Social Capital in Response of Social Inequality
-- A Global Pan-Chinese Network of Breast Cancer Survivors
(first draft)

Hao Wang[1]

Abstract:

Globalization opens the channels for individual and organizational opportunities and multiple risks which go hand-in-hand with social disparity (Beck, etc.). It bridges simultaneously the network-embedded resources and creates the chances for reducing the inequality (Larsen 2005). The unequal distributed nation-based welfare and global information flow aroused cross-border non-profit self-help networks as typical phenomenon responding the situation.

Chinese social capital is academically interpreted through its cultural specifics (Hamilton, etc.). Based on the same cultural setting, a global Pan-Chinese network in form of cyber- and formal organizations enrich the theories of social capital. This paper is not in the intention to attend the theoretical debates[2]. Nor is it able to do it. Through a case study we will emphasize that the different approaches of social capital can more or less explain the social functions of the global network by responding the global social inequality.

Since social capital has positive impact on health of breast cancer survivor (Stanford Study 2003). We participated observe and interview around 50 Chinese-spoken self-help groups (units, nodes) of breast cancer survivors respectively from Taiwan, Hong-Kong, Macao, Singapore, Malaysia, Mainland China and the USA[3] which network-organized in one gradually. Through quantitative network analysis (UCINET and its referred software) the structural propositions of social capital will be in-depth clarified. Through qualitative analysis (ATLAS) the action "patterns" and the comparable regional and institutional foundations on which the actions are possible will be concluded. In this way the cultural propositions would be discussed corresponsively.

A cultural-based network of disadvantaged Pan-Chinese groups and the embedded social resources will be seen as globalization effect for responding the social inequality?

---

[1] Assistant Professor of Feng-Chia University Taiwan (hwang@fcu.edu.tw), Member of ISA RC02
[2] Structural vs. cultural approach (or Lin, Granovetter and Burt vs. Coleman, Putnam and Fukuyama.)
[3] The research project is financially supported since Sept. 2007 by Feng-Chia University and Taiwan Lotto's Philanthropic Fond.

Keywords: social capital, social network, social inequality

Introduction

In sociological sense, the positive social-psychological impact of social capital on disadvantaged people can be traced to George Simmel. "Simmel developed the dialect of individual and society, (…) by developing the theory of differentiation and reciprocity of action, (…), broke with the conception that the mind and not the body constituted the substance of the individual." (Varga 2005: 218) The effect of the micro-macro interaction would be seen as "social medicine" in preventive and health caring sense. (Simmel 1897) Nearly all social therapist theory point out in the direction that interpersonal relationship is the most important answer for the up-and-down of one's psychological order. (Gelso & Hayes 1998) The current studies initiated by Stanford University and the following Californian researches for breast cancer survivors indicated that the function of relationship can be embedded in social level. (Spiegel et al, 1989) Social support has been identified then as a moderated factor for the quality of life of the breast cancer survivors. (Lewis J. A., et al. 2001) Although for the latest research, the participation in a voluntary association is not to do with subjectively reported health (Voelker and Flap 2008) and this functional proposition is also skeptically challenged by other papers, the social accessibility means still the quality of life of the breast cancer survivor, (Spiegel et al, 2007) not to mention that it is obviously helpful for health. (Song, 2008)

In the past the studies of social capital and social network within Pan-Chinese milieu focus strikingly on cross-border business collaboration (performance) of for-profit organizations and personal status attainment or job searching. Along with the rising of global civil society and the acceleration of Chinese open policy, the Pan-Chinese networks on the basis of non-for-profit organizations flourished since 1990s. Since accessibility and informational embeddedness are the main social resources for the disadvantaged people by medical-caring which can more or less ease the failures of market and state (Salamon and Anheier 1996). They represent also the dynamic variation of social inequality by distribution of social capital within groups involved and between them and the groups not involved[4]. (Lin 2001:ch.7) In this sense, along with the development of globalization we will represent the unequal distribution through the new phenomena of networking in three propositions which have never been discussed in view of Pan-Chinese networking of grass-root self-help NPOs. Through observing and participating in the networking activities of the Pan-Chinese

---

[4] A summary for the impact of social capital on inequality of health see also Song (2008).

breast cancer survivors we try to discuss the old social capital and social network propositions in the new age to explore Pan-Chinese NPO specific fact. The propositions are Chinese-specific-cultural, structural-accessible and regional-developmental ones.

The issue is just relevant in the following: the value of social network analysis for Health Care Delivery lies in the clarification of the complexity of information and knowledge transfer. (Introcaso 2006: 95) And the Chinese social capital is characterized through its social functions of information flow and the referred social disparity (Lin, Bian).

Theoretical references

The theoretical association between social capital and social inequality can be traced back to Lin's (2001) conclusion and explication. For him, the capital inequality results from two processes: (social) capital deficit and return deficit. It is "refer to the consequence of a process by which differential investment or opportunities result in relative shortage (in quantity or quality) of capital for one group compared with another"; it "may be differential opportunities: prevailing social structure and institutions (rules and practices or culture,…) in developing capital" (Lin 2001: 100)

Social capital of structural proposition and social inequality

Lin (2001: pp.1-7) summarized theoretical explications about the social capital. The first orientation is that social capital is a resource embedded in a social network, such that the social network is the core of social capital. This meso-level juncture of an individual and social relation is an approach that avoids the micro/macro conflict.

Granovetter (1985, pp. 481) criticized orientation of New Institutional Economics as pure functionalism. The personal network should not be reduced to an economic function of transactions, in which trust, expectation and sanction are established within networked individuals. Social relation – a weak tie – can likewise be a function of cultural continuity (Granovetter 1973, pp. 1360). Lin and Vaughn (1981), Lin (1982, 1988), and Lin and Dumin (1986) identified this bridge in empirical research of job-hunting in China. The tie is also used for attaining social status (Flap, et al, 1986) or getting more income (Meyerson, 1994; Grand, et al, 1994). The answer to who really owns this capital and to what extent it can be used is still muddled. For example, Podolny and Baron (1997, pp. 689-90) found that social actors can win only in a network with unrestricted informational flow. Burt (1992, 1997 pp. 361) distinguished social capital as indicated by its quality and quantity. "Structural holes

are the setting for tertius strategies. Information is the substance. Accurate, ambiguous or distorted information is moved between contacts by the tertius (…) Having access to information means being able to identify where there will be an advantage in bringing contacts together and is the key to understanding the resources and preferences being played against one another" (Burt 1992:33-4)

According to Coleman, social capital is not merely a network of social relations. It can be viewed as a social norm embedded in a social network. This is different from Lin's concept of social resource embedded in a social network. Social capital is one form of capital that depreciates over time; like human and physical capital, it depreciates if not renewed. Social relationships die if not maintained, expectations and obligations wither over time, and norms depend on regular communication (ibid., p. 321). The social network is also described by Coleman as a fundamental groundwork for social capital. Its production, conservation, and destruction hinges on closure, stability, and the duration of the network, as well as the ideology and other resources embedded in it (ibid., pp. 318-21). Social capital theories criticize neoclassical micro-theories based on ego-centralized calculus of utility, arguing that they neglect interactional effects of the actors involved. Loury (1977) defined social capital as personal resources which emanate from and are conditioned in institutions/organizations, such as the family, et al. The interpretations for social capital as a social resource have diverged. According to Coleman (1994, p. 305): "The function identified by the concept of social capital is the value of the aspects of social structure to actors, as resources that can be used by the actors to realize their interest. Reciprocity as a social norm guaranteeing functions of social capital is herein the core of social capital. Since trust is too expensive to buy directly in the market, such social capital finds its niche then and sometimes works more efficiently than physical and human capital." Bornschier (2002; 12pp) summarized the productivity of trust for: 1) learning implementation (Lane and Lubatkin 1998, OECD 1999, Maskell 2000); 2) information sharing (Arrow 1970, Kollock 1994, Yamagishi et. al 1998, Larson 1992, Yli-Renko et. al. 2001); 3) cross-over cooperation; 4) demand stimulation (Bornschier 2001, Volken 2002, Rogers 1965, 1995); 5) innovation promotion (Perez 1983, 1985); and 6) human capital accumulation.

