

# **Assessing Social Capital in Kansas: Findings from Quantitative and Qualitative Studies**

*A Report to the Kansas Health Institute*



KANSAS HEALTH INSTITUTE

**Doug Easterling, Ph.D.**  
**Capri G. Foy, Ph.D.**

Department of Social Sciences and Health  
Policy  
Division of Public Health Sciences  
Wake Forest University School of Medicine  
Winston-Salem, NC



**Kate Fothergill, Ph.D.**  
**Lori Leonard, Ph.D.**  
**David R. Holtgrave, Ph.D.**

Department of Health, Behavior, and Society  
Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public  
Health  
Baltimore, MD



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## Chapter 1: Introduction

### **Defining Social Capital**

Social capital is a concept originated by sociologists and political scientists to explain how community residents overcome shared problems with collective action (Bourdieu, 1985; Durkheim, 1951; Lochner et al, 1999; Portes, 1998). It has become popular in the past 20 years with the growing appreciation for contextual influences on health (Berkman, 2000; Coleman, 1990; Kawachi & Kawachi et al, 1999; Kennedy et al, 1998; Lochner et al, 1999; Putnam, 1995).

Over the years, the construct of social capital has been defined in a variety of ways in the academic literature (Coleman, 1990; Lappe and DuBois, 1997; Lomas, 1998; Potapchuk, Crocker and Schechter, 1997; Putnam, 1993). However, all definitions include some notion of *social connectedness*, accompanied by the premise that communities with “stronger” connections (e.g., more trusting relationships, wider networks, denser networks, more bridging across lines of difference) are in a better position to promote the well-being of their members.

From this starting point, theorists diverge in their definitions and emphases. Some focus on reciprocity and the exchange of resources among members, whereas others explicitly consider whether members place a value on the “common good.” Many include social control, collective efficacy, and social integration as theoretical ingredients of social capital (Berkman, 1995; Durkheim, 1951; Hirschi, 1969; Lochner et al, 1999; Sampson et al, 1997; Zaccaro et al, 1995). Some consider social capital to be a stock of resources to be assessed at the *individual* level (e.g., the value associated with the person’s various social networks), while others regard social capital as a *community-level* construct, defined by the degree to which residents throughout a community are connected with one another, trust each other, work together, etc.

Among those who adopt this larger community-level frame of reference, some look not just at inter-personal relationships, but also the degree to which residents belong to organizations, participate in group activities, carry out their duties as citizens (e.g., voting), and give to the community through volunteering and monetary donations. In his seminal book, *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam (2000) adopted this broad conceptual framework for social capital, one that largely overlaps with the concept of *community capacity* and appears to absorb (at least partially) the dimension of *leadership*.

### **The Benefits of Social Capital**

Over the past decade, social capital has garnered increased attention not only among academics, but also elected officials, government agencies, foundations, nonprofit organizations, and even for-profit firms. The increased popularity among non-academics can be traced in large part to Robert Putnam. Through articles, books, and speeches, Putnam has emphasized the beneficial consequences of social capital. Social networks have value over and above the intrinsic enjoyment that one receives being socially connected; they are a form of “capital” that translates into a variety of important outputs and outcomes, including health, economic development, crime, and child development (e.g., Berkman, 1995; Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, and Prothrow-Smith, 1997; Lomas, 1998; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). However, it must also be recognized that social capital can also have negative effects depending on the social desirability of the collective goal (e.g., a tightly knit group might work together to commit hate crimes, clearly an undesirable social goal) (Putnam, 2000).

The degree to which social capital generates positive outcomes has become a matter of dispute among academics.<sup>1</sup> To a large degree, the controversy and lack of consensus stem from differences in the definition of social capital (KHI, 2004). Some aspects of social capital are clearly linked to health, economic and other outcomes, while other aspects of social capital have more equivocal value. At the *individual* level, there is strong, consistent evidence that social connections have positive consequences. It has been repeatedly shown that having access to a network of supportive, accepting, nonjudgmental confidants generates health benefits – with regard to both preventing illness and overcoming illness (Berkman & Glass, 2000). In addition, social relationships developed through performance of social roles and affiliation in social organizations help encourage compliance with social norms and regulate behavior. These relationships also give meaning and purpose to one's life (Burton, 1998). Social integration has been associated with longer life (Moen et al, 1989), better health behavior (Umberson, 1987), less substance use (Ensminger et al, 1982; Hawkins et al., 1999), less delinquency and criminal behavior (Hirschi, 1969; Sampson & Laub, 1990), and lower unemployment (Kasinitz & Rosenberg, 1996).

Social capital is also hypothesized to produce benefits at the *collective* or *aggregate* level. Communities, neighborhoods, or organizations with high social connectedness and trust are more likely to allocate resources for the benefit of the collective interest rather than for individuals' interests. In addition, individuals who live or work within a context where there is high social capital are more inclined to act responsibly toward each other, which in turn increases public safety, collective child rearing, and acts of kindness and civility. For example, Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) found that neighborhoods with higher levels of social cohesion had lower levels of crime than would be predicted given the neighborhood's socio-economic characteristics. Likewise, Durkheim's (1951) classic study Suicide showed that countries with higher rates of religious and civic involvement had lower rates of suicide. More recently, there have been several studies that have shown that higher rates of social cohesion and social capital are related to child welfare, violent behavior, health status, and mortality (Berkman & Glass, 2000; Crosby et al, 2002; Holtgrave & Crosby, 2006; Holtgrave et al, 2003; Kawachi, 2000; Kawachi & Berkman, 2000; Kreuter & Lezin, 2002; Muntaner & Lynch, 2002; Sretzer & Woolcock, 2004; Whitehead & Dideriichsen, 2001).

A number of theoretical mechanisms have been posited for explaining the relationship between social capital and health. Kawachi and Berkman (2000) suggest that state-level social capital exerts its potential influence on health by: (a) establishing cohesive social conditions (e.g., positive norms and facilitative conditions) that promote health directly by enabling communities to strengthen their ability to prevent and contain disease; (b) fostering protective behaviors and reducing risk behaviors; and (c) promoting availability of and access to public health services. Communities with high social capital are places with high levels of cohesion within groups ("bonding") and strong social ties across groups (termed, "bridging"). Strong bridges and bonds define and reinforce social norms and sanctions governing behaviors.

Rogers' Diffusion of Innovations theory (Rogers, 1983) posits that innovative health-protective behaviors "spread" through populations based on a defined trajectory of social acceptance. In a cohesive population, the close ties among members greatly facilitate the likelihood that diffusion effects could occur, and subsequently the norms enforced. Conversely, in low-cohesion populations the diffusion process may be far less efficient. Thus, community-level interventions

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<sup>1</sup> Putnam's other key argument (that social capital has declined precipitously since World War II) has also been challenged by many academics. As with most concepts in social science, when social capital became more popularized, it became a more obvious and attractive target for scientific debate and argumentation.

designed to promote any given health behavior may have stronger effects within communities of greater social capital. As a basis of social capital, social cohesion helps foster the conditions necessary for collective efficacy, the ability and willingness of a community to collectively respond to the needs of the group (Sampson et al, 1997; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). Through mutual trust and shared expectations, the community is able to intervene on behalf of the common good.

Although there is both a theoretical basis and empirical evidence to support the case that *community-level* social capital has positive impacts on population health, this hypothesis has not gone unchallenged (Pearce and Smith, 2003, KHI, 2004). Critics have pointed to two possible challenges to the validity of this argument. The first argument relates to the confounding between social capital and other known predictors of population health. For example, some of the high-profile studies showing that states or countries with higher levels of social trust have reduced morbidity and mortality (e.g., Kawachi, Kennedy, Lochner, and Prothrow-Smith, 1997) were called into question by a later analysis that included a more comprehensive list of covariates, especially poverty levels and income inequality (Milyo and Parnerker, 2003; Pearce and Smith, 2003).

The second critique of studies such as Kawachi et al. (1997) is that the analysis does not distinguish between the *contextual* effect versus the *individual* effect of social capital on health. Even if states with high social capital are healthier, controlling for all the other predictors of population health, it is unclear whether this reflects the positive contextual effect (i.e., the benefits of living in the place), or simply the fact that states with high levels of social capital have more people with strong social networks which exert health benefits for these residents. In other words, are communities with higher levels of trust, connectedness, civic engagement, etc. healthier places to live **over and above** the individual-level effects that are at work?

The studies that Rob Sampson and his colleagues have contributed to the literature strongly support the argument that the answer to this question is “yes” (Sampson et al, 1997; Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999). These studies collect data at both the individual and neighborhood level to disentangle contextual effects from individual effects. Individual-level health and quality of life are predicted as a function of both their individual characteristics (e.g., income, race, education, social networks) and the type of neighborhood they live in (e.g., neighborhood-level poverty rates, percent rental vs. owner-occupied housing, racial composition, prevalence of social networks, collective efficacy). These studies have found that health depends on both individual-level factors and community context. According to the regression models, people who are poor or socially isolated are less healthy than are their wealthier, more connected neighbors. Likewise, moving a person from disconnected, fragmented community to a cohesive, engaged community will improve their health.

A pair of studies by Subramanian, Kim & Kawachi (2002) and Kim & Kawachi (2006) provides additional insight into the question of whether the benefit of social capital occurs at the individual versus the contextual level. In both studies, the authors carried out secondary analysis of the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey. The survey involved telephone interviews with 29,200 adults across the United States, of which 3,003 constituted a representative national sample, and the remainder resided in one of 40 distinct communities. Respondents answered over 200 questions that address various aspects of social capital and also provided comprehensive demographic information. Subramanian, Kim & Kawachi (2002) and Kim & Kawachi (2006) used this data set to statistically model respondents’ ratings of their health status, taking into account both individual-level and community-level measures of social capital (along with individual-level and community-level covariates). Individual-level measures of social capital (e.g., how much are

others trusted, level of social interaction, participation in groups and community activities) had a much stronger impact on self-rated health than did community-level social capital (e.g., the mean level of trust or engagement existing throughout the community). However, there were also complex interactions between individual-level and community-level social capital. For example, high-trusting individuals were more likely than low-trusting individuals to report better health – if these individuals live in a community that has high levels of trust. In communities where the general level of trust is low, there is no relationship between individual-level trust and self-rated health.

Although there is not consensus on whether social capital actually improves health, we contend that much of the research in the last few years suggests there is a relationship. Certainly there is when looking at the *individual-level* benefits of being socially connected, engaged, and trusting. Even at the community level, there is a large, longstanding body of evidence that supports the case that “communities” (especially neighborhoods) with high social capital are healthier places. Admittedly, these studies are predominantly (maybe even exclusively) cross-sectional and correlational. We don’t yet have the more definitive evidence that comes from looking at what happens to population health in communities where there has been a deliberate and successful effort to increase social capital. But a number of organizations and individuals are now experimenting more boldly with strategies to do just that. As such, there will be greater opportunity to isolate the unique impact of social capital in contributing to population health.<sup>2</sup>

### **Interest in Social Capital within KHF and KHI**

Recognizing the beneficial value of social capital, an increasing number of local communities and states have become interested in enhancing social capital to improve the lives of their residents. This has particularly been true within the philanthropic sector. A group of 35 foundations (primarily community foundations) sponsored the initial Social Capital Benchmark Survey in 2000. Many used the survey as a platform to develop grantmaking and other strategies to build social capital at a community level. In 2006, a group of 15 such foundations (including nine that sponsored a follow-up social capital survey) convened to create the National Social Capital Learning Circle.

Although the Kansas Health Foundation was a late arrival to the Learning Circle, the Foundation has had a longstanding interest in social capital, and even a longer term commitment to promoting health by affecting the social determinants of health. It has a broad-based mission that includes work in the areas of children’s health, public health, leadership, and policy. According to its strategic plan, its “role in improving health for all Kansans focuses on identifying and eliminating the root causes of poor health.”

Arguably the social factor that has attracted the greatest investment on the part of KHF is *leadership*. In 1988 the foundation conducted a Listening Tour to meet with community leaders and learn more about the critical issues facing communities in Kansas. The issue mentioned most often was the need for leadership. Communities need leaders who have a vision for the community and the ability to bring people together to achieve common goals. These leaders need a variety of skills, including strategic planning, facilitation, and building bridges among community residents. In 1998, the foundation began providing leadership training across the state.

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<sup>2</sup> There may also be an increasing number of natural experiments where communities suffer precipitous declines in social capital through natural disasters (e.g., New Orleans).

The Foundation's interest in leadership has gradually expanded to incorporate other factors that increase a community's capacity to address health issues (Goodman et al., 1998; Easterling et al., 1999). Social capital rose to prominence in the late 1990s. In 1999, KHF commissioned a study of social connectedness and social capital in six Kansas communities as part of its larger study evaluating the KHF's "Grow Up with Me Campaign," one of its children's health initiatives. The study interviewed leaders in the six communities about their perceptions of their community's capacity to engage in collaborative actions. Specifically, community leaders commented on recruitment of volunteers, collaboration of leaders, support of youth by faith-based organizations, and contributions to community by businesses. The findings offer practical ideas to help in three of KHF's ongoing program areas: leadership development at the local level; use of data to promote the advancement of developmental assets; and the "Grow Up with Me" media campaign. In regard to leadership, the community-specific information provides local leaders with insights about the nature and process of inter-organizational collaboration.

In 1995, KHF established the Kansas Health Institute (KHI) to be an information source for policy makers. A primary purpose of KHI is to help policymakers understand how the health of Kansans is influenced by a wide range of individual, social, and community factors. Recognizing the relationship between social capital and health and quality of life, KHI has recently established an area of work to help guide policy makers about the role of social capital in developing healthy communities.

In spring of 2007, the foundation opened The Kansas Health Foundation Leadership Center, which is devoted to developing and strengthening leadership in Kansas. The goal of the new Leadership Center is to develop economically vibrant, healthy communities by strengthening leadership. The Leadership Center, along with KHF and KHI, are interested in the intersection of leadership and social capital. They are exploring whether communities need a certain foundation of social capital to develop leaders or whether communities need leaders first to develop social capital. They are also interested in whether social capital can be used as a framework for assessing the needs of communities and identifying the role of leaders in designing and implementing interventions. Further, they are examining whether there are certain types of communities that lend themselves to development of social capital and others that do not.

### **Background on the Current Study**

In 2004, KHI prepared a Social Capital White Paper for KHF examining what the science says about the relationship of social capital to health. Based on an extensive review of the literature, the authors identified three limitations of the research on social capital and health: the lack of a consensus on the definition of social capital, the absence of a theoretical framework explaining the relationships between social capital and health, and the lack of reliable and valid measures. Given these gaps, the White paper made five summary points: 1) KHF should clarify its definition of social capital; 2) KHF can contribute to the improvement of social capital theory and measurement; 3) Because measurement is still in development, KHF may want to wait to select an instrument for longitudinal studies; 4) KHF should assess the relationship between social capital and health in conjunction with its assessment(s) of social capital; and 5) KHF needs to determine which terminology works best for discussing social capital with potential grantees and others. It also recommended thinking about social capital in relation to "civil society" and offered a discussion of the term and its applications. In short, the White Paper highlighted the difficulties of working in the area of social capital but still supported moving forward and provided recommendations for doing so. One of the recommendations was to use both quantitative and qualitative methods to adequately assess social capital in Kansas.

Following up on the recommendations in the Social Capital White Paper, KHF commissioned KHI in 2006 to carry out a study that would generate empirical measures of social capital in the context of Kansas. The stated goal of the study is “to establish a valid, methodologically rigorous, and visionary baseline measurement of social capital in Kansas.”

To carry out this assignment, KHI partnered with the Saguaro Seminar at Harvard University, a group established by Robert Putnam to educate the public about the importance of social capital and to promote efforts to build social capital. As noted above, Saguaro coordinated the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey (SCBS), a comprehensive telephone survey that asked respondents to report on a wide variety of behaviors, attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions related to trust, relationships, socializing, and involvement with civic groups. This survey was administered to 29,222 respondents throughout the country, including a nationally representative sample of 3,003 and separate samples in 40 communities where a foundation sponsored the survey. These communities (listed in Table 1.1) varied in size from portions of a city (e.g., North Minneapolis) to entire states (e.g., Montana, Indiana, New Hampshire).

**Table 1.1. Communities Included in the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey**

Area Surveyed	Sponsor	Sample Size
Phoenix (AZ) Metro (Maricopa County)	Arizona Community Foundation (C.F.)	501
Atlanta (GA) Metro (DeKalb, Fulton, Cobb, Rockdale, Henry Counties)	C.F. for Greater Atlanta	510
East Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana	Forum 35/Baton Rouge Area Foundation	500
Birmingham Metro (Jefferson, Shelby Counties)	C.F. of Greater Birmingham (AL)	500
City of Boston (MA)	Boston Foundation	604
Boulder County, Colorado	C.F. Serving Boulder County	500
Charlotte (NC) Metro [[Catawba, Iredell, Rowan, Cleveland, Lincoln, Gaston, Mecklenburg, Cabarrus, Stanly, Union, Anson Counties (NC); York, Chester, Lancaster Counties (SC)]]	Foundation for the Carolinas	1500
Syracuse (NY) Metro (Onondaga County)	Central New York C.F.	541
Chicago (IL) Metro (Lake, McHenry, Cook, DuPage, Kane, Will Counties)	Chicago Community Trust	750
Cincinnati (OH) Metro [Butler, Clermont, Hamilton, Warren Counties (OH); Boone, Campbell, Kenton Counties (KY); Dearborn County (IN)]	Greater Cincinnati Foundation	1001
Cleveland (OH) Metro (Cuyahoga County)	Cleveland Foundation	1100
Delaware (Kent County, Sussex County, city of Wilmington, non-Wilmington New Castle County)	Delaware Division of State Service Centers/Delaware C.F.	1379
City and County of Denver (CO)	Denver Foundation/Rose C.F./Piton Foundation	501
East Tennessee (Anderson, Blount, Campbell, Claiborne, Cocke, Grainger, Greene, Hamblen, Hawkins, Hancock, Jefferson, Knox, Loudon, Monroe, McMinn, Morgan, Roane, Scott, Sevier, Union, Unicoi, and Washington Counties).	East Tennessee Foundation	500
Fremont (MI) Area (Newaygo County)	Fremont Area C.F. (MI)	753
City of Grand Rapids (MI)	Grand Rapids C.F.	502
Greensboro (NC) (Guilford County)	C.F. of Greater Greensboro	750
Houston (TX) (Harris county)	Greater Houston C.F.	500
State of Indiana	Indiana Grantmakers Alliance	1001
Charleston (WV) Metro (Kanawha, Putnam, Boone Counties)	Greater Kanawha Valley Foundation	500
Kalamazoo (MI) County	Kalamazoo C.F.	500
Los Angeles (CA) County	California C.F.	515

Lewiston-Auburn (ME) Metro (Lewiston, Auburn, Greene, Sabattus, Lisbon, Mechanic Falls, Poland, Turner, Wales, Minot)	Maine C.F.	523
State of Montana	Montana C.F.	502
State of New Hampshire	New Hampshire Charitable Foundation	711
Silicon Valley & South Bay (CA) (San Mateo, Santa Clara Part of Alameda County: Fremont, Newark, Union City)	Peninsula C.F./C.F. Silicon Valley	1505
Rochester (NY) Metro (Monroe, Wayne, Ontario, Livingston, Genesee, Orleans Counties)	Rochester Area C.F.	988
St. Paul (MN) Metro (Dakota, Ramsey, Washington Counties)	The St. Paul Foundation	503
San Diego (CA) County	The San Diego Foundation	504
City & County of San Francisco (CA)	Walter & Elise Haas Fund	500
Detroit (MI) Metro (Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, St.Clair, Washtenaw, Monroe, Livingston Counties)	C.F. for Southeastern Michigan	501
Winston-Salem (NC) (Forsyth County)	Winston-Salem Foundation	750
York (PA) County	York Foundation (PA)	500
City of Minneapolis (MN)	Northwest Area Foundation	501
North Minneapolis (ZIP 55411 & ZIP 55405 north of I-394)		452
rural South Dakota		368
central Oregon		500
City of Seattle (WA)		502
Yakima (WA) County		500
City of Bismarck (ND)		506

In 2006, Saguaro replicated the Benchmark survey with modest revisions. (The survey instrument is included as Appendix A.) The new survey (referred to as the Social Capital Community Survey, or SCCS) was administered within a representative national sample (n=2741) as well as in communities where a local foundation was willing to serve as a sponsor. KHF was one of ten foundations that chose to participate. The other nine were each community foundations, seven of which participated in the 2000 survey.<sup>3</sup> Through the contributions of these 10 foundations, the Saguaro Seminar was able to conduct the survey in five communities that

<sup>3</sup> The nine participating community foundations were: Community Foundation of Greater Greensboro (NC); The Winston-Salem (NC) Foundation; Maine Community Foundation; San Diego Community Foundation; Rochester (NY) Area Community Foundation; Duluth(MN)-Superior (WI) Area Community Foundation; Gulf Coast Community Foundation (Sarasota, FL); Kalamazoo (MI) Community Foundation; and New Hampshire Charitable Foundation.

were impacted by the evacuation of Louisiana residents following Hurricane Katrina: Houston, Baton Rouge, and three unnamed communities in Arkansas.<sup>4</sup>

KHF was the largest investor in the 2006 SCCS, funding a sample of 2455. These respondents were recruited from seven distinct sampling frames:

- Abilene – Dickinson County (n=350)
- Garden City – Finney County (n=350)
- Junction City – Geary County (n=350)
- Wichita – Sedgwick County (n=352)
- Kansas City – Wyandotte County (n=350)
- Urban Counties (n=352)
- Rural Counties (n=351)

The research design allowed for estimates of social capital within the five target communities and for the state as a whole, while also providing the opportunity to test for urban-rural differences.

The five target communities were selected by KHI and KHF to represent a diverse cross-section of towns and cities across the state. Table 1.2 shows the cross-community variation in size of the community, age, racial composition, and median household. As will become clear in the chapters that follow, these communities are quite different on many additional factors, including economic base, political structure, history, and culture.

**Table 1.2. Demographic Profiles of Kansas Communities<sup>†</sup>**

	Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita
Total Population (n)	6,543	28,451	18,886	146,866	344,284
Median Age (yrs)	39.8	28.6	30.4	32.3	33.4
% 65 yrs or older	20.0	8.1	11.1	11.6	11.9
% African-American*	1.0	1.5	26.7	30.1	11.4
% Hispanic or Latino**	2.7	43.9	8.3	16.8	9.6
Median Household income (\$)	33,778	37,752	35,093	33,011	39,939

<sup>†</sup>Source: <http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFacts?> \*one race \*\*any race

Having contracted with Saguaro to conduct the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey in the various Kansas samples, KHI sought a research team that could both analyze the survey data and carry out additional data collection and analysis. In line with the recommendations of the Social Capital White Paper, KHI determined that a qualitative study (based on a more open-ended approach to questioning) would serve as a useful supplement to the survey findings. In particular, the qualitative data would generate an independent assessment of each target community’s social capital, which in turn would test the validity of the survey findings. The qualitative approach also

<sup>4</sup> The surveys of Katrina-impacted communities were also supported by two national foundations: the Surdna Foundation and the Bernard and Audrey Rapoport Foundation.

has the decided advantage of being able to probe into “Why?” questions, which again serves to complement the quantitative assessment of social capital emerging from the survey.

KHI contracted with a team at Wake Forest University School of Medicine to analyze the survey data and with a team at Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg School of Public Health to carry out the qualitative study. The two teams coordinated their work plans so that the analyses support and complement one another. The current report is a joint product of the two teams.

We have organized the report so that it allows for a full exposition of the findings of the two studies, while also integrating those findings into a relatively succinct set of conclusions and recommendations. Chapters 2 and 3 present the methods and results for the analysis of the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, while Chapters 4 and 5 do the same for the qualitative study. In Chapter 6, we synthesize the findings from the two studies and generate our combined recommendations, focusing especially on the question of whether social capital provides a meaningful framework for KHI and KHF to adopt in their future programming and research.

## Chapter 2: Methods for Analyzing the Telephone Survey

The analysis of the 2006 Social Capital Community Survey (SCCS) was guided primarily by the following research question: “**How much social capital exists within Kansas and the five target communities?**” We address this question with a variety of approaches, ranging from simple descriptive statistics on specific survey items to more complex scaling methods that allow communities to be visually compared to one another. All analyses described below were conducted using SPSS 10.1 (Chicago IL) or Microsoft Excel (Redmond, WA).

### Analysis of Individual Items

We begin with the most straightforward approach to assessing social capital – simply reporting the frequency distribution for those survey items that tap into the concept of social capital. This approach has the advantage that it makes full use of the available data and provides a rich portrait of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors within each community. However, this approach has the disadvantage that it quickly overloads the reader with detail. Depending on how one defines “social capital,” the survey contains between 50 and 70 distinct items that are relevant to the construct.

To assist in identifying patterns in the data, we have organized the items according to a taxonomy of social capital. This taxonomy begins by dividing social capital into two broad domains: **social connectedness** and **community engagement**. Table 2.1 shows specific dimensions within each of these domains.

**Table 2.1. Dimensions of Social Capital**

<p><b><u>Social Connectedness</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Social networks and support</li><li>• Social interaction</li><li>• Inter-personal trust</li><li>• Bridging Social Capital<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Social Interaction across lines of difference<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>▪ Race and Ethnicity</li><li>▪ Other social/economic differences</li></ul></li><li>○ Inter-racial trust</li></ul></li></ul> <p><b><u>Community Engagement</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Involvement in community organizations<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>○ Secular</li><li>○ Faith-based</li></ul></li><li>• Participation in organized activities</li><li>• Volunteering and giving</li><li>• Leadership</li><li>• Involvement in the political process</li></ul>
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This taxonomy provides a useful means of organizing the presentation of findings, especially when focusing on individual survey items. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show how 65 key items in the survey map onto the different social capital dimensions.

Table 2.2. Survey Items that Measure the Different Dimensions of Social Connectedness

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	SURVEY ITEM
<b>Social Support</b>	Number of close friends
	Number of people you can confide in
<b>Social Interaction (Informal)</b>	How often visited with relatives
	How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?
	How often do you talk or visit with your neighbors?
	How often socialized with co-workers outside of work?
	How often have you played cards or board games with family and friends?
	How often in the past year have you hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?
<b>Interpersonal Trust</b>	In general, most people can be trusted – or you can't be too careful.
	How much can you trust people in your neighborhood?
	How much can you trust the people you work with?
	How much can you trust people who work in the stores where you shop?
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>	In the past year, how often have you been in the home of a different race, or had them in your home?"
	<i>Do you have a friend who is African American (relevant for Whites and Hispanics)</i>
	<i>Do you have a friend who is Hispanic or Latino (relevant for Whites and African Americans)</i>
	<i>Do you have a friend who is White (relevant for African Americans and Hispanics)</i>
	<i>Do you have a friend who is Asian (relevant for Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics)</i>
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Other Differences</b>	Do you have a personal friend with different religious orientation
	Do you have a personal friend who owns a business
	Do you have a personal friend who is a manual worker
	Do you have a personal friend who has been on welfare
	Do you have a personal friend who owns a vacation home
	Do you have a personal friend who is a community leader
<b>Inter-Racial Trust</b>	<i>How much do you trust African Americans (relevant for Whites and Hispanics)</i>
	<i>How much do you trust Hispanics (relevant for Whites and African Americans)</i>
	<i>How much do you trust Whites (relevant for African Americans and Hispanics)</i>
	<i>How much do you trust Asians (relevant for Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics)</i>

**Table 2.3. Survey Items that Measure the Different Dimensions of Community Engagement**

<b>SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION</b>	<b>SURVEY ITEM</b>
<b>Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular</b>	Are you involved with a youth organization?
	Are you involved with a parent association or other school support group?
	Are you involved with a neighborhood association?
	Are you involved with a charity or social welfare organization?
	Are you involved with a service or fraternal organizations?
	Are you involved with a seniors groups?
	Are you involved with a literary, art, or musical group? ?
	Are you involved with a hobby, investment, or garden club
	Are you involved with a sports club, league or outdoor activity club?
	Are you involved with a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee?*
	Are you involved with an ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations?
	Are you involved with a professional, trade or business association?
	Are you involved with a labor union?
	Are you involved with a veteran’s group? Are you involved with a self-help program?
<b>Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based</b>	Are you a member of a church or synagogue?
	How often do you attend religious services?
	Are you involved with an organization affiliated with religion?
<b>Participation in Organized Activities</b>	How often attended a parade, local sports or art event?
	How often took part in artistic activity with a group?
	How often attended a club meeting?
	How often played a team sport?
	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*
<b>Volunteering and Giving</b>	How many times have you volunteered in the past year?
	Have you worked on a community project in the past year?
	Have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?
	How much money have you contributed to non-religious charities?
	How much money have you contributed to religious charities?
<b>Formal Leadership</b>	Have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?
<b>Engagement in Convntl Politics</b>	How interested are you in politics and national affairs?
	Knows the names of the state’s two US Senators
	Frequency of reading a newspaper
	Are you currently registered to vote?
	Did you vote in the presidential election in 2004?
<b>Engagement in Activist Politics</b>	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*
	In past year, have you attended a political meeting or rally?
	In past year, have you signed a petition?
	In past year, have you participated in a demonstration, boycott, or march?
	Are you involved in a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee?*
	Do you belong to a group that took LOCAL action for social or political reform?

\* The same item appears in two different categories.

Appendix B uses this taxonomy in reporting the response distribution for each survey item that addresses the concept of social capital.<sup>5</sup> The data are reported separately for the five Kansas communities, the rural and urban samples, the Kansas statewide sample, and the representative U.S. sample.<sup>6</sup>

The tables in Appendix B provide an in-depth picture of how social capital varies between the national sample and the overall Kansas sample, between the urban and rural samples, and between the five target communities. However, it is difficult to detect larger patterns when reviewing 38 pages of tables. Thus, we have created three “indicator” tables that summarize the geographic differences. The first of these tables indicates, for each survey item, whether the levels observed within the Kansas sample are significantly higher than what is observed within the national sample.<sup>7</sup> The second table provides a parallel summary of the differences between the urban and rural samples. The third table summarizes differences between each of the five target communities and the statewide sample.

### **Creating Scales to Measure Different Dimensions of Social Capital**

In addition to creating indicator tables, we adopted a second approach to summarizing the information in the survey items – multi-item scales. The basic notion behind scales is there are important benefits in pooling together items that measure a common construct. These include:

1. Scales constructed from multiple items are more reliable (i.e., less prone to measurement error) than are the individual items. This increases the precision and the power of statistical analyses (e.g., when testing for between-community differences in social capital).
2. A multi-item scale will be at the “interval” level of measurement, even if the component items are categorical or dichotomous.

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<sup>5</sup> Two additional items are included in Appendix A: “How often can you trust local government to do the right thing?” and “How much do you trust the police in your local community?.”

<sup>6</sup> All findings presented in this report are based on analyses that take into account the weighting system provided by TNSI. Different respondents in the dataset are weighted according to their household and demographic characteristics so that the computed statistics are representative of the population that was sampled. For example, if 20% of a community’s population is African-American, but the survey sample has only 15%, then the African-American respondents will be weighted slightly more than their white counterparts in computing the response distribution or the summary statistics. Weighting also takes into account the fact that telephone numbers are the sampling unit and households differ in terms of the ratio of adults to telephone numbers. Respondents who come from households with one telephone number are “counted” more heavily than are those adults who are more likely to be reached because they have multiple telephone lines.

An additional weighting system (i.e., “post weights”) was applied in order to generate figures that are valid for state as a whole. All 2,455 respondents in the survey were used in these analyses. This overall sample includes a disproportionate number of respondents within the target communities, especially the rural communities of Abilene, Garden City, and Junction City. To adjust for this oversampling, respondents in the target communities were “down-weighted” relative to those in the rural and urban sub-samples. It should be emphasized that this layer of weighting was applied only when computing data for Kansas as a state. The data reported for the five target communities incorporate only the weights that take into account differences in number of phone lines and adults in the household (i.e., “initial weights”) and failure to achieve the exact demographics of the community (i.e., “balancing weights”).

<sup>7</sup> For continuous variables, differences between Kansas vs. U.S. as a whole were tested using a simple two-group *t*-test. For categorical variables (including dichotomous variables), a chi-square test was used. Refusals and “don’t know” responses are shown in the tables in Appendix B, but were omitted when conducting statistical tests.

3. With 65 different indicators of social capital, we encounter the statistical problem of “multiple comparisons.” Namely, one would expect to find – simply by chance – three statistically significant effects (at  $\alpha=.05$ ) even if there is no real underlying difference at the population level. Reducing the number of dependent variables (e.g., to 12 scales) reduces the number of comparisons, and with it, the chances of concluding that there are differences when there really are not.
4. Reducing the number of indicators of social capital allows for a more parsimonious description of a community’s level of social capital and a less complicated and/or confusing picture of between-community differences.

Putnam and his colleagues at the Saguaro Seminar (primarily Tom Sander) devoted considerable time in 2000 and 2001 developing scales based on the items in the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey. Scales were created to capture the following dimensions of social capital:

- Informal Social Interaction
- Social Trust
- Inter-racial Trust (2 options)
- Diversity of Friendship Set
- Organized Group Interaction (2 options)
- Involvement with Formal Groups
- Faith-Based Social Capital (2 options)
- Giving and Volunteering (2 options)
- Electoral Politics
- Protest Politics
- Civic Participation (combination of Electoral Politics and Protest Politics)
- “Macher” (combination of Civic Participation, Group Involvement, and Leadership)

Each scale incorporates multiple items – ranging from 3 to 20. For scales where the component items have multiple response categories, the score for the scale is computed by first normalizing the component items so that each one has a mean of 0 and standard deviation of 1, and then taking the average of these normalized items. In contrast, scales based on dichotomous items (e.g., Diversity of Friendship Set, Involvement with Formal Groups) simply count the number of items where the respondent indicates a positive response.

Saguaro generally relied on theory as opposed to empirical analysis to assign items to the corresponding scale (i.e., which items *should* capture the construct that the scale is intended to measure). In most cases, a Chronbach’s alpha statistic was computed to assess whether the scale items were empirically inter-related to the degree one would expect, and if not, which items should be dropped from the scale.

Where possible and appropriate, we applied the Saguaro scales to the Kansas data set. The following list summarizes the major adaptations we employed:

1. For constructs where there were two options, we used only one. Generally, we selected the version containing the most homogeneous set of items.
2. We chose not to employ two of the Saguaro scales (Civic Participation and Macher) because these make use of the same items that were included in other scales.
3. Roughly half the scales (Social Trust, Diversity of Friendships, Involvement with Formal Groups, Faith-Based Social Capital, Giving and Volunteering) contain items that were

not included in the 2006 survey. We defined new versions of these scales based on the remaining items.

4. The survey includes two items that relate directly to social connectedness, but that were not included in any Saguaro scales: “*About how many CLOSE FRIENDS do you have these days? These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help.*” and “*Right now, how many people do you have in your life with whom you can share confidences or discuss a difficult decision.*” These items relate conceptually to the items contained in the Informal Socializing scale (e.g., “*How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?*”), but there is less empirical relationships than one would need to justify adding these two additional items into this scale. As such, we created a new scale, “Social Support,” which is simply the mean of Questions 53 (number of close friends) and 54 (number of people you can confide in).

In sum, we ended up with multi-item scales that assess 11 distinct dimensions:

- Social Support
- Informal Social Interaction
- Social Trust
- Diversity of Friendship Set
- Inter-racial Trust
- Organized Group Interaction
- Involvement with Formal Groups
- Faith-Based Social Capital
- Giving and Volunteering
- Electoral Politics
- Protest Politics

Table 2.4 shows the specific items included in each scale, along with the algorithm that was used to compute each respondent’s score on the corresponding scale. In reviewing the “coverage” of these scales, we found that one critical item was not included in any scale: *leadership in an organization*. Saguaro included this item in its Macher scale, but we discarded that scale because it conflates so many distinct aspects of community engagement. As a remedy, we retained the leadership item as a separate variable in the analyses that employ scales.

**Table 2.4. Summary Scales Used to Measure Social Capital**

<b>SCALE</b>	<b>ITEMS</b>	<b>FORMULA</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
<b>Social Support</b>	Number of close friends	Score is the average of the two items	This is a new scale. These two items were not included in of the scales that Saguario developed for the 2000 survey.
	Number of people you can confide in		
<b>Social Interaction (Informal)</b>	How often in the past year have you visited with relatives?	Score is the average of the items – first transformed to z scores ( <i>based on mean and std dev from national sample</i> ). Set to missing if data are missing for 3 or more items.	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey.
	How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?		
	How often socialized with co-workers outside of work?		
	How often have you played cards or board games with family and friends?		
	How often in the past year have you hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?		
<b>Diversity of Friendships</b>	Has a personal friend who is white.	Score is the count of items with a positive response. An adjustment is made for missing data.	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey. One of the items included in the 2000 survey (“Do you have a friend who is gay or lesbian?”) was not included in the 2006 survey. Thus, max score in 2006 is 10 versus a max of 11 in the 2000 survey.
	Has a personal friend who is African American		
	Has a personal friend who is Hispanic or Latino		
	Has a personal friend who is Asian		
	Has personal friend with different religious orientation		
	Has personal friend who owns a business		
	Has personal friend who is a manual worker		
	Has personal friend who has been on welfare		
	Has personal friend who owns a vacation home		
Has personal friend who is a community leader			
<b>Social Trust</b>	In general, most people can be trusted – or you can’t be too careful.	Score is the average of the items – first transformed to z scores. Set to missing if data are missing for 3 or more items.	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey. One of the items included in the 2000 survey (“How much do trust the people at your church?”) was not included in the 2006 survey.
	How much can you trust people in your neighborhood?		
	How much can you trust the people you work with?		
	How much can you trust people who work in the stores where you shop?		
	How much do you trust the police in your local community?		

SCALE	ITEMS	FORMULA	NOTES
<b>Inter-Racial Trust</b>	How much can you trust white people?	Score is the average of the items, ignoring the item corresponding to the respondent's own race. Set to missing if data are missing for 2 or more items.	Scale was defined by Saguaro for 2000 survey.
	How much can you trust African Americans?		
	How much can you trust Hispanics?		
	How much can you trust Asians?		
<b>Involvement with Groups</b>	youth organization	Score is the count of items with a positive response. An adjustment is made for missing data.	This scale was defined by Saguaro for 2000 survey. The 2000 survey included a question about "other groups," which was included in the scale. This was not asked in the 2006 survey, and thus is not included in the current scale.
	parent association or other school support group		
	neighborhood association		
	charity or social welfare organization		
	service or fraternal organizations		
	seniors groups		
	literary, art, or musical group		
	hobby, investment, or garden club		
	sports club, league or outdoor activity club		
	organization affiliated with religion*		
	public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee *		
	ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations*		
	professional, trade or business association		
	labor union*		
veteran's group			
self-help program			
<b>Faith-Based Social Capital</b>	Are you a member of a church or synagogue?	Score is the average of the items – first transformed to z scores. Set to missing if data are missing for 2 or more items	The Saguaro version of this scale included two additional items: giving to religious organizations and volunteered at religious activities. The volunteer question was not asked in the 2006 survey. The giving question was not included so that this scale would not be confounded with the Giving and Volunteerism scale.
	How often do you attend religious services?		
	Participate in an organization affiliated with religion*		

SCALE	ITEMS	FORMULA	NOTES
<b>Participation in Organized Activities</b>	How often attended a parade, local sports or art event?	Score is the average of the items – first transformed to z scores. Set to missing if data are missing for 2 or more items	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey.
	How often attended a club meeting?		
	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?		
<b>Giving and Volunteering</b>	How many times have you volunteered in the past year?	Score is the average of the items – first transformed to z scores. Set to missing if data are missing for 3 or more items	The original Saguario scale included 6 additional items related to specific forms of volunteering. The 2006 survey omitted these items, so we added two other items on volunteering: 1) worked on a community project and 2) worked with others in your neighborhood to fix or improve something.
	Have you worked on a community project in the past year?		
	Have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?		
	How much money have you contributed to non-religious charities?		
	How much money have you contributed to religious charities?*		
<b>Formal Leadership</b>	Have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?	Single item (yes, no).	Included in Saguario's MACHER scale.
<b>Engagement in Convntl Politics</b>	How interested are you in politics and national affairs?	Score is mean of the five items, each one converted to a variable with a minimum score of 0 and a maximum score of 1.	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey.
	Knows the names of the state's two US Senators		
	Frequency of reading a newspaper		
	Are you currently registered to vote?		
	Did you vote in the presidential election in 2004?		
<b>Engagement in Activist Politics</b>	In past year, have you signed a petition?	Score is the count of items with a positive response. An adjustment is made when there is missing data on 3 or fewer items.	This scale was defined by Saguario for 2000 survey.
	In past year, have you participated in a demonstration, boycott, or march?		
	In past year, have you attended a political meeting or rally?		
	Are you involved in a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee		
	Are you involved in an ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organization?*		
	Are you involved in a labor union?*		
	Do you belong to a group that took LOCAL action for social or political reform?		

These social capital scales allow us to move from descriptive analysis to actual measurement of social capital. Moreover, these measurements are both quantitative and multi-dimensional. Each community can be scored along the 12 dimensions listed in Table 2.4 simply by computing the average value of each scale among respondents in that community.<sup>8</sup>

Likewise, the scales allow us to identify key differences between the five target communities, as well as between urban and rural Kansas, and between Kansas and the U.S. as a whole. Statistically significant differences on the scales are detected using analysis of variance. The single-item Leadership variable is analyzed using a chi-square test.

### **Measuring the Kansas Communities within the National Context**

The representative national sample provides a useful reference point for measuring social capital within the five Kansas communities, as well as for the state as a whole. However, the national sample generates an estimate of the average level of social capital across the country. Assuming that there are differences between the Kansas samples and the national sample, it would be useful to know whether Kansas is an “extreme” case or alternatively, whether the Kansas communities have levels of social capital that are similar to what one sees in specific regions of the country.

Data from the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey are extremely useful for assessing whether the level of social capital that exists in Kansas is typical or atypical among U.S. cities. As shown in Table 1-1, the 2000 survey was fielded in large and small communities throughout the country – from Maine to California, from Louisiana to Minnesota. Except for the exceptions noted above, the survey instrument included the same questions as in the 2006 survey. And data from the 2000 survey are publicly available at the Roper website.

Before comparing the Kansas communities to the 40 communities surveyed in 2000, we needed to address two key issues, one technical and one empirical. The technical issue is that the scales included in the 2000 dataset are based on Saguro’s algorithms and often included items that do not appear in the 2006 dataset. To address this issue, we applied “our” algorithms to the 2000 data to generate new scale values that are comparable to those computed for the Kansas samples.

The other issue that needs addressing is that comparing scale values from the Kansas communities to scale values from the 40 other communities is that six years have passed since the 40 communities were surveyed. Whatever differences we observe will reflect not only geographic factors, but also the possibility that levels of social capital have changed over time. While there undoubtedly has been some change in social capital over the past six years, an analysis of the two waves of the national survey found only slight differences (e.g., a decline of 4 percentage points in the percentage reporting that “in general, most people can be trusted”). Likewise, when considering the data at the individual community level, the change over time seems to be incremental rather than major.<sup>9</sup>

If we assume that there have been only modest changes in the level of social capital from 2000 to 2006, we can use data from the 2000 survey to establish meaningful benchmarks on the different scales. In particular, we can identify the minimum and maximum scoring communities on each scale and assess how close the Kansas communities are to one extreme or the other.

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<sup>8</sup> The Leadership variable is actually the proportion of respondents who indicate “yes.” As was the case with the descriptive analyses, all these calculations are based on a weighted analysis.

<sup>9</sup> The conclusion is based in large part of data that were shared within the Social Capital Learning Circle by the six foundations that participated in both surveys: Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Kalamazoo, Rochester, Maine, and New Hampshire. The largest changes were observed in Rochester (strong declines in trust), possibly due to a series of major economic disruptions.

### **Community-Level Factor Analysis**

Data from the 40 communities in the 2000 survey can be used not only to benchmark the Kansas communities, but also generate a composite picture of how the Kansas communities cluster relative to communities throughout the U.S. For this analysis, we first used factor analysis to create a “reduced dimension” space within which the Kansas communities could be plotted along with the other 40 communities. Factor analysis assesses how the 12 social capital scales are intercorrelated and defines a small number of factors that represent the scales as efficiently as possible.<sup>10</sup> We employed a principal components approach to extract factors. The choice of how many factors to retain was based on the pattern of eigenvalues (the scree plot), the communalities associated with the 12 scales, and the interpretability of the factors. Factors were rotated using Varimax rotation.

### **Analyzing Individual-Level Variance in Social Capital**

In addition to using the survey data to assess social capital *at the community level*, we also were interested in understanding how social capital-related behavior, attitudes, relationships, etc. vary as a function of the respondents’ demographic characteristics. Based upon conversations with KHI, KHF, KHLC, and the Johns Hopkins research team, we identified several relevant predictors for these *individual-level* analyses: age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and political ideology, and years in the community. Each predictor was treated as a categorical variable.<sup>11</sup>

- Gender was categorized as male vs. female (reference).
- Race and ethnicity were categorized as non-Hispanic white (reference value), non-Hispanic African-American, or Hispanic.<sup>12</sup>
- Age was categorized as 18 to 34 years (reference), 35 to 49 years, 50 to 64 years, and 65 years or older.
- Household income during the past year was defined as <\$30,000/year (reference) vs. ≥\$30,000/year.
- Highest level of education was defined as high school degree or less (reference); some college, or college degree.
- Marital status was categorized as currently married or living with a partner (reference), never married, widowed, or divorced or separated.
- Political ideology was categorized as “middle of the road” (reference), conservative or liberal.
- Years lived in the community was dichotomized as < 5 years (reference) or > 5 years.

### **Combining the Individual-level and Community-Level Analyses**

The final analysis made use of what we learned through the individual-level modeling analyses to better understand the differences in social capital we observed between the five target

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<sup>10</sup> Formally, factor analysis defines a smaller dimensional space that preserves as well as possible the covariance structure that exists among the original variables. With 12 scales, a 12-dimensional space will by definition be able to preserve the covariance structure exactly. As the number of factors is reduced, some information is lost. The key analytic question is “What is the smallest number of factors that are needed to retain *enough* of the information?” When the scales are more inter-correlated, fewer factors will be necessary. For the sake of parsimony and interpretation, the researcher typically hopes for a solution that has at most 3 or 4 factors.

<sup>11</sup> Gender, race, ethnicity and marital status are all categorical constructs. Age, income, education, and years in the community are continuous variables, but there is a strong possibility for nonlinear relationships with social capital (e.g., threshold effects). As such, even these variables were treated as categorical predictors.

<sup>12</sup> Asian-Americans were not included in our analyses due to a small sample size (n = 11).

communities. As will be shown in detail in Chapter 3, the five communities presented quite different profiles across the 12 social capital scales. This raised the question of whether social capital is pre-determined based on the demographic characteristics of the community's population, or alternatively whether there might larger contextual factors at work (e.g., history, economy, culture).

To answer this question, we replicated the statistical analyses testing for between-community differences (described above), this time controlling for the individual-level predictors of social capital. If community effect is no longer significant, it would suggest that the observed differences in social capital can be traced to differences in the communities' populations. For example, it might be possible that Community A has a higher level of Conventional Politics than Community B because Community A has a higher proportion of residents who are over 50 (a group that is known to vote at higher rates). If the difference on Conventional Politics were completely due to differences in the age mix of the populations, then the effect associated with Community A vs. Community B would become nonsignificant once the analysis controlled for respondents' age.

### Chapter 3: Analysis of Social Capital Community Survey

In describing the various analyses we conducted on the SCCS data, Chapter 2 mapped out a path for moving from a detailed descriptive analysis of the individual survey items to a set of “higher level” analyses that allow one to see the larger patterns. These patterns relate to both (a) how the various survey items map onto the different dimensions of social capital, and (b) how social capital varies across place –Kansas vs. the rest of the United States, urban-rural variation, and distinctions among the five target communities.

#### **Analysis of Geographic Differences on Individual Survey Items**

As noted in Chapter 2, frequency distributions are presented for 67 different survey items in Appendix B. We have distilled the 37 pages of tables into three summary tables presented below:

- Table 3.1 shows how the Kansas statewide sample compares to the representative U.S. sample on each item. For each item, the table indicates whether: a) Kansas is significantly higher than the U.S., b) the U.S. is statistically higher than Kansas, or c) there is no statistical difference. The 3-page table provides a concise picture of whether the level of social capital in Kansas differs from the “average” for the U.S., and if so, whether the differences are consistent across the different dimensions of social capital.
- Table 3.3 provides a similar summary of how the urban Kansas sample varies from the rural Kansas sample across all the items.
- Table 3.4 summarizes the item-level data for the five target communities. More specifically, the table shows where each community is higher or lower than the state as a whole.

#### **Kansas vs. U.S.**



On most of the survey items in Appendix B, the Kansas sample provided responses indicating higher levels of social capital than did the national sample. For about half the items, the differences were statistically significant, although this did not always imply that the difference was “large” (a result of the large sample sizes: 2741 for the national sample, 2455 for the Kansas sample). Below we present a few representative findings for each dimension

of social capital.

*Social Support.* Kansas respondents were slightly more likely than their national counterparts to report that they had at least 3 “close friends” (80.9% vs. 78.2%) and at least 3 “people they could confide in” (77.6% vs. 71.4%).

*Social Interaction.* The Kansas and national samples reported similar levels of visiting with *relatives*, but Kansans were more likely to have *friends* over to their home at least once a month (53.25 vs. 38.4%).

*Inter-Personal Trust.* Kansans were slightly more likely than the national sample to provide responses indicating trust of others: 46.6% vs. 43.5% agreed that “in general, most people can be trusted,” and 53.3% vs. 45.1% indicated that they trusted their neighbors “a lot.”

