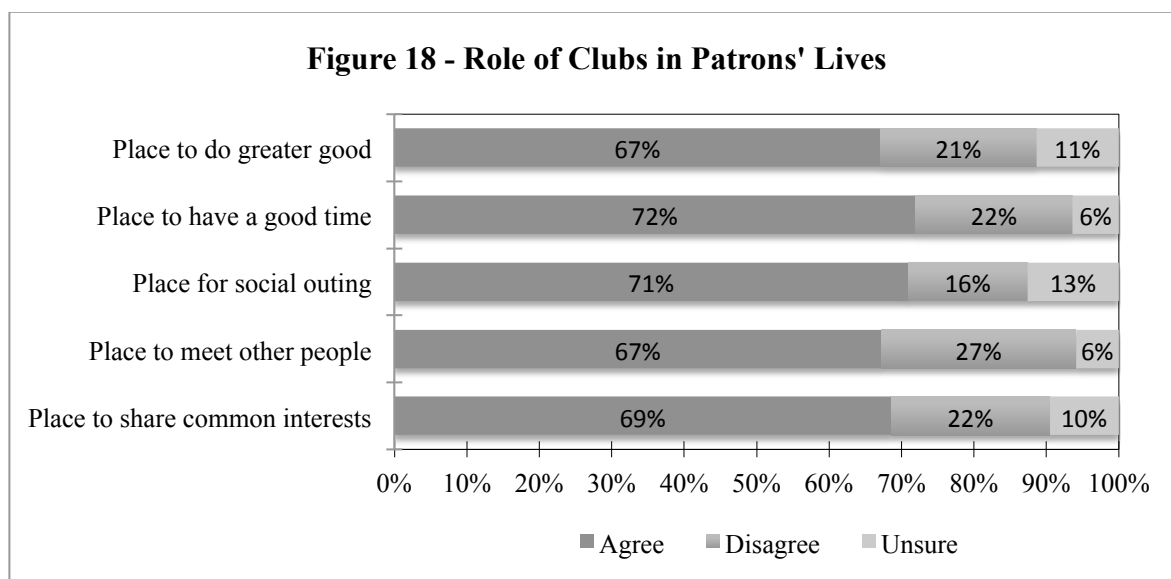
Figure 17 shows the qualities that club patrons attributed to each group of club patrons. These qualities were derived as a function of five relationship attributes. These were trust (do the right thing), reciprocity (return a favour), cooperation (work together), respect (being courteous), and care (look after each other). These attributes were related to families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers.

Figure 17 - Relationship Qualities of Club Patrons



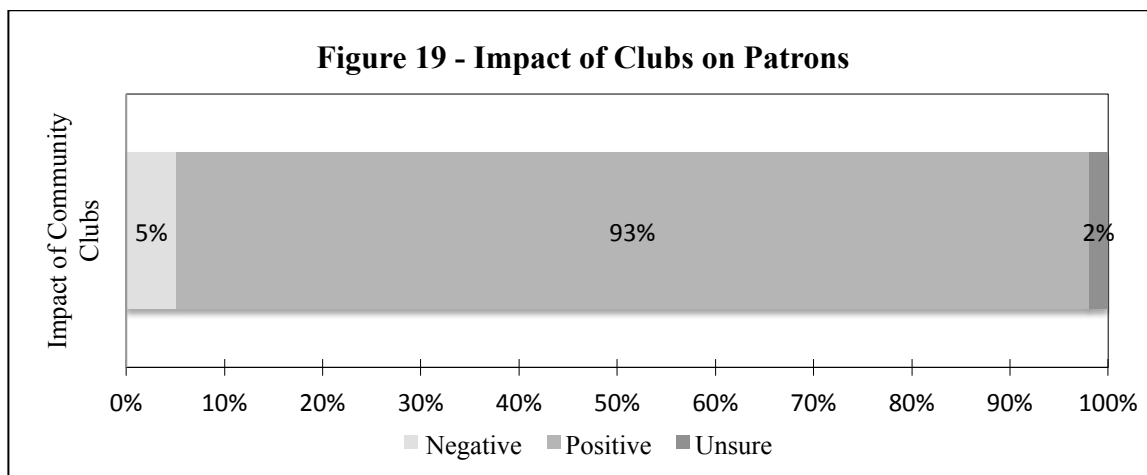
The relevant aspect of this figure is the ‘always’ rating because this rating is the absolute positive view of the dominant qualities associated with each group of club patrons. In terms of the ‘always’ rating, more people associated trust with friends (22%, n = 179), reciprocity with acquaintances (20%, n = 164), cooperation with acquaintances (17%, n = 137) and strangers (17%, n = 144), respect with friends (19%, n = 158), and care with friends (18%, n = 146). Interestingly, more people related three qualities (trust, respect and care) to friends, while they did not relate any highest ‘always’ rating to families. The ‘never’ rating was 5% or less across the qualities in all groups.

Figure 18 shows how patrons rated the role that community clubs played in their lives. The role of community clubs was derived as a function of how clubs met the recreational needs of club patrons. Five views of patrons were canvassed in this regard.



All five roles of community clubs were important to club patrons. However, most club patrons viewed clubs as a place to have a good time (72%, n = 596). Interestingly, a similar number of club patrons (71%, n = 589) also agreed with the closely related statement of clubs being a place for social outing. About a third of club patrons disagreed or were unsure with all statements. It appears that patrons who agreed with the statements viewed clubs more as social spaces, while those who disagreed or were unsure viewed clubs more as physical structures.

Figure 19 shows how club patrons rated the impact of community clubs on their lives.



A majority of club patrons (93%, $n = 770$) said that clubs had a positive impact on their lives. Only 5% ($n = 41$) of club patrons said that clubs had a negative impact on them. About 2% ($n = 17$) of club patrons were unsure.

8.2.2. Focus Group Discussions

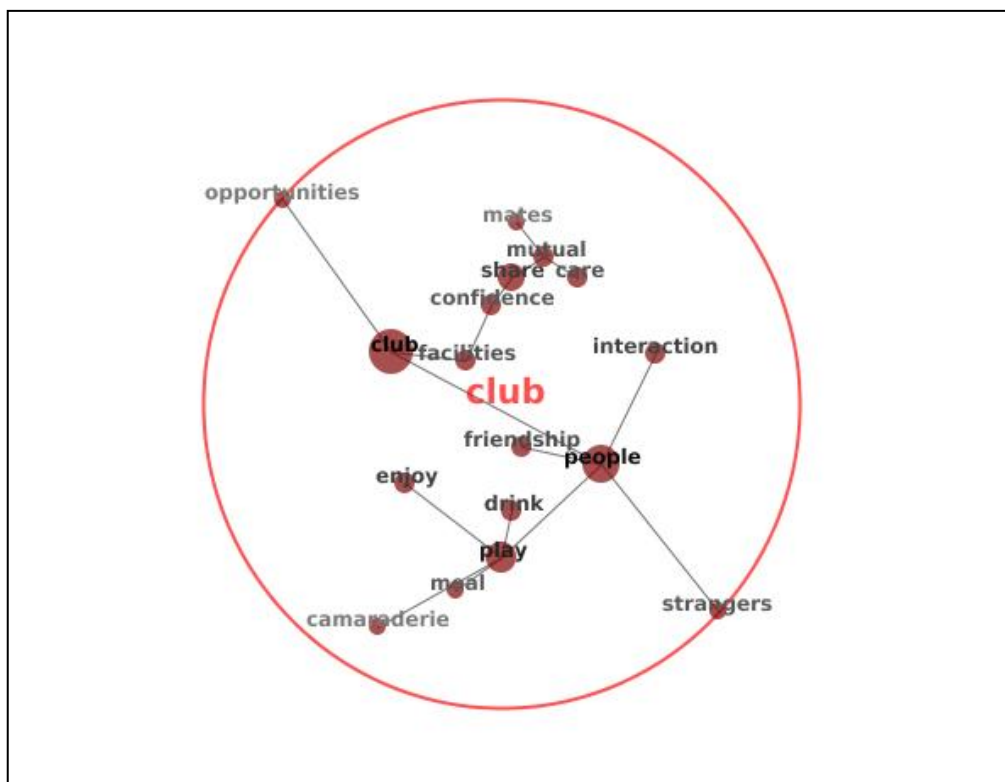
Two focus group discussions were conducted to extract qualitative information on club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The first group comprised of six club patrons and the second group comprised of six club officials (two volunteers, two employees, and two management committee members or board directors). As explained in section 7.2.2, participants were recruited from the eight club types in the sample of the survey questionnaire. The composition of the groups was designed in such a way that insights on social dynamics could be obtained from different parties associated with community clubs. The researcher's familiarity with the club industry made it possible to get this diverse group of people in one room.

A facilitator guided the discussions in the focus groups using a set of pre-determined questions (see Table 21 in Chapter 7). The discussions lasted approximately an hour for each focus group. The transcripts of both focus groups were combined because 'what was said' was considered more important than 'who said it' for the purpose of the study (see section 7.3.2). This approach also ensured the confidentiality and privacy of the focus group participants (see section 7.4.5).

The final transcript was subjected to thematic analysis using the data coding software, Leximancer. As explained in section 7.3.2, Leximancer carried out an automatic coding of the text into a ‘concept map’ that showed the main themes and their relationship with other themes. This coding was not based on the researcher’s judgement but on the deeper structures that the software detected in the text (thus, reducing subjectivity).

Figure 20 shows the concept map of the focus group discussions. The concept map can be interpreted as the ‘bigger picture’ and has been reiterated to represent club experience (as symbolised by the outermost circle). Located within club experience are various themes that can be associated with social capital. This is on the basis that social capital, for the purpose of the study, is an outcome of club experience, as per the Research Model (see section 1.3.2). Leximancer allowed this level of analysis because it does not treat concepts as just keywords; rather, it treats concepts as a collection of keywords that share similar thematic meaning based on proximity to each other throughout the text. The keywords then illustrate each theme.

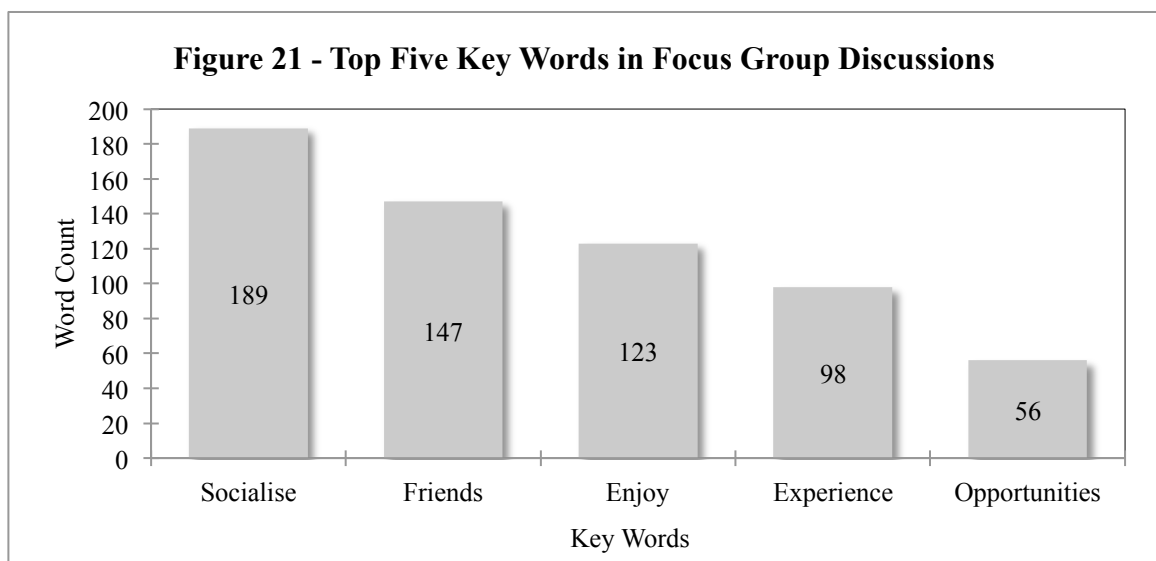
Figure 20 – Major Themes of Focus Group Discussions



It is apparent that club experience is a function of two nodes, ‘club’ and ‘people’, and the link that connects them, because they represent the strongest themes, as denoted by their respective sizes. This was expected because a club is a collection of its patrons. Together with other nodes and linkages, they provide pathways for expression of various social capital themes in the context of club experience.

The pathways can be understood as follows. The node ‘club’ refers to the use of facilities that build confidence with others. This node is connected to the node ‘share’ which emerges out of the use of facilities to encompass themes associated with caring and cooperation as in ‘looking after your mates’. The node ‘people’ refers to interactions with other patrons, with a specific link to strangers and gives rise to the node ‘play’ which refers to pursuit of recreational interests that result in camaraderie and enjoyment. Interestingly, the final outcomes, that of camaraderie and mates, were similar for both ‘club’ and ‘people’, which explain the explicit link between them.

A simple count of key words in the focus group transcript further illustrates the above link between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. Figure 21 shows the top five key words that emerged in the focus group discussions.



The key words locate social capital in the club experience of club patrons because they allude to clubs more as social and recreational hubs than ‘brick and mortar structures’. This is on the basis that clubs are spaces where patrons can socialise, meet or make friends, enjoy products or services on offer, have a good time (experience), and benefit from recreational opportunities that are available to them. In this regard, the key words illustrate the intrinsic value that patrons place on community clubs.

The above offers invaluable insights into the social world of community clubs, in particular the dynamism that exists between clubs and their patrons. This dynamism is one of mutual cooperation for products and services, as illustrated by the concept map above (Figure 20) and is shaped by the type of engagement that patrons have with clubs, as illustrated by the key words above (Figure 21). In other words, community clubs offer social spaces that define the types of experience that patrons have, which in turn shape their interactions with each other. Chapter 9 critically explores these dominant themes, using the conceptual tools of field, habitus, and social capital (as explained in section 3.4).

8.2.3. Consultations with Key Club Industry Stakeholders

Views of two key club industry stakeholders, OLGR and ClubsQld, were sought on the social operation of community clubs. As explained in sections 5.4 and 7.2.3, the former is the pre-eminent industry regulator and the latter is the pre-eminent peak industry representative body (and the researcher’s employer). Together, they exert significant influence on the operation of community clubs, which shapes the way community clubs interact with their members, guest of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons.

Comments from these two authorities suggest strong support for the operation of community clubs as mutual associations. The views of OLGR and ClubsQld are highlighted as part of the discussion of the findings in Chapter 9. As with the insights from the focus group discussions, views of OLGR and ClubsQld are also explored using the conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital.

8.3. Relationship Between Club Experience and Social Capital

The study conceptualised the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons using the Club Analytical Model (as outlined in Chapter 6). This modelling was warranted because of the absence of a measurement tool to measure club experience and the social capital of club patrons. In addition, club experience and social capital are multidimensional concepts and the measurement tool needs to reconcile their respective dimensions and indicators. As such, club experience and social capital were operationalised as composite constructs within the formative framework of the Club Analytical Model.