## Social capital of cultural proposition and pan-Chinese culture

The particularity of the Chinese networked resource Guanxi has attracted notice by sociologists and economists to explain the Asian economic wonder[5] (Redding 1990,

---

[5] To Krugman (1994, pp. 75-76), this development is no wonder at all, because the clear-cut trend of success depends directly on institutional reform directed by the Chinese government.

1996; Hamilton 1991, 1996; Bian 1994; Herrmann-Pillath 1994b, 1996; Zhu 1998). In the Chinese sociological model, the work of Fei (1947, 1985) directed the way to modernization through the traditional Chinese network. Though the social network and resources embedded in it exist universally, a Chinese-specific network has a striking relativity rooted in Chinese culture, which influences its economic level (Herrmann-Pillath, 1996, pp. 101, Redding (1990, p. 83). Three cultural factors – patriarchalism, personalism and social insecurity – form the base of the Chinese capitalist spirit. They are the foundation of the Chinese network-culture and can explain the economic development of the Chinese community. As a constituent, Chinese enterprise is then characterized as a weak organization with strong links (Redding, 1996, pp. 30).

Fei's model of Chinese society was structured not by discrete organizations but by overlapped personal networks. This "differentiated configuration" is an egocentric network, with an individual in the center (Gransow, 1995, p. 193). Like a stone thrown in the water, the waves of the ego-centric network radiate outwardly in accordance with the intimacy of the relationships; relatives, friends and then more casual acquaintances form the rings. Chinese enterprise is thus constructed and many enterprises are then networked based on principles of blood- and origin-identity, (Table 1, Herrmann-Pillath, 1996, p. 31). This cultural setting conceived Chinese-type organizations, which are not based on regulation of a right system but on reciprocal fulfillment of social obligations. Also in this way, social monitoring and controlling systems were institutionalized. (Gransow, 1995, ibid.). Herrmann-Pillath (1996, p. 104) found that a Chinese network is neither an informal group nor a formal organization. We can distinguish it from a normal network because its members can be identified through specific cultural features. As committed trust and expectation, social relation can wield influence and can work as a bridge connecting information loads. Through this tie, individuals duplicate and extend their own network.

Table 1. The Networking of Chinese Enterprises and their Functions

To outside →

Actor	Families	Relatives	Informal Organization	Dialect Organization	Overseas Chinese
Organization -form	Family Enterprise	Family Network	Cooperation of Enterprises	Societies Association	International Enterprise group in profession
Function	Labor	Resource	Common	Regionalizing of	Economic

5

	Distribution flow	Infrastructure	Investments	Monopolization

Source: Herrmann-Pillath, 1996, p. 31.

The second orientation of social capital can be a civic engagement. Like Coleman, Putnam (1993, 1995, 1996, 2000) argued that features of networks, such as norms (reciprocity, civic virtue) and trust mechanisms of social organizations are social capital. This is where mutual benefits can be coordinated. For example, a dense network can promote civic engagement, thereby contributing to collective capital-richness and power; in Putnam's works, however, a causal relationship between civil engagement and social capital is still confused (Lin 2001, p. 4). The third orientation of social capital is general trust (Coleman 1990, Fukuyama 1995). This can be promoted in a denser and closer network of reciprocity. In such a network, trust reduces the cost of transactions and makes the transaction process smoother because it promotes mutual obligations, norms and sanctions, which offer greater power to the participants. But for Burt (1992: 17), the more dense, close and homogeneous is the network, the less valuable it is.

In combination with New Institutional Economics, Herrmann-Pillath (1996) indicated that within the Chinese cultural and structural context, social change implies insecure and unclear institutional frameworks. With such external conditions, Chinese organizations and the individual will try to get information/resources and will also attempt to reduce transaction costs through the network and the trust system based on this network (see also Nee 1996). These unofficial institutions (i.e., social networks) have even constructed good and functional relationship models with official institutions, laying the groundwork for reciprocity (ibid., pp. 7-9). Herrmann-Pillath (ibid., p. 27) found that these networks linking official agencies and private enterprises have even created the so-called East Asian Wonder (World Bank, 1993). This is the situation where all connected sides want to orient along with meritocratic and reciprocal principles in order to maximize utility for all parties (Amsden, 1991: 284).

Most academic works concentrate on positive functions of networks for economic activity in the countryside but neglect the negative impact, where guanxi dominates the national economy in some sectors (Zhang, 1995). Zhu (1998, p. 75) found that even the family network in the country was not stable and not long-lasting enough for economic growth in China, given the fragility of the unclear and unofficial enterprise relationships. To Zhang (ibid., pp. 86-89), the behavior model of Chinese people's guanxi-searching is comparable to rent-seeking in cities. The input for guanxi-searching includes all costs to the actors. Once again, this input will initially be repaid positively to the individual and negatively to society, which in the end will

negatively affect the individual. Wang (2007) found also that relationships founded on interior identification and trust in a close network can easily become barriers for organizational transformation. In this sense, guanxi forms cliques, distorts the exchange norm as public good and hence the distribution of the social resource embedded. This is also highly relevant in a NPO network (Anheier, 2004)

The regional and developmental variation as exterior factors

One's welfare level is conditioned through the communities (regions, institutions) in which one lives. Acheson (1989: 375-76) revised the common-property theory indicating that people always overexploit resources in a common-property society, but: "Perhaps this axiom can be restated as follows in most societies, individual rights to resources are subordinate to those of the community." "In virtually all societies, there are controls on access to resources and various kinds of rules and institutional arrangements to limit exploitive activities." It seems that the local constraint is not just an economic or cultural issue. Schweizer (1996: 61) discussed the postmodern and more global oriented society and find that instead of "Kultur als Text" the social trends to heterogeneity and political context have strong impact on social order and network development. That is, the pattern of the social order is always historically variant.

That is, although the local conditions have still their strong impacts on people's opportunity or constraints. Globalization accelerates the development of network society and increases the complexity. "A more substantial case for the cultural significance of transboundary or global cultural networks, organizations and flows has been made in other areas." (Held, a.o., 1999: 371) "The efforts of the new social movements (…) are an additional example of transnational or "third" cultural networks. In the women's movement, (…), cultural and intellectual communication, and discussion have been established between groups in many nation-states. Transnational organizations linking them and facilitating flows of information and political mobilization have been established. Political cooperation and new types of campaigning and argument are involving in the context of shared values and aims, helping to forge a distinctive transnational perspective." (Held, a.o., 1999: 371-2)

On the level of global dialogue through actions of networking, people find ironically the efforts to solve the problems or to reduce the risk which globalization brings into itself. The so-called "new modernity" is a "risk society, its normative counter project, which is its basis and motive force, is safety. The place of the value system of the "unequal" society is taken by the value system of the "unsafe" society"[6]. (Beck 1992:

---

[6] In some textual paragraphs Beck has not exactly explicated his terminologies of "unequal" and

49) Social inequality seems still an issue for Beck (1992: 135-7). It depends on how individual is able to learn and mobilize independently across the boundary to reduce their risk. "With detraditionalization and the creation of global media networks, the biography is increasingly removed from its direct spheres of contact and opened up across the boundaries of countries and experts for a long-distance morality which put the individual in the position of potentially having to take a continual stand. (…) While governments still operate within the structure of nation states, biography is already being opened to the world society." (Beck 1992: 137)

In the era of global-networked society, information technologies are modern mechanism to distribute the social capital. "Differential timing in access to the power of technology for people, countries, and regions is a critical source of inequality in our society. And the switched-off areas are culturally and spatially discontinuous." (Castells, 1996: 33)

Empirical Frame and Methods

Representatives of 44 Chinese-spoken groups (nodes) of breast cancer survivors were interviewed. It is a complete network in the sense that we watched all nodes ever involved in this global alliance of Pan-Chinese groups since that the network started to form. Presenting or deleting the lines depends on the fact whether the relevant two nodes having regular substantial exchange relation during the relevant time interval. The network is built on the one-mode and non-directional symmetrical data set. The resources embedded include reciprocal information sharing, intimacy communicating, training program involving, clinical findings introducing or consulting, public support of finance/material, and common purchasing and consuming. We define the six events which have decisive impact on the critical change of the network. They are 1998 the starting of cross-continental (Node 38, 5) and intra-Taiwan networking (node 34 as initiative); 2000 overtaking the Kai-Huai (node 38) the roles of integration and promotion as the marginal groups[7] (nodes in grey color) started to involve in the network; 2002 forming of a formal Taiwanese Association of Breast Cancer Survivors (node 20) which was designed artificially to serve the groups across Taiwan then having contact with American Cancer Society; 2004 having contact with Singapore's groups and hence building important business relationships with global firms; 2006 conducting the first activity of Pan-Chinese conference in Taiwan supported by ACS,

---

"unsafe" as he used them.

