

SOCIAL CAPITAL IN RURAL SOUTHWEST KANSAS

by

DEBRA J. BOLTON

B.A., St. Mary of the Plains College, 1990
M.S., Fort Hays State University, 2001

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Family Studies and Human Services
College of Human Ecology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2011

Abstract

This study addresses a social capital literature that has mostly targeted a White majority population in the United States. Hispanic audiences, especially new immigrant populations, have not been primary survey respondents in most studies. Information about the social connectedness of minorities has come from secondary sources. The goal of this study was to understand to what extent Hispanic, compared to Anglo, families in rural Kansas experienced different levels of social capital in terms of social connectedness and community involvement. This study was done in English and Spanish in order to reach the under-represented population.

According to political scientist, Robert Putnam (2000), it is through experiences of face-to-face interaction with those from different backgrounds that people learn to trust each other. Connections create networks that allow social trust to spread throughout society. At the individual level, there has been strong, consistent evidence that social connectedness has positive consequences. Individuals have the capacity and the choice to build their social connectedness and community engagement. Then those assets can be shared with the collective; be it family, organization, community, state, or country. When individuals have access to networks of supportive and accepting associates, it can generate an array of personal and societal benefits that include preventing or overcoming illness, preventing crime, mitigating poverty, addressing racial inequalities, supporting child development, improving health, and addressing other social ills. When one builds a stock of personal relationships and other social connections from which he or she can call upon in times of need, it is called *social capital*.

This study, in part, assessed social connectedness and community engagement of people in Southwest County, a rural location in Southwest Kansas which has a 30% Hispanic population. Surveys were sent to selected households in English and Spanish, and two small focus groups were conducted in the two languages. Statistical analyses indicated support for the hypotheses when the independent variables gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, income, and community longevity were analyzed with dependent variables made up of scaled items to measure social connectedness and community engagement. Race/ethnicity, education, and income appeared to be the strongest predictors of social connectedness and community engagement. Implications of the results are discussed.

SOUTHWEST COUNTY: A SOCIAL CAPITAL STUDY

by

DEBRA J. BOLTON

B.A., St. Mary of the Plains College, 1990
M.S., Fort Hays State University, 2001

A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Family Studies and Human Services
College of Human Ecology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

2011

Approved by:

Co-Major Professor
Dr. William H. Meredith

Co-Major Professor
Dr. Walter R. Schumm

Copyright

DEBRA J. BOLTON

2011

Abstract

This study addresses a social capital literature that has mostly targeted a White majority population in the United States. Hispanic audiences, especially new immigrant populations, have not been primary survey respondents in most studies. Information about the social connectedness of minorities has come from secondary sources. The goal of this study was to understand to what extent Hispanic, compared to Anglo, families in rural Kansas experienced different levels of social capital in terms of social connectedness and community involvement. This study was done in English and Spanish in order to reach the under-represented population.

According to political scientist, Robert Putnam (2000), it is through experiences of face-to-face interaction with those from different backgrounds that people learn to trust each other. Connections create networks that allow social trust to spread throughout society. At the individual level, there has been strong, consistent evidence that social connectedness has positive consequences. Individuals have the capacity and the choice to build their social connectedness and community engagement. Then those assets can be shared with the collective; be it family, organization, community, state, or country. When individuals have access to networks of supportive and accepting associates, it can generate an array of personal and societal benefits that include preventing or overcoming illness, preventing crime, mitigating poverty, addressing racial inequalities, supporting child development, improving health, and addressing other social ills. When one builds a stock of personal relationships and other social connections from which he or she can call upon in times of need, it is called *social capital*.

This study, in part, assessed social connectedness and community engagement of people in Southwest County, a rural location in Southwest Kansas which has a 30% Hispanic population. Surveys were sent to selected households in English and Spanish, and two small focus groups were conducted in the two languages. Statistical analyses indicated support for the hypotheses when the independent variables gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, income, and community longevity were analyzed with dependent variables made up of scaled items to measure social connectedness and community engagement. Race/ethnicity, education, and income appeared to be the strongest predictors of social connectedness and community engagement. Implications of the results are discussed.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	ix
Acknowledgements.....	x
Dedication.....	xi
Preface.....	xii
Chapter 1 – Social Capital in Rural Communities.....	1
Statement of Problem.....	1
Social Capital: Theoretical Framework	2
Characteristics of Hispanic Immigrants.....	5
Chapter 2 - Literature Review.....	11
Social Capital.....	11
Types of Social Capital.....	14
Bonding Social Capital	14
Bridging Social Capital.....	16
Social Capital in Hispanic Communities	19
Social Capital in Poverty	20
Social Capital in Families.....	21
Chapter 3 - Measures and Methods	23
Demographics	23
Southwest County Respondents.....	28
Background.....	28
Objectives	30
Overarching Question.....	30
Dimensions of Social Capital	30
Hypotheses	32
Methods	39
Participants.....	39
Data Collection Procedure	40
Processing and Coding the Data	40

Measures	41
Data Analysis	42
Descriptive Statistics.....	46
Chapter 4 -Results.....	49
Regression Analyses	62
Qualitative Analysis.....	64
Qualitative Demographics	65
Chapter 5 - Discussion	71
Social Capital Theory	71
Explanation of Results	72
Gender.....	72
Age	72
Race/Ethnicity.....	73
Education	74
Income.....	76
Years Lived in the Community.....	76
Strengths and Limitations	77
Implications for Practice and Research	80
Conclusion	81
References.....	85
Appendix A – Survey Instrument	92
Appendix B – Interviews Transcripts	96

List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Social Capital Theory Schematic	3
Figure 2.1 Bonding Social Capital – Self-generating Circle	15
Figure 2.2 Bridging Social Capital – Overlapping Circles	18

List of Tables

Table 3.1 2009 U.S. Census Quick Facts, Southwest County	24
Table 3.2 Descriptive Statistics of Southwest County Survey Respondents	28
Table 3.3 Dimensions of Social Capital and Corresponding Survey Questions.....	32
Table 4.01 Legend to Variable Labels	49
Table 4.02 BRIDGECAP3*Gender BONDCAP3*Gender	51
Table 4.03 CHURCHR3*Gender	51
Table 4.04 Trust*Age Range	53
Table 4.05 DONATE3*AgeRange	54
Table 4.06 BRIDGECAP3*Race/Ethnicity BONDCAP3*Race/Ethnicity	55
Table 4.07 CHURCHR3*Race/Ethnicity	56
Table 4.08 BRIDGECAP3*DONATE3	59
Table 4.09 Donate3*Income	60
Table 4.10 Donate3* Years Lived	62
Table 4.11 Results of Linear Regressions Using the Enter Method	63
Table 4.12 Demographics from Interviews/Focus Groups.	67

Acknowledgements

I want to thank each member of my doctoral committee for his or her encouragement and scholarship. Thanks to Dr. Bill Meredith who always offered an encouraging word when progress was slow. Thank you to Dr. Phil Sloderbeck, my mentor and friend. Thank you to Dr. Walter Schumm for teaching me new ways to love statistics. Thank you to Dr. Charlotte Shoup-Olsen for feeding my spiritual side and thank you to Dr. Karen Myers-Bowman. Thank you to Dr. John Crespi for agreeing to be the outside chair of my committee. Thanks go to my friends from other universities and colleges: Dr. Don Stull at University of Kansas, Dr. Ab Abercrombie (statistics guru) from Wofford College, and Dr. Chris Hope from the College of Charleston. “Y’all” offered advice and the encouragement I needed to finish this paper. To my friends: Mark & Kathy, Bob & Adrian, Mike & Mary, Phil & Paula, Roddy & Kristi, Don & Nancy, Lynn & Cole, Brenda & Don, Debbie Reynolds, Jill & Derby, Dolores Hope, Jim & Penny, Bob & Mary Beth, Caverly & Doug, and Donna & Mike. Thank you to Dr. Paula Peters and the leadership of K-State Research and Extension for recognizing and appreciating my talents. Thanks to Lynn Harshbarger and Norma Cantu for your cheerful clerical help and to Bertha Mendoza for navigating me through uncharted territories. Thank you to Rev. Dr. Michael Lake (my life coach), Caverly Hart, and the Community Congregational Church/Finnup Scholarship Committee/Fund for the financial help to get to this point. Finally, special thanks go to “Professor” David Bauguess, my high school music teacher. David, my friend, you continue to inspire and encourage me to this very day, and you will always rank as the best and my favorite teacher, ever.

Dedication

My work on this project and this dissertation is dedicated to my husband and best friend, Dale A. Bolton, my tekkie sage, whose love, support, and encouragement always ground me. This is dedicated, also, to my sister, Paula A. Aller, whom we lost so unexpectedly March 13, 2011. Her influence on me is far-reaching. Also to my father, rest in peace, Frank T. Hernandez; my mother, Tina M. Herrera, to my step-dad, Jimmy Ochoa; to our children, Riki Warner and Stevie Nusz; to my siblings, Rickey (to my sister-in-law, Sherry), Lee, and Dan Hernandez, Claudia Batty, and Eileen DeJulio, to my grandparents (rest in peace), and to our grandchildren: Korbin Dale, Shawn Steven, and Samantha Leslie Warner, and Dellon Dean Nusz. Every day I draw inspiration from my family to be the best I can be. To the Great Ones, and to all my relations...

Preface

I became interested in Mexican immigrant populations after working with them in adult education settings and after two study trips to Mexico. Though I have done other informal studies, specifically, in the Garden City, Kansas populations, this is my first official study. In part, I suppose, I can identify with some of the immigrant experience, although I am not an immigrant, and I do not come from immigrants. I am American Indian (San Juan Pueblo/Navajo). The connection is that Mexico was “conquered” by Spain much the same way my own ancestors were chased from their adobe houses in the 1500s by the people of that country. Later the U.S. governments gave our lands to settlers and displaced us to reservations. We still see similar injustices today. However, I believe that when people get to know and understand one another, the lines of what separate us blur tremendously. Friendships of respect can go beyond skin color, political beliefs, religion, and other creeds. The key is to build relationships with people who are not always similar to us. There is much richness to be gained when we have friends who have different experiences from our own. We can learn from one another. My intent is that this work will contribute to a literature of social connectedness and community engagement. Hopefully, this contribution will lend to understanding about and will build bridges with those not from the dominant U. S. culture.

Chapter 1 – Social Capital in Rural Communities

Statement of Problem

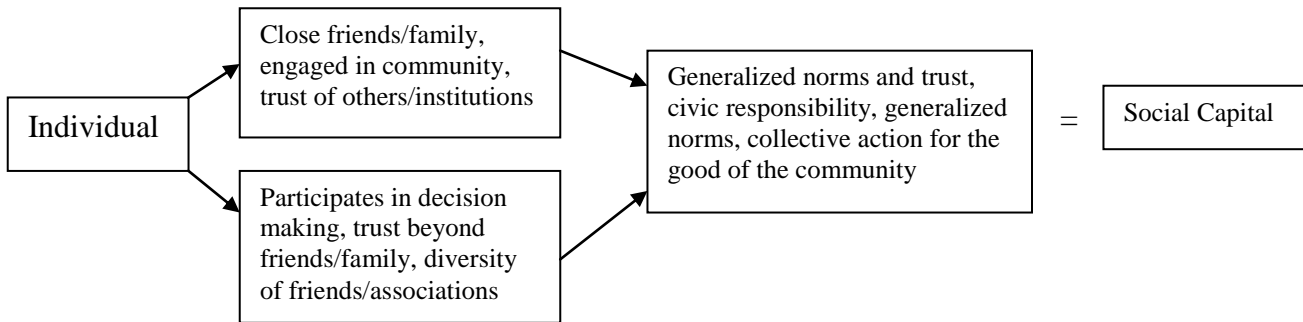
According to political scientist, Robert Putnam (2000a), it is through experiences of face-to-face interaction with those from different backgrounds that people learn to trust each other. Connections create networks that allow social trust to spread throughout society. At the individual level, there is strong, consistent evidence that social connections have positive consequences (McKenzie, Whitley, & Weich, 2002). Individuals have the capacity and the choice to build their social connections and engage in community. Then those assets can be shared with a collective; be it family, community, organization, state, or country. When individuals have access to networks of supportive and accepting associates, that can generate an array of benefits including preventing or overcoming illnesses (Easterling, Foy, Fothergill, Leonard, & Holtgrave, 2007), preventing crime (Rosenfeld, Messner, & Baumer, 2001), mitigating poverty (McBride, Sherraden, & Pritzker, 2006), addressing racial inequalities (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007; Hero, 2007), child development (Kiwachi, Kennedy, Lochner, & Prothrow-Stith, 1997), better health outcomes (McKenzie et al., 2002), and addressing other social ills (Field, 2003). When one builds a stock of personal relationships and other social connections from which he or she can call upon in times of need, it is called *social capital* (de Toqueville, 1832; Bourdieu, 1990; Coleman, 1994; Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000a). There continues to be an array of definitions to describe or explain the concept of social capital. Easterling et al. (2007) noted that nearly all the definitions include some idea of social connectedness and community engagement. Communities with stronger connections, more trusting relationships, and more bridging across differences tend to be better places in which to live in terms of well-being, which contribute to thriving individuals and families.

Social Capital: Theoretical Framework

The concept of social capital has existed long before anyone gave it its popular and contemporary name. The constructs were borrowed from sociology (Granovetter, 1973) and political science (Putnam, 2000a). The theoretical constructs included emotional support, social benefits, adherence to social controls, trust, diverse networks, network size, and demographic diversity. Putnam (2000a) focused his research on social capital at the community level. Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1990) wrote about social capital at the individual level. Researchers have analyzed social capital at the individual, group, organizational, and community levels. I prefer to study social capital at the individual level and then analyze how individuals transfer their social capital attributes to the community. Edward Glaeser (2001) said studying social capital at the individual helps us to understand its formation and how it contributes to the collective. The scopes and assumptions of social capital can be seen in the features of networks, lateral associations varying in density and size occurring among individuals and groups; reciprocity, expectation that kindness and service will be returned; trust, willingness to take initiative or risk in a social context based on assumption that others will respond in kind; social norms, those written and unwritten rules that direct behavior and social interaction; and personal and collective efficacy, active and willing engagement of a community's residents in processes that make a town a good place to live (Bourdieu, 1990; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000a, 2000b). Woolcock (1998) summed up social capital by saying that it encompasses the norms and networks facilitating collective actions for mutual benefit. Figure 1.1 illustrates a schematic of social capital theory based on literature and personal observation. Social capital begins with the individual. If that individual possesses respectful relationships, trusts others, and participates in the life of the community, then those possessions are passed along to the community. A

community with well-connected residents is characterized by generalized norms and trust, people who practice civic responsibility, and demonstrate collective action for the good of the community.

Figure 1.1 Social Capital Theory Schematic



Social capital studies centered on families come from James Coleman (1988, 1994). He suggested that social capital is a type of family resource especially important in aspects of child well-being. Coleman (1998, p. S110) said a families’ wealth in social capital can help overcome the effects of adversity or ameliorate income inequality. Amanda M. McBride and her research team looked at social capital among low-income and low-wealth families (McBride et al., 2006). They noted that a family’s varying types of community involvement are a means for developing skills and capacity for “increasing tolerance among people, building society, supporting collective action for greater well-being, and strengthening autonomy” (p. 152). They also noted that the lower the families’ income, the less involved they were both socially and civically (McBride et al., 2006). Isolation tends to contribute to a downward spiral in well-being, which can be difficult to reverse for individuals and families (Payne, 2001). Putnam (2000) regarded one’s associations (connections) as the prime sources of social trust and horizontal (bridging/inter-connectedness) social networks, which also contributed to the building of community engagement. He regarded the structures of human associations as the most

important; however, the connections needed to be horizontal rather than vertical. Those daily face-to-face interactions must be able to transcend sub-cultural barriers, whether they are cultures of economics, ethnicities, political ideologies, social groups, or other sub-group cultures that exist within societies. Inter-connected (between groups or individuals) relationships were thought to be horizontal, also called *bridging*, social networks (Putnam, 1993). Putnam emphasized inter-connectedness, between or *horizontal*, more than intra-connectedness (within), which he called, *vertical*, also called *bonding*, associations. The lack of social inter-connectedness could contribute to unemployment, poor education, and poor health, which also could be a factor in the repeated cycle of poverty for families and individuals, according to poverty researcher, Ruby Payne (2001). Those repeated cycles of isolation and poverty continue to be observed in newly growing Latino populations in the United States (Flores, 2006).

Recent immigrant Hispanic populations, of the past 10 years, have been especially vulnerable to lacking those important inter-connected (horizontal) networks as they struggle with language barriers, acculturation, and income challenges (Parra-Cardona, Bullock, Imig, Villarruel, & Gold, 2006). Many of the rural-bound are Mexican and other Latino immigrants (Allensworth & Rochín, 1996). There is an idea that Latinos do not benefit from social capital studies and that they will always come out on the bottom when compared to White populations since being “minority” is only part of the barriers that contribute to gaining access to health, wealth, prestige, or to other types of well-being, considered by the dominate populations as measures of success (Hero, 2007). Rodney Hero (2007) said that Hispanics do not measure up to Anglo populations in terms of social capital outcomes because survey instruments do not measure specific *types* of social connections especially important to a culture building new family living places, or establishing new homes in new lands. He added that survey instruments

and sampling methods also exclude Hispanic populations when surveys are only in English. A 2007 study undertaken by Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg School of Public Health and Wake Forest University School of Medicine did not reach much of Garden City's 48% Hispanic population. The telephone surveys reached 350 people, with land-line telephone service, with a questionnaire offered in English only (Easterling, et al., 2007). Five target communities, Abilene, Garden City, Junction City, Wichita, and Kansas City, were selected for the study by Kansas Health Institute and Kansas Health Foundation, which also commissioned and funded the research (Easterling et al., 2007). The qualitative part of the study in Garden City reached 13 people who were community leaders or agency heads. In the final report, Garden City, a heterogeneous community, was listed as having the lowest social capital scores, and Abilene, a homogenous community, scored the highest in terms of social capital indicators (social trust, conventional politics, civic leadership, giving, volunteering, and faith-based engagement) for Kansas. Abilene could not be scored on interracial-trust, because the survey sample was too small from which to determine an outcome (Easterling et al., 2007). Harvard professor Edward Glaeser (2001) proposed that the negative effects of heterogeneity in a community suggest that homogeneous communities may have some advantages. Hero (2007) thought the disadvantage surfaced because of biased research instruments which left out certain elements of social interactions in minority populations. Rural counties, like those found in Southwest Kansas, continue to experience growth in terms of Hispanic immigrant populations coming to find better lives for their families (Donald Stull, personal communication, February 28, 2011).

Characteristics of Hispanic Immigrants

Scholars have focused on the increase of Latinos in rural communities. The changing demographics are a result of immigration related to the availability of low-skill jobs in

agriculture and lack of economic opportunity in Mexico and Central America. Many Hispanic immigrants have reported that they come for a better way of life for their families. “We want our children to have access to the education that we [parents] did not have in our country” (Bertha Mendoza, personal communication, May 5, 2010). Literature exploring social connections among immigrant communities, particularly Hispanics, is growing (Flores, 2006). Migrating to the U.S., for Mexicans, is financially and personally costly and risky.