**Table 3.1. Summary of Differences between Kansas and U.S. on Individual Items.**

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS		
		Kansas > U.S.*	U.S. > Kansas*	No Signif Diff
<b>Social Support</b>	Number of close friends	X		
	Number of people you can confide in	X		
<b>Social Interaction (Informal)</b>	How often visited with relatives			X
	How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?	X		
	How often do you talk or visit with your neighbors?	X		
	How often socialized with co-workers outside of work?			X
	How often have you played cards or board games with family and friends?	X		
	How often in the past year have you hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?	X		
<b>Inter-personal Trust</b>	In general, most people can be trusted – or you can't be too careful.	X		
	How much can you trust people in your neighborhood?	X		
	How much can you trust the people you work with?	X		
	How much can you trust people who work in the stores where you shop?			X
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>	In the past year, how often have you been in the home of a different race, or had them in your home?"			X
	% of Whites with friend who is African American		X	
	% of Whites with friend who is Hispanic or Latino			X
	% of Whites with friend who is Asian			X
	% of Blacks with friend who is White American		X	
	% of Blacks with friend who is Hispanic or Latino	X		
	% of Blacks with friend who is Asian		X	
	% of Hispanics with friend who is White	X		
	% of Hispanics with friend who is African American	X		
% of Hispanics with friend who is Asian	X			
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Other Differences</b>	Has personal friend with different religious orientation			X
	Has personal friend who owns a business	X		
	Has personal friend who is a manual worker	X		
	Has personal friend who has been on welfare			X
	Has personal friend who owns a vacation home		X	
	Has personal friend who is a community leader	X		
<b>Inter-Racial Trust</b>	Trust of African Americans – among Whites			X
	Trust of Hispanics – among Whites			X
	Trust of Asians – among Whites			X
	Trust of Whites – among African Americans		X	
	Trust of Hispanics – among African Americans	X		
	Trust of Asians – among African Americans	X		
	Trust of Whites – among Hispanics	X		
	Trust of African Americans – among Hispanics	X		
Trust of Asians – among Hispanics	X			

\* Significant at p<.05.

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS*		
		Kansas > U.S.*	U.S. > Kansas*	No Signif Diff
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	youth organization	X		
	parent association or other school support group			X
	neighborhood association			X
	charity or social welfare organization	X		
	service or fraternal organizations	X		
	seniors groups			X
	literary, art, or musical group			X
	hobby, investment, or garden club			X
	sports club, league or outdoor activity club	X		
	public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	X		
	ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations			X
	professional, trade or business association			X
	labor union			X
	veteran's group			X
self-help program			X	
Involvement with Faith-Based Org	Are you a member of a church or synagogue?	X		
	How often do you attend religious services?	X		
	Participate in an organization affiliated with religion	X		
Participation in Organized Activities	How often attended a parade, local sports or art event?	X		
	How often took part in artistic activity with a group?	X		
	How often attended a club meeting?	X		
	How often played a team sport?	X		
	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*	X		
Giving and Volunteering	How many times have you volunteered in the past year?	X		
	Have you worked on a community project in the past year?	X		
	Have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?		X	
	How much money have you contributed to non-religious charities?			X
	How much money have you contributed to religious charities?	X		
Formal Leadership	Have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?	X		
Engagement in Conventional Politics	How interested are you in politics and national affairs?			X
	Knows the names of the state's two US Senators		X	
	Frequency of reading a newspaper			X
	Are you currently registered to vote?			X
	Did you vote in the presidential election in 2004?	X		
Engagement in Activist Politics	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*	X		
	In past year, have you attended a political meeting or rally?			X
	In past year, have you signed a petition?			X
	In past year, have you participated in a demonstration, boycott, or march?			X
	Are you involved in a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	X		
	Do you belong to a group that took action for social/political reform			X

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS*		
		Kansas > U.S.	U.S. > Kansas	No Signif Diff
Trust of Local Institutions	How often can you trust local government to do the right thing?	X		
	How much do you trust the police in your local community?	X		

*Bridging across Race and Ethnicity.* Friendships between African-Americans and whites are less common in Kansas than in the rest of the country. Within the Kansas sample, 59.6% of white respondents report having a personal friend who is African-American, while 68.8% of African-American respondents report having a friend who is white, while in the national sample, these figures are 64.1% and 76.4% respectively. In contrast, there is more bridging between Hispanics and other races in Kansas than in the rest of the country. Among the Hispanic respondents from Kansas, 82.8% report having a friend who is white and 58.3% report having a friend who is African-American. Within the national sample, these figures are 63.5% and 31.3% respectively.

*Bridging Across other Dimensions.* For three of the six categories (someone who owns a business, someone who is a manual worker, someone who is a “community leader”), the Kansas respondents were more likely to indicate that they have such a friend. Kansas respondents were less likely to say they had a friend who owns a vacation home (40.1% vs. 45.9%). There was little difference between the two samples with regard to having a friend of a different religion (roughly 76% for both samples) or having a friend who has been on welfare (roughly 47%).

*Inter-Racial Trust.* White Kansans and whites in the national sample were similar in their reports of how much they trusted African Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. Hispanic respondents in Kansas were more trusting of whites, African-Americans, and Asians than was true of Hispanic respondents in the national sample. The picture was more complicated for African-American respondents. African-Americans in Kansas reported less trust of whites than did African-Americans in the national sample. In contrast, African-Americans in Kansas were more likely than their counterparts in the national sample to report high trust of Hispanics and Asians.

*Involvement with Organizations.* As shown in Table 3.2, Kansas respondents reported higher rates of involvement with charity groups (i.e., nonprofit organizations), youth organizations, sports teams/clubs, service organizations, and political groups than did the national sample.

**Table 3.2. Level of Involvement with Community Organizations**

Type of Organization	% Involved	
	Kansas	National
Charity or social welfare org	<b>39.9%</b>	33.9%
Youth organization	<b>28.6%</b>	24.1%
Sports club, league or outdoor activity club	<b>26.1%</b>	21.2%
Professional, business or trade org	25.7%	22.2%
Hobby, investment, or garden club	23.9%	23.7%
Self-help group or program	21.7%	20.3%
Neighborhood association	21.0%	20.5%
PTA, PTO or other parent support group	19.4%	20.8%
Literary, art or musical group	18.6%	19.4%
Service or fraternal org	<b>17.8%</b>	13.9%
Seniors group	16.6%	14.6%
Political group	<b>14.4 %</b>	9.8%
Veterans group	10.2%	10.0%
Labor union	8.9%	10.3%
Ethnic or civil rights group	5.5%	5.9%

*Involvement with Faith-Based Organizations.* Kansans are more likely than their national counterparts to belong to a church or other faith community (62.8% vs. 54.6%) and to attend service almost every week or more (49% vs. 41%).

*Participation in Organized Activities.* For every type of activity listed (e.g., playing a team sport, attending a parade or other celebration, attending a club meeting), the Kansas sample reported higher rates and frequencies of performing the activity.

*Giving and Volunteering.* Consistent with their greater involvement in organizations and organized activities, Kansas respondents were more likely than the national sample to report volunteering their time. Among the Kansas sample, 65.8% reported that they volunteered at least once in the past year, and 47.8% volunteered at least five times. In the national sample, 58.6% volunteered at least once and 38.8% volunteered at least five times. With regard to monetary giving, respondents in both samples reported giving more to religious charities than to non-religious charities. There was little difference between the two samples with regard to non-religious giving (17.8% of Kansans gave at least \$500 compared to 18.3% of the national sample), but the Kansas sample gave more than the national sample to church and other religious charities (37.6% vs. 31.6% gave at least \$500).

*Formal Leadership.* Only one item in the survey tapped into leadership activity: “In the past year have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?” The Kansas sample was more likely than the national sample to report that they had (19.9% vs. 17.6%).

*Conventional Politics.* The national sample and the Kansas sample reported roughly equal levels of interest in politics and national affairs (34% are “very interested”) and reading a daily newspaper (28% indicate they read a paper 7 days a week). Kansans were slightly more likely to have voted in the 2004 Presidential election (73.3% vs. 69.9%), but less likely to be able to recall the name of both their U.S. Senators (14.8% vs. 21.6%).

*Activist Politics.* The Kansas sample reported somewhat higher levels than the national sample on attending public meetings and being involved in political groups. For “edgier” activities such as signing a petition or taking part in a rally, the Kansas sample was slightly (although not significantly) below the national sample.

*Trust in Local Institutions.* The Kansas sample reported higher levels of trust in local government and local police than did the national sample.

## **Rural vs. Urban Kansas**



Table 3.3 summarizes the comparisons between the urban and rural sub-samples of the Kansas sample.<sup>13</sup> For the sake of brevity, we will not describe the contrasts in the same level as detail as was done for the Kansas vs. U.S. comparisons. Instead, we present broad summaries for broader categories of social capital: Social Connectedness, Bridging, and Community Engagement.

<sup>13</sup> Due to the small sample size of African-Americans in the rural sample (n = 1), it is not possible to make comparisons on some of the measures of bridging social capital and inter-racial trust.

**Table 3.3. Summary of Urban-Rural Differences on Individual Items.**

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS		
		Urban > Rural	Rural > Urban	No Signif Diff
<b>Social Support</b>	Number of close friends			X
	Number of people you can confide in	X		
<b>Social Interaction (Informal)</b>	How often visited with relatives			X
	How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?	X		
	How often do you talk or visit with your neighbors?			X
	How often socialized with co-workers outside of work?			X
	How often have you played cards or board games with family and friends?	X		
	How often in the past year have you hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?	X		
<b>Inter-personal Trust</b>	In general, most people can be trusted – or you can't be too careful.			X
	How much can you trust people in your neighborhood?			X
	How much can you trust the people you work with?		X	
	How much can you trust people who work in the stores where you shop?		X	
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Race and Ethnicity</b>	How often had a friend of a different race at home or visited theirs	X		
	% of Whites with friend who is African American	X		
	% of Whites with friend who is Hispanic or Latino	X		
	% of Whites with friend who is Asian	X		
	% of Blacks with friend who is White American			X
	% of Blacks with friend who is Hispanic or Latino			NA
	% of Blacks with friend who is Asian			NA
	% of Hispanics with friend who is White			NA
	% of Hispanics with friend who is African American			X
% of Hispanics with friend who is Asian		X		
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Other Differences</b>	Has personal friend with different religious orientation			X
	Has personal friend who owns a business			X
	Has personal friend who is a manual worker		X	
	Has personal friend who has been on welfare			X
	Has personal friend who owns a vacation home			X
	Has personal friend who is a community leader		X	
<b>Inter-Racial Trust</b>	Trust of African Americans – among Whites			X
	Trust of Hispanics – among Whites			X
	Trust of Asians – among Whites			X
	Trust of Whites – among African Americans			NA
	Trust of Hispanics – among African Americans			NA
	Trust of Asians – among African Americans			NA
	Trust of Whites – among Hispanics	X		
	Trust of African Americans – among Hispanics	X		
	Trust of Asians – among Hispanics			X

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS		
		Urban > Rural	Rural > Urban	No Sign Diff
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	youth organization			X
	parent association or other school support group			X
	neighborhood association	X		
	charity or social welfare organization	X		
	service or fraternal organizations			X
	seniors groups	X		
	literary, art, or musical group	X		
	hobby, investment, or garden club	X		
	sports club, league or outdoor activity club	X		
	public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	X		
	ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations	X		
	professional, trade or business association			X
	labor union			X
	veteran's group			X
self-help program	X			
Involvement with Faith-Based Orgs	Are you a member of a church or synagogue?			X
	How often do you attend religious services?			X
	Participate in an organization affiliated with religion	X		
Participation in Organized Activities	How often attended a parade, local sports or art event?			X
	How often took part in artistic activity with a group?	X		
	How often attended a club meeting?	X		
	How often played a team sport?	X		
	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*	X		
Giving and Volunteering	How many times have you volunteered in the past year?			X
	Have you worked on a community project in the past year?			X
	Have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?			X
	How much money have you contributed to non-religious charities?	X		
	How much money have you contributed to religious charities?	X		
Formal Leadership	Have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?		X	
Engagement in Conventional Politics	How interested are you in politics and national affairs?			X
	Knows the names of the state's two US Senators			X
	Frequency of reading a newspaper	X		
	Are you currently registered to vote?			X
	Did you vote in the presidential election in 2004?			X
Engagement in Activist Politics	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*	X		
	In past year, have you attended a political meeting or rally?	X		
	In past year, have you signed a petition?			X
	In past year, have you participated in a demonstration, boycott, or march?	X		
	Are you involved in a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	X		
	Do you belong to a group that took LOCAL action for social or political reform?			X

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	PATTERN OF RESULTS		
		Urban > Rural	Rural > Urban	No Signif Diff
Trust of Local Institutions	How often can you trust local government to do the right thing?			X
	How much do you trust the police in your local community?			X

*Social Connectedness.* On roughly half the measures of social support and interacting with friends, the urban respondents reported significantly higher levels than the rural respondents. For the remaining items, there was no significant difference between the two samples. However, rural respondents reported slightly higher levels of trust than did urban respondents.

*Bridging.* Not surprisingly given the different demographics of urban vs. rural Kansas, the urban respondents reported higher levels of being in the home of someone of a different race. Similarly, whites in urban communities were more likely than whites in rural communities to have friends who are African-American, Hispanic, or Asian. On dimensions other than race and ethnicity, there were fewer differences, and those that did occur favored the rural sample. In particular, rural respondents were much more likely to have a friend who is a “community leader” than did urban respondents (61.5% vs. 48.3%).

*Inter-Racial Trust.* With regard to inter-racial trust, urban whites and rural whites reported roughly equal levels of trust of African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asians. Among the Hispanic respondents (admittedly a small sample), there was a large urban-rural difference: 57.2% of rural Hispanics trust whites either “not at all” or “only a little,” compared to only 8.7% of urban Hispanics.

*Community Engagement.* The urban sample demonstrates higher levels of social capital on most dimensions related to community engagement. For involvement with groups, the urban sample reported higher rates on 14 of the 15 items, with 9 of these achieving statistical significance.

The only type of group that had higher participation in the rural sample was *veterans’ groups*. There were few differences of note on the items related to faith-based involvement. Urban respondents participated in organized activities at higher rates than did the rural sample, although the rural sample was somewhat more likely than the urban sample to have served as an officer of an organization (23.2% vs. 18.9%). Volunteering was comparable between the two samples, although the urban group gave higher amounts of money to both religious and non-religious charities. On political engagement, the urban sample showed higher levels of interest in political affairs, readership of newspapers, involvement with political groups, and attending rallies or protests.



### **Differences Among the Five Target Communities**

Table 3.4 provides a summary of the pattern of results among the five target communities (Abilene, Garden City, Junction City, Kansas City, and Wichita). Rather than comparing the communities to each other (which would require 10 distinct two-way comparisons), we compare each community to the statewide sample. For each survey item, the corresponding cell indicates whether the community has a higher score than does the statewide sample (denoted with a ↑) or a lower score than the statewide sample (denoted with a ↓). In order to present a fuller picture of the trends, we opted not to employ significance testing for these comparisons. Instead, the indicators in Table 3.4 are derived from a simple comparison of percentage-point differences (3 points or greater). More rigorous significance testing is employed below once we have created multi-item scales.

Each of the five communities presents its own distinct pattern of results. The Abilene sample generally reports levels of social capital that are either equal to or higher than the statewide sample, although there is a major exception with regard to participation in organized groups, where it has much lower levels. In contrast, Garden City consistently comes out lower than the state sample, except with regard to bridging across ethnic groups. Junction City also has high levels of bridging social capital, but low levels on many of the indicators of community engagement and activist politics. Kansas City is high on bridging relationships, but not inter-racial trust. It is also high on most forms of formalized community engagement, although not conventional politics. The Wichita sample provided responses similar to the state sample on the majority of the items.

**Table 3.4. Summary of Community Differences on Individual Items.**

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	Differences between KS communities and statewide sample*				
		Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita
<b>Social Support</b>	Number of close friends					
	Number of people you can confide in		↓		↓	↑
<b>Social Interaction (Informal)</b>	How often visited with relatives		↓			
	How often in the past year have you had friends over to your home?				↓	
	How often do you talk or visit with your neighbors?	↑	↓	↑	↓	
	How often socialized with co-workers outside of work?			↑		
	How often have you played cards or board games with family and friends?	↑	↓	↓	↓	
	How often in the past year have you hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?					
<b>Inter-personal Trust</b>	In general, most people can be trusted – or you can't be too careful.		↓		↓	
	How much can you trust people in your neighborhood?				↓	
	How much can you trust the people you work with?	↑	↓		↓	
	How much can you trust people who work in the stores where you shop?	↑	↓	↓	↓	↓
<b>Bridging Social Capital – Race &amp; Ethnicity</b>	In the past year, how often have you been in the home of a different race, or had them in your home?"			↑	↑	↑
	% of Whites with friend who is African American			↑	↑	↑
	% of Whites with friend who is Hispanic or Latino	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
	% of Whites with friend who is Asian	↓	↑	↑		↑
	% of Blacks with friend who is White American	↑	NA	↑	↑	↑
	% of Blacks with friend who is Hispanic or Latino	↑	NA	↑	↓	↓
	% of Blacks with friend who is Asian	↑	NA	↑	↑	↑
	% of Hispanics with friend who is White	↑	↓	↓	↓	
	% of Hispanics with friend who is African American	↓	↓	↑	↓	↓
% of Hispanics with friend who is Asian		↓		↓	↓	

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	Differences between KS communities and statewide sample*				
		Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita
Bridging Social Capital – Other Differences	Has personal friend with different religious orientation	↑		↑	↓	↑
	Has personal friend who owns a business	↑	↓		↓	↑
	Has personal friend who is a manual worker		↓		↓	
	Has personal friend who has been on welfare	↓	↓	↑		
	Has personal friend who owns a vacation home	↓	↓	↓		
	Has personal friend who is a community leader	↑	↓	↓	↓	↓
Inter-Racial Trust	Trust of African Americans – among Whites		↑	↑		
	Trust of Hispanics – among Whites	↑		↑	↓	
	Trust of Asians – among Whites		↑	↑	↓	
	Trust of Whites – among African Americans		NA	↑	↓	↑
	Trust of Hispanics – among African Americans		NA	↑		↑
	Trust of Asians – among African Americans		NA	↑		
	Trust of Whites – among Hispanics		↓	↓	↓	↓
	Trust of African Americans – among Hispanics	↑	↓	↑	↓	↓
	Trust of Asians – among Hispanics		↓	↓	↓	

Key: ↓=lower than Kansas statewide sample by  $\geq 3$  percentage points; ↑ = higher than Kansas statewide sample by  $> 3$  percentage points; blank cell = within 3 points of Kansas statewide sample; NA= not applicable due to small sample size

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	Differences between KS communities and statewide sample				
		Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	youth organization			↑		
	parent association or other school support group		↑	↑	↑	
	neighborhood association	↓	↓	↓	↑	↑
	charity or social welfare organization	↓	↓	↓	↓	
	service or fraternal organizations		↓			
	seniors groups	↓			↓	↓
	literary, art, or musical group		↓	↓		
	hobby, investment, or garden club		↑			
	sports club, league or outdoor activity club	↓			↓	↓
	public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
	ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations				↑	
	professional, trade or business association	↓	↓	↓	↓	
	labor union	↓		↓	↑	
	veteran's group	↑		↑		
self-help program	↓		↑			
Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based	Are you a member of a church or synagogue?	↑	↓	↓	↓	↓
	How often do you attend religious services?		↓	↓	↓	
	Participate in an organization affiliated with religion	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Participation in Organized Activities	How often attended a parade, local sports or art event?		↓	↓	↓	↓
	How often took part in artistic activity with a group?	↓	↓			
	How often attended a club meeting?	↑	↓		↓	
	How often played a team sport?	↓		↓	↓	
	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*		↓			↓

SOCIAL CAPITAL DIMENSION	ITEM	Differences between KS communities and statewide sample				
		Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita
Giving and Volunteering	How many times have you volunteered in the past year?		↓	↓		
	Have you worked on a community project in the past year?	↑	↓		↓	↓
	Have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?	↑	↓			
	How much money have you contributed to non-religious charities?			↓	↑	↑
	How much money have you contributed to religious charities?			↓		
Formal Leadership	Have you served as an officer or on a committee of an organization?	↑	↓	↓	↓	
Engagement in Conventional Politics	How interested are you in politics and national affairs?	↑	↓			↑
	Knows the names of the state's two US Senators	↑	↓		↓	
	Frequency of reading a newspaper	↑	↓	↓	↓	
	Are you currently registered to vote?	↑	↓		↓	↓
	Did you vote in the presidential election in 2004?	↑	↓	↓	↓	↓
Engagement in Activist Politics	How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?*		↓			↓
	In past year, have you attended a political meeting or rally?	↑	↓		↓	↓
	In past year, have you signed a petition?	↓	↓	↓	↓	↑
	In past year, have you participated in a demonstration, boycott, or march?	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓
	Are you involved in a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee	↓	↓	↓	↓	
	Do you belong to a group that took LOCAL action for social or political reform?	↓	↓	↓	↓	
Trust of Local Institutions	How often can you trust local government to do the right thing?		↓	↓	↓	↓
	How much do you trust the police in your local community?		↓	↓	↓	

### **Summarizing the Survey Items with Social Capital Scales**

The data presented in Appendix B and summarized in this chapter reflect many, many interesting community-specific issues. However, it is useful to consider the data at a level that allows the larger patterns to emerge. Toward that end, we pooled the various items into 11 multi-item scales of social capital:

- Social Support
- Informal Social Interaction
- Social Trust
- Diversity of Friendship Set
- Inter-racial Trust
- Organized Group Interaction
- Involvement with Formal Groups
- Faith-Based Social Capital
- Giving and Volunteering
- Electoral Politics
- Protest Politics

The algorithms for combining items into scales are shown in Table 2.4. As noted in Chapter 2, we also retained “leadership in organizations” as a distinct measure.

With these summary scales, it is possible to create a more concise picture of the geographic differences that were summarized in the previous sections. We begin by considering how the Kansas statewide sample compares to the national sample on the various social capital scales.

**Table 3.5. Differences between Kansas and U.S. 2006 Samples on Social Capital Scales**

<b>Social Capital Scale</b>	<b>Kansas (n=2455)</b>	<b>U.S. (n=2741)</b>	<b>p value for test t-test</b>
Social Support	3.55 (0.725)	3.47 (0.77)	<0.001
Social Interaction (Informal)	-.003 (0.667)	-.027 (0.66)	0.077
Interpersonal Trust	.318 (0.483)	.241 (0.542)	<0.001
Diversity of Friendships	6.09 (2.268)	5.98 (2.47)	<0.001
Interracial Trust	2.12 (0.668)	2.07 (0.70)	<0.001
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	3.24 (2.765)	2.71 (2.59)	<0.001
Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based	0.148 (0.833)	-.032 (0.78)	<0.001
Participation in Organized Activities	0.123 (1.041)	-.047 (0.658)	<0.001
Volunteering and Giving	1.62 (1.104)	1.45 (1.11)	<0.001
Formal Leadership (percentage “yes”)	19.9%	17.6%	<0.01
Engagement in Conventional Politics	2.81 (1.110)	2.89 (1.40)	
Engagement in Activist Politics	1.20 (1.480)	1.05 (1.33)	<0.001

*Note: Cells show mean and (standard deviation).*

As shown in Table 3.5, Kansas has significantly higher scores on 11 of the 12 measures, with the largest advantage appearing on the measures of Community Engagement:

- Organized Group Interaction
- Involvement with Formal Groups
- Faith-Based Social Capital
- Giving and Volunteering

The mean levels on each scale are presented for the urban and rural samples in Table 3.6. Consistent with the description of the individual-item data presented above, the urban sample has much higher scores on the Involvement with Groups, Participation in Organized Activities, and Activist Politics scales, with a less pronounced advantage in the Social Support scale. In contrast the rural sample has more respondents who reported playing a leadership role in formal organizations and a marginally significant advantage on the Social Trust scale.

**Table 3.6. Urban-Rural Differences in Social Capital Scales**

<b>Social Capital Scale</b>	<b>Urban Kansas (n=352)</b>	<b>Rural Kansas (n=351)</b>	<b>p value for test t-test</b>
Social Support	3.61 (0.69)	3.50 (0.78)	.04
Social Interaction (Informal)	0.07 (0.72)	-0.10 (0.59)	<.001
Interpersonal Trust	0.31 (0.48)	0.38 (0.47)	.06
Diversity of Friendships	6.14 (2.17)	5.98 (2.30)	.33
Interracial Trust	2.16 (0.66)	2.09 (0.70)	.215
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	3.67 (2.91)	2.47 (2.39)	<.001
Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based	0.18 (0.86)	0.15 (0.79)	.69
Participation in Organized Activities	0.23 (1.25)	0.02 (0.69)	.006
Volunteering and Giving	1.68 (1.09)	1.59 (1.11)	.242
Formal Leadership (percentage “yes”)	18.9%	23.2%	<.01
Engagement in Conventional Politics	2.89 (1.10)	2.78 (1.09)	.214
Engagement in Activist Politics	1.35 (1.58)	0.97 (1.28)	<.001

*Note: Cells show mean and (standard deviation).*

Mean values are shown for the five target communities in Table 3.7. This table simplifies considerably the data shown in Appendix B, bringing out a set of interesting community-level patterns:

- Abilene has high levels of Interpersonal Trust, Volunteering and Giving, Engagement in Conventional Politics, and Formal Leadership, but a low score for Involvement with Community Organizations.
- On every scale where Abilene is high, Garden City is low.
- Junction City is high on Diversity of Friendships, but low on Social Interaction, Formal Leadership, and Activist Politics.
- Kansas City is but high on Involvement with Community Organizations, but low on both trust scales.
- Wichita is toward the high end of most scales, generally ranking 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> among the five communities.

**Table 3.7. Differences in Social Capital Between the Five Target Communities on the Social Capital Scales**

<b>Social Capital Scale</b>	<b>Abilene (n=350)</b>	<b>Garden City (n=350)</b>	<b>Junction City (n=350)</b>	<b>Kansas City (n=352)</b>	<b>Wichita (n=350)</b>	<b>p value for ANOVA</b>
Social Support	3.49 (0.76)	3.45 (0.75)	3.37 (0.74)	3.41 (0.77)	3.51 (0.69)	.097
Social Interaction (Informal)	-0.06 (0.62)	-0.14 (0.60)	-0.26 (0.71)	-0.10 (0.65)	-0.03 (0.62)	.07
Interpersonal Trust	0.41 (0.52)	0.17 (0.53)	0.22 (0.54)	0.11 (0.55)	0.29 (0.47)	<.001
Diversity of Friendships	6.14 (2.28)	5.71 (2.72)	6.49 (2.20)	5.79 (2.59)	6.28 (2.37)	<.001
Interracial Trust	2.22 (0.64)	1.93 (0.75)	2.16 (0.68)	1.92 (0.68)	2.14 (0.62)	<.001
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	2.71 (2.23)	2.86 (2.52)	3.07 (2.90)	3.48 (3.23)	3.18 (2.47)	.03
Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based	0.22 (0.76)	0.03 (0.82)	0.01 (0.86)	0.03 (0.83)	0.09 (0.81)	.003
Participation in Organized Activities	0.05 (0.69)	-0.09 (0.57)	0.06 (0.84)	-0.03 (0.90)	0.04 (0.84)	.110
Volunteering and Giving	1.70 (1.12)	1.36 (1.07)	1.48 (1.14)	1.34 (1.10)	1.61 (1.12)	<.001
Formal Leadership (percentage “yes”)	29.5%	15.0%	15.1%	15.9%	19.1%	<.001
Engagement in Conventional Politics	3.11 (1.04)	2.32 (1.30)	2.82 (1.07)	2.59 (1.10)	2.71 (1.15)	<.001
Engagement in Activist Politics	0.97 (1.36)	0.97 (1.29)	0.87 (1.25)	1.13 (1.52)	1.22 (1.41)	.007

*Note: Cells show mean and (standard deviation).*

### **Putting the Scale Values into a Larger Context**

The statistical tests summarized in Tables 3.5-3.7 (i.e., t-tests, chi-square tests, analysis of variance) provide some indication of whether the observed differences are large or small. The difference in means (e.g., between the Kansas sample and the national sample) are compared to an estimate of standard error that is derived from individual-level variance. A more informative analysis comes from taking into account variation between different communities – not just the five Kansas communities in the current survey, but also the 40 communities that participated in the 2000 Social Capital Benchmark Survey. Using the SCBS dataset, we computed scores for each social capital scale for each of these 40 communities (listed in Table 1.1). This allowed us to determine where the Kansas communities come out relative to a rich mix of urban and rural communities from throughout the United States.

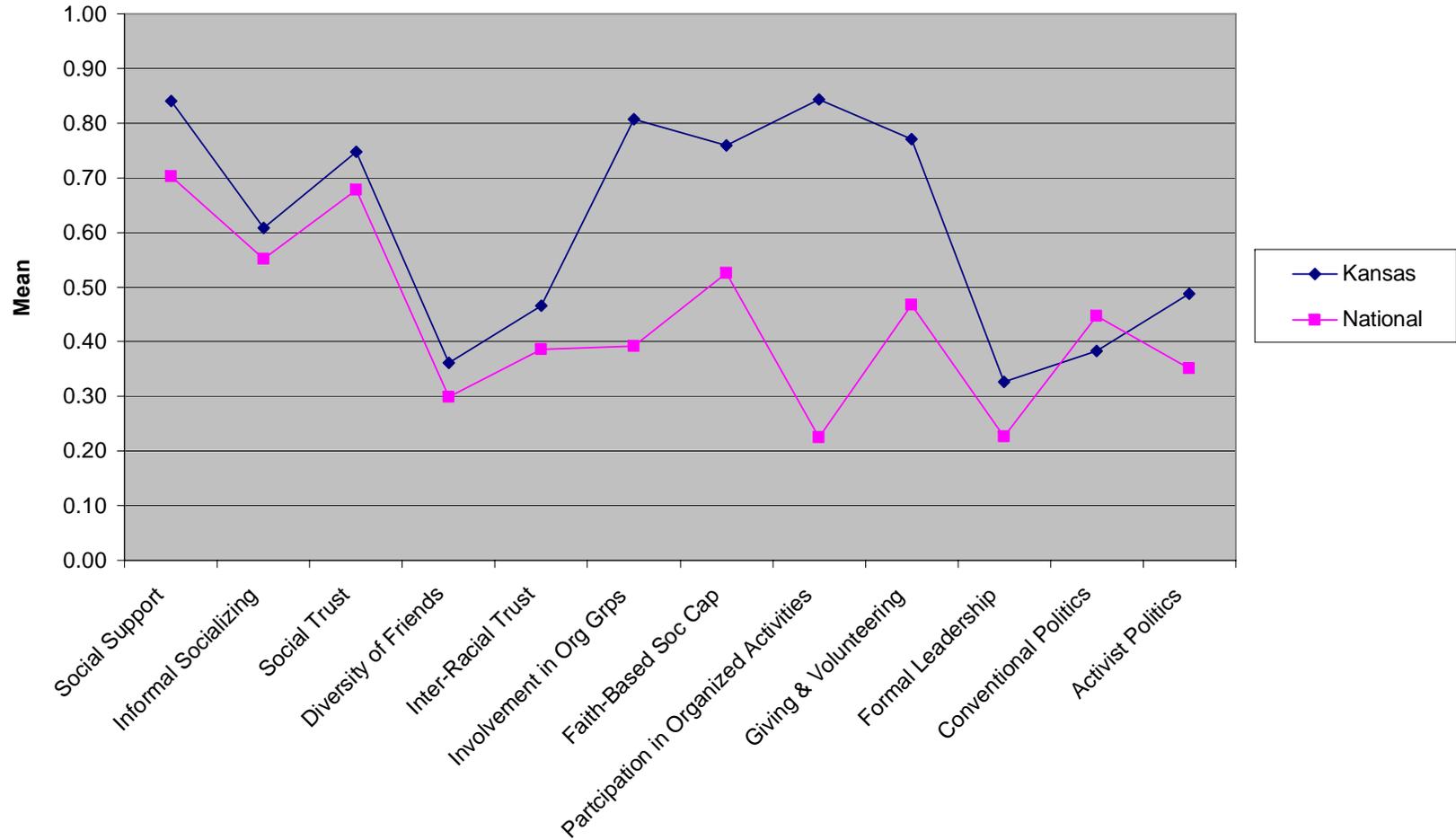
The first analysis we performed using the larger dataset involved a rescaling of the scale scores. Namely, we converted each of the scores shown in Tables 3.5-3.7 to a corresponding value on a 0-1 scale, where 0 is assigned to the community with the lowest value on the scale and 1 is assigned to the community with the highest value. We can convert each community's score to a (0,1) scale with the following equation:

$$\text{New Score} = (\text{Original Score} - \text{min}) / (\text{max} - \text{min}).$$

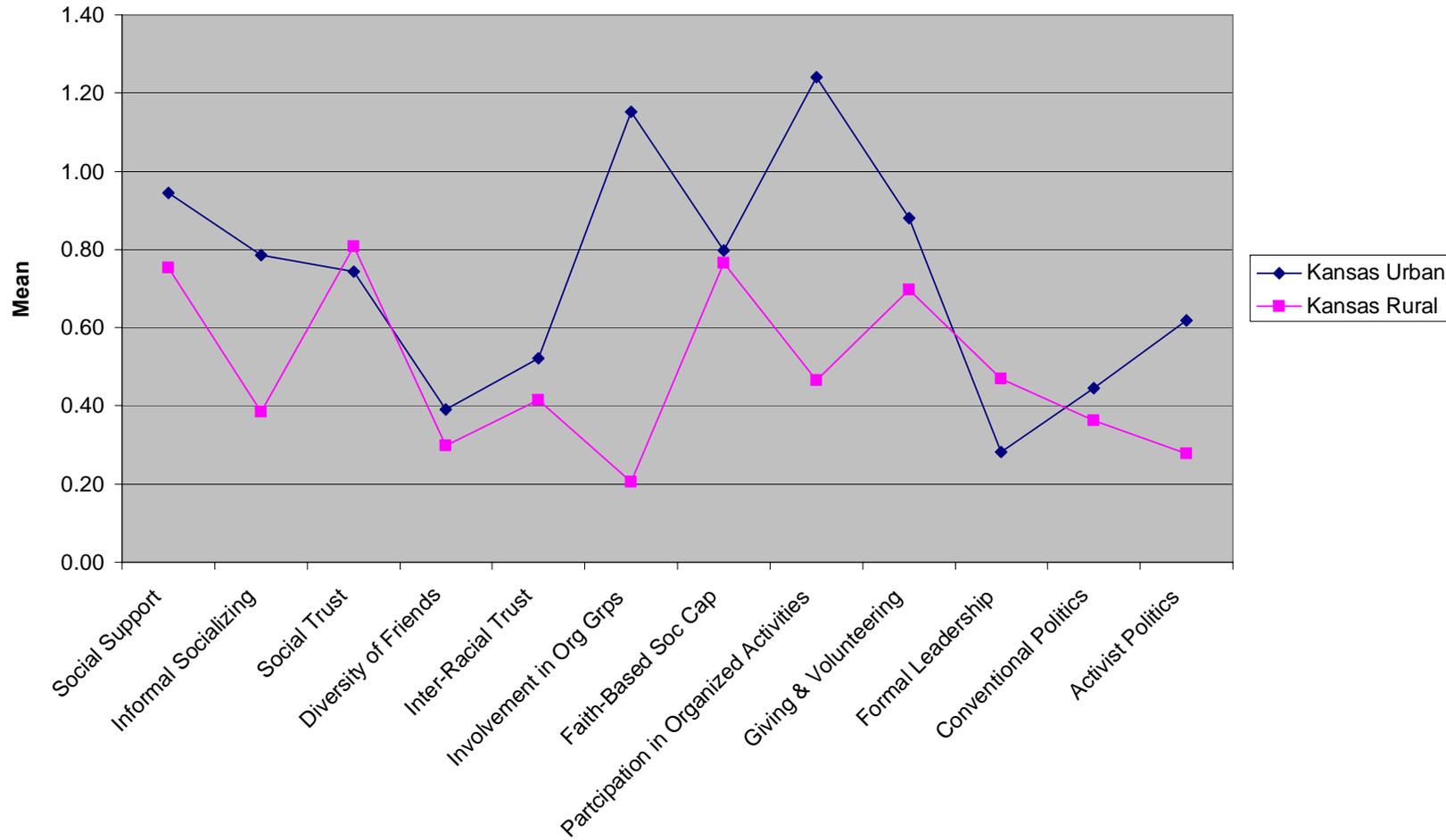
For example, the highest score on the Interpersonal Trust scale was .592 (rural southeast South Dakota) and the lowest score was -.495 (North Minneapolis). Wichita has a score of .294 on the original scale, which equates to .726 on the (0-1) scale. A score of .726 suggests that Wichita is in the top third of communities on Interpersonal Trust. In contrast, Kansas City has an original score of .109, which equates to .556 on the (0-1) scale.

This approach allows us to plot “multi-dimensional social capital profiles” for each community. These profiles are shown for the statewide sample and the national sample in Figure 3.1. The urban and rural profiles are shown in Figure 3.2. The profiles for the five target communities are shown in Figure 3.3.

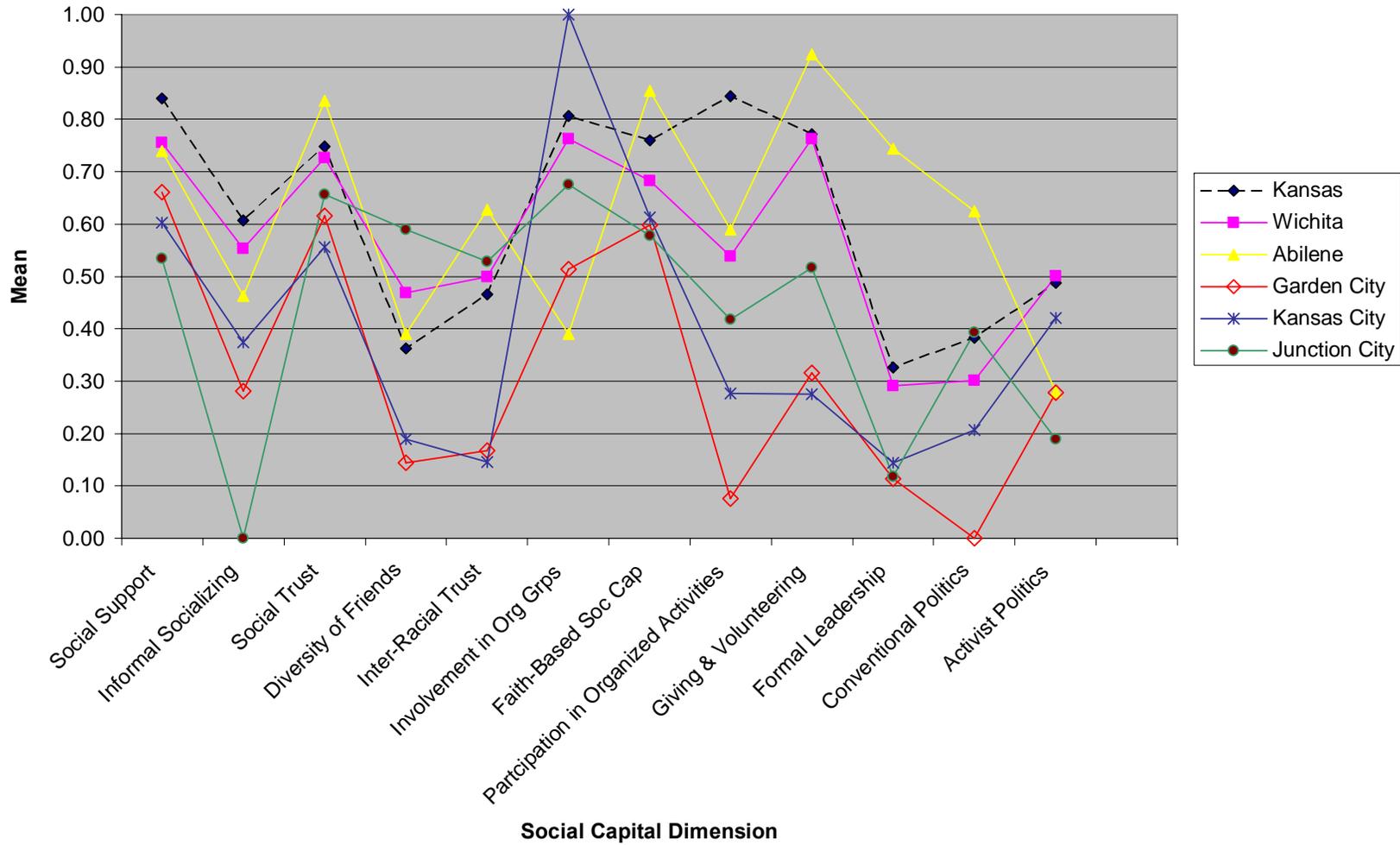
**Figure 3.1. Mean Values on Social Capital Scales for Kansas (Statewide sample) vs. Representative U.S. Sample (normalized to 0-1 scales based on minimum and maximum over all communities)**



**Figure 3.2. Mean Values on Social Capital Scales for Urban and Rural Samples**  
(normalized to 0-1 scales based on minimum and maximum over all communities)



**Figure 3.3. Mean Values on Social Capital Scales for Five Target Communities**  
 (normalized to 0-1 scales based on minimum and maximum over all communities)



### **Factor Analysis**

The next analysis considers the possibility that the 12 social capital scales can be reduced to a smaller number of factors without losing significant information. In this analysis, the 40 communities that participated in the 2000 survey are combined with the five Kansas communities and the statewide Kansas sample. With these 46 “observations,” we compute inter-correlations among the 12 scales and then subject the correlation matrix to a principal components factor analysis.

The pattern of eigenvalues strongly suggested a 3-factor solution. As shown in Table 3.8, the first three factors had eigenvalues greater than 1. The scree plot flattened out at Factor 4. In addition, for a 3-factor solution, the communality scores were each greater than .6, indicating that at least 60% of the variance of each scale is reflected in the 3-factor solution.

**Table 3.8. Principal Components Factor Analysis:  
Total Variance Explained by Successive Factors**

Component	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.100	42.498	42.498
2	2.355	19.629	62.127
3	1.663	13.855	75.982
4	0.785	6.544	82.526
5	0.744	6.199	88.725
6	0.419	3.492	92.217
7	0.352	2.930	95.147
8	0.254	2.114	97.260
9	0.143	1.189	98.449
10	0.085	0.708	99.157
11	0.062	0.512	99.669
12	0.04	0.331	100.000

**Table 3.9. Factor Loadings**

Social Capital Scale	Factor		
	1	2	3
Inter-Racial Trust	<b>.888</b>	.227	-.071
Social Support	<b>.776</b>	.331	.089
Conventional Politics	<b>.761</b>	.015	.152
Inform Social Interaction	<b>.744</b>	-.169	.152
Inter-Personal Trust	<b>.701</b>	.512	-.123
Organized Group Interaction	.647	.549	.240
Formal Leadership	.566	.606	-.218
Giving and Volunteering	.314	<b>.865</b>	.044
Involved in Groups – Secular	-.095	<b>.710</b>	.568
Involved in Groups – Faith-Based	-.022	<b>.787</b>	-.483
Activist Politics	.179	-.091	<b>.903</b>
Diversity of Friendships	.041	-.004	<b>.818</b>

A Varimax rotation produced the factor structure shown in Table 3.9. These scores correspond to the correlation between the scale and the respective factor. Thus, Factor 1 is highly correlated with Inter-Racial Trust, Social Support, Conventional Politics, and Inter-Personal Trust, and moderately correlated with Organized Group Interaction and Formal Leadership. Factor 2 is highly correlated with Giving and Volunteering, and Involvement with Community Groups – both secular and faith-based. Factor 3 accounts for the information in two scales: Activist Politics and Diversity of Friendships. It is also negatively related to Involvement in Faith-Based Groups.

In reviewing this pattern of factor loadings, the following interpretations are reasonable:

**Factor 1:** Social connectedness and doing things together.

**Factor 2:** Civic engagement, volunteering, and giving

**Factor 3:** Active reaching out and connecting beyond one's social circles

It is important to remember that these factors are accounting for correlations between communities. Thus, the first factor distinguishes “socially connected” communities (i.e., tight-knit places where residents help one another and work together cooperatively for common purposes) from those that are more fragmented. The second factor can be interpreted in terms of “civic engagement,” with high-scoring communities having high rates of volunteerism and involvement with formal groups. The third factor distinguishes communities where residents acknowledge, and even celebrate, differences – political, racial, religious, cultural, etc.

With these interpretations in mind, we can construct a factor space where the 46 communities in the analysis are plotted. Each community receives a score on each of the three factors, which determines the community's position in the factor space. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 depict these plots. The legend at the side of each figure allows the reader to identify each community according to its symbol. In addition, the high-scoring and low-scoring communities on each factor are shown explicitly, as are the 5 Kansas communities and the Kansas statewide “community.”

The patterns in these figures provide further assistance in interpreting the factors. For example, on Factor 1 (social connectedness), the highest scoring communities (rural southeast South Dakota; Bismarck, North Dakota; Montana; and Lewiston-Auburn, Maine) are largely rural or small cities, homogenous in terms of race, and located in the northern part of the country. In contrast, the lowest scoring communities (North Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Houston, Kansas City) are typically urban and racially diverse. Interestingly, Garden City is the 5<sup>th</sup> lowest-scoring community on this factor. Although it is rural, it has the kind of ethnic diversity and fragmentation that one sees in much larger cities.

Figure 3.4. Plot of Communities within SC Factor Space (Factors 1 & 2)

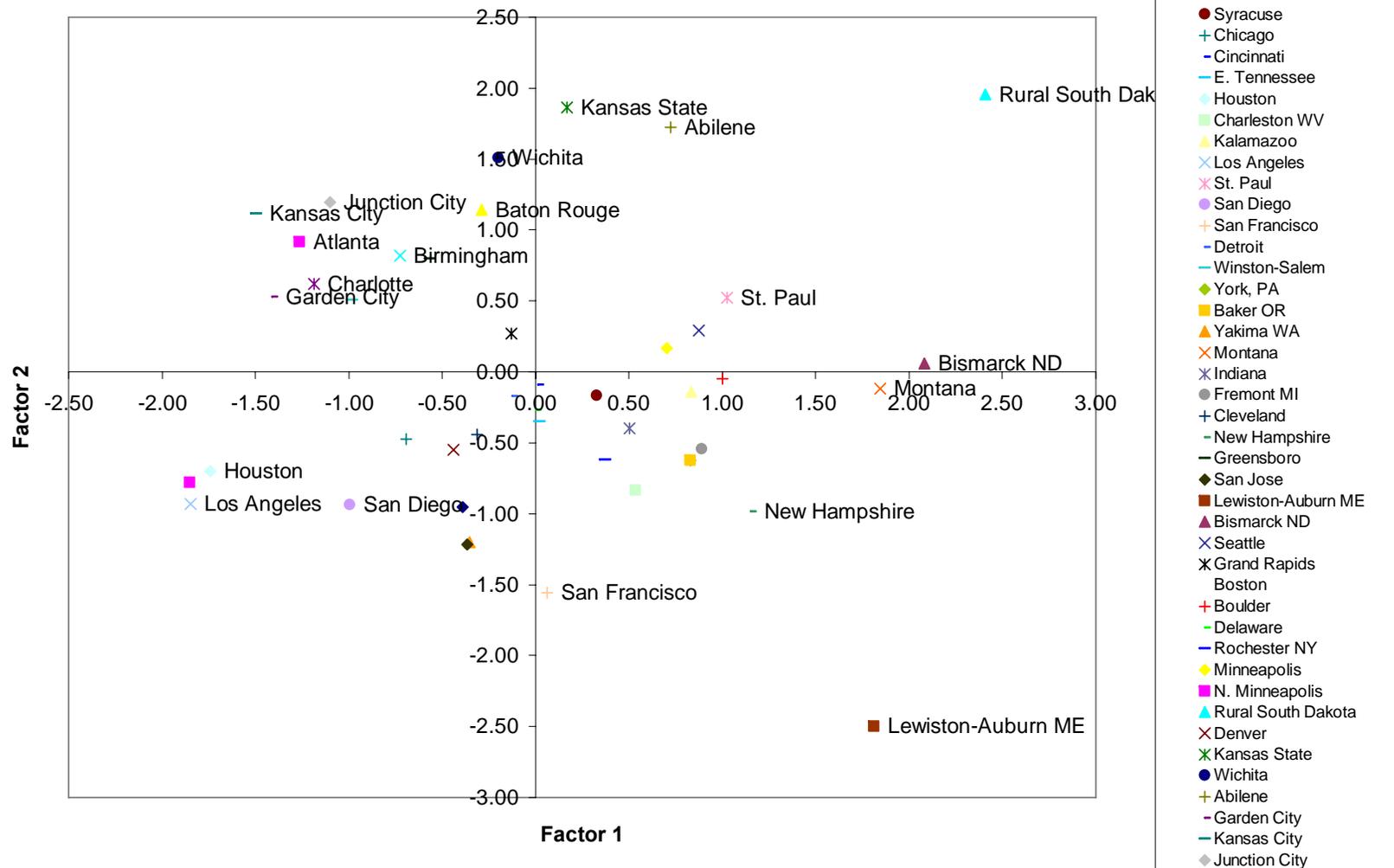
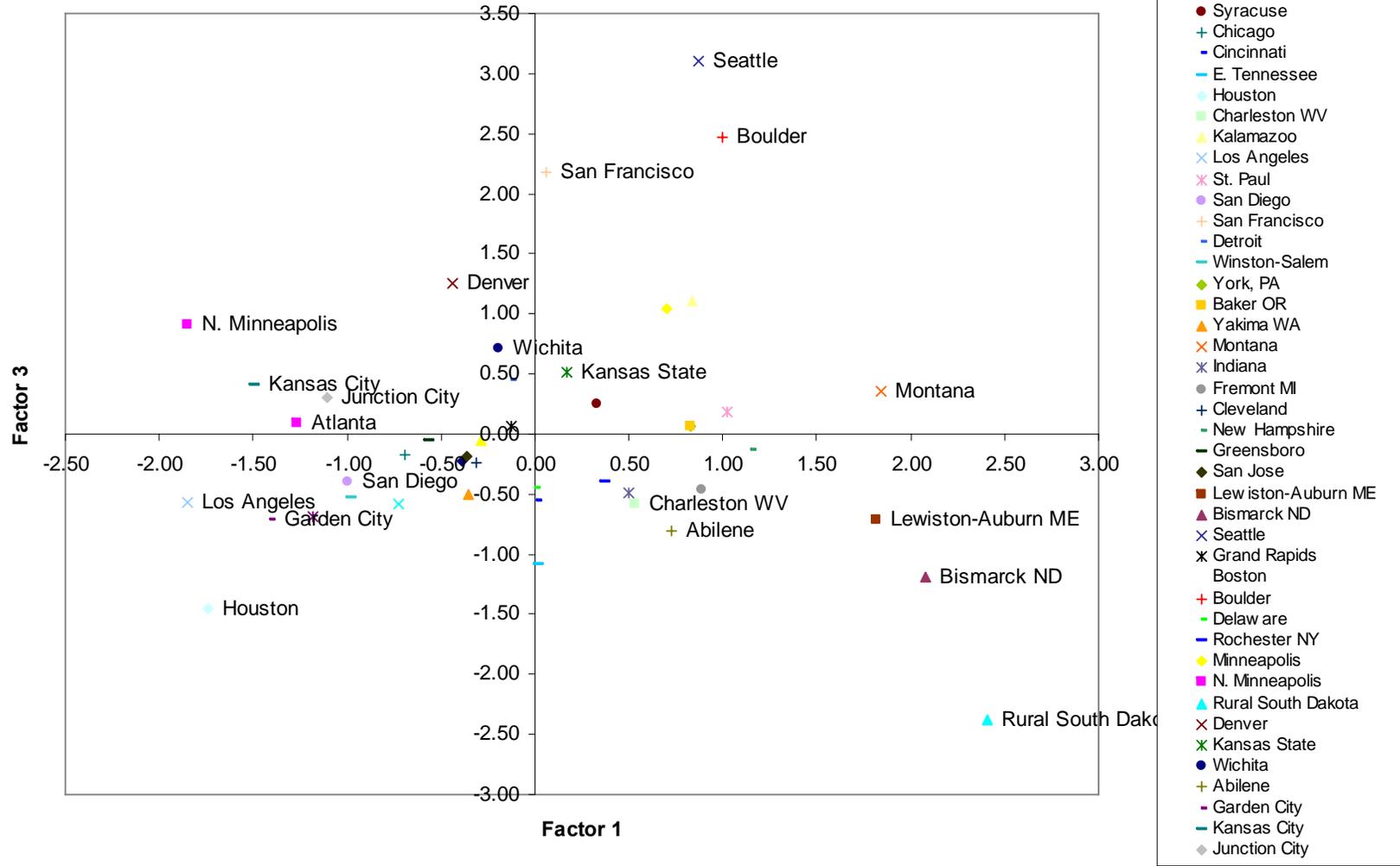


Figure 3.5. Plot of Communities within SC Factor Space (Factors 1 & 3)



The high end of Factor 2 (Civic Engagement and Volunteering) is anchored by rural southeast South Dakota, the statewide Kansas sample, and Abilene. At the low end are a mixture of urban and rural communities from both the eastern and western regions of the country (but not the mid-west).