As explained in section 6.3.4, the composite scores of club experience and social capital were calculated as a function of the weightings of their respective dimensions and indicators. The scores were then converted to a five-point Likert scale for ease of interpretation. The Likert scale is as follows:

0 = Not important

1 = Slightly important

2 = Moderately important

3 = Very important

4 = Extremely important

The Likert scale is used in the figures below as X and Y axes labels.

8.3.1. Overall Correlation

Research Question 1 examined the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in order to address the first gap in knowledge identified in the Research Model in Chapter 1. As explained in Chapter 1, it is known anecdotally that club experience fosters social capital but there is a lack of a cohesive body of empirical evidence on the strength and direction of this relationship, which is

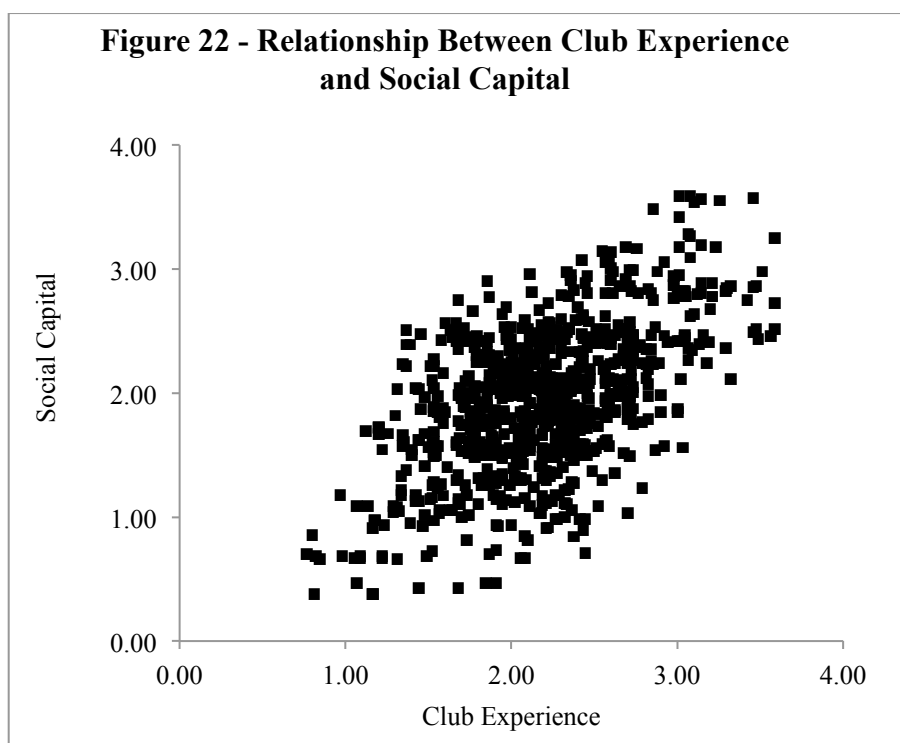
understood, for the purpose of the study, as social dynamics of community clubs. Hence, the study sought to offer an empirical understanding of this relationship.

Accordingly, Research Question 1 asks:

What is the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, bivariate linear correlation analysis using Pearson's r was performed on the composite scores of club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The result was interpreted at the probability (alpha) level of 0.05.

Figure 22 illustrates the relationship between club experience (Mean = 2.19, Standard Deviation = 0.50) and the social capital (Mean = 1.94, Standard Deviation = 0.58) of club patrons.



The result of the bivariate linear correlation analysis reveals a statistically significant and positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons,

$r(828) = 0.57, p < 0.001, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.52, 0.61]$. This indicates that there is a corresponding increase in the social capital of club patrons as their club experience increases, and vice-versa. The shared variance between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is approximately 32%, which is a strong association, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

8.3.2. Correlation by Club Types

Subsidiary Question 1a explored the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by club types. The study identified eight club types that make up the community clubs industry in Queensland: RSL Clubs, SLSS Clubs, Golf Clubs, Bowls Clubs, Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, Cultural Clubs, and Recreational Clubs. The relevance of this follow-up analysis was to see if the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons exhibited in different types of clubs because of the different foci of these clubs.

Accordingly, Subsidiary Question 1a asks:

How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of clubs?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, bivariate linear correlation analysis using Pearson's r was performed on the composite scores of club experience and the social capital of club patrons for the eight club types. The results were interpreted at a Sidak corrected probability (alpha) level of 0.006.

Table 26 summaries the results of the bivariate linear correlation analysis between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by club types.

Table 26 – Relationship Between Club Experience and Social Capital by Club Types							
Club Types	Variable	n	Mean	Standard Deviation	r	p	95% CI
RSL Clubs	Club Experience	103	1.99	0.56	0.59	0.001	[0.45, 0.70]
	Social Capital		1.78	0.60			
SLSS Clubs	Club Experience	101	2.27	0.51	0.62	0.001	[0.48, 0.73]
	Social Capital		1.92	0.61			
Bowls Clubs	Club Experience	106	2.29	0.56	0.63	0.001	[0.5, 0.73]
	Social Capital		1.98	0.56			
Golf Clubs	Club Experience	103	2.25	0.48	0.65	0.001	[0.52, 0.75]
	Social Capital		1.96	0.57			
Football Clubs	Club Experience	104	2.01	0.46	0.48	0.001	[0.32, 0.62]
	Social Capital		1.80	0.55			
Multisports Clubs	Club Experience	102	2.25	0.38	0.49	0.001	[0.33, 0.63]
	Social Capital		1.94	0.62			
Cultural Clubs	Club Experience	103	2.21	0.43	0.53	0.001	[0.37, 0.65]
	Social Capital		2.08	0.57			
Recreational Clubs	Club Experience	106	2.24	0.52	0.47	0.001	[0.31, 0.61]
	Social Capital		2.03	0.55			

Note: $\alpha = 0.006$

The result of the bivariate linear correlation analysis reveals a statistically significant and positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in all club types. This indicates that there is a corresponding increase in the social capital of club patrons as their club experience increases, and vice-versa, in all club types. While the correlation coefficients range from 0.47 to 0.65, test of equality shows that the difference is not statistically significant among them ($p = 0.45$, $\alpha = 0.05$). This means that club experience and the social capital of club patrons correlate in a similar way across the eight club types.

Although club experience and the social capital of club patrons correlate in a similar way across the eight club types, the effect size of each association is not consistent

across the eight club types. The bivariate linear correlation analysis shows that the association between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is stronger or weaker depending on the club type (even though all of them are statistically significant and positive correlations). The association between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is strong for all club types, except Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, and Recreational Clubs, where it is moderate, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

8.3.3. Correlation by Club Activities

Subsidiary Question 1b explored the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by club activities. The study identified eight club activities: gaming, food, bar, subclub, music, socialisation, greater good, and other (open category). The relevance of this follow-up analysis was to see if the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons exhibited when club patrons engage in a variety of activities offered by clubs for recreation.

Accordingly, Subsidiary Question 1b asks:

How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of club activities?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, bivariate linear correlation analysis using Pearson's r was performed on the composite scores of club experience and the social capital of clubs patrons for the eight club activities. The results were interpreted at a Sidak corrected probability (alpha) level of 0.006.

Table 27 summaries the results of the bivariate linear correlation analysis between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by club activities.

Table 27 – Relationship Between Club Experience and Social Capital by Club Activities							
Club Activities	Variable	n	Mean	Standard Deviation	r	p	95% CI
Gaming	Club Experience	93	2.26	0.50	0.55	0.001	[0.39, 0.68]
	Social Capital		1.80	0.58			
Food	Club Experience	248	2.24	0.51	0.56	0.001	[0.47, 0.64]
	Social Capital		1.99	0.59			
Bar	Club Experience	147	2.19	0.56	0.66	0.001	[0.56, 0.74]
	Social Capital		1.99	0.59			
Subclub	Club Experience	93	2.19	0.41	0.55	0.001	[0.39, 0.68]
	Social Capital		2.01	0.45			
Music*	Club Experience	53	2.12	0.43	0.45	0.001	[0.21, 0.64]
	Social Capital		1.92	0.42			
Socialisation	Club Experience	118	2.09	0.50	0.54	0.001	[0.40, 0.66]
	Social Capital		1.80	0.65			
Greater Good*	Club Experience	44	2.14	0.46	0.54	0.001	[0.29, 0.72]
	Social Capital		1.93	0.59			
Other*	Club Experience	32	2.12	0.49	0.58	0.001	[0.29, 0.77]
	Social Capital		1.95	0.64			

Note: $\alpha = 0.006$

*should be interpreted with caution because of the small sample size

The result of the bivariate linear correlation analysis reveals a statistically significant and positive correlation between club experience and the social capital of club patrons for all club activities. This indicates that there is a corresponding increase in the social capital of club patrons as their club experience increases, and vice-versa, in all club activities. While the coefficients range from 0.45 to 0.66, test of equality shows that the difference is not statistically significant among them ($p = 0.68$, $\alpha = 0.05$). This means that club experience and the social capital of club patrons correlate in a similar way across the eight club activities.

Although club experience and the social capital of club patrons correlate in a similar way across the eight club activities, the effect size of each association is not consistent

across the eight club activities. The bivariate linear correlation analysis shows that the effect size of the association between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is stronger or weaker depending on the club activity (even though all of them are statistically significant and positive correlations). The effect size of the association between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is strong for all club activities, except music, where it is moderate, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

8.4. Group Difference on Club Experience and Social Capital

Guided by the Club Analytical Model (as outlined in Chapter 6), the study examined group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in order to inform the findings of Research Question 1. The Club Analytical Model reconciles the multidimensional nature of club experience and the social capital of club patrons through their composite scores. The composite scores are based on a formative measurement framework, as they are a function of the weightings of the respective dimensions and indicators of club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The composite scores of club experience and social capital are interrogated to ascertain if group difference exists on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

As with Research Question 1, the composite scores of club experience and the social capital of club patrons can be interpreted on a 5 point Likert scale. The Likert scale was developed for ease of interpretation as follows:

0 = Not important

1 = Slightly important

2 = Moderately important

3 = Very important

4 = Extremely important

The Likert scale is used in the figures below as X and Y axes labels.

8.4.1. Overall Group Difference

Research Question 2 explored group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, in order to address the second gap in knowledge identified in the Research Model in Chapter 1. As explained in Chapter 1, it is unknown how group difference affects the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. Hence, the study sought to offer an empirical understanding of group difference that would inform the understanding of social dynamics of community clubs (as obtained in Research Question 1).

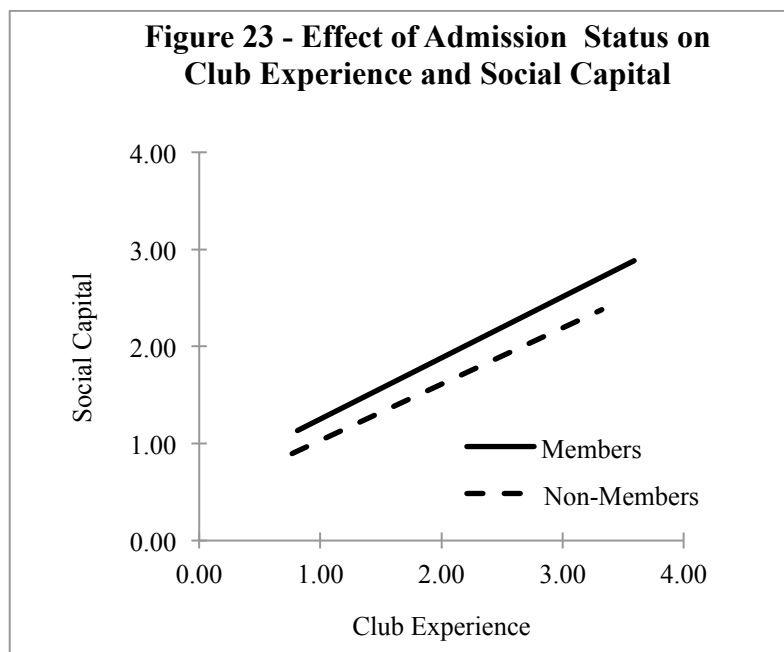
The overall group difference was interpreted by the researcher as the effect of admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The distinction between members and non-members is critical in club operation because clubs must exist for the collective benefit of their members, as per their wishes enshrined in the club rules or constitution. Benefits to non-members who can be guests of members, bona fide visitors, and other defined persons is an ancillary function of this objective. This makes the difference between members and non-members paramount in the context of community clubs (which is alluded in the constitutional clause presented at the beginning of the dissertation).

Accordingly, Research Question 2 asks:

What is the overall group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, group difference based on the admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons was assessed on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons using linear regression in a general linear model setup. The result was interpreted at a probability (α) level of 0.05.

Figure 23 shows the overall group difference, based on the admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons, on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons.



The result of linear regression analysis reveals that the admission (member versus non-member) status of club patrons has a statistically significant effect on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, $F(1,798) = 107.47$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.12$, 95% CI [0.08, 0.16]. While higher club experience is positively associated with higher social capital (and vice versa) of club patrons, the statistically significant difference due to the admission (member versus non-member) status means that members have higher club experience and higher social capital compared to non-members. The effect of admission (member versus non-member) status on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is moderate, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

Given the statistically significant result on admission (member versus non-member) status on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, a preliminary analysis was conducted to ascertain the overall trend across the eight club

types and eight club activities for these two groups. This was done cautiously, given the small sample size of non-members for some club types and club activities. It is interesting that the above finding is evident in each club type and club activity, as members consistently had higher club experience and higher social capital compared to non-members for each club type and club activity.

8.4.2. Group Difference by Socio-demographic Factors

Research Question 2a explored group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by six socio-demographic factors. The factors are gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment. The relevance of this follow-up analysis was to see if these factors affected the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, given that club patrons may internalise club experience and social capital differently based on these factors.