Dr. Nelly Salgado de Snyder (personal communication, February 11, 2007) is Director of Community Health and Social Welfare of the Center for Health Systems Research of the Mexican National Institute of Public Health. Salgado de Snyder’s work has focused on the psychosocial and cultural factors that affect the quality of life, physical and mental health of Mexican-origin groups in the United States: immigrants and later generation Mexican Americans; wives and children left behind in Mexican rural villages, and return migrants. Historically, there has been a push-pull factor influencing the decision to emigrate (leave country, move, or live elsewhere) to the U.S. and then return to Mexico only to repeat the process several times. The sending country pushes their residents out to find work and generate income. The receiving country pulls workers from poor countries to fill low-skill, low-wage jobs. According to Salgado de Snyder (personal communication, February 11, 2007), the United States depends on human capital (laborers) from Mexico, and Mexico depends on the remittances that workers send to their families, which is about 10 % of annual wages. Mexico ranks number 3 to China and India as receptors for remittances from the United States (Strayhorn, 2006). Salgado de Snyder’s (personal communication, February 11, 2007) study showed that Mexican immigrant workers send only 10 percent of their entire U.S. earnings back to Mexico. A person working in administration in Mexico’s second largest sugar factory only

brings home an average of 190 pesos per week (Tour, 2/2007, Emiliano Zapata Sugar Factory). That's \$19 a week. Working at a U.S. beef processing plant for nearly \$14 an hour (Consuelo Sandoval, personal communication, May 10, 2010) in Southwest Kansas seems like a dream to Mexican workers. In other words, what U.S. social scientists call, "the working poor" would seem like financial success to someone living in or coming from Mexico.

Heavy migration to Southwest Kansas began in the early 1980s because of the beef packing plants. What is now Tyson Meats began to recruit from Mexico and Central America for people looking for employment opportunities and willing to work in these low-paying jobs. Yennif County and its neighboring counties, such as Southwest County, had steadily growing populations of immigrants because of beef packing and other agriculturally-related jobs (Stull & Broadway, 2004). While Kansas or the U.S., in general, may be feeling growing pains connected to immigration, the people emigrating do not come without their own painful experiences of sub-standard living conditions, language barriers, cultural and ethnic discrimination, and the challenges of acculturation.

The process of migrating to the U.S. begins with the decision to go. Low wages and lack of work and educational opportunities in Mexico for children are major reasons for individuals or families wanting to make the dangerous and costly journey. There are social and family bonding costs from the time the family or an individual begins to think about coming to the U.S. Those personal costs include leaving loved ones behind, fearing the unknown of what lies ahead, and making a trip that has proven to be dangerous (Salgado de Snyder, personal communication, February 11, 2007). Fortunately, social networks among Latinos are highly evolved because families are closely knit (Allensworth & Rochín, 1996). The actual migration may take weeks, months, and maybe years. Not the poorest of the poor come to the U.S., because it costs from

\$3,000 to \$10,000 to make the trip. Men make the trip much more frequently than women. The majority of the women coming to the U.S. from Mexico have three years or fewer of education. Between 1994 and 2004, 60% of women crossing the border (with proper legal documents or not) were sexually assaulted. Border crossings are dangerous and rife with corruption and crime (Salgado de Snyder, personal communication, February 11, 2007). According to Salgado de Snyder (2007), the most vulnerable groups will continue to migrate because of poverty. Before the 1970s, Mexican immigrants came to the U.S. to stay. The migrations today have become more circular instead of one way. Reasons for that are attributed to increased difficulty in gaining permanent status. The average wait time for legalization and naturalization is 13-21 years with a cost of \$2,000 to \$10,000. The dream is to work enough to make money for the family and return, or bring the whole family to live in the U.S. (Allensworth & Rochín, 1996; Salgado de Snyder, 2007). According to Salgado de Snyder (personal communication, February 11, 2007) migration from Mexico to the U.S. will continue to be dynamic and circular. Mexicans risk their lives every day to come to the U.S. to work and to raise families. There is no welfare or retirement system in Mexico, so people begin to work at a very young age and work into advanced ages (Salgado de Snyder, personal communication, February 11, 2007). In Mexico, they say, “No trabajar es morir.” Not to work is to die. Adaptation to a new land in terms of working, getting an education, and raising a family bring new challenges of cultural and language acquisition.

When Latino immigrants arrive in the United States, the process of finding a job and a place to live are usually the top priorities. “One of the more important things to parents is that they have access to education for their children. Families coming from the *rachitos* were not able to send their children to school in Mexico, so that becomes an important and honorable

thing to do: enroll the children in school” (Mendoza, personal communication, May 5, 2010). Having children who speak English is a special point of pride for these Latino families. The children quickly become facilitators for their parents in medical settings, at school parent/teacher conferences, at grocery or other retail stores, and in reading documents that may come in the mail (Mendoza, personal communication, May 5, 2010; J. Muñoz personal communication, February 20, 2010). The downside of the child facilitator can be interpreting unfamiliar English words. A case study from *Transcultural Nursing, The Hispanic American Community* (Fernandez, 1999), told about a child who had read the hospital’s informed consent that needed his mother’s signature before her hysterectomy. Being respectful not to talk about her female parts, he told her she was having a tumor removed from her abdomen. Later she learned that her uterus was removed, and she would not be able to have any more children. That made for a very angry exchange between the mother and the hospital. Even if the hospital would have provided an interpreter, it was certain that the mother would have preferred a family member as the interpreter because of the importance of keeping such private matters *in* the family. Extended family and close social contacts also play important roles in immigrants’ adaptations to their newly adopted lands (Flores, 2006).

Nadia Flores (2006) noted in her research that Latinos capitalize on the advantages of having social contacts among members of their receiving communities in regards to survival and integration strategies that ultimately lead to greater socio-economic outcomes. Social contacts within the Hispanic community (vertical associations that are not necessarily hierarchal) and between other sectors (horizontal associations) of the dominant Anglo population, to me, are interesting aspects of Hispanic immigrants’ way of life. It is the idea of human associations and participation in community activities as a basis of social integration and well-being (Field, 2003),

or social capital (Putnam, 1993, 1995, 2000a). Although social capital is seen as an important concept, little is known about how it operates within rural Midwestern Hispanic communities. With much of the research saying that minorities do not benefit from social capital (Bourdieu, 1990; Putnam, 2000a), I think it is because many of the researchers have not actually gone into the communities in question to understand how minorities do connect. In very general terms, the objective of this research will be to explain how Latino immigrants, specifically, connect to one another and to others in their adopted U.S. communities. In other words, how do social connectedness and community engagement as functions of several independent variables: age, gender, education, income level, race/ethnicity, and community longevity, work for Hispanic people, as compared to their White neighbors, who are members of rural Kansas communities? The outcome variables (dependent) will be questions to measure social connectedness, and community engagement following the approaches of previous scholars (Easterling et al., 2007; Kao, 2004; Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000a).

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature of social capital especially where rural Hispanic families are concerned. My focus of this chapter will be specifically on an identified target population and will employ a bilingual (English/Spanish) survey instrument as suggested by Professor Rodney Hero (2007). At the end of this chapter I will discuss how I will contribute to the literature both in terms of rural Hispanic populations and families. I am hoping to illustrate the extent to which Hispanic families and individuals do have social connections and how they use those associational ties relative to Anglo families. While Hispanic social connections may not be used to gain social status or career promotion, they may be used to elevate quality of life through employment and educational support for children. I do use the terms *Latino* and *Hispanic* interchangeably. Since my target population includes those of Mexican origin, I may refer to the population as Mexicans, too.

Social Capital

Social science researchers continue to expand on a concept that was initially introduced in the early 1820s: social capital. French sociologist Alexis de Toqueville (1832) described the social capital of Americans in his *Democracy in America*. He observed that Americans, no matter their circumstances, had an inclination toward associations with one another in informal settings, and they transferred to their civil lives those ideas gathered in private involvement for later benefit. Pierre Bourdieu (as cited in Glover & Hemingway, 2005, p. 388) defined social capital as the “persistent social ties that enable a group to constitute, maintain, and reproduce itself.” He promoted it as a collective rather than an individual possession. Others believed it to

be an individual possession that contributes to the collective (Easterling et al., 2007; Glaeser, 2001; Putnam, 2000a). Bourdieu (1990) stated that social capital was a benefit enjoyed only by the middle class or wealthy, because they were the only population who could afford its investment of time and money. That idea runs contrary to much research that showed social capital as important to mitigating poverty and changing the status of disadvantaged immigrants (Allensworth & Rochín, 1996; Kao, 2004; Sarkisian, Gerena, & Gerstel, 2006). Hero (2007), on the other hand, partially echoed Bourdieu in that he believed that current social capital studies did not reflect well on minorities since they appeared consistently to show poor outcomes. He added that if researchers studied social connections and civic engagement more appropriate to Latino immigrant cultures (close families, close friends, religiosity, and community involvement, like volunteering in the schools), we would have a more accurate picture of Hispanic social capital. “This inadequacy of surveys with respect to racial/ethnic group populations, constrains a full examination of racial civic equality”, said Hero (2007, p. 83). He suggested that adaptation of surveys to reflect non-biased questions would be a good beginning in addressing a “racial diversity” thesis (p. 48).

After a broad study of communities in Italy and the United States, American political scientist Robert Putnam (2000a) defined social capital as, “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them” (p. 19). Writing for the World Bank Social Capital Initiative, Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan (2000) described social capital using the axiom, “It’s not what you know; it’s *who* you know.” They went on to assert that a basic idea of social capital was that one’s family, friends, and associates constituted an important asset. Social capital could be called upon in crises, enjoyed for its own sake, and/or leveraged for material gain (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). For the

purpose of studying rural Hispanic poor, the authors writing for the World Bank Social Capital Initiative offered better insight than Putnam (2000a) because they focused on populations in developing countries (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Putnam's (1993, 1995, 2000b) most current work in the United States appeared to focus more on middle class, English-speaking Americans as noted in his extensive study, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey in which nearly 30,000 people were surveyed (Retrieved from <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/communitysurvey/12/15/2009>). Research done recently in Kansas, including Garden City with a 51% minority (48% Hispanic) population, appeared to target an English-speaking middle class in both random access dialed and follow-up face-to-face interviews for participation in the study. The study was done in English, though its results reported 55 languages and dialects in the schools and the community (Easterling et al., 2007). The follow-up face to face interviews, for qualitative data, were with 13 community leaders/heads of organizations, two of whom were Hispanic and only one of the two was actually an immigrant having come from Mexico within the past 15 years (Easterling et al., 2007). A new study was commissioned by the Finnup Foundation to probe deeper into under-represented populations of the community. That study is in process, and should give a better account of relationships in the highly diverse community.

Robert Putnam (2000a) pointed to collapse of community, or loss of social cohesion, as a result of loosening social ties, or the depletion of social capital. He broadly defined community as a grouping of individuals with shared interests, common goals, similar beliefs, and comparable thought processes (as cited in Field, 2003). Regarding social capital, in 1916 L. J. Hanifan urged community involvement in public schools. He believed that social capital came from good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among individuals and families (as

cited in Putnam, 2000a). Social norms therefore were those written and unwritten laws to which people adhered for a unit's external and internal governance. The opposite was deviant or unlawful behavior (Durkin, 2000). Reciprocity referred to the favors that people did for one another, without expectation of return but was usually returned at one time or another. The simple adage of, "You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours" was exemplified by this concept (Putnam, 1993, p. 20). Trustworthiness was defined by a person's belief that people are generally good, and they act toward one another in kind. Also, they have the expectation that other people will treat them fairly (Putnam, 1993). Bourdieu (1990) said social networks must be continuously maintained and fostered over time in order for them to be called upon quickly in the future. Next, I will explore two types of social capital: bridging and bonding.

Types of Social Capital

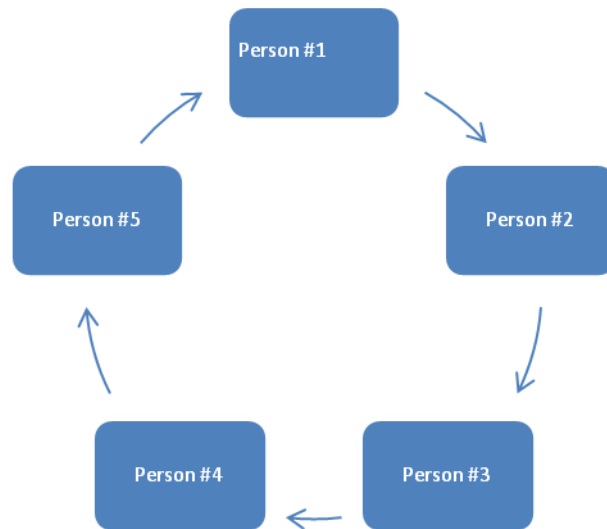
This section will explore types of social connectedness and community engagement, bonding and bridging social capital. The concepts will be explained and supported by illustrations. Advantages and disadvantages of bonding and bridging relationships will be explored as they relate to Hispanic and Anglo populations.

Bonding Social Capital

Putnam (2000a) studied trends in social connectedness. His findings illustrated how connections among individuals within communities and across varying communities contributed to the economic well-being of larger societies. He distinguished those connections as *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. Bonding social capital are those ties based around family, close friends, and other near-kin, which is inward looking (takes care of its own) and binds together people from similar sociological positions. Self-perpetuation within closely-knit boundaries does not allow those outside the group to enter nor do members of the group leave. Putnam

(2000a) considered the connections of *bonding* social capital as vertical networks, though not necessarily hierarchal as might be expected in the term, “vertical”. Mark Granovetter (1973) recognized intra-community (strong or bonding) ties as those needed to give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose. Granovetter (1973) also suggested that bonding social relationships are the raw materials that provide the training for creating bridges to other sectors or other communities. Figure 2.1 is an illustration of how I interpret Putnam’s (2000a) bonding (vertical) network. It is a self-generating circle. Imagine how players (called “persons”) inside the circle continue to connect with one another and often do not make connections with others outside the boundaries. Players in bonded relationships are of like beliefs and live in similar lifestyles. Generally, there is not sharing of information outside of the bonded relationships.

Figure 2.1 Bonding Social Capital – Self-generating Circle



Woolcock and Narayan (2000) studied the rural poor in Tanzania using household surveys. They concluded that social capital was the capital of the poor, because people used their

close familial (bonding) and extra-familial (bridging) relationships to benefit household welfare. Allensworth and Rochín (1996) found a surprising factor in the growth of rural Latino populations: highly developed social networks among immigrants. This contradicted Bourdieu's (1990) notion that social capital only benefited the middle or wealthy classes. Conversely, the poor used its shared connections and community engagement on individual and community levels where norms encouraged social and civic responsibility for individuals. That social and civic responsibility contributed to the collective's (community's) management of resources. Studies in rural U.S. showed a similar picture. Sarkisian et al., found especially strong ties among Mexican immigrants who exhibited robust intra-group and extended family ties (2006). In a qualitative analysis, Allensworth and Rochín (1996) looked at Latinos in rural California. They noted extensive social networks employed by Latinos as a sort of "grapevine" for finding jobs, housing, and other essential services. That is high *bonding* social capital. Kao (2004) found that same-ethnic immigrants showed an intensity of obligation and expectations for reciprocity because of the "shared experience of migration and the sentimental attachment to one's country of origin" (p. 172). Homophily, or "birds of a feather flock together" is the sociological phenomenon that people are more likely to form friends with others who are alike in race/ethnicity, social class, education, age, etc. (Flora, Flora, & Fey, 2004). This is what makes bonding social capital easier to build than bridging social capital (Hero, 2007). However, it is *bridging* social capital, those horizontal networks, which allow connections from one group to another and contribute to a larger collective.

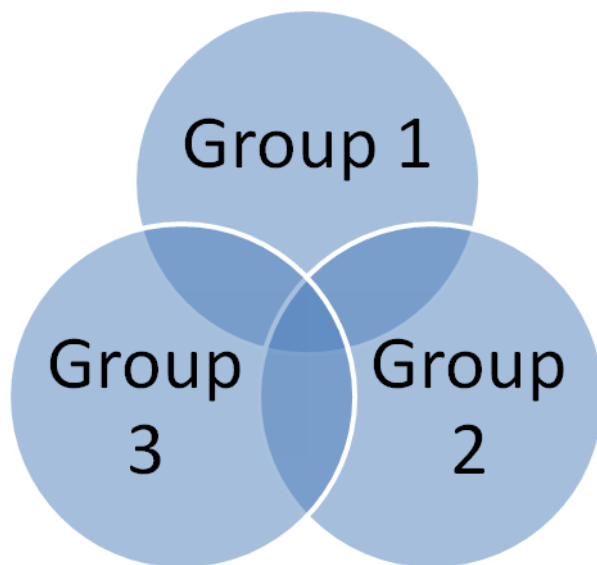
Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital links people from one close-knit group to other groups outside the immediate bonds. *Bridging* from one group to another tends to generate broad and inter-

connected circles (Putnam, 2000). Deepa Narayan (1999) referred to bridging social capital as cross-cutting ties, the linkages between social groups. Mark Granovetter (1973) said weak ties were more like nodding acquaintances – people who one might be able to go to for smaller favors (like asking if they knew of a job, or whether they could lend you a \$5) but whom you do not know well. He went on to say that it is weak ties rather than stronger ties that were especially useful in things like job searches because close ties quickly turned back on themselves and thus did not gather information from varying outside pools of resources. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) saw those bridging ties as critical to social cohesion, a community's ability to act collectively to address needs of the population. Social cohesion was the result of high social capital, in other words, horizontal connections across varying groups. Rosalyn Harper's (2001) research correlated high social capital, in the form of social trust and associational networks, with a wide-array of beneficial outcomes to an individual, which then contributed to the larger group. Racial and socio-economic discrimination could be other outcomes of low social capital. Not being well connected could contribute to the downward spiral of poverty and poor health outcomes. Then poverty could become generational when poor parents passed on only the modest legacies of staying safe, finding steady employment, and staying out of trouble to their children (Flora et al., 2004). An illustration of *bridging* social capital, which Putnam (2000a) also called horizontal networks is well described with a Venn diagram consisting of three overlapping circles. Each circle represents a group with like beliefs, backgrounds, and practices. Where the circles intersect could illustrate bridging, or the sharing of ideas and the exchanging of information and cultural practices. Imagine that groups 1, 2, and 3 have different belief systems and different lifestyles. When their circles intersect, new information is shared and new ideas are formed, and bridging takes place. The different entities open up their borders so that

members can pass easily from one circle to the other. *Bridging social capital* connects people from one close-knit group to other groups outside the immediate bonds. Bridging from one group to another tends to generate broad and inter-connected circles (Putnam, 2000a). Woolcock (1998) referred to bridging social capital as distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates. Those ties are seen as critical to social unity, a community's ability to act collectively on issues important to its residents. Social unity is the result of reliable relationships and trust within and across varying groups.

Figure 2.2 Bridging Social Capital – Overlapping Circles



Interconnected communities of interest, or groups of people with similar backgrounds, expand the pool of resources to which members of the varying groups have access. Once again, new knowledge is taken from one circle to another (McBride et al., 2006), and familiarity breeds familiarity. Cultural barriers begin to fade when individuals are highly connected to one another

in a community. As individuals build dense social networks, they pass those assets on to the community at large (Glaeser, 2001).

Michigan State University agricultural economists Lindon Robison, Marcelo Siles, and Allan Schmid (2002) said those who possess well developed social ties and are actively engaged in community activities will have access to resources from others' social connections, which in turn deepens the networks for access to more information, more material and non-material advantages. Robison et al. (2002) added that increases in social capital promote cooperative actions, encourage exchanges, and increase public investments. So, bonding social capital encourages building relationships within one's social group with others who are alike in social, economic, educational, and employment background. Bridging social capital comes from the relationships of people who come from different backgrounds yet are able to connect with one another because of the desire to gather new information and reach out to others from different backgrounds or origins.