The highest scoring communities on Factor 3 (crossing lines of difference) are places known for their activism, tolerance for differences of opinion, and liberal politics (Seattle, Boulder, San Francisco, Denver, Boston, Kalamazoo, Minneapolis). The low-scoring communities have a more conservative reputation and would be expected to be more insular places.

This factor space provides a concrete sense of how the Kansas communities compare to the rest of the country. For example, Abilene has somewhat the same pattern of scores as rural South Dakota – high on Factors 1 and 2, low on Factor 3. Kansas City, Junction City, and Garden City are close to the southern cities of Atlanta, Birmingham, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, at least for Factors 1 and 2.

Likewise, the plots provide context for interpreting the Kansas communities relative to one another:

- Statewide Kansas sample has higher levels of social capital than any of the five communities
- Wichita is “close” to the statewide sample
- Abilene is similar to the statewide sample on Factors 1 and 2, but has a lower score on Factor 3, suggesting less tolerance for dissension.
- Kansas City and Junction City are remarkably similar to one another even though one is much larger than the other.
- While most of the communities score high on some factors and lower on others, Garden City scores low on each factor – low trust like KC, lowest level of engagement, insular like Abilene.

### **Predictors of Individual-level Social Capital**

We now switch from assessing and interpreting social capital at the community level to individual-level analyses. The point here is to identify the personal characteristics that lead to high or low levels of trust, engagement, activism, etc. These analyses are conducted using the 11 multi-item scales as predictors.<sup>14</sup> As noted in Chapter 2, the following predictors were considered: age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and political ideology, and years in the community. The results of the regression analyses (unstandardized beta coefficient, standard error, and significance level) are shown in Table 3.10 (the Social Connectedness scales) and 3.11 (the Community Engagement scales). In addition, Table 3.12 summarizes the direction of effect for each predictor and each scale.

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<sup>14</sup> Future analysis will be conducted on the Formal Leadership item. Because it is a dichotomous variable, logistic regression analyses will be used.

**Table 3.10. Results from Regressions to Predict Social Capital at the Individual Level: Social Connectedness Scales**

Predictor	Dependent Variable				
	Social Support	Informal Social Inter	Inter-personal Trust	Diversity of Friendships	Inter-Racial Trust
African-American vs. non-Hispanic white.	-0.271*** (0.060)	0.412*** (0.053)	-0.171*** (0.033)	0.016 (0.183)	0.028 (0.041)
Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic white	-0.013 (0.058)	-0.086 (0.052)	-0.257*** (0.029)	0.575*** (0.177)	-0.115** (0.038)
Male vs. female	0.074* (0.031)	-0.027 (0.027)	-0.076*** (0.019)	0.169 (0.094)	-0.045* (0.020)
Age 35-49 years vs. 18-34 years	-0.079 (0.044)	-0.451*** (0.039)	0.015 (0.026)	0.147 (0.135)	0.026 (0.029)
Age 50-64 years vs. 18-34 years	0.059 (0.048)	-0.536*** (0.042)	0.37 (0.029)	0.277 (0.145)	-0.012 (0.032)
Age ≥65 years vs. 18-34 years	0.286*** (0.058)	-0.561*** (0.051)	0.242*** (0.035)	0.143 (0.177)	0.057 (0.039)
household income <\$30,000/year vs. ≥\$30,000/year	0.240*** (0.038)	0.170*** (0.034)	0.106*** (0.022)	0.449*** (0.117)	0.150*** (0.026)
Some college vs. high school degree or less	0.186*** (0.035)	0.146 (0.031)***	0.035 (0.21)	1.296*** (0.108)	0.086*** (0.024)
College degree vs. high school degree or less	0.172*** (0.043)	0.103** (0.039)	0.043 (0.028)	1.414*** (0.133)	0.134*** (0.029)
Never married vs. currently married or living with partner)	0.105* (0.046)	0.128** (0.041)	0.078** (0.028)	-0.393** (0.140)	0.076* (0.030)
Widowed vs. currently married or living with partner	-0.157* (0.078)	0.0622 (0.070)	-0.049 (0.046)	-0.485* (0.239)	0.181*** (0.052)
Divorced or separated vs. currently married or living with partner	-0.101 (0.054)	0.0449 (0.048)	-0.049 (0.031)	-0.021 (0.166)	0.049 (0.036)
Conservative vs. middle of road political ideology	-0.013 (0.034)	-0.097*** (0.031)	0.045 (0.021)	-0.083 (0.105)	-0.064** (0.023)
Liberal vs. “middle of road” political ideology	0.091* (0.044)	-0.013 (0.039)	0.035 (0.027)	0.022 (0.135)	-0.010 (0.029)
lived in community >5 years vs. ≤ 5 years	-0.054 (0.039)	0.193*** (0.034)	0.081 (0.023)	-0.226 (0.118)	-0.049 (0.026)

*Note: Table reports the unstandardized regression weights and standard errors.*

*\* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001*

**Table 3.11. Results from Regressions to Predict Social Capital at the Individual Level: Community Engagement Scales**

Predictor	Dependent Variable					
	Involved with Groups - Secular	Involved w/ Grps - Faith-Based	Participate Organized Activities	Volunteer and Giving	Conv Politics	Activist Politics
African-American vs. non-Hispanic white.	3.450*** (0.252)	0.770*** (0.67)	0.424*** (0.069)	0.089 (0.088)	-0.200* (0.082)	0.772*** (0.124)
Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic white	0.707** (0.242)	0.035 (0.065)	0.062 (0.067)	-0.166 (0.086)	- 0.734*** (0.079)	0.633*** (0.120)
Male vs. female	0.202 (0.134)	-0.208*** (0.034)	0.081* (0.035)	-1.05* (0.045)	0.031 (0.042)	0.027 (0.063)
Age 35-49 years vs. 18-34 years	-0.523** (0.186)	-0.086 (0.049)	-0.081 (0.051)	-1.129 *(0.064)	0.373*** (0.060)	-0.063 (0.091)
Age 50-64 years vs. 18-34 years	0.076 (0.203)	-0.060 (0.053)	-0.201*** (0.055)	-0.035 (0.07)	0.724*** (0.065)	0.195* (0.098)
Age ≥65 years vs. 18-34 years	-0.106 (0.244)	0.109 (0.065)	-0.185** (0.067)	-0.083 (0.087)	0.866*** (0.079)	-0.191 (0.119)
household income <\$30,000/year vs. ≥\$30,000/year	1.080*** (0.159)	0.304*** (0.043)	0.084 (0.044)	0.503*** (0.056)	0.0256 (0.052)	0.117 (0.078)
Some college vs. high school degree or less	0.784*** (0.154)	0.168*** (0.039)	0.362*** (0.041)	0.497*** (0.052)	0.499*** (0.048)	0.387*** (0.073)
College degree vs. high school degree or less	1.766*** (0.189)	0.281*** (0.048)	0.473*** (0.050)	0.874*** (0.064)	0.750*** (0.059)	0.760*** (0.090)
Never married vs. currently married or living with partner)	0.432* (0.190)	0.142 (0.051)	0.296*** (0.053)	0.047 (0.068)	-0.132* (0.062)	0.593*** (0.095)
Widowed vs. currently married or living with partner	0.507 (0.332)	0.029 (0.087)	-0.083 (0.090)	0.014 (0.116)	-0.067 (0.106)	0.011 (0.159)
Divorced or separated vs. currently married or living with partner	-0.579* (0.230)	-0.200*** (0.061)	-0.065 (0.063)	-0.272*** (0.080)	- 0.244*** (0.074)	-0.204 (0.111)
Conservative vs. middle of road political ideology	0.130 (0.150)	0.332*** (0.038)	-0.062 (0.040)	0.135** (0.051)	-0.092* (0.047)	0.254*** (0.071)
Liberal vs. “middle of road” political ideology	0.590** (0.188)	-0.130** (0.049)	-0.122* (0.051)	-0.021 (0.065)	- 0.369*** (0.060)	0.675*** (0.091)
lived in community >5 years vs. ≤ 5 years	0.098 (0.169)	0.0317 (0.043)	0.132** (0.045)	0.107 (0.058)	0.207*** (0.053)	0.158* (0.080)

*Note: Table reports the unstandardized regression weights and standard errors.*

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

African-Americans reported more positive levels of several social capital dimensions (social support, informal social interaction, secular community associations, faith-based organizations, participation in organized activities, and activist politics) compared to non-Hispanic whites. However, African-Americans displayed negative associations with interpersonal trust and conventional politics compared to non-Hispanic whites. Hispanics reported lower social capital compared to non-Hispanic whites on inter-racial trust, volunteering and giving, and conventional politics, but had more positive associations in diversity of friendships, involvement in secular organizations, and activist politics.

Men had more positive associations with social support and participation in organized activities compared to women, but had comparatively lower interpersonal trust, interracial trust, and volunteering and giving.

Increased age was positively associated with informal social interaction, participation in organized activities, and conventional politics compared to the 18-34 years of age category.

Household income was positively associated with nearly all social capital dimensions. Similarly, those respondents who had attended college reported higher levels on every scale except Interpersonal Trust.

Those respondents who had never been married reported higher levels on eight of the scales, compared to those who are currently married or living with a partner. Being widowed was associated with lower social support. Being divorced or separated was negatively associated with secular community organization involvement, faith-based involvement, and conventional politics compared to being married/living with a partner.

Participants with a conservative political ideology reported lower informal social interaction, interracial trust, and conventional politics compared to those with a “middle of the road” political ideology, but reported more positive associations with interpersonal trust, faith-based community organizations, and volunteering and giving. Participants with a liberal ideology reported more positive levels of social support, involvement in secular community organizations, and activist politics compared to those with a “middle of the road” ideology.

Participants who lived in the community for  $\geq 5$  years demonstrated more positive associations with informal social interaction, interpersonal trust, participation in organized activities, conventional politics and activist politics.

**Table 3.12. Summary of Linear Regressions among Entire Sample**

Variable	Social Support	informal Social Interaction	Interpersonal Trust	Inter-racial trust	Diversity of Friendships	Secular Community Organizations	Faith-Based Community Organizations	Participation in organized activities	Volunteering and Giving	Conventional Politics	Activist Politics
African-American vs. non-Hispanic white (ref.)	↑	↑	↓			↑	↑	↑		↓	↑
Hispanic vs. non-Hispanic white (ref)			↓	↓	↑	↑			↓	↓	↑
Male vs. female (ref)	↑		↓	↓			↓	↑	↓		
Age 35-49 years vs. 18-34 years (ref)		↑				↓			↓	↑	
Age 50-64 years vs. 18-34 years (ref)		↑						↑		↑	↑
Age ≥65 years vs. 18-34 years (ref)	↑	↑	↑			↓		↑		↑	
≥\$30,000/year household income vs. <\$30,000/year household income (ref)	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑		↑		
Some college vs. high school degree or less (ref)	↑	↑		↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
College degree vs. high school degree or less (ref)	↑	↑		↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
Never married vs. currently married or living with partner (ref)	↑	↑	↑	↑	↓	↑	↑	↑		↓	↑
Widowed vs. currently married or living with partner (ref)	↓			↑	↓						
Divorced or separated vs. currently married or living with partner (ref)						↓	↓		↑	↓	
Conservative vs. middle of road political ideology (ref)		↓	↑	↓			↑		↑	↓	↑
Liberal vs. “middle of road” political ideology (ref)	↑					↑	↓	↓		↓	↑
Lived in community >5 years vs. ≤ 5 years (ref)		↑	↑					↑		↑	↑
Trust own ethnic group “a lot” vs. trust “only a little or not at all” (ref)	-	-	↑	↓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trust own ethnic group “some vs. “only a little or not at all” (ref)	-	-	↑	↓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**Combining the Individual-level and Community-level analyses**

The last set of analyses tests to see if the relationships between demographic factors and reports of social capital can explain the differences between the five target communities presented earlier in this chapter. For these analyses, we once again modeled each respondent’s social capital scores as a function of age, gender, race/ethnicity, education, income, and political ideology, and years in the community. Community identity was then entered as a final factor.<sup>15</sup> The results from these analyses are shown in Table 3.12.

**Table 3.13. Persistence of Community Differences Controlling for Individual-Level Predictors.**

Social Capital Scale	SIMPLE ANALYSIS OF BETWEEN-COMMUNITY DIFFERENCES						Controlling for individual-level predictors Which differences are significant?
	Ranking of Each Community						
	Abilene	Garden City	Junction City	Kansas City	Wichita	p value	
Social Support	2	3	5	4	1	.097	None
Social Interaction (Informal)	2	4	5	3	1	.07	None
Interpersonal Trust	1	4	3	5	2	<.001	Wichita > Garden City
Diversity of Friendships	3	5	1	4	2	<.001	None
Interracial Trust	1	4	2	5	3	<.001	Abilene > Garden City
Involvement with Community Organizations – Secular	5	4	3	1	2	.03	None
Involvement with Community Organizations – Faith-Based	1	4	5	3	2	.003	Abilene & Garden City > Junction City and KC
Participation in Organized Activities	2	5	1	4	3	.110	Abilene > Garden City
Volunteering and Giving	1	4	3	5	2	<.001	Abilene & Wichita > KC and Junction City
Engagement in Conventional Politics	1	5	2	4	3	<.001	Abilene > Garden City and Wichita
Engagement in Activist Politics	3	4	5	2	1	.007	Junction City < all others

The two righthand columns in Table 3.12 indicate, for each social capital scale, the significance of the Community factor in a simple ANOVA (without covariates) and then whether or not the factor is still significant when we control for the individual-level predictors. The most important finding is that only two of the eight statistically significant between-community differences can be “explained away” by differences in the composition of the population (Diversity of Friendships and Involvement with Groups). On the other hand, one new difference appears (Participation in Organized Activities).

Table 3.12 reinforces the patterns that have emerged throughout this chapter. For example, Abilene is different from the other four target communities, particularly with regard to its high level of civic

<sup>15</sup> In contrast to the analyses reported in the previous section (which used the entire Kansas sample), these analyses were based on only those respondents from the five target communities.

participation. Not surprisingly, Junction City (home of Fort Riley) is lower than the other four communities on Activism (also known as Protest Politics). Garden City is significantly lower than the other communities on trust and most measures of civic engagement (except for Involvement with Faith-Based Organizations). Wichita has the odd combination of being high on Interpersonal Trust and low on Conventional Politics.

The following chapters describing the qualitative study will provide explanation for these and other patterns of social capital.

## Chapter 4: Methods for Qualitative Study

The second part of the study, the field studies in each of the five target communities, had two general purposes: to check the validity of the survey findings and to gather additional information that helps explain the findings and provide a context for the results.

**Sample:** We conducted individual interviews with key informants in each of the five communities. The interviewees were selected through snowball sampling, whereby the first few people, who were identified through Internet searches or referred by KHI, suggested additional contacts, who in turn suggested even more people to interview. In our initial searches we attempted to find contact information for people holding key positions in each community and for people representing or working within key sectors (e.g., education, law enforcement, health care, housing, etc.). After our initial round of interviews we also purposefully looked for individuals who could provide information about aspects of social capital that emerged as particularly important in that locality. For example, in Abilene we made an effort to find people who were not long-time residents of the community and who could speak to us about the experience of being a newcomer, since issues of integration and ‘cliquishness’ emerged from our first set of interviews. Most interviewees were formal or informal leaders in the community. A list of the interviewees for each community is included in Appendix C.

**Interviews:** The recruitment materials and research procedures were in compliance with U.S. Policy for Protection of Human Research Subjects. We initially contacted potential interviewees by email or by telephone. When we did not receive responses to our written invitation for an interview we generally followed up with a telephone call when a telephone number for the person was available. We asked all interviewees to designate a meeting place convenient to them for the interview. The field researcher made at least two separate trips to each of the communities and in some cases more. At the time the interviews were conducted, interviewees were asked to sign an informed consent form, which outlined the purpose of the study, the procedure, and the risks and benefits to the participants. The study was also discussed with them prior to these meeting (through our email exchanges and on the telephone). Interviews lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. They were tape recorded with the permission of the interviewee and transcribed.

We used an interview guide to structure the interviews (see Appendix D). In general, we began the interviews by asking people to tell us about their community using maps that we had obtained from the Kansas Department of Transportation. The maps, which were large and detailed, allowed the interviewees to talk about the spatial and physical features of their communities that were important to various domains of social capital. For instance, they spent time pointing out public facilities that residents used or where public transportation routes were established. They also provided us with descriptions of the different neighborhoods or areas of the city and residential patterns. The maps were also a way to ask people about changes to their communities over time, such as where new developments were being built and who was moving there.

In the second part of the interview we showed interviewees some of the preliminary survey data, including national data, state level data, and data from their community for questions in each domain of social capital. We asked people how the survey findings reflected their experience in the community and whether they were ‘surprised’ by the findings or not. Not surprisingly, the findings that generated the most discussion were the ones that differentiated the community the most (e.g., low levels of electoral political participation in Garden City, or high levels of involvement in neighborhood associations in Kansas City).

We organized some of our later interviews around specific initiatives or elements of social capital that emerged as important. For instance, in Kansas City we conducted a series of interviews around the

Livable Neighborhoods initiative, the city's attempt to organize and support a network of neighborhood associations. In Abilene, as mentioned earlier, we interviewed people about issues of diversity and integration, including people who had recently moved to the community and people who might be considered 'different' because they were gay or were a racial or ethnic minority

In all of the communities we gathered secondary sources of information wherever possible. For instance, many of the interviewees provided us with literature and other materials about their organizations and programs that contained information germane to a discussion of social capital. Other pointed us to websites where we found information relevant to our questions. For instance, a 'visioneering' task force in Wichita has conducted studies and collected information that speaks about the city's attempts to re-make itself in ways that resonate with our research.

Throughout the interview process we gathered information about community assets and challenges. These came up in the context of interviewees' responses to the survey findings. They also came up in the interviews that were structured around specific aspects of that community. No specific questions were asked to generate this material. Rather, the findings reflect the overall sense of the data we collected, and, in that way, they go beyond the text of the interviews themselves.

For each of the five communities we summarized the information we gleaned from the interviews in the form of case studies. These are presented in the chapter that follows. Each case study provides general background on the community, followed by a discussion of the findings organized by social capital domain. We finish each case study with a discussion of community assets and challenges that may affect development and maintenance of social capital.

## **Chapter 5: Case Studies: Results from Qualitative Study**

### **Introduction**

This chapter describes the results from the qualitative portion of the study. Using the data from the individual interviews, the community mapping, and the archival research, researchers compiled case studies of each of the five target communities: Abilene, Garden City, Junction City, Kansas City, and Wichita. Each case study begins with a short background on the community, and then the findings are discussed in terms of the 10 domains of social capital: social trust, inter-racial trust, electoral political participation, protest political participation, civic leadership, associational involvement, giving and volunteering (discussed separately in the case studies), faith-based engagement, informal social ties, and diversity of friendships. Each case study finishes with a discussion of the community assets and challenges that potentially do or potentially could affect social capital.

## Community Study 1: Abilene

### Background

Abilene is a small town of 6500 people. It is located just off of I-70 between Junction City and Salina, and was the westernmost community that we worked in along this major route. The eastern edge of town has a number of commercial establishments, including hotels, restaurants, convenience stores, and gas stations. The historic downtown, further west along Buckeye and north on Third Street, has beautifully maintained buildings and broad streets. It is generally described as a stable, quiet, family-centered community. The residents are largely families and elderly; smaller numbers of young single adults live here. The elderly make up a significant portion of the population.

The town is home to the Eisenhower Library, Old Town, the Lebold Mansion, and other historic attractions. Aside from tourism, Abilene has several major industries and employers, including Duckwall-Alco, Great Plains, Land Pride, the Russell Stover candy factory, the school district, and the hospital. A growing number of residents work nearby at Fort Riley in Junction City. Fort Riley is expecting large growth with the return of [formal name], and Abilene therefore expects a large increase of military residents.

In order to accommodate the demand for housing (which currently outstrips the supply) the town is making sure empty lots are being used and is adding new sub-divisions. Ironically, one of these sub-divisions is being built as a ‘planned community’ in a town that has the feel that planned communities are designed to re-create (e.g., shared social space, front porches, garages in the back, safe, self-contained, etc.). Interviewees also reported that many long-time residents are taking advantage of the growth in population to sell their homes and move, though this movement is mostly within Abilene itself.

With the exception of new sub-divisions that are being built to the west of Abilene, the town does not have ‘named’ neighborhoods and relatively few ideas about difference across geographic or physical space seem to have persisted. For example, it was reported that the part of town to the east of Buckeye (the main thoroughfare) used to be considered the more “desirable” part of town to live in, but that these east-west distinctions have faded in importance.

One distinction that does seem to have held, however, is between the north and south sides of the town, which are separated by the railroad tracks. In general, the south side of town (where the Eisenhower Center is located) is considered to have smaller, more affordable homes and to be populated by mostly (though not exclusively) working class families. Part of the area is also located in a floodplain. This ‘difference’ was talked about in several ways in our interviews. One interviewee said that she could not always get people to come to meetings when she held them in her office on the south side of the railroad tracks, and that she generally tried to find a more “neutral” place. We heard about ways in which the town tried to accommodate the needs of south side residents. For instance, the school district provides bus service to children who live south of the tracks, even though it does not provide services to all children in the town. A local foundation also directed some of its funds to an elementary school on the south side to ensure that children in that part of town had access to summer programming.

The blurring of neighborhood-based differences alluded to above was attributed by some to realignments within the school system that occurred in the 1980s. Up until the 1980s, elementary schools were neighborhood based; each school catered to children within a particular, geographically-defined catchment area. This created administrative challenges, as the numbers of children in each neighborhood enrolling in school shifted from year to year. To even out teacher-student ratios children were sometimes re-assigned to a different school after the start of the school year or would be asked to switch schools from year to year. To deal with this problem, Abilene converted its three elementary schools into

‘attendance centers’ so that all first and second graders attend the same school, as do all third and fourth graders, and so on. This shift, according to some of our interviewees, had the unintended (but welcomed) side effect of breaking down perceptions about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ schools and ‘good’ and ‘bad’ neighborhoods.

The major issues currently confronting Abilene include meeting the needs of the growing population, particularly immigrants (e.g., housing, translation services); providing jobs and entertainment to attract young, unmarried adults; and finding ways to get newcomers to be involved in the community. These are discussed below under Assets and Challenges. ]

## **Domains of ‘social capital’**

### ***1. Social trust***

Interviewees agreed with the survey findings that social trust is high in Abilene. Abilene was described as a stable, friendly small town where family values are important, and where citizens take pride in their history and heritage. The comparison of Abilene to “Mayberry” – the idyllic place of the television series – came up frequently, and entirely unprompted, in our interviews. There was repeated emphasis in the interviews on safety, security, cleanliness, and the notion that Abilene was a good place to raise children. People talked about how children could walk to school or to the park unsupervised; how they could leave their doors unlocked; and how one would never see graffiti or the signs of vandalism and disorder that are associated with more urban living. While these attributes were mentioned by all of the interviewees, they were particularly pronounced in interviews with people who had moved to Abilene from other parts of the country or who had returned to Abilene after living elsewhere. For instance, the excerpt reproduced below is from an interview with a family that recently moved to Abilene from a larger city in the south:

One thing about this city, I’ve not seen any graffiti. Not one iota. The only time I’ve seen it is when the train goes by, and it’s because the train’s going through other places. It is sweet. It is so clean and charming.

Juxtaposed with this stability was significant talk about recent growth and change, spurred in large part by the return of the ‘Big Red One’ to Fort Riley and military families who are settling as far west as Abilene. People worried about how this growth and change, and particularly the arrival of more temporary or transient people, would affect the feel of the community:

A: I think it’s a good safe place. And some people were really worried about the military coming back, because the big red one was here 20 years ago--okay, 30 years ago, when I was in high school. We had a lot of military in and out.

Q: I’m sorry [CROSSTALK], but when you say the big red one?

A: Fort Riley.

Q: Okay. You call it the big red one?

A: Yeah. That’s the division that’s coming back. And that’s Fort Riley. They were here, and they left, and it was a quiet little town. And now people are a little worried about the military coming back.

Q: How does it feel different? I mean what is the feel of it?

A: It’s that whole knowing your neighbor who’s across the street. We wave at everybody. And this is just a little tidbit. My son was home yesterday. He’s at Manhattan. He’s a college student.

He brought his buddy from Wichita. His buddy goes, "I just love to come to Abilene." And I'm like, "Why?" He goes, "Everybody waves at you." He goes, "We don't do that in Wichita." He said, "Everybody waves. You're expected to wave back at everybody." Just something that minute. He noticed that, and he was here for two and a half hours.

While the relative safety and security of the small town environment was one of the dominant themes to emerge from our interviews in Abilene, there were qualifiers that surfaced that also merit mention. Some interviewees suggested that there may be more minor delinquency going on 'behind the scenes' than the average person knows or hears about. At least one person thought that the local newspaper helped to maintain the picture or image of Abilene as "Mayberry" by keeping mention of crime off the main pages:

That's what some of the comments when we were doing that...our survey too was, "Oh, it's a great place for kids. Everything is fine." It looks really clean, and I think that that's part of why people don't think there's a lot of crime. Plus if there's something in the newspaper about crime, it better be something huge that happened. You just don't hear about.. If you read the newspaper here, you'd think it was Mayberry because everything is just so nice. Everything is positive, good stories. Nothing about, you know, they'll have their reports in tiny, tiny print about theft or whatever. But there's no kind of, you know, when you read the big paper, the front is like horrible news, horrible news, horrible--here it's like, good, good. They just don't put that in.

## ***2. Inter-racial trust***

There are few racial minorities in Abilene, which limited our ability to use the survey findings on inter-racial trust to probe this issue (since the small sample sizes made these items unstable and unreliable). What is clear is that the number of minorities moving to and settling in Abilene has markedly increased in recent years. This is attributable to immigrants, including large numbers of Mexicans and Vietnamese, who come to work in factory jobs and Greyhound farms or who open restaurants or other small businesses, and to the influx of military families.

These demographic shifts in the make-up of the community were talked about in different ways by interviewees. This is posing a number of pressing infrastructural problems: the city is acutely aware of the need for more affordable housing; classrooms have become crowded (there were an estimated 70 new children in the school district during the 2006-2007 school year from military families alone) and more are being built. This is also raising thornier issues which have to do with how to allocate limited resources to meet new needs, such as English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers and courses. The excerpts below are from interviewees who work inside (the first excerpt) and outside (the second excerpt) the school system but who are dealing with the same problem:

The State Department allows money for English as a Second Language programs or English language learners. The problem is, it's so little per pupil, that if you have not had very many in the past, it wasn't even enough to hire a teacher, so we have various teachers that have either had that training or we try to get them some, so they're in the regular classroom, and we just do some extra work to help them along.

I mean you could name--well, not anymore--but five years ago you could have named all the black families in Abilene, African Americans. Now we've got many biracial children now, biracial couples. So the makeup of Abilene is changing. We've gotten more Hispanics here. We've got more Vietnamese. And we also have Chinese, I think it is. And it's escalated in the last year. I was talking to one of the teachers, because we've been trying to get English as a Second Language through us [the city Recreation Department], through our community education piece, and we can't find anybody to teach it, which is kind of a struggle, because one of the schools, two, three--second and

third graders--they have 22 kids that were English as a Second Language and where the teacher couldn't communicate with the parent.

The extent to which worries and wariness about the shifting demographics are bound up in questions of racial and ethnic difference (and trust or distrust of those who are 'other') is not easy for people to articulate. The ways that race became entangled in discussions about change is illustrated by the following excerpt. Here, the speaker's worry is framed as being about transience, but racial and ethnic difference (people who are not "mostly white" or people whose "backgrounds" are unknown) figures importantly in this picture:

Well, and I think that that's some of the perception between Junction City and Abilene when they're talking about like military people moving here as the--people probably think that Abilene is not the--I don't know if it really is, but it's a lot safer and a lot cleaner and a lot nicer because there's probably mostly white people that have been here forever, and it's just a family community; whereas, in Junction City everybody is transient. There's all kinds of people you don't know what their backgrounds are.

When we brought up the topic of inter-racial trust directly, most of our discussions in Abilene elicited mention of prominent black families that had been able to succeed in business and in electoral politics and that occupied positions of leadership in the community. At least from the perspective of white respondents, trust was not here an issue. We would have liked to have acquired the perspective of black families on this domain; however, despite our very persistent efforts (footnote), we were not successful in persuading them to participate in this part of the study (which may or may not be a commentary on inter-racial trust).

Worries and fears that seem to be at least partially related to racial and ethnic difference, or comments about inter-racial trust, were expressed indirectly – in response to questions that had nothing to do with this domain. For instance, the excerpt below is taken from a segment of an interview in which we asked the respondent about informal socializing and opportunities for this in Abilene:

But you know, the real gem with Abilene is the fact that it's embedded between Salina and Junction City. Salina is really like probably the third or fourth biggest community in Kansas. But it's really like a big Abilene. It's like 90 percent Caucasian, very few minorities. Junction City, which is the military base, when I visit, it is more like being home in \_\_\_ because it's culturally diverse. And I feel more at home. When we first got here, with the friends that we had mentioned we first met, we'd go to Junction City, and we heard, "Well, we have to lock our doors here in Junction City because it's not like Abilene. It's not safe here." "Why is that?" "Well, look around." And I'm seeing all these different cultural people. I thought, so even with their own people ... it's a cultural development that you learn to be intolerant. And to me that's the saddest thing when people say we wanted to raise our family in a ... what they should be saying is I want to raise my family in an intolerant community so that they grow up thinking that they're the only type that have the right and privileges. And I think that's a very sad thing. There's so much to learn from different cultures.

### ***3. Conventional politics***

The survey data suggest that there are high levels of voter registration and voter participation in Abilene, and interviewees found this to be consonant with their experience.

There is not a sense in Abilene, as there is in some other communities, that government, politics, or voting does not matter. Citizens, regardless of party affiliation, are politically engaged and are interested and involved in local government affairs. The city government meetings are televised live and residents

attend or watch them at home on the public station where they are also rebroadcast at a later time. The meetings are particularly well-attended if controversial issues are being discussed, such as a proposed hike in property taxes. Recently, there was a large turnout at a city government meeting to hear a real estate developer speak about plans for the new sub-division that is being built to the west of Abilene. While the crowd was reported to be generally supportive of the project, citizens posed many questions about the development.

In terms of party politics, the city is heavily Republican, though there are some tensions between ‘conservative’ and ‘moderate’ Republicans, and some prominent Republicans have switched to the Democratic party in order to distance themselves from positions they find to be too conservative. Some people noted that those who identify as Democrats worry about being identified as such, and would not publicly proclaim their party affiliation. At the same time, there are Democratic dinners and fundraising events that are held and attended. In a general sense, party affiliations and positions on particular issues were described as private matters; people did not want others to see how they voted on local issues, and some interviewees said that they would not bring up politics in casual conversation or in public settings.

Typically, if you’re a Democrat you really don’t talk about it very much because it is so republican. And so conservative ... This is probably more conservative than most communities. In fact, it is amazing to me--you really can’t have a political discussion in a public setting because it’s just not a good thing. And it’s even trickled down to Ladies Literary League that we’re having issues. But I go to a meeting in Wichita, like with the Kansas Health Foundation, which I think is the parent organization of the--and I sit at a table with people I don’t even know and never had a conversation with and we can get into politics and have a conversation because--well, it’s just a different atmosphere. And that just amazes me, how that happens. But you come up here and you just--you’re very careful.

There was one example that countered this general trend. One person we interviewed discussed conducting a door-to-door voter registration drive. In the southern part of town she found it challenging to engage residents and to encourage them to register to vote. In her view, residents were “uninformed” about the issues at stake, and she attributed this to the fact that they worked long hours and were too busy trying to make a living to be engaged in electoral politics.

#### ***4. Activist politics***

A relatively small proportion of survey respondents in Abilene reported being engaged in activist politics, and this did not come as a surprise to those we interviewed. Because Abilene is a small town, interviewees said that they had direct access to members of local government and could discuss issues that mattered to them face-to-face. City council members also sit on the boards of community organizations, hold jobs, and run businesses in town, and are therefore highly visible and accessible to people. Some people thought that activist politics were too ‘public’ for most people:

A: I’d say that’s pretty ... People don’t like to let anybody know their commitments.

In fact, activist politics in Abilene seemed most often to take the form not of petitions, protests, or marches but rather letters to the editor of the local newspaper. Letter writing and attendance at hearings or city government meetings seemed to be a better barometer of public engagement in local politics than other forms asked about in the survey.

However, there were a few contentious issues that did generate petitions – if not protests or marches – that interviewees could recount. The construction of the Abilene’s recreation center was the most noteworthy example of an issue that led to activist politics in the form of petition drives and multiple letters to the editor in the local newspaper. Other recent issues that generated political action, though

again not necessarily in the forms asked about in the survey, were the ban on smoking in public places that was adopted several years ago and the proposed annexation of additional land. Some projects that are currently under consideration, including the repair of the swimming pool, renovations to the library, and investments in the downtown business district are also generating a certain amount of ‘activism’ in the form of public dialogue and debate. But it was the community/recreation center that stood out in most people’s minds as the issue that was most contentious and divisive and that did lead to petition drives:

A: I think, for this center, this was voted on three times and voted down twice, and then we had to go to an Attorney General to get a ruling, because it was funded through sales tax, and it was a two-part question. And they wanted to sell bonds and have the sales tax pay those bonds back. Well, the bonds was defeated, and the sales tax passed by two votes. So we had to collect the sales tax money. It took us five years before we could build the building. And it was very heated. Very, very, very heated.

Q: What: Do we need a building? Do we not need a building?

A: Yeah, and what are we going to do with that, and nobody’s going to use it. It’s just going to be two gyms. It was pretty negative there. It was those political activists that were signing petitions to build it and to not build it.

Q: Oh, really?

A: And some people were like, “I don’t want my name associated with. And I don’t want people to know how I vote.” They just didn’t.

Q: They didn’t feel like doing it. So how did you resolve that, or did you not?

A: The Attorney General did.

Q: Oh, the Attorney General did.

A: And it passed by two votes for the sales tax. We collected for five years. When we got \$1.3 million, we broke ground. It was hari-kari, and there were people mad.

## ***5. Civic leadership***

The survey found high rates of participation in civic leadership compared to the nation and the state. Interviewees commented on this fairly extensively.

As in all of the communities we studied, interviewees reported that there are a small group of people who serve as leaders of community organizations and that these people often serve communities in multiple capacities. Some expressed the desire to have better ways to identify citizens who had not served but who would be willing to serve and worries that their community institutions, by repeatedly tapping the same people, might be too ‘closed’:

A: Some...I don't know if this is accurate statement or not. I sit on the Community Foundation Board, and I'm on United Way, and the Eisenhower Foundation Board, and the Recreation Commission, so I'm on a number of things. And I think there's some people, particularly like Community Foundation, that think it's--it's a great group, but a little closed maybe.

Q: So it's the same set of people who ...?

A: Yeah, it seems to be. I know they work to try and get others in there and represent more people, but I guess that doesn't surprise me. It's the same way--we have to work pretty hard to get

people in on United Way or some of the other boards that are like that.

People indicated that there are citizens who are willing to take leadership roles; the question seemed to be how many of these people there were and how best to identify them and cultivate their participation:

Well, and we're a small community. I think a lot of times you go to a particular meeting, whatever it might be, and you see a lot of the same people. But what's surprising is, I know there's a lot of people over here doing many of the same kinds of things, whether it's in their church, a civic organization, whatever they feel is important to them at that time. I don't think people are fearful of leadership roles in this community.

Interviewees, particularly those that were charged with staffing boards or who were in leadership positions in organizations, noted that they often name people to boards because they need specific types of competencies, such as an accountant or a legal expert. Nominating these types of people to boards was a way to ensure that the organization could benefit from this person's skills and was therefore seen as administratively smart. Other groups or boards had seats designated for people in particular positions (e.g., a person from the health department, the director of the Red Cross, etc.) which did not give them the opportunity to invite others:

A: That one [survey finding related to leadership] I'm kind of surprised at. But it kind of supports what we know, that we always ask the same old people to serve on our boards, and there's others out there ... Yes, and we struggle with that and then you try to open it up so you're not picking the same old people and there's like "Well, who is there then?" So if we could have a pool of people that haven't been asked or would if they were just asked, I don't know.

Q: Yeah. So how do most of these positions get filled? Is it just "Let me think of who would be good" or--

A: Right. It depends on your organization's need, whether you're a new organization and you need prestigious family names, then you go to the same old families. Or if you're an organization and you can't afford an accountant, so you want to get one on the board there's only just a small handful of accountants so they're always asked to be on it. The same for attorneys for pro bono legal advice so...

A dynamic that was perhaps particular to Abilene was that foundations or organizations were often perceived as turning to "families with names" when constituting their boards. Longevity and prominence in the community ("multiple generations in the cemetery") were criteria that were perceived to be important to the selection or nomination process to some, but not all, boards. Having "names" on a board was felt to be especially important for organizations that dealt with priority issues of the community. Some interviewees found that they could nominate less well-known people to boards only for causes that donors and community members seemed to think were not important, such as the arts and cultural programs:

Q: Do you get typed a lot as sort of the token young person who would be on this board or that board; do people ask you to do a lot of those kinds of things?

A: Surprisingly, no. And I've kind of wondered why no one has ever asked me, and I think it's because it is the kind of cliquish thing in Abilene where you really have to be from here. You really have to have the right last name or know the right people. That kind of deal.

Q: Really?

A: Yeah. Which it doesn't hurt my feelings--

Q: Right.

A: --because I'm busy enough. I've always wondered, you know, what -- and I have the -- it is interesting knowing the way that most of the organizations operate. The arts really seems really not that important, so I can really push to try to get younger people--more participation with people like that on our boards and committees. Nobody cares. But the other organizations, it's a very much--the right people, and that's what matters.

It was noted, however, that the community recognizes the need to cultivate new leaders and has been make efforts recently to improve leadership, particularly among young people.

The Health Foundation has brought in—they've had so many programs where they've, you know, training leaders and getting people involved..and our Dickinson County leadership program, and then I think you have a larger number of people doing the work.

## **6. Organizational involvement**

Compared to the nation and the state, Abilene had relatively low rates of participation in several types of community organizations, including neighborhood associations, senior groups, charity or social welfare organizations, professional associations, and civil rights organizations. The levels of participation were higher in a few select groups, including youth organizations, veteran's groups, literary, art, or music groups, and hobby groups like garden clubs.

Interviewees were moderately surprised that the survey results did not show higher levels of associational involvement. The low levels of participation in neighborhood associations reflected in the survey responses were understood, since the "neighborhood concept" was not thought to apply to Abilene.

Oh, yeah, I don't think there's neighborhoods as much, even if it's dictated by house price and style, because things are pretty hodgepodge throughout town. There are nicer areas of town, obviously, and there are areas that struggle a little bit more. But no, I don't think, in my opinion, that there's really any...neighborhoods.

Interviewees could identify only two neighborhood associations and these were attached to new subdivisions.

A: That you belong to a neighborhood association, I can think of two.

Q: What do they do?

A: Well, one of them I know because they came here, and I don't know what they do. I really don't. I don't know if they say, "You put blue lights on your house for Christmas," or, "We're going to plant this kind of tree or flower and our neighbor--" I don't know what they do.

Another person said:

When I think of neighborhood association I think, "Okay, we're uniting because we have a crime problem," or "We're uniting because we have a blight problem or the crack house down the street," and we don't deal with that here. So that's my perception of neighborhood association, that there's one common problem that you're trying to unite around.

The disconnect that interviewees identified between the survey findings and their experiences was that they saw that people were engaged in civic or public life, though perhaps not through "membership" or in the formal ways asked about in the survey. Abilene had many groups and associations that citizens could

belong to or get involved with. Some community leaders found it difficult to get people to join these groups, and particularly younger and working people. A member of the Delta Kappa Gamma teachers' association reported that their members worried about whether the activities of the association could continue because young teachers were not joining. Others found that people participated in related activities that might not have been captured in the survey questions, but did not formally join or become members of associations. So, for instance, school officials noted that many parents would show up for parent-teacher conferences, but the school system still had difficulty recruiting parents to serve as members of the PTO.

Q: Okay. Do you have difficulty recruiting parents to get them involved in the PTO, or do you--

A: Yes.

Q: You do?

A: I think the elementary principal's talked about this year it's just--in fact, somebody new to the community was ushered into that position to help pull some of that off this year, and I'd say it's a little bit hard to get people to step in and do that.

Q: Why do you think that is?

A: I'm not sure. And it could be that we don't do as good a job as we should helping in orienting parents and bringing people on with the structure. I mean, the building principals, I think we could probably do better. Part of it's just the time commitment.

In the excerpt reproduced below, another interviewee talks about sporting events as an alternative forum for community support and involvement in youth development – and one that is not captured by the survey figures:

A: See, a couple of these [survey findings] surprise me. The school support group, if they were just asking about PTO and going to parents/teachers conferences, sporting events would be the key. That's where I see the town come out.

Q: Okay. That's helpful.

A: And not as much as I see in like when ... I'm a volleyball official. That's what I do as my hobby fun ... when I go to a small community such as Hope and Center, those are small rural communities where the entire town, you could rob a town, because everybody's going to be at the basketball game or the football game or the volleyball game. In Abilene, it's probably not that tight. I mean there's still people out on the streets.

Q: But it's a lot of people.

A: It's a lot of people that attend youth sport. And they don't have kids in school ... An example: We have youth basketball here. Last year we had about 200 kids, 215 kids involved on Saturday mornings for our youth basketball, boys and girls. And we would have 6 to 700 people, in our building that morning, watching those kids. Now they weren't all parents. They were grandparents. They might have been neighbors. And so when you look at participation, if you have 200 kids, you're going to say, hmm, 600, because they've got mom and dad maybe or mom and two siblings. It's just kind of a number you juggle with in your mind.

In trying to make sense of the survey findings and particularly the somewhat lower levels of participation in charity or social welfare organizations relative to the state as a whole, some people thought about associational involvement in terms of volunteering:

A: Well. Yeah. I'm surprised. I would guess we'd be above Kansas as far as in charity or social welfare, so maybe if we take schools out of that. Yeah. Okay. If we take schools out of the equation then--

Q: It makes sense to you?

A: Yeah.

Q: What are the major sorts of charity or social welfare organizations in town?

A: In the past the Red Cross has been important, the Eisenhower Foundation uses a lot of volunteers--or their volunteers are very loyal. Memorial Health System has a lot of loyal volunteers. Great Plains Theater Festival has a great core of volunteers. Let's see what else. If you consider all the coaches for the youth programs at the Community Center--

One initiative we heard about in Abilene that we did not hear about in other communities, was an initiative to get youth involved in community and associational life, including decision-making and leadership, so as to ensure that they continued these types of engagements in later life:

A: Ten years ago ... but because ... we work in this community to get kids involved and on occasion, and when it works we try and we've had kids involved on the United Way board, on the library board, Leadership Dickinson County, youth involved. We have a kids' council, which is middle school kids, well, fourth grade through eighth grade, appointed by the city commission to be involved in city issues and teaching them about city government. Getting them to do community service. The community foundation of Dickinson County has a youth advisory council. They have ... well, right now \$8,000 to grant in the community. And doing community service. And ...

Q: So you start them off young doing this kind of stuff?

A: Yeah. And with the ultimate goal being then, that wherever they are, as they get older they're going to be involved. And I think that will work. First of all, everybody wants to be heard at any age. And so you give them voice early, they're not afraid to use it. They see then that they can have an affect, so that's pretty cool.

## ***7. Giving***

In line with the survey findings, which put Abilene above the national and state averages for giving, Abilene was described by most interviewees as a generous and giving community. The extent of the giving was considered particularly remarkable given the number of seniors living in the community who are on fixed incomes.

Interviewees provided many examples that could be used to illustrate this. City leaders organized a "Go Greensburg" day following the tornado in Greensburg, and within the space of one week the town had raised over \$7,000 (see the excerpt below). The Community Foundation reported that there are families that give large gifts to the Foundation for social programming. When the county dropped funding for the Quality of Life Coalition, the city of Abilene provided some funding to keep it operational, even though the Coalition is an agency that serves the entire county. The city provides a number of services for the poor, including a food and clothing pantry that function entirely on the basis of donations and volunteer labor.

A: Well, and here's an example: Greensburg. They get blown up by this tornado. I'm involved in a roundtable that meets once a month, and last month we decided we need to do something for

Greensburg. They're a small Kansas community. This is what we try to come together and talk about things that are happening, and what can we do. So the head of our roundtable, who is also the Mayor, she said, "Let's have a 'Go, Greensburg!' day." We decided this like on a Tuesday, and we're going to make it be the next Wednesday. It was like within a few days. She reported Tuesday morning that fund raised over \$7,000. And we just told everybody, "Wear green that day. Here's a canister." Every business, we sent out a little letter and said, "Support Greensburg. Write a check. Put in money." Told the kids. It was right before school was out. The kids brought their pennies. They all wore green, and it was just for them to remember how fortunate we are, but also how to help our neighbors. And we had no idea what to expect, and we thought that was pretty darn good.

Some people noted that certain types of projects or causes are easier to raise money for than others. This was not entirely reflected in the descriptive survey findings, which divided giving into giving for religious and non-religious causes only. For instance, people reported that there has been a significant emphasis on children and on programming for children in Abilene. Organizations trying to raise funds for their activities find it strategic to highlight what they do for children and feel that this enhances their likelihood of obtaining support. While no one openly begrudged the investments that have been made in programming for children, some did express a worry that other groups, particularly the elderly, or other kinds of interests or activities, such as the arts, are relatively neglected:

Anything for kid's programs they're all about--you know, it's amazing. I look at what we do trying to do fundraisers, and we--for the arts we put in tons of time, effort, beg people, everything--net: \$1,000. But for programs like Big Brothers/Big Sisters they have a one-deal thing with all the kids there. They're bringing in like \$17,000. I mean, if you do something for kids ...

## **8. Volunteering**

The survey found volunteering in Abilene to be above the national average while closer to average for the state. Interviewees had mixed perspectives on the levels of volunteerism in their community. Some were surprised that the survey results did not show higher levels of volunteerism for Abilene, while other commented on how difficult it was for them to get people to volunteer.

One interviewee questioned the way in which respondents might have interpreted the questions that were asked. For instance, she said that every coach at the recreation center is a volunteer; yet many of these coaches might not report what they do as 'volunteering' but rather might see it simply as part of being a parent.

A: Mm-hmm... That [how people interpreted this survey question] would be interesting to know. Because a lot of times our volunteer coaches don't recognize... it's they're being a parent.

Most of the people we interviewed could cite multiple ways in which volunteers were used for community events:

A: ... We still have civic groups that operate. We have a volunteer place that came up from a family in town. They bought an old church. Turned it into what they call The Place, which is a rec center for kids, particularly fifth through middle school. It's open on Friday nights or Saturday nights. They have dances sometimes. There's video games. You can play pool, and that is pretty much staffed by volunteers.

Q: It is?

A: I know like the Kiwanis Club takes every other Friday night, and they send a couple members, and they get educated as to ...

Q: What kids are doing?

A: ... what sixth graders are like and middle school kids. They have a--Saturday mornings, it's an intergenerational pool playing in tournament kind of thing, where some of them come in. But that would be--a number of Optimist Clubs, and they volunteer and staff certain events, if help is needed.

Another interviewee said:

A: I would believe that's true [the survey data on volunteering]. I think we have a very giving community, and we do use a lot of volunteers.

Q: Do you? Do you use them here at the rec center?

A: Oh, my gosh! Every coach we have is a volunteer. If we didn't have volunteers, we would not be able to exist. And right now we have 200 kids playing youth baseball, and those coaches are all volunteers. We have 24 teams so we've got 48 coaches. That's not including the softball program that we don't run. That's run by another organization. We have three teams; with each of those teams have three A, B and C, so they've probably got 20-some coaches. Oh, yeah, volunteers here is, not only in youth programs, but at the hospital, at the fitness center. I mean just lots. There's a lot of opportunities to volunteer. In hospice and all those.

Senior citizens were mentioned as people who give significant time to the community. As elsewhere, worry was expressed about lower levels of participation, including volunteering, among younger people who are busy working and raising families and have less time to spare.

A: Oh, yeah. Yeah. I mean, I've seen a big shift in that from when I first started in this job 31 years ago versus--

Q: Now?

A: --now.

Q: Upward or downward?

A: Downward. And I think it's time, though. I mean people are just so involved, not only--of a couple, both parents being employed and then all of the activities that their children have. They really are strapped for time to volunteer for things. And so the other thing that I feel like is needed in this community--and I felt like this a long time but we've just never been able to get it started--is a volunteer clearinghouse. We don't have that.