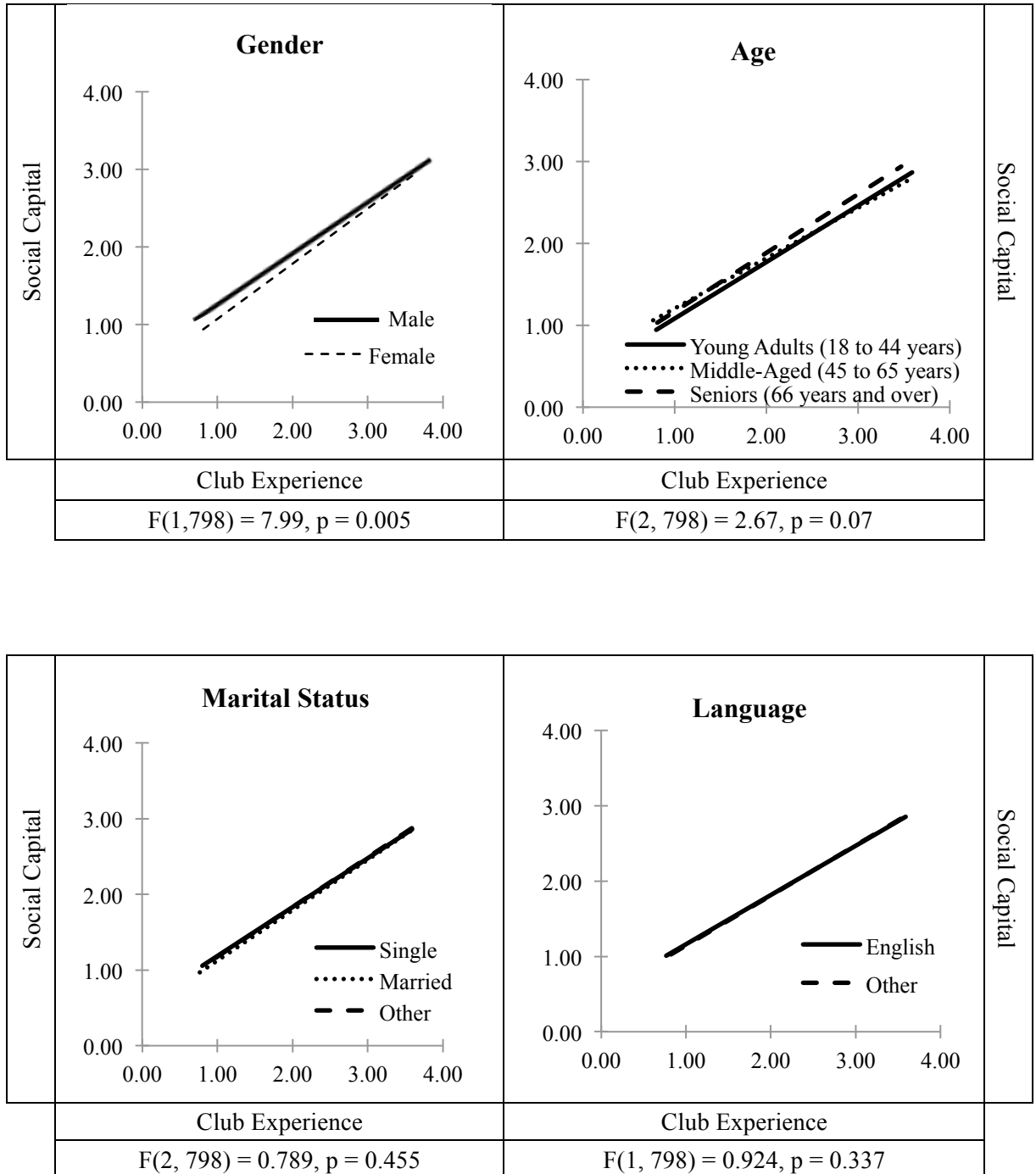
Accordingly, Subsidiary Research Question 2a asks:

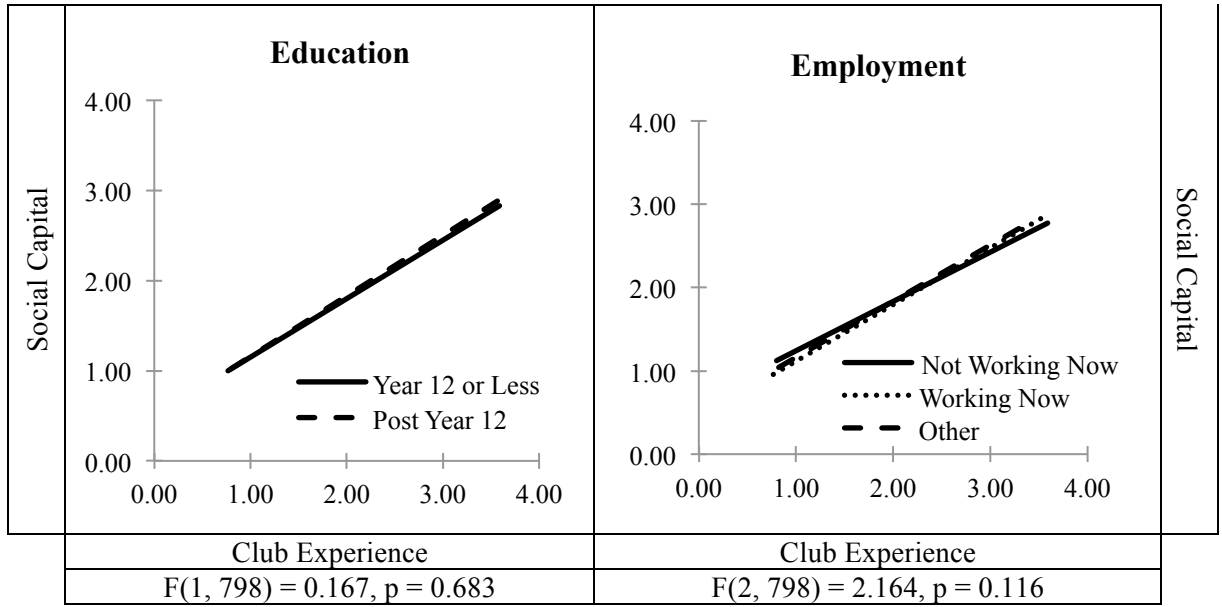
How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by selected socio-demographic factors?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, group difference based on socio-demographic factors of gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment was assessed on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons using linear regression in a general linear model setup. The result was interpreted at a probability (α) level of 0.05.

Figure 24 shows group difference, based on socio-demographic factor of gender, age, marital status, language, education, and employment, on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons.

Figure 24 – Effect of Socio-demographic Factors on Club Experience and Social Capital





The result of linear regression analysis reveals that none of the socio-demographic factors, except gender, had a statistically significant effect on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, $F(1,798) = 7.99, p = 0.005, \eta^2 = 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.01, 0.03]$. While higher club experience is positively associated with higher social capital (and vice versa) in all cases, the statistically significant difference due to gender means that males have higher club experience and higher social capital compared to females. The effect of gender on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is, however, negligible, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

8.4.3. Group Difference by Length of Association with Community Clubs

Subsidiary Question 2b explored group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by the length of association with community clubs. Length of association with community clubs is the length of time a person has been associated with community clubs: short-term (less than 1 year), medium-term (between 1 and 3 years), and long-term (more than 3 years). The relevance of this follow-up analysis was to see if the length of association with community clubs affected the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons,

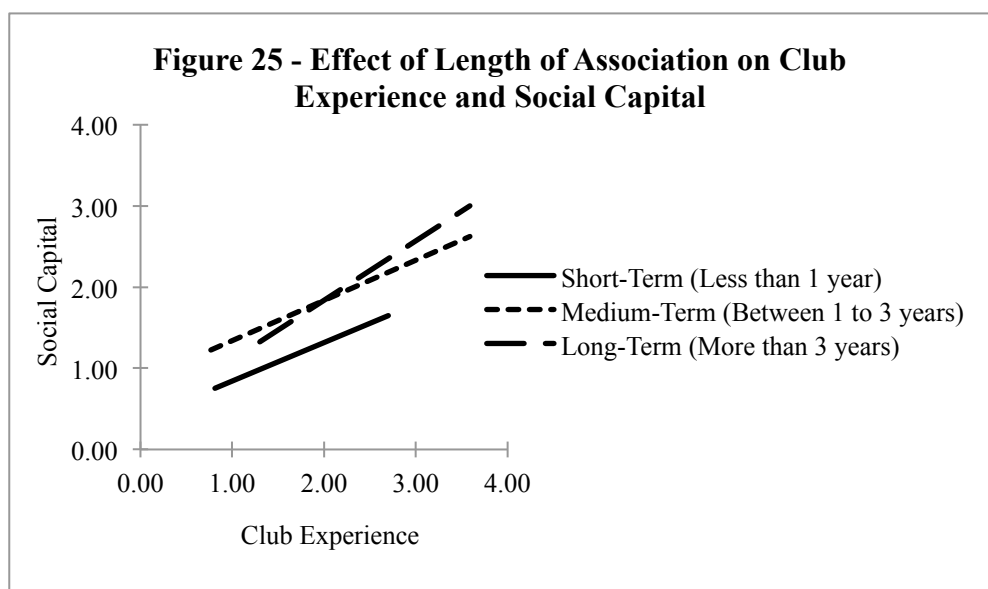
given that the period of association with community clubs may influence club patrons' affinity with community clubs.

Accordingly, Subsidiary Research Question 2b asks:

How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by the length of association with community clubs?

After checking that the data met parametric assumptions, group difference, based on the length of association with community clubs, was assessed on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons using linear regression in a general linear model setup. The result was interpreted at a probability (α) level of 0.05.

Figure 25 shows group difference, based on the length of association with community clubs, on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons.



The result of linear regression analysis reveals that the length of association with community clubs had a statistically significant effect on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, $F(4,798) = 61.43$, $p = 0.001$, eta squared = 0.24, 95% CI [0.19, 0.29]. While higher club experience is positively associated with higher social capital (and vice versa) in all cases, the statistically

significant difference due to the length of association with community clubs has resulted in an interaction of club experience with length of association with community clubs to produce different outcomes for social capital in each case. As such, the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is strongest for people who have a long-term association with community clubs but is similar for people who have a short-term and a medium-term association with community clubs (though higher club experience and social capital is associated with medium-term association over short-term association with community clubs). The effect of length of association with community clubs on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is moderate, as per the effect size guide for community clubs (Table 24 in Chapter 7).

8.5. Summary

The findings of the study offer a cohesive body of empirical evidence on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. There is a strong positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, which is evident in all club types, except Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, and Recreational Clubs, where it manifests moderately and in all club activities, except music, where it manifests moderately as well. In addition, there is significant group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons based on admission (member versus non-member) status, gender, and length of association with community clubs. The effect sizes, however, show that the group difference is moderate for admission (member versus non-member) status and length of association with community clubs but negligible for gender. There is no statistically significant group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons that can be attributed to age, marital status, language, education, and employment of club patrons. In all cases, an increase in club experience is related to an increase in social capital (and vice versa) for club patrons. The next chapter integrates the quantitative and qualitative findings using insights from the focus group discussions and consultations with key club industry stakeholders using Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital.

Deconstructing Club Experience and Social Capital

The magic of club is like this, when I walk in, I feel it's a bit different.

Focus Group Participant (Club Member)

9.1. Introduction

This chapter draws on insights from the focus group discussions and key club industry stakeholders to integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings on club experience and the social capital of club patrons using Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital. It begins by locating the findings in the field of club operation. It then explains the findings in terms of the habitus contained in the club experience of club patrons. The chapter ends by relating the findings to capital in order to understand how club patrons use social capital as a resource in the pursuit and promotion of their common interests. Consistent with the explanatory design of mixed methods, the chapter harnesses the explanatory power of field, habitus, and capital in the framework of mutuality but this is done in a broader sense that goes beyond Bourdieu to ensure practical applicability to community clubs.

9.2. The Field of Club Operation

A community club can be considered as an individual field of operation because each club venue is completely separate from another club venue. Each club, therefore, is a unique social space within the constraints of its physical boundaries. This is unlike other fields such as education or science where the physical boundaries do not exist in relation to the designated space.

The field of a community club is governed by rules and traditions. Rules and traditions shape not only the nature of the social environment but the forces that act on this social environment, which, in turn, determine club patrons' access to power and resources

contained in the field. As such, rules and traditions influence the relationship between club patrons and between club patrons and the community club.

The field of a community club can be understood in many ways and at many levels. The two perspectives that offer the most insights, for the purpose of the study, are the type of social reality imposed by the field on club patrons and the purpose and level of engagement that the field offers to club patrons. These two dominant ways have the effect of shaping the culture of community clubs.

9.2.1. Social Reality

At the foremost for understanding the field of a community club is the notion that a community club imposes a certain social reality that defines the social environment available to club patrons. This is statistically confirmed by the findings of the study, which show a strong or moderate positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons in all club types and all club activities. The findings show that greater club experience is associated with greater social capital. As captured in the words of a focus group participant, this means a perception with the following effect: “The magic of club is like this, when I walk in, I feel it’s a bit different”.

The social reality is defined in behavioural terms in community clubs. This is because it is continually structured by rules and traditions. Rules and traditions include, for example, a written code in the form of the dress standards that is displayed at the reception, or the unwritten rule of taking responsibility for one’s actions such as not being disorderly towards other patrons, or the convention of standing up as a mark of respect when the Ode of Remembrance (Appendix B) is observed in RSL Clubs. The effect is that rules and traditions guide behaviour of club patrons.

Club patrons must comply with these rules and traditions; they do not have a choice, as a significant breach of these norms means they could be asked to leave the premises or be removed from the premises using reasonable force, if necessary. If the matter is

escalated, they then risk losing membership of the club (if they are members) or denied re-entry (in the case of non-members). “The point is”, as a focus group participant explains, “that clubs create an environment of cooperation, share and care, and looking after your mates”.

The social reality has a conditioning effect on club patrons. As one focus group participant points out: “It’s not all about winning or losing. It’s about the camaraderie that comes with being together”. This internalising effect benefits patrons, as well as clubs: “Clubs look after their members. It’s about making sure they come back every day if possible”. It also functions to reinforce the social reality of clubs as associations of people coming together to pursue and promote their common interests – a finding that was clearly illustrated with an overwhelming positive role that club patrons thought clubs played in their lives.

The social reality of community clubs makes cooperative behaviour appear natural and logical. While this is contrary to Bourdieu’s thinking (which is located in class struggle), it is a desirable outcome for community clubs in terms of maintaining the stability of the field because it fosters the club culture of meeting the collective interests of members. The findings, therefore, show strong support of clubs meeting a range of recreational outcomes in the lives of club patrons.. The culture of community clubs is then based on how effectively they can accommodate their patrons’ common interests.

The social reality aspects of community came through as one of the strongest themes in the feedback from OLGR. OLGR interpreted the social reality of community clubs as per the “primary purpose” of clubs, as stated in the laws, which is that clubs provide facilities to their members. The social reality, through the primary purpose, was regulated through “policy, licensing and compliance”.

This view was complemented by ClubsQld, which stated that clubs cannot exist for anyone other than their members. All facilities and services then “converge to meet this need”. The social reality, according to ClubsQld, was an extension of this ethos.

This social reality, based on behavioral controls and ethos of operation, certainly aligns with the framework of community clubs as entities that exist for the collective benefit of their members. This aspect is captured by the constitutional clause presented at the start of the dissertation that “No member shall be entitled to any benefit or advantage from the club that is not shared equally by every member thereof...”. The clubs resources are for all members and, in turn, the club expects all members to respect each other and the club entity. In other words, competition for resources is seen in a framework of cooperation.

9.2.2. Purpose and Engagement

Perhaps the most obvious translation of the findings in the field of a community club is the question of the purpose of the field and how the field engages with club patrons. According to another focus group participant:

The reasons you go to a club - you come here to play a sport, you come here to meet all the people because you'll be playing with them or against them. If you go to the community club, you also go to play a pokie or have a drink or meet other people. You don't go to chat and form friendships necessarily but you go there for a specific reason and that may be part of it.