Social Capital in Hispanic Communities

According to Grace Kao (2004), there needs to be more study on whether children from racial and ethnic minority groups and immigrant families have more or less access to social capital. She does not see the strong ties of intra-connectedness, bonding social capital, of same-ethnic groups as having worked to their advantage contrary to Granovetter (Kao, 2004). On the other hand, Nadia Flores (2006) noted the importance of strong inward ties in the upward mobility of immigrant families. She noted that solidarity relations are prevalent among Mexican rural dwellers and in those Hispanic populations emigrating from urban to rural settings (Flores, 2006). That solidarity also enforces social norms. A study done in Michigan (Siles, Robison, Cuéllar, Garcia, & LaHousse, 2006) showed that Latino immigrants use their social capital,

mostly bonding, during the entire process of emigrating from their countries of origin to the receiving country. Others noted that families living in the receiving communities provided basic information about jobs, schools, and public services (Siles et al., 2006). In an interview with anthropologist Donald Stull (personal communication, February 27, 2011), who wrote many papers and books on the immigrant experience in meat packing communities such as Garden City, he noted that if these immigrants did not have social connections, they would not make it to the receiving community in the first place. They would not find jobs. They would not find housing. They would not be able to find schools and other resources necessary for living. Social connections are very important to what Stull (personal communication, February 27, 2011) called, “chain migration,” another analogy to what some call a grapevine or dense communication networks.

Social Capital in Poverty

The study of connectedness in impoverished communities has emphasized bonding more than bridging social capital as a way to understand or address poverty. Narayan (1999) cited social exclusion as that part of social capital that works to the disadvantage of those outside the dominant group, “because the same ties that bind also exclude” (Narayan, 1999, p. 5). He explained that when social networks were non-overlapping, it resulted in unequal opportunities to participate, especially for those outside the group. It was relationships that brought about collective coordination of actions necessary to achieve mutually beneficial goals (Narayan, 1999). James Coleman (1988) focused on three tenets of social capital: 1) obligations and expectations; 2) information channels, and 3) social norms. Coleman noted that people who are isolated and have no friends or associates cannot exchange obligations or share expectations with others (1994). Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, and Prothrow-Stith (1997) examined the

relationship between poverty and social capital. Their study uncovered that poverty was linked to the lack or depletion of social connectedness. The findings showed a high correlation between people living in poverty and their answers on social capital indicators, “most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance,” “you can’t be too careful in dealing with people,” or “people mostly look out for themselves.” Positive answers indicated little or no social connectedness (p. 1494). Little or no trust among people is an indication of low social capital (Easterling et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000a).

Islam et al. (2006) identified social capital as a by-product of social relationships resulting from mutual exchanges between members with associational/network ties. It could be recognized as a public good that generated positive outside connections, which, in turn, created cooperation to reach common goals such as employment, access to health and education services, and promoting neighbor safety. Persons with high social capital, when employed as a sort of currency, could use it for material/market and non-material/non-market benefit. For example, material benefit could include higher wages, better employment prospects or reduced transaction costs. Non-material benefits were found in improvements in health and social status and in the quality of individuals’ relationships.

Social Capital in Families

Social capital studies focusing on families have originated from James Coleman (1988, 1994). He suggested that social capital is a type of family resource especially important in aspects of child well-being. Coleman (1994) said a families’ wealth in social connectedness can help it overcome the effects of adversity or ameliorate income inequality. Zolotor and Runyan (2006) found that parents who “maltreated” their children were shown to have smaller peer networks, more social isolation, and to have lived in their communities for fewer years than their

contemporaries (p. e1129). Studies have shown that when parents are not socially and civically engaged, it can have damaging effects on their children's future community activities (Adolina, Jenkins, Zukin & Keeter, 2003). In my research, I have chosen to take the responses of the individual and analyze the combined responses, as a collective, on the community level. This study follows the assumption that heads of household who possess high levels of social capital will model a caring and nurturing environment and demonstrate collective action and concern for the community, which will pass to their children (McBride et al., 2006), who will also pass it on in their schools and ultimately their communities.

Edward Glaeser (2001) posited that the decisions to invest in social connections and community engagement is an individual choice not a community's choice, so he argued that the most important way to study social capital is through the individual. He said, "Without a definition of social capital that begins at the individual level, we cannot begin to understand its formation" (p. 2). McBride et al. (2006) noted that social connectedness and civic (community) engagement is crucial for families as a means for developing skills and capacity, increasing tolerance among peoples, and building support networks. It is those support networks that contribute to a thriving atmosphere for growing children as it relates to general socialization, academic competence, and career accomplishments. These varied concepts have given me a basis on which to build my research to assess social capital in a Kansas rural county with a 30% Hispanic population: Southwest County. Most importantly, I hope that the outcomes of my research will help me to create culturally appropriate programs that teach families how to increase their social connectedness and community engagement.

Chapter 3 - Measures and Methods

Demographics

Southwest County, located in Southwest Kansas not far from the Colorado border was the target of this study. In order to protect the identities of the people living in Southwest County (not its real name) and its neighboring counties/communities, all the actual names were changed so that a nominal code represented the proper names. As of this writing, little has been posted regarding 2010 Census county demographics, so most of this information came from 2009 Census population estimates from the U.S. Census Quickfacts. Some data have been released from the 2010 Census (2010 census.gov), and those were noted. Southwest County showed a population of 4,169 residents with an 8% loss of population from April 2000 to July 1, 2009. The State showed nearly a 5% gain in population. Southwest County exceeded the state average in persons less than 18 years of age. The median ages for residents in Oldfield and Nickel were 28 and 29 years of age respectively, so the inhabitants of Southwest County were relatively young. The county was lower than the state average in White persons not of Hispanic descent as illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 2009 U.S. Census Quick Facts, Southwest County

Category	Southwest County	Kansas
Population Estimate 2009	4,169 (2010: 3,977)	2,818,747
Pop. % Change (7/1/2009)	-8.0%	4.8%
Persons < 18 years old	28.7%	25.0%
White persons not Hisp.	66.5%	79.9%
Persons Hispanic/Latino	30.7%	9.3%
Poverty (2008)	11.2%	11.3%
Income per capita	\$15,708	\$20,506
Median income (2008)	\$47,631	\$50,174
Other than English (2000)	22.2%	8.7%
Foreign born (2000)	12.7%	5.0%
Hispanic	30.7%	9.1% (2010: 10.5%)
Female	49.1%	50.3%
Bachelor's/ higher (2000)	15.0%	25.8%
High School Graduates	75.8%	86.0%

The 2000 Census and 2009 update showed little difference in percentage of poverty for Southwest County as compared to the State. People in Southwest County earned less than the state average, as indicated by per capita and median income; the differences did not show a great discrepancy. Income level was said to be a predictor of a social capital level. Higher income often indicated high social capital. Lower income indicated lower levels of social capital (Field, 2003). Southwest County poverty was relatively equal to the rest of the state, which suggested income homogeneity. Homogeneity promoted higher social capital. According the Census Quick Facts, Southwest County fell below state average in high school graduation and college degree attainment. The Census data showed approximately a 10% difference between Southwest County and Kansas in terms of educational attainment as measured by high school graduation

rates and university degree completion rates. The greatest differences between the State and Southwest County demographics were those of language other than English spoken at home, and a higher Hispanic and foreign born populations.

As heterogeneity in a community goes up, social connectedness and community engagement were said to decrease (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007). From his book about racial diversity and social capital, Rodney Hero (2007) contended that “The United States has never simultaneously had high formal racial/ethnic equality, much less substantive equality and high social capital” (p. 3). He asserted that simultaneous racial/ethnic equality and high social equality could be compelling goals for this country (Hero, 2007). Most of the research pointed to minorities having low social capital; however rarely has there been discussion about ways to help people, living in the margins, build networks of social connections that go beyond immediate circles (Hero, 2007). The Kansas Census data indicated a high Hispanic population and high foreign born population for many counties. Of particular note were high populations of immigrants and refugees (Somali and Burmese) in communities where meatpacking industries resides (Stull, personal communication, February 27, 2011). The aforementioned factors suggest the need to sample the Hispanic population with a survey instrument offered in English and Spanish. A survey was sent to the potential participants from a list of physical addresses provided by the Southwest County Sheriff. In a process to select subjects randomly but without duplication from the previous study when every 20th name was singled out, names were chosen by taking every 10th person on the list. Understanding that the Hispanic population had a tendency toward being transient, (Gouveia & Stull, 1995), this study required a more deliberate strategy to select what was understood to be Spanish surnames from the list. Each Spanish surname was chosen from the list, which yielded 164 names. Lourdes

Gouveia and Donald Stull (1995) noted that “surname is not a reliable indicator of ethnicity”, but it is the most reliable way to reach the population. If bias does occur, it is likely to be found in under-reporting of minorities, in this case, Hispanic people (p.105).

Each survey packet included a cover letter, which was English on one side and Spanish on the other side. The survey instrument was two-pages, so each packet contained a two-sided English language questionnaire and a two-page Spanish language questionnaire. The packet also contained a self-addressed stamped envelope for returning a completed survey. Also, a self addressed stamped postcard was added to invite participants to request a follow-up interview so that I could gather stories for qualitative support to the quantitative data. Respondents were offered the options of requesting a copy of the results of the survey with the postcard as well. Of the 11 postcards returned, five (5) were returned with a request for a copy of the results. Four were returned in the envelope with the completed survey, but they were blank. Two of the four blank postcards were returned with (completed) Spanish-language surveys. One postcard that came with a completed English-language survey had a return address, and was marked with three question marks. And one came back with the notation, “Good luck on your survey. Hope all goes well. Have a great day!” Those few returned postcards were an indication that the instructions in the cover letter were not explicitly clear, or perhaps they were not read completely. By request, some surveys (18) were distributed in a Spanish speaking nutrition classes conducted by a colleague who teaches in the Expanded Food and Nutrition Education Program (EFNEP). The nutrition teacher distributed the surveys and read the letter of introduction along with the instructions. Students put completed surveys in a manila envelope, and the last student to finish was instructed to seal the envelope. Students new to the program and students, who had returned to volunteer, heard about the survey from others and requested to

be interviewed. Each student interviewed completed an Informed Consent form in compliance with rules of the Kansas State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) on human subjects research.

Altogether, 266 surveys were mailed, of which 52 were returned through the postal service (41 English and 11 Spanish). I gathered 18 Spanish surveys from the nutrition classroom plus six from the Meat Lockers (local *carniciera* or butcher shop), and 17 English surveys came from the Southwest County Extension Office. Two of the surveys from the Extension office had to be destroyed, because the respondents were under age 18, so that brought the total from Extension office to 15. Five women were interviewed in two small focus groups. The total sample was 91 completed surveys and five (5) interviews/focus groups. That was 96 respondents, which is 2.4 % of the total Southwest County population. Table 3.2 illustrates more description of Southwest County survey respondents. The cities covered in Southwest County were Nickel, the county seat, Oldfield, and Kepley. One respondent counted Homer (Funds County) as the place of residence. It was not thrown out as an invalid survey because many people live nearer to Nickel on the Funds/Southwest counties border. Table 3.2 describes survey respondents.

Southwest County Respondents

Table 3.2 Descriptive Statistics of Southwest County Survey Respondents

Demographics	Valid (n=91)	Total Sample (n=91)
Females who completed survey	(n=91)	53 (58.0 %) Mean = .5824 St. Dev.= .49589
Completed survey in Spanish	(n=91)	35 (39.0 %)
Spanish as First Language	(n=91)	43 (47.0 %)
Hispanic/Latino	(n=91)	49 (54 %)
Median Age of Respondents	(n=90)	45 years Mean = 48 St. Dev = 16.83 Range =67
% High school diploma	(n=89)	18.0 %
% Less than high school diploma	(n=89)	43 %
College and/or graduate degree	(n=89)	16 (18 %)
Children in school	(n=91)	74
Number of children < 18	(n=91)	84
Mean household size	(n=91)	3.6 people St. Dev. = 1.94 Range = 8.0
Years in community 16 Years to >20 years	(n=91)	44 (48 %)
% Year in community 1-5 years	(n=91)	22 (24 %)
% Married/living with partner	(n=91)	75 %
% Income < \$12,000 to \$24,999	(n=91)	39 (43 %)
% Income \$25,000 to \$49,999	(n=91)	35 (39 %)

Survey respondents fell below the state average in median income at \$50, 174, but the county median was in the vicinity of the 2008 Census update of \$47,631, which showed \$25,000 to \$49,999. The other 18% of respondents earned an annual income of \$50,000 or more.

Background

This research was, in part, a follow-up to a study undertaken by three Kansas State University researchers from the School of Family Studies and Human Services, Department of

Industrial and Manufacturing Systems Engineering, and Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering and sponsored by the National Science Foundation. The survey explored factors that might predict the spread of infectious diseases within rural communities by looking at travel patterns of residents (Scoglio, Schumm, Schumm, Easton, Chowdhury, Syndey, & Yousseff, 2010). My interest in the initial study was to measure for levels of social capital among residents of the Hispanic population, which, according to the 2000 Census, was 30% in Southwest County and higher than the state average of 9%. For the purpose of measuring social connectedness and community engagement, six questions were added to the other questions measuring for disease risks. While the initial Southwest County study was effective in measuring the presence of risk for an epidemic, it was inadequate to measure social capital in rural, Hispanic populations, which was not the primary goal of the initial study. I think the Hispanic population was under-sampled for two reasons. The surveys were sent only in English, and choosing every tenth (20th) name in the county list did not garner a representative sample of Hispanic names. For a comparative analysis (comparing Hispanic populations with dominant Anglo populations) it was essential to get as close to samples representative of population distributions (Nardi, 2006) as possible. Results from the 2009 update from the U. S. Census reported that the county's Hispanic population had increased. A reported 30.7% Hispanic (2009 Census update) population offered some evidence that the initial study had under represented people of that ancestry or nationality. It also illustrated the need to use a survey instrument in English and Spanish since 22% reportedly did not speak English at home, according to the 2000 Census. Reaching an underserved population was just one of the objectives of this study.

Objectives

Objective 1: To carry out social capital research in a historically under-sampled population: rural Hispanics.

Objective 2: To discover varying types of social connections in a Hispanic community.

Objective 3: To employ a survey questionnaire that offers the second option of Spanish for measuring levels of social connections and community involvement.

Overarching Question

To what extent do Hispanic, compared to Anglo, families in rural Kansas experience different levels of social capital in terms of social connectedness and community involvement?

Dimensions of Social Capital

Robert Putnam's (2000b) Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS) tends to be the foundation from which many researchers borrow for other localized studies (Easterling et al., 2007; Field, 2003; Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001; Hero, 2007) since it remains the most comprehensive study undertaken in the United States. It is from Putnam's (2000b) Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS) and Easterling, et al's (2007) Kansas study that the dimensions of social capital for this study were drawn as illustrated in Table 3.3. The dimensions are listed on the left. The questions from which measures of social capital were determined are listed on the right side of the table. The dimensions of social capital include social supports from friends and relatives, informal social interactions with friends invited to your home, visiting with neighbors, and "hanging out" (Easterling et al., 2007, p. 24) with friends at malls, parks, restaurants, etc., having friends from different racial, cultural, and ethnic background from your own, inter-racial trust, involvement with secular community organizations, involvement with faith-based organizations, participation in organized activities,

volunteerism, donations of money, and trust of local institutions such as law enforcements and schools. The cells with more than one question were grouped to make scales. For example the questions on the right of Social Interaction/Informal Bonding were scaled into BONDCAP3.

Table 3.3 Dimensions of Social Capital and Corresponding Survey Questions

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	QUESTIONS THAT MEASURE
SOCIAL	CONNECTEDNESS
Social Interaction/Informal Bonding	Do you have close friends or people with whom you can confide? In a typical day, how many family members, who do not live with you, do you meet in person outside of your home/household/apartment? How often in the past year have you either had friends to your home or gone to others' homes for activities? How often in the past year have you spent time with your friends at parks, stores, restaurants, or other public places?
COMMUNITY	ENGAGEMENT (Bridging)
Involvement with Community-secular	Do you participate in community activities? In how many civic organizations or social clubs do you belong? Do you attend any organized activities? Do you volunteer?
Trust	Do you feel that most people can be trusted?
Involvement with Faith-based Organizations	Do you attend church?
Giving	Do you donate money?

Hypotheses

For this study, levels of bonding and bridging social capital in Southwest County were predicted by age, gender, education, annual income, race/ethnicity, and years lived in community. The communities in Southwest County were Nickel, the county seat and Oldfield, which had a more concentrated Hispanic population than Nickel. The township of Kepley straddled the Southwest and Alexander county lines, so the east side of Nickel was in Southwest County, and the west side of town was in Alexander County. Funds County was directly south of Nickel, and some people who lived in the north part of that county tended to use Nickel as their place of work and commerce. In the social capital literature, Putnam (2000a) said that

levels of social capital were correlated to longevity in a community, education, income, gender, race/ethnicity, and age. In a Kansas study completed four years ago, Easterling et al. (2007) showed correlations between outcomes in the dimensions of social capital and marital status and political beliefs (2007). I have chosen not to include the aforementioned because I wanted to focus on fewer variables at this time. In addition, it was difficult to measure political beliefs in a community with a high immigrant population since many were not registered to vote because of legal status. Measuring for political involvement gave the Hispanic population an unfair disadvantage in their newly adopted communities (Hero, 2007). Heterogeneous communities were found to have lower levels of social capital (Easterling et al., 2007; Kawachi et al., 1997), because new populations tended to take longer to build bridging social networks. Also, where new immigrants were concerned, speaking a languages other than English often presented a barrier to building interconnected social networks and to increasing mainstream civic and community involvement. Now, how did I measure for such things?

One thing that researchers agreed upon was that social capital can be difficult to measure in terms of reliability and validity. Typically, proxy measures have been used as indicators of social connectedness and community engagement. The measurement challenge was to identify a contextually relevant indicator of social capital and to establish empirical correlations with relevant benefit indicators (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001; Putnam, 2000a). Caution was given when studying racially ethnic groups who may have different priorities. There can be a tendency of culturally-dominant groups to judge diverse groups with the dominants' values (Hero, 2007; Kao, 2004). It was important to use research tools that reflected the language(s), sentence syntax, and vocabulary of the group(s) to be studied (Hero, 2007). I have borrowed measures from the 2007 study completed in Kansas. Easterling et al. (2007), in turn, borrowed their

measures from Robert Putnam's 2000 (b) research, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey. The independent variables were based on demographic factors: age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and years lived in a community. The dependent variables, also used by Easterling et al. (2007), came from a scale created by Putnam (2000b). They were called *social capital dimensions*: social supports, social interactions, bridging social capital (general trust of people), all which measure social connectedness. The social capital dimensions that measured for levels of community engagement were involvement with community organizations (secular), involvement with faith based organizations, participation in organized activities, and giving/volunteering. Based on those dimensions, it was expected that various demographic factors (age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and years in a community) would predict the outcomes in levels of social capital in Southwest County, a rural county in Southwest Kansas with a nearly 31% Hispanic population. The dependent (outcome) variables were made up of questions that fit the social capital dimension scale (Putnam, 2000b; Easterling et al., 2007), which were varying actions and behaviors that demonstrated possession of social capital.

Hypothesis #1: Social capital that individuals possess differs for men and women.

1a: Men will report higher levels of bridging capital than women. 1b: Women will report higher levels of bonding capital than men. 1c: Women will report higher levels of trust than men. 1d: Men will report higher donations to institutions than women. 1e: Women will report more frequent church attendance than men.