There was considerable discussion of how to engage a broader base of volunteers. On the one hand, interviewees said that there was no organization or place in town that acts as a clearinghouse for volunteers, and that this would be helpful. A database or website that advertised volunteer opportunities or that registered potential volunteers were mentioned as possible aids to organizations looking for volunteers and to volunteers looking for opportunities to give of their time. On the other hand, interviewees said that they are most successful in getting volunteers using more targeted approaches and focusing on people who know the organization and know what volunteering will entail:

So, I mean, most people are really willing except for--I should go back to say that it's people that participate, that have already volunteered, that know what you're doing, that are willing. If you ask a regular person on the street ... I guess that goes too with volunteers here. First, there's no organizing entity for a volunteer, like a volunteer connection or something like that, not even a

Web page to find volunteer jobs. So you always see that there's a lot of older people that would volunteer. They just don't know where to go, and they need somebody to ask them. But then the people that you ask to volunteer are the people that volunteer forever... But the volunteers we found were family members or there's--the high school English class makes their kids do community services. So we had a few of those kids that would come help. But it's hard to find volunteers. I mean, you can put something in the newspaper and say, "We'd love to have you volunteer." People aren't really inclined to call unless they know what we're doing. They want to be asked, I guess personally.

### ***9. Faith-based engagement***

In accordance with the survey findings, which indicated relatively high levels of membership in faith-based institutions, people thought that churches played an extremely prominent role in the life of the community and that it was important to be a member of a church. There was almost no disagreement on this point.

Churches play a big part in Abilene. Again, another place where people interact, even socially, in terms of special groups and evening dinners and things like that.

Another place people will gather a lot is just the churches because of weddings—well, not only just because of regular weekly activities, but weddings and funerals and that kind of thing.

There are a great number of churches, and there is also great diversity among the Christian denominations in the community. There are no significant Muslim or Jewish communities.

Some people mentioned that without belonging to a church as a member they found it difficult to be accepted as a community resident.

I mean, I grew up in a really small town and--I mean it was really small so it wasn't as complex, but it was the same kind of thing. It's all who you are, who you know, and what you church you belong to. Which, I was kind of surprised that it is so much like that here.

### ***10. Informal socializing and diversity of friendships***

The survey data showing average levels of informal socializing was generally in line with people's perceptions of what happens in Abilene. Abilene was routinely described as a family-oriented community. There are often multiple generations of families present and significant inter-generational interactions.

Although interviewees discussed numerous socializing opportunities among residents with families, they described Abilene as a much more difficult place, at least in terms of developing social ties, for single people or for couples without children. As they are elsewhere, children were described as a "social bridge" – a way of helping parents meet other adults in the community. Interviewees, particularly single people, described the bars and dance clubs as "awful" and as places where one would not want to go. One young person we interviewed said that she works two jobs because there is little else for her to do in town:

Q: What do you do here as a young person?

A: Yeah. And like me I only came back because my dad was here. And many times like if he weren't here--

Q: You'd leave?

A: Yeah. There's no--that's why I have two jobs. There's nothing else I can do. I mean, I guess it's my own fault for majoring in an arts and nonprofit type of sector. There's not a lot of options, and there's not a lot of things for young people to do, not a lot of--and none of these are a big problem. It's just--not a lot.

Q: So what do you do at night for social activity? Do you go out? No? Not really?

A: Not really. You know, I used to sometimes. They--and this is my personal thing. I can't stand--there's a few bars that are okay for like socializing, but they're smoky and no one wants to go in and be in that kind of environment. I work so much that I just always want to stay at home. And my kind of--socialize--I really don't have a lot of friends. It's horrible to say that. No. I've lived here for six years and I know people from work, but I don't...

The experience of young people who had grown up in Abilene, left for college, and moved back was described differently. It seemed that their experiences were very different from the experiences of young people who did not grow up in Abilene but who moved there as young adults:

A: Yeah. They're [the kids who come back to Abilene after college] in Lions and Rotary, and it's really kind of funny, because I mean they are involved in whatever their church is, whatever groups those are. And they form their own little social groups too.

Q: Do they?

A: That's what's funny. And I only know this from my daughter, because I used to do this, but now I'm in a different world. But they have these young couples, and they get together once a month or twice a month, and they play cards. They do things. I never thought ... You'd think young kids get together and go out and drink and party, and that's what they do. But they might do some of that too. Like last weekend, they all went to Harrington Lake and went fishing, which, I've never seen my daughter like that. But that is their social interaction. So they're finding ways to interact with kids of their own age, or young adults I should say.

Interviewees noted that many people drive to Kansas City, Wichita, Topeka, Salina, and Manhattan (all bigger cities) to see friends and to participate in activities not available in Abilene (e.g., chamber orchestra concerts, church events, shopping). This made it difficult to develop social ties for some or to organize activities in Abilene that would lead to greater social interactions:

A: I'll try to do something over here that I think is fun. Like we had that bluegrass concert and just asking people, "Are you going to come? Are you going to come?" "Oh, no. I am going to Salina to have dinner," or, "Oh, no, I'm going to--" stuff like that.

Q: And nobody came?

A: Well, we had a really good turnout. We got 400 people. All older; people in wheelchairs coming in. It was really nice. But there is, I think, a big push to do more things to kind of liven up the city atmosphere.

Q: Because people just routinely go to Salina?

A: Uh-huh. We try to--I'm always the youngest one at one of these kind of committees and groups. Everybody keeps harping me with, you know, \_\_\_\_\_. Let's just get \_\_\_\_\_ down for one day so people might think we're cool. And eventually even might be people that [INAUDIBLE] mindset of you can do something here rather than going.

The survey data on friendships showed Abilene residents had average levels of friendships with people of different classes and religions (the data on race was not particularly useful given the low number of non-Whites in Abilene). The data from the survey on friendships generated comment, though not specifically in relation to the numbers themselves. The discussion of friends surfaced most pointedly in interviews with people who were not from Abilene. Some people found it exceptionally hard to move to Abilene. They found people to be friendly but 'cliquish' and they reported that they did not get invited to social events. Some felt that even if they stayed in Abilene for many years they would still not feel part of the social life of the town or included.

A: They're friendly. They're cordial. But you don't get the phone call, "Oh, would you like to join us today?" or, you know, "We're going here," or, you know, that kind of stuff. It just doesn't happen. It's not just me either ... They know everything about each other. Their kids grew up together, you know, their mothers knew each other, and it's just kind of ... it's not like ... I guess there's a wall there, but ...

Q: Yeah? But you feel it?

A: You do. Sure. I mean, I think no matter how long you're here ... there's even one lady, she says, "I've been here 20 years and I feel like a newcomer still." So yeah. Because she didn't live here her whole life. She moved from somewhere else at some point in time and ...

Q: Did you anticipate that?

A: No, not at all. No. It was totally eye-opening.

Several women, relating similar experiences to one another at the recreation center, started a group called 'The Abilene Newcomers' Association,' that was envisioned as a mechanism that would make this process less painful for others.

Change in the tightness and impenetrability of longstanding social networks was perceptible to some, but this issue was still very salient to people, both younger and older:

A: Being a person and a couple that was not born here and we've lived here a long time, I feel that, even though Abilene as a whole is friendly, it is cliquish. ... And so I think now that the population is more diverse and whatever, but especially in the early parts when we moved here it was very hard to break into established social groups. And it's interesting because one of the big cliques, in our opinion, always was the school teachers. A lot of them still all run around together and do things together and whatever. It's hard to break into that.

Q: So in terms of fitting in what were the cliques? Is it people who've been here forever?

A: Right. And that's the other big clique is the people who are born and raised here. And if you're an outsider not born here, it's really hard to break into those cliques ... But it's not nearly as prevalent as it used to be. I mean, this is just my perception, but you always used to look at who were the homecoming queens for the high school and that type of thing and it used to--I mean we are not like back east where there's the old blueblood and all of that kind of stuff, but it sort of was that way. To be the homecoming queen it was not going to be somebody who moved here five years ago, it was going to be somebody who was born and raised here and their parents had a long family tradition here. But that's not true anymore.

Q: No. So when did that shift? Like, when your kids were in school, did they feel that?

A: I don't know that we ever said that to them or that they would've exactly identified that, but it's some of the--ourselves and our friends would say, "Hmm, this is interesting because it's really

hard to break into that if you've moved here. You have to be an extremely popular child to be able to succeed." But I would say it probably changed while our kids were still in school. Our kids graduated in '97 and 2001 from high school. So I would say in the '90s it probably started to shift.

In consequence, some newcomers to the town had difficulty describing their social relations as 'friends,' referring to them instead as acquaintances or qualifying the depth or character of their relations in some way. This is illustrated in the two excerpts, from different speakers, reproduced below:

There's another difference about Kansans that we've observed. And I love our friends deeply here but in \_\_\_ our friends there were--my analogy is if you were going to fall into the river and you were drowning, someone in \_\_\_, those friends, would jump in and rescue you or attempt to rescue you. In Kansas, the strange parallel is that they would look over the side, and say, "Oh, what a shame, they were such a sweet person," and walk away. It's like there's not the same sense of commitment to ...

I feel like we've created a new group. I've met people, but I ... how do I want to say this? You know, I have a thought that they're more acquaintances than friends ... Yeah. And even ...even in the PEO group and the Beta group, we're in these groups and a couple of us are new, so we kind of ... we have each other for support, but we're not invited to go off and do other things. So it's still like just acquaintances.

### **Assets and challenges**

Abilene is a small, stable community where many families have lived for several generations. The city works hard to meet the needs of the residents, and people find the quiet, safe community a great place to raise children.

We have good school systems. We have good churches. We have good services: fire, police. I think the city does a really great job serving the public. There's so many good things. I think that's why people stay.

We're not real transient. The kids will graduate high school, go to college. They'll go somewhere for five, seven years, and we're slowly seeing those kids come back.

The small size and stability of Abilene relates to the town's relatively high level of social capital. In general, the residents are engaged in their community, they have strong community trust, and they give a lot to the community through volunteer work and charitable giving.

A couple of important infrastructure factors help facilitate social capital: public gathering spaces and transportation. Public spaces allow for residents to get together and strengthen their social bonds. There are a number of public spaces and facilities that are described as vital to the life of Abilene. Foremost among these is the recreation center that was recently built. The construction of the recreation center was a highly controversial project that we describe in more detail below. In addition, the Eisenhower Center hosts speakers and programs; the city band plays in the park during the summer; the WPA-built swimming pool, though in disrepair, is well-used by children during the summer months; and the library sponsors programs and serves a broad cross-section of the community. School sporting events are widely attended, even by residents who do not have children in the school system.

Transportation is also important for both strengthening social capital by helping people meet with others and engage in community activities. In Abilene, the transportation service was originally developed to serve the elderly, who make up a significant portion of the town's population. Now the service is available to all residents who need transportation within the city limits. In addition, there is a project to

construct additional sidewalks so that newer parts of town will also become ‘walkable.’ Residents mentioned that because Abilene is such a safe place, children can walk to school or to the park.

Although Abilene enjoys a number of assets that enhance social capital, the town also faces some specific challenges. For example, one of the downsides of the strong bonds among the residents who have lived in Abilene for a long time is that it is difficult for newcomers to break into existing social groups. It is particularly difficult to join the groups of long-term residents who are of a higher economic social class. As the town grows, it will be important to develop bridges between long-term residents and newcomers.

In addition, the small size and stability of the town has resulted in little racial and ethnic diversity in the community. It is not clear how tolerant the residents are of those who are different. Some noted that the lack of exposure to different types of people is limiting. Furthermore, the town’s lack of experience with diverse communities will be a challenge as the population grows and diversifies. The infrastructure and services are not ready for either the increase in numbers in general or the specific needs of minority, immigrant populations.

Another critical challenge to enhancing social capital in Abilene is finding ways to engage young people. The town is very aged, and there are not enough white collar jobs or entertainment venues for young professionals. Young adults go to nearby towns for jobs and evening social events. The lack of good jobs for young adults is compounded by the relatively high cost of housing and the lack of apartments and ‘starter homes.

In addition, the youth are not fully engaged in community activities. We heard that there has recently been a rise in youth vandalism and that this may be driven by boredom and the lack of distractions for youth. Specific incidents we heard about had to do with theft from parked cars and the destruction of property.

Efforts have begun to increase the involvement of youth and young adults. For example, with the help of the Kansas Health Foundation, there have been efforts to increase the exchange across generations. Residents refer to this as “intentional intergenerational interaction.”

## Community Study 2: Garden City

### **Background**

The population of Garden City is roughly 32,000. The city is described as “independent” because of its location in the western corner of the state and its distance from other major population centers. The population is very young, with an average age of 28.7, and is transient. In fact, according to one of our interviewees, the transience of Garden City has a long history:

When I first got here, I’d looked at history before that, and one of the earliest newspapers was a 1905 newspaper that said, “Garden City is a transient community. It’s a place to get started. It’s a place to get experience, and then you leave” ... In 1905, and it’s never changed.

The economy is primarily agricultural-based (e.g., beef-packing, dairy). There are also a number of small businesses. A period of rapid economic growth and change began in the early 1980s when the International Beef Processing (or IBP) plant opened (the plant is now known as Tyson’s). From 1980 to 1990, Finney County was the fastest growing county in Kansas, and from 1990 to 2000, it was the second fastest growing county, behind only Johnson County. The loss of the ConAgra plant in 2000 to a fire had a major impact on the local economy, and the city’s growth was at least momentarily slowed.

The city is also ethnically diverse and has been, though not to the current extent, for many decades. Hispanic immigrants worked in the area harvesting sugar beets prior to the arrival of the beef-packing industry, feedlots, and dairy farms. The beef processing industry and the feedlots have drawn different immigrant streams to the region over time. The earliest workers in the beef industry were South Asian – primarily from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. This wave of immigration was followed by a second wave of Hispanic immigrants who have gradually taken their place on the factory floors. Most recently the city has seen an influx of Somali and Kenyan workers as well as continued immigration from Mexico and Central America. German Mennonites have also come to the city from Mexico in substantial numbers to work on the dairy farms. The city is roughly 60% minorities and 50% Hispanic. Over 55 different languages or dialects are spoken in the schools.

The residents are predominately low income, blue collar workers. There are large mobile home parks on both edges of the city that are estimated to house roughly ten percent of the city’s population, including many of the farm and factory workers. Many of the rest of the city’s neighborhoods are both ethnically and socio-economically diverse.

### **Domains of ‘social capital’**

#### ***1. Social trust***

According to the survey results, levels of social trust were lower in Garden City than in the state as a whole. Interviewees were not surprised by this and explained it with reference to the past, when crime rates were high, and to ‘shady’ business practices that many newcomers fall victim to, especially those who do not speak or read English well.

Between 1990 and 2000 Garden City experienced what one interviewee called a “crime wave.” The city was reportedly “in the top five in Kansas per capita for crime.” The crimes were largely property related crimes, but included theft, burglary, and damage to property. While residents claim that the city has become safer, the perception that a lot of crime occurs in Garden City has taken longer to dissipate, and this perception, according to people we interviewed, continues to be fostered by the media. One interviewee said that when the newspapers in Wichita cover stories about Garden City they “only talk

about our gangs and crime.” The curbing of crime since 2000 was attributed, in part, to actions taken by the police department. They reoriented their policing efforts to ensure that officers were more visible and made efforts to communicate better with the public. Unlike some of the other communities we studied, Garden City does not have a separate ‘community policing’ unit; however, they report trying to incorporate the principles of community policing in all of their activities. For instance, officers are encouraged to get to know the community by attending community events -- not just as a police officer but as a civilian. They also make presentations to local groups and clubs, run a citizen’s academy, and have a citizen’s advisory board with seats on the board for “a black, an Asian, a Hispanic, somebody from the religious community, somebody from social services, some body from the school, a homemaker, a businessman or businesswoman, a student.” People can sign up to be on the board (it is a volunteer position), but they have found it difficult to keep the board staffed. They have also reached out to the media for help in solving crime and for communicating (“we do a lot of PR stuff now”) with the public. The police have found that these initiatives have improved social trust.

Another important factor in the relatively low levels of social trust had to do with the ways that newcomers, and particularly immigrants who were not familiar with US law and who might not read or speak English, were victimized. This was discussed by multiple interviewees and appears to be a very important component of the findings on social trust. Interviewees provided examples of immigrants being taken advantage of by real estate agents, landlords, insurance agents, and lawyers: In the excerpt reproduced below, one of our interviewees discusses some immigrants’ experiences finding appropriate housing:

AI: ...because it’s very unfortunate, but a lot of...for example, on the Hispanic side, when they come in, they don’t know the language and they get taken advantage of quite often. And I would see that as a major reason for that [low levels of social trust]. For example, we’ve had people come in, and they’ve been purchasing property on a rent-to-own basis, and they don’t know much English, and they come in [to code enforcement], and they’re wanting to do something on their property. And they bring us ...they have to show proof of ownership and they bring in this contract and it’s scary some of the things that they’ve signed that people have taken advantage of the fact that they probably didn’t go to anyone else to ask. They just trusted them and they’ve gotten burned very badly.

Here is another example of ways in which immigrants were taken advantage of that was imagined to lead to a lack of social trust:

A: We’ve had situations because, I mean--you know, primarily I’m an insurance agent, and we’ve had situations where people have come over and they don’t--they’ll give people cash and not get a receipt. And then their insurance isn’t paid. We’ve had two agents that have been run out of town because of that. You know? Or things like where they’ll basically sell to someone else for one price and then they’ll sell it to their friend for a higher price. You know? But, no, it’s a very--it’s almost like it’s a “buyer beware” thing.

Q: Your insurance agents were run out of town because ...

A: Well, they were basically brought up on censure because they wouldn’t ... they would take cash payments.

Q: And they were never recorded anywhere?

A: And they were never recorded anywhere. And then the payment would never be made. Well, generally, Hispanic people don’t know that, well, they’ve got a cancellation notice, but they said, well I paid that. So they assumed it was done. So then they don’t get any cards.

Q: And then when they had a problem ...?

A: Right. So they don't even think about it. You know, people always think that you're going to get these cards and you watch your insurance, but most people can't tell you the insurance ...the times their insurance comes ...renews. They have no idea. I can't tell you. So don't even ask me. I don't know. You just expect to get the card in the mail. But you look at those types of businesses and a lot of Hispanic people are very distrusting.

A third example has to do with getting an FBI background check which is needed for employment:

Of course [in response to survey finding on social trust among Hispanics in particular]. Of course, because they're absolutely right. Right now, especially people who are of somewhat uncertain... citizenship status ...you would not believe the scams that are perpetuated, and often, by people of their same ethnicity, but often by others. For instance ...There's an attorney who will remain nameless, and I mean, he's a member of the bar, blah, blah, blah. And, of course, they can charge whatever fees they want. And he is telling clients that he will do their FBI ...we work with an immigration attorney, and it's SG out of Legal Aid of Western Missouri. And I think we pay her \$200 a month to supervise our cases. I mean, it's almost nothing. And we have a list of attorneys to whom we'll refer clients because they will be treated fairly. We cannot directly refer ...you, but we can say...“We would recommend that you choose an attorney off this list if you're going to need an attorney.” Okay. But this particular attorney ...our attorney recommends that we have our clients who are petitioning pay for their own FBI background check. Well, that check, if we do it, which we're doing it for our clients, they pay for it. It costs \$22. I mean, it's not expensive. Anybody can do it. Okay. But this attorney charges \$600 and is telling clients that it can only be done through an attorney. That's the type of thing. So I would personally say, “Gee, you can't be too careful.” I understand that absolutely.

## **2. *Inter-racial trust***

The survey findings that interracial trust is low in Garden City, particularly among the Hispanic population, were supported by the interviews. Garden City is very racially and ethnically mixed. In the 1980s there was a large influx of Asian immigrants (from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam) to work in the meat packing industry. The proportion of Asians has declined over time as Hispanic immigration has picked up. Recently Somalians and Kenyans have moved in, as have German Mennonites from Mexico. Most interviewees talked about the ways that Garden City tried to prepare for and welcome diversity, acknowledging that they had to accept changes to the city (in the form of beef packing plants and feedlots) and to their way of life (in the form of immigration) as they saw the small towns around them “dying.”

Interviewees mentioned police practices as providing possible evidence of racial profiling. For instance, police were said to target “Hispanic bars” more than “White bars,” though there was a sense that efforts had been made to change some practices, such as the location of speed traps, in response to complaints. The department acknowledged these problems, and the existence of these perceptions, but argued that they make a lot of arrests of Hispanic people because there are a lot of Hispanic people in Garden City. At the same time they reminded us of the diversity of the category ‘Hispanic’:

A: Well, we arrest a lot of Hispanic people. But there's a lot of Hispanic people that live here. So it's not like we can demonstrate that we're picking on them. But a lot of our crime is perpetrated by Hispanics. Most of our gangs are Hispanic gangs. There's a mixture. And then I think you have the old established Hispanic community and the continually arriving Hispanic community. And there's probably some ...

Q: ...tension between those groups?

A: Yeah. And it's not real tension, but it's kind of a mistrust, maybe. Does that make sense?

People said that Garden City was not a place where one could “publicly bash” others because of their race or ethnicity. For example, one interviewee said that if someone wrote a letter to the newspaper about “all of those...” there would be people who would “jump on you and jump on you quickly.” Yet, some interviewees said that immigration and immigrants were not welcomed by all and that “prejudice” is “still alive and well,” though it is generally expressed in less public ways. The excerpt reproduced below, for example, is taken from an account of fund-raising efforts by an organization that provides services to immigrants:

A: The other thing for us is that ...what do I want to say? Any time a community reaches a critical mass, there's generally some kind of a backlash. And we have chosen to keep our name what it always was, the \_\_\_\_\_. Our board has chosen that. I actually agree with them. I didn't always agree with them. I do now. But we still have people who say... “We will not give a dime to you because you're helping those blankety-blank Mexicans.” We had a call from a gentleman who said, “The only service an agency like yours should ever provide is to put them all on a bus and send them back to Mexico,” and I said, “Well ...”

Q: This was just an anonymous caller?

A: Oh. Well, he thought he was anonymous, but I have caller ID, and I found out who he was and called his pastor, who invited me to speak in her church the next month, so I did. We addressed all that, you know, but anyway ...so there are prejudices. Prejudice has not gone away. It is still very much alive and well. But we made the decision a long time ago to be who we were and not to try to be somebody else.

As in other communities where we worked, language continues to be a point of contention. Several interviewees mentioned clashes over language and the use of any language other than English. We also saw editorials in the local paper advocating not just for the primacy of English but for the use of English only. It is not clear to what extent the debate over language has become an acceptable stand-in for talking about race and ethnicity, but it is vigorously debated:

A: A lot of it is we try to go to them [new immigrants] as much as we can when we have public hearings. Right now most of everything that we do is in bilingual, Spanish and English, and 45 percent of our population is Hispanic, so we're trying to address it that way but, at the same time, there's original people in town who don't like that idea and don't think we should cater or make any concessions to them. So that's kind of what it's--but--

Q: They want everything English only?

A1: Yes, English only and...

Q: Is there a city policy about that or is there a ...?

A1: No, the city has been--you know, there for a while it was we had everything in Vietnamese and Cambodian and Laotian. We provided everything. And then, as the transition went, that kind of fell aside, because we didn't have that large a group anymore, and now we've refocused everything towards Hispanics and the Spanish-speaking.

Q: Was the objection to other languages the same when it was Laotian or ...?

A1: I think so. I think it's been pretty much the same.

While interviewees generally agreed about the importance of new immigrants learning English, noting that some jobs, including those at the feedlots, were not available to people who could not (for safety reasons), some also saw the benefits of raising their own children in a bilingual environment. In fact, some, including the dentist discussed below, seems to have sought this out for his children:

A: Well, you put me in the one [school] that has the most diversity in it because that's who my kids need to be growing up with. That's who they need to be communicating with when they're 18. And they're darn good schools because you have to be to manage that. And one of the other dentists that moved to town--and I did his tour when we were recruiting him. And his last son just graduated from college. So we run into each other all the time, and we still laugh about it because that was the question they asked. "So, really, I know you're not supposed to say this, but which neighborhood [are we?] supposed to live in so we don't ... so our kids don't go to that school [the ethnically diverse one]?" I said, "Well, I want my kid in that school."

Q: That's where you wanted your kid, yeah?

A: Yeah, yeah. If I had kids that age, that's where I'd want them, because you might think that's the worst thing that could possibly happen to them right now, but you won't. And ...so their kids are bilingual. But it's hard to see that. I mean, you were not used to that. You're not expecting that. It has a bad connotation, wrongly, I think. There's stereotypes in any culture. But Garden City does a lot of things right because we've had this first exposure to it. And if you look at the statistics we don't have enough kids. There's not going to be enough kids who look like us [White] around for all the jobs. And so what are they going to look like? And if we're not accepting of that now, then it's already starting to get crunched for--and that's nationwide; it's not just Garden City. What's it going to be like? We were looking at some four-year colleges and some Internet kinds of things. We went to Nebraska. And we were there for two or three days, and there were probably eight or nine of us. And we could not figure out what was making us so uncomfortable ... It was all white, all white, and didn't realize it until we'd gotten back. Now Nebraskans have come here to say, "What are you doing in the school districts," because they're just now starting to hit some of that. And they come here and go, "My god, I didn't hear a word of English spoken at Wal-mart."

Garden City demonstrates that 'immigrants' is too broad as a category and that people have different ideas about different groups of immigrants. One of the distinctions repeatedly invoked had to do with people who came in earlier "waves" of immigration (three distinct waves were identified) and those who are newly arriving or who came in the latest phase of immigration. People in the city see the members of these groups differently, and members of these groups see each other differently:

Even within the Spanish community, the Hispanic community, there are those who have been here since the sugar beet factory 100 years ago who may not--most of them do not speak Spanish. It wasn't allowed in the home because that point in time, they were immigrants, and by golly, you were going to learn ... Then there's the wave that came in when IBP opened, Tyson now, which is now 20-some years old. And now they are second generation here. Those were first, the scouters, then later, not anybody who could come, anybody who could get here. And they view the other two, the new immigrants, as upstarts and don't want anything to do with them, and they view the older group as ...not of them. So they don't, even within their own culture, agree on what's right and what's wrong. The people who work on the Mexican Fiesta don't like the people who work on the Cinco de Mayo. We were filming a commercial a few years ago, and we were down at the park. And this family with young children was--the kids were skipping across this bridge. It was just a gorgeous picture, and I was with someone who was of Spanish heritage. And he pointed and said, "Look at those damn Mexicans." And I just looked at him, and I said, "Where do you think you came from?" "Well that's different." And I said, "No, it's no different. It's a different year." But they don't, even within their own culture, agree anymore than I agree with somebody else who's white might. We have our own differences as well. It's probably not as obvious as the three waves ...that we saw. There was continuous movement, but we saw three very specific waves.

As people from earlier waves of immigration have assimilated, issues of class begin to take on added importance. Previously homogeneous categories (e.g., Hispanic, Mexican) have become much less so over time:

A: There's an old, and there's a new. Many of the old are middle class, which to some newcomers makes them not real Mexicans.

A: .... But, of course, it's a class thing more than a ... I mean, our staff, even, talks about it is skin color, is it social class or socio-economic class, and I would say, by and large, it's [mostly?] socio-economic class that matters, sure.

### ***3. Conventional politics***

The relatively low levels of participation in electoral politics identified in the survey findings were not a surprise to interviewees. In fact, interviewees were acutely aware of the lack of voter registration and participation even among registered voters, and they generally bemoaned it.

Some people were simply aware of the low levels of voter participation but could not explain them:

And I think voter participation is almost pathetic here. If you're running for commissioner, you can get elected with 1,300 votes. That's pretty bad out of 30,000 people ... And even among the registered voters, the turnout for voting is pathetic. I would say we probably get five to ten percent of the registered voters out at any one given election. It's just terrible. And I don't know why that is. You get a lot of grousing, but you don't get a lot of participation. You know?

But a number of reasons were offered by our interviewees. Some said that this could be explained by the structure of the economy in Garden City, which attracted industries that employ low-skill and low-income workers who have fixed and long work hours and little flexibility in their schedules:

And you know what? And that [low levels of voting] could be a socioeconomic thing too. And I guess getting back to your question about change, I see Garden City as becoming a really flat economic community. It's kind of stabilizing toward the poverty level income because of the type of workers and the type of industry that we're attracting. There's no ... high tech stuff coming in. And you're getting this gigantic ethanol plant out there, but that's probably going to employ 40 people, and half of those are going to be grunt workers.

Others, whose agencies were trying to think of ways to get people engaged in voting were concerned not just about the work hours, but about accessibility of the ballot box to people's places of employment given the long hours people worked. Another important issue was the availability of information in Spanish – not just voting ballots but also campaign materials. One interviewee (see below) noted that politicians tend to “write off” Hispanic voters and certain parts of town knowing that they will not vote – or that there is “not a bang for your buck.” The extended excerpt below is taken from a conversation with three people, each of whom is given a different initial:

M: I mean, I think some people just don't care. Maybe they can't get there because of the shift work again. You know? But I would guess they're not registered.

T: I think Internet voting would be hugely successful if you accept voting from unique ... E-mail addresses or something, because I think people communicate a lot that way, even the Hispanic population. But, unfortunately ...

D: They would get more vote if they had a voting booth out at ...

M: At Tyson?

T: Yeah, at the Tyson ...

D: ...the Tyson plant.

M: Yeah. I agree.

T: But see, again, no one's really educated, and most of the literature that comes out on voting is not bilingual. The ballot thing is bilingual, but no one really ... But I've worked a couple of campaigns with some people ...

M: And that's true. None of the other stuff is bilingual.

T: And if you look at when you go ... you look at the different precincts, and when you look at who you should go and visit, half of that web is predominately Hispanic. You don't ... Hispanic or low-income ... you don't go and visit those because there's no ... it's not a bang for your buck. You don't ...

Q: So, if you're working out of Tyson and you want to vote, what do you have to do? Do you have to get off work? Is it punch-clock time?

D: After 5:00. If you're on day shift...

M: It depends. It's 7:00 to 3:00.

D: They go at 4:00 and get off at 5:00.

M: It's 7:00 to 3:00 and then 3:00 to 11:00, I'm pretty sure. I know that's right because rush hour's 2:30.

D: Yeah, my neighbor's in the lab. He goes in at 4:00 in the morning and gets off at 5:00.

Q: P.M.?

M: He works ...

D: That's six days a week.

T: Yeah, see ...

M: You're kidding. Holy cow!

D: And when he gets home, he's just dragging. And I'm sure he ...

T: I know he doesn't vote.

Interviewees had the sense that it was mostly Whites who were participating in elections and in political discussions:

Well, but the Whites ... anytime we have an election and I will use commission elections, city commission because that's what's generates the most interest around here, it's mostly the Caucasian population that ... votes. And the editorials that are written in the newspapers are written by Whites who think we ought to throw the bums out or not.

Obviously citizenship status and whether people are eligible to register to vote or to vote is important to consider in Garden City. It was not clear from the survey findings how these issues were teased out, or if any screening questions were asked of respondents to determine their eligibility to vote:

A: Okay. I would have some thought on that. If you are not a citizen, you not only do not have the right to vote, but if you do, you may jeopardize your chance for citizenship. Okay. Now, I can't introduce you to F because she's on vacation. She has lived in the United States since she was two, maybe. She has a degree in psychology from a university in California. She just got her RN here. She's worked for us for about six years. She's not a citizen. Now she is a permanent resident alien. She can't vote.

Q: She cannot vote?

A: There's lots of people like that.

Q: Right, right. So that's ...

A: So there would be a large body of residents who are not eligible to vote and ... Despite what you hear about all these illegals voting ... we have not had any evidence of that. And we also ... and Dodge, especially ... do voter registration, and we all work with a project called Midwest Voter Registration Project. And of course, the aim of that is to get Hispanics who are citizens signed up for either party. [We are?] as Independents, but just get them registered to vote.

Q: So what do you think the effect is, if anything, of that, of having this whole ...

A: Well, I would say the effect, obviously, is that they're under-represented, but of course, they don't have the legal right to be represented. But, no, we have seen no evidence that if you're not eligible to vote ...

Another explanation provided to explain the relatively low levels of participation in electoral politics had to do with the transience of the community. As the interviewee describes in the excerpt below, some people come to Garden City for relatively short periods of time and they come with the intention of leaving:

A1: And, again, I think it is part of it. A lot of people who come here, they won't change their driver's license to get registered to vote.

Q: And where would they be from? Like, just wherever?

A1: Anywhere because, like the medical field, I bet you if you went and asked the doctors, "Can I see your driver's license?" it would be from their last state that they moved from, because they may not register here, because they don't anticipate staying here and so a lot of the people coming in, I think you can see that, and so that will explain, I think, the ... registered participation. But I think some of those would in a presidential election but, again, even our turnout, but, of course, voter turnout's pretty low across the US on average, but ...

Finally, other interviewees said that people "don't care," and that young voters in particular are apathetic.

Q: And did you vote in the last presidential elections [showing the interviewee the survey data]. So that's because...

A: They don't care.

Q: Really?

A: They don't care. Local issue, national issue ...

Q: They don't care?

A: ...special vote, don't care.

Q: Is that right?

A: Mm-hmm. We've been through this on two special issues in the last couple of ...well, local and city commission, county commission, school board. Forget presidential ones. I mean, that is even more of a turnoff because they're sick to death of it by the time it comes around. This is as high as it is because we do have elderly. Other than that...

Q: You can't get younger ...?

A: They just don't care.

We did hear about initiatives to get people registered to vote. These were not judged to be entirely successful, but they were thought to be important. For example, as part of Every Voice, an initiative sponsored by the Kansas Health Foundation, youth participate in a leadership program in which they learn that their "voice matters"; by the end of the summer they are also registered to vote:

A: But this [low voter turnout and low voter registration] doesn't come as a surprise to any of us who try to get ...people to vote.

Q: Okay. And you do that [voter registration] through the \_\_\_ too?

A: We do it, yes. We certainly do. We do issue campaigns, just information as well as just get out to vote. The Hispanic population has done a major push to try and get people registered to vote with not much success. Either they're not legal, or they're legal but not citizens, or they don't care. It's really sad. I mean, I really, literally have to ... which sounds terrible ... make people here go vote, who work here.

Q: You do?

A: "What do you mean you're not going to vote? I'll take you by the hand. I'll drive you. You're going to vote."

Q: Do people think it doesn't matter?

A: Mm-hmm. I have to say that we are making some difference in that. We have had, for years, a traditional leadership program. And with the Kansas Health Foundation's help, we have changed that to be a servant leadership-based program. And our program is called Every Voice because every voice matters, and that is the key message other than are we taking care of our community, are we taking care of our kids. I don't want to see a resume that has 55 things on it. I want to see one thing [on that?] you care enough to spend your time and money and passion on, and that's really what we push hard. You're not going to get to be the head of an organization, so how do you affect what happens in it? You're not going to probably get to be the head of the chairman of the board, so how do you facilitate from the seat to make sure that your voice is heard and anybody else who is like you is heard? Or if they're not at the table, how do you speak for them? And we really have made a difference. Our evaluation forms from the last eight years of that ...and people who are running for office because it does matter ...is encouraging. Has it reached the overall public yet? No. No.

#### **4. Activist politics**

Although the survey showed relatively low levels of petition signing and political meeting attendance in Garden City, it found that participation in demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or marches was higher in Garden City than in the nation and the state. Some were surprised by this because they viewed the residents as complainers, but not action takers. They surmised that the survey results were due to several key events that had taken place in Garden City in the past year.

There was a rally related to immigration in a downtown park. The police had been prepared for violence, but said that they had not needed to intervene and that the demonstration had been “peaceful”:

Well, about a year ago--it would be a year ago in May; we had a big Hispanic rally in Steven’s Park. There was kind of a national Hispanic awareness thing going on at that time. We were wondering if it would happen again this year and it didn’t. It was just like, “Eh, we did it. We’re done.” So there were a lot of folks that participated in that. ... And to me that’s pretty indicative of how it goes here. I mean they like to shout and yell and grouse their concerns, but when it comes down to voting and actually participating, they don’t. ... It was totally peaceful. And when it was over, everybody went home happy. You know? And they weren’t even unhappy when they were-- they just kind of walked around the park and they had some speeches and talked about immigration reform and ...and that was it.

There had also been a vote to unionize the beef-packing plant that had not succeeded and that was the second or third attempt at unionization of the plant:

A1: Okay. Why that’s probably higher, last year they had the union votes out at the beef-packing plants, so they had some protests about that and also the immigration policy. There was a couple of protests that were held and organized in the downtown area. And so that would probably explain why that’s higher last year than normal.

Q: So what happened at the beef-packing plant?

A1: There’s a group that’s been wanting to unionize the beef packing plant. This is the second or third time, I think, they tried to get a union started, and went to vote, and failed again. But that’s been a big issue that they’ve been facing out there.

There was also a demonstration, which apparently drew people from three states and resulted in the closing of the beef-packing plant because of absent workers, about the state legislature’s decision to take up a bill that would make English the primary language in Kansas:

T: The immigration law, and also the language Kansans speak and the language had a huge ...it withdrew from three cities, down in our Steven’s Park(?).

Q: What was that one?

T: It was about ...well, they’re going to do the language. You know, Kansas being that ... and that’s part of it and also the immigration laws.

Q: Saying that English was the only language, or the first language?

T: No, was the primary language, yeah.

M: That does not surprise me at all, because Tyson basically had to close their doors because nobody was at work.

Q: Is that right?

M: Yes.

Q: Because of that, wanting to go to that?

M: Yes.

Q: So people do feel strongly about that?

T: Well, but ...yeah.

M: Immigration laws, anyway, because it directly affected them.

T: And some other things would, too, but I don't know how that ...but, see, that's passed by word of mouth. It wasn't by any way ...and the Spanish radio. Spanish radio is very popular nowadays. It can really mobilize a lot of people. Well, the Spanish TV too.

### ***5. Civic leadership***

The survey findings showed a low level of participation in civic leadership in Garden City. Interviewees did not challenge this finding; instead, interviewees discussed civic leadership mostly in the context of the many, and quite dramatic, changes that Garden City has navigated since the 1970s. For example, people in positions of responsibility in city government talked at some length about how they managed to convince the community that having new industry, such as beef-packing plants, would be a good thing for them even though it would bring significant change. They also talked about how they planned for this change – by studying other communities that had experienced rapid growth around a particular industry and by hiring an external consulting firm to come in and help them assess what needed to be done in terms of preparing the infrastructure that would be needed:

Q: So the big decisions--and if you were around and were part of this--the big decisions that were happening in the late '70s, '80s, when you were talking about moving forward, was that sort of allowing certain industries in, encouraging certain industries in, or were there other big decisions that the community was facing?

A-1: Well, precipitated by IBP and Sunflower, we knew the impact of the community would be significant. And we knew that we would have a tremendous amount of new people in the community. A lot of them would be immigrants. There may be issues with housing and infrastructure, including schools and social services.

Q: So none of that was here before?

A-1: Not on that kind of a scale, no. None of that was here. And so there were some pretty tremendous impacts there. But yeah, we just tried to identify them, work on them. The city, for instance, undertook infrastructure. The schools undertook their facilities. The hospital looked at their facilities. A joint organization of social service providers got together and decided that duplication was not a good thing and what could they do as a group. So we tried to identify all of those kinds of working relationships, and it proved to be good. I mean, we had negative impact, probably for two or three years. Not enough housing, high cost of housing, transportation issues, traffic and that kind of thing. Didn't really experience too much in the way of water and sewer problems, but it took us a few years to catch up and then get ahead of it a little bit. But we did that because we knew it was going to happen.

Q: So I'm wondering, did you have any formal structures? Like when you say "We were all talking together," was it just individuals saying "We need to think about this"?

A-1: No, actually we hired Bechtel Corporation to come in and--we were aware of problems that Rawlins, Wyoming and other Wyoming towns had had in the middle '70s with coal boom up there with regard, particularly, to infrastructure and pressure on schools and law enforcement and the crime element and all that kind of thing. And we said, "Well, we don't want that." So we hired Bechtel to come in and do an impact analysis. So we had a document that we could refer to, and we had public meetings, and we got the word out to everybody, and we had feedback from the community. And then we developed a plan of how to address the impacts. So we did use Bechtel to do that.

It was more difficult for city leaders to talk about how they prepared the community for change in less material ways. On the one hand, they described multiple efforts to convince long-time residents of Garden City that the changes would be for the better. They also described welcoming people and trying to make them feel at home by celebrating their festivals, making efforts to recruit a diverse city workforce, encouraging business initiatives and, most recently, instituting a public transportation system that began running while we were conducting these interviews. While city officials acknowledge that there were "bumpy" times, particularly in the first few years after the first beef-packing plant opened, they think that most residents, particularly those that run businesses, would agree that the changes have been positive and were well managed:

A-1: Migrant workers were brought in, and Garden City probably had ...15 to 20 percent of its population was Hispanic anyway. It doubled with IBP coming in. So there was an impact there, but Hispanic people in the community, that was nothing new. There is a big difference, though, between those that were here since the early 1900s and those that are brand new. And many of our Hispanic people are not from Mexico; they're from Honduras or Guatemala or all kinds of places with a little bit different cultures. And that's certainly true of the Asians. The Asians were brand new to the community in any numbers. And all of a sudden we had 2,500 Asian people in the community from vastly different cultures. We had Vietnamese and Thai and Laotian and you name it. And they were very different. We had Hmongs, Mongs--what are they?

Q: Hmong?

A-2: Win?

A-1: No, the Hmong people. Yeah, the mountain people. I mean, we just had all kinds of different languages and dialects there. And that was new to the community. But we told the community this was going to happen. The leadership in the community embraced it. The schools embraced it. So the transition was not as bumpy as we would have expected. It wasn't real smooth. \_\_\_ will tell you that we had our ups and downs but, for the most part, we knew it was going to happen. We knew there would be issues, but we let everybody know that, and we focused on our resources to make it work.

Q: So a lot of your ability to do that was actually talking about it with people?

A-1: Uh-huh, yeah.

Q: Like how do you prepare people for that? What do you say? What do you do?

A-1: Well, with IBP we said, "Well, we have the opportunity to get the world's largest beef-packing plant here. It's going to employ 2,500 people to start with, but a lot of these people are going to be new to the community, and they're going to be from other countries, and they may not speak English." And we were honest with them up front. And a lot of people were very concerned about traffic issues and crime and communication and poverty and all of those kinds of things. But, as I say, the leadership really embraced it and said, "We're going to do this." And so people went along. And they did. But there was a lot of talk. I mean, there was a lot of talk.

Q: There was?

A-1: But to Garden City's credit, the leadership was pretty uniform and committed to it. And that's one of those differences that we talked about at first that really does kind of make Garden City different than most places.

Q: Different? Right. So it was the economic benefit that it would bring the community that allowed people to sort of get behind it and say, "This is a good thing"?

A-1: Yeah, that's right. And it's proved to be that way, although if you walk down the street and ask ten people you might get two people who will say, "Yeah, but you know, they could close that thing tomorrow and we'd be really hurting," or "I wish it were the way it was." You might get that. Yeah, you might. But if they operate a business or work for a business, I think everybody realizes that they benefit from having that kind of employment--the numbers and the payroll and the taxes and all of that that goes along with it of having that industry in the community.

One of the legacies from these efforts, in the minds of city leaders, is their ability to work together effectively.

And now, that's the other thing that probably strikes me in Garden City as being different from other communities, is that we expect to work together on issues. And the entities that work together are the city, the county, the school district, the college, and then some big privates, like the hospital and some industry. But we do. I mean, we just meet together and work out these kinds of things as a group rather than fighting the issue and our turf battles. We try not to have turf battles.

There are still issues that require concerted attention by city leaders. For example, on a community-wide scale the amount of turnover in the population creates problems for service delivery, whether this is in the school system, social services, or health care. The Tyson's plant has managed to cut annual turnover from 70 percent to about 30 percent, but this still represents a significant proportion of the population and puts a tremendous burden on city systems.

There is also a problem in getting people to take leadership positions in the community. For example, multiple interviewees mentioned difficulties in keeping boards, including the city's Cultural Relations Board and the school system's parent/teacher program, staffed:

A1: We have not found anyone yet that will step up to that. There's a few people. The city has a Cultural Relations Board where we try to keep people on that board but, even now, we're going through somewhat of a transition as far as keeping the cultural diversity on the board, because there's just that lack of participation across the board for different things.

## ***6. Organizational involvement***

According to the survey, involvement in community associations and organizations is relatively low in Garden City. The transience of the community, the residents' mass exodus to other cities on the weekends, and the relatively young age of residents have a dampening effect on associational involvement, giving, and volunteering. One interviewee provides an example of the lack of involvement at schools:

A1: Parents are not involved hardly at all. Even with my kids in school, there's no participation, as far as the parent/teacher program. I mean ... They have less than six people show up at a meeting and half of them are teachers and the principal.

Q: And do you go?

A1: Yeah. We go and we may be the only ones there. And I don't know if they quit going, because no one else is and then you get stuck with running all of the volunteer things, but there's just very much a lack of participation in that. And so ... which is opposite from coming from Missouri. You were lucky to get on, if you wanted to be on the PTA, the board, you'd have to be there a long time before you'd make it to get on there, because there's too many people who want that position who are participating. They average 30, 40 people, and 10 percent usually, and they don't even get 2 percent of all of the parents coming and participating in activities, so it's unique in that situation.

Another interviewee comments on how the young age of the residents affects involvement:

The thing that really hurts us with that [getting involved] is that we lose a lot of experience, obviously. But the age where people really get involved in their community and really give to their community is when they leave. So when it comes to volunteerism, when it comes to giving, when it comes to philanthropy, when it comes to ... that middle-age group that finally is on their feet and ready to give back, it doesn't exist here. Middle management doesn't exist here.

Some people said that even though people might stay for a relatively long time in Garden City, they develop an outlook that suggests they won't be there for long:

A1: It is, especially when it has to do with the future of their community, but there is a lot of people, even those long-term Kansans here, there's the mentality that, "I'm not going to be here for very long and so I'll go on." And a lot of those people are employed with the meat-packing industry or with the electric power plant out there in that area. Some of them have been here since the plant was constructed, yet they still have ... It's kind of a disconnect from the community, as far as some of that goes is that it's not ... "I'm not going to be here for another 20 years, so why would I participate in something that's going to cover the next ten?"

Q: And that's what people will say?

A1: Yeah, that's what they say.

Q: I'm not going to be here.

A1: "I'm just not interested" and "How does it apply to me?" They don't feel there's application to them when there is, and it's hard to get them to understand how that will impact them. But that's somewhat what we run into with it. It's just getting that participation, whether we go to them at their homes in the garage, in the park, wherever we go, we just ... participation is very, very little.

Although our sample was comprised mostly of people in leadership positions, we did interview some people who were not, and who expressed hesitancy to join organizations where the membership was comprised mostly of members of a different race or ethnicity ("American people" in the example given below). In the instance we describe here, the interviewee explains his objection to joining a predominantly White organizations in relation to a "bad experience" in applying for a home loan. Although the interviewee was in the country legally, he was treated as though he were not:

A: Well, I don't know. I don't feel comfortable with that club, because they only have American people. And I don't have any problem, but I never have a bad experience, everything. Just one time when I went to apply for my first loan on my home, I have a bad experience.

Q: Really? What happened?

A: Yeah, they made me feel bad, because I'm from ...Hispanic. The lady she worked in the bank that what she told me, "You coming here, and you \_\_\_\_." And I'd say, "What do you mean? You know \_\_\_\_ service, right? You say "no," so I don't have answer for you." Makes sense. They checked my Social Security, checked my credit for everything. \_\_\_\_ if I come in, like, illegal.

The interviewee continues:

A: Well, sometimes I'm going ...like Chamber breakfast or anything, and they attend like 90 percent or 99 percent like Anglo White people. And I don't know. I don't feel very comfortable, because they got too many people.

Q: You don't?

A: No, because I don't have no Hispanic guys over there. This is for Americans, say, "Oh, my gosh." Well, have no problem with those guys.

Q: So you like more mixed company?

A: Well, I don't know. That's a good question. On this job, everybody I like. I work with these guys. Just very friendly with me their way. Good co-workers. The main manager, he's a tremendous manager. He's very nice here. I don't care if I am Mexican, he's American. People have the same rights and everything. I don't know. I don't feel like 100 percent comfortable. For 100 percent I can't speak English very well 100 percent. I'm just starting English.

In addition, several of the people we interviewed said that residents often leave town on weekends, driving to rodeos in the small towns in the area or to larger cities to go shopping for things that are not available in Garden City. At the same time residents of smaller towns in the county come in to Garden City on the weekends to go shopping. This form of movement, this turnover on the weekends, also makes it difficult for people to participate in associations, clubs, or other groups.

## ***7. Giving***

Although the survey found average levels of giving in Garden City, the interviews suggested giving was fairly strong. Interestingly, the stabilization of the local economy after two decades of rapid growth did not seem to everyone to have had a dampening effect on charitable giving. In fact, the community foundation reported that giving was up, and that they had been particularly successful in attracting funds with the help of matching funds from KHF. As in some of the other communities, donations were easiest to acquire for children's activities and programming, and less easy to acquire for things like the arts and cultural activities:

M: I don't know. I think timing is everything. Lucky for me, because I sure can't take credit for it. But we have just grown by leaps and bounds over the last two years. We've had couple large requests come in.

Q: From individuals?

M: Uh-huh. Uh-huh.

T: Well, actually, in the last two years, it's been over five million.

M: Yeah.

T: So if you think in the last two years, we've doubled in size. So it's been really--

Organizations that received donations or that relied principally on donations remarked that local giving declined following dramatic events (e.g., the tornado that hit Greensburg); at these times people give their donations to outside relief efforts. They also noted that the trends in giving and that the bulk of their support comes from the aging communities around Garden City. As residents age, they often say that they made their money in western Kansas and want their money to stay in western Kansas.

## **8. Volunteering**

Volunteering in Garden City was slightly higher than the national average and lower than the state average, according to the survey. Comments made above (see section on Associational Involvement) about transience, the relative youth of the population, and long work hours apply as well to volunteering. There was some sense, however, in which the transience in Garden City distinguished it even from neighboring towns in the ability to encourage volunteerism:

A: It's huge. It's huge. Even compared to Dodge City, and even compared to Great Bend, because we alternate every other year with a huge tradeshow, the 3I Show. The three I's stand for industry, irrigation, and implement. So it's a huge tradeshow. People come from across the United States to exhibit. There's over 700 exhibitors on five miles of asphalt. Parking in two huge buildings, 90,000-square-foot buildings.

Q: So you erect them just for this thing?