The purpose of community club is specific to each patron and creates the reason for the existence of the community club for that patron. The purpose is designed to maximise engagement with the field for the patron.

Community clubs create this purpose through the opportunities they offer to club patrons. The opportunities presented in clubs are various. They include gaming, bar, food, subclub, socialisation, music, doing greater good, and other (such as attending events such as weddings or birthday parties). As the findings suggest, these opportunities are seen as an integral part of visiting community clubs.

The purpose of the field manifests at several levels. As a focus group respondent explains:

Well, it opens up a new doorway, doesn't it, to come to a club. You do learn a sport or do other things and whether you want to get to the top of the ladder or just be a social member, it gives you those opportunities. As you get older, it's good to have this outlet where you can enjoy yourself. It's good to look forward to that at the end of the week, which if people didn't have, they probably wouldn't do anything, I suppose. So it gives you that and it's keeping you fit in mind and body, I think.

There is then an intrinsic logic in the purpose of the field that manifests to meet the needs of club patrons.

Engagement with the field through participation in club activities is not rigidly determined because club patrons are free to choose which activities provide the best recreational experience for them. It comes down to personal taste and pre-existing skills in some cases such as sporting talent. Club patrons may also decide to learn new skills and participate in new activities. The chosen activities are then harnessed for maximum enjoyment by club patrons who have obtained expertise in them.

The social outcomes of participation are not the same, though, as each activity can be considered as a subfield on its own. In the case of sports, one of the focus group participant remarks:

Yeah, bowls is definitely more social than golf because you are mixing with 40 or 50 people for quite a few hours and then you come back. Then you go off in other groups depending on what else you have planned. All together, you all go out together and you come back together.

The subfields have their own logic but also embrace the logic of the field. Thus, rules and traditions of the club apply to subclub activities as well.

The dangers of the subfield culture are obvious. As one focus group participant points out, subfield may work “in the reverse too”, in that “people get too involved in their own groups at the expense of the wider group”. This may lead to the formation of clique groups. Another focus group participant reinforced this theme: “Yes, clique groups because of the tendency to only interact with the people you are familiar with, and many times this does happen”.

The drivers shaping the purpose of the field then converge to the dominant theme of “getting involved in the place”. This involvement is at the social level: “I feel comfortable because others share my interests and I share their interests. It makes us friends and partners”.

9.3. Habitus in Club Experience

Club experience can be explained as an expression of the habitus of club patrons. This is on the basis that club experience advocates certain values that are embraced by club patrons if they are to effectively operate in the field of a club. Habitus is then the accumulation of past and present experiences that assist club patrons to make sense of the social world of clubs. Put in another way, the field shapes the habitus by the experience it offers to agents.

Habitus functions at the conscious, as well as the subconscious, levels to influence the actions of club patrons in the pursuit of their common interests. It determines what club patrons could or could not do. However, a person is not necessarily a slave of the habitus because the habitus can be challenged upon reflection but this is rarely achieved as past experiences strongly impact on it. Perhaps the best example of this in community clubs is the notion: “We’ve always done it this way” – a predisposition that is often too difficult to challenge, unless there are compelling reasons (such as a severe risk of liability) to act otherwise.

Habitus relates to shared meaning and socialisation. While shared meaning and socialisation enrich habitus, the habitus is not fixed in time. It is constantly evolving as it gets exposed to new experiences. This may either reinforce or modify existing dispositions of club patrons. Club patrons adjust their views of the social world of community clubs accordingly.

9.3.1. Shared Meaning

The habitus of club patrons operates through the shared meaning of clubs as social institutions. It links club patrons to the field of clubs, as illustrated by statements such as a club is a place for social outing or a club is a place to have a good time. The shared meaning builds affinity with club patrons in the sense that for some club patrons, the community club is like their “bigger family”. “It’s my club”, as a focus group participant points out.

The shared meaning that underpins habitus of club patrons has far reaching consequences. This aspect clearly comes through in the words of another focus group participant:

Every week, you meet different people and you get to know them. You have a drink and a bit of a ‘yap’. This happens all the time. Within a year, you know a lot more people. It’s doesn’t generally matter who they are; you just tend to know them more than before.

This alludes to the notion that the effect of the habitus in the field of a community club is often more pronounced than the habitus itself. As another focus group participant remarks: “When you walk in, you always get a few waves from here and there acknowledging your presence”.

The habitus is both a source of similarity, as well as difference, because the social world of community clubs regulates it. Statistical findings show that the difference relates to gender. Although this can be interpreted as males acquiring greater social capital than females as their club experience increases, the group difference is negligible. The

similarity relates to other group factors such as age, marital status, education, employment, and language. It appears that the habitus of club patrons managed to transcend these factors to eliminate the difference, or in the words of a focus group participant:

You don't tend to know much about a new person, other than the most obvious. You don't know what he likes or dislikes, how he came to the club, what he did outside the club etc. etc. You just accept him as he is. It's better to have open arms than close them.

ClubsQld reinforced this theme by stating that "clubs do not discriminate" and using the example of sport illustrated it as follows:

Certainly, sport transcends gender and age and is an obvious way for members to interact with one another, make new friends and generally gain confidence. Bare foot bowls, which is much less formal than the traditional game is enjoyed by more and more young people who are encouraged to take up the sport.

ClubsQld stressed that clubs promote freedom for members to take up any interest as long as they act within the policies of the club.

The affinity established in the field transcends the physical boundaries of the field to exist in the minds of club patrons because club patrons tend to recognise the meaning that community clubs bring into their lives. This is mostly at the personal level. One expression is in the sense of belonging, as highlighted by a focus group participant:

Well if you didn't enjoy being here - there's no compulsion to be here. If you didn't enjoy being here, you probably would not come here. I guess that's pretty succinct, but it's probably right. There's absolutely no compulsion to come here. In fact, it costs money so that's a negative, if you like. You're not being paid to be here, but the payment you get is within yourself, I suppose, as your enjoyment.

The sense of belonging is clearly linked to common interest outcomes, which shape the shared meaning that club patrons place on community clubs.

The shared meaning in the field of a community club is important for the optimal functioning of clubs. This is because community clubs, by definition, are a group of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests. The shared meaning defines the physical and symbolic transactions that take place between clubs and their patrons.

9.3.2. Socialisation

Socialisation in the field of a community club actively shapes habitus of club patrons. The focus group participants alluded to the fact that it is very rare for a person to come to the club and not interact at all, as “clubs are social environments” and “you cannot easily avoid talking with each other”. The effect is that “you meet all sorts of people and become friends or know them vaguely, to put it that way”.

The more socialisation a club patron has, the more impact it has on the habitus. Statistical findings show that members acquired greater social capital from their club experience than non-members. In addition, people who have associated with community clubs for a long period (more than 3 years) had the sharpest increase in their social capital. Habitus then becomes second nature. As a focus group participant explains:

You're having fun at the pokies or bar and you say something wrong. Everyone in the group knows you and you get heckled, because we all do it. You don't care if you get heckled because next time it might be him that does it and he's going to cop it back from you and others. That's part of the fun. It's something I look forward to.

Habitus is the socialising agent. It helps club patrons fit in the culture of the club or be a misfit. Most, if not all, club patrons 'fit in' because rules and traditions applicable to the club compel them to do so. As a focus group participant explains:

There's not too many people in the club that you don't like. No, there isn't. You get occasional ones that 'stir' the people up, but other than that, it's great. It's really good.

When rules and traditions are not explicit, club patrons learn by acquiring a feel of what is acceptable or unacceptable. “You go to a club to have fun. Why would you want to spoil that?” a focus group participant said. As explained above, club patrons do not have a choice in this regard because a significant breach of the rules and traditions may cause the club to take action that may result in suspension or termination of their membership or refusal of entry (in the case of non-members).

Both OLGR and ClubsQld relate this aspect of club operation to liability. Clubs must ensure no laws are breached by patrons while on the club premises. Given that ClubsQld is the peak industry association and has a vested interest in ensuring the stability of the industry, it goes further to state that clubs should not hesitate to suspend or terminate membership of disorderly patrons. ClubsQld stressed that “this must be done as per the club rules or constitution”.

Most importantly, habitus is a source of reproduction. Community clubs shape behaviour of club patrons, which, in turn, shapes community clubs through the shared habitus of club patrons. This is aptly illustrated by a focus group participant as follows:

I think the main thing is the friendship that you get by getting involved in the place to meet people. You do meet some wonderful people. You play sports, have a drink, enjoy a meal, watch entertainment, and much more. If you like to go that way, it’s a good way to work together to try and improve the services for the whole group. The club needs you as much as you need the club.

Habitus then relates structure to agency and vice versa in community clubs. It builds allegiance, as one focus group participant explains:

My allegiance is to both: club and members. Yeah, both. I am a volunteer and I like getting involved. I do many things, extra things like helping in the kitchen or in the garden. That’s why I’m here. If I can do something, which makes the club better for ourselves, well I’ve achieved my goal.

Put simply in the words of another focus group participant: “Yes, it makes them feel good and it makes all of us feel good too”. This is the ultimate outcome of socialisation in community clubs.

9.4. Social Capital as a Resource

Social capital can be regarded as a resource that is available to club patrons through club experience. It is a resource on the assumption that club patrons can harness it for a benefit or advantage. On this basis, it is seen as one form of capital that is available to club patrons. This is not an agreed position, though, because social capital, as pointed out in Chapter 3, is an immensely popular construct, but also one that is highly contested.

Social capital complements other forms of capital in explaining the social world. While social capital exists in the relationships of club patrons, its manifestation has tangible outcomes such as returning a favour in community clubs. Social capital is then one way of interrogating social relations of club patrons.

The value of social capital lies in the field and habitus. In the field of community clubs, social capital is paramount as it relates to social interactions of club patrons. In the habitus of club patrons, social capital is a major factor that shapes their social networks. Put simply, social capital is an asset for both community clubs and club patrons.

9.4.1. Social Interactions

Social interactions in community clubs involve a diverse group of people. They can be families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers. Social interactions within and between these groups may not always be genuine but they are, as a focus group participant points out, “friendly, which may want you to talk to that person again if you bump into him or her”.

Social interactions depend on the potential conversational partners in community clubs. One focus group participant compared friends with strangers to illustrate this point as follows:

You just don't know who you'll meet at the club. It can be a friend sometimes, and then it's easy. But you'll always find strangers. Strangers are good because you get to make new friends. It would take a long time. But yes, you make friends out of strangers.

The making of friends out of strangers is social capital in action. "Yes. I enjoy talking to different people," a focus group participant explains, "because they have different stories to tell and you learn so much". ClubsQld concurred with this view when it said that clubs provide a "social service" in the local community.

Social interactions between families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers in community clubs are shaped by a number of factors. The study assessed five factors: trust, reciprocity, cooperation, care, and respect. The findings reveal that, in terms of the 'always' rating, more people associated trust with friends, reciprocity with acquaintances, cooperation with acquaintances and strangers, respect with friends, and care with friends. In effect, three qualities (trust, respect, and care) were associated with friends, while families did not score any "always" highest rating. This shows that interactions in community clubs were more bringing than bonding type.

The overriding rationale that governs these factors and their association with a particular group of people seems to be, in the words of a focus group participant: "... we tend to look after each other". The participant continued as follows:

Values are important and in my view, sharing and caring are the big ones. They link everyone together. But you have more or less of them here and there. When it comes to the 'crunch' like trust, you just learn to trust your mates.

This aspect is illustrated in the conceptual map (see Figure 20) of the focus group discussions, where the final outcome of the linkage between the dominant nodes of “clubs” and “people” are “camaraderie” and “mates”.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of social interactions between families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers is that values become social duty in community clubs. A focus group participant explained this transformation as follows:

Yes, clubs instill values. This is something you [referring to the researcher] would have probably picked up throughout this discussion. Nearly everybody at the club is doing something for themselves or for others. It discourages anti-social behaviour. It strengthen social behaviour as well, like buy drinks and you expect reciprocity in the next round or when you meet again.

It is all about “doing the right thing”, as ClubsQld puts it and “members know that”. ClubsQld added that this notion also extends to employees of clubs who show a “caring attitude as evident by the way employees treat members”. OLGR related this aspect to responsible service of alcohol and conduct of gaming and the obligation of clubs to minimise harm to patrons by ensuring patrons are not unduly intoxicated or gamble beyond their means (problem gambling).

The social duty regulates social capital in community clubs. A focus group participant notes this as follows:

I think any place you go to where it’s friendly and you’re being treated as a friend and you’ve got friends, does something to yourself and your wellbeing. I mean, it does happens in clubs a lot.

The social duty is an informal expectation and functions in a way that ensures predictability of social interactions. This came through in a rather personal way for one focus group participant who was from a culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) background:

People are kind and accepting. They give me space. They learn my ways as I learn theirs. I like that part. It makes me feel more connected to them. I don't feel ostracised.

To this, another focus group participant added:

I think it is very relevant for females and ethnic groups too. They may not get the same opportunities elsewhere. At the club, they are treated as equal, same as every one else. The same rules apply.

Overall, social interactions between club patrons open up or restrict access to social capital. As one focus group participant asked:

Why do we come to the club? Why don't we go to some other place? For me, I can have a nice meal and a game of bowls. Some days, I have both and on other days just the meal or bowls. It just depends. When it is bowls, it is great while meal is a bit lonely.

A noteworthy example given by ClubsQld was as follows:

Recently, I visited a club at 10 a.m. and was delighted to see several (separate) groups of elderly women who had obviously arranged to have morning tea at the club in very comfortable surroundings. It was obvious that the club encouraged this activity, judging by the warm reception that greeted members, making them feel welcome. Many of these women were infirm, with walking sticks, but it certainly didn't stop them meeting with their friends and having a thoroughly enjoyable time. They were still in attendance at the club when I left after a few hours!

Social capital then depends on social interactions of club patrons and as ClubsQld points out "... the facilities and activities provided by community clubs by their very nature invite members to socially connect".

9.4.2. Social Networks

The social networks of club patrons are inevitably anchored in and structured by the interrelationships between club patrons, which impact directly and indirectly on the

social capital of club patrons. It is not the same across all club patrons as a focus group participant explains:

... there are different levels of confidence in a club - the confidence between one player and another player, the confidence between two social members and the confidence between social members and those who come and play billiards or whatever, versus the people who are on the green etc.

Confidence with others, or social confidence, is the ongoing organisation of one's social network in community clubs, as greater confidence leads to wider interaction. As club patrons come to know each other, they become more comfortable with each other, or as another focus group participant puts it: "Any activity that involves people is social, more so if the people share similar interests".

Social confidence relates to the size and strength of the social networks. One focus group participant illustrates this aspect succinctly:

The first time I saw John [name has been changed], I said "wow". Just the way he interacted with other fellows around him. The jokes and stuff like that. Yeah, I wanted to be his friend. Who wouldn't?

The focus group participants alluded to the notion that it was much easier to make connections with other people in clubs because "people want to be there and to do something together". This was explained casually by a focus group participant who said that clubs give:

...a good feeling. Just happy to be able to come to the club and meet everyone. Not great chance of doing that otherwise.