Social Connectedness: Men lead women in terms of *social support*. Women experience more *informal social interactions and inter-personal trust* than men. Community Engagement: Men and women compare rather evenly in *secular group involvement* and in *participating in organized activities*. Women are more involved in church and in volunteer/giving.

Gender is a dichotomous, nominal variable. I treated it as an ordinal variable by coding it with zero (0) for male and one (1) for female. R^2 determines the amount of variance in social connectedness and community engagement related to gender. For example, an R^2 value of .014 would indicate that an independent variable explained 1.4 percent of variation in a dependent variable while not explaining 98.6 percent of variation in that dependent variable. Getting a larger R^2 value would mean that greater percentages of variation were related to the independent variable (e.g. gender). Cross-tabulations and chi-squared test values and significance levels were obtained using SPSS (2007). Finally, regressions show strengths of the relationships in predicting social connectedness and community engagement. The standardized regression coefficients (β), observe strength and significance of relationships for dependent variables as predicted by the independent variables (Nardi, 2006).

The social capital literature (Putnam, 2000a) supports gender as a predictor of social capital as determined through the social capital dimensions: social connectedness and community engagement. Easterling et al., (2007) reported that men had more social connections than women in terms of social supports and organized activities. The same analyses were performed on the remaining hypotheses as suggested by Nardi (2006).

Hypothesis #2: Social capital differs as a function of ages of the respondents with higher levels for those between 56 and 65 years of age compared to those of both younger or older ages who are expected to report lower levels of bridging capital, bonding capital, trust, donations, and church attendance.

In terms of social capital being related to age, it made sense that a person who had lived longer would, naturally, have made more connections than one who had not had as much chronological opportunity. For example, people in their 20s would just be getting out of college

or having children, so they would have less time to build social relationships. As age increased, items on the dimensions of social capital were expected to change along the lines of Goetz and Rupasingha (2007). There also was an indication in the literature (Goetz & Rupasingha, 2007) that higher levels of social connectedness and community engagement was enjoyed by those between 45 and 60 years of age. However, there was a decline in social capital beginning at age 65 as the number of associations began to decline. I used age categories, which are ordinal measures, instead of measuring exact ages.

Hypothesis #3: Social capital differs as a function of race and ethnicity. 3a: Hispanics report higher levels of bonding capital than Anglos. 3b: Anglos report higher levels of bridging capital than Hispanics. 3c: Anglos report higher levels of trust than Hispanics. 3d: Anglos report higher levels of donations than Hispanics. 3e: Hispanics report higher levels of church attendance than Anglos.

People of Hispanic origins report fewer positive answers with respect to social connections and community engagement than those who indicate White, non-Hispanic origins (Hero, 2007). Hispanics scored higher in terms of interactions with family members and seeing close friends at home and at public places (Field, 2003; Flores, 2006; Kao, 2004). Respondents who indicated Spanish as the first language (and Hispanic origins) showed low bridging social capital outcomes (Field, 2003). An important factor in creating social capital is ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. In the Kansas study (Easterling et al., 2007), Dickinson County showed the highest social capital for the whole state. According to U.S. Census Bureau Quick Facts, Dickinson County had a 95.9% Anglo population, which is racially homogeneous. Racially homogeneous communities often have higher educational attainment and mean income, which all have a positive effect on social capital outcomes (Glaeser, 2001; Hero, 2007).

Hypothesis #4: Social capital differs as a function of educational attainment. 4a: Respondents with higher levels of education report lower levels of bonding capital than those with lower levels of education. 4b: Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of bridging capital than those with lower levels of education. 4c: Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of trust than those with lower levels of education. 4d: Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of donations than those with lower levels of education. 4e: Respondents with higher levels of education report lower levels of church attendance than those with lower levels of education.

“There is no more robust correlate of social capital than years of schooling” (Glaeser, 2001). From the Southwest County surveys, the Anglo population showed higher educational attainment than Hispanic community residents. Hispanics had less access to educational opportunities before they come to this country (Salgado de Snyder, personal communication, February 11, 2007). According to James Coleman (1988), educational attainment for the parents is critical in providing the foundational basis for children and for the family’s acquisition of social capital.

Hypothesis #5: Social capital differs as a function of household income. 5a: Respondents with higher levels of income report lower levels of bonding capital than those with lower levels of income. 5b: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of bridging capital than those with lower levels of income. 5c: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of trust than those with lower levels of income. 5d: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of donations than those

with lower levels of income. 5e: Respondents with higher levels of income report lower levels of church attendance than those with lower levels of income.

Household income provided the physical resources that aid achievement for its members: safe and comfortable shelter, food, materials to aid children's learning, and financial resources to "smooth family problems" (Coleman, 1988, p. S109). Levels of household income were related to social connectedness and community engagement. The idea was that people who had more money had more free time to socialize and were able to invest financial resources into organized clubs and other social organizations (Putnam, 2000a). Those with lower incomes showed low to medium levels of social capital. White respondents had higher income and higher bridging social capital outcomes: social connectedness and community engagement. Higher income reflected the attributes of people with the "biggest stakes in society" McBride et al., (2006). In the Kansas study, household income was associated with all the social capital dimensions. People with more money showed more social connectedness and community engagement (Easterling et al., 2007). That was mostly true for Southwest County people. Higher incomes had more bridging but not necessarily bonding social capital.

Hypothesis #6: Social capital differs as a function of how many years respondents have lived in the local community. 6a: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report lower levels of bonding capital than those with fewer years. 6b: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of bridging capital than those with fewer years. 6c: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of trust than those with fewer years. 6d: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of donations than those with fewer years. 6e: Respondents who have lived in the local

community for more years report lower levels of church attendance than those with fewer years.

Participants who have lived in a community for more than five years made more social connections and acquired more associational ties (Easterling et al., 2007). The Kansas study showed that people who lived in a community longer than five years developed more associations with informal social interaction, interpersonal trust, and participation in organized activities (Easterling, et al., 2007). Those who indicated Hispanic ethnicity, low income, and community residence less than five years marked the lowest in bridging social capital. That same demographic showed high levels of bonding social capital (Flores, 2006; McBride et al., 2006). An idea was that newcomers needed more supports in terms of social services. Those who have been in the country longer had already made connections to vital services (Flores, 2006). Those who indicated White non-Hispanic and more than 15 years lived in the community demonstrated high bridging social capital (Hero, 2007; Narayan, 1999; Putnam, 2000a).

Methods

Participants

I operated on the assumption that some identified Hispanic surnamed participants would benefit from receiving surveys in Spanish and English. Another assumption was that participants would be able to read either Spanish or English. I realized that these could have been faulty assumptions, but I wanted to assure that all selected participants would receive surveys in both languages. The questionnaire was submitted to K-State's Institutional Review Board (IRB), and it was deemed exempt from further scrutiny regarding human subjects' safety as long as Informed Consent Agreements were completed by the interviewed respondents and kept on file for three years.

Data Collection Procedure

Before the survey packets were mailed to selected participants, I sent post cards to alert identified sample population about survey packets coming in the mail. The survey packets consisted of a cover letter of introduction written in Spanish on one side and English on the other side. The two-page letter made the packet of materials less cumbersome for recipients. The two-page, bi-lingual survey, was modeled from the initial Southwest County survey, however all questions related to disease risk were replaced by questions measuring social connectedness, community engagement, and trust. Participants received the initial packet, and a week later, they received a card to encourage completion and the return of survey materials to researcher. Three weeks after the initial mailing, a second reminder was sent. Initially, response rate was low, so I created a new strategy to gain more participation. I left surveys at the Southwest County Cooperative Extension office, at a Mexican-owned business, and gave surveys to a colleague who teaches nutrition classes to adults in the county. Later, I interviewed five women. Three of the women were newly enrolled in the nutrition class and had not received surveys in the mail. Two of the five were graduates of the nutrition class and had returned as volunteers.

Processing and Coding the Data

Once the information was gathered through returned mail, classroom collection, and community pick up points, I numbered each survey to establish a case number in SPSS. I used a blank survey as a master copy, which would display code numbers, types of data (scale, nominal, etc.), independent/dependent variables, and other clues that would help me as I prepared to enter data into SPSS.

Measures

The survey had three sections. The first section solicited general demographic information including zip code (to determine community of residence), family size, which included questions about children and their school performance, and about language. The second section included the questions that functioned as the independent variables: age, gender, years lived in community, race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and annual household income. The third section included questions that functioned as dependent variables. The questions reflected the dimensions of social capital (Easterling et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000b), which measured for social connectedness and community engagement. Social connectedness scales inquired about social supports, informal social interactions, and inter-personal trust. The community engagement scales probed for involvement in secular and faith-based groups, participation in organized activities, and volunteering/giving (Easterling et al., 2007; Putnam, 2000b). I designed most of the questions by borrowing ideas from the 2007 social capital study completed by research teams from Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health and Wake Forest University of Medicine's School of Public Policy (Easterling et al., 2007), commissioned by Kansas Health Institute and Kansas Health Foundation. The predictor variables were age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and years in community. Easterling et al. (2007) used political ideology, activist politics, and marital status as variables. I chose to leave political involvement and marital status out of this study. I re-wrote questions to reflect culturally appropriate wording especially those for the Spanish translation.

Concerns have been raised, by researchers, about the validity of bilingual surveys. Were survey items equivalent across linguistic groups? With the growing interests among researchers in understanding Latino attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs, mostly, scholars have had to rely on

survey instruments developed for English speaking populations with certain cultural values (Pérez, 2009). Following Pérez's (2009) example, I used a default approach developed by researchers sampling English and Spanish language study participants called back translation. I developed the survey questions using the back translation approach (Brislin, 1980). My native tongue is English. After discussing the survey instrument with a colleague who was born and educated in Chihuahua, Mexico, where a majority of Southwest Kansas Latinos originate, the survey was translated into Spanish assuring for cultural appropriateness. Once the survey was translated into Spanish, it was handed to another colleague who was raised in the United States speaking English and Spanish. She checked for words, structures, and idioms that could be unclear to someone of a similar linguistic background. I am formally trained in Spanish, so as a third check; I edited the Spanish translation to assure that the survey was not too colloquial since the study was a reflection on Kansas State University, K-State Research and Extension, and on me, as a researcher. When the Spanish translation was finished, the questionnaire went through the same process to translate it back to English. After a few minor adjustments, both linguistic renditions of the survey instrument attained a satisfactory level of equivalence (Brislin, 1980; Pérez, 2009).

Data Analysis

For this study I used a residential list from the County Sheriff's office. This same list was used two years ago for a National Science Foundation study on the spread of disease, which was completed by Walter Schumm, from the School of Family Studies and Human Services along with colleagues from the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering and Department of Industrial and Manufacturing Systems Engineering (Scoglio et al., 2010). Since the disease study selected every twentieth (20th) residential name for surveying, I began with the 11th

household name. From number 11, I chose every 10th name for the remainder of the list. The results of this process produced 102 household names. Only a few were recognized as Hispanic surnames. I did not encounter any of the names from the initial study, which meant there was no duplication, which was fortunate as I did not want to offer surveys to the same households as the previous study for fear of saturation of studies from Kansas State University and some of the social capital questions were similar. In order to ensure adequate sampling of the Hispanic population, and because there is a tendency not to answer surveys (Hector Martinez personal communication May 10, 2010); it was recommended that I select every recognizable Hispanic surname for sampling. I identified, with the help of a colleague from Mexico, 164 Hispanic surnames registered as having a physical address in Southwest County. That was about 14% of the Census count of 1,167 Hispanics reportedly living in Southwest County. The 102 names culled from the counting process, and the 164 Hispanic surnames purposefully selected yielded 266 total household names identified to receive survey packets.

The census data reported a 29% population of people who were younger than 18 years of age. That was approximately one quarter of the residents who were not eligible to answer the survey. To confirm school age population, Nickel and Oldfield schools (Southwest County) were checked for student counts. Nickel schools had 659 students of whom 33% were Hispanic. Oldfield schools had 312 students of whom 49% were Hispanic. That was approximately 370 Hispanic school age youth in Southwest County schools, or 32% of total Southwest County youth population under the age of 18 years. Based on those numbers, 164 sampled Hispanic households and 102 households identified for analyses were not an under-sampling of respondents.

Data analysis was guided by the questions: To what extent do Hispanic, compared to Anglo (European, White) families in rural Kansas experience different levels of social capital in terms of social connectedness and community involvement? The survey instrument, questionnaire, had a mixture of measures. Answers were coded so that the named categories had order (Nardi, 2006). For example, male and female, though dichotomous, were coded so that zero (0) was given when the answer was male, and the answer of female was coded as a one (1). For ease of analysis in SPSS (SPSS, 2007) nominal measured data, such as race/ethnicity, and gender were assigned codes beginning with zero. Ordinal measures, years of education and the dependent variables: BOND CAP3, BRIDGE CAP3, and PPLETRUST also were coded beginning with zero. Participants were required to write in two answers: exact age and home zip code. The answers to exact age were re-coded into age categories.

Once data were coded and entered into SPSS (SPSS, 2007), I ran frequencies, and appropriate descriptive statistics to determine “measures of central tendencies and to assess whether each variable was really a variable and not a constant in the sample” (Nardi, 2006: p. 6). Descriptive statistics also helped organize and summarize data (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2004). Standard deviations were checked on both the predictor and outcome variables for variability. Seeing that none of the standard deviations were zero (0) and variability ranged from .048920 to 10.33911, it was determined that the chosen variables warranted further analysis (Ferguson & Takane, 2005). Next, the need and appropriateness for building multi-item scales, or “pooling together” items that measured a common construct, (Easterling, et al, 2007) were determined. When several questions targeted the same issue, a final composite score was derived from SPSS (SPSS, 2007) based on all the compatible questions (Nardi, 2006). Items intended for scaling featured a Cronbach’s alpha > 0.60, an indication of adequate or better internal consistency and

reliability (Ferguson & Takane, 2005). Items receiving less than 0.60 Cronbach's alpha were deemed to have inadequate internal consistency and were not considered for multi-item scales (Easterling, et al., 2007). Once the need for scaling was determined, data analysis continued.

For this study, several items were good candidates for multi-item scales. They were taken from the social capital dimension as displayed in Table 3.3.

The questions 1) Do you have close friends or people with whom you can confide (CLSFRNDS), 2) How many family members, who do not live with you, do you meet in public (FAMBRs), 3) How often in the past year have you either had friends to your home or gone to others' homes for activities (ENTGOFRN), and 4) How often in the past year have you spent time with your friends at parks, stores, restaurants, or other public places (SPNTIME) were pooled together and a reliability analysis to check for the appropriateness of a multi-item scale was performed in SPSS (SPSS, 2007). The resultant Cronbach's alpha was 0.70. **BONDCAP3** was made, recoded into three levels, based on approximately even splits between the levels. Next, items that made up bridging social capital were checked for another multi-item scale. Bridging relationships included those connections outside close friends and family: 1) In how many civic organizations or social clubs do you belong (CIVICGRPS); 2) Do you participate in the following community activities (COMACTV), and 3) Do you attend any of the following organized activities (PARTICIPATE), and 4) Do you volunteer at one of the following places (VOLTME)? The resultant Cronbach's alpha was 0.735. **BRIDGECAP3** was computed, recoded into three levels, based on approximately even splits between the levels. No trust scale was made since only one question measured for trust: "Do you feel that most people can be trusted" (PPLETRST). Also, exact ages were re-coded into a new variable called, **AGERANGE** for ease in analyses. The new age-range categories were 18 - 35, 36 - 45, 46 - 55, 56 - 65, and

76 - 98. I did not choose 99 as part of the age ranges since that was the code used for missing data. The questions about church attendance and donations were re-coded to CHURCHR3 and DONATE3 to make them equivalent to the other measures in terms of the number of ordinal categories (3 levels). The three levels for CHURCHR3 were 0 = no, 1 = Sometimes, and 2 = Yes. The three levels for DONATE3 were 0 = No (any reason), 1 = Seldom/Sometimes, and 2 = Often.

Descriptive Statistics

The first analysis of the collected data from Southwest County illustrated an overview of the sample population. Southwest County had three townships, Oldfield, Kepley, and Nickel. One respondent actually lived in Funds County, but counted Southwest County as a center of trade, work, and living. Respondents came from Nickel (63 %), Oldfield (33 %), Kepley (3 %), and Homer (1 %). Most (54 %) responded to the original survey packets through the postal service. Alternative sites included classroom (19 %), Southwest County Extension office (16%), and The Meat Lockers, a Mexican-owned business (6 %). There were five face-to-face interviews that were like mini focus groups since they were in two small groups of respondents. Of the respondents, 55 % answered “yes” to having children at home with 14 % of those children not being in school for either being too young or too old for school. Of the 52 % in school, about 42 % are performing above average, and 13 % were average. Only one child was failing academically, and the remaining 45 % of children living at home were not applicable to the performance question, either being too old or too young for school. In terms of years lived in their respective communities, 48 % of respondents have lived in their communities for longer than 20 years. Only 5 % said they had lived in Southwest County for fewer than 12 months. Of the 54% who listed Hispanic as their ethnicity, six of those marked English as the first language.

Otherwise, 47 % listed Spanish as the first language. Household sizes ranged from eight respondents who lived alone to four subjects who listed eight or more as living in their households. Of the 91 respondents, 75 % were married. Marital status for the remainder fell in the single, divorced, and/or separated categories. As far as race of respondents, I decided to use Census Bureau classifications of race being separate from ethnicity. In that, there were 91 respondents who were White. Of the 91 White respondents, 49 (54 %) were of Hispanic/Latino ethnicity, all of which were likely from Mexico. According to the U.S. Census, Mexicans are white, and the ethnicity is Hispanic/ Latino (Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/20/2025325.html>).

After frequency distributions were determined, relationships among and between variables were sought by running Cross-tabulations, under descriptive statistics in SPSS (SPSS, 2007). Chi-squared (χ^2), a non-parametric test for data that are not assumed to be normally distributed (Nardi, 2006), was examined to look for significant differences between expected frequencies and those frequencies actually observed in each category of the relationship (Nardi, 2006). For example, a significance of $p < .001$ meant that the chance of obtaining the calculated χ^2 value of, say, 13.36 with 2 degrees of freedom by chance was less than one in one-thousand (Abercrombie, Bishop, Bone, Fogle, Helms, Himmelstein, Hughes, Rekers, Snelgrove, & Witt, 2010). Chi-squared tests show a conditional relationship of observed results against an expected table computed under the null-hypothesis, H_0 , (Nardi, 2007). The chi-squared test was best suited for nominal or ordinal variables. The Pearson's r assessed strength of relationships: zero to .25 was low, .25 to .60 was moderate, and .60 to 1.0 was strong. A $p < .05$ significance level indicated rejection of the null hypothesis of no difference or of no relationship between two variables, and indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between two

variables (Nardi, 2006). Following descriptions of data from cross-tabulations that yielded significant chi-square values and significant strengths of relationships, regression data will be examined.

Chapter 4 -Results

This chapter explores the results of data analyses. All quantitative data analyses were performed using SPSS version 15.0 (SPSS, 2007). Results from cross-tabulations were outlined followed by percentages and explanations of percentages, declared relationships and strengths of dependent variables as functions of the independent variables. Finally, results of regression analyses concluded the chapter. Table 4.01 displays a legend to the labels for the scales that made up the five dependent variables and six independent variables.