A: The buildings are there, and the parking lot is there. And so every other year, that show comes in. We do it all with volunteers.

Q: You do?

A: So it takes about 250 to 300 volunteers to do everything, to basically build another city down there. I mean, we have an office. We have port-a-potties. We have trash pickup. We have ...refreshments. We have concessions. We have ...you know, you name it; we've got it.

Q: And people do it. You get that many volunteers?

A: And we get that. We couldn't do it every year. We know we couldn't do it every year. But our chairmen for our event, for the 3I Show, are hardly ever the same people every two years. Great Bend, a much older community, a much more stable community, and much less diverse community, has the same chairman that they've had for 20 years. And, in fact, there, you have to work at least seven shows ... which is 14 years before you can chair it. We're begging for somebody to chair this stinking thing. You know, it's just a difference in people moving around.

As in other communities, people in Garden City noted that there are a small number of people who serve or volunteer as members of boards or in other capacities:

A: The same people who serve on United Way's board are on our board or are on the school board or are on any number of foundation boards, any number of not-for-profit association boards. It's the same people. It's the 80/20 rule, and 20 percent of the people do 80 percent of the ...volunteer work and real work in a community, and there's lots and lots of choices for them.

Q: Mm-hmm. So what do you think makes it so difficult to find volunteers? Is it specific to Garden City? Or do you think that's just ...

A: From what we hear from our counterparts across the United States and chambers, it gets more and more difficult all the time. The "what's in it for them" is gone. You don't have that loyalty to

your community any more that says, “Boy, I’ve got to get in there and do my part. I owe it to the rest of this community.” It’s not there. And the “what’s in it for me” is different for you than it would be for somebody sitting next to you. So our organization has to try and figure out how many “you” want this and how many of “you” want that, which is very difficult to do... And every other organization is finding the same thing. Even if you want to say, “We do stuff for kids.” Well, what does that mean? Does it mean you do daycare or health care or after-school programs or recreation, and is it traditional recreation? Are we going to do some basket weaving? Is it dance? Is it ...so, I mean, even kids are so varied that you’re going to split your market, who’s willing to spend their time and energy and passion.

## ***9. Faith-based engagement***

Some interviewees were initially surprised by the relatively low levels of participation in faith-based organizations registered in the survey for Garden City, but their comments then settled on the wording of the survey questions, and particularly on the focus on “membership” instead of “attendance.” In Garden City, many people attend church but are not members. This, to them, went a long way toward explaining the somewhat lower levels of faith-based engagement in Garden City, as did, again, the transience of the population.

Most of the people we interviewed mentioned the diversity in religions and religious practice in the city. There are many churches in Garden City, particularly Catholic, Baptist, and Methodist churches, but there is also, for instance, a Buddhist temple.

There’s a lot of churches. And there’s English-based churches, and there’s Spanish-based churches, and there’s a Buddhist temple, and there’s a Mormon church, and there’s a little bit of everything here. It makes me wonder about your sample, the calling sample and who you got.

Comments on the use of the term “membership” included pointing out that some local churches don’t have members or offer membership “like old churches used to”:

That makes a whole lot of sense [the idea that the survey statistic might be low because the survey asked about membership] to me for a couple of reasons. Many churches don’t have members. I mean, you go, or you don’t go, but they don’t have a ...a membership like old churches used to. The church has changed too. And being a member of a church is certainly different than having an affiliation with ... I don’t think we’re any less religious. In fact, I would say that those who are religious at all are probably stronger. And so I don’t know if it’s the question or if it’s the ...I don’t know.

However, the comments also suggested that membership and attendance might be tapping into different domains. Here, for example, interviewees discussed the character of these differences, noting that even if non-members still get church mailings, they are not eligible to participate in decision-making or to vote:

M: Actually, I’m not really surprised by that.

Q: You’re not?

T: Now what are you saying?

M: Here’s the national figure of 62.6 people.

Q: Percent of people.

M: Okay, 62 percent of people were a member of a church, a synagogue, or a religious or spiritual community. Kansas is higher, but Garden City is lower. And that doesn’t surprise me about

Garden City.

T: Well, a lot of people I've met ...but see when you say this word here, "member" ...

Q: Member. They'll say no?

T: ... because our church, we have a church of over 1,200, but half of them aren't members. I mean, I go to a church of 1,200. And then ...see, a lot of people are not English speaking, you know, will not say they're members of a church.

D: I didn't realize that.

T: So, but I don't ...I mean, I think this is probably because I don't think a lot of people considers ...I think this word, "member," is ...

M: I'm not surprised by that a whole lot because, if we'll go to an early service, and then you go out and run around ...

T: See, a member ...I mean, if you ...I think if you would change it to say, "Have you attended? You know what I'm saying? And you could do it on that basis. You'd be ...I think that would maybe change a bit. And I'd think you see it more in line. But I think "attended" is a little bit different. You know?

Q: Okay. When you say you're a member of a church, you officially sign up, or ...?

T: Yup. Yeah.

Q: You do? Okay.

T: A membership is a lot different than just attendance.

M: You get the church bulletin. You get the mailings. You get the calendar. You get the ...

T: Well, you get those, anyway, but a membership means you're on the roll and you can actually vote. But, see, a lot of people are not.

Again, the movement of people on the weekends was provided as an explanation for the relatively low levels of faith-based engagement, at least in the form of church membership:

A1: Yeah. Yeah. I would say, you know, that's the one thing that we're pretty diversified, as far as our religious groups. I mean, we have a Buddhist Temple ...inside the city, but as far as participation, one thing that unlike most communities, Garden City, because of the influx of leaving on weekends, you see that there's a ...for example, just in the youth activities, most communities' kids play T-ball on Saturday mornings and they play all of their games on the weekends. Here it's different. They play all of their games during the week and they don't have any games or activities on the weekends.

Q: Because the assumption is no one's going to be around?

A1: No one's going to be around and so that could explain why there's not very many large memberships in the groups. That's what I would say is that that would--it is definitely the reason for the lower numbers, because everything's oriented to the week. They start at 6:00 or 5:30 with kids' activities and they go until 9:30, 10:00 at night. Nothing on the weekends though. Most people travel out and even a lot of the youth here are on traveling teams, which they travel on the weekends to go play at different places, not necessarily here in town. Occasionally they will through the rotation of it, but ...

## ***10. Informal socializing and diversity of friendships***

The survey found low levels of informal socializing and low diversity of friendships in Garden City. Interviewees offered explanations. In general, interviewees commented that although the city offers a number of entertainment venues, including movie theatres, sporting arenas, clubs, and restaurants, most people go to Dodge or other cities for entertainment. “Dodge is known for fun while Garden City is known for business.” On the other hand, it was noted that the Hispanic community has very strong social ties and engages in a number of informal gatherings and celebrations.

Coffee breaks or morning coffee was one form that informal social life took in Garden City that seemed to be particularly important to some people in the community. Interviewees described multiple groups that would meet for morning coffee at McDonalds, Daylite Donuts, Wheatlands, or Traditions. Most, but not all, of these coffee groups were sex-segregated, and they were described as having their own “culture” or “personality.” For instance, one group is attended by the “Tall People” – or people who have been in the community for a long time. There are also ethnically mixed groups. Particularly for retired and older people these groups were described as serving the function of “family” and were an important part of daily life:

M: Farmers come and have a cup of coffee before they go to work.

T: Oh, they love it. I mean a lot of it’s just the fellowship and \_\_\_\_\_.

M: It’s just—yeah, camaraderie.

T: They enjoy talking with each other and--

Q: So it’s these fixed groups of people that go to have coffee every morning?

T: Yeah, I don’t know how they kind of mold in and out, don’t they? People come in and come out.

D: Yeah, they kind of weed each other out.

T: Yeah. Yeah.

D: You don’t fit in over here. You move over there. ...

M: It’s not an invitation thing; it’s just you know your buddies are going, so you show up.

T: Oh, they love it. Oh yeah. But they expect you to be there. If you’re not there, they’ll ask you--

M: “Where have you been?”

T: --“Where have you been? What’s been happening?”

Interestingly, through all of the talk about transience, social ties were identified as one of the main things that kept people in Garden City:

What haven’t we tried [to get people to stay in GC]? There have been so many different surveys about why people move and what they move for, and why they stay is just as important. And what makes them stay is either family or that they’ve established such close friendships with people that they just don’t even think about moving because the opportunities are always going to be there. And I can’t blame them. Water and trees are good things, and we just don’t have

enough of them here. Mountains are wonderful things. Big cities, for some people, are a real draw. We do see young people leaving, getting schooling, starting their careers other places and then specialists from their professional standpoint and coming home to open an optometry place, a dental place. Being a physician here at home as opposed to ...we see some of that. But we need to be real honest about where we live and what it offers people, which some people want and some people don't. We can't make people stay where they don't want to stay.

Interviewees who had grown up in Garden City and moved away before coming back talked about the cost of living, but also about the quality of social relations, including "the friendliness of people, the comradeship" as making a difference and drawing them back:

T: It depended. I mean a lot of them--I mean, you left and then didn't come back. But a lot of people would go and come--that's what I actually did. I left and came back. The central part or--you know, in United States and then Kansas in general, the overall--like M said, the cost of living, the friendliness of people, the comradeship. You know, I lived in \_\_\_\_ for two and a half years. And you know, it's weird. I had a lot of friends at work, but I would never have called them, even in a crisis.

Q: You wouldn't have?

T: No. Of course ...no. But if I went and acted like they knew me. But I mean, they were very friendly at work and we did things socially. I mean, rarely. You know, and as far as friends, and it was ...you know, I usually can make friends pretty easily. But out there you don't really have that ...they don't want you to really stay there in \_\_\_\_\_. I wasn't very impressed with the state. I mean, it was a beautiful place to be or to visit but, as far as their friendliness, it wasn't there. ...They're kind of all standoffish. I mean, they're very ...I mean, active or like, you know, where there are causes and all those kinds of stuff, you know driven that way. You know, I mean they had marches and ...yeah, activists. They had marches every week. ... Well, you know, it was fun to be a part of. You know, and I thought, you know, but it's just I do. It seems like everything is ...you know. The activism and, I mean, they don't really again. I mean, I remember one time I couldn't get my car started. And I was just trying to borrow a pair of jumper cables. I couldn't get anybody to answer the door. And I mean I didn't live in a total scummy neighborhood. You know, but I mean, it wasn't the greatest either, but no one ...you didn't ever get people to come to doors. You couldn't get them to answer the door. And I went up two and three blocks, and never could find [CROSSTALK]

Q: And what would happen here if you did that?

T: Oh, my gosh. They would come over and jumpstart your car.

M: Oh, they'd ...yeah. It'd be no big deal. As a matter of fact, I had to have... the bank president had jumper cables in the back of his car because I could get start kicked. He came over and did it. He thought nothing of it.

Social ties were talked about as developing out of the small moments of everyday life – things like talking over coffee or asking a colleague to help with a dead battery – and were not structured around formal activities (like the protesting or 'activism' that might have been a source of camaraderie in the other state that our interviewee was describing above) or interests:

A: We've got walking trails. We've got the pool with--you know, the fun stuff in it. We've got the zoo, which is a phenomenal facility. We do have concerts in the summertime, Friday night, Saturday night, Sunday night. Friday night is the municipal band. Saturday night is ...I don't know which one that ...and Sunday night is just free form, whoever shows up ...

Q: Whoever shows up?

A: Whoever shows up.

Q: And people come out for those things?

A: Yeah. They bring their lawn chairs, and they come and they sit. And so that may not be a cultural event to some, but it is to others. But we do have plays that the community does that are just absolutely first class. We have traveling artists who come through. Now, are they well attended? Nah, they're not.

### **Assets and challenges**

The interviews highlighted Garden City's role as home to innovators and risk takers. It has welcomed change and industries that others have been hesitant to accept. The leadership has been progressive and visionary, facilitating the city's ability to navigate major changes in the 1980s and 1990s as well as today. The city has shown remarkable success in fostering collaboration and coordination among organizations and city offices. In addition, it has embraced diversity and adapted to change relatively adeptly. This characteristic will be an important asset as the future brings additional change and immigration.

The challenges facing Garden City include, in general, the slowing of growth since 2000 and, specifically, the loss of the ConAgra plant. The lack of mid-level jobs results in a population that is young, relatively poor, and working long hours. It also leads to constant turnover, which hinders the residents' ability to get engaged in the community and consider it a long-term home. This negatively affects social ties, volunteerism, association involvement, leadership development, and political involvement. It also affects the ability of existing organizations to attend to some of these issues, since they are fully occupied providing basic services to successive waves of newcomers. Thus the transience of a large segment of the population works against the development of social capital in multiple, different ways.

Garden City will have to balance its role of providing a home to industries looking for young, low-skilled labor with its need to grow an older, more stable and professional group of residents. Finally, although the city has a long history of welcoming and supporting immigrant populations, there remains a low level of tension around the issue of immigration, and this will need to be addressed as the city continues to diversify.

## Community Study 3: Junction City

### **Background**

Junction City is defined in many ways by its proximity to Fort Riley. The population of the town, which is now estimated at around 20,000 and is expected to climb to over 30,000 with the return of the First Battalion (“The Big Red One”) and troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. Junction City is home to many active and retired military people. Like many military communities, it is extremely diverse and prides itself on its diversity. Secondly, it defines itself in relationship to Manhattan. As opposed to Manhattan, which is home to the University (Kansas State) and many army officers, Junction City is where enlisted persons tend to settle. The rivalry between the two towns is intense. Residents of Junction City talked about an “image” and a “reputation” that the town is trying to move past. They refer to the past when prostitution was fairly entrenched along Ninth Street, particularly around military pay days. They are insulted by continued references to Junction City as “Junk Town.”

The rapid growth in Junction City is in response to military needs. Housing is in short supply, and home and land prices have escalated. Some developers report that prices in Junction City are at the moment on par with costs in Denver. The school system is widely thought to be an excellent one. There are some tensions between residents, particularly business owners and city government, about just how quickly the city should grow in response to military needs. Part of this worry has to do with proposed shopping centers and developments that would draw people away from the historic downtown and the small businesses that are there. Others are worried about special tax assessments and city investments in water, roads, sewer, and other infrastructure.

The town prides itself on its patriotism. The largest celebration of the year is Sundown Salute, which is held on the 4<sup>th</sup> of July. The city invests heavily in this event, and it is one of the events that brings the military and the city together. City officials work hard to bring the military into Junction City on a regular basis for events and unlike many military towns has a very good relationship with the base. The city has hired a liaison (a Military Affairs Officer) to improve communications with the base and to be responsive to their needs.

Although there is some industry around Junction City, including a meat processing plant, everything is overshadowed by the military base which completely defines the town.

### **Domains of ‘social capital’**

#### ***1. Social trust***

Overall, Junction City has high levels of social trust. The levels of social trust for whites were in line with state and national averages, but they were much higher than state or national averages for minority respondents. Every domain of social capital in Junction City was linked back to the town’s association with the military, which embraces diversity and collaboration. This finding was attributed by most respondents to the number of retired military that have settled in Junction City:

Yeah. I think it may be because we have a large retirement community, and the influence of the military, and just people with their heart in the right place tend to be trusting.

#### ***2. Inter-racial trust***

More than one person talked about how surprised they or their children were upon leaving Junction City, or some other military community, and encountering race relations in the “civilian world.” Inter-racial

trust in Junction City was thought to be much higher than elsewhere in the state and the country because of the ethos of the military:

A: I think it's, again, the influence of the military. In the military community, race has just been set aside.

Q: Yeah. So how have they managed to do that in a way that other people haven't?

A: Force them. You know, you will live next to each other, you will work next to each other. And people found out they could do it and it didn't kill them. I remember when we retired back to \_\_\_\_\_ and my children came home from school and said, "Mom, the Black kids won't be friends with us." You know, "They won't be friends with us." They'd never experienced that before. But in the Army you're just ...

Q: With everybody?

A: If you have a problem with it you better keep it to yourself.

Q: That's really interesting.

A: It was, very interesting. And I told them, "Just be as friendly as you can." I mean, we moved to a civilian community in the South, which I still don't think is all that different from anywhere else, and it was just the first time they had really seen the divisions. Actually, it's funny because, by the time they got out of high school, they had at least one or two good friends that were Black.

Another interviewee said the following:

All growing up, to me, I'd never even seen race issues, knew what those were. I had heard about things like the KKK, but you know--And then when I came back to college in Manhattan, and you would just see people how they would just get into little cliques and how those cliques, you would notice, were kind of not so diverse. Certain areas were maybe, like, [Preps?], Theatre, for example, is a little bit more diverse but, yeah, everybody would get into little clicks and I'm thinking, "Hmm." And then I would hear my roommate, who was from Garden City, Kansas, talk about she'd "only seen about four Black people" type of thing. So for me, growing up in such a diverse world, it was normal. People who were all white or whatever, that wasn't normal.

The extent to which race gets 'erased' in the military was perhaps best articulated by this interviewee who talks about claiming a separate ethnicity as a child – along with other army children who were all part of one big "family":

A: Well, when we were kids I know, I mean, we did these little annual exams, you know, Scantron--they'd ask for your race and we'd always put "other," we'd put [ODIGREEN?]

Q: [ODIGREEN?] what does that mean?

A: That's the Army--Army green. We were like that's our race. We're Army green.

Q: And that was everybody?

A: Yeah. Because that's what we felt like. We didn't see, you know, you were different because you were from Oklahoma and because you were from Kansas. You know, and that's what made you different, but we were all one big family. You know?

In fact, Fort Riley was described as having a particular history with the military as a place where soldiers who were married to women from other countries or of other ethnicities could be sent. This was mentioned by nearly every person we interviewed:

Years ago Fort Riley was the only place where mixed marriages could come. And that's why it's ...And so that's why there are so many here, you know. But it is--to me, it's great because the kids in high school, grade school and stuff, they--you know, they understand about other countries and everything, because of this. And so I think it's a pretty understanding community.

Divisions among people in terms of residential areas or social circles were tied in people's minds to class more than to race. While class was considered a more important category than race, the poor or lower-income residents of Junction City were thought to be disproportionately minority.

It is important to note that, despite the dominant narrative of relatively high levels of inter-racial trust, we did encounter some instances in which people spoke quite openly about 'discomfort' with people of other races:

...As far as being ...from a farm family, we probably weren't as accepting and tolerant. Like at that time my school had no blacks in it. I went to \_\_\_\_\_, we had no blacks. When my kids went there, there was only one or two black families in the whole \_\_\_\_\_ High School, \_\_\_\_\_ school district. Junction City's different, of course. And at that time when I had my family growing up here, we lived in Junction City till '92. When my daughter was ready for high school we moved out to the country so they went to \_\_\_\_\_ High School. I didn't want her going through the Junction City schools. I didn't want my little blonde-haired, cute daughter being harassed by the black boys, and that's what was happening. So we went to \_\_\_\_\_, we didn't have that. My kids could excel better instead of feeling intimidated. Because she was quiet, she was kind of shy. When we got down there, as she went through school, a lot of people said you'd never know it was the same kid. That she became more assertive and outgoing and standing up for herself and participated with sports and became more popular. Where I think she would have felt really more withdrawn in herself and intimidated easily, you know, threatened.

This interviewee continued:

....the Twelfth Street community center wasn't done at that time. It basically is all blacks. It's over there in that area, in that community. So with it close to Westwood and all, it would have been a community activity area that probably my kids wouldn't have gone to.

Yet, in general, the city's pride in its diversity and in its ability to deal with diversity was remarkable.

### ***3. Conventional politics***

People were not surprised at the relatively low level of voting in the last presidential election – this despite thinking of themselves as a patriotic town. Despite looking at the data from the survey, at least one interviewee, who is quoted below at some length, thought that electoral political participation was much lower than the survey data suggest:

A: I think the last presidential election we had a 24 percent turnout.

Q: Did you? Why do you think it was?

A: And that's high.

Q: Oh, that's high?

A: Yes. Election before that, I think we had a 12 or 16 percent turnout... I think it's because we're so transient, a lot of them don't get involved and don't think that they should get involved in our local politics.

Q: In local politics. Is that right?

A: Mm-hmm.

Q: That's really interesting. So who votes? People who are long-timers here?

A: The long-timers, yes.

Q: And do you have the data on that, that it really is the long-timers who are voting? Do you do exit polling?

A: I'm not really sure if they do that or not. I'll have to find out. I don't know.

The rapid growth of Junction City worries some residents, and this has led to more active engagement in local politics, such as attendance at town hall meetings where questions can be posed to city commissioners about taxes and how city money is being spent:

A: And we've started having what I call town hall meetings. We just had one last week, on Wednesday, in a certain district. We had probably about 40 citizens show up, and they want to be able to get the commissioners out in the public and ask them very pointed questions. And right now we have a commission that is willing to do that. This one, a commissioner volunteered to do it. He'd heard some rumblings and he said, "I want to have a town hall meeting." So we set it up, and he got some very pointed questions about some issues. I mean we are in a growth mode right now. We were at about 18,000. We're probably over 20. And it's kind of expected to go to about 30,000 by the time all's said and done. So we've annexed in 1,500 acres into the city. We've added, I think, 50 miles of street to the city. And all this type of stuff. And, of course, now we have people saying, "Well, we don't need all that." But you have to grow, or you die. And so he was very good. I mean all the commissioners were there, and it was his district so he led the meeting. But some others had some very pointed questions asked of them.

Q: And so when you say "pointed," do you mean like, "Where is our money going?" kind of thing?

A: No. "Why did you do this for this developer and didn't do it for this developer?" I mean it's just little things... And a lot of it's just rumor. They heard that one developer put in all his infrastructure and did it himself, and then the city ends up buying it back. Well, they heard that it was going to cost the city close to \$20 million. Well, actually, it was barely over seven million. And very, very in line with everything else that's been done, but they said, "Why is the city paying 20 million for it?" You know, things like that. And a lot of the rumors got ... One of them was they heard that the city's not paying their bills ... One of them says, "I heard that from somebody out in Manhattan said the city's not paying their bills, and we're broke." And we're not. All of our bills are paid up to date, and we're not broke. We're sitting in good shape. But I mean a lot of it's just--and you get coffee groups that start, "Well, I heard--" By the time it gets through everybody, it's blown way out of proportion. And they won't come to a commission meeting to ask the question.

Q: They will not?

A: No. Because it puts them on the spot. But you put them out in a setting away from the municipal building, where it's an open forum, and they have their coffee group with them, then they'll ask the questions. So it's good for us to get out there and see them.

Q: Right. So the commission meetings are open. They could come to those.

A: Yeah. At the end of every commission meeting, we have it open to the public. They're allowed five minutes. They can come up and talk about or ask any questions they want on any subject.

Q: And how many people do that on an average meeting?

A: We have a commission meeting first and third Tuesdays of the month. And, if we get one during the month ...

Q: So you don't get a lot. Do people come and sit and listen but not say anything?

A: Sometimes we have a packed house because there's a certain issue everybody wants to hear about. And then three weeks ago on a commission meeting--we always have a pre-meeting and kind of go over everything--we walked into a commission meeting, there was nobody. And everybody looked at us, says, "You sure you got the right date?" Nobody showed up.

#### ***4. Activist politics***

Interviewees were not surprised at the low levels of activist politics reported in the surveys. In fact, the only petition that people could call to mind was one that was being circulated at the time of our interviews about a smoking ban in all bars and restaurants. In general people said that activism was not a major political strategy in Junction City:

A: Yeah, this is not the kind of place where that kind of thing happens.

Q: How about petitions? What kinds of things would people petition?

A: Well, I know there's one going on right now for clean air, for smoking bans in restaurants. I serve on that committee. That's the only one I know about...

Another interviewee said:

A: I'm surprised you talk about this because there is a petition going around the city right now, which they even passed it on Thursday morning, is to make us smoke-free. I've had several people, they've come in here, and they've had it for us to sign there at [a local association] the other morning. I'm starting to run into different places. That's what I asked them Thursday. I said, "Well, if you've already signed one petition can you sign another one?" "Well, yeah, I guess so. It doesn't matter." And that's what several people there said yeah, they had already been approached and signed a petition. I know there's some people out at the 4-H senior citizens that are taking that around to have people sign too. So that's one petition that's really being circulated and seems like quite a few people are kind of getting behind it.

Q: Is it causing a lot of controversy or debate or discussion?

A: Actually, I haven't heard that much friction about it or anything. The hospital went to being smoke-free up there this year. They gave them like three years to get prepared for it, and this year was the year that it was to happen. I really haven't heard that much difficulty.

One interviewee recalled some political rallies around election time and had seen the protests at the military base led by a group from Topeka, but otherwise could not recall incidents in the last 20 years that would qualify as 'activist politics':

A: I'm trying to think, in the 20 years I've been here, if there's ever been--I don't think there's ever been any type of--During presidential election and governor, you have your rallies for that, but as far as anything else--Hmm-mm. I mean we do have demonstrations when there's a military funeral. There's a group out of Topeka that comes and will protest and demonstrate against it. Mm-hmm. And we're a military post, and they come down and sit right at the gate so people have to go right past them. We have a lot of retired upper enlisted here also, and they get very offended by it. So whenever there's a funeral, they have their group, of probably about 50 or 60 that go stand as guard--so the family gets through, and the protestors are behind them. So they try to protect the family from that as much as possible. ...I mean as far as anything else, any other type of protest, boycotts, or anything else, I mean it's just pretty well a quiet, laid-back town.

## ***5. Civic leadership***

The survey found involvement in civic leadership in Junction City to be just above the national average and lower than the Kansas average. In our interviewees in Junction City, comments about leadership were formulated primarily around the lobbying efforts that the town made to Congress to get the Big Red One returned to Fort Riley and the efforts of city leaders since that time to respond to the needs of the base. Junction City was not thought of as a 'typical' military town, primarily because the city's leaders had demonstrated over and over again their desire to make the military a part of the town:

A: So it's definitely a military town, and the nice thing about it is I've heard a lot of stories of people saying the towns surrounding military communities, they hate the military, they don't like the military or they're just oblivious to them. Junction City loves the military. They show that through their care and concern for soldiers. We've seen leadership involved a lot in Fort Riley activities. They created the Military Affairs Council especially to address the issues with the growth that is associated with this. So it's definitely our closest neighbor, geographically and metaphorically ...Like when the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division was coming home, they created all these welcome banners. They had a Big Red One patch and it said, "Welcome Home." And to them it was their division coming back home. That was their mentality, you know, "This is where God intended for the 1<sup>st</sup> Infantry Division to be. This is our division." And I think it starts--definitely the leadership reflects that in Junction City. I've seen the mayor and the former mayor, they came to every memorial service, they came to every ceremony on Fort Riley. They're friends to Fort Riley. So I think it has just to do with the climate of everybody saying, "We are a military town. We know that. We're going to welcome them."

Q: And do you think it has to do with the fact that a lot of them are former military people themselves?

A: I think so. And then I think, at the same time, too, that's a reason why a lot of people choose to stay here and become those former military people that have become long-time residents because this place makes you feel like you're home. And that's so comforting for people in transition a lot. And that's why a lot--you see we have 19,000 people have chosen to retire here in this area.

## ***6. Organizational involvement***

Overall, the level of organizational involvement in Junction City was lower than the state average. Looking more closely, involvement varied by type of organization. Participation in youth organizations, school groups, and veteran's groups were higher in Junction City than in the state or in the nation. Involvement in neighborhood associations and labor unions was relatively low.

Interviewees were surprised that participation in PTAs, PTOs, and other school groups was not higher than the (already relatively high) survey findings suggested it was. Again, their responses were organized around military families and what military families do:

A: I'm kind of surprised with the parent association and school because of the military. Military families tend to be very involved. I'm surprised it's not higher than that.

Q: Mm-hmm. Well, it's higher than the state's.

A: Yeah, well, it's higher than the national average.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ higher.

A: I would think it would be even more.

There was no surprise about the low level involvement in neighborhood associations or neighborhood groups. There are few of these in Junction City. The only exception was with specific developments (e.g., Green Hills) that had been built. As a result, people associated neighborhood associations with planned communities that regulated exteriors or collected dues or had common facilities residents could access:

No, about the only one in our area that had that type of thing was Green Hills. They had their clubhouse and they had their association in that area. Where's Ash Street again? Okay, Ash Street [looking at the map]. Green Hills would be this area right up in here. Yeah, this is all Green Hills. That was our first kind of development of the association, the clubhouse. Everybody there had to have the shake roofs; everybody had to pay for the fees to the homeowner's association and all this. It's still a nice area and stuff and they do that, but as far as any of the other areas they haven't built them with that type of clubhouse and that design.

As is evident from the excerpt that followed, some interviewees had specific ideas about what a neighborhood association might mean. If it was not a planned development – like Green Hills – then perhaps it was a neighborhood watch type organization. Other models for neighborhood associations, such as those that exist in Kansas City, were not well known in Junction City:

A: There aren't a lot. There's Green Hills, and there's a neighborhood up around the country club. In [city where interviewee lived previously] this is a big thing. Neighborhoods, you pay a homeowners association fee, and there's a community pool, and there's a club. That's what you're talking about? That's not a big thing here just because it hadn't developed in that area. It's going to, though. I've heard some of the new neighborhoods going in are going to be built on that kind of concept.

Q: Mm-hmm, but are there other sort of less like--like I have a neighborhood association in my neighborhood, and it's by no means a new development or anything. But it's more of people watch out for each other's houses ...

A: Like Neighborhood Watches?

Q: Yeah, more something like that. Is there a lot of that here?

A: I'm not aware of it, except for the small town--you know, everything that comes along with a small town. Like in my neighborhood, we were gone on vacation last week. My neighbor watched my house because she knew we were gone. Nothing organized.

There are many local service organizations that are active. Some are having more success than others. The common refrain about a few people doing all of the work that was heard in other communities applied as well in Junction City. Some of these organizations were undertaking 'membership drives' because membership has been falling off. In the excerpt below the interviewee provides an explanation derived from conversations with members of other organizations: young people are "not joiners" even though they do participate in other ways. The interviewee also talks about how these service organizations are

trying to accommodate busy working schedules by making meetings less frequent and by meeting at times when more people might be able to attend:

A: But [name of club]'s having trouble. I've talked to people in Kiwanis and Rotary and there, same thing: the membership is having problems to keep the membership up and getting people to be there.

Q: What do they attribute that to?

A: What I've heard is the cycle of people nowadays, your young people, are not joiners. They'll do maybe a cause or something, but they're really not joiners to be in a club, to be this. It's more of I'll help you out with this, or something. But maybe it goes back to community thing you know, where you knew your neighbors and everybody helped out. But they'll get on a cause of somebody needing a fund-raiser. We just had a young man that died from cystic fibrosis. They had lots of fund-raisers for him to try to raise that money or different things as a cause. But to be a joiner of a club and to do that, they just don't seem to do that.

Q: So it's younger people that you're having difficulty recruiting?

A: And that's the thing. Your clubs have so many of the older members, which you're looking at 60s and above. We've got people in our [name of club], the bulk of them are probably 70s and 80. They were strong businesspeople, but now the young people in the club, there's maybe only three or four. So to try to get them--you know, everybody we talk to they say, "Well, we've got a family. We can't with the kids," or whatever. Well, you're both not there doing that in the morning. You can come, and we're early enough you could go to work. Because other clubs say, "New meetings, I can't go because it's at noon." And this is the thing with [another organization the interviewee is involved with]. We used to meet at noon at the country club. So we've changed now instead of twice a month at noon at the country club to once a month at night at one of the churches. As I say, we've grown with some. Our [name of organization] is meeting out at Stacy's Restaurant out here, and then we meet twice a month. A breakfast twice a month. Kiwanis and Rotary, they meet at noon. And they're talking the same thing: that they're having difficulty with getting people to join and be there. It's your older people that are still there. So civic organizations, it's difficult to get them to do that.

## **7. Giving**

Although the survey found giving in Junction City was lower than the state average, interviewees universally described the city as a generous and giving community. despite the fact that a large proportion of the population is low income. While the average donation might be small, many people give to a seemingly endless array of small fundraisers:

A: It [Junction City] doesn't have the university salaries that Manhattan would have. It doesn't have the longtime family income businesses that are present in the other counties that surround us. And so because we do have some retired military that live here, and their incomes might be okay, you also have lower-ranking military that have stayed here. And we don't have a lot of jobs that are paying in the higher income levels. And so when you look at what our demographics are, income-wise, we're a blue-collar community, by and large, when you look at that. And the United Way director said the average donation to United Way is \$10. But they meet their goal. So that's ... people give a lot to different things. And for a community this size to maintain a food pantry, an open door, active Girl Scout program--we just raised \$1600 last night for 4-H. You know, people do give.

Q: What kind of event was it that you raised the ...

A: Soup supper and bingo. ... You can eat here on any Saturday on some fundraiser breakfast.

You can have pancakes or biscuits and gravy almost every Saturday.

Q: And that's how fundraising happens?

A: That's a lot of fundraising. There's always the candy sales and the other things, car washes, that kind of thing would go on. But that's a lot of the fundraising.

In the excerpt reproduced below the interviewee says that giving to one of the town's major charitable organizations was, on a per capita basis, on par with giving in Manhattan, which is a much wealthier community:

Sure. Well, we kind of compare ourselves to Manhattan. Manhattan is four times our size, and we raise proportionately as much money as they do for our population. So that's kind of as much. I mean, ...when we set the goal last year we kind of looked at, well, what have we raised in the past, what do we think we could raise compared to...and they've got K-State and are four times our population.

Some of the organizations in Junction City are trying to figure out how to work better, or more closely, with Fort Riley. While some interviewees described the base as generous and helpful to the community, others were working on ways to establish better relationships:

And you'd think being right next to Fort Riley would help us [with fund-raising], but they do their own [fundraising campaign]. We're one of the agencies that can be selected but, of the \$210,000 they raised last year, we got \$2,000 of it, which is about average for being next to a military post. ...We're in their book. We're one of the agencies they--but their book is that thick, and if they know to find us, you know. But it increased a little bit last year. We got more money out of them than Manhattan did. And there are other ways to try to get money from them to support our local community.

Charitable and service organizations were particularly pleased with the level of giving to them in recent years because of the outlays made by members of the business community to welcome back the Big Red One:

Last year, in this community, it was amazing that we met our goal because so many of the businesses were asked to contribute to the return of the First Infantry Division. The Big Red One was relocated from Germany back to Fort Riley, and they put on the dog and did lots of events and businesses were really asked to come up with a lot of money. Which they did... They really welcomed those folks back in style. ...They had parades and a big reception with ice sculpture and everything. So last year the businesses were really taxed inordinately, but we made our goal for the first time in five years.

Interviewees talked about how important leadership was in terms of meeting fund-raising goals or getting people to give to charity or service organizations. In discussing trends, one major charitable group can see how giving within organizations depends on who within that organization is behind the fund-raising campaign:

A: It's increased in some areas and slacked in others, and I've got a donation tracker thing I can look back several years. A lot of it has to do with how bought into [the organization] the person in charge is. The school system increased their donations by about \$100 a month. The bank next door, which is one of our best businesses, increased their donations by about \$100 a month. And yet city employees and county employees were a little bit less than in the past, but they really didn't have a big push for a campaign.

Q: So it matters who's in those places asking them for the money?

A: Mm-hmm. And when I look at my reports from last year, the three groups that did less than they did the year before, even though we made our goal, was small businesses and city and county employees, which is funny because I have a representative from the city and the county on my board of directors. But they really dragged their feet last about doing their campaigns.

Q: Did they not get raises, maybe, or what?

A: I think they just weren't asked. You know, most people, if you ask them they'll respond. If you don't ask them, they're busy, they don't think about it.

Finally, an interesting point made in Junction City about giving is that many people who give like to do so quietly and without attention being drawn to them. In fact, some interviewees talked about donors or benefactors who would not want others to know about their charitable work:

A: So there was this old rock building, which had come--had been built with navy stuff that had been made in \_\_\_\_\_. And it was going up for sale, and so my husband and I bought it and donated it to the museum. And so now we have a real nice museum and stuff there in \_\_\_\_\_. That's why I'll never be wealthy is because--

Q: You've given away all your money!

A: But I get to see how it's used. You know, if you wait until you die, then you don't--you don't see how it was used. But you have a lot of people in Geary County that do those things.

Q: Do you?

A: And they--nobody knows who does.

Q: You don't put your name on it?

A: No. You know, I would never do anything that has to have my name on it.

Q: That's very interesting, because a lot of people, when they give, they want their name on stuff.

A: No. No.

Q: Not you, huh?

A: And that was our request. My husband and I. We don't want a big sign that says we did this or anything. This is just something that we did and ... You have those that have to have recognition. But I know of several families that give and nobody knows they give.

## ***8. Volunteering***

The survey indicated levels of volunteering in Junction City that were close to the state average. We received mixed responses to questions about volunteers and volunteering. Some interviewees were surprised, for example, at the proportion of people who reported being involved in a community project in the last month, but others were not surprised. [It should be noted that some people use the term 'community service' rather than 'volunteering']. Some noted that people in Junction City like to think of themselves as volunteers, but really they are not. Some may offer to volunteer but do not actually carry through.

Everyone agreed that there are many opportunities for people to volunteer. The most striking example we

saw while conducting the interviews was the construction of a skate park on South Washington that opened during our last trip to Junction City. The city had received grants for some of the project, but it had to provide volunteer labor as their matching contribution. While some interviewees emphasized how the project was being done solely with volunteer labor, others, and particularly those coordinating the project, described how difficult it was to get people to come out and work:

Q: How difficult or easy is it for you to get volunteers to do stuff like that?

A: Tough.

Q: It is?

A: It's extremely tough in this town.

Q: Tell me how you do that. Tell me why you think it's tough.

A: People like to say that they'll do things, you know. We had a big petition go out who would volunteer to help, but I wasn't here for part of that, so I can't actually say that the people that were in charge of the petition didn't just sign people's names and go. But when I got a hold of the list, I didn't [do it?]. I had the secretary send out cards to everybody saying, hey, you know, the construction's going on...you signed up, you know, just on a note card saying come down and volunteer. Here's our hours that we're open to come down and volunteer. Well, I had a lot of people saying, well, I never signed that or I don't remember nothing about me being on that list.

Q: Really?

A: I had people, you know, they would I guess not respond to it. You know, you'd send them out and no one showed up. I mean, we may have had--of the 500 that I had sent out, maybe 10 showed up, you know, down there to volunteer. So, a lot of it was coming through city department staff, the fire department, police department, you know, going down there and getting things done.

Q: So it's like the core city staff, people you work with who are doing it?

A: Right. That are doing it. Right.

Q: But to expand beyond that has been really difficult?

A: It's difficult. Yeah.

Q: Have you tried anything else besides the cards and mailings?

A: Yeah. I've talked to a lot of churches to see if they wanted to put it in their bulletin. I told them set up groups, even if it's not all the time, if you get a group of 5-10 people, I'll gladly go open or I'll find someone to open for you and get you in there to do stuff. We've tried getting a hold of different groups. I've done two or three public speaking, you know, in front of the \_\_\_\_\_ and different organizations. I know I've done two of them to where I actually went in there and said, hey, we need help. This is the project. This is what's going to be in the building when it's completed. It'll be a nice facility when it's done. I think it will be one of the nicest within probably a hundred mile radius, probably.

On the other hand, interviewees provided examples of other volunteer efforts that were quite impressive:

...like, there's an organization called Lady Troopers that have been baking cookies for soldier's deploying and soldiers who have been coming back from deployments since Desert Storm. And they bake cookies because, when soldier's leave, they do what's called "manifest," and they go sit

in a gym, and they weigh in and hang out until a bus comes and the plane lines up, and they time it right so that they're not waiting at the airport all that long; they wait in this gym. So the ladies will be out with cookies. And they're sometimes the last civilian friendly face that they'll see for a while. And then, when they come home at the re-deployment ceremonies, the family members will all be waiting in the gym for the soldier's to come, so they'll have cookies and drinks there for the families. And it's all volunteer.

The head of one organization described how turnover presented a challenge to keeping the board staffed:

It's a constant challenge. It seems like as many people as I've recruited for my board have dropped off. I'm constantly replacing. But it's just the population's mobile, there are a lot of demands made on people, their lives change, they have a baby or they've got kids in college, or some major thing that changes in their life. And there's just a turnover. There always seem to be more people ready to take a turn.

But in general, people emphasized how much volunteerism – or community service – was “well developed” in Junction City:

So, gives them--you know, we have a lot of programs that we implement. If we can't do it, then your--like Rotary Club or Kiwanis will--they have groups of people that are volunteers to take people to, like, knee treatment in Topeka for chemo or something like that. The seniors, they have no way to get there. And so we have organizations that have volunteer lists that--and they do this, will transport people and stuff like that. So, overall, I think Geary County is really well developed in community service.

### ***9. Faith-based engagement***

According to the survey, faith-based engagement in Junction City was higher than the national average and lower than the Kansas average. What interviewees found most striking about Junction City was the number and diversity of churches that seemed to match the diversity of the town. It was also notable that people did not have the sense that membership or even engagement in a church was a pre-requisite for being a respected member of the community, as we have seen in some of the other communities where we worked. Thus tolerance of diversity stretched to faith-based engagement and included the option of not participating in this way.

A: We have bunches and bunches of churches here, and they are all well supported. So it is a--pretty much a--I wouldn't say “religious” community, but they all have their religion, and most of them are active with it....We have Korean churches.

Q: Oh, really?

A: Yeah. We have Vietnamese churches. So, you know, each—

Q: --group has their church.

A: Uh-huh.

Q: Right. And to be not a really active member of any church is not a problem either?

A: Uh-uh, no.

Another aspect of faith-based engagement that was interesting is that this might be one facet of civic or social life that was, to some degree, segregated by race and ethnicity. This was described more as a matter of culture – including dress and manner of worship – than in terms of inclusion or exclusion:

A: I think that probably our churches are still pretty segregated.

Q: Are they?

A: There are only a few that I think are really integrated to the point that--you know, I think you can still pretty much say such and such church is primarily Black; this one's primarily White. Or you can name all the Black people that go to the White church.

Q: Why do you think that is?

A: No, I think the way the celebrations are--the celebration of faith is so much different that--The dress is different. And some places you can wear jeans and other places you better have on your nice suit and your hat, and that kind of thing.

Q: Is that right? Okay. So it's really about the form that the celebration takes and that you're expected to ...

A: Right. Now, there's some newer churches that are--I don't know if you recall the more charismatic--and I really don't know if they're diverse or not. I don't know.

Q: How big a role do the churches play in the life of the community here?

A: Oh, big.

Q: They do?

A: Uh-huh.

Q: So most people would be members of a church?

A: I don't know most. But I think you would have a strong sense of affiliation, if not attendance.

There was also a sense that young people, in particular, might not be joining churches or involved in organized religion:

I've heard a lot of churches say their whole membership may be looking for young people, and then for people to take jobs in the churches with a younger population. They're sometimes not participating in organized religion and not taking jobs in some of the churches there but--

### ***10. Informal socializing and diversity of friendships***

The survey found low levels of informal socializing and high levels of diverse friendships in Junction City. Given the mix of races, ethnicities, and nationalities in the town, there was no dispute about the diversity of friendships.

Interviewees had more to say about the low levels of informal socializing. People agreed that the city lacks the number of restaurants and entertainment venues it needs. The city has struggled with the inability to attract any "big box" retailers or restaurants; market surveys suggested that there would not be enough people in town to support these kinds of retailers (and, much to their dismay, the population of the Fort is not taken into consideration when these market surveys are done). However, with the return of the Big Red One and the expansion of Junction City, there are hopes that more shopping, restaurants, and entertainment will come to the town. For the moment, interviewees said that there is not a lot to do outside of work, and so any activity that is organized is widely attended:

A: ...And part of it goes back to that business of there not being a lot of things to distract them, so people tend to depend on each other. You know, the hospital foundation does all their fundraising through events. They're looked forward to and greatly attended. The Christmas gala and the summer barbecue. The Chamber of Commerce, their business after hours every month is just packed.

Q: Oh. What is that?

A: It's a cocktail party-type thing once a month. ...Yeah, they network. And I think part of the thing is, there's not a lot of competition for other things to do ... Now, there's a big development being planned just on the other side of the highway that's going to bring in a lot more big box stores, a lot more national chain restaurants; big soccer complex, big movie theater. It'll be interesting to see, when people have all these things they say they miss, how that impacts this kind of social network that's already built up here.

Q: Mm-hmm. What's your prediction?

A: I think it'll water it down like it does in most communities.

Some people from military families remembered the town and the school system in particular as being a place that made them feel "home." Interviewees thought that the large number of retirees that settle in Junction City is perhaps a reflection of this. Others, like the interviewee quoted in the excerpt below, describes attending a 10-year high school class reunion despite not graduating from the high school:

A: I went to high school in Junction City for about a year and a half, and I remember when I went to high school there, there were some people who'd grown up the whole time, and then there were some people who were military and nobody treated anybody differently. The people who'd been there forever, you know, you can tell the family names. You look in the phone book and they're six pages long, you know, their whole family's here. I just had my ten-year--I didn't graduate there, but I had my ten-year reunion this past weekend, and a lot of the same people had come back and they had stayed there, and their parents are still here and stuff.

Q: Ten-year reunion for this school?

A: Yes.

Q: Yeah. And so you went to it anyway?

A: Uh-huh. And so there were a lot of the people who had stayed there. Some that are still in the area, some that had moved on, but their families are still back here and stuff. So there is a consistent--I'd say consistent base of people who have lived there forever, but they definitely welcome the military and they don't treat them like, "Oh, these are military. You're foreigners or whatever." They welcome them as residents.

Q: And so for you to fit into sort of ... as a teenager it's hard anyway, but for you to fit into social circles or for you to make friends, that wasn't difficult being here for a year and a half?

A: No, not here. As a matter of fact, it was so nice to see that people remembered me ten years later, you know? Some people are like, "You mean you didn't graduate with us?" And to me, when I moved on I had this feeling that this was my home. I moved to a different place and had to do this whole reintegration thing all over again with new people and I said, "You know, I'm from Kansas--I'm from Junction City." You know, that was my home town on the basketball roster because of the--yeah, my friends were--there was such a great camaraderie there. Now, I know my brother, when he came back from Germany, he went to school in Manhattan and he didn't get that

same feeling. He was treated as an outsider, and whether it was his own personality things or not-- and a lot of people kind of say that, you know, you can definitely tell that Junction City makes you feel welcome, no matter who you are.

While not organized in neighborhood associations, most interviewees talked about knowing their neighbors and interacting with them informally rather than through scheduled events like block parties or meetings:

You didn't have really so much block parties, but you'd walk up and down the street and everybody would know the kids. And when it came time to trick-or-treat the kids knew, very comfortable, to go to those houses. We would take walks all the time because you had sidewalks all in that area. If somebody was out you'd talk to them or whatever. But it wasn't that you got together as a block party. Because you had a mix of your older people. And in your old communities you didn't really do the block party. That was more of the '60s or '70s things that they were doing that. You're more the old families that you just maybe talked over the fence or something like that type of thing. But yes, you would know all your neighbors and you would know who was on the block and coming and going. And you'd probably know the people across the alley behind you. You know them real well. So that little area of community like that you know just socializing.

People did express the desire to have the military become more involved in activities in Junction City – and not just for economic reasons:

The military, for as hard as everybody in Junction tried and different activities that we try to do and get them to come out and participate, do not seem to come and participate that much in Junction City. Just like the Generals [the local baseball team]. They were trying to have buses that they would run from Fort Riley: get on the bus for free, and we'll bring you to the Generals in Junction City. ... They just don't seem to come. We do activities. We do different things through the Junction City business association. Now, the biggest thing that we have, we do a Halloween parade. We do get about 1,000 kids that come, the military and everything that come, and do this parade. Then the businesses downtown hand out all this candy and everything. Then this year it was at the municipal building. It was kind of like the health fair. They were giving them free book bags and things. They really came in droves. But most of the time when we do activities or we do different things they don't come. They do their thing out at Fort Riley.

While people who attempted to develop social ties within their organizations described themselves as 'atypical,' there were some who had given considerable thought to how this might be done:

But as far as coworkers and things, I think my office is probably different because I do employee of the month; we go and we have our dinner that I pay for, for us, and we give the award for the employee of the month. When we do our planning meeting for the next year, we did a team-building day. One year we went over to Manhattan to the ceramic place, and we all made ceramic bowls. Another time we--my mind went blank on some of the others. We did activities that day, but it's kind of hard to have somebody else come and watch the office so we can all be gone. Each year at Christmas, though, we went down to see all the lights and had a limousine and toured The Plaza. Last year we went to the dinner theater--well, we did the year before--and stayed at The Plaza. So we do the team-building that way for the Christmas party or something like that. So we're kind of different, I think, as far as what a lot of them do. But I know the banks, they have their big Christmas parties and things that they do for the coworkers...

### **Assets and Challenges**

Junction City has a long history of diversity linked to Fort Riley and the influx of soldiers who are diverse in many ways. Because of the 'color-blind' atmosphere of the military that seems to permeate social and

civic life, there are high levels of inter-racial trust and social trust, particularly on the part of minorities. The city is also adept at handling growth and turnover, which is important given that the town is currently going through a period of rapid growth linked to the return of the Big Red One. Business leaders have been generous in welcoming back the troops, and the government has made special effort to celebrate the return and coordinate expansion efforts with Fort Riley. The city has created the position of a military affairs liaison to ensure that relations with the base are given priority.

With the growth come many expected challenges. The recent rapid expansion has brought some anxiety due to the uncertainty of military commitments to troop levels and mild tension and disagreement related to how much the city should subsidize infrastructure for new housing. It also means that houses are overvalued and many families are buying homes they can barely afford. There is also a problem of shoddy construction by developers who are taking advantage of the need to make money.

While the addition of new entertainment venues, including malls, movie theatres, and restaurants, are welcomed by most, residents recognize that they have been able to get to know each other well because they attend the same few events and are not distracted by numerous social options. It is not clear how expansion of entertainment venues will affect social life.

## Community Study 4: Kansas City

### Background

Kansas City, Kansas (KCK), is in Wyandotte County, the smallest in the state. KCK has a population of 150,000, but it has a “small town feel.” A lot of people that live in Wyandotte County have lived there for their entire lives and have history. “Once you sort of get in the mix, you start to get to know everyone. I always joke that it’s a very big small town because there are so many people here, but yet it is a small town.” Although small, the city is very diverse, with White, African American, Hispanic, Croatian, Polish, and other ethnic populations.

There was a mass exodus of population from KCK in the 1960s and 1970 as people were attracted to the suburbs for its space, newer school districts, lower crime, and lower taxes, among other things. The decision to move to a unified government (city and county merged) in the late 1990s was in part to stem the exodus of people. In addition, the consolidation was recognized as a way to streamline and to cut redundant services.