The survey findings show that club patrons interact with five people, on average, per visit. In the words of one focus group participant, this is because "You see, you are with your friends, so a bit relaxed."

Social networks then function as a resource to reduce social isolation. This was particularly important for older club patrons: “It’s the difference between being alone at home and sharing my life with others”, as one focus group participant puts it. This view of community clubs was strongly endorsed by ClubsQld:

For many in the community, especially the elderly, clubs are seen as a safe refuge where they can have a meal and a drink at a reasonable cost and meet friends or even make friends, overcoming the social isolation they may be facing at that point in their lives.

OLGR pointed out that the harm minimisation objectives of the liquor and gaming laws were designed to ensure a “safe environment” for all patrons and the requirement to return any net surplus for the collective benefit of members allowed “members to meet with others who have like interests”.

Access to social networks has similar effect for people from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. As one focus group participant explains:

I guess, some people come to clubs so that they are among people. This is very true of people from other countries. They don’t have the social networks, so they try to build one through the clubs.

Another respondent added that networks had a similar effect for all patrons, not just the elderly or people from diverse cultural backgrounds: “You get to know a lot of people through clubs”.

Finally, the quality that most characterised social networks in the lives of club patrons, according to the focus group participants, was the power of connection contained within the network. A focus group participant gave an example of this power as follows:

I think one of the things that stunned me here was when I played on Wednesdays and there were lots of men playing. When one of the older men had a heart attack or something, there was genuine concern for him. Unfortunately, he died a few weeks later but people actually visited him in the hospital and also went to his funeral. I think that is the special thing about relationships.

The social networks formed in community clubs is continually reinforced and extends beyond its boundaries, which a focus group participant expressed eloquently as: “I guess, at the end of the day, its up to you how you use the club”. Social capital is the resource that makes this possible for club patrons.

9.5. Summary

The relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons can be deconstructed using Bourdieu’s conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital but in a broader sense because community clubs locate competition in a cooperative framework. As field, community clubs are unique social spaces that create a social reality that is determined by the purpose and level of engagement that community clubs offer to club patrons. As habitus, club experience advocates shared meaning and socialisation of club patrons in the field. Field and habitus converge in the form of social capital or resources that club patrons use to socially interact and form networks with other club patrons. The deconstruction, using these concepts, offers in-depth insights into the social world of community clubs. They show the potential, as well as the limitation of community clubs in the lives of club patrons. The next chapter recaps the salient points of this empirical research on community clubs and concludes the study.

Conclusion: Looking Through a Window

*The obscure we see eventually. The completely obvious,
it seems, takes longer.*

Murrow (2012)

10.1. Introduction

This chapter concludes the study. It begins with a recap of the reasons, including personal motivation, for undertaking the study, and the methods employed to collect and analyse data to answer the research questions of the study. It then summarises the main findings and comments on their implications for community clubs at policy and practice levels, as well as the conceptual and methodological advancements the study offers to the current body of knowledge on mutuality. The chapter ends by revisiting the limitations of the study to suggest possible areas for further research on community clubs. The study is a ‘window’ to the social world of community clubs and even though this understanding, based on social dynamics inherent in the club experience and the social capital of club patrons, is limited, it is sufficient to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

10.2. Scholarly Intervention

10.2.1. Knowledge Equilibrium

The study was conceived as a result of a fundamental imbalance in the understanding of community clubs as social enterprises. This imbalance has been due largely to a narrow view that purports community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues; a view that gives little or no attention to their social contributions and the wider social experience that clubs offer to their patrons. The result has been a partial understanding of community clubs because of the ongoing misconception on the role that they play in the lives of their patrons.

The researcher sought to address this imbalance in the understanding of community clubs by investigating social dynamics of community clubs. Social dynamics refer to the interactions that club patrons have with each other as they pursue and promote their common interests in community clubs. Focusing on social dynamics helped the researcher explore the social world of community clubs because a club is, after all, an association of people who come together to pursue and promote their common interests.

The fact that the researcher is employed by the peak industry representative body, ClubsQld, gave the researcher unrivalled access to the ‘pool’ of industry knowledge and to community clubs themselves. The researcher used this privilege in a framework of critical subjectivity by drawing on his industry knowledge and experience and, at the same time, reflecting objectively on this knowledge and experience. This approach not only enabled the researcher to clarify the social role of community clubs but to do so in a practical, pragmatic, and transparent manner.

The goal of the research was to then address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues with a cohesive body of empirical evidence on the social operation of community clubs. Given the focus on social operation of community clubs, the study draws on the literature on mutuality to understand the nature of associational life in similar settings as community clubs. The literature offers insights on how individuals and organisations advance their common interests at the macro and the micro levels in mutual or membership-based organisations.

This approach provides rich insights on the social world of community clubs. This is because mutuality, as the basis of club operation, shapes collective action and hence, social dynamics in community clubs because community clubs cannot operate for any purpose other than to serve the collective interest of their members. The research questions of the study were framed in this context.

10.2.2. Research Questions

The study was guided by two research questions as follows:

1. What is the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?
 - a. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of clubs?
 - b. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation exhibit in different types of club activities?

2. What is the overall group difference on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation?
 - a. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by selected socio-demographic factors?
 - b. How does the relationship between club experience and the social capital of people who visit community clubs for recreation affected by the length of association with community clubs?

Research Question 1 explored the overall relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and then further examined this relationship by eight club types and club activities. The eight club types are RSL Clubs, SLSS Clubs, Bowls Clubs, Golf Clubs, Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, Cultural Clubs, and Recreational Clubs. The eight club activities are gaming, food, bar subclub, socialisation, music, greater good, and other (mostly attending functions). The club types and club activities were derived from industry surveys and researcher's knowledge of the community clubs industry.

Research Question 2 explored the overall group difference in terms of the admission status (members versus non-members) of club patrons on the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. It then explored group difference by socio-demographic factors: gender (males versus females), age (young adults versus middle-aged versus seniors), marital status (single versus married versus other), language (English versus other), education (year 12 or less versus post year 12), and employment (working now versus not working now versus other). Finally, it looked at group difference based on the length of association with community clubs (short-term versus medium-term versus long-term). These factors were also derived from industry surveys and researcher's knowledge of the community clubs industry.

The research questions sought to complete the two gaps in knowledge as illustrated in the Research Model of the study. The Research Model illustrates the symbiotic relationship that exists between club patrons, community clubs, club experience, and social capital. Even though each of these concepts exists in relation to the one preceding it, the links between club experience and social capital, and social capital and club patrons are unclear. Answers to the research questions complete the Research Model by showing the strength and direction of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and the effect of group difference on this relationship.

10.2.3. The Concepts of Club Experience and Social Capital

The central concepts in the research questions are club experience and social capital. These two concepts have strong association with community clubs, based on a review of literature on mutuality, because they relate to the common purpose that is collectively shared by club patrons. As such, they relate to social dynamics in the Research Model of the study in a way that shows the social impact of community clubs on club patrons.

Club experience is regarded as the independent variable for ease of understanding (though the researcher is aware that this classification is misleading in a correlation analysis). The study took the position that club experience is more than just going to the

club. It is also the intrinsic value that club patrons derive as a result of participating in community clubs. Thus, club experience incorporates visitation patterns, use of products and services, and personal affinity that club patrons have with their clubs. They are regarded as the three dimensions of club experience and labeled as patronisation of club facilities, participation in club services, and perception of club values, respectively.

Social capital is considered as the dependent variable for ease of understanding (with the above qualification on correlation analysis applicable here as well). Similar to the approach on the understanding of club experience, the study took the position that social capital is more than just the networking aspects of social interactions. It is also the intrinsic value that club patrons derive from interacting with others in the club. Thus, social capital incorporates the size and strength of the relationships that club patrons have with each other, qualities that shape social relations of club patrons, and shared meanings that underpin social relations of club patrons. They are regarded as the three dimensions of social capital and labeled as the structural interface, the relational interface, and the cognitive interface of social capital, respectively.

It is important to note that the study does not define club experience or social capital but focuses on their meaning so that they could be used as heuristics to understand the social world of community clubs. This process ‘teases’ out the multidimensional nature of these two concepts and avoids definitional debates. It aids, therefore, in effective deconstruction of the social world of community clubs through the Club Analytical Model.

10.2.4. Club Analytical Model

The explanatory power of club experience and social capital was harnessed through the Club Analytical Model. The Club Analytical Model is essentially a snapshot of the complex social world of community clubs. It was needed to achieve a better sense of social dynamics that are present among club patrons in community clubs and because of an absence of any prior guidance on how to study social dynamics of community clubs.

The pragmatic approach, based on mixed methods, underpins the development of the Club Analytical Model. This perspective made the model functional and effective in capturing social dynamics through social interactions between club patrons in community clubs. In doing so, the Club Analytical Model provides pathways for studying the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons and assessing group difference on this relationship.

The Club Analytical Model measures club experience and social capital through their respective dimensions and indicators of each dimension. This was achieved through a weighting scheme. The indicators were weighted based on their relative importance (so that a person who visits community clubs twice a fortnight, for instance, gets a higher score than a person who visits clubs once a fortnight). The scores of the indicators were aggregated to give dimension scores and the dimension scores were weighted equally (on the assumption that each dimension of club experience and social capital contributed equally to the final scores). The final scores were composite scores of club experience and social capital in a formative measurement framework.

The Club Analytical Model reconciles the competing claims of quantitative and qualitative research by integrating both approaches in the study of community clubs. As such, it is not a generic model but one that is highly focused and functional in capturing the social reality of community clubs. The Club Analytical Model is not a perfect model but it does offer significant scope for subsequent research to build upon on it.

The Club Analytical Model has its strengths and weaknesses. On the one hand, the Club Analytical Model captures the multidimensional nature of club experience and the social capital of club patrons. In this way, the model does not restrict the study to compartmentalised analysis of various indicators of the key concepts but offers an integrated, meaningful, and comprehensive understanding of the key concepts themselves. On the other hand, the Club Analytical Model is a subjective framework, based on values and beliefs of the researcher as he sees the social world of community

clubs from a vantage point within the community clubs industry. Even when there is an ingrained logic, this logic will be always contested because of different perspectives on the concepts of club experience and social capital. Nevertheless, the Club Analytical Model meets the purpose for which it was developed.

To ensure the above was the case, the Club Analytical Model was tested for its dependability using the statistical diagnostic tool of Variance Inflation Factor (VIF). It was also assessed at a non-statistical level for validity through pilot testing with focus group participants. These checks ensured the relevance and robustness of the model as a practical tool to guide data collection and analysis to answer the research questions of the study.

10.2.5. Data Collection

The Club Analytical Model guided the collection of quantitative and qualitative data in three phases as follows:

The first phase was a comprehensive survey of club patrons on aspects of their club experience and social capital in eight types of community clubs over an eight month period. One club and approximately 100 patrons from that club were targeted from each club type using the multistage cluster sampling technique. A total of 920 questionnaires were randomly distributed in the eight clubs to achieve a desired sample size of 800 club patrons but the final count, after checking for outliers and other errors, was 828 useable responses.

The second phase was two focus group discussions on how community clubs shape club experience and the social capital of their patrons. The first focus group was comprised of six club patrons and the second was an open group made up of two volunteers, two employees, and two management committee members (directors). This was a deliberate strategy to bring club patrons', as well as club management's perspectives to the study.

The final phase was consultations with key club industry stakeholders. The two key stakeholders identified for the purpose of the study were the OLGR and ClubsQld (the researcher's employer). Views on how they saw the social contributions of community clubs were sought from them verbally and in writing.

These three levels of data collection not only informed but complemented each other.

The researcher ensured the integrity of the data in several ways. These included development of robust collecting instruments, unannounced and anonymous sites visits for the survey of club patrons, and use of a facilitator and giving appropriate instructions to the facilitator for the focus group discussions. The researcher also identified five data integrity issues - reliability and validity, response and respondent errors, research and researcher's bias, ethical considerations, and confidentiality and privacy – and managed them as much as possible. Where these matters could not be sufficiently addressed, the researcher has reported on them.

10.2.6. Data Analysis

After coding and cleaning, the data was analysed at three levels as follows:

Firstly, the data was subjected to descriptive analysis. This involved exploring a range behaviours and attitudes of club patrons such frequency and duration of club visitations, main reason for visiting clubs, number of meaningful social interactions, and key words used in the interactions with families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers at the club. These findings offered a global understanding of the data.

Secondly, statistical tests (bivariate linear correlation and linear regression) were performed on the quantitative (survey) data using the Predictive Analytics Software (PASW), known formerly as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The analysis was to test the strength and direction of the relationship between club

experience and the social capital of club patrons and the effect of group difference on this relationship.

Finally, thematic analysis using the content analysis technique was performed on the qualitative (focus group) data using the data coding software, Leximancer. The purpose was to uncover meanings and reasons that shape club experience and the social capital of club patrons. The software allowed an ‘objective’ coding of focus group themes, based on deeper structures that the software detected in the text; hence, reducing subjectivity that could be imposed by the researcher on the study.

Given the mixed methods design employed the study, the quantitative and qualitative findings were integrated as much as possible. Bourdieu’s conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital provided an effective mechanism for this integration as community clubs can be regarded as field, club experience as habitus, and social capital as a capital or resource. The integration of quantitative and qualitative findings was informed by insights from the focus group discussions and the key club industry stakeholders.

This analysis strategy enabled a practical interpretation of the statistical findings of the study. It allowed the researcher to not only focus on the presence (or absence) of an effect but to the actual size of the effect in the social context of that effect (as per the integration of the quantitative and qualitative findings). In the absence of any guidance on effect size for community clubs, the researcher constructed his own effect size scale using his knowledge of the community clubs industry. To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, the effect size scale is the first such guide for research on community clubs.

10.3. Outcomes and Implications

10.3.1. Key Findings

The study finds that there is an overall strong positive relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. This strong positive relationship is

evident in five of the eight club types (RSL Clubs, SLSS Clubs, Bowls Clubs, Golf Clubs, and Cultural Clubs) and in seven of the eight club activities (gaming, food, bar, subclub, socialisation, greater good, and other). There is a moderate positive relationship in the three remaining club types (Football Clubs, Multisports Clubs, and Recreational Clubs) and the remaining club activity (music). The effect sizes of strong and moderate mean that the relationship has practical significance as per the guide to effect size developed for the study.

In addition, club experience and the social capital of club patrons correlated in a similar way across club types and club activities. This indicates that greater club experience is associated with greater social capital (and vice versa), irrespective of the club type or club activity. The effect size of each correlation between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by club type or club activity is stronger or weaker, though (as explained above).

The study also finds that the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons is moderated significantly by admission (member versus non-member) status, length of association with community clubs, and gender of club patrons but only the former two have a moderate effect size. In the case of membership status, members have higher social capital, compared to non-members as their club experience increased (and vice versa). Similarly, in the case of length of association with community clubs, those with long-term association (measured as more than three years) had the sharpest increase in their social capital, compared to those with short-term (less than one year) and medium-term (between one and three years) association with community clubs. The group difference based on gender was statistically significant but the effect size was negligible. In all cases, as the club experience of club patrons increased, so did their social capital.