Table 4.01 Legend to Variable Labels

Bridging Social Capital Scale	BRIDGECAP3
Bonding Social Capital Scale	BOND CAP3
Do You Feel that Most People Can Be Trusted?	PPLTRUST
Do You Attend Church?	CHURCHR3
Do You Donate To the Following Institutions?	DONATE3
What is your Gender?	Gender
What is Your Exact Age? (Age Range Categories)	AGERANGE
What is Your Race/Ethnicity	Race/Eth
What is Your Current Level of Education?	EDUC
What is Your Current Level of Annual Household Income?	INCOME
How Many Years Have You Lived in this Community?	YRSLVD

Hypothesis #1: Social capital that individuals possess differs for men and women. 1a: Men will report higher levels of bridging capital than women. 1b: Women will report higher levels of bonding capital than men. 1c: Women will report higher levels of trust than men. 1d: Men will report higher donations to institutions than women. 1e: Women will report more frequent church attendance than men.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that men would report higher levels of bridging capital than women. However, gender differences were not significant statistically when hypothesis 1a was

evaluated using a chi-squared test or Pearson's *r* or Spearman's *rho*. Data from cross-tabulations analysis did not support the hypothesis for gender and bridging social capital with chi-squared ($\chi^2 = 1.145$, n. s.). The data from the percentages did show some trend that men reported higher levels of bonding capital than women, but it was only 3.0 % higher. These data were not reported using a null hypothesis. Instead data were reported as supporting or not supporting the alternative hypotheses. Hypothesis 1b predicted that women would report higher levels of bonding capital than men. Again, data from cross-tabulations did not support the hypothesis for gender and bonding social capital with chi-squared ($\chi^2 = 2.473$, n. s.). Percentages from the cross-tabulations displayed a greater difference between men and women for bonding social capital. Examination of percentage results in Table 4.02 indicated men were 13 % higher in bonding social capital (informal associations) than females. Women were more likely to report medium levels of bridging capital, which did not support hypothesis 1b. Hypothesis 1c predicted that women would report higher levels of trust than men. The chi-squared for trust and gender was $\chi^2 = 2.463$, which was non-significant. The percentages gave a hint of support to the predictions that women trust more than men. Women trusted *sometimes* approximately 5 % more than men, but women were about 10 % less trusting than men when reporting *almost always* for *Most people can be trusted* (PPLETRST). Hypothesis 1d predicted that men would report higher donations to institutions than women. The chi-squared for gender and donating was $\chi^2 = 5.83$, which was non-significant. In the ability to donate to institutions, the percentages did indicate that women were less likely to donate to institutions when responding to *often*. However, women led men in donating *sometimes*. Please note that I did not add tables when results were not statistically significant.

Table 4.02 BRIDGECAP3*Gender**BONDCAP3*Gender**

Gender	Male	Female	Total	Crosstabs	Male	Female	Total	Crosstabs
Low	n = 15 34.0 %	n = 6 27.0 %	n = 21 22.0 %	$\chi^2 = 1.145$ df = 2 $p = .566$	n = 11 29.0 %	n = 22 42.0 %	n = 33 37.0 %	$\chi^2 = 2.473$ df = 2 $p = .290$
Med.	n = 12 32.0 %	n = 22 42.0 %	n = 34 38.0 %	$r = .024$ $p > .05$ $\rho = .023$ $p > .05$	n = 14 37.0 %	n = 19 37.0 %	n = 33 37.0 %	$r = -.165$ $p > .05$ $\rho = -.165$ $p > .05$
High	n = 13 34.0 %	n = 16 31.0 %	n = 29 32.0 %		n = 13 34.0 %	n = 11 21.0 %	n = 24 27.0 %	
Total	n = 38 42.0 %	n = 52 58.0 %	n = 90 100 %		n = 38 42.0 %	n = 52 58.0 %	n = 90 100 %	

Hypothesis 1e predicted that women would report more frequent church attendance than men. Table 4.03 illustrated the only statistically significant support for the hypothesis that social capital differs for men and women. Women were more likely to attend church than men. The data from cross-tabulations percentages showed that women attended church nearly 30% more than men. The chi-squared ($\chi^2 = 10.8$, $df = 1$, $p < .002$) was statically significant. Church is considered a formal association, which is bridging capital (Putnam, 2000a). This outcome could be seen as yet another area of non-support of prediction 1a.

Table 4.03 CHURCHR3*Gender

Gender	Male	Female	Total	Crosstabs
No	n = 15 40.0 %	n = 6 11.0 %	n = 21 22.0 %	$\chi^2 = 10.8$ df = 1 $p < .002$
Yes	n = 23 62.0 %	n = 50 89.0 %	n = 73 78.0 %	$r = .339$ $p < .001$ $\rho = .339$ $p < .002$
Total	n = 38 40.0 %	n = 56 60.0 %	n = 94 100.0 %	

Hypothesis #2: Hypothesis #2: Social capital differs as a function of ages of the respondents with higher levels for those between 56 and 65 years of age compared to those

of both younger or older ages who are expected to report lower levels of bridging capital, bonding capital, trust, donations, and church attendance.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that people who are between 56 and 65 years of age would enjoy the most social connectedness and community engagement, forms of bridging social capital. Cross-tabulations in SPSS (SPSS, 2007) with age ranges as the independent variable with the dependent variables BRIDGECAP3, BONDCAP3, and CHURCHR3 did not show statistical significance or support for hypothesis, 2a, that age would predict social capital in terms of social connectedness and community engagement. The percentages indicated that ages 36 - 55 enjoyed medium levels of social capital (36 % - 46 %). The percentages partially supported the prediction in the hypothesis that people in the 56 to 65 age range enjoyed high social capital when it was actually a wider spread. Age ranges 46 to 65 reported high levels of at 40 % to 46 %. Most respondents reporting low levels of bridging and bonding capital were in the 36 to 45 years of age range. Fifty-two percent (52%) of respondents, 36-45 age range, reported low levels of bonding social capital. Respondents in the 56-65 age ranges reported medium to high levels of bridging and bonding social capital, which supported the predictions in the hypothesis that people in the 56 to 65 age range enjoyed the most social connectedness and community engagement. Statistical support for the hypothesis was seen in the cross-tabulations where PPLETRST and DONATE3 indicated relationships with age ranges. The chi-squared test with PPLETRST as dependent variable was not statistically significant with $p > .05$. However, the Pearson's r was significant ($p < .03$) as was the Spearman's ρ ($p < .02$), which supported a linear relationship between age and trust. Sixty percent (60 %) of respondents in the 36 - 45 age range reported *seldom/sometimes* for the question *Most people can be trusted*. The age ranges 46 to 65 responded 40 - 46% to *almost always* trusting people. Interestingly, those in the 66 – 75

age range responded 33 % and 67 % to *seldom/sometimes* and *almost always*, as illustrated in Table 4.04.

Table 4.04 Trust*Age Range

Age Range	18-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	76-89	Total	Crosstabs
Never	n = 2 10.0 %	n = 4 16.0 %	n = 1 8.0 %	n = 0 0.0 %	n = 0 0.0 %	n = 1 11.0 %	n = 8 9.0 %	$\chi^2 = 10.31$ df = 10 p = .414
Seldom/ Sometimes	n = 15 71.0 %	n = 15 60.0 %	n = 6 46.0 %	n = 9 60.0 %	n = 2 33.0 %	n = 4 44.0 %	n = 51 57.0 %	r = .235 p = .028 rho = .252 p = .018
Almost Always	n = 4 19.0 %	n = 6 24.0 %	n = 6 46.0 %	n = 6 40.0 %	n = 4 67.0 %	n = 4 44.0 %	n = 30 34.0 %	
Total	n = 21 24.0 %	n = 25 28.0 %	n = 13 15.0 %	n = 15 17.0 %	n = 6 7.0 %	n = 9 10.0 %	n = 89 100 %	

Cross-tabulations for the independent variable AGERANGE and dependent variable DONATE3 yielded a statistically significant chi-squared test ($\chi^2 = 21.90$, df = 10, and $p < .02$). It also supported the hypothesis that social capital would differ across age ranges. However percentages in Table 4.05 did not support the specific prediction of hypothesis 1a. It was the age range 36-45 that had higher percentages among groups with at least ten respondents to percentages in *sometimes* and *often* to the question; *Do you donate to the following institutions?*

Table 4.05 DONATE3*AgeRange

Age Range	18-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	66-75	76-89	Total	Crosstabs
No	n = 5 21.0 %	n = 1 4.0 %	n = 1 7.0 %	n = 2 13.0%	n = 0 0.0 %	n = 1 11.0 %	n =10 11.0 %	$\chi^2 = 21.90$ df = 10 $p = .016$
Sometimes	n = 11 46.0 %	n = 14 54.0 %	n = 2 14.0 %	n = 2 13.0 %	n = 0 0.0 %	n = 2 22.0 %	n = 31 33.0 %	$r = .287$ $p = .005$ $\rho = .348$ $p = .003$
Often	n = 8 33.0 %	n = 11 42.0 %	n = 11 79.0 %	n = 11 73.0 %	n = 6 100 %	n = 6 67.0 %	n = 53 56.0 %	
Total	n = 24 26.0 %	n = 26 28.0 %	n = 14 15.0 %	n = 15 16.0 %	n = 6 6.0 %	n = 9 10.0 %	n = 94 100 %	

Hypothesis #3: Social capital differs as a function of race and ethnicity. 3a:

Hispanics report higher levels of bonding capital than Anglos. 3b: Anglos report higher levels of bridging capital than Hispanics. 3c: Anglos report higher levels of trust than Hispanics. 3d: Anglos report higher levels of donations than Hispanics. 3e: Hispanics report higher levels of church attendance than Anglos.

Race/ethnicity appeared to be the one independent variable that predicted a significant relationship to each of the dependent variables. Hypothesis 3a predicted that Hispanics would report higher levels of bonding capital than Anglos. Percentages from the cross-tabulations (SPSS, 2007) with independent variable race/ethnicity and dependent variables BRIDGECAP3 and BONDCAP3 indicated that more Hispanics were in the low range for bridging and bonding social capital. That meant respondents had fewer bridging associations that took them from immediate friends and family to “outside” groups. However, in terms of medium levels of social capital (bridging), Hispanics responded almost twice as much as Whites, to higher levels of bonding relationships, which supported hypothesis, 3a. Hypothesis 3b predicted that Anglos would report higher levels of bridging capital than Hispanics, which was supported since Whites

led Hispanics in percentages of social connectedness and community engagement, which are forms of bridging capital. That supported hypotheses, 3b. The chi-squared tests for bonding and bridging social capital supported the hypothesis of differences between the Anglo and Hispanic groups of respondents. The relationships are illustrated in Table 4.06.

Table 4.06 BRIDGECAP3*Race/Ethnicity BOND CAP3*Race/Ethnicity

R/E	White	Hispanic	Total	Crosstabs	White	Hispanic	Total	Crosstabs
Low	n = 7 17.0%	n = 20 41.0%	n = 27 30.0%	$\chi^2 = 13.36$ df = 2 p = .002	n = 8 20.0%	n = 25 51.0%	n = 33 37.0%	$\chi^2 = 10.83$ df = 2 p = .005
Med.	n = 13 32.0%	n = 21 43.0%	n = 34 38.0%	r = -.370 p = .001 rho = -.371 p = .001	n = 17 42.0%	n = 16 33.0%	n = 33 37.0%	r = -.342 p = .002 rho = -.334 p = .002
High	n = 21 51.0%	n = 8 16.0%	n = 29 32.0%		n = 16 39.0%	n = 8 16.0%	n = 24 27.0%	
Total	n = 41 46.0%	n = 49 54.0%	n = 90 100%		n = 41 46.0%	n = 49 54.0%	n = 90 100%	

Hypothesis 3c predicted that Anglos would report higher levels of trust than Hispanics. Hypothesis 3d predicted that Anglos would report higher levels of donations than Hispanics. Trust (PPLETRST) and donating to institutions (DONATE3) were measured to compare Anglo and Hispanic populations. For trust, the chi-squared test was significant ($\chi^2 = 8.10$, df = 2, $p < .05$). Percentages showed that Hispanics were more likely to trust people *sometimes* as compared to Anglos. Conversely, Anglos were twice as likely to trust people *almost always* as Hispanics. Reasons for that will be discussed later in this chapter. The chi-squared test for donating money to institutions also showed support for the hypothesis. Donating money was considered by Putnam (2000a) as a form of bridging social capital since it showed collective action for the good of a community. In the case of donating, institutions were considered communities-of-interest or groups of people. The percentages showed that Whites and Hispanics

tied in answering “no” to *Do you donate to the following institutions?*” Hispanics led Anglos in answering *seldom/sometimes*. Out of a valid sample of 95 respondents, 23 Hispanics and 31 Anglos answered *often* to the donating question. It did not appear to be a widely spread difference. Interestingly, Hispanics led Anglos in church attendance, also a result discussed in the qualitative narrative.

Hypothesis 3e predicted that Hispanics would report higher levels of church attendance than Anglos. Church attendance appeared to be of great importance to the burgeoning Hispanic population of Southwest County. Mostly Catholic, Hispanics were pleasantly surprised to find that western Kansas had plenty of Catholic churches where Spanish-language masses were common (Angelica, personal communication, March 1, 2011). From the data, Anglo respondents were twice as likely as Hispanics to answering “no” to *Do you attend church?* Of Hispanic respondents 87% answered “yes” to church attendance. That supported the prediction in hypothesis 3e. Table 4.07 displayed results of the cross-tabulations (SPSS, 2007).

Table 4.07 CHURCHR3*Race/Ethnicity

R/E	Anglo	Hispanic	Total	Crosstabs
No	n = 14 34.0 %	n = 7 13.0 %	n = 21 22.0 %	$\chi^2 = 5.84$ df = 1 $p = .017$
Yes	n = 27 66.0 %	n = 46 87.0 %	n = 73 78.0 %	$r = .249$ $p = .016$ $\rho = .249$ $p = .016$
Total	n = 41 44.0 %	n = 53 56.0 %	n = 94 100.0 %	

Hypothesis #4: Social capital differs as a function of educational attainment. 4a: Respondents with higher levels of education report lower levels of bonding capital than those with lower levels of education. 4b: Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of bridging capital than those with lower levels of education. 4c:

Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of trust than those with lower levels of education. 4d: Respondents with higher levels of education report higher levels of donations than those with lower levels of education. 4e: Respondents with higher levels of education report lower levels of church attendance than those with lower levels of education.

Educational attainment was a predictor of varying levels of social capital. Hypothesis 4a predicted that respondents with higher levels of educational attainment would report lower levels of bonding capital than those with lower educational attainment. Hypothesis 4b predicted that respondents with higher levels of education would report higher levels of bridging capital than those with lower levels of education. The independent variable EDUC and the dependent variables of BRIDGECAP3 and BONDCAP3 were analyzed using cross-tabulations. While both dependent variables tested with the independent variable were statistically significant (bridging: $\chi^2 = 24.91$, $df = 10$, $p < .002$; bonding: $\chi^2 = 20.25$, $df = 10$, $p < .03$ for showing relationships, the percentages were more interesting. As expected, respondents with less than 8th grade education most often reported no social connectedness or community engagement. However, respondents who reported less than 8th education were more likely to report medium levels of social contacts and engagement in organized activities in the community. In fact, 41% of those with less than 8th grade reported medium levels social capital as compared to those with a college degree who only made up 14 %. People with *some college* enjoyed highest levels of bridging social capital. People with some high school and high school diplomas reported high levels of bonding social capital, but it peaked with those who had *some college*. The percentages did not support the hypothesis that higher educational attainment was related to bridging social capital. Table 4.08 illustrates the results of cross-tabulations. Please note that BRIDGECAP3 is denoted with

capital *B*, and BONDCAP3 is lower-case *b* in the rows. Numbers of responses precede the percentage with a forward slash (11/13.0 %).

Table 4.08 EDUC*BRIDGECAP3 and BONDCAP3

		<8th Grade	Some HS	HS/GED	Some College	College Degree	Graduate Degree	Total	Crosstabs
Low	B b	11/13.0 % 16/73.0 %	3/3.0 % 3/19.0 %	7/8.0 % 3/19.0 %	3/3.0 % 5/28.0 %	1/1.0 % 2/22.0 %	1/1.0 % 3/43.0 %	26/30.0 % 32/36.0 %	Bridging $\chi^2=24.91$ df = 10 p< .002
Medium	B b	9/41 % 4/18.0 %	10/63.0 % 7/44.0 %	5/31.0 % 44.0 %	6/33.0 % 50.0 %	2/22.0 % 3/33.0 %	1/14.0 % 2/29.0 %	33/38.0 % 32/36.0 %	Bonding $\chi^2=20.25$ df=10 p< .03
High	B b	2/9.0 % 2/9.0 %	3/19.0 % 6/38.0 %	4/25.0 % 6/38.0 %	9/50.0 % 4/22.0 %	6/67.0 % 4/44.0 %	5/71.0 % 2/29.0%	29/33.0 % 24/27.0 %	
Total	B b	22/25.0 % 22/25.0 %	16/18.0 % 16/18.0 %	16/18.0 % 16/18.0 %	18/21.0 % 18/21.0 %	9/10.0 % 9/10.0 %	7/8.0 % 7/8.0 %	n = 88 n = 88 100%	

Hypothesis 4c predicted that respondents with higher levels of education would report higher levels of trust than those with lower levels of education. Hypothesis 4e predicted that respondents with higher levels of education would report lower levels of church attendance than those with lower levels of education. There was no impressive evidence that education was related to trust or church attendance, so those relationships were not illustrated in a table. In terms of trust, people with lower educational attainment (< 8th grade) were more likely to answer *sometimes* and *almost always* to the question *Most people can be trusted* than respondents with college and/or graduate degrees. However, in these analyses, the most interesting results were an association of the independent variable EDUC tested with dependent variable DONATE3.

Hypothesis 4d predicted that respondents with higher levels of education would report higher levels of donations than those with lower education. Figure 4.09 indicates that respondents with less than 8th grade educations were more likely to answer “yes” to the question; *Do you donate to the following institutions?* Respondents with a high school diploma or some college were the most likely to donate to institutions. Donating to institutions was considered by Putnam (200a)

as bridging social capital, so the results did not support the hypothesis that higher social capital would be predicted by higher educational attainment. The chi-squared showed a trend toward significance ($\chi^2 = 18.03$, $df = 10$, $p < .06$). However, both Pearson's $r = .260$ ($p < .02$), and Spearman's $\rho = .304$ ($p < .005$) indicated a positive, linear relationship between social capital and educational attainment.

Table 4.09 BRIDGECAP3*DONATE3

Donate	<8 th Grade	Some HS	HS/GED	Some College	College Degree	Grad	Total
No	n = 2 8.0 %	n = 2 13.0 %	n = 1 6.0 %	n = 3 17.0 %	n = 1 10.0 %	n = 0 .0 %	n = 9 10.0 %
Sometimes	n = 14 58.0 %	n = 7 44.0 %	n = 3 17.0 %	n = 4 22.0 %	n = 1 10.0 %	n = 1 14.0 %	n = 30 32.0 %
Often	n = 8 33.0 %	n = 7 44.0 %	n = 14 78.0 %	n = 11 61.0 %	n = 8 80.0 %	n = 6 86.0 %	n = 54 58.0 %
Total	n = 25 26.0 %	n = 16 17.0 %	n = 18 19.0 %	n = 18 19.0 %	n = 10 11.0 %	n = 7 8.0 %	n = 93 100 %

Hypothesis #5 Social capital differs as a function of household income. 5a:

Respondents with higher levels of income report lower levels of bonding capital than those with lower levels of income. 5b: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of bridging capital than those with lower levels of income. 5c: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of trust than those with lower levels of income. 5d: Respondents with higher levels of income report higher levels of donations than those with lower levels of income. 5e: Respondents with higher levels of income report lower levels of church attendance than those with lower levels of income.