[7] Herein means marginality the locality (in county or remote region) with less clinic resources.

Susan G. Komen and other global players and inviting the groups from China, Hong Kong and Macao; 2007 realizing the second conference and a formal network in name of Global Pan-Chinese Alliance of Breast Cancer Survivors in which a governance and rotation system was established. In this way, we can observe and analyze the network and the capital redistributed.

For qualitative interview, we use the standard questionnaire of social capital developed by World Bank. But for enhancing the validity, we edited the questionnaire for breast cancers survivors in Chinese milieu according the specialist opinions and empirical findings[8]. Furthermore, we presented each interviewee the group names of nodes without lining for helping them to remember their relationships with other nodes. We check the words through each other in the princile of triangle-test and then textually analyzed through ATLAS.ti to make sure that the content and timing are valid.
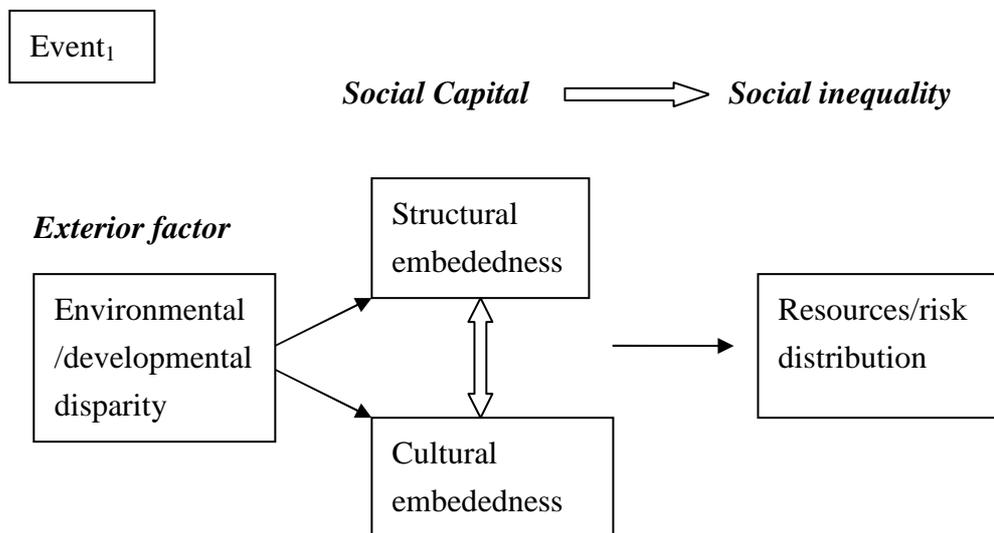
Graphic 1: A framework of impact of social capital on social inequality

Since the
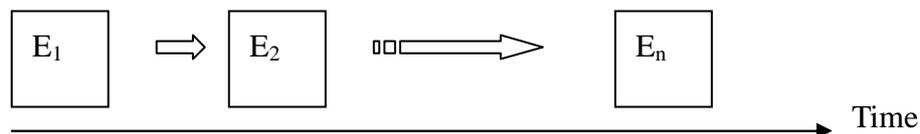
Graphic 2: Dynamic impact of social capital on social inequality

This paper goes in 3 propositions:

---

8 It means the relevant social resources and issues for the pan-Chinese Breast cancer survivors which the precedent empirical studies have discussed.

1. Pan-Chinese cultural inequality proposed that the social capital distributed along with the traditional blood-, quasi-family principles.
2. The opportunity-accessible (structural) inequality proposed that the social capital distributed along with the ties.
3. The core-marginal inequality proposed that the distribution of social capital distributed along with the level of socio-economic development and hence the marginality of the groups.

In order to verify the propositions, we use social network analysis and qualitative retrospective interview to represent the formation of the network and the distribution of the capital embedded. The value of social network analysis in health care delivery could be explored by understanding how the information and knowledge (as a kind of social capital) distributed (Introcaso: 95). Nonetheless, Rogers (2003) finds the social networking especially as a communication infrastructure providing research information which transfer or/and introduce the research findings and clinical evidence more rapidly.

Results

This cross-continental network started through a Chinese Magazine published in New York. Without this cultural identity, this network is not possible. For such a not-for-profit network, the organizational identity bases not on profit but common and personal experiences. The development of this network is not along with the "differentiated configuration of blood principle" but with the level of social openness and development by which resource and intimacy sharing is possible.

> *B: yes. At that time when I was sick, my brother cut the article she wrote on the paper and gave that for me to read, where I found the number of Lucy, whom I called when I arrived.（38-2）*

> *B: I called and talked with her a lot, then we felt for one another; I said I would like to see you, and I went to see her by train in New York; we chatted away and cried, and the strange feeling made us bosom friends. I pay a visit to her when I go to the US each year.（38-2）*

This connection is dominant for the positive development of the Pan-Chinese network since that the resources for health caring were the most progressive at that time.

One of them is a key figure, she once sent me the telephone number of main stream cancer organizations, such as ACS, Y-ME, Suan G Komen, almost over 20 organizations. I think she is helpful to me! (01:02)
If you request, I provide you with list and help to contact American Cancer Society; if asked whether or not they can provide the program, they tell me they can provide 50 names (01:02).

Constraints or opportunities a network will be depend on its trustworthiness. Resources flow in it, especially the clinic information which doctors can guarantee influence the sustainability of the network obviously.

threat or chance? O.k. is just a challenge, but I have to remind you…Zi Ping that you will find it is very hard in the future if you have not good relations with the associations of doctors. Because the associations you serve will turn their back if they just slightly encourage their doctors, and I say, it is real that nine tenths, I emphasize nine tenths of the associations depend on hospitals and doctors. (38-1:19)
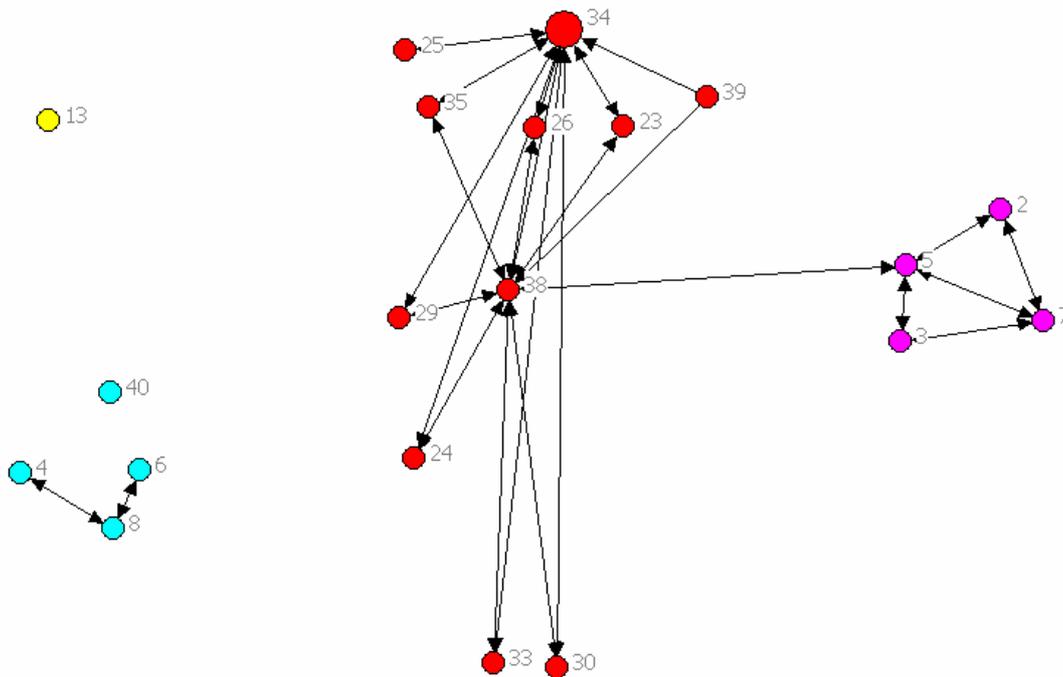
Graphic 1: before 1998