Interestingly, the study did not find statistically or practically significant moderation of the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons by age, marital status, language, education, and employment. This means that groups within

each of these factors (such as young adults, middle-aged, and seniors for the factor of age or working, not working and ‘other’ groups for the factor of employment) showed no significant difference on their club experience and social capital. For all factors, however, as club experience of club patrons increased, so did their social capital.

10.3.2. Bourdieusian Interpretations

The study uses Bourdieu’s conceptual tools of field, habitus, and capital to integrate and interpret the quantitative and qualitative findings. This application was done in a broader sense but within the general understanding of these concepts. This flexibility in the interpretation was necessary to ensure practical applicability of the findings to the social world of community clubs.

This approach made intuitive sense because the social world of community clubs is the product of club experience and social capital. Club patrons derive social capital from their club experience, which, in turn, determines the culture of the club. Using the concept of field, habitus, and capital then reconciles to some extent the structure–agency debate for community clubs and was consistent with the heuristic deployment of club experience and social capital.

The synergies between field, habitus, and capital in the findings of the study are as follows:

A community club can be considered as a field because it is a unique social space within the constraints of its physical boundaries. The field is regulated in behavioural terms through rules and traditions that project a certain social reality – that of cooperation – for club patrons. Club patrons do not have a choice but to comply with these rules and traditions because a significant breach of these norms means they could be asked to leave the premises, or be removed from the premises using reasonable force, if necessary, or in serious cases lose their membership of the club. These rules and traditions have a conditioning effect on club patrons, thus making cooperative behaviour appear natural and logical in the field. The field of community club is then specific to

each patron through its purpose and engagement and creates the reason for the existence of the community club for that patron.

Club experience can be explained as an expression of the habitus of club patrons because it advocates certain values, based on past and present experiences, that assist club patrons to make sense of the social world of community clubs. It functions at the conscious, as well as the subconscious, levels to influence the actions of club patrons in the pursuit of their common interests. This is achieved through shared meaning of clubs as social institutions, which is personalised because club patrons tend to recognise the meaning that community clubs bring into their lives. It is also achieved through socialisation that helps club patrons fit in the culture of the club consciously or by learning the rules of the game; failing which, they become misfits because their habitus conflicts with the field. While habitus in club experience determines what club patrons could or could not do, club patrons are not necessarily slaves of the habitus because the habitus can be challenged upon reflection but this is rarely achieved because of the influence of the field upon them.

Social capital can be regarded as a form of capital or resource that club patrons harness for a benefit or advantage. Its value lies in the field and habitus. In the field of community clubs, social capital is paramount as it relates to social interactions of club patrons by leveraging confidence between club patrons. Confidence is the ongoing organisation of one's social networks in community clubs, and as club patrons come to know each other, they are more comfortable with each other, thus maintaining the stability of the field. In the habitus of club patrons, social capital is a major factor that shapes their social networks. Club patrons interact with a diverse group of people such as families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers. While social interactions within and between these groups are governed by different factors, the common attribute is that club patrons tend to look after each other. Thus, social values become social duty in community clubs. Social capital exists in the relationships of club patrons but its manifestation has tangible outcomes as a resource for clubs patrons.

In view of the above, these three concepts offer the potential for a comprehensive understanding of social dynamics of community clubs through club experience and the social capital of club patrons. By integrating the quantitative and qualitative findings, they provide a window to the social world of community clubs. They can then assist in clarifying the simplistic view of community clubs as just liquor and gaming venues.

10.3.3. Addressing the Simplistic View of Community Clubs

The study provides a cohesive body of empirical evidence on social dynamics of community clubs. This is on the basis that the study uses the concepts of club experience and social capital, which explore different aspects of social participation in community clubs. For club experience, these aspects relate to visitation patterns, involvement in club services, and affinity with community clubs. For social capital, these aspects relate to social networks, relationship values, and shared meaning. Accordingly, the findings of the study have implications at policy and practice levels in regard to the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues.

At the policy level, the findings of the study go beyond the recreational objectives of club operation to scrutinising social dynamics of the recreation that is inherent in the club experience. They draw attention to mutual socialisation of club patrons as they pursue and promote their common interests. The mutual socialisation is shaped by a social reality that conditions club patrons to cooperate and look after each other, making this behaviour appear natural and logical. Gaming and liquor services are part of the club offering but this intense mutual socialisation is more than just taking part in gaming and liquor service. It comes through by ‘getting involved in the place’, to use a focus group participant’s words, which is positive and productive because greater club experience is associated with greater social capital.

At the practice level, the findings of the study allude to the notion of inclusiveness that is promoted and sustained through community clubs. They show that community clubs do not create restrictions based on gender, age, marital status, language, education, and

employment of club patrons; rather, they promote a sense of belonging that transcends physical boundaries of the club to exist in the minds of club patrons. In this way, community clubs shape behaviour that can ‘make friends out of strangers’, to use another focus group participant’s words. If club patrons had an exclusive interest in liquor and gaming services, this intense level of social confidence would not be possible because it is a function of a range of club activities, including liquor and gaming services. This is certainly confirmed by the two group factors – admission status and length of association with community clubs; both of which are of statistical and practical significance, thus implying club members and those who have long-term association with clubs derive the most meaning from their club experience and social capital.

The above are profound insights on community clubs because they illustrate the scope of community clubs in the lives of club patrons. They explain the mutual connections that exist between community clubs and the underlying forces that sustain these connections. Most importantly, they refute the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues because they show liquor and gaming services in themselves cannot be considered as the entire club offer.

Future research on community clubs should take note of these insights in the design of the study. This would ensure research outcomes are balanced and reliable. Reflexivity has an important role to play in this approach, as highlighted by the contributions of the present study to knowledge and scholarship on mutuality.

10.3.4. Contributions to Knowledge and Scholarship on Mutuality

The study makes distinct and original contributions to the scholarly field of mutual associations. These contributions are intrinsically linked with reflexivity that requires researchers to critically reflect on the research processes and outcomes (including their role in facilitating these processes and outcomes). This linkage enables the study to offer a novel way of studying community clubs that is grounded in theory and practice and supported by a robust empirical framework, being the Club Analytical Model.

The study advances social capital theory in three major ways. Firstly, it shows that effective deployment of the social capital concept is possible even when it is not defined precisely. As the study has used the term heuristically, this usage has the effect of avoiding many definitional issues that have plagued the concept. Secondly, the study demonstrates that social capital does meet one of its stated appeals, which is to offer a useful way of looking at the social dimension of economic activity. This is achieved by treating community clubs as social enterprises with economic goals based on mutuality. In view of the above contributions, the study affirms the utility of social capital as a useful tool.

The third way in which the study advances social capital theory is by illustrating a precise application of Bourdieu's conception of social capital. The literature on social capital is dominated by Putnam's conception of social capital. Despite the inherent weaknesses of Putnam's conception of social capital, which researchers readily acknowledge in their studies, the scholarly literature often alludes to Bourdieu's conception of social capital as an alternative (and better) approach, but without any major recourse to its operationalisation. The study addresses this challenge by showing that Bourdieu's conception of social capital can be effectively operationalised, coincidentally using Bourdieu's other conceptual tools, namely field, habitus, and capital and gives a context-specific example (that of community clubs) to demonstrate the potency of this approach, or the development and validation of social capital measures for social enterprises within the constraints of Bourdieu's conception of social capital.

The study also makes important methodological contributions in the form of the Club Analytical Model and the effect size guide for community clubs. In the absence of prior guidance on the effect sizes for community clubs, the one presented in the study may act as a starting point for comparative purposes. This is essential as the practical significance of a finding can only be determined by the size of its effect. The Club Analytical Model was developed specifically to study community clubs as social enterprises that operate commercially for the benefit of their patrons. It not only captures

the complex socio-economic reality of community clubs but operationalises this reality; hence, ensuring the theoretical framework is achievable by empirical methods. A pragmatic approach, based on mixed methods, underpins the development of the Club Analytical Model, which makes the Club Analytical Model functional and effective in capturing social dynamics through social interactions between club patrons in community clubs. In the absence of a measurement framework for community clubs, the Club Analytical Model presents, in the view of the researcher, a “break through” in the study of membership-based social and community organisations.

Most importantly, the study achieves its ‘big picture’ objective of offering a cohesive body of empirical evidence to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues. The findings refute the claim that community clubs are just liquor and gaming venues because they show club patrons establish meaningful and purposive relationships with their clubs, which extend beyond liquor and gaming services. The cohesive body of empirical evidence is enabled by the application of the key tools of field, habitus, and capital to community clubs, which provides invaluable insights into the social world of community clubs and also how the social world could be studied in an integrated manner. The findings would certainly assist in informing advocacy and policy on community clubs by various stakeholders, including community clubs, to exposes their full contributions as social institutions.

It is imperative for me, as an industry-based researcher, to acknowledge in the spirit of critical subjectivity and reflexivity that the above contributions would not have been possible if I did not have the confidence of ClubsQld, community clubs, and others. This is because the dissertation has benefited from critical information held by ClubsQld and the pool of industry knowledge that was made available to me freely and in good faith. This information is not publicly available (for example, insights on ClubsQld’s lobbying efforts) and some of it does not even exist in a written form (for example, insights into the historical development of community clubs). Even when the information is available, they may not be released in full to researchers because of confidentiality, matters associated with vested industry interests, and concerns about improper or unethical usage (such as the simplistic view that is refuted in this study that community clubs are

just liquor and gaming venues). In recognition of this monumental privilege that was accorded to me, I have strived to present this information accurately and in the relevant context for future researchers on community clubs to benefit from them within the ethical limits of the study.

10.4. Limitations of the Study and Further Research

The study identified three limitations in Chapter 1. These limitations are significant in their own rights and need further research. The following are some ways in which these limitations could be addressed in future research on community clubs.

The first limitation is that the study uses a particular conception of social capital and club experience. Social capital is a contested concept and the conception used in the study is based on the worldview of the researcher. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that different conceptions of social capital may yield different outcomes (such as Putnam's conception of trust). The same can also be said for the concept of club experience. Future research can perhaps relate them differently using different perspectives on these two concepts.

The second limitation is that the study focuses on club patrons – people who were actually present on the club premises - and does not make a comparison with 'non-club goers'. This aspect is difficult to reconcile, as a majority of Queensland adults have visited one or more clubs in their lifetime. However, future research can do a comparison of people who are active club patrons versus people who have not visited a community club for a set period of time prior to the study being conducted. In this way, a comparison could be made between 'club goers' and 'non-club goers' (defined, for instance, as people who have not visited a community club for the last three years).

The third limitation is that the study does not make any direct comparisons with pubs and casinos, even though community clubs share some common operational aspects with them. This is because pubs and casinos operate under different business models. Nevertheless, interactions between families, friends, acquaintances, and strangers still

take place in pubs and casinos and future research can relate aspects of this common theme in a comparative framework.

A further three observations could be added to the above limitations in hindsight:

The first observation relates to the use of community clubs by minors. Community clubs, particularly sporting clubs are key venues for children's recreation and ongoing physical and social development. This study excluded children from the sample because of liquor and gaming laws, which prohibit children from accessing these products, and from being in the gaming area – an omission that was necessary to capture the full range of club experience and social capital of club patrons. Future research can incorporate the use of club facilities by children in a study of club experience and social capital.

The second observation relates to the use of models. A model, by definition, is a simplification of a complex reality. As such, a model only presents a snapshot view of the world. The Club Analytical Model is a formative measurement model because the indicators determine the dimensions, which, in turn, determine the composites of club experience and social capital. The meaning in the Club Analytical Model is only created because of the direction of the arrows. It not a perfect model but one that offers much promise in the view of the researcher for future research on community clubs. It may be worthwhile for future research to further refine the Club Analytical Model and even compare it with a reflective measurement model where the arrows would go in the other way: from composites to dimensions to indicators.

Closely related to the second observation is the issue of casualty (or cause and effect) because the study has used the Club Analytical Model to test the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons. It is, therefore, not possible to infer whether club experience causes social capital or vice-versa but just that, as the study reveals, they are positively related (or vary together). It may be the case that people who have greater stock of social capital are more likely to become club members and that club experience has no impact on their stock of social capital (as they are already endowed with higher levels of social capital). Future research can perhaps locate the Club Analytical Model in a causation framework, with appropriate research

questions that deal with cause and effect of club experience on the social capital of club patrons. The Club Analytical Model certainly has the capacity to accommodate this particular usage.

The final observation relates to the scope of the study, which is restricted to the context of community clubs. This is because it sees the social world of community clubs as a product of field, habitus, and capital, on the one hand, and field, habitus, and capital as products of the social world of community clubs, on the other hand. This makes it difficult to speculate how club patrons would use their club experience and social capital outside the community club or in other fields of their existence. Future research can then extend the study to the outside world. Indeed, such a world still exists, as clubs patrons must go back to their homes at the end of their club visitation.

It is hoped that future research on community clubs would take note of these limitations and observations.

10.5. Summary

The social world of community clubs is complex and by focusing on social dynamics of community club through the relationship between club experience and the social capital of club patrons, as illustrated in the Club Analytical Model, the study has attempted to simplify it empirically. This was in an effort to gain a better understanding of the role that community clubs play in the lives of club patrons in order to address the simplistic view that community clubs are just gaming and liquor venues. This approach employs the pragmatic perspective, and is based on a mixed methods (explanatory) design, which makes it possible to integrate the quantitative and qualitative findings using the concepts of field, habitus, and capital. The research process has been one of critical subjectivity and reflexivity because of the desire to understand aspects of social life that are often taken for granted in community clubs but can be mistakenly simplified as just liquor and gaming services. In this sense, the study rediscovers community clubs in the spirit of the unconventional wisdom that “The obscure we see eventually. The completely obvious, it seems, takes longer” (Murrow, 2012).

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Appendices

A. Historical Sentiments in the Formation of Community Clubs in Queensland



Out of friendship, community and common ground, Queensland's first club emerged. To this day the proud tradition continues, with clubs and their members making a positive difference to the communities that surround them.

Above: Booroodabin Bowls Club, 1888.

Source: Raissis, E. (ed.), 2005, *Queensland: A Great State of Mind*, Focus Publishing, NSW, p. 196.

B. Ode of Remembrance

The Department of Veteran Affairs of the Australian Government provides the following information on the Ode of Remembrance on its website (www.dva.gov.au) (accessed 15 January 2012):

The Ode for commemoration services is the famous fourth stanza from For the Fallen, a poem by the English poet and writer Laurence Binyon, which was first published in London's The Times newspaper on 21 September 1914.

This compelling verse, which became the Ode of Remembrance in common usage across the Commonwealth, has been used in association with commemoration services since 1921:

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old;
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.*

(Audience responds)

We will remember them.