When predictions were made relating annual income to bridging social capital, it was not hard to imagine that more wealth would mean access to a wider range of resources. Next to race/ethnicity, income as an independent variable showed the most support for the hypothesis when analyzed with the dependent variables. Surprisingly, results of the chi-squared analysis

showed that income did not predict church attendance. Those that answered “yes” to, *Do you attend church?* rose steadily from < \$12,000 and peaked at \$25,000-\$49,99 then declined by half at \$50,000 or more. Respondents who earned \$12,000 - \$24,999 were more likely to attend church than those who earned \$50,000 or more. That same category (\$12,000 - \$24,999) of respondents also reported more medium levels of bridging social capital (moderate social connectedness and community involvement), were more likely to trust others, possessed more bonding social capital, and answered *sometimes* to the donation to institutions question. That does not support the hypothesis that people with higher incomes have high bridging social capital. Actually it did support that people with lower incomes have high *bonding* social capital, though the percentages showed a trend toward bridging social capital. Table 4.10 illustrated donating and the relationship to income. The statistically significant chi-squared results support the hypothesis, but the predictions were not supported as the results showed that respondents with the highest incomes were less likely to donate, trust, and attend church.

Table 4.10 Donate3*Income

Income	<12K	12k-24,999	25K-49,999	50K or >	Total	Crosstabs
No	n = 3 23.0 %	n = 4 16.0 %	n = 2 5.0 %	n = 1 6.0 %	n = 10 11.0 %	χ^2 29.29 df=6 $p < .001$
Sometimes	n = 9 69.0 %	n = 12 48.0 %	n = 8 21.0 %	n = 1 6.0 %	n = 30 32.0 %	$r=.486$ $p < .001$ $\rho=.521$ $p < .001$
Often	n = 1 8.0 %	n = 9 36.0 %	n = 29 74.0 %	n =15 88.0 %	n = 54 57.0 %	
Total	n = 13 14.0 %	n = 25 27.0 %	n = 39 42.0 %	n =17 18.0 %	n = 94 100 %	

Hypothesis #6: Social capital differs as a function of how many years respondents have lived in the local community. 6a: Respondents who have lived in the local community

for more years report lower levels of bonding capital than those with fewer years. 6b: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of bridging capital than those with fewer years. 6c: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of trust than those with fewer years. 6d: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report higher levels of donations than those with fewer years. 6e: Respondents who have lived in the local community for more years report lower levels of church attendance than those with fewer years.

The years that respondents lived in their communities were not related to any of the dependent variables statistically. Statistical analyses did not support the hypothesis that people with fewer years in a community related to bonding social capital. Nor was the hypothesis of more years in a community supported for bridging social capital as a dependent variable. However, donating to institutions was considered an attribute of bridging social capital by Putnam (2000a). In that sense, the prediction in the hypothesis was supported as illustrated in Table 4.11. The percentages showed some interesting trends. Respondents who lived in Southwest County 1-5 years were more likely to donate *sometimes* than others who had lived there longer. Those donating *often* were respondents who lived 5-15 years and more than 20 years. Donating was an attribute of bridging social capital, which meant that the hypothesis was supported by the percentages and the relationship was supported by the chi-squared test.

Table 4.11 Donate3* Years Lived

Yrslvd	<12Mos	1-5 Yrs	5-15 Yrs	16-20Yrs	>20 Yrs	Total	Crosstabs
No	n = 0 0 %	n = 4 17.0 %	n = 2 9.0 %	n = 1 13.0 %	n = 3 8.0 %	n = 10 11.0 %	χ^2 18.4 df = 8 $p < .018$
Sometimes	n = 3 60.0 %	n = 13 57.0 %	n = 7 32.0 %	n = 3 38.0 %	n = 5 14.0 %	n = 31 33.0 %	$r = .302$ $p = .003$ $\rho = .355$ $p < .001$
Often	n = 2 40.0 %	n = 6 26.1 %	n = 13 59.0 %	n = 4 50.0 %	n = 29 78.0 %	n = 54 57.0 %	
Total	n = 5 5.0 %	n = 23 24.0 %	n = 22 23.0 %	n = 8 8.0 %	n = 37 39.0 %	n = 95 100 %	

Regression Analyses

Multiple regression analyses, using ordinary least squares (OLS) techniques, were used to assess the relative direct contributions of independent variables to the prediction of the dependent variables (Nardi, 2006). The process analyzed the relationships among the independent and dependent variables. Table 4.12 illustrates the results of the analysis. The adjusted R^2 indicates the proportion of variance in the dependent variable that is explained by the combined impact of the independent variables (Abercrombie et al., 2010). The p value in the ANOVA table from the SPSS (2007) printout, when significant, permits the researcher to consider the significance levels of the standardized coefficients for each independent variable. If the overall ANOVA is not statistically significant, then it is questionable whether the significance levels of the standardized coefficients for the independent variables should be accepted, even if they appear to be significant statistically (Schumm, personal communication, April 20, 2011).

Table 4.12 Results of Linear Regressions Using the Enter Method

	BridgeCap3 n = 86 Adj. R ² = .175	BondCap3 n = 86 Adj. R ² = .063	Trust n = 86 Adj. R ² = .042	CHURCHR3 n = 90 Adj. R ² = .126	Donate3 n = 91 Adj. R ² = .241
Gender	beta = .145 <i>p</i> < 0.180	beta = -.091 <i>p</i> = 0.430	beta = -.045 <i>p</i> = 0.697	beta = .410 <i>p</i> = 0.000	beta = .021 <i>p</i> = 0.826
Age Range	beta = .004 <i>p</i> = 0.976	beta = -.030 <i>p</i> = 0.824	beta = .115 <i>p</i> = 0.395	beta = .296 <i>p</i> = 0.015	beta = .192 <i>p</i> < 0.087
Race/Eth	beta = -.112 <i>p</i> = 0.410	beta = -.265 <i>p</i> = 0.071	beta = -.116 <i>p</i> = 0.431	beta = .449 <i>p</i> = 0.001	beta = .192 <i>p</i> = 0.113
EDUC	beta = .292 <i>p</i> = 0.019	beta = .000 <i>p</i> = 0.995	beta = -.025 <i>p</i> = 0.849	beta = .070 <i>p</i> = 0.548	beta = .091 <i>p</i> = 0.407
Income	beta = .156 <i>p</i> = 0.186	beta = .089 <i>p</i> = 0.479	beta = .192 <i>p</i> = 0.132	beta = .046 <i>p</i> = 0.669	beta = .483 <i>p</i> = 0.000
YrsLvd	beta = .083 <i>p</i> = 0.511	beta = .043 <i>p</i> = 0.751	beta = -.012 <i>p</i> = 0.931	beta = .136 <i>p</i> = 0.225	beta = .143 <i>p</i> = 0.202

The bold print in the table highlights the significant relationships. Bridging capital, where respondents reported social interaction, community engagement, and volunteerism was predicted significantly only by educational attainment. None of the independent variables predicted bonding interactions (those with family and close friends). However, race/ethnicity did show some trend toward significance (highlighted in grey) at $p < .10$ (.071). The question about trust (Do you feel that most people can be trusted?) did not appear to have significant relationships with any independent variable, and there were no trends. Church attendance was predicted significantly by Gender ($p < .001$), Age ($p < .02$), and Race/Ethnicity ($p < .002$). Age range and donating money to institutions showed a trend toward significance with a $p < .10$. Income showed a robust moderate prediction of income at nearly 50 %. From the fourth hypothesis that education would predict levels of community engagement, social interactions, and volunteerism was supported in the regression analysis. Gender, age range, and race/ethnicity all showed moderate strengths in predicting church attendance, which is high community engagement or bridging capital. As might be expected, income predicted donations significantly

($b = .48, p < .001$), which concluded the quantitative analyses. Further support for the quantitative data was found in the interviews that made up the qualitative narrative.

Qualitative Analysis

Since much of the social capital literature has pointed to minorities, specifically Hispanics, as not having high levels of social capital, the purpose of the qualitative interviews was to assess whether or not there was racial bias in the survey instrument. The interviews also offered the opportunity to learn more about a population that had been excluded from much of the social capital literature. The process used for the qualitative narrative was to ask the subjects the questions from the survey and then listen for further comments or explanations.

For this study, face-to-face interviews were completed with five women living in Southwest County. Each of the five women were married or living with a long time partner. All five women were from Mexico and had been living in the United States from 2.5 to more than 15 years. The interview experience resembled that of a focus group because the women met with the researcher at the same time for the interviews. The first of the two “focus groups” took place in one home. The women were neighbors, and they wanted to participate together, so they met in one home. Contacts were made through a colleague, Bertha, a K-State Expanded Food and Nutrition (EFNEP) educator. Some of the women were new to the EFNEP class and had heard about the survey from other people in the town. The remaining women in the interviews had returned to the EFNEP program to volunteer. All women had requested participation. After greeting Bertha and me with kisses on the cheeks, we sat down around a table, and I set up recording equipment borrowed from the local public radio station. When asked why each agreed to meet with me for interviews, all answered, “We trust Bertha, so we trust you.” Each woman expressed fear of saying anything that could be traced back to them. I told them I would change

their names for confidentiality. I asked for suggested names. Martha said, “All Americans think our names are Maria, so call us Maria with a number added.” Not wanting to be a cliché “ugly American” who assumes that all Hispanic women are named, “Maria”, I asked for permission to change their names to coincide with numbers beginning from one counting from left to right. Hence, #1 was Martha, #2 Jesse, and #3 Vera. They all had agreed to the names. The women gave proper names and signatures on the Informed Consent required by IRB. The second interviews took place in another home located in the country on a farm 10 miles from a township. The two women in this focus group agreed to the names, (#4) Angelica, and (#5) Juana. We were treated to a fine luncheon at the second site, which was Angelica’s home. The meal consisted of vegetable egg omelets and accompanying “quesadilla” or grilled cheese sandwich made with corn tortillas. The meal was followed by a choice of fresh fruit from a bowl in the center of the table. References to each interviewee will be noted with the codes, Martha, Jesse, Vera, Angelica, and Juana from this point forward. Lastly, the interviews were recorded in Spanish with simultaneous English interpretations for later reference. The transcripts for the interviews were written in English and posted Appendix B of this document.

Qualitative Demographics

Of the five women participating in the interviews/focus groups, all were from Mexico and counted Spanish as their first languages, though three spoke English very well. Only Juana reported that she could write English. She also happened to be the only one with a college education. The demographics were mixed in terms of age, educational differences, and years lived in the county and the United States. Please note there are two instances in which more than two adults are listed as living in the home. It was explained that extra adults in households are a common occurrence in immigrant households for two reasons. “There are not a lot of

homes available for rent in these small towns, and we try to save money by sharing housing with other adults who are single,” said Juana, who had another male living with her and her husband. She said both men work at the beef processing plant in Yennif County, and they share a ride to go to work, too. In Martha’s case, the two extra adults were her and her husband’s children who still live at home but are not in school, which is also common in this population’s homes. “We don’t want our children to leave if or when they finish high school unless they get married”, said Martha. She also added that there is a fear, among most of the people she knows, to send their children away to college after high school, because they do not know what will happen to them once they are in “strange towns” (personal communication, March 1, 2011). That comment took us to a conversation about school attendance and the importance of getting their children educated. Jessie said that when people lived in remote, rural regions, it was hard to go to school unless families had money for the uniforms and the transportation. Most did not have that money; so many children did not go to school, which included the women sitting before me (Jesse, personal communication, March 1, 2011). Table 4.13 illustrates a general overview of interview respondents.

Table 4.13 Demographics from Interviews/Focus Groups.

Respondent	Age	Annual Income	Education	YrsLvd	Jobs	Children	Adults at this address
Martha	46	\$25-49K	< 8 th grade	5 years	Home	Two: 15, 11	Four: 46, 57, 21, 19
Jesse	31	\$25-49K	< 8 th grade	12 years	Home	One: 10	Two: 30, 31
Vera	37	\$25-49K	High school	2.5 year	Self-employed	Two: 12, 18	Two: 40, 37
Angelica	32	\$25-49K	High school	10 years	Home	Three: 1, 5, 10	Two: 32, 34
Juana	34	> \$50k	College degree from Mexico in Business Administration	> 15 years	Self-employed	Two: 6,9	Three: 34, 39, 39

Clearly, the women who participated in the interviews were diverse in terms of education and the years they had lived in Southwest County. One thing they had in common was their involvement in EFNEP. Three had “graduated” from the EFNEP program, and two had continued as volunteers. In their volunteer capacities, they recruit other families into the program, they help set up food demonstrations, and they clean up when class is finished. “We also trade off as babysitters while the new students are in class,” said Vera. When asked if they considered themselves part of the mainstream community, each agreed that participation in community activities was very important. Martha added her point of view on community involvement.

We love it here, but we try not to be too involved in the community, because there is a fear of push-back because my language is not good. The teachers at the school intimidate me. I think Anglo people think we don’t care about our children’s education because we don’t do a lot at school. We don’t always understand the directions when we are at the schools, so we stand to the side so that we don’t do things wrong. My English is not that

good, and sometime the people don't try to understand me, so I stay quiet (personal communication, March 1, 2011).

The most common form of community involvement was participation in church and its weekly activities. That greatly supported the hypotheses that gender and race/ethnicity predicted social capital, church being an attribute of bridging social capital. Church attendance was an important factor in building relationships and participating in community activities (Putnam, 1993, 1995, & 2000a). In the two homes where the interviews/mini focus groups took place, altars in the main living spaces were conspicuous. The EFNEP teacher, Bertha, noted that it is a common practice to have prayer altars in the homes. She added that many of the immigrants are Catholic (Mendoza, personal communication, March 1, 2011). The regression analysis was also supported by the interviews since gender, age, and race/ethnicity did predict church attendance. Next, I asked about volunteering.

According to Robert Putnam (1993, 1995, & 2000a) one of the hallmarks of bridging social capital was volunteering. The women echoed one another when asked about volunteering for community organizations. "We offer a lot of work to our church, and we go to the school to help at meal times, at recess times, and we walk children to and from school that are not necessarily our own children," said Angelica. All five women said they volunteer for church, school, and perform work for neighbors at least once a week. "We go to the school Monday through Friday," said Vera. Martha, who has two older children living at home, said since she also has two younger ones in schools, the older children often walk the younger ones to school for her. "That's just what we do," she added. Juana said, "We help the teachers with students who are just learning English, too." Vera added, "I'm not sure we are helping for the benefit of

the schools. We want to make sure our children are safe.” That comment took us into a discussion about trust.

Trust was another characteristic of social capital. According to John Field (2003), survey data from the General Social Survey showed that 44 % of Whites say that “most people can be trusted” while those numbers are lower for people of color: Blacks, 16 % and nearly 27 % for people from races other than White. Did this group of women fall into the category of ethnic Whites who say “no” to “most people can be trusted”? The answer is, “no”. Each woman said that she believed that most people can be trusted. “It’s hard to say that when I know that many people here in the United States do not trust us and do not want us here.” When asked about trust of local law enforcement, Martha said, “Aye! I don’t trust them very much. They never treated me nice.” She told the story of riding with a friend to a gas station/convenience store to fill up the car. The friend’s child had a toy water gun on the seat of the car. She said no one was playing with the toy gun. It just sat on the back seat. “The lady looked in the car and saw the pink water gun and called the police to tell them we had a gun.” The police came, and questioned Martha, her friend, and the child. Martha reported that she and her friend did not feel comfortable enough (linguistically) to speak to the officer, so they asked for an interpreter. An interpreter was not available to them. In the end, the women and the child were banned from the gas station/convenience store. Martha said, “We come to the U.S. to escape extreme poverty, little opportunity for education, and a corrupt government. Sure it’s not always pleasant because we know people don’t want us here, but we think it’s better especially if we work hard.” Martha, Vera, and Juana all agreed that perhaps trust will come later. “We just have to work hard, improve our English, and be invisible for now,” said Vera. Next, we spoke about donating money.

Regressions showed that income was the strongest predictor of donating money ($p < .001$). Donating to community organizations and institutions is another one of Putnam's (1993, 1996, and 2000a) measurements of community engagement. Interestingly, he only measured formal giving as proxy for bridging social capital. I asked the women in the focus groups how they would have answered the written survey when asked, "How often do you donate money to any of charities, organizations, schools, or community projects?" "I probably would have answered, 'seldom'," said Angelica. Jessie echoed that sentiment. "We help our neighbors when they need money, and we give to our churches, but we don't necessarily donate when someone asks for money, like in the mail," said Angelica. Two of the women suggested asking that question in another way to include the "informal" giving of money. Vera said, "When you don't have a lot of money, there are other ways to do things for people in the community." She stressed the obligation of helping one another as part of God's plan (personal communication, March 1, 2011).

The interviewed respondents oft repeated their view of the importance to see people every day. "Friends and family are very important to us. There is not a day go by when we don't see friends or family. If they can't come over, we talk on the phone," said Juana. The ending comments were that staying close to one another is important for survival in and moral support of being in a new country and settling immediate family while still carrying concerns for the part of the family that is left behind in Mexico.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

Social Capital Theory

The theory of social capital has been minimized to a catchy phrase and is often attached to the networks of social media. The constructs of emotional supports, social benefits, adherence to social controls, trust, diverse networks, and network size all boil down to one thing: relationships. Are the inter-personal relationships enjoyed by humans important? The answer is, “Yes.” It was found that it is better to possess diverse networks of close friends and associations in various circles of social society. Whether building relationships was deliberate or not, those connections are reported to be beneficial to health and well-being because humans are “wired” to be social. Imagine a widow who is suffering the effects of dementia. She cannot remember to eat, bathe, or get up in the morning. If she and her, now deceased, husband did not make social connections along the way to elder-hood, then she will likely remain isolated, and her health will fail possibly sooner than later. If she was surrounded by friends, and possibly family, she would likely be “looked after”. Her relationships could provide cognitive stimulation. Someone, other than her own self, would be aware of her personal welfare. Other benefits of being socially connected include the ability to use those alliances for improved job placement, political gain, collective actions for the good of the community, social and academic supports for children and families, and other tangible and non-tangible advantages. This chapter explores the outcomes of the statistical analyses of the gathered data from Southwest County, Kansas.

Explanation of Results

The results of the statistical analyses to test the hypotheses that gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, income, and years lived in a community predicted levels of social capital had some expected and unexpected outcomes.

Gender

The cross-tabulations with gender only showed a relationship to church attendance. Women were more likely to attend church than men. That made sense in a community with high Hispanic population where women tended to take on the spiritual leadership of the family since the men were more likely to be in the workforce than women (Mendoza, personal communication March 24, 2011). More women completed surveys, more women were single, and women live longer than men, all of which had a bearing on that outcome as well. The strength of the gender/church attendance relationship was supported by the regression analysis that showed a moderate relationship ($b = .41, p < .001$). The literature did point to women as having more bonding social capital. That hypothesis was not supported since church attendance was considered a form of bridging social capital. In that sense, women had strong bridging capital. Age had similar outcomes.

Age

Age was not a predictor of bridging, bonding, trust, or church attendance in terms of relationships of chi-squared, Pearson's or Spearman's tests. Regressions showed moderate strength and some linearity. It was interesting to see that respondents in the 36-45 year range were more likely to donate and more likely to trust as revealed by percentages. Regression analysis showed a trend toward significance of age range and DONATE3. I was surprised that that people in the 36-45 age range reported higher social connections and community

engagement than those in the 46-55 age range. I thought that most people in the former were deeply ensconced in family life with school-aged children with much of the disposable income going to family activities rather than donations. If the qualitative interviews were any indication of what is important to families, perhaps donating to churches and schools would certainly fit young families' donating patterns. Living in a rural area likely had some bearing on that outcome, too. Donating patterns would likely look different in an urban setting because higher costs of living and increased access to expensive leisure time activities might take more of annual income than what a family may spend in the rural areas. It made sense that giving tapered off as age increased as people became aware of what finances would be needed as retirement approaches. Some people may be retiring early and fixing their limited incomes, decreasing what they can afford to donate to institutions.