Under the unified government, KCK has been devoted to economic development and revitalization. It recently acquired a NASCAR track and Legends Shopping Center, and it is now focused on improving the northeast and downtown areas, which are among the poorest neighborhoods. One important initiative in KCK was the push to organize communities through the development of neighborhood associations. This started under mayor Marinovich and has continued under mayor Reardon. The development and support of over 120 neighborhood associations was seen as a critical strategy for improving social capital and the quality of social life in the city.

As a result of the city improvements, there is a new sense of momentum in the city (this is true). On the other hand, there are many who still opt to live outside of the city and commute in to work. KCK is still a “sunshine community,” a place where people come to work, but leave once the sun goes down (“sunsetters”).

One person explains how the historically negative reputation of KCK lingers:

A: Yeah. Wyandotte County is the oldest and poorest community and county in the metropolitan area, and so the perception has always been high crime, low value and high taxes. So people don’t move here; they move from here. People don’t often come over here to do shopping or anything. There’s really no shopping here. Now we have--with the development of Western Wyandotte County, which is right on the 635--or the I-35 loop--435, sorry. Now we’re getting a lot of people coming over--

Q: From Missouri.

A: But they don’t come through town.

Q: Oh, really?

A: What they’ll do is they’ll take the interstates.

Q: \_\_\_\_\_ around.

A: And they’ll just bypass, yeah.

### Domains of ‘social capital’

## *1. Social trust*

The survey data suggest that levels of social trust are significantly lower in Kansas City than in other parts of the state and in the country as a whole. Only 31 percent of respondents in Kansas City said that they thought most people could be trusted, compared with 46.6 percent of the sample in the state and 43.5 percent of the sample across the country. When broken down by race, the data show that the lack of social trust is particularly pronounced among racial or ethnic minorities.

Most respondents were not surprised by this finding. They linked the lack of social trust to a history of segregation, poverty, and crime. They described a city with a history (now past) of ‘machine politics’ and a city that was divided into neighborhoods, some of which were racially or ethnically homogeneous and isolated. In some parts of the city, this neighborhood identity seems to have fostered some forms of social capital, creating the conditions, for example, for strong neighborhood associations to form (the neighborhood group movement is described in more detail later). Yet, it has also left most people feeling that the city is, in general, quite segregated.

A: ...The greater Kansas City area itself is most definitely segregated. That is kind of the life of what we lead.

Q: It is?

A: From Kansas City, Missouri to Kansas City, Kansas... you have African-Americans who have always lived in the northeast community of Wyandotte County. You have the Hispanics that live more the south area and then the whites definitely out west. And then here are a few kind of different groups like the Hmong community who have a small kind of clustered area. And that’s kind of the way it is. I mean, that’s the way this area has become. The Hispanic community, as it exploded, definitely has been exploding in all parts of the area, but in most particularly the northeast area.

There are neighborhoods that exhibit considerable ethnic diversity and the classification in the excerpt above is an oversimplification. However, as the following excerpts illustrate, this general residential pattern (blacks in the Northeast, Hispanics in the south, and whites in the west) was repeatedly pointed out to us when we had interviewees describe their city by narrating the map:

And then the poorest part of the county, which is also the poorest part of the metro, is the east of I-635. That’s pretty much the dividing line, particularly east of Eighteenth Street Expressway. This is your urban area. The northeast section tends to be predominantly African American. The Quindaro neighborhood used to be a very affluent neighborhood. Now it’s considered one of the highest crime, most violent sections of the city. Sadly, there’s a rich heritage. The Underground Railroad actually ran through Quindaro. And the city really hasn’t done much to develop. They call them the Quindaro Ruins. There’s actually some remnants of old buildings that were a stop in the Underground Railroad. But, yeah, the northeast...

..It [Kansas City] has historically been a very mixed population. I mean from the beginnings of the community, it’s always been African-American, Hispanic, and like I said, Croatian and Polish... from the beginning. So it’s always had that unique mix. I mean, of course there are various areas, like I said, where people were segregated. But as a whole it’s a very mixed community.

Two primary issues were thought to contribute to the relatively low levels of social trust shown in the survey among minority respondents. One has to do with the recent upswing (in the past decade) in the number of undocumented immigrants and their fears about being found out and deported:

And then among Hispanics, because it's just a huge population influx of newly-arrived families who, I would say...you know, the old families, the Latino families that live here are really very active and very trusting and very involved. But these new ...they're fearful, and they don't get involved because they're afraid of being deported. So ...

The other had to do with Northeast, and the perception that this part of town, which is predominantly African-American, is particularly dangerous, isolated, and neglected or "left behind." Northeast is a place where few people said they would go or where others, who are not from Northeast, would go, even though this is where the only public swimming pool in KCK is located and is an area with historic attractions and nice parks:

I'm not surprised by that [the statistic on social trust]. I don't know if I can speak to any kind of direct experience. I mean I think among Hispanics, since 80 percent of migrant households have somebody in their house that's undocumented, I think that creates kind of a tension or a feeling of "We've got to be very careful." And African Americans, that is interesting to me. I think probably they are kind of concentrated in the Northeast area, and that's probably one of the most depressed areas in the city. It's very high crime. And also too, I think they sometimes feel like they've gotten left behind though. There's also been a lot of really strong efforts to try to help that community. So I'm not surprised by that. I mean I've spent some time in that neighborhood and, myself, I've witnessed crimes so that can only tell me that. And I've talked to people who've lived in that area or whatever. Just crime is a fairly frequent occurrence, even violent crime. People being shot and killed and such. That can undermine trust in a community.

People also talked about 'flight,' primarily white, from the city to the surrounding counties (notably Johnson County) that began in the 1960s and 1970s. KCK was described as a "sunshine community"; people live in Missouri or in Johnson County and drive into the city to work, leaving at the end of the day (they are called "sun-setters"). Interviewees spoke frequently of the highways that facilitated entry and exit, and the ability of those who lived outside the city to bypass city neighborhoods to go to the NASCAR track out west or to return to Johnson County or to Missouri.

Some interviewees were surprised that social trust was as high as it was among Whites, expecting the perception of KCK as a violent, high-crime city would have resulted in lower levels of social trust than the survey turned up:

A: ... I'm a little bit surprised that this [social trust among Whites] is as much in line with the averages as it is.

Q: You would think people would be more distrustful?

A: Well, I would think there would be, yeah, more distrust, even among the Whites. I mean, that's in line with the national average.

Q: And why in Kansas City in particular?

A: Well, because we have a history of being...I mean, I suppose that this is this way more because, I mean, a variety of things, but more because there is a lot more crime that happens right here than in the rest of the county. And I think most of that crime is gang-related or drug-related.

Q: Do people from over here [western KCK] or even where you are, do they go there [center city areas] very much?

A: Yeah, some would. Some work there. They have professional jobs. Most of the professional jobs, people will drive in from Johnson County or some [INAUDIBLE] ...Really the Northeast is the worst in terms of violent crime. You know, as far as the immediate downtown area and

Minnesota Avenue downtown, I mean, there's not a lot of crime that happens. I mean, it's perception, a lot of it. I mean, when you hear people from Johnson County talk, especially ten years ago, about going to Wyandotte County, gee. It was like going into a war zone. They wouldn't do it if someone ...so the perception, I think, is a big part of it and I guess that's my question here. I would think that the perception of crime and safety would be worse than that. I don't know why.

## **2. Inter-racial trust**

Inter-racial trust in KCK was low compared to the nation and other Kansas communities. Interviewees speculated that low racial trust may be related to the neighborhood segregation and the long history of government neglect of historically Black neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods within KCK were often described as being self-contained. Some of this can be understood as an historical artifact in that many neighborhoods were formerly independent cities that were absorbed by KCK over time. These neighborhoods have managed to retain a distinctive identity, and some have retained a particular racial and ethnic composition.

The relations between communities were not considered to be as strong as those within communities. There are parts of the city where residents from other parts of the city will not go. Northeast was the prime example of an area that was considered "off-base" by most non-black interviewees:

Q: So the people who live in your neighborhood, do they go up to northeast? Is there much interchange between?

A: No. Not really. No. The neighborhoods tend to be kind of "keep to their own." I wouldn't want to say they're Balkanized, but just there's an identity there, because a lot of them used to be cities. Like Argentine used to actually be a city that was annexed by Kansas City.

Another interviewee said:

A: ...I mean, we pride ourselves in being ethnically diverse, and we have fairly good relationships between different ethnic communities; however, the northeast is really kind of off-base for people south. They won't go north to even receive services if a service provider is north of the downtown corridor.

Q: Won't go?

A: They won't go. And so our biggest, I think, challenge is how to change that perception of safety, and it's primarily around gangs and drugs.

At the same time, people in the Northeast and some people in the center city had the impression that efforts were made to keep them confined to these areas. They talked about the lack of transportation that would allow them to get to the new shopping mall (Legends) and racetrack in western KCK, and how this made it impossible for them to compete for the jobs available there. They also described what they saw as predatory business practices that they thought were designed to keep grocery and other stores out of these areas and to take unfair advantage of a "captive audience" by keeping prices high:

People living in this building, they go across the street to their grocery store because that's the closest thing they can get to. And it's the highest robbing, unkept quality of food going. But they have a captive audience. We also found we used to have a Black store right at 5<sup>th</sup> and Washington. For the ... why isn't there another grocery store in this area? And we found out that the banks own this store, and they blocked every store that wanted to come in. And yet, when I was growing up, my family had a store. My aunt's family had a store. .. Parallel was our store. Steward was another

store. Quindaro was another store. And Greeley was another store. So there were five of us that all co-existed. We had our population. We all made money. We all survived. And yet, now it's ... one domain.

The idea that there was some intent on the part of city officials to “control” access to the new shopping mall and NASCAR racetrack in the west of KCK was not expressed only by minority respondents. Some interviewees thought that it was important for the city to change its image in order to attract tourists, shoppers, and businesses. In the excerpt below, for example, the interviewee talks about the demise of Indian Springs mall after incidents of gang violence and efforts to ensure this does not happen again:

A: ...It's [The development with Legends, NASCAR track] not as accessible, and I think there's some intent to control the people from here [pointing to center city and Northeast] how they enjoy it. Because once upon a time we had something called the Indian Springs Mall, which was one of their preeminent malls in this city, in the greater metropolitan area. Everybody from the community went. It was very accessible.

Q: Where was it?

A: Let's see. Off of 635 and I-70 so it's right around here. It was very accessible. People could get to it by buses. There were a few shootings, some crimes.

Q: Inside it?

A: A lot of urban teens were hanging out and sort of loitering, and there was gang violence, and the mall just got a bad rep real quick. I mean like overnight people just stopped going, because there was a couple shootings. And some of that was marketing. I mean, basically, KCK has kind of a bad rap in the greater metropolitan area so when bad things happen here ... they're exaggerated. And when bad things happen here [pointing to Missouri side], they're downplayed. Like if a body's found in the shopping center here, it's going to be front page news. Where, like on the Plaza, they find bodies in the Plaza all the time, and they don't report it.

Whatever the motivations attributed to city officials, banks, and other decision-makers, segregation seemed to play out in the form of resentment and bitterness about the distribution of ‘development’ efforts, and difficulties in seeing how development in one part of KCK will benefit residents in other parts of KCK:

A: I think it's a lot of things. But I think day to day it still comes back to the fact of you're talking about a stereotype or a myth that people have created because we are still so segregated. People always talk about the new development out west. You know, there are a lot of people excited out west about what we have. And we have never been able to shop in Wyandotte County--well, I shouldn't say never. But, I mean, since like Indian Springs Park--

Q: Closed down?

A: --closed down. And so, when you see out west, for me, I love the Target out that way. I love being able to go to a movie out that way. I love spending my money in Wyandotte County. But then there are a lot of people in the Northeast area I have to then listen to and understand that for a long time they've been wanting to develop businesses and places to go and shop and eat in their community, but yet, they've been ignored. And out west, where whites are living ... and they've got this. So they've got the speedway and the ballpark. So I understand that. And I try to figure out ... I want to be happy for that because, one, it benefits me. And I love going and I love spending my money in Wyandotte County, like I said, because I hated going to Missouri; I hated going to Johnson County. But that's the only place we could go. Well, now there's a lot of folks that just despise that.

Q: Because it's not in their part of town?

A: It's not helping them, the way they see it. And I sit there and have to assume that it has to help the entire county one way or another where we're going to see the benefits. We may not like what they've done with the tax or whatever for years to come, but I would think we have to see the benefits.

Tensions over resources are often visible in discussions about immigrants, and become racialized in this way:

And so I think what you see is a lot of the tension between a lot of African-Americans who say Quindero Boulevard, that used to have all of the black businesses and all of the development, the growth that they're not seeing, and then how and why is this happening, with kind of Hispanics who come over, open their own businesses and in Spanish, tick a lot of people off. ... I would say African-Americans are ticked off for that reason, that they're feeling like the development and all of that is happening. I think you also have some of the Caucasian community that is ticked off at the mere fact that they're coming over, they're getting all of these benefits. What a lot of people have the myth about is these people coming over, taking the ... it's all of the whole kind of what you're hearing nation-wide about ... the immigration debate. It is not far from here ... they think they're taking benefits that they're not allowed, they're not paying taxes, they're not ... all of those things that come into play. And so I think for a lot of reasons the tension is still there. The school district will tell you it is about the language barrier; it is about not enough schools; it is about how do we deal with this "no child left behind" and the lack of resources we have when there are such language barriers. But they're willing to work with the community and so are some of our political figures. But I still think that there's that kind of tension. And I know, I've heard from a number of our political figures that they think it's okay to tell me because they think I'm not one of them because I was born here, raised here. But they will be honest to say, "I don't like them using up all of our resources. We have too many people here that need--" So I will tell you one of the things that Wyandotte County has not wrapped itself around is that whole idea of diversity ... We've got a long, long way to go.

Minority interviewees, Blacks and Hispanics, told stories about how difficult it was for them and their families to break out of these geographic boundaries by moving from one neighborhood to another, or to integrate parts of the city that were predominantly inhabited by people of another race. In the excerpt reproduced below, for instance, one interviewee talked about her family's gradual moves west in the late 1950s, and how white flight followed them:

A: The passage has been ... as an African American, we started on 1<sup>st</sup> Street. My family first lived on 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, and then we were able to infiltrate 11<sup>th</sup> Street, on out. Okay? And so I was in a predominantly white community. I was in a all predominantly white school in the spring of '58. And I went back in '59, it was all black. Okay? Principals, teachers, everybody. Everybody was gone. So we had...

Q: In one year like that?

A: One year. That was one semester. It was over the summer.

Q: And that was from 11<sup>th</sup> Street...

A: Yeah. Before we... there were always barriers. Like 3<sup>rd</sup> Street was the ... The next time they moved to 5<sup>th</sup> Street. That was the metropolis. That's where all the Black businesses were.... Then we were able to move up to 7<sup>th</sup> Street. And then when we moved out past 10<sup>th</sup>, then that began the movement of ... white people out.

Another interviewee, this one Hispanic, described a lack of social trust and acts of racial discrimination and intolerance that she had experienced in interactions with both blacks and whites:

A: ...just to give you an example, I was at a baby shower of a friend of mine. We've been working together for years. And I was the only non-African-American there. And in the Northeast area. We're all sitting there having a good time. And there's something outside going on, and two of the guests look outside and go, "It's those damn Mexicans again." Okay?

Q: And you're sitting there?

A: And I'm sitting there. So of course it gets very quiet. And basically she's very apologetic.

Q: Did she say something to you?

A: She did.

Q: She did?

A: She said, "I'm very sorry. I'm sorry." I said, "You know, no problem." I said, "No problem. I understand." Now, they didn't apologize, the two; my friend did. And I said, "Hey, listen. It's probably time for me to go anyway." Thank goodness it was towards the end. And of course, when I walk out, there's the Hispanic family ...they're out there. One guy's working on the car, and the kids are in the yard. And it is that neighborhood. It's an African-American neighborhood. But in that particular spot were Hispanics. So I know it's not good. And I know that I probably wouldn't be welcomed, whereas, in my neighborhood, I'm ...well, I shouldn't say I'm the only Hispanic. There's very few Hispanics. There's very few blacks. And the majority of the folks in my neighborhood ... are white. Now, is everybody accepting? I don't know. A lot of people don't wave when I wave or say hello when I say hello. And when me and my family were moving in-- when we moved in about ten years ago, it would have just been me and my husband and my son. But now I have two other children. And the first thing we saw as we were moving in was a brown egg that was thrown at our house. So I know it happens. Now, was it coincidental that it was a brown egg? No, it was not coincidental.

It was clear from our interviews that white flight is still an issue in some parts of the city. In the excerpt reproduced below the interviewee is talking about moving out of Argentine, a neighborhood that is becoming, according to him, increasingly Hispanic:

It's always been there, but I would have to say, in the last ten years, I've seen a dramatic shift. When I moved into the neighborhood, there was a good healthy mix: black, white and Hispanic. And the trend has been to Hispanic. Whites are moving out, and Hispanics are moving in. That's what I'm seeing, and I'm sad. I'm doing that too now, and I feel sad about that. I have a lot of little kids, and that's part of the issue too is I want to have a neighborhood where they can play, and I can feel good about them playing. A lot of the households are single-parent households, and we've had some issues and such, and that becomes a part of it too. It's like this could mean a lot of people don't share our values. My wife particularly feels like hey, we want to move to a different neighborhood as a result of that. I mean it's more than that too. We need more space and room. It's a two-bedroom house.

In the extended excerpt below, this interviewee elaborates on some of the day-to-day difficulties that he, his family, and members of their neighborhood group have experienced in learning how to deal with the kinds of challenges that cultural difference brings. City officials described to us the implementation of a number of programs (e.g., Livable Neighborhoods resource center, the Blue Card program with code enforcement, community policing) that were designed to assist citizens and neighborhood groups with

precisely the kinds of problems described here. While these initiatives were lauded by most residents and neighborhood leaders, they were not always perceived to work:

A: Yeah, that's where our neighborhood group's been kind of working on. So that gives you an example. But people really, they kind of share their concerns, and then we pick two or three top priorities. Keeping lawns mowed. There's a lot of absentee landlords, and that's gotten better, but there's that concern. Too many rental properties and too many people not taking care of those rental properties. Particularly with the immigrant population, it's not uncommon to have two or three families or even four families crowded into a house, so I think neighborhood groups work with the city, like we want to try to curtail that. Sadly, across the street from where I live, there's a guy living in a trailer, like a pop-up camper.

Q: On the street?

A: No, behind someone's house, but you can look... I mean you can see it from the street. But he lives there, and it's really hard for me, because on the one hand, this is not acceptable in this country. But also I realize, "Hey, you're very poor, and you need a place to live." I've shared that with our community police, and they've kind of turned a blind eye. I mean they've looked at it. But that's one of the struggles too. I'm seeing that particularly in Argentine is that, as we have immigrants moving in, they're not acculturated. Also, they're very poor, and it feels like a different set of rules apply to them. For instance, at my house, we had two drunk Hispanic gentlemen crash into our house.

Q: Into your house?

A: Into our house. Yeah.

Q: Crash into it in a car?

A: They crashed into it in a car, and they got away. They ran away. And it didn't really feel like the police...

Q: Really pursued it?

A: I mean they chased the guys, but they didn't find it, and they just kind of let it go. But there's that perception, I would say. There's that feeling like because a lot of these people don't have documentation, there's a feeling of compassion to try to help them. But at the same time like, I wish you were legal so that when you did something like this it was much more easier to... you know the police were like, "We don't want deal with you. We don't know how to arrest you. You're not really a citizen," so it's easier just to not. I think there's that perception. I don't know if that's the reality, but I definitely think there's that perception. And there's that tension too, because a lot of them their primary language is Spanish. They don't speak English so there's that division. My wife and I sometimes joke, "We moved to Mexico, and no one told us." Well, this morning I woke up and heard the sound of roosters. Yeah, because our neighbor keeps roosters, which is illegal. But we've called Code Enforcement and they've said, "Well, unless the roosters are out, we can't really do anything about it."

Q: Like out in the yard?

A: We've called Animal Control. I mean it's one of those things. And that's every neighborhood.

Q: For example, the guy in the trailer or the people with the roosters, do they join the neighborhood associations?

A: No, they don't. Well, some do, and that's been a struggle too, having something bilingual. Because you have two groups. You have the groups who are legal immigrants that are Hispanic, but they came here illegally or they're second generation, but they still have the language. And then you have people here just undocumented. And the undocumented tend not to join. That's because they're kind of isolated too. They're always nervous about being deported and such. But there are some cultural and some language barriers that are definitely an issue.

While neighborhood groups were generally seen as a force for inclusion and as a way to make changing neighborhoods viable places to live for all people, there is considerable diversity in the mission and mandate of the 120 or so neighborhood groups that are registered with Livable Neighborhoods in KCK. Some are perceived as being exclusionary (even "racist") in the way they operate:

A: Right. So there was a lot--I mean, you have some of these old-guard neighborhood groups that there's, what's the name of the group, WCAC, Wyandotte Countians Against Crime, that is sort of that old white guard that...

Q: Doesn't want...?

A: Well, they had pretty much good intentions, but underneath all of that, kind of behind it is if you pull the thread very far, you'll find some racist sentiments. But the neighborhood groups, overall, I think have been a good thing for the city and have helped to keep some people with some resources in neighborhoods that otherwise they might have left.

Language has become a visible target for many of people's frustrations:

A: I will tell you; you know the really most interesting thing about our county is, and particularly Wyandotte County...I think Johnson County hasn't seen probably the enormous growth, but has seen a growth of, I think, the more...I see the difficulty comes around the Spanish speaking and this whole immigration and how it's targeting particularly those from Mexico. And I think that's been...because if you drive down the Central Avenue right here, all of their stuff is in Spanish. If you drive up and down the street, it is in Spanish.

Q: Spanish?

A: And I think more of our population hates that than others from other countries coming in. It's that piece...that bothers people. I, for a long time, have really dealt with the issue from some of our political officials to our police too, that that seems to be more...

Q: The stopping point?

A: Yeah.

Q: What do you think that's about?

A: I don't know.

Interestingly, agencies involved in contemporary resettlement efforts are weighing the advantages and disadvantages of placing refugees in racial and ethnic enclaves. The importance of bonding social capital is highlighted in this excerpt, though the ways in which this contributes to problems with bridging social capital are also recognized:

A: Very interesting that you ask. One of the things we do is really kind of take a look at where the current population that is closer. Like, for instance, a large population that we've settled in the past year or two have been the Somali-Bantu. And the first kind of in-roads was in Johnson County

where we work with a housing facility that was able to kind of establish like a family of eight, family of six, family of seven. And what we did after that was really then try to build their community of same folks, same kind of commitment of being here. And, oddly enough, it looks like segregation, but kind of that's what we did: in-roads into first of all trying to get a commitment of who can handle that large of a population. But we do resettle in Wyandotte.

Q: And Johnson?

A: But it's just that that group, for instance, really was trying to get them together in a network that they also can help themselves. But the way we typically do it is really kind of taking a look at who are the apartment managers and folks that we could network with to be able to give us kind of--sometimes within a 24-hour period--an apartment that we can set up and get them maintained and ready. I mean, usually they can give us a couple of weeks to know that they're coming. But oftentimes, it is within a 24-hour period that we have to be ready.

In this excerpt the interviewee is describing how, on the one hand, churches have “wrapp[ed] themselves around” immigrant and refugee families, helping them to settle and to acclimate to life in KCK. On the other hand, she is describing how some groups they have settled together, notably the Hmong, have “separated” themselves and are “hard to actually move into from the outside.”

A: And we even have churches in Missouri that have then sponsored families--not necessarily in those neighborhoods. And that's the thing. So it might be a church in Missouri that have sponsored a family, and they're in Johnson County, and they're wrapping themselves around everything it takes to help that family then move forward. So I would say we've not had any issues of folks in our communities that say, “Why are you bringing these people here?” They're hard working. There is a language issue. But they're very much eager to start off and move forward to acclimate, to become familiar with what it takes to be a part of the community. These are really great folks that are very humble and very low-key. Our original population that we moved in was actually the Hmong community. And they very much have actually just stayed ...together.

Q: Really?

A: And they very much have separated and continue to be hard to actually move into from the outside. From the inside, they've been very accepting of those coming over from the outside [new immigrants]. They're hard because they feel like it's their responsibility to take care of their own. So it's been an interesting experience where they have come in and really just wrapped themselves around themselves, their own church, where they live in their community.

### ***3. Conventional politics***

The survey data indicated that voter registration and participation in the last presidential election were lower in KCK than in Kansas and the nation as a whole. These findings were not surprising to most interviewees.

An interviewee from Northeast felt that it was difficult for people in that neighborhood to get information about the candidates or about issues and that little or no money was spent on advertising in KCK electoral races. Poor voter turnout was attributed to lack of information and the sense that candidates were not speaking to them:

They're good at ...they will have a meeting where you can't get to. Make a decision for you, and say, “They didn't show up.” So they're real good at that. Or they don't post it. They don't publicize it. Elections in Wyandotte County, well... because we see all the advertising for Missouri. You don't have to advertise in Wyandotte County. If they know your name, by hook or crook, you'll get voted for. Otherwise, people are going eeny, meeny, miney, mo, when and if they

vote. Because there's no advertisement. No money spent on advertisement. The Governor advertises. The Attorney General advertises. Little bit for the mayor. But councilmen and things like that, other... school board and stuff. Oh no. You might get a mailing. You might get a mailing. They don't have the money to waste on it, as well as people run under the radar. Don't cost you no money to run one like that. And so they wonder why people don't come out. It's kind of like, "Oh, we got an election? Who's running? What do they stand for?"

People noted that in the past (particularly prior to the era of Mayor Marinovich) the city was run by "the Democratic machine." While there was a sense that this era was over, interviewees acknowledged that it was difficult to re-engage citizens in the political process:

A: ...People have gotten away from participating in politics because they don't think they'll have a voice. And in Wyandotte County, there's no hope. You know? There's just really no hope.

Q: So tell me why that's ...

A: Nothing... Nothing was ever changing. It was all the Democratic machine, and you had no political clout. Neighborhoods really didn't have any access to power or decision making.

Some people still questioned whether their opinions mattered. For instance, when we asked if there had been any recent local issues about which people felt strongly, one respondent from Northeast said:

Nope. Business is normal. So long... they're going to do what they're going to do. So it don't matter what we say.

Some city officials, however, were acutely aware of voting patterns in their districts. One had color-coded maps on the office wall that showed in great detail – house by house – the number of people who voted and the number of times they had voted in recent elections. One of the most important factors shaping the voting patterns on the maps was whether residents owned their homes: non-voters were much more likely than voters to be tenants and not home-owners.

It seems that the city has also tried to use neighborhood groups as a means of getting information out to city residents about elections and about issues that will be voted on:

I think most people will say that because it [neighborhood groups] provides them with information as to what's going on in the community. Most of the neighborhood groups will have a presentation every meeting, either somebody from the city or, like we have a vote coming up on the 26<sup>th</sup> on gaming in Kansas. And we're one of the counties that has the opportunity to have casino gambling and slot machines and things like that in our community. And so there's a vote on the 26<sup>th</sup>. So this month a lot of the neighborhood groups are having someone come and talk about voting, talk about the gaming issue and what it means and what are the pros and cons and things like that. So a lot of the neighborhood groups will have those kinds of presentations this month...

#### ***4. Activist politics***

The survey found levels of participation in activist politics to be lower than the state average. Different survey questions about activist politics generated different relative rankings for Kansas City compared to the state and the nation. For example, fewer respondents in KCK (compared to the state or nation) reported signing a petition or attending a political rally or meeting in the last year, while more respondents in KCK reported participating in a demonstration, protest, boycott or march. In general, however, the level of participation in activist politics by residents of KCK was judged to be low by those we interviewed.

Some residents had a difficult time remembering an issue that had galvanized their neighborhood or community. This was the response of a resident of Northeast:

Q: So can you remember, even if it's a long time back, the last time people got fired up about something?

A: Let's see, in 1968, when Martin Luther King was killed.

One interviewee reported that Hispanics might be afraid to engage in protest politics, except for large (and relatively anonymous) rallies, but then remembered an experience with a petition related to the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps in which even undocumented immigrants were willing to sign (though some church officials were not):

A: Yeah. We've been doing petitions around immigration. Again, I would say that this would be accurate [statistics on participation in activist politics], at least for the Anglos. That's probably accurate across the board, because most of our Hispanic folks are afraid, other than once or twice a year at a big immigration rally, to come out and so I guess I could see where it would be accurate.

Q: So when you do petitions, do you have difficulty getting people to sign on or do you ...-

A: We haven't done that many. I don't want to mislead you. We did one last fall, which was a petition sort of making a statement against the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps. I had trouble at the Presbytery level with that.

Q: You did?

A: Uh-huh. Because the Presbytery is primarily old white folks, so I had trouble at the Presbytery level with that. Locally here I didn't. I mean, I even had people who are undocumented saying, "Sure. I'll sign it." Putting their address down.

Others could cite more recent events in which they worked through local mediating institutions (in this case churches) to generate support for particular initiatives:

A: Well, my office, we participated in a petition drive to ask county prosecutors to enforce obscenity laws. And that was done as part of an initiative that the church was participating in. A lot of churches in the area. We were trying to go do a metro-wide blitz in Johnson, Wyandotte, Jackson--over on the Missouri side--Jackson and Cass County, because there are a lot of adult book stores. There's 32 in the greater metro. There's like four in Wyandotte County. And all of them are violating laws that are on the books. The problem is, the laws aren't being enforced, and so we did do a petition drive. So my office has been involved in that.

Q: How did that work? Did you get a lot of people?

A: We did. Well, Wyandotte County, we worked through the churches, so we got pastors on board and they asked people to sign. We collected over a thousand signatures in Wyandotte County. And then in Johnson County we collected, I think, over 6,000. But the Catholic Church sort of carried Wyandotte County, because mostly Catholics were doing it, where in Johnson County, it was Catholics and other Christian denominations and such.

Q: Were there people who said, "No, I don't want to get involved in that"?

A: Not so much. No. But that was kind of something simple. You're in a church, and you're saying, "Are you tired of pornography? Will you sign this petition that they actually enforce the law?" Because prosecutors are elected to prosecute those cases. They got bigger fish to fry, and so

they leave that alone. But in Kansas, there's a law that, if enough citizens say, "We want you to hold a grand jury, because we think a law is being broken," they have to do it.

Some interviewees felt that the "dialogue" between citizens and government officials in Wyandotte County was such that combative or confrontational ("aggressive") modes of engagement used by groups like ACORN, including sit-ins, demonstrations, protests, and boycotts, were unnecessary and inappropriate:

My experience with the [Wyandotte] County government is there's always been good dialogue. I mean they've been very receptive. They even do outreach. They reach out to talk so I feel like there's a good dynamic between the citizens and the government. In fact, I mentioned that group ACORN. They came into this community with a very aggressive model, and one of the things I said to them was, "I don't think we need that here as much, because there's already a lot of groups out there working with government. There's a lot of things going. I mean this would have been great maybe like in the 1960s or something when there wasn't anything.

### ***5. Civic leadership***

According to the survey, participation in civic leadership was higher than the national average but lower than the average for Kansas. Interviewees provided more detail on the issue.

As in other communities, people in KCK reported that many of the same people sat on community boards or occupied leadership positions in the community. These circles were described as a "family network," or as a "web" or "a 'good old girl and boy' club."

At the same time, leaders of organizations in KCK consistently remarked on their ability to communicate and coordinate their activities with those of other agencies:

As a city, because the grant funders have required us to collaborate. So you seek other organizations who can help you fill what you need to do. And no one goes out after money. Nobody even really thinks about doing anything until they've talked to another organization, because we don't want to reinvent the wheel, do the same thing, or butt heads.

KCK's recent revitalization effort is a prime example of how leadership has played an important role in improving KCK. In particular, the effort by prior mayor to develop neighborhood associations illustrates a leadership's recognition that social capital can play a role in sustaining economic development. Under prior Mayor Marinovich the unified government made significant investments in organizing and supporting these neighborhood groups. This included placing Livable Neighborhoods (the group providing technical assistance to the associations) in the mayor's office for a time; registering neighborhood groups and neighborhood business revitalization groups and making grants and technical assistance available to them; and coordinating the efforts of community policing, code enforcement, and the resource center in support of neighborhood groups. These coordinated efforts to support the neighborhoods reflect the leadership's belief that economic development could not be sustained without strong ownership by the community.

Interviewees also consistently stressed the importance of leadership at all levels, and not just among the small cadre of people who are visible at the city-wide level. For instance, finding someone who was willing to be a leader was perceived as critical to getting new neighborhood groups off the ground:

Mainly our community policing department does that [encourage people to start neighborhood groups] because they're actually on the street every day and there is many of them. I'm the only neighborhood liaison, so although I would like to do that, I'm not able to do that. So I will usually

partner ...like if a community policing officer finds a group that wants to begin a group or sometimes if they have a troubled area like a troubled apartment complex or something like that, they'll start to encourage someone to start a group. The only issue is that unless someone's willing to take the lead ...it doesn't happen. So that's kind of what they work on. And then what they'll do is come to our office for resources or they'll ask me to come and speak about starting a group or...

Getting young people involved in the neighborhood groups, particularly as leaders, was described as critical to maintaining the dynamism of the groups, and to introducing new ideas and navigating change. It was also perceived to be a problem for many of the groups. City officials worried that some of the existing neighborhood groups would die out with the current generation of leaders:

A: I think that right now a lot of our groups are really feeling some change because I think that a lot of them had sort of gone on the same ...and it worked. It really worked for them and for their neighborhood. I think we're coming to a point where a lot of these neighborhood leaders, from the beginnings of the neighborhood 'til now, are becoming older. And so these are people that were in their 20s and 30s, you know way back, doing this kind of work and really devoting themselves to this kind of work. And now they're in their 70s, late 60s, 80s and they're just not able to do what they want to do. And I think that having maybe not recruited some younger people along the way, they're finding it hard to reach out to that younger community to bring people in. So I think that's one of the struggles is you have a lot of ...not a lot, but I say we would have quite a few older groups that are sort of dwindling off as people pass away or people's families move them. Those groups are kind of struggling because there isn't the interest in the younger community that's been set. So it's a matter of finding those people and bringing them out. And so I actually have some fear that a couple of neighborhood groups after some people leave, just might not be there.

I think that if they're initially brought in as children--because I noticed that some of the people who have their children involved in the group that come to the meetings with them, they're involved in the cleanups with them, have more of a sense of neighborhood than kids who maybe just moved into the neighborhood and find out there's a neighborhood group. The same with young families. I think it's really hard to get young couples with small children involved in groups because they're so busy. So I think that's why some of the groups have--like my neighborhood group, there's us and maybe a couple other younger couples. And the minute we showed any interest, the older ladies in the group were like, "Yes, please come. We're so glad you came." And every time we come they're real excited. And I think that's why, is because they realize at some point they're going to not be able to do this and they want to make sure there are people in place who are involved who will kind of take over some of that. But I think it's because they're like in their early 60s, but they're working on that younger element right now, so that by the time they're ready to be done with the neighborhood group ...

As illustrated in the two excerpts reproduced below, interviewees thought that many of the challenges confronting neighborhood groups, including sustaining community efforts and getting people to volunteer, hinged on effective leadership:

Q: What sort of explains the ebbs and flows [in interest in community activities]?

A: Leadership. People who move out and they don't replace the leadership. Also, it's hard to keep the energy going. You get a group meeting, and it's the same people. If you're not making progress, sometimes it's easy just to, "Oh, let's not have a meeting this week or this month." Because usually when the group starts off, there's a lot of interest. You get 20 people, and then they'll set the agenda, but then they'll stop coming. Or you'll have new people coming each time, and then after a while, it gets a little ...

We do have trouble getting people to volunteer. I think with the right kind of leadership we could do that. I found, for me, the struggle was just, of all the things I'm doing, I wasn't able to give as much time to that as perhaps I would have liked to, and I think I could have made some

differences. One thing we never did was have a party and develop some identity and such. One of the struggles is that your less affluent communities tend to have less people who've gone to college and maybe have some of the communication and organizational skills that kind of help. That's not to say that if you haven't been to college you don't have those, but my experience has been that's the trend. I mean that's the way I got voted to be president was I just showed up at a meeting late. I said, "Oh, we voted for a new president." I go, "Who was it?" Every finger pointed at me. "Oh, good! I'm president."

## **6. Organizational involvement**

Perhaps the survey finding that most distinguished Kansas City from other communities, the state, and the country was the percentage of people who reported being involved in a neighborhood group or association. Nearly 36 percent of people in KCK reported belonging to such a group compared to 21 percent in Kansas and 20.5 percent nationwide.

The interviewees were not at all surprised by these findings given the investments by the government in neighborhood associations. The surge in community-based organizing and associational involvement was noticeable to nearly everyone:

I think that among the white folks, I would say especially this first one [referring to the data tables from the survey findings] or the second one, the neighborhood association, I'd say that's especially true, because the last 15 years there has been a real push to have neighborhood groups and there are neighborhood groups all around the city, some of them more active than others. Some of them have continued, where others have quit. But part of the resurgence of Wyandotte County and the improved self-image, I think, has been the development of these neighborhood groups and associations that started in about the early '90s. Really they just sort of, I mean, within a few years, within like five years it seemed like suddenly we had more than 100 neighborhood groups in Wyandotte County.

Neighborhood and community efforts at revitalization were propelled in part by flight (particularly white) from the city and growing fears about the downward spiral set off by gangs and crime. Another factor was demographic change. Dwindling public resources also contributed to the emphasis placed on community-led efforts; because the city did not have the policing or other resources required to deal with persistent community problems, citizens were enlisted to be the "eyes and ears" for the government and the police department:

Another person explained the extent of the involvement:

We have over 120 neighborhood groups in Wyandotte County that are registered with us. Now, there are some groups that aren't registered that just choose not to be and they want to do their own thing and they don't need any services, and that's fine; we're not stopping anybody from meeting. But there's about 120 registered with us. And I would say out of that there's about 70 that are what we consider active, meaning they meet every month, that they do regular projects, that they are regularly involved in what's going on. Like I said, some of the groups meet once a year. Some of them meet twice a year. Some of them only meet when an issue arises. Some of them will meet regularly and then their president will move out and so they kind of die down. And then somebody'll say, "Oh, I'll take it over." And then they meet again regularly. So it just changes. And the groups are different. Like I said, you have those groups that are tried and true. Every month they meet and everyone is there. And they do a cleanup every weekend. And then you have some groups that maybe have a little more elderly people in them and not as many young people. And so they're not able to do as much as they would like to do. It just kind of depends. They're all different. But we have a lot of very active groups, a lot of groups that are very involved. Part of one of the services that we provide here is technical assistance. Sherry Martin is in charge of that. And she provides copies, newsletters. She's working on trying to get

web pages for all of the neighborhood groups if they would like it so that people can check their meeting times online and leave messages and chat with each other. She provides a lot of the information for the neighborhood groups, does all of the mailings to the neighborhood groups, all of that for them. So there's quite a few groups that come in and out of here [the Neighborhood Resource Center] every day just for that purpose. And that is a full-time job in itself, just to provide that for the neighborhood groups. So that 60 that's active, they're very active.

There are challenges to getting some people involved in neighborhood groups, particularly in diverse and changing communities. Interviewees talked about the lack of familiarity of some people with neighborhood groups as well as cultural and language barriers as some of the principal challenges many neighborhood groups faced:

And I think that some of them knew of the neighborhood group and some of them didn't, but having not participated, were a little scared to reach out--which I think some people can be intimidated because I think the idea of neighborhood groups to some people is intimidating. They think, "Oh, what does that mean? Do I have to get involved? Does that mean people are going to be complaining about my lawn now?" I mean, there's people who have ideas of what a neighborhood group is and I think it kind of keeps them away. And if you come from a country or you come from a place that there isn't neighborhood groups, that being organized is kind of a scary thing, it can turn people away. I mean, I know people who that's why they haven't got involved because from the country they came from being involved in an organization could be dangerous to you and your family. And not knowing the culture as well, I think that's what keeps some people away.

The language barrier, I think, is the biggest and the neighborhood groups in reaching out--trying to reach out and not really having the resources to bridge that language barrier, and then also the immigrant community being a little intimidated to reaching out. Like for instance, we recently had a group that's right near one of our neighborhood groups that's very strong, that's very open, that's very willing to reach out. But there was a group of moms who wanted to do a study circle through the United Way to figure out how they can help get their kids home safely from school so they're not bothered by thugs in the neighborhood or whoever. And they were a group of Spanish-speaking moms. They were immigrant families. And their concern was that being part of the neighborhood group they would lose their voice. Because they had some language barriers that they would not be able to--they would sort of be overtaken by this main group that they considered white. So I know that there are some of those issues on both sides. And we know that a lot of the neighborhood groups are really trying. And their thought is, "We just want people to be involved. If people who want to start their own group with other Spanish-speaking people or other Hmong speaking people, that's fine. We just want them to know what's going on and be involved in what's going on in the neighborhood."

City officials talked about the ways that neighborhood groups are changing to try to accommodate new people, including people who do not speak English, people who have limited time, and younger people. And about city policies that are helping to support broader participation, in some form, in neighborhood groups:

We also offer, which is new this year, a block party grant. It's to the first 50 neighborhood groups. It's a \$100 grant to help them with food and paper goods and things like that to kind of get their neighborhood groups out. And that's actually an initiative that our current mayor kind of pushed for. He's a real big proponent of block parties because what we find out is that a lot of times you have the same 15 people at the neighborhood group meeting, but you might have 30 people on your block. So how do you get those people involved? And a lot of our neighborhood groups are changing the way they do neighborhood group meetings. In the past it's always been you have that once a month meeting and you have to have your whole--like your president, your vice president, things like that. You have to be organized. But a lot of them are finding that okay, well their board might meet once a month, but the actual neighborhood will only meet for block parties and garage

sales and picnics and events. But the board will actually kind of help to focus what they're doing. And then they'll vote on who they want for the board. And then that next year the board will have various projects that they'll work on. And then the neighborhood group members will just come to participate in that. So my neighborhood group only meets like three or four months out of the year. And the rest of the time they have a picnic. They have a Christmas dinner. They have a chili cookout. They have a garage sale. I mean, they have other things instead of just the typical meeting. And I think that groups are changing because they're realizing that people with young families, that older individuals it's harder for them to get out every single month and meet all of the time. And on top of that once a month meeting, do a neighborhood cleaning and do a party and do a picnic. So I think some of them are changing the way that they do that.

Those neighborhoods that had the most crime were precisely those neighborhoods in which neighborhood groups had difficulty flourishing, or even functioning. People described residents as being fearful of approaching others about code violations or of working in collaboration with community police to clean up the neighborhood by reporting on drug dealers, for example:

A: Well, I'm going to say a lot of that [success in starting new neighborhood groups] depends on where within the community they are located. There are still, and there probably always will be, people that are leery of the police. There are a lot of people that are scared of the ramifications of being involved with the police. Those kind of factors play into how willing they are to become involved to either help establish a neighborhood group or even just become a member of one. So you have to overcome those hurdles first. I'm going to say typically, in your suburban type areas, outlying areas of the city, it's probably relatively easy to get a neighborhood group started. An area that's already been entrenched with crime, it's going to be much more difficult, not only because of what I just said, but also because of the fact that, I'm going to say the per capita for that particular block or that particular area is more heavily infested with criminals versus, I'm going to say, decent, law abiding people. And so decent, law abiding people, feeling out numbered, they just don't want to expose themselves, I guess. Some will but, for the most part, they won't.

Q: What kind of strategies do they [community police] use in those kinds of places to get people organized or involved?

A: Well, obviously we want to try to work with those people that do step out on a limb, so to speak, and we don't want to expose them to any more danger than necessary. We try to address their concerns and, again, if it's like drug houses up and down the block, we try to address those issues. We'll bring in our drug unit and we'll try to make cases against these people. We'll use code enforcement to come in and if we do, say, have some reason to be in the residence legally, then we might notice that, I don't know, it's just an unkempt residence. There's no power or other utilities, and we might declare it unfit, and eventually raise it or whatever needs to be done ... Yeah, I'm going to say in the long run, yes [that neighborhood groups help the police do their work more effectively]. I'm not going to say that that works in every community within the city. I'm just going to say that in some areas it works better than others. Those areas that are entrenched with crime already, there's a lot of work needs to be done there, and I don't know that we'll ever get it done.

## ***7. Giving and Volunteering***

Overall, giving and volunteering were low in Kansas City. Specifically, the survey findings indicated that KCK residents give relatively high amounts to church or religious causes and relatively low amounts to non-religious causes. Volunteerism was lower in KCK than the rest of the state or the nation, and working on community projects was also relatively low.

In general, interviewees thought that there was more volunteerism that occurred than was captured by the survey findings. However, the data (which were difficult for some people to make sense of given the multiple response options) were not too far out of line with people's experiences.

People's perceptions of the ease or difficulty of accessing volunteers depended on the situation or the task at hand. Sometimes they described having to "twist arms." Others said that the city "is built on volunteerism" and that there are many people who "give lots of free hours." Even businesses were said to solicit free hours from people, who would give them.

Some of the neighborhood groups and neighborhood business revitalization groups (NBRs) have found ways of maintaining lists of volunteers who are willing to help, for instance, elderly residents with home maintenance tasks. In describing what the neighborhood resource center does one interview said the following:

But more of like, "I have this problem in my neighborhood. I don't know where to go." Directing them to what they need or, "We have two elderly women in our neighborhood that can't mow their lawns." Then a lot of times the NBRs will have programs or volunteers ready that they can say, "Okay. We can mow your lawn once a month." And so they all have those kind of programs. They sort of bring volunteers together. They sort of distribute those volunteers and those services to whoever needs them in their area. And what I've been able to do has been sort of like assist in that. When it gets beyond the NBR, they're like, "We don't have any resource for that. What can we do?" Try to help them find those.

Other community leaders said they had difficulty enlisting volunteers and attributed this to people needing to work more than they did in the past in order to be able to make a living:

Q: Here's one that you might want to say something about: volunteerism. And I don't know how much your church relies on volunteers or volunteer work or if you have difficulty recruiting people.

A: It's not easy. Well, I think that this reflects people who are--my initial impression would be that it reflects the fact that people are working more trying to survive. It's more about survival than it is about being able to help others and that the help happens more in terms of family connections, that sort of volunteer spirit happens more in terms of who I know and who I can help, rather than through formal volunteer sort of--

Q: Opportunities..?

A: Right.

People could name many initiatives that had died for lack of volunteers:

I live down here by the river. There's a fair degree of parks. The sidewalks are in disrepair. Sadly, we used to have a great resource called the Franklin Center, and it had a cooperative grocery store, and it had a café that was run all by volunteers. But just the leadership, they've been doing it for 20 years, and they stopped, and no one else has picked it up.

### ***9. Faith-based engagement***

The survey results show participation in faith-based organizations in KCK to be higher than the national average but lower than the state average; interviewees were not surprised by these results. In general, churches were thought to play an important role in civic life, though not as important as in the past.

Q: So are churches a big part of sort of neighborhood life?

A: Depends on the neighborhood. Well, in east Argentine, definitely. In this part of Argentine, there's St. John the Evangelist, and that's a big part. Like the neighborhood by the cathedral, St. Peter, it's called the St. Peter's neighborhood, so that's a much bigger part. It kind of depends. I think historically it used to be much more so that, but as parishes have had to close down or be consolidated, that's part. And people are not maybe as religious. The parish life is not as much. It doesn't play as great a role as it once did, like in the '50s or '40s.

The importance of the church and the role of the church in producing community leaders and volunteers differed from neighborhood to neighborhood:

A: You know, that's a great question. Some time ago, about maybe--here's our programs. We started a neighborhood leadership program some years ago--in 1995, all right?--and have sent through this project a number of neighborhood people that kind of--not the typical leader that you might think of, but these are grassroots people who just had a commitment to their property, first of all, and then to their block and then, as they began to gain a voice and have a voice, they began to work differently with other people in adjacent blocks. And so there was this--just a, I think, a gradual transition and, since then, some neighborhood development groups on the Missouri side have begun to offer free training because they've seen the kind of activity that has been brewing. And so now we have fairly active neighborhood groups. In the northeast, they're primarily clustered around the faith community.

Q: They are? Okay.

A: And we have a number of CDCs that have grown up around the faith community, City Vision Ministries--my mind is going to go blank. There's a major church in the northeast.

### ***10. Informal socializing and diversity of friendships***

According to the survey, KCK residents reported relatively low informal socializing, with lower attendance at public events, including local sporting events, art events, or parades compared to the nation or the state. At the same time, KCK had relatively higher levels of participation in team sports and visiting with friends. The diversity of friendships (race, class, religion, etc.) was low in KCK.

Malls and shopping districts stood out as important places for informal socializing. Minnesota Avenue was, according to some "the place to be" before the economy dried up and shops began closing. As the center city declined and the Indian Springs mall closed, opportunities for meeting others seem also to have shrunk:

Like at Christmas time, you wanted to go shopping, you go to the mall and you see people you haven't seen all year. But at least you find them at that point in time. Or they'd come back into town or whatever, you know, we could always go to Indian Springs [the mall that was closed after two shooting incidents] and run into people we hadn't seen all year, but no...

Neighborhood groups have become one way in which people develop informal social ties:

And I think the block parties and the Christmas parties and the garage sales and the picnics have all played an important part in neighborhood groups and how they interact. A lot of the neighborhood groups have Easter egg hunts for kids. They have Halloween parties. They have just various things like that that I think keeps the neighborhood together and keeps it light and brings in people who aren't a part of the neighborhood group on a regular basis. So I think that's just a positive thing that it can add to the community.

Another interviewee said:

I think it's a lot--especially with our elderly neighbors who really feel like, even though their family might not be in town, they've really created that kind of family within their neighborhood groups. A lot of our neighborhood leaders who've been here and been doing this for a long time know each other. They might be on completely opposite ends of the city, but know each other through their involvement and are like a family, in a sense, in that they really support each other and that they really try to help each other out and share information--and that's something that I've witnessed. And I think that you would hear that from some of the neighborhood group leaders. But some of the people are very close, very, very close from the work that they've done. Because some of them have been doing this work way before we had Livable Neighborhoods, way before there was grant projects, way before there was any of those resources available. And I think they feel that sense of--I don't know, camaraderie or loyalty to each other and friendship.

But neighborhood groups do not, as we mentioned earlier, function this way in all neighborhoods and particularly in neighborhoods that might need them most:

Q: So people more or less stay to themselves. Or they live in a complex. Well, no, they stay to themselves, too. I was going to say in the projects, in the projects they even stay to themselves. They don't like to intermingle with each other.