The needs for the resources or the "fear" against its scarcity are the drives of all Taiwanese groups to establish the formal association TBCA (node 20). But the main challenges are the distribution of the social capital occupied through this position. Without trust the "nominal" position is continually losing its "real" capability and authority to distribute the resources.

Because many people donate money to TBCA, I think this problem lies in trust. When the team resource is insufficient, people will think if I do something with you, I will share the resources with you or something else? But in fact for me, the resources I raise in China will be donated to China without such resources returned to Taiwan, and I would not think that way, because I do this to make them trust you, who I think are not selfish! If he sees that you are selfish, you are done with! (39:7)
I can only establish my power in TBCA by donating and spending all the resources, can't I; If TBCA pays us a lot today, we will sure succumb to her, won't we; but she never gives us any benefits, instead it is we who care about her. (38-1)

That is, the power of resources distribution depends also on the return of the members' contribution and participation. The one who is able to offer social capital earns social capital.

A：He would not have come without your transportation allowances.

B: no, he would not. But sometimes TBCA is too mean with them, that is your benefits TBCA gives depends on what others might give you. I think that it is likely that he has been given larger responsibilities by TBCA. If he could result in such situation, he would make the members more willingness for participation. (34:23)

The establishment of the formal association TBCA has not undermined the basis of the main actor in the alliance, Kai-Huai (node 38). Sharing and transferring social capital competently and hence win the trust is the most important factor.

You may see what Kaihuai has achieved? According to my observation, she is the most active among the cancer patients group, much more than TBCA or many associations in Taipei.
The so called trust is that so long as the association is functional, we can trust them,

why? This is because of the shared resources, and it is often OK if the founders are

generous and not selfish. ﹙25:15﹚
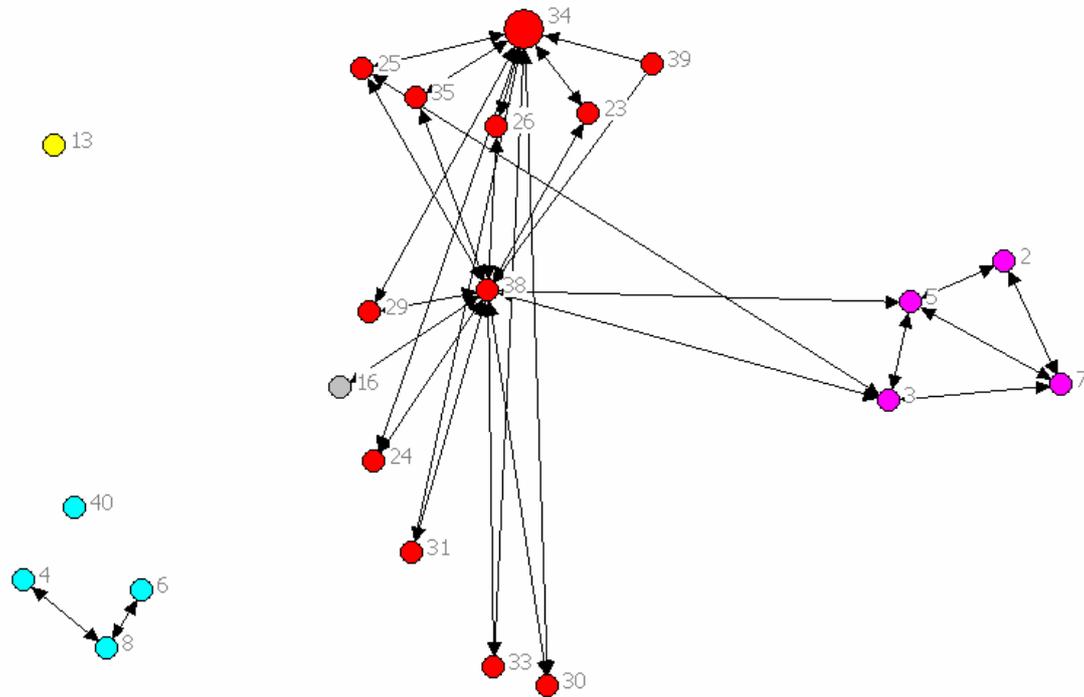
Graphic 2: before 2000

The presence of Taiwanese marginal groups (nodes of grey color) joining in the
network is obviously later through the helps of Kaihuai although the core groups
(nodes of red color) were trying to transfer resource through the intra-relationships to
their socio-economically disadvantaged people. One of the main reasons is the
scarcity of resources.

Of the 40% breast cancer patients, about two thirds came from the homeland
because they are so poor that they need lingual and economic help; it is also
difficult to develop the support group because they barely make a living, (01:09)
I think it is good not to close! We have been always trying to do for marginal people,

so…we are one in the sisterhood. ﹙24:2﹚

In fact, one of the disadvantages for the groups in remote areas is the social
recognition of the public health care which reduces the motivation of the people
participating the network. It sets constraints for taking actions. On the contrary, the

urban area has more resource and less transaction cost.

It is not easy to organize activities in Yunlin and Chiayi, and I don't know that you work with St. Martin. How about the activities at St. Martin? Here we visit fellow patients, and we find that they have a lot of demands and problems in common.

Few patients take part in the speech held by professionals we invite.（28:11）

A: the difference between rural area and urban area is that the people in urban area are transparent, open minded, and they get resources quickly by a call ... they may come across some resources… and they may easily accept the patients who are normal except the sicknesses.
A: but in rural area, if you tell people you have contracted breast cancer, they will…
B: yes… something undesirable.   (37:11)

Returns of Inequality by social capital distribution make social capital more unequal. The one who can deliver their alter resources become more resources from the alter. The creation of social capital built on an intangible-reciprocal relationship. The mechanism of social exchange fails as the NPOs lose their trust or "mission" so that they break their implementation of the reciprocity.

B: Because NCKU think that you cooperate with me for my resources, so you have to contribute if you cooperate with him; but if you cooperate with me just for my resources, I am afraid I have to reject such cooperation (Taiwanese dialect), nowadays we are negotiating on the matters related to the Hope Association.
A: Oh, the Hope Association?
B: yes, the Hope Association always wants to set up a point in NCKU, which proposed such preconditions as rooms, expenses; they propose that the hospital pay the expenses for the dedicated staff, how could it be possible (Taiwanese dialect), that one human post be added in a national organization.   (32:22)

The NPO who insists to trust and hence sustains their mission[9] to serve wins eventually the return of the alters. The Kai-Huai has done the best and always takes the initiative. Reciprocal benefits through network let the embedded value not easily be replaced and be accumulated as social capital potentially.