Race/Ethnicity

Race/ethnicity appeared to have the most occurring statistically significant relationships to each of the dependent variables: BRIDGECAP3, BONDCAP3, Trust, CHURCHR3, and DONATE3. Chi-squared tests indicated support for the hypothesis with statistically significant outcomes. The percentages showed that Hispanics had medium levels of bridging and bonding social connections, which partially supported the hypothesis. Those constructs were measured by the amount of social connections and community engagement activities in which individuals participated. Most of the social capital literature pointed to Hispanic and other minority populations as being deplete or low on such indicators of social capital. There was also the danger of isolation from the benefits of being connected to people and groups with other ideas and resources. That isolation could be detrimental to the growing populations in rural Kansas. I understand that there are pockets of ethnicity in cities like New York and Chicago where ethnic

languages are spoken. I think that probably could work in those cities, because there are community stores and other types of commerce nestled within. Everyday survival would not be a great challenge. However, in a rural setting, it would be imperative for the newcomers to learn the mainstream language and to adopt the local customs for the sake of not being the subject of discrimination. That did not appear to be the case in Southwest County. Hispanics appeared to be more settled into their communities. There did not appear to be vast differences among Anglo and Hispanic respondents regarding bridging, bonding, trust, and donating. The greatest difference in levels of bridging social capital was church attendance. Hispanics were 53 % more likely to attend church than Anglos. The regression analysis showed a trend toward significance and moderate strength in the relationship when race/ethnicity was tested with BOND CAP3. The qualitative interviews certainly supported the idea that close friends and family are essential to survival to newly developing populations of immigrants since information about access to resources comes from those connections. It is my belief that minorities who report low social connections and community engagement are not being asked culturally appropriate questions in surveys. The survey instrument (written questionnaire) will have to be rewritten with fewer of Putnam's (2000b) questions and more questions that probe for the concepts of social capital, i.e. social connections and community involvement, in accessible language formats. Interviews to follow up surveys or that precede written surveys will be an important part of social capital studies if the goal, truly, is to understand social connectedness and community involvement in minority populations.

Education

I have great belief in the power of education. Being the only one of the seven of my parent's children to have received education beyond an Associate's degree (to the eldest sibling),

I have personally experienced the sense of freedom and increased self-confidence that comes with education. I believe that education is a critical ingredient in building one's social connections. It instills global thinking, global empathy, and global action, which bridges one to wider ranges of ideas, resources and tangible or intangible personal benefits. If humans are wired to socialize, then building relationships is only natural. Am I social because I am an extrovert? Or, am I an extrovert because I am social? That is for another study and perhaps psychoanalysis. In any case, the data from the Southwest County study showed that educational attainment was related to bridging and bonding social capital. That supported the hypothesis. Interestingly, the percentages showed that people with *some high school* and *some college* were more likely to have social contacts and to be engaged in community activities than those with college and graduate degrees. Much of the literature pointed to higher education as a robust predictor of high social capital. Yes, I think that is true, because there is greater access to a wider range of resources. People with college degrees sit on more boards of director, have more disposable income, join more clubs, and are more likely to keep up on current affairs. While bridging social capital was correlated to higher educational attainment, the data supported people with lower education as having more social connections and being engaged in the community. Lower education is often correlated with lower income. That would point to the idea that social capital is an asset of the poor. The qualitative interviews certainly revealed that social connectedness was not necessarily correlated to education. Four of the five women had either less than 8th grade education (2) or a high school diploma (2). Yet, they were all actively engaged in their communities. Respondents with a high school degree or only *some college* were more likely to donate money than those with college or graduate degrees. That did not support the predictions in the hypothesis.

Income

Income was an obvious predictor of donating money. Chi-squared tests proved a relationship between income and BRIDGECAP3, TRUST, and DONATE3. The regression analysis showed a strong relationship ($b = .483, p < .001$) and some linearity between income and donating. Once again, the percentages told an interesting story. Respondents with lower income (\$25,000 - \$49,999) were more likely to donate to institutions than those with higher income (\$50,000 or more). The percentages also showed that respondents with lower income had relatively high bonding and bridging social capital. I agree with Woolcock (1998) that social capital is an asset for the poor. The poor use their networks of connections to gain access to sources of survival. There may be something to be learned from that. The literature of poverty studies was supported. People living in a culture of poverty were more likely to share their financial resources with those in similar situations than those living in middle or high income (Payne, 2001). Of course, the downside to that bonding social capital is that it does not offer access to resources from outside the immediate circle of friends and family. Interestingly, the only respondent from the qualitative interviews with a degree had the highest income.

Years Lived in the Community

The length of years that respondents lived in Southwest County was related to donating money to institutions in chi-squared tests. Regression analyses were not significant statistically. That could be seen in a variety of ways. Community longevity was related to age, which was connected to having worked in a job longer, having more money, and just having more alliances with the resources and wanting to offer financial support. For the Hispanic population in Southwest County, it appeared that longevity was related to learning more of the customs, adapting to new resources of education, food, laws, and learning a new language. However,

learning English can be difficult for adults for many reasons. The further away one gets from puberty, the harder it is to adopt a new language. The many shift workers in Southwest Kansas toil in mind-numbing, repetitious beef cutting all day or all night long, so sitting in classrooms learning new customs and new languages are great challenge for this population. Luckily, the adult education programs in Oasis and Dems City offer classes early in the morning and in the evening to accommodate the shift-workers. Carson in Edsel County is much less accommodating to this population, though Hispanics make up similar percentages to Dems City (Alaska County), and Oasis in Yennif County. Admiringly, I understand that those classes continue to be filled to capacity in Dems City and Oasis.

Strengths and Limitations

It was from my 11 years of experiences working with Hispanic immigrant populations in an adult education setting that kept telling me that the social capital literature, nearly always pointing to low social capital in minority groups, was in some ways not telling the whole story. I thought, somehow, some important data were missing. A Kansas study was completed in 2007. It looked at social capital in a variety of communities including Garden City in Finney County, which borders Kearny County. The study, in my opinion, left out half the population of Finney County with a sampling method that was limited by random dialing to land lines with only an English survey instrument. With the study reaching only one percent (1 %) of Finney County's population, I felt there was more to be done, and Southwest County appeared to be a good place to start with research on a Mexican-born population in rural Kansas. The first strength of this study was that I reached an under-represented population in rural United States. Very few studies have reached out to rural Hispanics with bilingual surveys. The challenging nature of a bilingual survey proved to be an asset because it represented the "mainstream's" interest in the

Hispanic population. In other words, if researchers go through the trouble of having survey instruments translated, then it must mean that we want to learn more about the Hispanic population. I was thanked, by the five women who participated in the focus groups, for being interested enough to tell “their” story. That may have been part of the reason I was trusted enough to proceed with the interviews. I think my research was a step toward the right direction in learning more about Mexican immigrants.

One thing that researchers agreed upon was that social capital can be difficult to measure in terms of reliability and validity. Typically, proxy measures have been used as indicators of social connectedness and community engagement. The measurement challenge was to identify a contextually relevant indicator of social capital and to establish empirical correlations with relevant benefit indicators (Grootaert & Bastelaer, 2001; Putnam, 2000a). Caution was given when studying racially ethnic groups who may have different priorities. There is a tendency for culturally-dominant groups to judge sub-populations with the dominants’ values (Hero, 2007; Kao, 2004). It was important to use research tools that reflected the language(s), sentence syntax, and vocabulary of the group(s) to be studied (Hero, 2007). I had borrowed measures from the 2007 study completed in Kansas (Easterling et al., 2007) which borrowed measures from Robert Putnam’s 2000 (b) research, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey. The independent variables were based on demographic factors: age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and years lived in a community. The dependent variables, also used by Easterling et al. (2007), came from a scale created by Putnam (2000b). They were called *social capital dimensions*: social supports, social interactions, bridging social capital (general trust of people), all which measure social connectedness. The social capital dimensions that measured for levels of community engagement were involvement with community organizations (secular),

involvement with faith based organizations, participation in organized activities, and giving/volunteering. Borrowing from Putnam (2000b) and the Johns Hopkins/Wake Forest (2007) studies gave me an expert foundation for designing the survey instrument. In part, I took up where the Hopkins/Wake Forest study left off. However, I tried to ask questions that would be more appropriate to an immigrant Hispanic population. Not being confident enough to throw out more of the questions from the “expert” Putman (2000b) may have limited me in that I still had too much bias in the survey instrument. I may have missed some important data by not being more aware of how to ask questions of people who are not used to questionnaires and how to include answer choices that probe for information outside the mainstream. Also, I would have made more of a presence in Nickel and Oldfield, via more newspaper articles (I had only done one story in a local newspaper), and perhaps some community meetings to introduce the project. I believe my Putnam-influenced questions may have had some bias since they included questions that were more apropos to an Anglo majority as opposed to a Hispanic minority. I worked on the survey instrument so that it did not miss the mainstream but included ideas and language to reach other cultures, and ethnicities. Perhaps that is why Garden City, with its 51% minority population, did not compare well to a homogenous community like Abilene in the Johns Hopkins/Wake Forest study. An Anglo populace would likely have had more experience with completing surveys, talking to researchers on a telephone, and being listed in a telephone book because of having telephone land lines as opposed to only having only cell phones.

My Southwest County study taught me many lessons on reaching under-represented populations. Of course gaining trust of those whom I would study is of utmost importance, as any anthropologist would say. Of course, I would continue to be a quantitative researcher, because I think the numbers communicate to a wider audience. I would likely increase the

qualitative aspect of the research since face to face contact appeared to be more comfortable for the minority audience. Luckily, I had the chance to make those changes. I was asked to perform a study, similar to the one in Southwest County, for Garden City, Kansas. That study is in progress. It was funded by a three local foundations. The questionnaires and focus groups are being offered in English, Spanish, Karen, pronounced, Cah-wren, (Burmese language), and Somali. Why are studies like these important?

Implications for Practice and Research

Hero (2007) partially echoed Bourdieu in that he believed that current social capital studies do not reflect well on minorities since they appeared consistently to show poor outcomes. He added that if researchers studied social connections and civic engagement more appropriate to Latino immigrant cultures (close families, close friends, religiosity, and community involvement, like volunteering in the schools), we would have a more accurate picture of Hispanic social capital. “This inadequacy of surveys with respect to racial/ethnic group populations, constrains a full examination of racial civic equality”, said Hero (2007, p. 83). He suggested that adaptation of surveys to reflect non-biased questions would be a good beginning in addressing a “racial diversity” thesis (p. 48). When humans come to understand one another, it breaks down barriers and builds trust. In my work with minority populations, I am reminded of the small child afraid of the “monster” hiding under the bed or in the closet. Once light is shed under the bed or in the closet, the child’s fear subsides because she sees no evidence of the “monster”. Human nature tends to tell us to be afraid of what we do not know. We are afraid of people who are not like us, because we do not know them. By reporting that Garden City, as a community, had reported low social capital, The Johns Hopkins/Wake Forest study in Garden City, Kansas reinforced what many expected. “Mexicans and other minorities are ruining our

community.” I have actually read such nonsense in the local newspaper. As researchers studying humans in their environments, perhaps we are obligated to go into the targeted communities to spend time with our subjects. We certainly would be able to learn more. I surely found that what mainstream literature calls social capital (social interactions, and community engagement) did look different in a Hispanic community especially if new immigrants were involved. If policy makers and politicians who are making a lot of fuss about purging the United States of its immigrant populations could actually see, for the most part, that these humans only want better lives for their families, and they really do want to do the right thing, perhaps a way could be found to “fix” immigration policies that would expedite cultural assimilation for these families. Perhaps adult education classes could be expanded. The classes do not have to be free. The students would pay for the classes. From my observation, most Mexican immigrants want to be part of the mainstream. There are lots of barriers to cultural, financial, educational, and societal successes. One of those barriers is the misunderstanding of what we do not know about one another. As understanding increases, perhaps policy-makers will be able to make better informed decisions about immigration rules rather than making fear-based, reactive decisions that become laws. About 95% of any Mexican immigrant with whom I have had any association in the past 30 years of living in Southwest Kansas has led me to believe that the population adds cultural and economic value to our society. These communities are growing, and I would rather be part of the solution than part of the problem by finding ways to build communities that foster and support multi-culturalism.

Conclusion

With the expanding Hispanic populations in rural communities across the U.S., this body of work will add to the family life education literature as an important beginning to studies in

rural communities experiencing growth in Hispanic populations. Hispanic people will continue to migrate to rural communities because of opportunities for low-skilled jobs. Meatpacking plants have purposely located near rural America because it puts them closer to the sources (feedlots), and decreases costs (Stull & Broadway, 2004). I think this work could shed some light on how these new populations acquire and use their social connections. Also, I hope to be able to offer insights to Extension educators, sociologists, teachers, home-visitors, and future researchers on how to work with Hispanic populations to find ways toward understanding of how families form social connections and become involved in community. I am especially interested in building educational programs to help the Cooperative Extension system. From my observation, there is great need for creating networks of tolerance, understanding, and recruiting of Hispanic and other people of color into a system that is traditionally White and middleclass. Who knows what insight that could bring? I hope my research puts a human face on families who are confronted with discrimination and marginalization because they are different. They have come and are coming to the United States looking for a better way of life. They are looking for the American dream.

Additionally, in heterogeneous communities in rural Kansas, and other such places with increasing Latino immigrants, there need to be champions who will build trusting relationships with minorities and who will foster leaders inside those communities. Many community leaders say there is a lack of organizers/leaders who emerge in the minority communities. A common phrase I hear when promoting inclusion of rural Kansas immigrants in the life of the community is, "We've tried to include them, but they just don't want to be involved." I usually follow up with the question, "How have you 'tried' to involve them?" I am told notes are sent home with students. There is uncertainty that parents receive the notes in the first place. The notes are

usually written in English. The activities happen in places unfamiliar to the families, and there appears to be a divide between community organizers of activities and the under-served populations. As I learned in the interviews for this study, families often do not feel welcomed when they do attend school or community functions. I have witnessed uncertainty on both sides. The mainstream community does not know what to say to the minority community. No common ground is established. As is the case in Southwest County, Hispanics apparently felt inadequate in communicating with the Anglo population, so they (Hispanics) stand off to the side with feelings of inferiority and at the risk of being labeled, “disinterested.” The bottom line is that both the Anglo and minority populations are unsure of how to approach one another and relationships do not get built. That impedes understanding, assimilation, tolerance, and emotional growth for both populations. Once again, we must be deliberate and active in finding the champions who have built or will build trust with our rural minority groups. Use those champions as bridges into those minority communities. They can help to foster new leadership, and the new leaders will pave the way for other leaders. That is a step toward wider social connectedness and community engagement for more of a community’s residents (I am not referring to legal status with the use of the word, ‘resident’).

Finally, I would like to see more references to social connectedness and community engagement when discussing social capital. The term social capital can be vague, and I have heard it used in contexts that have nothing to do with a person’s societal connections, family and social relationships, and levels of community involvement. In an age of increased technology, there tends to be more social isolation. Face-to-face contact makes us richer as humans because our friends and associations offer emotional and social supports that cannot come from a non-human thing. I have been in meetings where I have heard people referring to their social capital

when telling about the number of “friends” they have in their social media circles. I am not sure I would call it social capital unless those “friends” can be called upon for moving into a new home, bringing chicken soup during an illness, having face-to-face contact, or coming to your funeral. The famous baseball player, Yogi Berra, said, “If you don’t go to somebody’s funeral, they won’t come to yours.” Sure, the literal translation does not make sense, but the idea is evident. Berra was referring to reciprocation. Reciprocation helps to build trust. Trust builds cohesion. Cohesion contributes to collective action for the good of the community. Cohesive communities are the best places to live and raise families. In the end, it is all about relationships.

References

- Abercrombie, A., Bishop, E., Bone, V., Fogle, S., Helms, M., Himmelstein, Hughes, S., Rekers, D., Snelgrove, L., & Witt, T. (2010). *Quantitative techniques for biology and agriculture students*. Spartanburg, SC: Africa University Press.
- Allensworth, E. M., & Rochín, R. I. (1996). *White exodus, Latino repopulation, and community well-being: Trends in California's rural communities*. Research report, Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Brislin, R.W. (1980). Translation and content analysis of oral and written material. In H.C. Triandis & J.W. Berry (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (Vol. 1, pp.389-444). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Brisson, D. S., & Usher, C. L. (2005). Bonding social capital in low-income neighborhoods. *Family Relations*, 54, 644-653.
- Cheong, P.H., Edwards, R., Goulbourne, H., & Solomos, J. (2007). Immigrations, social cohesion, and social capital. *Critical social policy*, 27, 24-49.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, S94-S120.
- Coleman, J.S. (1994). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belnap Press.
- De Tocqueville, A. (1832). *Democracy in America*. Retrieved October 29, 2006.
http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/toc_indx.html.

- Durkin, J.T. Jr. (2000). Measuring social capital and its economic impact. Retrieved August, 20, 2010. http://harrisschool.uchicago.edu/about/publications/working-papers/pdf/wp_01_2.pdf. Chicago, IL: Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies.
- Easterling, D., Foy, C. G., Fothergill, K., Leonard, L., & Holtgrave, D.R. (2007). Assessing social capital in Kansas: Findings from quantitative and qualitative studies. *A report to the Kansas Health Institute*. Retrieved January 27, 2010 from <http://www.khi.org/news/2007/nov/12/kansas-2006-social-capital-report/?research.pdf>
- Emerson, R. M. (1976). Social exchange theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2, 335-362.
- Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. New York: Routledge.
- Flora, C.B., Flora, J. & Fey, S. (2004). *Rural communities: Legacies and change*. 2nd Ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Flores, N. Y. (2006). *The social capital of immigrants and non-immigrants in segregated communities in Los Angeles and Houston*. Retrieved March 16, 2009 from <http://paa2006.princeton.edu/download.aspx?submissionId=60305>. College Station, TX, Department of Sociology.
- Ferguson, George A., and Takane, Y. (2005). *Statistical analysis for psychology and education*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, LTD.
- Fernandez, V. M. (1999). The Hispanic Community: Case Studies. *Transcultural Nursing*. Retrieved June 12, 2010, from www.culturediversity.org.
- Glaeser, E. (2001). The formation of social capital. Retrieved June 12, 2010 from www.oecd.org. Paris, France: Organization for Economic Co – operation and Development.

- Glaeser, E. L., Laibson, D., & Sacerdote, B. (2000). The economic approach to social capital. Working paper 7728. Retrieved June 10, 2010 from www.nber.org. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Glover, T. D. & Hemingway, J. L. (2005). Locating leisure in the social capital literature. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 37, 387-401.
- Goetz, S. J. & Rupasingha, A. (2007). Social and political forces as determinants of poverty: A spatial analysis. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 36, 650-671.
- Goleman, D. (1995). *Emotional intelligence: It can matter more than IQ*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Gouveia, L. & Stull, D. D. (1995). Dances with cows: Beef packing's impact on Garden City, Kansas. In D. D. Stull, M. J. Broadway & D. Griffith (Eds.), *Any way you cut it: Meat processing in small town America* (pp. 85 – 108). Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Gravetter, F. J. & Wallnau, L.B. (2004). *Statistics for the behavioral sciences*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Granovetter, M.S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360-1380.
- Grootaert, C., & Bastelaer, T. van. (2001). Understanding and measuring social capital: A synthesis of findings and recommendations from the social capital initiative. Retrieved August 27, 2007, from http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/economic_growth_and_trade/eg/forum_series/social-capital.pdf. Washington, D. C.: IRIS Center
- Hanifan, L. J. (1916). *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 67, 130-138. Retrieved 11/2007 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1013498>.