A: Even in the projects?

Q: And we have a community center and everything. Some of them may send their kids over, whatever, but basically... they are afraid what the other person is doing. They don't want it to influence their life, whether it's negative or positive, depending on which person you are.

Although interviewees acknowledged the diversity of the city allowed for diverse friendships, people described challenges to developing informal social ties particularly across racial and ethnic lines. For example, the interviewee below has 'friends' at work, but questions whether these professional relationships could ever translate into meaningful personal relationships:

That's where it would be interesting for me. If I moved into some of the newer subdivisions, I'd wonder how I would be accepted. ... I still believe that there's a lot of people that probably accept me and will accept me professionally. But really, that whole going home together and stuff, I don't know.

Another informant said:

A: I've had Hispanics to my house for dinner, but I've never been at their house. I mean I think some of it's cultural. I think some of it too is just--yeah, I think a lot of it's cultural.

Q: Like not knowing if you'll eat their food or what?

A: Well, though my kids have been there. I mean my kids have gone into their homes and been invited. They're much more family based, I've observed. They live in a tight network, and so they pretty much only have family over, or people who are members of their church. That's what I've seen. So they kind of stay in their own little network.

### **Assets and challenges**

KCK is a relatively small city with a home-town feel. Recent revitalization efforts have resulted in improved coordination of services, stronger neighborhood associations, and a general sense of optimism about life in the city. The neighborhood residents have strong social bonds, and many families have lived

in the city for multiple generations. The city has always been diverse, and there is a general tolerance of diversity.

Despite these strengths, the city faces a number of challenges affecting social capital. For example, because of a history of well-defined and largely segregated neighborhoods, development efforts are difficult for some to see as benefiting everyone; instead they are seen as “them” getting things instead of “us.” Effort will need to be made not only to improve the distribution of the economic development activities but to improve the perceptions about this distribution.

In addition, there is a continual need for strengthening individual neighborhoods (bonding social capital) and improving relationships between neighborhoods (bridging social capital). For example, because the city is fairly segregated, this helps in the formation of strong neighborhood groups. Yet the neighborhood groups could be stronger in some neighborhoods—largely those that need them the most (e.g., the northeast). Residents in these areas need help to trust the associations, to develop leadership skills, and to feel ownership over community decisions and actions, among other things. Furthermore, neighborhood residents are still wary of newcomers, particularly those of different ethnicities. Their difficulties in incorporating new and different members reflect weak bridging social capital. Similarly, the lack of connection between different neighborhood groups also indicates a need for improved bridging social capital. Building trust between groups will be a major challenge for KCK.

KCK’s poor public transportation system has implications for the development of social capital. The city’s failure to develop this system reinforces the perception that the city does not care about lower-income, isolated populations who need public transportation the most (eg, the African Americans in the northeast). In addition, the lack of public transportation hinders the improvement of bridges between communities.

Leadership is vitally important to advancing the improvements of the city. As KCK has demonstrated with its recent neighborhood initiatives, critical components of change include vision, economic investment, and technical support. In addition to the importance of city-level leadership, leadership at the organizational level and community level are also critical.

## Community Study 5: Wichita

### **Background**

Wichita has had a fairly stable population of just under 500,000 over the last several decades. Geographically the city has spread, growing both to the east and to the west. There has been significant Hispanic migration to the city in recent years; most immigrants are now employed in service industries.

‘Eastsiders’ and ‘westsiders’ was one of the most meaningful distinctions interviewees could make between Wichita’s residents. The sides of the city were talked about as “copies” of each other (same stores, same restaurants), although the east side was thought to have slightly more money, power, and influence. Northeast is mostly African Americans. The Riverside area is populated by “liberals,” including professors and gays. The south side was described by more than one person as the “forgotten” part of town (particularly Oaklawn). Southeast is racially and ethnically mixed, with large Asian, black and Hispanic populations – “a melting pot.” This is where McConnell Air Force Base is located. Southwest is quite sparse, and generally blue collar section of town.

The airline industry has been a major employer though there have been many changes to the industry in recent years, including buy-outs of some of the major companies. Many of the residents of Wichita have come because of the air base. The school district is a major employer, and there is some manufacturing, although some of Wichita’s big corporations moved their headquarters, including Pizza Hut and Rent-A-Center. Wichita State University is an important part of the community.

Wichita was described as welcoming, friendly, affordable, easy to get around in, and a good place to raise a family. Yet it was also described as a place “in search of an identity.” Many people talked about how the city had struggled to find ways to attract people to it – and to keep them there. One interviewee said that CEOs who come in generally do not stay longer than three years and that turnover in some positions is high. A task force has been assembled to find ways to make Wichita more attractive to businesses and to residents.

### **Domains of ‘social capital’**

#### ***1. Social trust***

Wichita was described as a “country town” which meant that it felt small and friendly; people seemed to have a sense that they knew others in their community. In general, interviewees were not surprised by the relatively high levels overall of social trust found in the survey:

I would say that’s pretty accurate, because Wichita is still kind of a country town. So on a daily basis you expect a greeting from a person, or they’ll hold the door or some common courtesy which conveys trust. So I would say that’s pretty accurate ... Yeah. And I have to tell you, I’m actually from Kansas City. I grew up in Kansas City, yeah, and I chose to live here in Wichita because of Wichita State University. And I stayed here because I just fell in love with the people of Wichita.

While there are both wealthy and extremely poor people in the city, interviewees tended to focus on and to emphasize the relative homogeneity of Wichita. Some said that there are few visible signs of poverty or homelessness in most of the city, except for the occasional person holding a sign (“will work for food”) at an intersection. In explaining lower levels of social trust among members of racial and ethnic minority groups, interviewees talked about higher levels of crime in some neighborhoods, like Northeast. One interviewee from the northeast said that she knew who she could trust on her block and who she could

not:

Wow, that's interesting [the statistic on social trust]. I mean, if--you know, if we have--and you're in northeast Wichita and you've got a lot of crime, you know, maybe one or two of them are good, but there might be a few of them that you're not sure of. You know, you have a couple neighbors you can trust. I mean, that's my block. I live in northeast Wichita, and I have the few that you can trust. But then, you know, that one down there--so that's just how it is. You know, that guy down there is--and I mean, I tell my daughter, you know, now you know whose house you can go to if you ever have a problem, but you don't--Yeah. And then you know more about your people that are near you. So you know not to trust them. You understand? You know who you can and cannot trust, versus outside--

One development that has, in the minds of many interviewees, led to more social trust was the decentralization of government offices and the development of neighborhood sub-stations. These sub-stations are located in particular parts of town and are the home base for community policing officers and elected representatives from that district. The sub-stations were also set up to be places where area residents could pay their bills in recognition that the city's public transportation system is limited and people without cars have a difficult time accessing city government:

I do believe that the institutions of the substations have helped the community relationships with the police and the African-Americans. There have been some outstanding police officers who just have a passion for healthy communities that we've seen here. And one of them, Alex Robinson, just received an award from President Bush the other day--a national award--for 1,600 volunteer hours that he's put in in the community working with youth. But he also works with community leaders and anything that promotes a healthy community. So individuals like him, and there are others like him who have come out and sat in on meetings and things like that, have contributed to that immensely.

## ***2. Inter-racial trust***

Compared to survey data on the state as a whole, inter-racial trust in Wichita was high overall, with higher trust among White and African American respondents and lower trust among Hispanic respondents.

Interviewees told us about their city while pointing to places on a map, and they described parts of the city that were ethnically and racially mixed and others that were not. The southeast side of town was a particularly prominent example of the former; the northeast side, with a primarily African-American population, was an example of the latter. Few white people were thought to take up residence in the northeast.

Interviewees also said that many of the city's social events or arts and cultural events were not racially and ethnically mixed affairs. Some minority interviewees expressed discomfort, though not necessarily a lack of trust, when attending events where there were few other minorities present. An example that was given was a conference for women called 'Dress for Success' which attracted an estimated 300 to 400 women, but only a handful of black women. Conversely, an event that attracted a diverse crowd was Motown at the Symphony. There was a feeling expressed that certain parts of town (e.g., Old Town) or certain events are not "a place for us." One interviewee said that she thought special efforts needed to be made to make minorities feel welcome and to make them feel that advertisements for concerts, openings, or other events were meant for them.

The effects of immigration in Wichita were more muted than in some of the other communities we worked in (e.g., Junction City, Garden City, Kansas City). However, it was clear that issues surrounding

ethnic and racial diversity were beginning to garner more attention. And it was clear that immigration was an issue that was generating heated debate:

A: Well, to be crass about it, I guess the balance of power shifts. All of a sudden, you look around one morning, and you're looking at more Hispanic faces than you are white faces. The cathedral's a great example of how this used to be a very white enclave, and now it's a huge Hispanic population there, and that causes a lot of anxieties and fears. And your income levels go down, because what they're finding, Hispanics, for whatever reason, they don't write big checks to the church, and many of them I don't think have big checks to write. But they don't have the same notion of giving to the church that maybe the Caucasian population has grown up with. And then, of course, in your neighborhoods, then your neighborhoods change, and there are all those sociological realities. I mean it's been incredible to see the heat around this immigration issue. Oh, my heavens! It is--and it's more than heat. It's viciousness.

Q: Yeah. I guess I'm wondering how, at the local level, you see that. Are people welcome to church?

A: Well, I think there's tension, but I haven't seen in--and probably a lot of tension--but I haven't seen in our community where it's really gotten ugly or out of hand. But my staff has been going around giving presentations on this issue and just the furor out there of--

Q: What is the worry?

A: Well, people are very caught up in giving people amnesty. But there's no realism. I mean, come on, we're not going to send 12 million people back. We could be doing a better job of controlling all this if we wanted to and if big business was involved in all of this. It's generally big business who's not making the biggest squawk about this, because they need them. So people are all up in arms about--and there's a perception they're a drain on the social service system, and they're taking our educational money and our medical dollars, our this and our that, though many of these people pay taxes. ... Our bishop put out a statement in the Catholic paper many months ago, and there were a lot of phone calls over there, you know, even threaten. And one of the things they threaten is, "You know you just lost my [CROSSTALK]-- We have not had a lot of that, but I think agencies that deal with more extensive immigration work and depending on what's going on in their diocese, like maybe the Los Angeles of the world and the Phoenixes of the world, there is some of that. But it hasn't been dramatic. It hasn't been dramatic for any of us that I know about and certainly not here. I'm very involved nationally. While we spend a lot of time talking about the immigration issues and things going on around that, we haven't talked about how many donors we've lost because of immigration.

In general people said that Wichita did not feel as "integrated" as many larger cities. A racial perception survey conducted by WSU's Center for Economic Development in 2005 suggested that people in Wichita get along in their neighborhoods but did not believe that everyone had an equal opportunity in terms of education or jobs. Racism was identified as a barrier to social and professional advancement. Despite these findings, interviewees indicated that racial tensions, while present, were less charged or less fraught in Wichita than in many other communities:

But what I've been told here by the leadership is that--and I've been told this by black leadership and white leadership--is that the white community wants African Americans to participate, Hispanics, they want them to be in the mainstream. Black communities believe that white people don't want them to. And there's this gap of how do you bring that to--they're saying, we want to participate, we want to own businesses. The white folk is saying, we want you to, we want you to own businesses. But there's something in between.

The kinds of examples that people gave when talking about "comfort" in other neighborhoods or with members of other racial and ethnic groups generally revolved around food, eating, and restaurants, which

turned up as a major form of informal socializing in Wichita. It was said, for example, that people would feel comfortable going to a national chain for Mexican food or Chinese food, but that few people would go to the north part of town to find an authentic and owner operated Mexican restaurant. Still, food, and the willingness to open oneself up to others' food seemed to be an important marker of racial and ethnic tolerance (if not quite trust...):

I think that racial lines are beginning to blur a little bit, but the attitudes haven't. So in larger cities I think you see a wide acceptance of different cultures. Here, different cultures are emerging, but they're not really yet fully integrated into the city. I mean, you'll get people who go to the Chinese buffet or the Mexican buffet, that type of thing. But when it comes to the citizens of those various countries, I don't think they're fully integrated into the culture here. And there are various reasons for that. You know, the language is one. But it doesn't have the cultural feel of a Washington, DC, for example. You go into Washington, DC and it's kind of like, "Oh, there are people from everywhere and they're all accepted." But here you find more clustering, you still find more clustering.

Some of the data we collected suggest that 'white flight' is still a factor and that new gated or isolated communities are allowing people with money to opt-out of the public school system and of the increasing diversity of city life:

The far east part is kind of the wealthiest part and kind of the new wealth part. Then I always think of Andover, which is a little kind of pop community east of town, is where people are going away--kind of a white flight area. I'm sure that's not universal, but that's a lot of the people I talk to who have moved to Andover wanted to get out of the public schools in Wichita. Which means, you know, they want to get away from black people. And then the northeast part of town, unfortunately, is still really the core of the African-American community. And the south part of town, I would say, is the lower-income white community.

### ***3. Conventional politics***

The survey found conventional political participation in Wichita to be low relative to the state and the nation. The general sentiment among interviewees was that it was difficult to get people to register to vote or to vote, even though Wichita was known as a "very Republican" town. Some interviewees thought it was a positive development that local elections, including the mayoral election, were non-partisan. This requires that voters do some work to figure out the party affiliations of the candidates, which some did but many did not. Otherwise, voters, according to our interviewees, would vote a straight ticket and not pay attention to the substantive platforms of the candidates for office:

A: I mean, I register people to vote. And I mean, you'll walk up to people and like we'll go to festivals and stuff. They're like, you know, no. I'm like, "Oh, why would you not want to register to vote? Why would you not vote?" But then you have to deal with--first of all, you deal with the felons. Okay. So you deal with the felons, and a lot of them don't want to tell you that. And some of them will tell you that they're a felon. But then there are just those--like I have--our assistant editor here, her husband is retired from one of the plants. She's an intelligent person, a Masters degree, almost Ph.D. in journalism. And this man will not vote.

Q: Why won't he vote? He just thinks it doesn't matter?

Q: And I'm thinking this is something--she's like I just about think I've about got Jimmy to vote this year. Or like bowling leagues, too. That's a big thing. And they're big into bowling and things like that. And baseball leagues, even, for adult men. But he's a big bowler. I was thinking--but no, he just doesn't--why should I bother with that stuff? And I've written articles--we've had so many elections here recently that were lost by just--

Q: A few votes?

A: Yes. And I continue to say can you see--do you not see--I run them by--not borough--precincts. You know, who voted and who didn't vote. And that's a percentage. And I said, do you see if you'd just voted--you know--

Q: Do they think that all the candidates are alike and so, even if you voted, you're going to get the same thing?

A: I don't think they really care. Those who are engaged in the neighborhood associations, yes. Those kind of people that whatever percentage you just saw, they're really engaged, but then the rest of them could care less. You got that group that's really engaged and follows things, then you got a lot of these other people who just--you ask them who their city council person is... They wouldn't know who their, you know, county commissioner, their school board—"Name somebody on the school board." "I don't know."

Some interviewees talked about the convergence of politics and religion and thought that some people had disengaged from electoral politics because of their discomfort with this:

No, I wonder if that has gone down in the past--I think people have just gotten so sick of a lot of the just over the top kind of religious politics. That some people, I think, that would be kind of mainstream have just said, "You guys can have it. I'm not playing that anymore." Because it's just so constant and loud.

Others attributed it to apathy:

I distributed literature in Hilltop, which is a very poor area, and that was a very upsetting experience for me, because the apathy--once again, a lot of the people I saw there were African-American. They were so apathetic. Some of them were so drunk or high, and they simply didn't care. And I said, "But, yes, if you vote though, that's one way to have say in what goes on in this world. That's your one way to really change things." "Oh, I don't care. They don't listen to me." ... The negativity of not even understanding the importance. And I don't think people understand the importance of voting in a primary. You lose a lot of really good people in primaries, especially when you get the religious groups who get very well organized and get out and vote, and they vote for what people tell them to vote for. It's not even like they think.

Apathy and lack of participation in electoral politics was not specific to disenfranchised groups. In the excerpt below the interviewee describes student participation in the voting process:

We're always trying at WSU. Well, I'll tell you, in my \_\_\_\_\_ class, I can't remember what we voted for. It wasn't a major election, but it was maybe the Mayor. ... Yeah. And nobody in class had voted, of a class of probably 88 people, except Dr. \_\_\_ and me, the two instructors. And I said, "Well, you're making a mistake. If we care about [topic of the course] and you think it's a waste, then you have to look at the way these people feel about it, and go and vote for them." We try to make them more politically aware, but the apathy is frightening, because these kids are our future.

#### ***4. Activist politics***

According to the survey, activist politics were relatively high in Wichita. Interviewees explained that there had been a number of petitions that circulated in Wichita the year the telephone survey was conducted, including one about cruelty to animals following the discovery of a dog in a dumpster; one about an arena that interviewees could recall only vaguely (a vote had been passed to put in an arena but there was discussion of rescinding the vote); one from Planned Parenthood in support of an abstinence

plus program; one initiated by the churches against “gay rights and gay marriages”; and another from right-to-life activists to have Dr. Tiller, who provides abortion services, brought up on charges before a grand jury. People were anticipating additional petitions about casinos and casino gambling. People were therefore not surprised that a relatively large number of respondents reported engaging in this form of activist politics.

One interviewee said that people might be more likely to express themselves through petitions than through the ballot box because people bring the petition to the resident – by knocking on their door or finding them at the mall or in another public setting. In contrast, there were many obstacles to people getting to a polling place: not knowing where the polling place was; disability, age, or other problems with mobility; lack of public transportation; and status as a felon:

A: Now, when I think of petitions within the last year I think one of the largest ones was against the mortgage loan lenders that moved into town. They have a building on just about every corner. So I think that was one of the things that turned it around.

Q: And they were trying to get them out? Or they were trying to make ...?

A: Get them out. Mm-hmm, because too many people are using them, and the rates of foreclosures have increased. The other thing about Wichita, the political part of it, is that I think that--well, maybe this doesn't have a bearing. But I always think about the Summer of Mercy that was here, with Randall Terry. He was here, and even brought--Donohue even came here and filmed his show because of it. But when people were torn between abortion measures and things like that, pros/cons. ... I don't know, as much as I hear people talk about politics I would think that the number of people who register to vote and who do vote--but I think it's just, like I said, on the national scale. It's if the people love the candidate or not love the candidate.

Q: Right. I just thought it was interesting that, in general, the number of people who are registered and the number of people who voted ... the proportion of people who voted ... was lower in Wichita while, at the same time, people are signing petitions. So it's not like they're completely apathetic. You know, they're signing petitions; they care about something. And I'm just curious to know ...

A: Well, one of the things about the difference between petition and voting is that an individual will bring a petition to you. And voting, you have to go to a station. Within the last few years the stations where you vote in Wichita have changed. Of course, they tried to make it for the better. But, still, you lose people in the process when you start shifting around like that.

Q: So you have to make an effort to figure out where they are, you mean?

A: Right. And people with petitions make it very easy. They come where the crowds are, where you are. And it isn't really just a door-to-door thing anymore. So yeah, it's easier to sign a petition than it is to vote, so that's something that we really need to look at. Especially with technology, how we can help people lock into that more. I mean, there are libraries all around, and people could even go there and vote. But it's just really hard for me to think about senior citizens, people who are older and things like that. We don't have a mass transportation system here in Wichita.

Although other forms of activist politics were hard for people to remember or call up, one interviewee recounted how members of a neighborhood association had taken their complaints directly to the city manager's home:

There are certain parts of Wichita that have very active neighborhood associations. I think College Hill does. I think there's something called Bellaire, which is actually African-American, and they're really working to improve their community. We just had the big deal where some people

went out to the city manager's house and caused a rumpus ..trying to bring some of their issues. And he wasn't home, and his wife said, "It's not my problem. Get out of here." So it caused quite an uproar that they're still trying to sort through. So sometimes people have become, I think, a little too militant.

### ***5. Civic leadership***

In Wichita the level of participation in civic leadership is slightly lower than in the state and slightly higher in the nation. Interviewees provided examples of specific leadership initiatives as well as other difficulties with leadership.

Some of our interviewees said that finding or getting 'leadership' was difficult around some "controversial" issues such as sex education or adolescent health. Leaders of organizations that dealt with teenage pregnancy or reproductive health sometimes had a difficult time identifying people who would take leadership positions because of the contentiousness of these issues.

In one of the organizations we interviewed, they had organized training seminars on how to get the most out of a mentor-mentee relationship and luncheons at which young people had an opportunity to meet community leaders – those these were mostly in business. Leadership activities were therefore focused not around community issues but around career issues.

Multiple interviewees stressed the competition and territoriality of government employees and noted how the need to claim credit got in the way of getting things done, particularly in the city and school district. However, county government was thought to show great leadership. In addition, people highlighted the promise of the New Communities Initiative, a collaborative effort between the City of Wichita, Sedgwick County and the State of Kansas to support and enhance families and communities by making extensive investments in housing, employment, education, neighborhood improvements and youth development. This initiative has five "pillars": Adult Education and Development, Housing for All, Physical, Mental, and Behavioral Health, Children and Youth, and Safe and Secure Neighborhoods.

### ***6. Organizational involvement***

Overall, the level of participation in various organizations in Wichita is comparable to that found in the state.

Interviewees were not surprised by the relatively high rates of involvement in youth organizations recorded by the survey. It was widely acknowledged that many children were involved in sports teams and leagues:

A: I mean, again, the big football, basketball--not baseball. Football and basketball are big--and track even. They have a lot of track teams, football teams, and basketball teams. Now, we have a lot of little social organizations still, too. I don't know how much of that--but does that mean--oh, yeah, you say that's a youth organization.

Q: Yeah, that's a youth organization.

A: Oh, that's big. That's really big and very competitive.

Interviewees also were uniform in their assessment of the importance and strength of neighborhood associations. They thought that these associations had received a great deal of help and support from the city:

They're strong. They're pretty strong, yeah. And there's an organization, The Neighborhood Associations of Wichita, and they're very strong. And then the cities also organize with something called DAB boards--District Advisory Boards. Each city council person--there's like five districts, I think it is, and each one has a District Advisory Board. And then those tend to feed up from your neighborhood associations, so they really do tend to be...they're very strongly supported and pushed by the city. And they are--and they're given some--what they think really does seem to give them some credence. And if you organize, you do seem to get some response from the city, so it makes sense, too. We'll do neighborhood cleanups, and the city will do things like provide dumpsters and crews to help you. Actually, man crews, they'll come over with those drop-off things. And so you can--and the men and the truck to go down the street and let people throw stuff in it. So when you see them supporting you that way, it makes sense to get organized and make your community better. And why not? Because then you want your property value to go up.

While neighborhood associations provided an outlet for socializing and organizing around specific projects, some people questioned whether they were an effective means of curbing crime – which, as the interviewee quoted below indicated – is “too tough to mess with if you’re not a police officer”:

A: And Wichita actually invested in neighborhood associations about 10 years ago now, investing money into the formation of them and maintaining them and working with the Wichita police department substations and getting those to continue and progress, so there’s been an extreme amount of effort. ... In Wichita there are geographical--there is Miolare(?), there’s Sunflower, there’s Riverside. So there are basically geographical locations where the individuals who live in the area have come together to try to effect some change or support something within their neighborhood, even a continual way of life in the neighborhood. Some of them have put out newsletters, that type of thing. So it’s basically geographical.

Q: Okay. Is it mostly about keeping house values up, or could it also be about something that’s not related to the value of your real estate?

A: Well, the ones that were formed--some 10 years ago?--the investment was crime prevention and to keep the neighborhoods safe. A safe home, safe neighborhoods, and lower the crime in Wichita.

Q: Okay. And did that work?

A: It worked to some extent, in that people came together. They came together, they banded together. Fighting the crime was the part where I think they really didn’t understand how to do that. You know, there were signs that said: “Call the police if you see something going on.” Well, nobody wanted to call. Most people know that if you call the police the police officer will come to your house and say, “Did you call?” So, therefore, there was no anonymity. People were looking for ways to be safe, but when it came to reporting that’s where most of it fell down. You know, they were willing to have the night-out(?) watch, learn about each other’s kids. They passed out fliers door to door, that type of thing, and tried to help and mentor. But the actual crime element was just--that’s too tough to mess with if you’re not a police officer.

Wichita was unique among the communities we studied in its support of gardening clubs and groups, which interviewees confirmed were exceptionally important hobbies for many people. Residents were described as doing garden and pond tours on the weekends and as going home to garden after work.

## **7. Giving**

In accordance with the survey, people in Wichita were described as being generous with both their money and their time. This corresponded well with the survey findings showing high levels of giving to religious and non-religious causes. Local families were described as providing tremendous support to institutions

such as the zoo, turning it into one of the premier zoos in the country. In other neighborhoods, giving was thought of in terms of providing small amounts of money to children who might solicit support to go to sports or other camps. But giving was described as part of the fabric of the community:

A: I just think it's a great community to live in and to raise a family. I think there's a lot of generosity in this community. What led me into this, just thinking of this volunteer piece, I mean there are many nonprofits here in Wichita. And, while we all struggle for the dollars and volunteers and so on, I mean most of us, I think, do fine. Would you like to do more? Yes. But I think there's a lot of goodwill and a lot of community spirit and people willing to invest in their community here in Wichita. So you start a new initiative like The Lord's Diner, and I think it's been open five years, and it's just galvanized people. We've been able to grow our volunteer component here quite a bit in the last 15 years.

Community leaders traced downturns in giving to major, national disaster such as 9/11 and Katrina. These had an impact on local giving, and the impact was generally limited to particular years or times. Dips in giving or anomalous years occurred but the sense was that giving was directed elsewhere temporarily and not that it was declining:

A: I would say we're stable, and it's up. Nine/eleven hit all of us pretty hard, and we had to recoup from that. We've had some significant growth years where we were getting 9, 10 percent, even more than that, increases. And then 9/11 hit.

Q: Why would 9/11 have that kind of impact?

A: Well, because a dramatic amount of money went to 9/11, people's response to 9/11. And it ended up being quite impactful. ... We've recouped from that, and, if you can get 5 to 6 to 7 percent increases every year, you're doing well. ... Now I don't think Greensburg will, because, for one thing, it's not in our diocese. And while the bishop here, I think, sent a gift of money and then different individuals sent money, it all went to that diocese. And also they were taking more of the leadership and raising those dollars. But now Katrina's another great example where people really came to the fore, and tons of money went there. And those things impact, because most people or many people just have so much discretionary dollars that they're going to give to charity. And, when something like that impacts ... and you don't necessarily maintain a balance between the local and the national.

However, interviewees did express concerns about whether the younger generations would be as philanthropic as their parents, and acknowledged that while they talked about this amongst themselves, few organizations or leaders had done anything to address this concern:

I think it's too early yet to trend that [giving among younger generations], because I think the shift is really just started to take place. I can sit here and cite individual examples of kids who have grown up in very wealthy families, whose parents seem to be very philanthropic, and they do not appear to be anywhere near of the generosity of their parents. But I couldn't sit here and trend that, but I think five years from now, as more of the older generation transitions, we will be able to see a trend. And my best guess is going to be that they're not going to be as philanthropic. I don't think people are growing up with the same kind of attitude of giving that some of us grew up with, for lots of different, I think, sociological and psychological reasons. But I don't think I could trend that. But a lot of our old time supporters are still giving us money, and we can count on these people year in and year out. Now when some of that changes, then I don't know. ... I think it's something we are all conscious of. They were writing a lot of articles about it. We talk about it. I don't know that any of us have gotten--and maybe we should be more urgent about having some strategies in place--to think about how do you mobilize that younger generation. United Way has done some of that through a Young Professionals Association. United Ways have typically had these leadership giving levels, and your old established families or many of your entrepreneurs in the community give \$10,000 and above. Now what I at least see our local United

Way doing, but I don't think it's just here, they're trying to mobilize young executives coming up into a separate little giving group, and it's a combination of social. I do think maybe, as nonprofits, we should be looking at more of that. I would say we have not necessarily done a good job of that here.

An interesting point raised by one of our interviewees in Wichita was that corporate giving can be motivated by different concerns. For instance, some corporations have “equal employment opportunities issues” and are mandated to give to show compliance; others have a sense of “corporate social responsibility” or want to get their employees involved in the community or in charity work for public relations purposes and thus see giving as a type of investment in their corporate bottom line; and still others have a social mission and give as part of fulfilling that mission. This interviewee suggested that ‘giving’ is a complex category and that it might be helpful in thinking about social capital to understand more about the motivations of givers (in this case corporate ones).

### ***8. Volunteering***

Volunteering, as reported in the survey, was slightly lower in Wichita compared to the state and slightly higher compared to the nation.

Interviewees commented that it is not difficult, in general, to get people to volunteer in the community. At the same time, they noted, as did people from all of the other communities we worked in, that time and peoples’ work schedules were a major impediment to volunteering.

Interviewees pointed out that volunteering as ‘community service’ is now becoming a part of educational and other programs. From a social capital perspective it is not clear what the import of this is – though volunteering for credit or as part of a sentence or fine is likely to be very different than the kind of volunteering that this interviewee describes people doing around Christmastime:

**A:** I think one of the issues with recruiting volunteers, basically a lot of what we do operates 8:00 to 5:00. A lot of people still are working. I mean there's this whole scheduling piece, so you have to be very flexible. And if a group wants to come in on a weekend, then I've got to have a staff person who can flex their time and work on a weekend. So I think just people's lives are so busy today that the scheduling piece just gets problematic. Some areas of the agency lend themselves better to volunteers than other areas, like the counseling center, except for maybe work outside. But I have a full-time person who manages volunteers and who tries to be out there developing community relationships and relationships ... Clearly a big part of what she does. I can tell you this: At Christmastime, I mean you can't keep up with the volunteer debate. There's something about the season.

**Q:** People want to do it?

**A:** Yeah. And many of the nonprofits do these special Christmas programs. There is just something about getting involved in all of this at Christmastime. And then we just have tons of people coming in. Kids from schools who bring their little bag of food to the food pantry. I just think it's a wonderful time of the year. I see a lot more emphasis in universities today and even in starting in grammar schools, where they're putting emphasis on community service projects. At universities you get credit for that so you see people taking their spring break and going down to Guatemala or working in their local community. And then, of course, community service through the court systems. There are a variety of avenues.

Leaders of social service organizations were quite clear about the need to have paid staff rather than volunteers to run their activities or to provide leadership and continuity. The professionalization of the social services was highlighted in the excerpt reproduced below:

A: I do not run any of these programs with just volunteers. I think the day and age of trying to deliver serious social services with just volunteers, I mean, I just don't think that can work. But I think volunteers can really supplement and support what you do. And so, yes, like in our food pantry. And right now we've got a special little grant where we're trying to provide food stamp education to clients coming in through our food pantry, to be sure that they know how food stamps work and to see if they're eligible and so on. We're soliciting volunteers from the community to do that. That's a special project for us. We utilize volunteers at our shelters. We utilize them. We've got some volunteers working with our maintenance guy this summer doing little projects. So I mean they're--

Q: You do use a lot of them.

A: Oh, yeah.

### ***9. Faith-based engagement***

The survey found faith-based engagement in Wichita to be lower than that found in the state (but higher than the national average). Interviewees commented on the role of faith institutions as vehicle for community involvement and political activism.

For example, churches are one place where people saw others give of their time and energy as volunteers. There were many programs for children, such as mentoring children in after-school programs, that were organized by churches and which retired people, in particular, participated in.

Some interviewees talked about their discomfort with the links between church and politics and thought that in some instances these had become too closely tied in recent years:

A: Yeah, that [the statistics] doesn't surprise me. I mean, I think there's lots of opportunity in Wichita, but the music and art things just really are not very well attended. And the political things I think, especially in Wichita, get so mucked up in the religious things that there is a huge intermixing on the right-wing side of church and politics. I don't know if that's true everywhere at this time in our history, but here it is very jumbled up together. A lot of people, I think, would say I'm participating in a political group, which really means I'm going to church and doing what they tell me to do. Because there is just a big mix of that.

Q: You grew up here, right?

A: No, I grew up in Kansas City.

Q: Did you always feel that way, or has it become, over time, more--

A: It's become much stronger in the last ten years. There have been a couple churches that have taken a very big leap politically and have been allowed to do so. One of those leaders even got booted out of his church and has opened his own new church, and a lot of people followed him. I mean, he's a minister, but his mission is anti-abortion and anti-gay. Those are very politically minded kind of things.

### ***10. Informal socializing and diversity of friendships***

The survey found levels of informal socializing comparable to the state average, while the level of diverse friendships was higher than that for the state.

Interviewees commented that one of the reasons the city had trouble keeping residents for the long term was the lack of things to do. In fact, one of the goals of the “visioneering” task force is to improve arts and entertainment. Eating and going out to eat was a major exception. Wichita was described as a city with “a million restaurants” and, though not quite as prominent, many movie theaters. Nevertheless, people drive to Kansas City on the weekends for good BBQ, professional sporting events, shopping, and cultural events not available in Wichita. Dallas is also a prime destination. People go to Oklahoma to fish.

The university, Wichita State University (WSU), was something that residents were “proud” of, but the loss of the football program weakened ties to the institution. Interviewees said that baseball and basketball games at WSU still drew very large crowds of “diehard fans” and “bind” the city to the school. A recent Rolling Stones concert at the WSU stadium was the “biggest event” that most interviewees could recall; that reportedly drew 30,000 people to the city.

Another problem with some of the social events is the cost. An annual fundraiser at the zoo is \$100 per ticket. Exploration Place was also described as prohibitively expensive for some families. There was a sense in which opportunities for informal socializing were limited, particularly for families with limited incomes.

There were a few people who felt that there were certain spaces where they were not welcome or safe, and whose social lives were constrained because of this. The excerpt reproduced below is from an interview with a lesbian woman who described the need to be very careful about where she went with her partner and how she acted in her company because of public intolerance of gay people:

On the gay and lesbian thing, I think what I have found is it’s more comments behind your back and comments about you, and intolerance in just the reception you get publicly. I mean, my partner, I’m very careful about where we go and what we do in public. Because there’s just a sense that it’s not safe, and the looks that you get kind of confirm that. But there are places that you can go that it’s perfectly fine. You know, our friends obviously wouldn’t be our friends if it wasn’t perfectly fine. But I think the intolerance, like my kids are very worried at school that people will find out that mom’s gay and that they’ll be made fun of. I don’t think they see it as a safety issue, but they’ll be made fun of. So there’s still a lot of talk about that. Just out like at a public--oh, they have the big river festival, which is the big city-wide thing. We were very careful when we went there just because there’s big groups of people and a lot of people who have been drinking. But any kind of restaurant or establishment where it’s not kind of designated as gay, you don’t see any sort of overt--you know, you wouldn’t hold hands, you wouldn’t-- Yeah, at all, anyplace unless it’s kind of designated. Or the art events, you know, you feel pretty safe there.

As in any city, relations in neighborhoods varied from place to place within the city. One interviewee, who regularly attended block parties, described how her neighborhoods were upset when they found out she had been sick and hadn’t told them. At the same time, she had been sick for an extended period of time without anyone knowing about it. As she describes it she finds that people are very “self-contained”:

A: Well, it’s not that friendly a neighborhood. Mm-mm. Thirty years. I came from this wonderful friendly neighborhood in [out of state] and this was just shocking to me that everybody was very self-contained. And then after a while, you just pick up on that. I’m probably not as friendly. But my kids have grown, and I live there with my dog.

Q: So when you say self-contained, does it mean if you see them outside, they say hello, but there’s no interest really?

A: Not really. Although when I was sick--a year ago, I was having some health problems, and my youngest daughter went over to my neighbors and told them all about it. And they were quite upset that I hadn’t told them I was having trouble so I had to rely on them a little.

Q: To come over and check on you?

A: Well, just to call or have their number by my bed so if in the middle of the night I felt like I was having a problem, and I mean it really was meaningful to me to have somebody to call other than my daughter in \_\_\_\_, who's half an hour away, and has little kids.

Q: So they were upset that you hadn't notified them?

A: Yeah, they were. They're lovely people. It's probably my pride.

### Assets and challenges

Wichita is a friendly city with the livable feel of a small town. It has a number of factors that would facilitate efforts to enhance social capital. The government is decentralized, with government officials, community leaders, community policing officers, and elected representatives working together locally at local sub-stations. This allows for closer relationships between leaders and residents. Furthermore, the government supports the neighborhood associations, giving the residents the ability to convene and address issues collectively. The New Communities Initiative demonstrates the city's interest in building social capital as well as its ability to work collaboratively with other levels of government. University and sporting events also bring residents together, with athletic teams being a specific source of pride. Wichita is also welcoming to newcomers and does not distinguish between those who have lived there a long time versus those who are new. Its population is becoming increasingly diverse, but there appears to be a fairly high level of trust between ethnic groups.

The enhancement of social capital will be hindered by a number of challenges facing the city. For example, people are not staying in Wichita for a number of reasons, one of which is the lack of things to do. There is a need for more activities that help bring people together and maintain their interest. Fortunately the city recognizes the need to build the city's appeal to outsiders, and a special task force is already working to find ways to attract people to the city and keep them there.

Another related challenge is the perception among some that Wichita's increasing diversity decreases safety and the quality of the schools. There are new, exclusive enclaves being built that allow those with money to opt-out of the city environment, including the public school system and increasingly diverse city neighborhoods.

Another important infrastructure challenge is the lack of public transportation that prevents people from moving about the city and engaging in neighborhoods other than their own. In particular, people with limited mobility and low incomes have a harder time getting around.

The apathy and lack of political engagement among residents is another important issue to address. This may be due to the short time that people live in Wichita, the lack of faith that their involvement will make a difference, or a general lack of understanding of how various issues affect their lives. Paradoxically, there is at the same time the perception that the churches are too politically engaged and some people find this problematic and generative of a social climate that is threatening to certain types of diversity.

## Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

### **Key Findings**

The goal of this study was to “establish a valid, methodologically rigorous, and visionary baseline measurement of social capital in Kansas.” Certainly for the five target communities, the combination of the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey and the in-depth interviews with key informants provided an assessment of social capital that is as in-depth and triangulated as any study of which we are aware.

One of the most important (although perhaps unsurprising) findings to emerge from the study is that levels and types of social capital vary considerably across communities within the Kansas. The survey showed that across a variety of indicators, Abilene and Wichita had higher levels of social capital than did Garden City, Junction City, and Kansas City. However, the analysis of the survey also found that one should not reach sweeping conclusions about some communities being better than others. Social capital is a complex, multi-dimensional concept. Each community can point to some dimensions of social capital where it is strong and others where work is needed. For example, Abilene came out high on many of the items that one typically associates with a tight-knit, giving community (e.g., trust of neighbors, attendance at church, volunteering), but these same qualities exerted a downward effect on bridging social capital – possibly because the culture encourages residents to conform to the dominant norms and behaviors. At the other extreme, Kansas City had low scores on many dimensions (including the lowest score among the five Kansas communities on the “Giving and Volunteering” scale), but its score on “Involvement in Organized Groups” was higher than the other four Kansas communities, and in fact higher than any of the 40 communities surveyed in 2000.

The fact that communities rank inconsistently across different aspects of social capital means that it is inappropriate to assign a unitary social capital “score.” Just as health care providers use a variety of vital signs (e.g., heart rate, blood pressure, respiration, body temperature) to gauge the health of a patient, the 12 scales reported here provide a more comprehensive picture of a community’s standing on social capital. Plotting different communities in the same graph (as in Figure 3.3) allows for ready comparisons between different communities. The picture can be made more complete by incorporating the contextual and explanatory data that come from qualitative interviews.

Alternatively, a simpler picture (one that allows for a large number of communities to be compared at the same time) can be created by taking advantage of the results of the factor analysis – which showed that three-fourths of information contained in the 12 scales can be distilled into three composite factors (see Figures 3.4 and 3.5). The first factor distinguishes “socially connected” communities (i.e., places where residents help one another and work together cooperatively for common purposes) from those that are more fragmented. The second factor can be interpreted in terms of “civic engagement,” with high-scoring communities having high rates of volunteerism and involvement with formal groups. The third factor distinguishes communities where residents acknowledge, and even celebrate, differences – political, racial, religious, cultural, etc. On the first factor (social connectedness), the five Kansas communities range from “somewhat low” to “slightly above average.” On the second factor (civic engagement), the Kansas communities all score high relative to the rest of the country, although some (e.g., Abilene) are higher than others (e.g., Garden City). For the third factor (appreciation of diversity), the Kansas communities clump largely in the middle, although again here there are interesting distinctions among the five communities.

The variation in levels and types of social capital that we observed among the five target communities argues against reaching any firm conclusions about how much social capital exists in the state of Kansas. Although it is possible to assess social capital at a state level (e.g., through surveying a sample that is

representative of the state population), social capital is inherently a characteristic of more micro-level communities. In aggregating to the state level, one can identify some larger (e.g., regional) forces and cultural characteristics, but a state-level assessment is essentially an average of what is occurring within many different communities within the state. Again, referring back to Figure 3.3, the social capital profile generated by the Kansas state sample is different than that of any of the five communities. It is probably closest to Wichita, but even here there are interesting distinctions (e.g., participation in organized activities). Similarly, there are key differences between urban Kansas and rural Kansas, especially with regard to involvement in formal groups and participation in organized activities – each of which is significantly higher in urban communities.

With this caution that the *average* social capital scores for Kansas do not necessarily represent any particular Kansas community, there is still some value in knowing that Kansas tends to have higher scores on most dimensions of social capital than does the United States as a whole. Especially among dimensions that related to civic participation and engagement with groups, Kansas is a state where residents do express and benefit from social capital. This finding shows up explicitly in the factor analysis, with Kansas as a state coming out at the top end of Factor 2.

### **Community Characterizations**

Table 6-1 presents an integrated summary of the five target communities, taking into account what the survey indicated about the community's standing on the different dimensions of social capital and what the qualitative study learned about the factors that contribute to or detract from social capital within the community. History, demographics, politics, economy, geographical location, infrastructure, and leadership were among the characteristics that shaped the development and maintenance of social capital. What affected social capital in one city was not always a factor in another city.

For example, take social trust. The survey and field work both found social trust to be high in Abilene and Junction City. The “story” around this finding in Abilene was quite different than it was in Junction City. In Abilene, people explained that social trust is high because the town is small, safe, and stable, with many families living there for multiple generations. Residents take pride in their history and heritage, and the leaders are committed to meeting the needs of the residents. In Junction City, which is much more transient and racially diverse than Abilene, the high social trust, particularly among minorities, was related to the presence of the military, which generally embraces diversity and collaboration.

Another example can be seen comparing the context around the low involvement in conventional politics found in Garden City and Kansas City. In Garden City, reasons for low involvement included the transient population, the structure of the economy (low-skilled, shift work, long hours), lack of information in Spanish, immigrants' ineligibility to vote, and apathy. In Kansas City, lack of involvement in conventional politics was related to a history of neglect of certain populations and areas of town. In some neighborhoods, it was difficult to get information about upcoming elections or to meet candidates, and residents did not think their votes would make a difference.

Although most of the contextual characteristics were unique to each city, there were certain community factors that had a consistent influence on social capital across the different cities. For example, in Abilene, Garden City, and Wichita, residents mentioned that **youth** were less likely to volunteer or donate money and less likely to be involved in community organizations. In addition, in several communities, **leadership** was mentioned as critical for preparing for growth and increased immigration (Abilene, Garden City, Junction City), strengthening neighborhoods (Kansas City, Wichita), and improving coordination of government services (Kansas City, Wichita). Also fairly consistent regarding leadership was the identification of a need for recruitment and training of new and younger leaders.

**Table 6.1. Level of Social Capital Dimensions and Related Contextual Factors in Five Target Cities in Kansas:  
Survey and Interview Findings**

	<b>Abilene</b>	<b>Garden City</b>	<b>Junction City</b>	<b>Kansas City</b>	<b>Wichita</b>
<b>Social trust</b>	Level: High. Factors: Stability of population; small size, committed leadership; city invests in residents	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: History of crime and gangs; immigrants taken advantage of.	Level: High (including among minorities). Factors: Diversity is accepted part of military life; culture of collaboration.	Level: Low (especially among minorities). Factors: History of segregation, poverty, and crime; fears of undocumented immigrants.	Level: High (lower among minorities) Factors: Decentralization of govt.; small size of city; Note: Crime and poverty hinder trust.
<b>Inter-racial trust</b>	Level: Survey sample too small to determine. Factors: Diversity is increasing; concerns about growth get mixed with concerns about immigrants.	Level: Low (high among whites; low among Hispanics). Factors: Language, immigrants taken advantage of; racial profiling.	Level: High. Factors: High diversity (racially and internationally); Military tolerance; interracial marriages.	Level: Low. Factors: Long history of government neglect of poor; perceived discrimination; tension btw Blacks/Hispanics; segregated neighs.	Level: Higher than KS. (higher for whites and Blacks than Hispanics). Factors: Racism; immigrants not assimilated; White flight.
<b>Conventional politics</b>	Level: High. Factors: Culture of citizen engagement; strong Republican base; some too busy and uninformed (mainly in poorer area in south).	Level: Low. Factors: Transience; structure of economy (low-skilled workers w/ long hours); ltd. info in Spanish; ineligibility to vote; apathy.	Level: Low. Factors: Transience; apathy. Interviewees said lower than survey. Increased involvement due to concerns about growth and diversity.	Level: Low. Factors: Lack of information; candidates not speaking to certain populations; history of machine politics; no voice in some areas.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Ineligible felons and immigrants; discomfort with church politics; transportation and other access issues; apathy; low youth inv.
<b>Activist politics</b>	Level: Low. Factors: Citizens have access to officials; protesting too “public.” Letters to editor preferred.	Level: Low. Factors: People complain, but do not take action. Recent rallies on immigration, English as primary language; unionizing.	Level: Low. Factors: Quiet, relaxed town; protesting is not part of political strategy.	Level: Low. Factors: Fear among immigrants; combative approaches not necessary. Note: Some activism through churches.	Level: High. Factors: Several petitions in survey year; petitions more accessible than ballot box; active neighborhood assocs.
<b>Civic leadership</b>	Level: High. Factors: Small group of long-term leaders; heavy on prominent families; need to recruit young and new people.	Level: Low. Factors: Transience; troubles getting minority leaders. City leaders lauded for preparing for growth and new immigrants.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Leaders commended for strong ties to Ft. Riley. Military is embraced.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Small group of leaders; lack of young leaders. Note: Leaders commended for coordination of servcs; local leaders emerging through neigh assocs.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Conservative town; leaders avoid contentious issues; competition between government leaders at all levels. Note: Efforts underway re leadership.

	<b>Abilene</b>	<b>Garden City</b>	<b>Junction City</b>	<b>Kansas City</b>	<b>Wichita</b>
<b>Organizational involvement</b>	Level: Low. Factors: Residents participate but are not “members.”; young people too busy; no neighborhood assocs; more arts and hobby groups; training for youth available.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Transience; weekend exodus; young age of residents; nobody invests for the long-term; many groups predominantly white—not easy for minorities.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: No neigh. assoc. (more youth, school & veteran grps); youth not joiners. Note: Military families are highly involved; orgs trying to adapt schedules to busy lives.	Level: High. Factors: High number of neighborhood assoc; barriers to joining: language, time, culture (joining is dangerous in some countries), fear of reprisals and deportation.	Level: Comparable to KS. Factors: Sports teams, neighborhood groups; gardening clubs, youth organizations.
<b>Giving</b>	Level: High. Factors: Generous culture; focus on youth.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Young residents; transience; weekend exodus. Note: Perception of high giving (divergence from survey).	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Low-income, but generous people; many small donations; leadership key in obtaining donations; anonymous giving.	Level: Low. Factors: Low income population.	Level: High. Factors: Generous support for families & community; youth not so giving; corporate motivations are complex.
<b>Volunteering</b>	Level: Comparable to KS. Factors: Some activities (e.g., coaching) not called volunteering; younger people do not volunteer. Same small group does all work.	Level: Low. Factors: transience, youth, and long work hours (shift work). Same small group of people volunteer.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: People don’t come through; more talk than action (some said it was much lower than survey); others discussed impressive volunteer efforts.	Level: Low. Factors: People are too busy; high level of poverty; initiatives are dying for lack of volunteers. Some divergence—perception of more volunteering.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Time and scheduling. Note: community service is becoming part of education and community programs.
<b>Faith-based engagement</b>	Level: High. Factors: Churches play prominent role; membership is important; numerous denominations.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Many attend but do not join; weekend travel limits participation.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: No young members. Note: High Church diversity; tolerance all types of engagement.	Level: Lower than KS. Factors: Church is less prominent than it was. Note: Church still plays role in community devt. and leadership training.	Level: Higher than nation; lower than KS. Factors: Churches play key role. Young not involved. Politicization of churches is turnoff.
<b>Informal socializing and diversity of friendships</b>	Level: Both comparable to KS. Factors: Extensive family ties; more difficult for young people without children (no venues) and newcomers (cliquish).	Level: Both low. Transient; set up for business, not play. More socializing among Hispanics. Those who stay long-term have stronger ties.	Informal soc: low Div. of friends: high Factors: Too few restaurants; venues (new sites under development.). High diversity of race, class, and religion in population.	Level: Both low. Factors: Diverse population; segregated neighborhoods; closing of malls; lack of transportation; people socialize within their networks.	Informal soc: = KS. Div of friends: > KS. Factors: Not much to do; cost of events; safety of some venues; exodus to other cities; diversity of population.

	<b>Abilene</b>	<b>Garden City</b>	<b>Junction City</b>	<b>Kansas City</b>	<b>Wichita</b>
<b>Assets</b>	Public spaces; transportation; stability; family friendliness	Open to innovation. Visionary leadership. Prepared for change.	Diversity; tolerance; growth; military.	Revitalization; strong neighborhoods; coordinated services, leadership.	Decentralized government; neighborhood associations; sports teams; welcoming city; “visioneering” effort underway.
<b>Challenges</b>	Tolerance of diversity not clear; engagement of newcomers and residents difficult.	Transience; immigration tensions; no mid-level jobs.	Growth goes up and down; infrastructure and housing not ready for rapid growth of military return; cost of homes.	Segregated neighborhoods; history of neglect of certain populations; discrimination; wariness of newcomers; transportation.	Lack of things to do; retaining young people; perceived racism and classism; fear of diversity; White flight; poor transportation; apathy.