We slowly began to take part in some activities, like those of Kaihuai; some volunteers held some training, then TBCA was formed gradually. (…) We depend

---

[9] Because of same identity?

on our sisters and establish one association here. It is not impossible to establish the

association with the help of the hospital.（29:11）

- *B: No, because Kaihuai offered guidance during our foundation…（22:010）*

- *B: yes, many materials…Kaihuai gave us a lot of materials, and we gave such materials to our fellow patients. Later TBCA was founded, then we got some*

  information.（22:163）

- *B:….such breast cancer patients were so poor we gave them things and they gave us thanks; (Kaihuai) Xinci communicated with me when I was not*

  diagnosed as breast cancer patient （19:010）
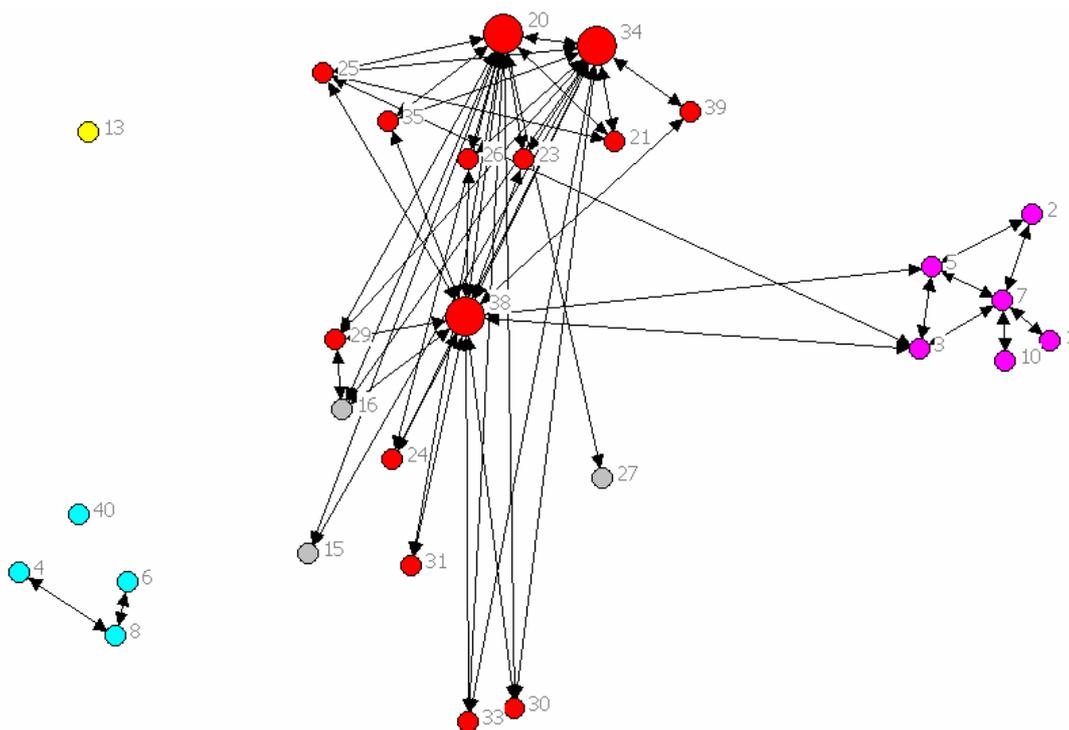
Graphic 3: before 2002

Through relationship of Kai-Huai and the "structural hole" Mrs. Takako, the Pan-Chinese groups expands their network to Singapore. This important event opens the network the channels directly to international activities and resources of INGOs

and global pharmaceutic industries.

C: UICC controls RRI… the global breast cancer meeting was held every two years. In Sep. 2004, the meeting was held in Singapore. In April or May, the Japanese principal Takako told us the meeting was going to be held in Singapore, then we registered for the meeting; we took four women from Kaihuai, including Lili and Shuhui from Penghu; we held that meeting together with the singapore's cancer prevention association, some foundations, some global companies,…. Zhu Ying and I were speakers for Singapore and Taiwan respectively; we then have a discussion

in teams, and Zhu Ying talked to us when she saw me.（38-2）

Because of the common cultural identity, the network stretched outwardly to other Chinese communities. The impact of trust (as agency) on expected (potential) benefit realize this connection. (Bian)

B：Yes, and ja, we invited also Shen-Yue and the people from the USA, Hong Kong,

that was the way we networked..（38-2:463-466.469）

B: yes, she was born in Singapore, so she spoke English but poor Chinese. We did not have to talk to the doctor… but because of Zhu Ying's recommendation, we thought it over and accepted her, even paid her so that we might establish good relationship with local people.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*(38-2:14)*
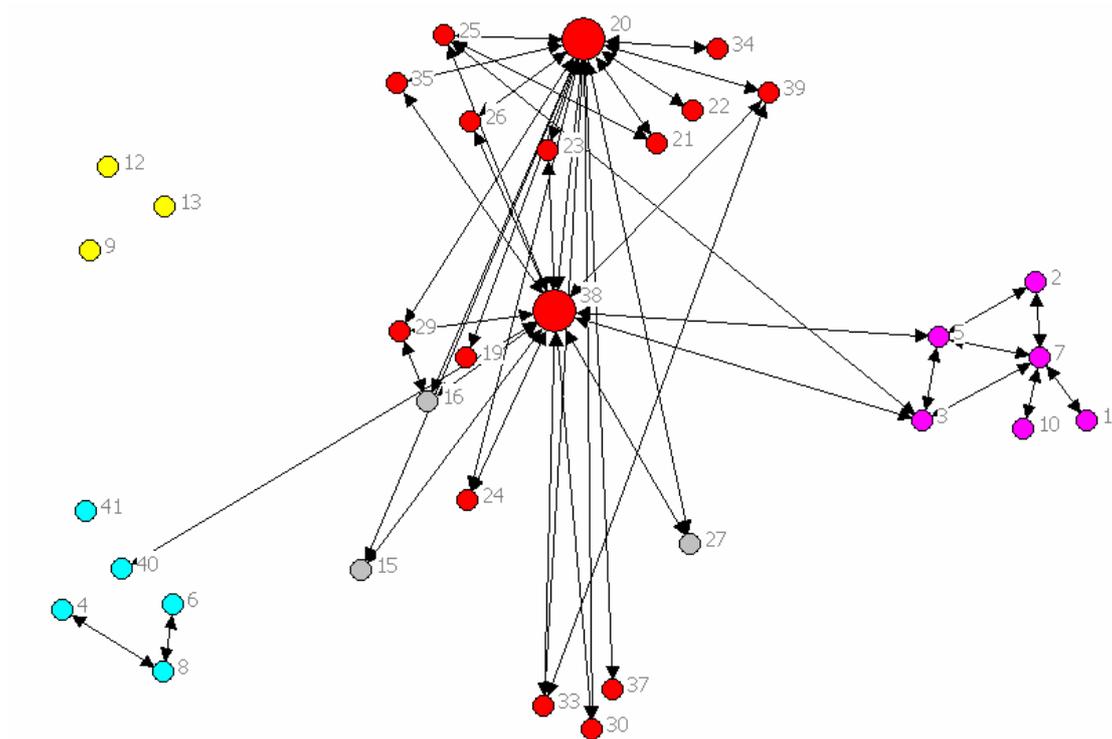
Graphic 4: before 2004

The most important event before 2006 is the connection of Kaihuai with the groups in Shanghai and Peking. This is also the first time that the west health-caring pedagogic technique can be promoted in China in the issue of of breast cancer post-service designed in the frame of NPOs. The relationship between trust and resources embedded represents as a causal relation. Culture makes Structure work.

B: when (Kaihuai's) Shu Duan understood the situation in Shanghai, then she saw Danyang's website on the magazine, she felt it was special so she wanted to visit Danyang, (…) seems that Shuduan first paid a visit to Duanyang and she liked that girl.
B: Shanghai. When Shuduan was there, we went to Shanghai Yankang Saloon and implemented one day's training program; then we went to Beijing and got to know Danyang; we visited her at 307 hospital and established relations with her.