- Harper, R. (2001). Social capital: A review of the literature. Retrieved November 7, 2006 from <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital/download/soccaplitreview.pdf>. United Kingdom: Office of National Statistics.
- Hero, R. (2007). *Racial diversity and social capital: Equality and community in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Islam, M.K., Merlo, J., Kawachi, I., Lindström, M. & Gerdtham, U.G. (2006). Social capital and health: Does egalitarianism matter? A literature review. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 5(3), 3-117.
- John F. Kenney School of Government Harvard University. (2001). *Social capital community benchmark survey: Executive Summary*. Retrieved December 10, 2006, from <http://www.cfsv.org/communitysurvey/results.html>. Cambridge, MA: John F. Kennedy School of Government.
- Kao, G. (2004). Social capital and its relevance to minority and immigrant populations. *Sociology of Education*, 77, 172-183.
- Kawachi, I., Kennedy, B.P., Lochner, K., & Prothrow-Stith, D. (1997). Social capital, income inequality and mortality. *American Journal of Public Health*, 87, 1491-1498.
- Li, Yaojun (2010). Social capital and labour market attainment for Blacks and Minority ethnic groups. Retrieved June 10, 2010 from <http://www.engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/Li-Yaojun-final.pdf>. Birmingham, U. K.: Department of Sociology.
- McBride, A. M., Sherraden, M. S., & Pritzker, S. (2006). Civic engagement among low-income and low-wealth families: In their words. *Family Relations*, 55, 152-162.

- McKenzie, K., Whitley, R. & Weich, S. (2002). Social capital and mental health. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 181, 280-283.
- Narayan, D. (1999). Bonds and bridges: Social capital and poverty. Retrieved July 15, 2009 from <http://info.worldbank.org/etools/docs/library/9747/narayan.pdf>. Washington, D. C.: World Bank Poverty Group.
- Nardi, P. M. (2006). *Interpreting data: A guide to understanding research*. Boston, MA: Pearson A&B.
- Parra-Cardona, J.R., Bullock, L. A., Imig, D. R. Villarreal, F.A. & Gold, S. J. (2006). Trabajando duro todos los dias: Learning from the life experiences of Mexican-origin migrant families. *Family Relations*, 55, 361-375.
- Payne, R. K. (2001). *A Framework for Understanding Poverty*. Highlands, TX: Aha! Process, Inc.
- Pérez, E. O. (2009). Lost in Translation? Item Validity in Bilingual Political Surveys. *The Journal of Politics*, 71, 1530-1548.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1-24.
- Putnam, R.D. (1993). The prosperous community: Social capital and public life. *The American Prospect*, 4, 13.
- Putnam, R.D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 65-78.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000a). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

- Putnam, R. (2000b). The social capital community benchmark survey. Retrieved December 15, 2009 from <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/saguaro/communitysurvey/>. Cambridge, MA: Kennedy School of Government.
- Robison, L.J. & Flora, J.L. (2003). The social capital paradigm: Bridging across disciplines. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, 85, 1187-1193.
- Robison, L.J., Siles, M.E., & A.A. Schmid. (2002). Social capital and poverty reduction: Toward a mature paradigm. *Agricultural economics report*, No. 614. Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- Rosenfeld, R., Messner, S.F., & Baumer, E.P. (2001). Social capital and homicide. *Social Forces*, 80, 283-310.
- Sarkisian, N., Gerena, M., & Gerstel, N. (2006). Extended family ties among Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Whites: Super integration or disintegration? *Family Relations*, 55, 331-344.
- Scoglio, C., Schumm, W. R., Schumm, P. B., Easton, T., Chowdhury, S. R., Syndey, A., & Youssef, M. (2010). Efficient mitigation strategies for epidemics in rural areas. *PLoS ONE*, 5(7), e11569. Doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0011569.
- Siles, M., Robison, L. J., Cuéllar, I., Garcia, C., & LaHousse, S. F. (2006). The impact of Latino immigrants in Grand Rapids' urban development: *A social capital approach*. Julian Samora Research Institute. Research Report No. 37, 1-37.
- Smith, A. (1759). The theory of moral sentiments. Retrieved July 25, 2007 from www.lucidcafe.com/library/96jun/smith.html#etext.
- SPSS, Inc. (2007). *SPSS Base 16.0 for Windows User's Guide*. SPSS Inc., Chicago IL.
- Stull, D. D. & Broadway, M. J. (2004). *Slaughterhouse blues: The meat and poultry industry in North America*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.

- Strayhorn, C. K. (2006). *Undocumented immigrants in Texas: a financial analysis of the impact to the state budget and economy*. Office of the Comptroller of Texas. Retrieved November 12, 2008 from <http://www.window.state.tx.us/specialrpt/undocumented/undocumented.pdf>. Austin, TX: Office of Comptroller.
- U.S. Census Bureau Quickfacts (2009). *Kearny county*. Retrieved October 30, 2009 from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/20/2025325.html>. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Census Bureau.
- White, J. & Klein, D. M. (2008). *Family theories*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Woolcock, M. (1998). Social capital economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework. *Theory and Society*, 27(2), 151-208. Retrieved Sept. 11, 2007 from <http://www.jstor>.
- Woolcock, M. & Narayan, D. (2000). Social Capital: Implications for development, theory, and policy. *World Bank Research Observer*, 15(2), 225-249. Retrieved Sept. 11, 2007 from <http://wbro.oxfordjournals.org/content/15/2/225.full.pdf+html>
- Zolotor, A. J. & Runyan, D. K. (2006). Social capital, family violence, and neglect. *Pediatrics*, 117; 1124 – e1131. Retrieved May 4, 2010 from www.pediatrics.org

Appendix A – Survey Instrument

1. What is your home zip code? _____
(5 digits only)

2. Please write in how many persons (adults and children) live in your household/home/apartment?

3. Do you have children, between 6 and 18, in school?
If “yes”, please write in ages
 - Yes
 - No
 - Age(s) _____

4. If you answered, “yes”, what would you say is their level of school performance?
 - Above average (A and B grades)
 - Average (C grades)
 - Failing (D and F grades)
 - Not applicable (answered “no” in question 4)

5. Do you have children living at home who are not in school? If “yes” please write in exact age(s).
 - Yes
 - No
 - Age(s) _____

6. Is English your first language?
 - Yes
 - No

7. If you answered “no”, what is your first Language?
 - Spanish
 - German
 - An Asian Language
 - Other _____

8. What is your exact age in years? _____

9. What is your gender?
 - Male
 - Female

10. How many years have you lived in this community?
 - Less than 12 months
 - One (1) year to almost five (5) years
 - Five (5) years or more

11. What is your marital status?

- Single
- Married or living with partner
- Widowed
- Divorced/separated
- Never Married

12. What is your race/ethnicity?

- White (non-Hispanic)
- Hispanic/Latino(a)
- Black _____
- Asian _____
- Other _____

13. What is your current level of education?

- Less than eighth grade
- Some high school
- High school diploma (including GED)
- Some college or technical school
- College degree
- Some graduate study
- A graduate degree (Master's or PhD)

14. What is your current level of annual household income before taxes?

- Less than \$12,000
- \$12,000 to \$24,999
- \$25,000 to \$49,999
- \$50,000 or more

15. Do you have close friends or people with whom you can confide?

- None
- One to five
- More than five

16. In a typical day, how many family members, who do not live with you, do you meet in person outside of your home/household/apartment?

- None
- One (1) to five (5)
- Six (6) to fifteen (15)
- More than fifteen (15)

17. How often in the past year have you either had friends to your home or gone to others' homes for activities?

- None
- One (1) to five (5)
- Six (6) to fifteen (15)
- More than fifteen (15)

- 18. How often in the past year have you spent time with your friends at a park, store, restaurants, or other public places?**
- None
 - One to five
 - Six to fifteen
 - More than fifteen
- 19. Do you feel that most people can be trusted?**
- Never
 - Sometimes
 - Almost Always
- 20. Do you trust people from different racial backgrounds?**
- Never
 - Sometimes
 - Almost Always
- 21. How many of your friends are of different racial backgrounds from yours?**
- None
 - One to five
 - Six to fifteen
 - More than fifteen
- 22. Do you have personal friends who work in different jobs than yours? (Check all that apply, or write in.)**
- Business owner
 - Doctor
 - Manual Laborer
 - Other _____
- 23. In how many civic organizations or social clubs do you participate?**
- None
 - One
 - Two
 - Three or more
- 24. Do you participate in any of the following community activities? (Please check all that apply to you)**
- Sport or recreation organizations
 - Art or music organizations/activities
 - Political parties
 - Professional Organizations
 - Other _____
- 25. Do you attend a church?**
- Yes
 - No

26. Do you attend any of the following (Please check all that apply to you)?

- Parades or other community celebrations
- Local sports events
- County Fair or rodeos
- School Programs
- Other _____

27. Do you volunteer at one of the following places (Please check all that apply to you)?

- Church
- School
- Community Organization
- Other _____

28. How often do you donate money to any charities, organizations, schools, or community projects?

- Seldom
- Sometimes
- Often
- No - I cannot afford it
- No - I do not wish to do so

29. Do you trust law enforcement officials in your community?

- Yes
- No
- If "no", why? _____

Please return the enclosed post card if you would like to speak to us further about what you see as supports or barriers in your community, or if you would like a copy of the results of our study.

Appendix B – Interviews Transcripts

Interviews – March 1, 2011

Q16 – A lot more than once a day if you look at other activities

Martha – church is very important. We interact with a lot of people at funerals, weddings and other places. Perhaps we see around 200 people in a month's time.

Jesse – I am self-employed, so I see a lot of people when I'm out selling my products. I am very active at church. Also since I've been in my nutrition program and have graduated, I come back to help with the new [adult] students. I like to help recruit new women to the program because it gives us a chance to better ourselves, interact socially, and show other people how to better themselves. I was a hairdresser in my country, so I gained my love of socializing then.

Martha – I used to belong to the migrant program, but I no longer qualify, so the nutrition program teaches me new things, and I get to see other people in classes. We are very fortunate to have access to education, because in our country, we'd never get these opportunities.

Q17 – All: Everything is an excuse to get together. We celebrate when we get a paycheck.

Q18 – Parent teacher conferences

Q19: (Before the ladies were to answer this question, I had to assure them that whatever they told me was in the strictest confidence.)

Martha told about an incident of misunderstanding and led to her son being banned from the gas station/convenience store. “We went to get gas with a friend, and the friend's child had a toy gun. My son happened to be sitting next to it, so the lady said my son, ‘You know I can have you arrested for having that gun and you can go to jail.’ The child told the woman that it was not his gun. She said, ‘Don't talk back to me.’ Martha's son asked the woman if she was discriminating against him, and she (gas station woman) became quite angry and called the police. In the end, Martha and her child were banned from the gas station/convenience store. “I don't know why she acted that way.”

Jesse – I haven't had a bad experience myself, but I do see other people being mistreated because they don't know the language, and they don't always know the rules. We are not here to

make like bad for Americans. We just want to work, make a living for our families, and have our children get an education.

Vera – I think every race has its good people and bad people. We meet a lot of bad people when we are migrating to this country. There are a lot dangers in the trip.

Question: Why risk the danger of the trip?

Vera – There is extreme poverty. There are not opportunities for education, and the government is so very corrupt.

Jesse – I came for love. Me and my husband have been here more than 15 years, and we love it. It is much better than our country.

Martha – I love it here, but we try not to be too involved in the community, because there is a fear of push-back because my language is not good. The teachers at the school intimidate me. I think Anglo people think we don't care about our children's education because we don't do a lot at school. We don't always understand the directions when we are at the schools, so we stand to the side so that we don't do things wrong. My English is not that good, and sometime the people don't try to understand me, so I stay quiet.

Jesse – We hear about activities at the schools, so we go to them. We often arrive late, because we don't know what time the activities begin. The information is in English from the schools. We are trying, but it's hard to learn a new language.

Community Involvement –

Vera – We are interested in taking our children to activities. Mostly we have to go to Oasis for activities because there are more things to do for Hispanic people. We don't buy the newspaper, because it's only in English.

Vera – We are glad to Bertha and her classes. We know about the extension office here in town, but they don't promote anything in Spanish. 4-H does not include any programs for Hispanics. We understand that it's for the whole family, but we would be lost at the meetings.

Jesse – We are interested in using extension, but it's only for white people. We are farmers, so we'd like to have our children be in 4-H for the animals. We feel somewhat excluded. I do go to 4-H with my child, because it's important, but I feel out of place because the other parents don't talk to me.

Martha – We get our information from one another. If we do buy a newspaper, our children help us read it. We also depend on Bertha for information about our community. We

were interested in joining Walk Kansas, but it was only in English, so we learned about it later last year, but this year Bertha told us about it.

Q28

Vera – If you ask us about donating to those places [on the survey], we would say, “no”. We can’t always afford to give money. We will give money to a family who is struggling, but we may not give formal donations, so we do volunteer our time.

Jesse- I like to volunteer at the school by walking children to school for the moms who have to stay in or who work. We also help at recess. Mainly we want to watch our children to make sure they are safe.

Martha – For example, when there was a family in Homer who had a disaster, we all got together to take food, clothing, and money. We don’t give that often to big organizations.

Rosa – walking our children to school is very important. Even when they think they’re too old for it. Sorry about not answering these questions on your paper. We’re not used to completing surveys, because they don’t fit us sometimes.

Jesse – It seems we are stereotyped – People think we always want things for free.

Q29

Martha – “Aye!” I don’t trust them very much. They have never treated me nice.

Jesse – I trust the people I know. I think people don’t trust us.

Martha – I may be a little scared of people, but I trust them until they give me a reason not to trust.

Jesse- Some people you can trust, and some you cannot trust.

End of focus group.

NOTE* We are in the home of Angelica, and she is visited by her friend, Juana. Angelica’s husband is home for lunch. We are invited to eat a lovely meal of omelettes, quesadillas, and fruit. Angelica is a high school grad. Juana has a college degree from Mexico. She sells cosmetics. Juana is bilingual.

We begin with Q15 since the demographics were completed on the survey.

Angelica – I have more than 5 friends who I confide in. I also am very close with my sisters. One lives in Yennif County.

Juana – Of course I have more than five. It’s hard for me to be here with most of my family still in Mexico, so I’ve made lots of friends here.

Q16

Juana - If they don't come see me I go see them. Weekends are very social for us. That's how we've made it so long here [more than 25 years]. I also have a sister in Yennif County. It's a good thing it's not too far. We go back and forth a lot.

Angelica – I talk to at least one of my family members on the phone every day. They don't live in town. One lives in Texas, and one lives in California. We talk every day so that we don't lose contact. We don't get to see each other that often so we stay connected by phone.

Q17 and Q18

Juana – We are very social, so we make sure to have busy weekends with family and friends. Mostly I am at home, but I sell cosmetics, so I see a lot of people. You met my friend earlier [Vera] who got me into selling the cosmetics.

Angelica- I like to talk to people. I am a little shy, but I know it's important for my daughter to see me talking to people so that she is not shy.

Q19

Angelica – Sometimes I feel like I can trust people. When I make a trip with friends, I think people are looking at us with mistrust, so I think that I cannot trust them. Sometimes I feel like I'm not welcome. When I don't know people, I am more careful. It's always best to get to know people, but that's hard, too. For me it's being in a new country. I suppose I trust people more in my own country, because we're all the same. I heard lots of stories before I came to this country. But I also heard it's a better place to live, so we came.

Juana – I almost always trust people. Language is a barrier. I think that makes people not trust us, so we become untrusting, too. Before I learned English, it was very hard to know what people were saying. Now I'm much more confidence, and I suppose more trusting than before. Before I knew English, I was afraid to speak, because I didn't want to make mistakes. Children learn English so easily. My daughter made fun of me. I was saying that her new shoes were "awesome." She laughed, and said, "Mom, don't say that anymore!" I said, "What's wrong?" She said, it comes out, "ass-some." "That's wrong!" I can't hear the difference between 'awesome' and 'ass-some'.

Angelica – when you speak with an accent, it is hard, because we can say the wrong thing. I cannot hear the differences, either.

Juana – I think most people understand my accent. I've been speaking English for about 14 years.

Q22

Angelica – Maybe two: teacher and business owner.

Juana – About four: Three teachers and our priest.

Q 23 , Q24, and Q26

Angelica – I help with CCP [catholic lessons for youth]. I take our daughter to ballet. I am involved with EFNEP. I graduated, but I like to volunteer. Both my husband and I attend parent teacher conference. We always go to any community celebrations. We really like the fair. We hope our children can be in 4-H one day.

Juana – We are in 4-H, girl scouts. I go to recreation 3 times a week. I like Zumba. CCP at church. I volunteer at EFNEP. We go to parent teacher conference. We also like parades and county fairs. Last year we walked our children in the parade. It's easy to be involved when you live in a small town. Everything looks big in a small town.

Q25

Angelica – Church is very important. Most of my volunteer time goes to the church for teaching classes, bible study, and prayer meetings.

Juana – Same for me. We know that the church is the best place for us – not only to worship but to stay in touch with the community. Of course we want to raise our children to love Jesus, too.

Q27 and Q28

Juana – I am on the site council at the school. We are very involved at the school. I donate by buying whatever the children bring home to sell for school fundraisers. I buy the stuff whether we need it or not. I give money to the church, too.

Angelica – I volunteer at the church. I help families when they are new to town or are struggling to live. Sometimes, I help with moms who need to go look for work. I will take care of the children. I give money to the church. That's very important.

Juana - Supporting the school by buying the fundraiser items shows my children that we know school is important.

Q29

Juana – I'm afraid of the police because I don't know them. I am very careful not to be involved with them because I would never know what to do in court. It's not hard to stay away from the police. We have children, and we live honest lives. In Mexico I understand the laws. I'm not always sure about the laws here.

Angelica – I agree with Juana.

Final question – Why did you come to the United States?

Juana – I wanted to learn English, and I fell in love and got married. I found my husband here. I grew up in a big city in Chihuahua, Mexico. A lot of people here come from my state. I lived with my parents until I was 28, which is common for unmarried women. I was educated, and I had a good job, but I wanted to learn English. It's easier to get into the U.S. when you have a degree, so I came to learn English, and then met my husband.

Angelica – I came hiding in a motor home with another family. It was very frightening, but we have a better life here. There is much poverty and the government is corrupt in my country [Mexico]. We heard that other people came without problems, and I have siblings here. We wanted to improve our lives, and there are more opportunities.

Juana – My life here is very different. U.S. Americans don't go outside with their children. We like to be outside. We share with each other. We play with our neighbors. They [U.S. Americans] want to be entertained. We are very family oriented, and when we get together we may be loud. Also, we believe in walking our children to school. Schools are better here. Higher education is prestigious in the US. In my country [Mexico] schools are almost free. Daily expense was hard to cover if you worked for minimum wage. If you live on a ranchito [small farms in remote areas], it's hard to get transportation to school, so many of us live with our parents while we attend university. I have 7 siblings, and 7 out of 8 received college degrees. My parent had a good income, and I was very privileged.

Angelica – I only went to middle school, because my family did not have a lot of money. I went to work at age 14. I want my children to have the opportunities that I did not have, so we risked the dangerous to come here.

Juana and Angelica – We have a better life here in US. We want good lives for our children.