Recital of the Ode of Remembrance

The Ode of Remembrance is recited with much respect and reverence in RSL Clubs throughout Queensland. The Kedron Wavell Services Club (www.kedron-wavell.com.au) (accessed 15 January 2012) provides the following information on the recital of the Ode of Remembrance on its website:

We respect various traditions and anniversaries as they occur. For example, as a mark of respect to comrades in arms the Club lights are turned out at 7.00pm every night and the RSL Ode is recited to all in attendance. During the Ode all in the Club are expected to stand in silence and face the Club's symbol of the eternal flame. No other activity continues in the Club during the reciting of the Ode.

C. Dress Code Rationale for Community Clubs

Modern club, not so modern dress code

Your club's look may be keeping up with the latest fashions but your dress code might not be. Clubs Queensland policy manager Mukesh Prasad explains...

The dress code in clubs is built on the age-old wisdom that there is a certain message in the way one dresses.

Based on this common notion, section 165B of the Liquor Act permits a licensee to prevent entry to any person or have any person removed if the person does not comply with the entry standards of the premises, including a dress code of the premises.

When the first clubs were formed, their dress codes reflected the aristocratic values of that era; hence, they permitted entry to only those, who, at least in appearance, conformed to the accepted values.

Times have changed but in many cases the dress codes remain static in some clubs. However, the fundamental reasons for having a dress code in clubs is as valid as ever, so what we wear is important.

A dress code is designed to achieve many goals, most notably to:

- convey a positive image
- demonstrate key values
- promote equality
- minimize distraction
- discourage use of so called "gang" colours
- create an experience for members

The last reason is perhaps the most important driver for clubs having a dress code today. For this reason, it is important to think how banning jeans, flip-flops, or shirts without collars is helpful, when they are almost the social norms in some parts, particularly in coastal areas.



This is not to say that clubs should adopt changes to their dress codes blindly. Obviously site workers will never be dressed in black instead of their high-visibility clothing because "black is in". Dress codes have an underlying rationale to them.

When it comes to dress codes, clubs should distinguish between ritual and behaviour. "We have always done it that way" is no longer acceptable. There is a need to make behavioral change that is consistent with what is occurring in the local communities. Banning jeans, flip-flops, and shirts without collars should be based on reason, rather than emotion.

Make your dress code a business tool. Use it to create an impression of your club environment as inviting, inclusive, and attractive. While there is no evidence that a member who dresses like a slob is a slob, chances are that such a perception can be readily formed to the detriment of your business. Only a dress code can actively discourage this perception.

Presentation goes hand-in-hand with quality. The dress code is part of your branding. Make it effective, make it relevant and most importantly, make it justifiable.

Note: The researcher is the author of this article in *Club Insight*. *Club Insight* is the flagship publication of Clubs Queensland. It is distributed to all registered and licensed community clubs in Queensland, companies that are partners of Clubs Queensland, members of local, state and federal governments, key media outlets, and a dedicated list of subscribers. The researcher has a column in this publication.

Source: Prasad, M., 2012, 'Modern Club, Not So Modern Dress Code', *Club Insight*, no. 6, Brisbane.

D. Four Regions of Queensland

The four regions used in *The Social and Economic Profile of Community Clubs in Queensland* (DWS, 2009).



Each region shows the number of community clubs per 10,000 residents.

E. Weighting Scheme of Club Experience and Social Capital

Club Experience

Patronisation of Club Facilities			
Indicators	Measurement	Weight	Score
Frequency of Visitation	None	0	
	Once per fortnight	1	
	Twice per fortnight	2	
	Three times per fortnight		
	Four times per fortnight	3	
	Five and more times per fortnight	4	
Duration of Visitation	Less than 1 hour	0	
	About 1 hour	1	
	About 2 hours	2	
	About 3 hours		
	About 4 hours	3	
	About 5 hours or more	4	
Span of Visitation	Less than 1 year	0	
	About 1 year	1	
	About 2 years	2	
	About 3 years		
	About 4 years	3	
	About 5 years or more	4	
Subtotal (Patronisation)			

Participation in Club Services			
Indicators	Measurement	Weight	Score
Gaming	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Food	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Bar	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Subclub	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Music	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Socialisation	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Greater Good	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	
Other	Not in any visit	0	
	Rarely in any visit	1	
	In some visits	2	
	In most visits	3	
	In all visits	4	

Subtotal (Participation)

Perception of Club Values			
Indicators	Measurement	Weight	Score
Commitment to meet needs of patrons	None	0	
	Very Little	1	
	Some	2	
	A fair bit	3	
	A great deal	4	
Responsiveness to the wishes of patrons	None	0	
	Very little	1	
	Some	2	
	A fair bit	3	
	A great deal	4	
Relationship building with patrons	Very negative	-2	
	Negative	-1	
	Neither negative nor positive	0	
	Positive	1	
	Very positive	2	
Subtotal (Perception)			

Overall Score for Club Experience		
Dimensions	Maximum Score	Respondent's Score
Subtotal (Patronisation)	12	
Subtotal (Participation)	32	
Subtotal (Perception)	10	
Total (Club Experience)	54	

Social Capital

Structural Interface of Social Capital							
Indicators	Measurement		Weight	Score			
Attitude towards potential conversational partners	Very unwilling		-2				
	Somewhat unwilling		-1				
	Neither willing nor unwilling		0				
	Somewhat willing		1				
	Very willing		2				
Number of conversational partners	None		0				
	One		1				
	Two		2				
	Three						
	Four		3				
	Five or more		4				
Dominant conversational partner	Level of Importance						
	Not Important	Low Importance	Medium Importance	High Importance	Absolute Importance		
	Families	0	1	2	3		4
	Friends	0	1	2	3		4
	Acquaintances	0	1	2	3		4
	Strangers	0	1	2	3		4
Subtotal (Structure)							

Relational Interface of Social Capital							
Indicators	Measurements	Weight					Score
		Never	Rarely	Some times	Often	Always	
Families	Trust	0	1	2	3	4	
	Reciprocity	0	1	2	3	4	
	Cooperation	0	1	2	3	4	
	Respect	0	1	2	3	4	
	Care	0	1	2	3	4	
Friends	Trust	0	1	2	3	4	
	Reciprocity	0	1	2	3	4	
	Cooperation	0	1	2	3	4	
	Respect	0	1	2	3	4	
	Care	0	1	2	3	4	
Acquaintances	Trust	0	1	2	3	4	
	Reciprocity	0	1	2	3	4	
	Cooperation	0	1	2	3	4	
	Respect	0	1	2	3	4	
	Care	0	1	2	3	4	
Strangers	Trust	0	1	2	3	4	
	Reciprocity	0	1	2	3	4	
	Cooperation	0	1	2	3	4	
	Respect	0	1	2	3	4	
	Care	0	1	2	3	4	
Subtotal (Relation)							

Cognitive Interface of Social Capital			
Indicators	Measurement	Weight	Score
A club is a place to share common interests	Strongly disagree	-2	
	Disagree	-1	
	Neither agree or disagree	0	
	Agree	1	
	Strongly agree	2	
A club is a place to meet other people	Strongly disagree	-2	
	Disagree	-1	
	Neither agree or disagree	0	
	Agree	1	
	Strongly agree	2	
A club is a place to go for social outings	Strongly disagree	-2	
	Disagree	-1	
	Neither agree or disagree	0	
	Agree	1	
	Strongly agree	2	
A club is a place to have a good time	Strongly disagree	-2	
	Disagree	-1	
	Neither agree or disagree	0	
	Agree	1	
	Strongly agree	2	
A club is a place to do greater good	Strongly disagree	-2	
	Disagree	-1	
	Neither agree or disagree	0	
	Agree	1	
	Strongly agree	2	
Subtotal (Perception)			

Overall Score for Social Capital		
Dimensions	Maximum Score	Respondent's Score
Subtotal (Structure)	22	
Subtotal (Relation)	80	
Subtotal (Cognition)	10	
Total (Social Capital)	112	

F. Survey Questionnaire

Note: The questionnaire was distributed as an A4 booklet.

Doctoral Research on Community Clubs

Dear Club Patron

I will be very grateful if you could complete this **questionnaire on your club experiences**. You are under **no obligation** to complete the questionnaire, and even when you decide to participate, you can change your mind at any time.

The questionnaire forms part of my **PhD study** at the **University of Southern Queensland (USQ)**. I am studying how community clubs enable their patrons to interact with each other and what benefits, if any, club patrons derive from their social interactions. The university has given me **ethical clearance** (No. H08REA054.1) to conduct this research.

There are **no right or wrong answers** but just a range of options for you to choose from for each question. **Please answer all questions.**

It will take about **15 minutes** to complete the questionnaire. When you have finished, please return the completed questionnaire to the reception desk or give it to a staff member.

You are not required to write your name or address, so your responses are anonymous.

However, I have assigned a survey number (below) to each questionnaire for data processing purposes. This number cannot be linked back to you, thus further protecting your anonymity.

Only a limited number of authorised people will see the 'raw' data, as I will be presenting group data in my final report.

I will store the completed questionnaires **securely and confidentially** and will destroy them upon the completion of the study.

If you require any clarification on this survey or wish to be informed of the overall findings, please contact me on [telephone number removed]. Alternatively, you can contact my principal supervisor, Dr. Malcolm Brown, on [telephone number removed].

Thank you for assisting me with my study.

Mukesh Prasad

Student Number: 0050051278

Instructions

- Answer **all questions**. If you make a mistake, cross out and write your answer again.
- Give **only one answer** to each question.
- Where applicable, mark your answer box with a **tick** (✓).
- If you need **extra space for comments**, use the space on the last page.
- Do **not** complete this survey if you have completed it before at this club or another club.

For Office Use

Survey Number:
Club Type:

A. About Yourself

1. **Are you a male or a female?**
 - Male
 - Female

2. **What is your age group?**
 - 18-44 years
 - 45-65 years
 - 66 years and over

3. **What is your current marital status?**
 - Not Married
 - Married Now
 - Other (e.g. separated)

4. **Which of the following best describes your highest level of education?**
 - Year 12 or less
 - Post Year 12 (e.g. trade, university)

5. **Which of the following best describes your current employment situation?**
 - Not Working Now
 - Working Now
 - Other

6. **Is English your first language?**
 - Yes
 - No

B. Visits to Clubs

7. **Do you visit clubs as a member or other?**
 - Member – how many years in total have you been a club member:
 - Other (e.g. guest, visitor, reciprocal member, defence personnel)

8. **How frequently do you visit clubs in a typical fortnight?** (Include all clubs you visit in a normal two week period)
 - One
 - Two
 - Three
 - Four
 - Five and more – (if more than five, indicate the number (e.g. 6):)
 - Not every fortnight (e.g. once in three months)

9. How much time do you usually spend at the club in a typical visit?

- Less than 1 hour
- About 1 hour
- About 2 hours
- About 3 hours
- About 4 hours
- About 5 hours or more– (if more than five, indicate the number (e.g. 6): ____)

10. What is usually your main reason for visiting clubs? (Tick one only)

- Gaming (e.g. pokies, Keno, TAB)
- Food (e.g. breakfast, lunch, dinner, tea/coffee/cake)
- Bar (e.g. alcohol)
- Subclub (e.g. taking part in a hobby or special interest)
- Music (e.g. live or recorded music)
- Socialising (e.g. meet friends)
- Greater Good (e.g. volunteering)
- Other - please specify:

11. What is the total number of years you have been associated with clubs? (e.g. going to clubs)

- Less than 1 year
- About 1 year
- About 2 years
- About 3 years
- About 4 years
- About 5 years or more – (if more than five, indicate the number (e.g. 6): ____)

12. How would you rate your level of participation in the following club activities? (Tick one only for each activity)

	Not in any Visit	Rarely in Any Visit	In Some Visits	In Most Visits	In All Visits
• Gaming (e.g. pokies, Keno, TAB)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Food (e.g. lunch, afternoon tea)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Bar (e.g. alcohol)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Subclub (e.g. fishing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Music (e.g. live music)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Socialisation (e.g. meeting friends)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Greater good (e.g. volunteering)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Other (i.e. none of the above)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. How would you rate the following statements about clubs based on your experience?

A club is a place to:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
• share common interests (e.g. sport)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• meet other people (e.g. socialise)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• go for social outing (e.g. dinner, entertainment)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• have a good time (e.g. share drinks with friends)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• do greater good (e.g. volunteering)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments: _____

14. How much effort do you think clubs make in most cases to retain your business as a patron?

None | Very Little | Some | A Fair Bit | A Great Deal

Please explain: _____

C. Interactions in Clubs

15. How willing or unwilling are your fellow patrons to having a conversation in the club? (i.e. have a conversation; not just saying “hello, “bye” etc. This is your personal assessment.)

Very Willing | Somewhat Willing | Neither Willing nor Unwilling | Somewhat Unwilling | Very Unwilling

Please explain your answer: _____

16. How many people did you converse with in your last regular visit to a club?
(A regular visit is one you would consider normal i.e. when you are not short of time etc.)

- One Two
 Three Four
 Five and more (Indicate number here: _____)

17. How much importance would you give to the following people as your conversational partner in a club? (Tick one only for each row)

	Level of Importance				
	None	Low	Medium	High	Absolute
• Family Member (i.e. related to you by blood ties)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Friend (i.e. not family but someone with whom you share a close bond)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Acquaintance (i.e. not family or friend but you know them generally e.g. work mates)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Stranger (i.e. someone you don't know at all)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please explain any logic or reason you have used in associating the above level of importance: _____

D. Club Patrons

18. How would you rate the majority of your fellow patrons in regard to the following qualities?

Family	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never/Unsure
• Trust (as in the belief that a person will do the right thing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Reciprocity (as in returning a favour; not necessarily the same favour to the same person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Cooperation (as in working together to achieve a common goal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Respect (as in being courteous to another person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Care (as in showing concern for another person's wellbeing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Friends	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never/Unsure
• Trust (as in the belief that a person will do the right thing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Reciprocity (as in returning a favour; not necessarily the same favour to the same person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Cooperation (as in working together to achieve a common goal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Respect (as in being courteous to another person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Care (as in showing concern for another person's wellbeing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Acquaintances	Always	Often	Some times	Rarely	Never/Unsure
• Trust (as in the belief that a person will do the right thing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Reciprocity (as in returning a favour; not necessarily the same favour to the same person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Cooperation (as in working together to achieve a common goal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Respect (as in being courteous to another person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Care (as in showing concern for another person's wellbeing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strangers	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never/Unsure
• Trust (as in the belief that a person will do the right thing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Reciprocity (as in returning a favour; not necessarily the same favour to the same person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Cooperation (as in working together to achieve a common goal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Respect (as in being courteous to another person)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
• Care (as in showing concern for another person's wellbeing)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please explain any logic or reason you have used in the above rating of family, friends, acquaintances, and strangers: _____

E. Club Impact

19. How much can you influence clubs to better serve your interests/needs? (e.g. through feedback, meetings etc.)

- None | Very Little | Some | A Fair Bit | A Great Deal

Please explain your answer: _____

20. How would you rate the overall impact of clubs on yourself?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Very Negative | Negative | Neither Positive
nor Negative | Positive | Very Positive |

Please explain your answer: _____

General Comments - Please use the space below to comment on any matter raised in this questionnaire or to further explain your responses.