（38-2:333-225）

B: In fact, we first contacted in 2005, when on March 8ᵗʰ the international women's day Shanghai TV invited Danyang from Beijing to attend a program; then Danyang and Shuduan contacted each other and introduced me to Shanghai Tv, which

actually knew our hospital; then Shanghai Tv and Shuduan introduced Yan kang…
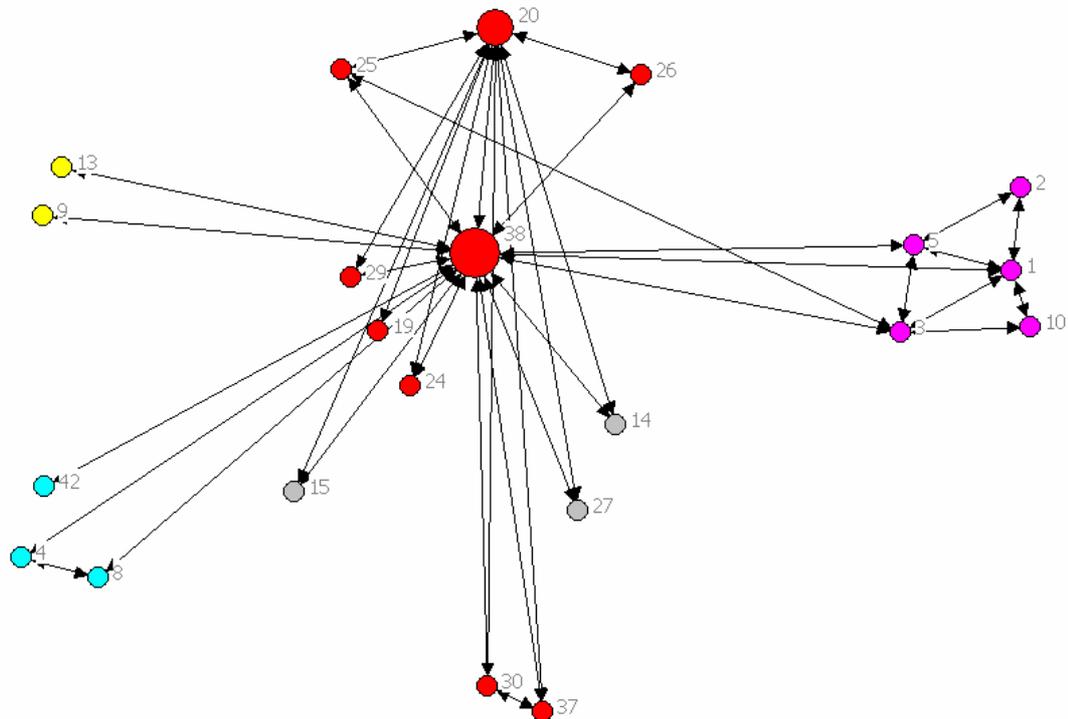
Graphic 5: before 2006

The conflicts between Kaihuai and TBCA become more and more explicit due to equivalence problems in structural design, management capability, service quality and quality and cultural identity. The distribution of material resources worsened the situation. That some northern groups refused to attend the second global congress hosted by Kaihuai released the signal of risk and increases the complexity and inequality.

B: Because if I am still at Kaihuai, they probably will leave TBCA; different interests may conflict. If you are with TBCA, it is easier to apply for funds.
B: The global Chinese association did this to achieve that purpose, so the chairman

of TBCA did not resign.（29:272-274）

B: Kaihuai had their own problems. Kaihuai should strive for their rights; TBCA should do something for Global Chinese Association, rather than for Kaihuai.

（29:278）

B: Qiong shu, why do we support him this time around? If he fails, we fail（29:350）

B: every one is leader, but whom shall I follow?　（19:225-228）….if there are many leaders, things would turn bad because the leaders cannot tolerate each other..（19:232）

Again, trust, participation and identity hold the members together. Guanxi as weak tie for resource flow strengthen the position of Kaihuai whereas the TBCA lose its relative impact in its nominal frame.

B:… we agree with aims of the global Alliance of Chinese breast cancer survivors (leaded by Kaihuai) to share our resources…　（09:020）

· *A:　do you think as a doctor, you have any future?*
   B: yes, I think so.
   A: why are you so confident about your future?
   B: yes! Because (Kaihuai)Zi Ping has such capability, and there are needs

（21:322-325）

· *B: so I feel that we should learn from Kaihuai how to unify our volunteers （02:137）*

B: many sisters told me not to give up the endless love for Kaihuai…（29:296）
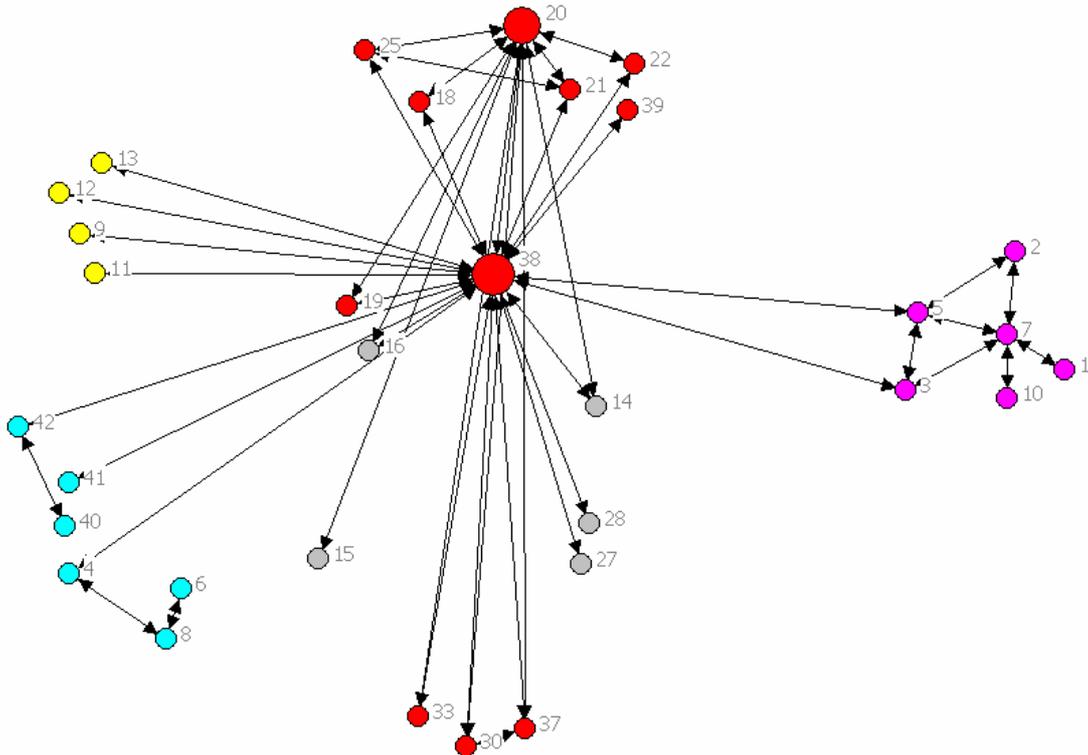
Graphic 6: before 2007

Conclusion

We find that the distributional mechanism of social inequality to explain the Chinese network have to be redefined in the specific frame of the self-help organization; the "weak organization, strong network" cultural characteristics present in the Global Alliance of Chinese Breast Cancer Survivors are extended and recognized by the Chinese community, but the "differentiated configuration" of its network structure is not personal, patriarchic, or even traditional, and if economic and social factors are involved, the longitudinal, spatial and even political variation (either inter- or intra-nationally) of modernization level may roughly serve as an explanation. The have obvious impact on structural change hence the resources flow, actions and interactions and the cultural identity. The social inequality developing along the axis of social capital during globalization depends on the return of itself.