(attach addition pages if required)

END OF SURVEY – Thank You!

G. Focus Group Information Sheet and Consent Form

Doctoral Research on Community Clubs

Dear Participant

Thank you for **offering to participate** in this focus group discussion. The discussion will last approximately one hour.

This focus group discussion forms part of my **PhD study at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ)**. I am studying how community clubs enable their members to interact with each other and what benefits, if any, do members derive from their social interactions. The University has given me **ethical clearance** (No. H08REA054.1) to conduct this research.

You are under **no obligation** to participate in this focus group discussion. Even when you decide to participate, you can **change your mind** at any time; leave the discussion; and/or indicate that any or all of your responses are not to be used in the final report.

As part of the focus group discussion, the facilitator will ask you to introduce yourself. However, I am only interested in your responses and **no personal information of any focus group participant will be disclosed in my final report**. In any case, only a limited number of authorised people will be able to access the original data.

I will also **record the discussion** but I will remove any personal information when transcribing and analysing the transcript. In this way, your individual responses will remain **confidential and anonymous**.

As per the above privacy safeguards, you are **not required to write your name or address** below. However, for data processing purposes, some demographic information is required (as indicated below). This basic information cannot be linked back to you.

I will store this form, the recording, and my notes on this focus group discussion **securely and confidentially** and will destroy them upon the completion of the study.

If you require any clarification or wish to be informed of the overall findings, please contact me on [telephone number removed]. Alternatively, you can contact my principal supervisor, Dr. Malcolm Brown, on [telephone number removed].

Thank you for your participation.

Mukesh Prasad (Student Number: 0050051278)

----- Please tear off here. -----
(Keep the top part and hand in the bottom part to the researcher)*

Participant's Information and Consent

Sex: Male
 Female

Age: 18-44 years
 45-65 years
 66 years and over

Position (e.g. member, committee member, employee, volunteer etc.):

I consent / do not consent [delete one] for my responses to be used anonymously in the final report.

First Three Letters of Surname

_____/_____/_____
Date

*Pages 259 and 260 were printed on a single page, hence the instruction to tear off the sections.

H. Focus Group Discussion Guide

[Introduction by the Researcher]

Good Morning All

Let me start by saying how grateful I am to see all of you here today. I must say that Mary [not real name] has done an excellent job in making this meeting possible. I just can't thank her enough and all of you for participating in my study.

I have come to know Mary through my job at ClubsQld. As the Policy and Research Manager, I provide advice on various facets of club operations. XYZ Club [name of the club removed] is one of our member clubs and Mary is probably one of our most proactive callers. She is always after information on how to do things better at this club and she almost always ends up talking with me!

My name is Mukesh Prasad and my colleague here is Damian Mead. Damian will be facilitating this meeting today but before I hand it over to him, let me give you some background information on what we will be discussing today.

[Purpose]

The purpose of today's meeting is for me to get your views on what it means to be a club member.

I need your views so that I can complete my PhD study at the University of Southern Queensland. I am studying how club patrons build social capital by interacting with each other.

Social capital refers to anything in a relationship that you can rely upon when you need it. So, if I take my relationship with Mary, the social capital in this relationship is reciprocity or as she has put it "one good turn deserves another".

I know it is a bit hard to understand the concept of social capital but put simply, social capital refers to values such as:

- friendship
- trust
- mutual respect
- a desire to return a favour
- in fact, anything that makes up a mutually beneficial relationship.

So, we are going to talk about the social capital of your club experience that is generated through your club participation.

As I am collecting your views, it is very important for me to state that I am bound by the University's Research Code of Ethics. This means that I must seek your permission to use your views. So could you please complete the consent form that is in front of you. I am only interested in the bottom part. Please keep the top part for later reference, as it contains my contact details and other pertinent information about this research.

My assurance to you is that even though I am going to record our discussion today for later reference (and thank you for giving me permission to do so), I will not reveal your name or other personal information in my final report.

I am giving you this assurance because I want you to express your views freely. You can say anything you want, as long as it relates to the issues under discussion.

I will now ask Damian to set some ground rules and to start the discussion. Damian is a communication specialist who was my colleague until recently. He is now operating his own media company.

[Ground Rules]

[Facilitator]

Thanks Mukesh.

I am going to be the facilitator of today's discussion. You can say that my role is more of a referee. I am simply here to promote a robust exchange of ideas and views.

I am not allowed to influence your views so whatever you say, it will be your views. Just think I am not here if you think you are being influenced by me.

I have set three ground rules, which I think can achieve this purpose. They are as follows:

Rule Number 1 - There is no right or wrong answer

This discussion is about sharing your experiences as club members or official and we all tend to see and perceive things differently. Tell us your positive, as well as your negative experiences.

Rule Number 2 - Respect the speaker

Please speak one at a time. Let the person finish speaking before you begin. Do not interrupt. Write your thoughts on a piece of paper if you think you may forget them by the time the current speaker finishes speaking.

Rule Number 3 - Always speak on the topic

Our time is limited and there is a lot to cover. Please be succinct but add an example if that clarifies your viewpoint. If possible, please avoid repeating what has already been said but you are most welcome to bring a fresh perspective to the issue.

The most important thing is for you to do the talking! Speak loudly and clearly for the benefit of the whole group. I may interrupt you briefly to steer the discussion but remember it is your discussion. You can ask me to just shut up.

[Discussion]

Lets start by going around the room and asking each person to introduce themselves – name and position in the club is fine. This is just so that we know each other. Remember, no names will be mentioned in the final report.

[Participants introduce themselves]

[Facilitator guides the discussion with eight questions]

What is special about community clubs that makes it possible for them to bring people together?

Do you believe people genuinely interact with each other when they visit community clubs?

What do you think are some key benefits of social interactions in community clubs?

How much do you think visiting community clubs enables people ‘to stay socially connected with each other’? (Facilitator’s prompt: for example, friends meet at the club.)

Do you think people can gain confidence with each other by sharing club facilities? (Facilitator’s prompt: for example, two strangers meet at the bar and end up becoming friends.)

What do you think are some key values that community clubs pass onto their patrons? (Facilitator's prompt: for example, share and care.)

Do you think age, gender, language, or other similar factors influence how people interact with each other in community clubs? (Facilitator's prompt: for example, would you talk to a person who is from a culturally diverse background)

How important do you think club membership is to a person in the overall scheme of things in his or her life?

This brings us to the end of our focus group discussion.

[Wrap-up]

[Facilitator]

Thank you all for your time and candid discussion. Your responses have certainly been very informative. Please don't forget to complete the consent form. If you are interested in the overall findings of this project, the procedures are explained in the consent form. Many, many thanks again.

[Mukesh]

I hope this has been an exciting experience for you as much as it has been for me. Either way, I think all of us have learnt a little more about our clubs today. Thank you once again. I think we can now help ourselves to the wonderful morning tea that Mary has organised for us.

I. Stakeholder Consultation Guides

[Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation]

Doctoral Research on Community Clubs

Dear Industry Stakeholder (**OLGR**)

I will be very grateful to receive your feedback (below) on how OLGR, as the **pre-eminent regulator**, influences the **social operation of community clubs** in Queensland.

This data collection is for my **PhD study at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ)**. I am studying how community clubs enable their members to interact with each other and the benefits, if any, that members derive from their social interactions.

This is the **final stage of my data collection** (having already collected extensive information from selected clubs and their members). Your views, together with those of ClubsQld* will provide the ‘whole of industry’ perspectives to my findings.

The University has given me **ethical clearance** (No. H08REA054.1) to conduct this research. My assurances to you are that I will:

- not use your responses for any **purpose other than for the completion of my study**.
- **actively minimise or prevent** any misinterpretation of your views.
- store your responses **securely and confidentially** and **destroy them** upon the completion of my study.

While you are under **no obligation** to complete the questionnaire, I hope these assurances will **eliminate any reservation** you may have about participating in this consultation. (Please see my declaration of a potential conflict of interest below). It is difficult for me to approach **other regulators** because they do not have such a comprehensive legislative mandate as OLGR for community clubs.

Please answer all **five questions** below. It will take about **15 minutes** to complete them. If you require additional space, attach a separate sheet to the questionnaire.

Please email your feedback to [email address removed].

2. **What would you say are some ways in which the current laws on liquor and gaming influence how club members “socially connect” with each other?** i.e. keep in touch e.g. have a drink in a safer environment because of mandatory RSA.

3. **What would you say are some ways in which the current laws on liquor and gaming influence how club members "gain confidence" with each other?** i.e. interact with other members present at the club or participating in the same activity e.g. a bowls club must offer bowling as per its constitutional objects or risk losing its gaming or liquor licence.

4. What would you say are some ways in which the current laws on liquor and gaming influence how club members are exposed to certain values, in particular trust, reciprocity, cooperation, respect and care?

- **Trust** i.e. do the right thing e.g. manage a conflict of interest
- **Reciprocity** i.e. return a favour; not necessarily the same one e.g. alcohol provisions for visiting sporting team members
- **Cooperation** i.e. work together to achieve a common goal e.g. manage disorderly patrons
- **Respect** i.e. acknowledge opposing views e.g. obey a lawful directive from an employee
- **Care** i.e. offer or provide assistance e.g. duty of care under RSA and RSG

5. What do you think are the main challenges of regulating the ‘social operation’ of community clubs? (See definition of ‘social operation’ above.)

[Clubs Queensland]

Doctoral Research on Community Clubs

Dear Industry Stakeholder (**ClubsQld**)

Thank you for the opportunity to continue with my study as an **employee of ClubsQld**.*

As you are aware, I am completing my **PhD study at the University of Southern Queensland (USQ)**. I am studying how community clubs enable their members to interact with each other and the benefits, if any, that members derive from their social interactions.

As ClubsQld is the **peak representative body** of registered and licensed community clubs in Queensland, I will be grateful if you could provide your feedback (below) on how you see community clubs interacting with their members and local communities.

This is the **final stage of my data collection** (having already collected extensive information from selected clubs and their members). Your views, together with those of the Office of Liquor and Gaming Regulation (**OLGR**) will provide the ‘whole of industry’ perspectives to my findings.

The University has given me **ethical clearance (No. H08REA054.1)** to conduct this research. My assurances to you are that I will:

- not use your responses for any purpose other than **for the completion of my study**.
- **actively minimise or prevent** any misinterpretation of your views.
- store your responses **securely and confidentially** and **destroy them** upon the completion of my study.

While you are under **no obligation** to complete the questionnaire, I hope these assurances will **eliminate any reservation** you may have about participating in this consultation. It is difficult for me to approach **other peak bodies** because they only represent certain club types, which restrict their ability to articulate industry positions on matters affecting all community clubs.

Please answer all **five questions** below. It will take about **15 minutes** to complete them. If you require additional space, attach a separate sheet to the questionnaire.

Please email your feedback to [email address removed].

Upon receipt of the completed questionnaire, I will be very appreciative to get an **opportunity to discuss your responses, if necessary**. For this purpose only, I kindly request if you could provide your **contact details** at the end of the questionnaire.

Please do not hesitate to **contact me** on [telephone number removed] for clarification or information on my study. Alternatively, you may contact my principal supervisor, Dr. Malcolm Brown, on [telephone number removed].

Thank you very much for your kind assistance.

Mukesh Prasad

Student Number: 0050051278

*Policy and Research Manager

Note: This is a private and independent study that is funded entirely through the Federal Government’s Research Training Scheme (RTS).

Questions

- 1. How would you describe the ‘place occupied by community clubs’ in the socio-economic life of Queensland?** i.e. the socio-economic framework of their existence and operation.

2. **What would you say are some ways in which community clubs enable their members to ‘socially connect’ with each other?** i.e. keep in touch e.g. have a drink.

3. **What would you say are some ways in which community clubs influence their members to ‘gain confidence’ with each other?** i.e. interact with other members present at the club or participating in the same activity e.g. members participating in the game of bowls.

J. Breakdown of Survey Respondents

Factors		RSL Clubs	%	SLSS Clubs	%	Bowls Clubs	%
Gender	Male	58	56%	63	62%	77	73%
	Female	45	44%	38	38%	29	27%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%
Age	18 - 44 years	31	30%	46	46%	27	25%
	45 to 65 years	56	54%	32	32%	62	58%
	66 years & over	16	16%	23	23%	17	16%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%
Marital Status	Single	23	22%	37	37%	17	16%
	Married	46	45%	47	47%	53	50%
	Other	34	33%	17	17%	36	34%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%
Main Language	English	74	72%	82	81%	80	75%
	Other	29	28%	19	19%	26	25%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%
Level of Education	Year 12 & less	60	58%	59	58%	71	67%
	Post Year 12	43	42%	42	42%	35	33%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%
Employment Situation	Not Working	16	16%	27	27%	22	21%
	Working	62	60%	59	58%	48	45%
	Other	25	24%	15	15%	36	34%
	All	103	100%	101	100%	106	100%

Table continued below

Factors		Golf Clubs	%	Football Clubs	%	Multisports Clubs	%
Gender	Male	57	55%	52	50%	58	57%
	Female	46	45%	52	50%	44	43%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%
Age	18 - 44 years	36	35%	53	51%	49	48%
	45 to 65 years	45	44%	35	34%	29	28%
	66 years & over	22	21%	16	15%	24	24%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%
Marital Status	Single	33	32%	37	36%	31	30%
	Married	48	47%	46	44%	44	43%
	Other	22	21%	21	20%	27	26%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%
Main Language	English	73	71%	65	63%	79	77%
	Other	30	29%	39	38%	23	23%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%
Level of Education	Year 12 & less	50	49%	59	57%	63	62%
	Post Year 12	53	51%	45	43%	39	38%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%
Employment Situation	Not Working	21	20%	19	18%	28	27%
	Working	51	50%	61	59%	58	57%
	Other	31	30%	24	23%	16	16%
	All	103	100%	104	100%	102	100%

Table continued below

Factors		Recreation Clubs	%	Cultural Clubs	%	All Clubs	%
Gender	Male	79	75%	48	47%	492	59%
	Female	27	25%	55	53%	336	41%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%
Age	18 - 44 years	61	58%	37	36%	340	41%
	45 to 65 years	24	23%	32	31%	315	38%
	66 years & over	21	20%	34	33%	173	21%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%
Marital Status	Single	34	32%	33	32%	245	30%
	Married	45	42%	38	37%	367	44%
	Other	27	25%	32	31%	216	26%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%
Main Language	English	66	62%	77	75%	596	72%
	Other	40	38%	26	25%	232	28%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%
Level of Education	Year 12 & less	47	44%	57	55%	466	56%
	Post Year 12	59	56%	46	45%	362	44%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%
Employment Situation	Not Working	41	39%	23	22%	197	24%
	Working	52	49%	41	40%	432	52%
	Other	13	12%	39	38%	199	24%
	All	106	100%	103	100%	828	100%