From the perspective of the interaction of social capital and network development, the network structure development undergoes different stages; first, the network is formed on the basis of "personal common experience" and "community cultural

similarities", then such formation allows the resources to be shared, which manifests the bridge function; the peculiar characteristics "two antagonist cores, exterior and interior, real and nominal" in Taiwan networks are also formed with the resources shared in the network primarily being knowledge and information, then the network's development is accelerated by the demands, but the fast expansion requires formal organization rather than informal trust; the new network resources such as the social honor and the input from the enterprises, governments and non-governmental organizations begin to pose a threat to the network development because of the unequal resource allocation and closed recognition.

The social capital factors which used to determine the network development, such as participation, trust, norms still play the feedback roles, and they are positive in promoting the welfare of the network members[10], such as concrete resources, information or emotional attachment. However, the emotional attachment and recognition is the major element to initiate the Global Alliance of Chinese Breast Cancer Survivors. In other words, the foundation of the non profit organization is based on the so-called "mission" (Peter Druker); they feel for the sisters with the same painful experience and create common language and understanding; the share of experience between them helps relieve their fear and upset (Deng Qiming) In the struggle against sickness, the help among the patients plays a key role in the process.

In addition, we have also found that social capital may have some negative effects on network development: the factions may hinder learning and development; the domestic and international network communication and capital return obviously follow the economic development axis, and in this way, the social capital renders the social resource allocation more and more unequal.

However, the limitations in the article include:

1. The limitation of the interviewees: the interviewees are all the representative for the respective association, and although the questionnaires mainly focus on past events, the interviewees may forget partial details of the occurrences long time ago; and the interviewer and interviewee meet for the first time, so the answers might be influenced by personal values, organizational culture and trust; we employed

---

[10] The variance within network decreases through the events but that within nodes increases. It is reasonable to propose that the variance between network members and non-network members increases. (see following tables)

therefore the triangular test to verify the accuracy of the answer of the interviewees.

2. The limitations of the materials; the interviewees are divided into: (1) some representatives present at the second Global Congress of Chinese Breast Cancer Survivors; (2) some representatives of the domestic groups, all of whom are willing to receive the interview. Although all nodes are interviewed in Taiwan, some key informants of the groups from foreign countries are not accessible.

3. The limitations of theory: viewed from the network association development theory, the study obviously is based on the theory of "network embeddedness", but the article fails to test the views and assumptions of the resource dependent theory, the external theory of organizational development; therefore the researcher expects the later study to continue the test.

References:

Anheier, Helmut, 2005: Nonprofit Organizations. Theory, Management, Policy. Routledge Publ..

Acheson, James M., 1989: Management of Common-Property Resources. In: Plattner S. (ed.): Economic Anthropology. Stanford University Press.

Beck, Ulrich, 1992: Risk Society, Toward a New Modernity (Transl. by) M. Ritter, Sage Publ..

Bian, Yianjie, 1994: *Work and Inequality in Urban China,* State University of New York Press. Social network as a goal for non-profit organizations

Burt, R. 2000: The Network Structure of Social Capital, in: Research in Organizational Behavior, Vol. 22, May, 2000.

Castells, Manuel, 1996: The Rise of the Network Society, Blackwell publ..

Coleman, James S. 1994: Foundation of Social Theory. Harvard University Press.

Fei, Xiaotung, 1947 (1985): *Erdverbundenes China*, Peking.

Gransow, Bettina, 1995: Chinesische Modernisierung und kultureller Eigensinn, *Zeitschrift für Soziologie,* Jg. 24, Heft 3: 183-195.

Hamilton, Gary G. (Hrsg.), 1991: *Business Networks and Economic Development in East and Southeast Asia,* University of Hongkong Press, Hong-kong.

----------------------------------, 1996: The Organizational Foundations of Western and Chinese Commerce: A Historical and Comparative Analysis, *Asian Business*

Networks, Hamilton, G. G. (eds.), de Gruyter.

Held, David, Anthony McGrew, David Goldblatt and Jonathan Perraton, 1999: Global Transformations, Polity Press.

Herrmann-Pillath, Carsten, 1994: Modell China - Transformation als Revolution? *Gegenwartskunde* 3/1994: 385-413.

--------------------------------1996: *Networks, Culture and the Socioeconomic Behavioral Patterns of the Chinese*, San-Xi-Jin-Ji Verl., Taiyuan.

Gelso, Charls J. & Hayes, Jeffrey A., 1998: The Psychotherapy relationship – theory research and practice, Wiley published.

Introcaso, David M., 2005: The Value of Social Network Analysis in Health Care Delivery, in: Durland, M.M. & Fredericks, K.A. (eds.): social Network analysis in Program Evaluation, p. 95-98, Wiley published.

Krugman, Paul, 1994: *The Myth of Asia´s Miracle, Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec.: 62-78.

Lewis, Julie A., Sharon L. Manne, Katherine N. DuHamel, SuzanneJohnson M. Vickburg, Dana H. Bovbjerg, Violante Currie, Gary Winkel and William H. Redd, 2001: Social Support, Intrusive Thoughts and Quality of Life in Breast Cancer Survivors. Journal of Behavioral Medicine, Vol 24, No. 3.

Lin, Nan, 2001: Social Capital. A Theory of Social Structure and Action. Cambridge University Press.

MacMillan, Keith, Kevin Money, Arthur Money, Steve Downing, 2005: Relationship Marketing in the Non-For Profit-Sector: An Extension and Application of the Commitment-Trust Theory. Journal of Business Research 58: 806-818.

Redding, S. Gordon, 1990: *The Spirit of Chinese Capitalism, de Grutyer*, Berlin/New York.

-------------------, 1996: Weak Organization and Strong Linkages: Managerial Ideology and Chinese Family Business Networks, Asian Business Networks, Gary G. Hamilton (eds.), *de Grutyer*, Berlin/New York.

Rogers, E., 2003: Diffusion of Innovations (5th ed.) , Free Press, New York.

Salamom, L. M. and H. K. Anheier 1996: The Emerging Nonprofit Sector. An Overview. Manchester University Press.

Schweizer, Thomas, 1996: Muster Sozialer Ordnung, Netwerkanalyse als Fundament der Sozialethnologie, Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Simmel, George, 1897: Soziale Medizin, Die Zeit (Vienna), Vol. 10, 13.10.1897. Translated by J. Casparis and A. C. Higgins, 1968: George Simmel on Social Medicine, Social Forces, Vol. 47, p. 330-4.

Song, Lijung, 2008: Your Body knows who you know, social capital and well-being Inequality in the United States. Paper of "International Social Capital

Conference" Academia Sinica, Taipei Taiwan. May 29-30 2008.

Spiegel David et al. 1989: Effect of psychosocial treatment on survival of patients with metastatic breast cancer. Lancet 1989, 2: 888-891.

Spiegel David, Lisa D. Butler**,** Janine Giese-Davis and colleagues, 2007: "Effects of supportive-expressive group therapy on survival of patients with metastatic breast cancer: a randomized prospective trial", **Cancer** *2007; 110(5): 1130-38.*

Varga, Ivan, 2005: The Body – The New Sacred? The Body in Hypermodernity. Current Sociology, Vol. 53, Nr. 2, Mo. 1, p. 207-235.

Voelker, B. and H. Flap, 2008: Reproduction of Inequality in the Netherlands through the creation of and return to social capital? Paper of "International Social Capital Conference" Academia Sinica, Taipei Taiwan. May 29-30 2008.

Wang, Hao, 2007: Social Capital As Collective and Private Goods For Cooperative Development: The Case of Credit Unions in Taiwan. In: Yu, Tony Fu-Lai (ed.): Taiwan's Economic Transformation in Evolutionary Perspective. Nova Science Publ.

Wasserman, S. and K. Faust, 1994: Social Network Analysis, Methods and Applications, Cambridge University Press.

Yu, Ying-Shi, 1992: The Modern Meaning of Chinese Culture in Frame of Value System, Shi-Bao-Wen-Hua Publ., Taipei.

Zhu, Qiu-Xia, 1998: *Networked Family and Development of Rural Private Enterprises*, She-Hui-Shui-Jian-Jiu, 1998 (1): 63-75.

Appendix:

Tab. 2: The groups (nodes) observed and interviewed

No. of Node	Group interviewed
1	角聲癌症協會 Texas, USA
2	新州美華防癌協會 NJ, USA
3	美國防癌協會加州華人分會 - 開心俱樂部 CA, USA
4	澳門愛心之友協進會 Macau
5	美華防癌協會 - 開懷人俱樂部 NY, USA
6	香港癌症基金會 Hong Kong

7	美國癌症協會 ACS, USA
8	香港乳癌聯席 Hong Kong
9	上海妍康沙龍乳腺癌症患者康復俱樂部 Shanghai, China
10	光鹽社癌友關懷網 USA
11	輝瑞製藥有限公司 USA
12	廣東深圳汝康會 Shengzhen, China
13	北京癌症康復會 Peking, China
14	署立宜蘭醫院互勵聯誼會, Yilan, Taiwan
15	澎湖彩繪人生協會, Penhu, Taiwan
16	台中仁愛醫院汝顏之友聯誼會, Taichung, Taiwan
17	童綜合醫院社工室, Taichung Taiwan
18	台灣癌症資訊全人關懷協會, Taipei, Taiwan
19	署立台中醫院美麗人生乳癌關懷俱樂部, Taichung, Taiwan
20	中華民國乳癌病友協會, TBCA, Taiwan
21	台灣乳房重建協會, Taipei, Taiwan
22	萬芳醫院綺麗人生聯誼會, Taipei, Taiwan
23	台北市溫馨協會 Taipei, Taiwam
24	彰基丰采關懷團體 Changhua, Taiwan
25	林口長庚向日葵關懷聯誼會, Taipei, Taiwan

26	台北榮總同心緣關懷聯誼會 Taipei, Taiwan
27	嘉義聖馬爾定醫院曙光俱樂部 Jiayi, Taiwan
28	嘉義基督教醫院社工室 Jiayi Taiwan
29	中國醫藥大學附設醫院圓緣俱樂部
30	高雄市雙峰關懷協會 Kaohsiung, Taiwan
31	台南市鳳凰關懷協會 Tainan, Taiwan
32	成大醫院飛揚俱樂部 Tainan, Taiwan
33	高醫木棉花關懷俱樂部 Kaohsiung, Taiwan
34	天主教康泰醫療教育基金會 Taipei, Taiwan
35	台大醫院真善美俱樂部 Taipei, Taiwan
36	屏東基督教醫院 Pingtung, Taiwan
37	高雄市心手相連關懷協會 Kaohsiung, Taiwan
38	台中市開懷協會 Taichung, Taiwan
39	台灣華歌爾股份有限公司 Taipei, Taiwan
40	Singapore Cancer Society, Reach To Recovery, Singapore
41	The Revival Connection, Singapore
42	Voice for Cancer Survivors, Singapore

Tab. 3: Development of the Components[11]

	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007

---

[11] The connected subgraphs in a graph are called components. A component of a graph is a maximal connected subgraph. (Wasserman and Faust: 109-10) It indicates that the more components a graph has, the more heterogeneous and hence the more inequal it become.

components	26	24	18	15	21	11
Normalized heterogeneity	0.875	0.839	0.703	0.619	0.732	0.424
Normalized entropy	0.720	0.672	0.520	0.439	0.567	0.294
Fragmentation (prop. of nodes that cannot reach each other)	0.875	0.839	0.703	0.619	0.732	0.424

Tab. 4: Development of the network Density[12] and standard Deviation

	1998	**2000**	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2007**
Density (matrix average)	0.0285	0.0348	0.0616	0.0534	0.0441	0.0528
S.D	0.1663	0.1834	0.3403	0.2249	0.2054	0.2237

Tab. 5: development of the clique[13]

	1998	**2000**	**2002**	**2004**	**2006**	**2007**
Minimum Set Size : 3	10	4	16	15	13	11
Minimum Set Size : 4	0	0	9	2	2	2
Minimum Set Size : 5	0	0	1	0	0	0

Tab. 6: Development of the Freeman-betweenness[14]

Node	**1998**	Node	**2000**	Node	**2002**	Node	**2004**	Node	**2006**	Node	**2007**
38	100.500	38	142.603	38	103.350	38	146.500	38	156.333	38	773.000
5	64.000	34	40.500	*20*	*52.950*	*20*	*134.583*	*20*	*37.500*	5	128.500
34	49.500	5	35.652	7	42.033	7	48.083	1	18.167	7	117.000
8	2.000	3	17.397	5	37.467	5	44.417	3	11.333	4	114.000
26	1.429	25	5.390	34	32.450	3	37.500	5	9.000	*20*	*102.000*
35	1.429	8	2.000	3	32.317	25	13.917	25	1.667	3	76.500

Tab. 7: Development of Freeman Degrees

[12] The density of a graph goes from 0, if there are no lines present, to 1, if all possible lines are present. (Wasserman and Faust: 101) It indicates the longitudinal trend of inequality of the graph as a whole. The SD indicates but the inequality within the graph (between nodes).

[13] A clique in a graph is a maximal complete subgraph of three or more nodes. (Wasserman and Faust: 254) It shows especially which nodes have dense and close relationship with each other.

[14] Between and degree (Wasserman and Faust: 197-200) indicate the centrality of the nodes which show the function of resource flow through the bridges of the nodes respectively.

Nodes/event	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2007
1	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000	6.000	2.000
2	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000
3	3.000	5.000	5.000	5.000	6.000	4.000
4	2.000	2.000	2.000	2.000	3.000	3.000
5	*5.000*	*5.000*	*5.000*	*5.000*	*5.000*	*5.000*
6	2.000	2.000	2.000	2.000	1.000	2.000
7	*4.000*	*4.000*	*6.000*	*6.000*	*1.000*	*6.000*
8	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000	3.000
9	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000
10	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000	3.000	2.000
11	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000
12	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000
13	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000	1.000
14	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	3.000	3.000
15	1.000	1.000	3.000	3.000	3.000	2.000
16	1.000	2.000	5.000	4.000	1.000	3.000
17	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
18	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	3.000
19	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	2.000	3.000
20	*1.000*	*1.000*	*16.000*	*19.000*	*12.000*	*13.000*
21	1.000	1.000	4.000	3.000	1.000	4.000
22	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	1.000	3.000
23	3.000	3.000	4.000	3.000	1.000	1.000
24	3.000	3.000	4.000	3.000	3.000	1.000
25	2.000	4.000	6.000	5.000	4.000	4.000
26	3.000	3.000	4.000	3.000	3.000	1.000
27	1.000	1.000	2.000	3.000	3.000	2.000
28	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000
29	3.000	3.000	5.000	4.000	3.000	1.000
30	3.000	3.000	4.000	3.000	4.000	4.000
31	1.000	3.000	3.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
32	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
33	3.000	3.000	4.000	4.000	1.000	3.000
34	*11.000*	*11.000*	*15.000*	*2.000*	*1.000*	*1.000*
35	3.000	3.000	4.000	3.000	1.000	1.000
36	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000

37	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	4.000	4.000
38	***11.000***	***14.000***	***16.000***	***17.000***	***19.000***	***24.000***
39	3.000	3.000	3.000	4.000	1.000	2.000
40	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	1.000	2.000
41	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000
42	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	2.000	3.000

The nine cliques 2002 (n>=4)

1: 16、20、29、34、38

2: 20、24、34、38

3: 20、25、34、38

4: 20、26、34、38

5: 20、23、34、38

6: 20、30、34、38

7: 20、33、34、38

8: 20、34、35、38

9: 20、21、25、34

The two cliques 2004 (n>=4)

1: 16、20、29、38

2: 20、33、38、39

The two cliques 2006 (n>=4)

1: 20、30、37、38

2:   1、 3、 5、38

The two cliques 2007 (n>=4)

1: 20、21、25、38

2: 20、30、37、38