**Transience**, which emerged as a significant barrier to almost every component of social capital, was a major challenge in Garden City, where the structure of the economy relies on low-skilled workers, and in Junction City, where a large portion of residents are in the military. Further, the cities with significant numbers of **immigrants** noted that these residents are less likely to join organizations, engage in conventional or protest politics, or participate in civic leadership for a variety of reasons, including language barriers, illegal status, and poor treatment by other ethnic groups. These barriers were considerably less for those who have been in the U.S. for a while compared to new arrivals. The issue of immigration is relevant to all five communities, as each is expecting periods of growth and increased immigration. Related to immigration is the issue of **tolerance**. Most communities revealed some degree of tensions related to minority populations. Whether these issues are deeply rooted in history or emerging with growth, intolerance was noted as a significant barrier to building social capital. Finally, two **infrastructure** characteristics were mentioned in multiple cities: transportation and translation. Public transportation affected both mobility and ability to interact with others. Translation and bilingual information were essential to engage immigrant populations.

### **Benefits of Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Methods**

Consistent with the conclusion of the KHI Social Capital White Paper, the two research teams found that there are major benefits in combining survey research with a qualitative methodology. The survey method has the advantage that it generates quantitative measures of various aspects of social capital, allowing for comparisons between different communities and comparisons over time within any given community. The qualitative approach complements the quantitative findings by providing both description and explanation – what does it actually mean for a community to be high or low on a particular aspect of social capital, and why does the community look the way that it does on social capital? When the results from the two approaches are considered together, it is possible to generate a comprehensive, cross-validated profile of the community under study.

### **Convergence/Divergence Between the Two Methods**

In addition to learning about the community context, the qualitative study also provided a means to validate (or refute) the data coming from the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey. The question of whether RDD telephone surveys generate valid conclusions about social capital was raised in many of the communities that participated in the 2000 SCBS. Critics of the survey cite the fact that even the best telephone surveys now have response rates below 50% and fail to reach individuals who only use cell phones. TNSI employs a rigorous algorithm to compensate for under-represented segments of the sampled population, but doubts have persisted as to whether the survey data are truly reflective of actual levels of trust, connectedness, engagement, volunteering, etc. The JHU team explicitly addressed this question by presenting community leaders with summary data from the survey and asking about the believability of the findings.

For the most part, the case studies validated the survey findings, with interviewees providing extensive explanations that support the findings. There were only a few identified cases of divergence between the survey results and the perceptions of the community residents. Specifically, in Abilene, the survey found relatively low levels of associational involvement, and interviewees were surprised it was not higher. Some speculated that residents may have interpreted the survey to be asking about membership specifically and therefore did not indicate involvement that was not membership-related.

Also in Abilene, interviewees perceived the level of volunteering to be much higher than the survey indicated. One potential explanation offered by residents was that many people do activities for the community (e.g., coaching for their child's team) but do not consider it volunteering; instead, they consider these activities as part of family life.

Similarly, Kansas City interviewees were surprised the survey found volunteering to be low. They felt the city is highly supported by the efforts of volunteers. One explanation offered was that there is likely a small group of people who do a lot of volunteer work.

In contrast, in Junction City, some interviewees were surprised the survey found high levels of volunteering. Their perceptions were that it was hard to get people to volunteer—people will offer, but they rarely come through. They surmised that people may have responded affirmatively on the survey because they would like to think of themselves as volunteers.

In Garden City, people were surprised the survey found low levels of engagement in faith-based institutions given their perceptions that many people go to church. They concluded that this was likely because most people in Garden City attend church but are not members, and one of the indicators of faith-based engagement was membership in a church or synagogue. They felt the measure was therefore not capturing the importance of church in the community.

Finally, in both Garden City and Junction City, people were surprised that the levels of giving were not higher. There was some speculation that the level of donations might be small relative to other cities because of the prevalence of low-income residents, and thus the overall level of giving may not reflect the number of people who give.

Overall, these points of divergence do not indicate the survey was not accurately measuring the dimensions of social capital. Instead, they provide insight into what is really happening with regard to the specific social capital component and provide helpful explanations and caveats.

### **The Value of Building Social Capital**

As discussed in Chapter 1, research has shown that social capital is related to several outcomes important to community development (e.g., child development, teen pregnancy, crime, health, quality of life, and mortality). A trusting, engaged community feels more positively as a whole and has healthier outcomes.

Improvements in social capital can also benefit the general functioning of the community. Research has shown that the social cohesion inherent in social capital helps communities take collective action for solving problems, such as fighting crime, responding to growth, etc. Residents in cities with strong social capital will have more inclination and capacity to look out for each other, resulting in kindness, protection, and sharing of burdens.

Increasing one aspect of social capital can help improve others. For example, improved trust is likely to lead to increased engagement in community organizations and conventional politics. Improved participation in civic leadership, particularly the engagement of youth, minorities, and others who have not typically been involved, could expand the overall leadership's sensitivity to community issues and ability to develop strategies that are appropriate for the entire population.

The five communities selected for this study could all benefit from improvements in social capital. Even Abilene, which is high on many indicators of bonding social capital, could use improvement in bridging social capital.

### **Recommendations for Intervention**

The findings from this study have implications for how the foundation frames its analysis of a community and how it tailors its programming to address community issues. The overriding conclusion from the case studies is that any efforts to address social capital need to examine communities individually. Social capital is a multifaceted construct and each community will have strengths and weakness. Even more importantly, each community has its own unique set of contextual influences. For both reasons, it would

be imprudent for a foundation (or any outside actor) to develop one approach to improving social capital and apply it across the board. Instead, the first step is to identify and understand those contextual factors.

In this study, we found that leadership, politics, demographics, history, economy, infrastructure, community size, and geographical location were among the many factors influencing social capital. Identifying these contextual factors will guide the tailoring of interventions. For example, we found the poor public transportation system in Kansas City affects multiple aspects of social capital, including participation in community organizations, civic leadership, and conventional politics as well as informal socializing, diversity of friendships, and volunteering. This lack of participation, in turn, diminishes social trust and inter-racial trust. Improving the transportation system, therefore, will have extensive benefits for social capital.

Both bonding and bridging social capital are important and should be considered separately. In many cities, bonds within neighborhoods or specific groups of residents were strong, but bridges between neighborhoods and between groups were weak. It is also possible that strong bonds among community residents could hinder bridging to other residents. This is particularly important given the growth and increase in immigration occurring in Kansas. Communities that have been historically strong in social capital may be challenged by the influx of newcomers and immigrants and need assistance with forging bridges between the different groups.

Social trust emerged as a particularly important component of social capital. In each of the cities social trust and interracial trust affected many of the other dimensions of social capital. For example, in Kansas City, low social trust, especially among minorities, can be connected to the lack of faith in the political system and leadership activities as well as the low level of diverse friendships and informal socializing. In Abilene, high social trust, which is rooted in the stability of social ties and the close knit fabric of the community, fosters high levels of engagement. However, those who are not part of this long-standing community do not report as much trust or involvement. It is important to note that Abilene expects a continual increase in newcomers and immigrants, and this may have an effect on social trust.

Leadership plays an important role in developing social capital. Each city underscored the role of leaders at the city and neighborhood levels in building and maintaining community ties and involvement. Leaders sensitive to the issues affecting social capital can address intermediary factors and develop a social context that fosters improved social capital.

### **Continued Assessment**

If KHF does decide to develop strategies to build SC in Kansas communities, we would recommend that the methods employed in this study be incorporated into the evaluation. Especially if KHF focuses resources on a relatively small set of communities, it would be useful to have quantitative and qualitative data at baseline and at a suitable follow-up point (e.g., five years after the initiative begins). The survey can quantitatively assess change; the qualitative assessment will help explain the survey findings and identify areas in need of attention.

Finally, even if KHF decides not to develop initiatives focused specifically on building social capital, the social capital framework allows for a broad, yet strategic examination of community attitudes and functioning – one that can be helpful in determining which resources and guidance will be most effective and which forms of leadership training the community will find amenable.

The methods employed in this study can be useful with regard to community assessment. Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches yields a rich community profile that is valuable in 1) assessing the needs of the community up front, and 2) guiding the approach one would take to work at the community level to build healthier communities.

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**APPENDIX A**  
THE 2006 SOCIAL CAPITAL COMMUNITY SURVEY  
SAGUARO SEMINAR: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN AMERICA  
KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
Study #135633 January 13, 2006

PROGRAMMER NOTES:

FLAG VARIABLE

SET ALL SAMPLE TO FLAG=0

KATSAMP

SET KATSAMP=1 for BATON ROUGE, HOUSTON AND ARKANSAS COMMUNITIES

SET KATSAMP=0 FOR ALL OTHER COMMUNITIES

**SCREEN** (218, 219)

SET ALL SAMPLE TO SCREEN=0  
(UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED)

INTRO

SET INTRO=CODE 1

EACH SAMPLE TYPE WILL HAVE A DIFFERENT IDENTIFIABLE PUNCH

**ADMINISTRATIVE VARIABLES IN FINAL DATA FILE: Number of calls needed to complete the interview, Date of interview, Time interview Began, Interviewer ID**

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ calling from ..., a public opinion polling organization. We are conducting an important survey about life in communities across America including yours.

So that all types of people are represented in our survey, may I please speak to the person 18 years or older living in your household who last had a birthday? (IF SELECTED RESPONDENT NOT AT HOME, ARRANGE A CALLBACK.)

(INTERVIEWER: YOU MAY MENTION THAT "NO ONE WILL TRY TO SELL YOU ANYTHING OR ASK FOR A DONATION" AS NECESSARY TO RESPOND TO INQUIRIES OR TO KEEP THE REpondent ON THE PHONE.)

- 1 Continue with person on the phone
- 2 New person coming to the phone
- 3 Selected respondent is not at home
- 4 RETURN TO DISPO

INTERVIEWER: CALLBACK SHOULD ASK FOR:

Whom should we ask for when we call back? (Just a first name will do.)

<RNAME> [STRING] -----

PROGRAMMER: DISPLAY RNAME ON INTRO SCREEN FOR CALLBACK

SECOND INTRODUCTION: Hello, I'm \_\_\_\_\_ calling from ..., a public opinion polling organization. We are conducting an important survey about life in communities across America including yours.

- 1 Continue
- 2 RETURN TO DISPO

INTERVIEWER: RECORD R's GENDER  
(IF NECESSARY SAY: I am recording that you are a male/female.)  
(854)  
<GENDER>  
1 Male  
2 Female

## QUESTIONNAIRE

(IF ADDRESS INFORMATION PRE-MATCHED SKIP TO 5A)  
2B Just to be certain we are calling in the right area, what city or town do you live in? (RECORD VERBATIM)  
(863)  
<CITY\_STR> [STRING]

3. And what is your ZIP code?

<ZIP> \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ (1908, 1912)

8 Don't know  
9 Refused

IF SCREEN=0, SKIP TO 5A

5A. We'd like to know how important various things are to your sense of who you are. When you think about yourself, how important is (DIMENSION) to your sense of who you are? (Very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important)

[RANDOMIZE ORDER WITHIN COMMUNITY AND FOR NATIONAL. EACH INTERVIEW WILL BE ASKED 5A3 AND RANDOMLY BE ASKED TWO OF THE OTHER FOUR- 5A1, 5A2, 5A4, 5A5.]

(Question 5A1 asked of a random 50% of respondents)

5A1 ...your OCCUPATION?

<IMPOCCUP>

1 Not at all important  
2 Slightly important  
3 Moderately important  
4 Very important  
8 Don't Know  
9 Refused

(Question 5A2 asked of a random 50% of respondents)

5A2 ...your PLACE OF RESIDENCE,...

<IMPRESID>

1 Not at all important  
2 Slightly important  
3 Moderately important  
4 Very important  
8 Don't Know  
9 Refused

(Question 5A3 asked of ALL respondents)

5A3 ...your ETHNIC OR RACIAL BACKGROUND...

<IMPETH>

1 Not at all important  
2 Slightly important  
3 Moderately important  
4 Very important  
8 Don't Know  
9 Refused

(Question 5A4 asked of a random 50% of respondents)

5A4 Your RELIGION (if any)...

<IMPWRK>

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Very important
- 5 Not relevant (not religious)
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

(Question 5A5 asked of a random 50% of respondents)

5A5 Being an American...

<IMPAMER>

- 1 Not at all important
- 2 Slightly important
- 3 Moderately important
- 4 Very important
- 5 Not relevant (not American)
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

6. I'd like to first ask you some questions about how you view other people. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

(925)

<TRUST>

- 1 People can be trusted
- 2 You can't be too careful
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Depends
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7. Next, we'd like to know how much you trust different groups of people. First, think about (GROUP). Generally speaking, would you say that you can trust them a lot, some, only a little, or not at all?

(GROUP:)

7A. People in your neighborhood

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(926)

<TRNEI>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

- 7B. (How about) People you work with (would you say that you can trust them a lot, some, only a little, or not at all?)

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(927)

<TRWRK>

- 1 Trust them a lot

- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

QUESTION 7C ASKED ONLY OF WINSTON-SALEM AND GREENSBORO COMMUNITIES, AS WELL AS A RANDOM 33% OF THE NATIONAL SAMPLE.

7C. People at your church or place of worship

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(928)

<TRREL>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7D. People who work in the stores where you shop

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(929)

<TRSHOP>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7F. The police in your local community

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(931)

<TRCOP>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7G. (How about) White people

(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(932)

<TRWHT>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7H. What about African Americans or Blacks?  
(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(933)

<TRBLK>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7I. What about Asian people?  
(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(934)

<TRASN>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

7J. How about Hispanics or Latinos?  
(CLARIFY IF NECESSARY: How about in general?)

(935)

<TRHIS>

- 1 Trust them a lot
- 2 Trust them some
- 3 Trust them only a little
- 4 Trust them not at all
- 5 (VOLUNTEERED) Does not apply
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

8A AND 8B ASKED AS A BLOCK (ALL OR NOTHING) OF A RANDOM 50% OF RESPONDENTS.

8A. If you lost a wallet or a purse that contained two hundred dollars, and it was found by a neighbor, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it? Would you say very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or not at all likely?

<WALLTNEI>

- 1 very likely
- 2 somewhat likely
- 3 somewhat unlikely
- 4 not at all likely
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

8B. And if it was found by a complete stranger, how likely is it to be returned with the money in it? Would you say that was very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely or not at all likely?

<WALLTSTR>

- 1 very likely
- 2 somewhat likely
- 3 somewhat unlikely
- 4 not at all likely
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

9. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole nowadays? Please answer using a scale where 1 means extremely dissatisfied and 10 means extremely satisfied.

<LIFESAT>

[Record number] \_\_\_\_\_

88 DK

99 Refused

10. And how would you describe your overall state of health these days? Would you say it is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor?

(948)

<HEALTH>

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Very Good
- 3 Good
- 4 Fair
- 5 Poor
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

11. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the local community where you live. If public officials asked everyone to conserve water or electricity because of some emergency, how likely is it that people in your community would cooperate — would you say it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely?

(949)

<COOP>

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Likely
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/Depends
- 4 Unlikely
- 5 Very Unlikely
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

(QUESTION 11A asked of all Baton Rouge, Houston and Arkansas respondents and a random 50% of all other respondents)

11A. How likely do you think it is that you may be the victim of a crime in the next 12 months? (very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, very unlikely)

<ROBCHANC>

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Somewhat Likely
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/Depends
- 4 Somewhat Unlikely
- 5 Very Unlikely
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

12. How many years have you lived in your community? (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT WITH CATEGORIES)

(950)

<LIVCOM>

- 1 Less than one year
- 2 One to five years
- 3 Six to ten years SKIP TO 13
- 4 Eleven to twenty years SKIP TO 13
- 5 More than twenty years SKIP TO 13
- 6 All my life SKIP TO 13
- 8 Don't know SKIP TO 13
- 9 Refused SKIP TO 13

12A. WHAT WAS THE ZIPCODE (OR COUNTRY IF YOU LIVED OUTSIDE THE U.S.) OF YOUR PRIOR RESIDENCE?

<ZIPPRIOR> \_\_\_\_\_

- 8 DK
- 9 Refused

13. Do you expect to be living in your community five years from now?

(951)

<STAY>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

13A. Would you move away from this neighborhood if you could?

<WANTMOVE>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

14. Overall, how would you rate your community as a place to live — excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

(952)

<QOL>

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Only Fair
- 4 Poor
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

15. Do you or your family own the place where you are living now, or do you rent?

(953)

<OWN>

- 1 Own
- 2 Rent
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

16. Overall, how much impact do you think PEOPLE LIKE YOU can have in making your community a better place to live — no impact at all, a small impact, a moderate impact, or a big impact?

(954)

<EFFCOM>

- 1 No impact at all
- 2 A small impact
- 3 A moderate impact
- 4 A big impact
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

17. Next I'd like to ask you a few questions about television and newspapers. How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?

(955)

<PAPER>

VALID RANGE 0-7

—

- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

18. How many hours per day do you spend watching TV (television) on an average weekday, that is Monday through Friday?

(INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RESPONSE IS 12 OR GREATER, ENTER 12)

(956, 957)

<TVHRS>

VALID RANGE 0-12

—

98 Don't know

99 Refused

19. How many hours do you spend using the Internet or email IN A TYPICAL WEEK, not counting the times you do so for work. (IF NECESSARY: By a week, we mean 7 days.) (IF NECESSARY PROBE WITH CATEGORIES)

(958)

<WWWTIME>

1 None

2 Less than 1 hour

3 1 to 5 hours

4 6 to 10 hours

5 11 to 20 hours

6 more than 20 hours

8 Don't know

9 Refused

21. My next questions are about public affairs. How interested are you in politics and national affairs? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, only slightly interested, or not at all interested?

(960)

<POLINT>

1 Very interested

2 Somewhat interested

3 Only slightly interested

4 Not at all interested

8 Don't know

9 Refused

22. Are you currently registered to vote?

(961)

<REGVOTE>

1 Yes

2 No

3 (VOLUNTEERED) Not eligible to vote

8 Don't know

9 Refused

23. As you may know, around half the public does not vote in presidential elections. How about you – did you vote in the presidential election in 2004 when George Bush ran against John Kerry, or did you skip that one? (DO NOT PROBE DK RESPONSE)

(962)

<VOTEUS>

1 Yes, Voted

2 No, Skipped that one

3 (VOLUNTEERED) Was not eligible

8 Don't know

9 Refused

24. How much of the time do you think you can trust the NATIONAL government to do what is right – just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly ever?

(963)

<TGNAT>

- 1 Just about always
- 2 Most of the time
- 3 Some of the time
- 4 Hardly ever
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

25. How about your LOCAL government? How much of the time do you think you can trust the LOCAL government to do what is right? (Would you say just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly ever?)

(964)

<TGLOC>

- 1 Just about always
- 2 Most of the time
- 3 Some of the time
- 4 Hardly ever
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

26. Which of the following things have you done in the past twelve months:

RANDOMIZE A-D

26A. Have you signed a petition?

(965)

<PETITION>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

26B. Attended a political meeting or rally?

(966)

<RALLY>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

26C. Worked on a community project?

(967)

<PROJECT>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

26D. Participated in any demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or marches?

(968)

<MARCH>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

26E. Donated blood?

(969)

<BLOOD>

- 1 Yes

- 2 No
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Can't give blood
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27. Thinking POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY, how would you describe your own general outlook--as being very conservative, moderately conservative, middle-of-the-road, moderately liberal or very liberal?

(1011)

<IDEO>

- 1 Very conservative
- 2 Moderately conservative
- 3 Middle-of-the-road
- 4 Moderately liberal
- 5 Very Liberal
- 6 (VOLUNTEERED) Something else
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27A. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

(2223)

<PARTYID>

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democrat
- 3 Independent
- 4 Other
- 5 No Preference
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[QUESTIONS 27B AND 27B1 THROUGH 27B5 ARE A BLOCK TO BE ASKED OF 100% OF HOUSTON, BATON ROUGE AND ARKANSAS RESPONDENTS AND 50% OF ALL OTHERS (RANDOMIZE FOR ALL WHO GET THEM.)

27B. Next I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending increased or decreased. The first program is:

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF 27B1 through 27B5]

27B1 Public schools? (would you like to see spending increased or decreased)

<SPNDSCH>

- 1 Decreased
- 2 (VOLUNTEERED) neither increased nor decreased
- 3 Increased
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27B2 Dealing with crime? (would you like to see spending increased or decreased)

<SPNDCRM>

- 1 Decreased
- 2 (VOLUNTEERED) neither increased nor decreased
- 3 Increased
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27B3 Tightening border security to prevent illegal immigration? (would you like to see spending increased or decreased)

<SPNDBRDR>

- 1 Decreased
- 2 (VOLUNTEERED) neither increased nor decreased

- 3 Increased
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27B4 Aid to blacks? (would you like to see spending increased or decreased)

<SPNDBLK>

- 1 Decreased
- 2 (VOLUNTEERED) neither increased nor decreased
- 3 Increased
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

27B5 Aid to the poor? (would you like to see spending increased or decreased)

<SPNDPOOR>

- 1 Decreased
- 2 (VOLUNTEERED) neither increased nor decreased
- 3 Increased
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

(Question 27C asked only of the national sample)

27C. From what level of government do you feel you get the most for your money? (federal/national, state, or local)

<SPENDNAT>

- 1 Local
- 2 State
- 3 Federal/National
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

(Question 27D asked only of Baton Rouge, Houston and Arkansas samples)

27D. In your opinion, which is the bigger cause of poverty today - that people are not doing enough to help themselves out of poverty, or that circumstances beyond their control cause them to be poor?

<WHYPOOR>

- 1 people are not doing enough
- 2 circumstances cause them to be poor
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

(Question 28 asked only of a random 50% of respondents)

28. We'd like to know how well known different governmental leaders are in your area. Could you tell me the names of the two U.S. Senators from your state? (IF NECESSARY: WHO ARE THEY?)

IF STATE= WASHINGTON DC: Could you tell me the names of the (mayor in the District of Columbia and the District of Columbia's representative in Congress)?

(IF NECESSARY: Who are they?)

DISPLAY: DO NOT READ: <SEN1> and <SEN2>

AL	Jeff Sessions	Richard Shelby
AK	Frank Murkowski	Ted Stevens

AZ	John Kyl	John McCain
AR	Mark Pryor	Blanche Lincoln
CA	Barbara Boxer	Dianne Feinstein
CO	Wayne Allard	Ken Salazar
CT	Christopher Dodd	Joseph Lieberman
DC	Anthony Williams	Ray Browne
DE	Joseph Biden	Thomas Carper
FL	Bill Nelson	Mel Martinez
GA	Saxby Chambliss	Johnny Isakson
HI	Daniel Akaka	Daniel Inouye
ID	Larry Craig	Mike Crapo
IL	Richard Durbin	Barack Obama
IN	Evan Bayh	Richard Lugar
IA	Chuck Grassley	Tom Harkin
KS	Sam Brownback	Pat Roberts
KY	Jim Bunning	Mitch McConnell
LA	David Vitter	Mary Landrieu
ME	Susan Collins	Olympia Snowe
MD	Barbara Mikulski	Paul Sarbanes
MA	Edward Kennedy	John Kerry
MI	Debbie Stabenow	Carl Levin
MN	Mark Dayton	Norm Coleman
MS	Thad Cochran	Trent Lott
MO	James Talent	Christopher Bond
MT	Max Baucus	Conrad Burns
NE	Ben Nelson	Charles Hagel
NV	John Ensign	Harry Reid
NH	Judd Gregg	John Sununu
NJ	Frank Lautenberg	Robert Menendez
NM	Jeff Bingaman	Pete Domenici
NY	Hillary Clinton	Charles Schumer
NC	Richard Burr	Elizabeth Dole
ND	Kent Conrad	Byron Dorgan
OH	Mike Dewine	George Voinovich
OK	James Inhofe	Tom Coburn
OR	Gordon Smith	Ron Wyden
PA	Rick Santorum	Arlen Specter
RI	Lincoln Chafee	Jack Reed
SC	Jim DeMint	Lindsey Graham
SD	John Thune	Tim Johnson
TN	William Frist	Lamar Alexander
TX	John Cornyn	Kay Bailey Hutchinson
UT	Orrin Hatch	Robert Bennett
VT	James Jeffords	Patrick Leahy
VA	George Allen	John Warner
WA	Maria Cantwell	Patty Murray
WV	Robert Byrd	John D. Rockefeller, IV
WI	Russell Feingold	Herb Kohl
WY	Mike Enzi	Craig Thomas

(1018)

<POLKNOW>

- 1 Failed to name either <SEN1> or <SEN2>
- 2 One correct
- 3 Both correct

- 4 One is "close"
- 5 Both are "close"
- 6 One is correct and one is "close"
- 9 Refused

29. I want to change subjects now and ask about the groups and organizations you may be involved with. First, what is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, another type of Christian, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

(1019)

<RELIG>

- 1 Protestant SKIP TO 29A
- 2 Catholic SKIP TO 30
- 3 Another type of Christian SKIP TO 29B
- 4 Jewish SKIP TO 30
- 5 Some other religion SKIP TO 29C
- 6 No religion SKIP TO 33
- 8 Don't know SKIP TO 30
- 9 Refused SKIP TO 33

29A. What denomination is that, if any?

(1020, 1022)

<PROTDOM>

- 20 Non-denominational Protestant
- 30 Community church
- 40 Inter-denominational Protestant
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused
- 100 7th Day Adventist/Fundamentalist Adventists/Adventist
- 110 Episcopalian; Anglican; Worldwide Church of God
- 135 Baptist-Southern Baptist
- 149 Baptist-all other
- 150 United Church of Christ (includes Congregational, Evangelical and Reformed, and Congregational Christian)
- 169 Mennonite/Amish/Quaker/Brethren
- 180 Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA)
- 182 Church of the Nazarene
- 183 Free Methodist Church
- 184 Salvation Army
- 185 Wesleyan Church
- 201 Independent Fundamentalist Churches of America/ Independent
- 220 Lutheran-Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, all other
- 221 Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (LC-MS) or Wisconsin Synod
- 230 Methodist-United Methodist Church-Evangelical United Brethren; all other
- 231 Methodist-African Methodist Episcopal Church or African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church
- 250 Pentecostal-Assemblies of God
- 269 Pentecostal (not specified); Church of God
- 279 Presbyterian
- 280 Christian Reformed Church or Dutch Reformed
- 281 Reformed Church in America
- 289 Reformed-all other references
- 290 Disciples of Christ
- 291 Christian Churches
- 292 Churches of Christ
- 293 Christian Congregation

- 997 Other, Specify
- 998 Don't Know
- 999 Refused

**ALL ANSWERING Q.29A SKIP TO Q.30**

29B. And what is that?  
(1029, 1031)

<CHROTHER>

- 099 Christian (NEC); "just Christian"
- 300 Christian Scientists
- 700 Eastern Orthodox or Greek Rite Catholic (includes: Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, Rumanian Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, Georgian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox)
- 306 Fundamentalist Adventist (Worldwide Church of God)
- 304 Jehovah's Witnesses
- 301 Mormons; Latter Day Saints
- 302 Spiritualists
- 303 Unitarian; Universalist
- 305 Unity; Unity Church; Christ Church Unity
- 997 Other, Specify

**ALL ANSWERING Q.29B SKIP TO Q.30**

29C. (IF OTHER) What religion would that be?  
(1037, 1039)

<RELOTHER>

- 724 American Indian Religions (Native American Religions)
- 723 Bahai
- 721 Buddhist
- 722 Hindu
- 720 Muslim; Mohammedan; Islam
- 997 Other, Specify

**ALL ANSWERING Q.29C SKIP TO Q.30**

30. Are you a MEMBER of a local church, synagogue, or other religious or spiritual community?  
(1045)

<RELMEM>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

31. Not including weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? (IF NECESSARY PROBE WITH CATEGORIES)  
(1046)

<RELATEND>

- 1 Every week (or more often)
- 2 Almost every week
- 3 Once or twice a month
- 4 A few times per year
- 5 Less often than that
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

32. In the past 12 months, have you taken part in any sort of activity with people at your church or place of worship other than attending services? This might include teaching Sunday school, serving on a committee, attending choir rehearsal, retreat, or other things.

(1047)

<RELPART1 >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33. Now I'd like to ask about other kinds of groups and organizations. I'm going to read a list; just answer YES if you have been involved in the past 12 months with this kind of group. (BEGIN LIST) (NOTE: SCHOOL YEAR INVOLVEMENT/SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE INCLUDED.)

PROGRAMMING: RANDOM ORDER A-P, KEEPING K-M TOGETHER, KEEPING N-O TOGETHER

33A. (IF Q30=1 DISPLAY: Besides your local place of worship,) Any organization affiliated with religion, such as the Knights of Columbus or B'nai B'rith (BA-NAY BRITH), or a bible study group?

(1049)

<GRPREL >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33B. (How about) An adult sports club or league, or an outdoor activity club.

(1050)

<GRPSPORT >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33C. (How about) A youth organization like youth sports leagues, the scouts, 4-H clubs, and Boys & Girls Clubs.

(1051)

<GRPYOUTH >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33D. A parents' association, like the PTA or PTO, or other school support or service groups.

(1052)

<GRPPTA >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33E. A veteran's group.

(1053)

<GRPVET >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33F. A neighborhood association, like a block association, a homeowner or tenant association, or a crime watch group.

(1054)

<GRPNEI >

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33G. Clubs or organizations for senior citizens or older people.  
(1055)

<GRPELD>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33H. A charity or social welfare organization that provides services in such fields as health or service to the needy.  
(1056)

<GRPSOC>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33I. A labor union.  
(1057)

<GRPLAB>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33J. A professional, trade, farm, or business association.  
(1058)

<GRPPROF>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33K. Service clubs or fraternal organizations such as the Lions or Kiwanis or a local women's club or a college fraternity or sorority. (NOTE: Includes Alumni Organizations)  
(1059)

<GRPFRAT>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33L. Ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations, such as the National Organization for Women, the Mexican American Legal Defense or the NAACP?  
(1060)

<GRPETH>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33M. Other public interest groups, political action groups, political clubs, or party committees.  
(1061)

<GRPPOL>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

33N. A literary, art, discussion or study group OR a musical, dancing, or singing group.

(1062)

<GRPART>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33O. Any other hobby, investment, or garden clubs or societies.

(1063)

<GRPHOB>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

33P. A support group or self-help program for people with specific illnesses, disabilities, problems, or addictions, or for their families.

(1064)

<GRPSELF>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

**IF 30 = 2 (NO) AND 33A-P = 2 (NO) OR 9 (REFUSED), SKIP TO 37  
[R INVOLVED WITH NO GROUPS]**

34. Did any of the groups that you are involved with take any LOCAL action for social or political reform in the past 12 months?

(1078)

<REFORM>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

35. In the past twelve months, have you served as an officer or served on a committee of any local club or organization?

(1079)

<OFFICER>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

37. People and families contribute money, property or other assets for a wide variety of charitable purposes. During the past 12 months, approximately how much money did you and the other family members in your household contribute to...

37A. All religious causes, including your local religious congregation (IF NECESSARY: PROMPT WITH CATEGORIES)

(IF NECESSARY: By contribution, I mean a voluntary contribution with no intention of making a profit or obtaining goods or services for yourself.)

(IF NECESSARY: REPEAT ASSURANCES OF CONFIDENTIALITY)

(1116)

<GIVEREL>

- 1 None
- 2 Less than \$100
- 3 \$100 to less than \$500

- 4 \$500 to less than \$1000
- 5 \$1000 to less than \$5000
- 6 More than \$5000
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

37B. To all non-religious charities, organizations, or causes (IF NECESSARY, PROMPT WITH CATEGORIES)

(IF NECESSARY: By contribution, I mean a voluntary contribution with no intention of making a profit or obtaining goods or services for yourself.)

(IF NECESSARY: REPEAT ASSURANCES OF CONFIDENTIALITY)

(1117)

<GIVEOTHR>

- 1 None
- 2 Less than \$100
- 3 \$100 to less than \$500
- 4 \$500 to less than \$1000
- 5 \$1000 to less than \$5000
- 6 More than \$5000
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38. I'm going to read a list of statements. For each, please tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly.

(Randomize order of items A-I)

38A. The people running my community don't really care much what happens to me.

(1118)

<ALIEN1>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38B. Television is my primary form of entertainment.

(1119)

<TVONE>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38C. Immigrants are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

(1120)

<IMMIG>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38D. A book that most people disapprove of should be kept out of my local public library.

(1121)

<BOOK>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[QUESTION 38E ASKED ONLY OF A RANDOM 50% OF RESPONDENTS]

38E. I often feel that there are too many things to worry about and pay attention to.

<TOOMUCH>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[QUESTION 38F ASKED ONLY OF A RANDOM 50% OF RESPONDENTS]

38F. Sometimes I feel overwhelmed by everything that is going on

<OVERWHLM>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[QUESTION 38G ASKED ONLY OF A RANDOM 50% OF RESPONDENTS]

38G. I feel used up at the end of a typical day.

<USEDUP>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[QUESTION 38H ASKED ONLY OF A RANDOM 50% OF RESPONDENTS]

38H. I lead a calm and relaxed life

<CALMLFE>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38I. Religion is very important in my life.

(1122)

<RELIMP>

- 1 Agree strongly
- 2 Agree somewhat
- 3 (VOLUNTEERED) Neither/depends
- 4 Disagree somewhat
- 5 Disagree strongly
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

38J. Do you think the number of immigrants to America nowadays should be increased a lot, increased a little, remain the same as it is, reduced a little, or reduced a lot?

<LETIN1>

- 1 Increased a lot
- 2 Increased a little
- 3 Remain the same as it is
- 4 Reduced a little
- 5 Reduced a lot
- 6 Can't Choose
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

(IF KATSAMP=0 AND NOT NATIONAL SAMPLE SKIP TO QUESTION 40)

(IF KATSAMP=0 AND NATIONAL SAMPLE SKIP TO 39H)

[Questions 39A-39H only asked of Baton Rouge, Houston and Arkansas samples with exception of question 39E asked only of Baton Rouge and Houston respondents and question 39H asked of Baton Rouge, Houston, Arkansas and national sample]

39A. We are trying to understand what happened in different communities in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. I am going to read you a few statements about how the evacuees from Hurricane Katrina might have affected your community. For each statement, please tell me if you AGREE or DISAGREE.

<HURRINT1>

The first statement is:...

The second statement is:...

[Randomize statement order]

39B. "Our community would be better off if many evacuees stayed in <CITY\_STR> permanently."

<HURRSTAY>

- 1 Disagree strongly
- 2 Disagree somewhat
- 3 Neither [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 Agree somewhat
- 5 Agree Strongly
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

39C. "Helping the evacuees put a considerable strain on our community."

<HURRSTRN>

- 1 Disagree strongly
- 2 Disagree somewhat
- 3 Neither [VOLUNTEERED]
- 4 Agree somewhat
- 5 Agree Strongly
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

Now, I am going to read you a list of ways that some people were personally affected by the Hurricane. For each, please tell me if you were affected in that way.

(Question 39D asked only of Baton Rouge and Houston sample. IF ARKANSAS SAMPLE SKIP TO 39F)

39D. Did you host any evacuees in your home?

<EVACHOST>

- |   |   |             |
|---|---|-------------|
| 1 | Yes   |             |
| 2 | No  | SKIP to 39F |
| 3 | Respondent is a Katrina Evacuee (VOLUNTEERED) | SKIP TO 39F |
| 8 | Don't Know                                    | SKIP to 39F |
| 9 | Refused                                       | SKIP TO 39F |

(Question 39E asked only of Baton Rouge and Houston sample)

39E. Were the people whom you hosted friends from beforehand, were they relatives, or were they strangers? You may choose more than one category.

<EVACWHO>

- |   |            |             |
|---|------------|-------------|
| 1 | Friends    | SKIP to 39G |
| 2 | Relatives  | SKIP to 39G |
| 3 | Strangers  | SKIP to 39G |
| 8 | Don't Know | SKIP to 39G |
| 9 | Refused    | SKIP to 39G |

39F. Did you have any direct personal contact with Katrina evacuees, for example through hosting them, cooking meals, providing direct service, etc.

<EVACCTCT>

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1 | Yes        |
| 2 | No         |
| 8 | Don't Know |
| 9 | Refused    |

39G. Some people got involved with evacuees, some didn't. Which, if any, of the following things did you do for Katrina evacuees? (check all that apply)

39G1. Donate money, clothing, food or other items? <EVACDON>

- |   |            |
|---|------------|
| 1 | Yes        |
| 2 | No         |
| 8 | Don't Know |
| 9 | Refused    |

39G2. Volunteer? <EVACVOL1>

- |   |            |             |
|---|------------|-------------|
| 1 | Yes        |             |
| 2 | No         | SKIP to 39H |
| 8 | Don't Know | SKIP to 39H |
| 9 | Refused    | SKIP to 39H |

(Allow multiple responses for 39G3.)

39G3. Thinking about the volunteer work you did, was it organized by a religious group, by the state or local government, by the Red Cross, or by another group?

<EVACORG>

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | Religious Group           |
| 2 | State or local government |
| 3 | Red Cross                 |
| 4 | Another group             |
| 5 | All of the above groups   |
| 6 | None of the above groups  |
| 8 | Don't Know                |
| 9 | Refused                   |

(Question 39H asked of Baton Rouge, Houston, Arkansas, and a random 50% of the national sample)

39H. Do you think that your community will get better or worse as a place to live in the next 12 months, or will it stay the same?

<CMTYIMPV>

- 1 Worse
- 2 Stay the Same
- 3 Better
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

40. Next, I would like to ask a few questions about work. We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or if you are unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what? (INTERVIEWER: IF MULTIPLE RESPONSES ARE GIVEN, ENTER THE ONE WITH THE LOWEST CODE NUMBER.)

(1139)

<LABOR>

- 1 Working SKIP TO 41
- 2 Temporarily laid off SKIP TO 45
- 3 Unemployed SKIP TO 45
- 4 Retired SKIP TO 45
- 5 Permanently Disabled SKIP TO 45
- 6 Homemaker
- 7 Student
- 8 Don't Know SKIP TO 45
- 9 Refused SKIP TO 45

40A. Are you doing any work for pay at the present time?

<LABOR2>

(1141)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No SKIP TO 45
- 8 Don't know SKIP TO 45
- 9 Refused SKIP TO 45

41. About how many hours do you work in the average week? Count everything, including extra jobs or paid work you do at home.

(INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RESPONSE IS 96 OR GREATER, ENTER 96)

<WRKTIME>

VALID RANGE 0 to 96

\_\_ (1142, 1143)

- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

44. On a typical day (IF NECESSARY: when you do go to your workplace), about how long does it take you to get to work?

(1146)

TYPE IN NUMBER OF HOURS

<COMMUTE1>

VALID RANGE 0 to 5 HOURS

HOURS: \_\_ (1147)

TYPE IN NUMBER OF MINUTES

<COMMUTE2>

VALID RANGE 0 to 360 MINUTES

MINUTES: \_\_ \_\_ (1148, 1150)

IN DATASET CONVERT FROM HOURS AND/OR MINUTES TO HOURS USING 2 DECIMAL PLACES  
<COMMUTE>

\_\_\_\_. \_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_ (1151, 1155)

- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

45. We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. So far as you and your family are concerned, would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your present financial situation?  
(1156)

<ECONSAT>

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Somewhat satisfied
- 3 Not at all satisfied
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

46. Now, I want to ask you some questions about family, friends, and neighbors. First, I'd like you to describe your household. Are you currently married, separated, divorced, widowed, or have you never married?  
(1157)

<MARITAL>

- 1 Currently married SKIP TO 47; if PANEL=1, SKIP TO 48
- 2 Separated
- 3 Divorced
- 4 Widowed SKIP TO 47; if PANEL=1, SKIP TO 48
- 5 Never Married
- 9 Refused SKIP TO 47; if PANEL=1, SKIP TO 48

46A. Are you currently living with a partner?

(1158)

<PARTNER>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

47. How many children, aged 17 or younger, live in your household?

<KIDS>

VALID RANGE 0-20

\_\_ (1159, 1160)

- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

**IF <KIDS>=0 SKIP TO 48**

47A. And how many of these children are six years old or older?

<KIDS\_6>

VALID RANGE 0-20 BUT LESS THAN OR EQUAL TO <KIDS>

\_\_ (1161, 1162)

- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

48. Including yourself, how many adults live in your household?  
(INTERVIEWER NOTE: IF RESPONSE IS 10 OR GREATER, ENTER 10)

<SKID>

VALID RANGE 1-10

\_\_ (1163, 1164)

- 98 Don't know
- 99 Refused

Question 50A-D rotated in a block but only asked of a random 50% of respondents

50. Suppose a CLOSE RELATIVE or family member were marrying (GROUP)? Would you very much favor it happening, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or very much oppose it happening?

50A. An Asian person?

(1167)

<MARASN>

- 1 Very much favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Neither favor nor oppose
- 4 Somewhat oppose
- 5 Very much oppose
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

50B. (How about marrying an) African-American or Black person?

(1168)

<MARBLK>

- 1 Very much favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Neither favor nor oppose
- 4 Somewhat oppose
- 5 Very much oppose
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

50C. (How about marrying a) White person?

(1169)

<MARWHT>

- 1 Very much favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Neither favor nor oppose
- 4 Somewhat oppose
- 5 Very much oppose
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

50D. (How about marrying a) Latino or Hispanic person?

(1170)

<MARHIS>

- 1 Very much favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Neither favor nor oppose
- 4 Somewhat oppose
- 5 Very much oppose
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

50E. Next, I'd like to know whether you have warm or cold feelings toward a number of well-known groups. I'll read out a group and ask you to rate it from zero(0) to one hundred (100). The higher the number, the warmer or more favorable you feel toward it. If you have very warm or positive feelings, you might give it 100. If you have very cold or negative feelings, give it a zero. If you feel neither warm nor cold toward it, give it a 50. You can use all the numbers from zero to 100. The first group is .

...

[ALL ITEMS APPEAR IN RANDOM ORDER]

50E1 Gay Men and Lesbians, that is, homosexuals?

<FTGAYS> [record number 0 through 100]

888 Don't know

999 Refused

50E2 Blacks  
<FTBLKS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E3 Whites?  
<FTWHTS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E4 Asian-Americans?  
<FTASNS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E5 Latinos or Hispanic-Americans?  
<FTHSPNS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E6 Catholics?  
<FTCATHS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E7 Protestants?  
<FTPROTS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E8 Muslims?  
<FTMUSLM> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

[Question 50E9 asked of a random 50% of respondents]

50E9 Evangelical Christians?  
<FTFUNDS> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E10 Immigrants?  
<FTIMMIG> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E11 Poor people?  
<FTPOOR> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

50E12 Rich people?  
<FTRICH> [record number 0 through 100]  
888 Don't know  
999 Refused

51. Next I have a few questions about your IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS. These are the 10 or 20 households that live closest to you. About how often do you talk to or visit with your immediate neighbors — just about everyday, several times a week, several times a month, once a month, several times a year, once a year or less, or never?

(1176)

<NEISOC>

1 Just about everyday

- 2 Several times a week
- 3 Several times a month
- 4 Once a month
- 5 Several times a year
- 6 Once a year or less
- 7 Never
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

[Question 52 asked of a random 50% of respondents]

52. In the past two years, have you worked with others to get people in your immediate neighborhood to work together to fix or improve something?

<NEICOOP>

(1177)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

[Question 52A asked of a random 50% of respondents]

52A. "If you were looking for a house, and found affordable houses in a few different neighborhoods, in which of the following neighborhoods would you personally feel most comfortable?" (Neighbors entirely of your own race or ethnic background; Neighbors mostly of your own race or ethnic background; Neighbors mostly of different racial or ethnic background from your own race or ethnic background; or the Racial or ethnic background of neighbors is completely irrelevant)

<NEIDIV>

- 1 Neighbors entirely of your own race or ethnic background;
- 2 Neighbors mostly of your own race or ethnic background;
- 3 Neighbors mostly of different racial or ethnic background from your own race or ethnic background;
- 4 Racial or ethnic background of neighbors is completely irrelevant
- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

53. Now, how about friends? About how many CLOSE FRIENDS do you have these days? These are people you feel at ease with, can talk to about private matters, or call on for help. Would you say that you have no close friends, one or two, three to five, six to ten, or more than that?

(1178)

<FRIENDS>

- 1 No close friends
- 2 1-2 close friends
- 3 3-5 close friends
- 4 6-10 close friends
- 5 More than 10 close friends
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

54. Right now, how many people do you have in your life with whom you can share confidences or discuss a difficult decision – nobody, one, two, or three or more? (INTERVIEWER NOTE: INCLUDES FAMILY)

(1179)

<CONFIDE>

- 1 Nobody SKIP to 55
- 2 One SKIP to 55
- 3 Two SKIP to 55
- 4 Three or more
- 8 Don't Know SKIP to 55

9 Refused SKIP to 55

54A. How many would that be?  
<CONFIDEHI>  
[record number]

55. Thinking now about everyone that you would count as a PERSONAL FRIEND, not just your closest friends—do you have a personal friend who...

**PROGRAMMING: PARTS A-K IN RANDOM ORDER**

55A (Do you have a personal friend who) Owns their own business?  
(1208)

<BBUS>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

55B. (Do you have a personal friend who) Is a manual worker? (IF NECESSARY: Works in a factory, as a truck driver, or as a laborer.)  
(1209)

<BWORKER>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

55C. (Do you have a personal friend who) Has been on welfare?  
(1210)

<BWELF>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

55D. (Do you have a personal friend who) Owns a vacation home?  
(1211)

<BVACH>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

55E. [coded to signify, has personal friend with a different religious orientation]  
(IF <RELIG>=1) (Do you have a personal friend who) Is not Protestant?  
(IF <RELIG>=2) (Do you have a personal friend who) Is not Catholic?  
(IF <RELIG>=3) (Do you have a personal friend who) Has a different religion than you?  
(IF <RELIG>=4) (Do you have a personal friend who) Is not Jewish?  
(IF <RELIG>=5) (Do you have a personal friend who) Has a different religion than you?  
(IF <RELIG>>5) (Do you have a personal friend who) You consider to be very religious?

(1212)

<BREL>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

55F. (Do you have a personal friend who) Is White?  
(1213)

<BWHT>

- 1 Yes
- 2 No SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)
- 8 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)
- 9 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)

How many personal WHITE friends would that be?

<BWHT4>

\_\_\_\_ (record number) SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)

8888 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)

9999 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55G)

55G. (Do you have a personal friend who) Is Latino or Hispanic?

(1214)

<BHISP>

1 Yes

2 No SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

8 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

9 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

How many personal HISPANIC friends would that be?

<BHISP4>

\_\_\_\_ (record number) SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

8888 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

9999 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55H)

55H. (Do you have a personal friend who) Is Asian?

(1215)

<BASN>

1 Yes

2 No SKIP to next item (e.g. 55I)

8 Don't know SKIP to next item (e.g. 55I)

9 Refused SKIP to next item (e.g. 55I)

How many personal ASIAN friends would that be?

<BASN4>

\_\_\_\_ (record number) SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55I)

8888 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55I)

9999 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55I)

55I. (Do you have a personal friend who) Is Black or African American?

(1216)

<BBLK>

1 Yes

2 No SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

8 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

9 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

How many personal BLACK friends would that be?

<BBLK4>

\_\_\_\_ (record number) SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

8888 Don't know SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

9999 Refused SKIP to next random item in list (e.g. 55K)

55K. (Do you have a personal friend who) You would describe as a community leader?

(1218)

- <BLEADER>
- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

56. Now, I'm going to ask you how many times you may have done certain things in the past twelve months. For all of these, I want you just to give me your best guess, and don't worry that you might be off a little. About how many times in the past 12 months did you... [INSERT ACTIVITY]?

PROGRAMMING: RANDOMIZE A-N

56A. Attend a celebration, parade, or a local sports or art event in your community?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

- <CPARADE>
- VALID RANGE 0 to 53
- \_\_ (1233, 1234)
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1271)

- <PARADE>
- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

56B. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) Taken part in artistic activities with others such as singing, dancing, or acting with a group?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

- <CARTIST>
- VALID RANGE 0 to 53
- \_\_ (1235, 1236)
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?

(1273)

<ARTIST>

- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

56C. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) played cards or board games with others?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CCARDS>

VALID RANGE 0 to 53

\_\_ (1237, 1238)

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1275)

<CARDS>

- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

56D. (How many times in the past 12 months have you) visited relatives in person or had them visit you?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CFAMVISI>

VALID RANGE 0 to 53

\_\_ (1239, 1240)

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1277)

<FAMVISIT>

- 1 never did this
- 2 once

- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

56E. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) attended a club meeting?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CCLUBMET>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1241, 1242)

- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1279)

- <CLUBMEET>
- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

56F. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) had friends over to your home?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CFRDVIST>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1243, 1244)

- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1308)

- <FRDVISIT>
- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times

- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

56G. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) been in the home of a friend of a different race or had them in your home?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CFRDRAC>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1245, 1246)

- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1310)

- <FRDRAC>
- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times
- 6 about once a month on average
- 7 twice a month
- 8 about once a week on average
- 9 more than once a week
- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

IF Q40 = 1 OR Q40A = 1 (R WORKS) ASK 56H - ALL OTHERS SKIP

56H. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) socialized with coworkers outside of work?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CJOBSOC>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1247, 1248)

- 98 Don't Know
- 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1312)

- <JOBSOC>
- 1 never did this
- 2 once
- 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
- 4 2-4 times
- 5 5-9 times

	6	about once a month on average
	7	twice a month
	8	about once a week on average
	9	more than once a week
98	Don't Know	
	99	Refused

56I. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) hung out with friends at a park, shopping mall, or other public place?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CFRDHANG>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1249, 1250)

98	Don't Know
99	Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1314)

	<FRDHANG>
	1 never did this
	2 once
	3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
	4 2-4 times
	5 5-9 times
	6 about once a month on average
	7 twice a month
	8 about once a week on average
	9 more than once a week
98	Don't Know
	99 Refused

56J. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) played a team sport?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CSOCSPT>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
\_\_ (1251, 1252)

98	Don't Know
99	Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1316)

	<SOCSPORT>
	1 never did this
	2 once
	3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)
	4 2-4 times
	5 5-9 times
	6 about once a month on average
	7 twice a month

8 about once a week on average  
 9 more than once a week  
 98 Don't Know  
 99 Refused

56K. (SKIP IF <WWWTIME>=1) (How many times in the past twelve months have you) participated in an on-line discussion over the Internet?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
 IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CWWWCHAT>  
 VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
 \_\_ (1253, 1254)

98 Don't Know  
 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
 (1318)

<WWWCHAT>  
 1 never did this  
 2 once  
 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)  
 4 2-4 times  
 5 5-9 times  
 6 about once a month on average  
 7 twice a month  
 8 about once a week on average  
 9 more than once a week  
 98 Don't Know  
 99 Refused

56L. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) attended any public meeting in which there was discussion of town or school affairs?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
 IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CPUBMEET>  
 VALID RANGE 0 to 53  
 \_\_ (1255, 1256)

98 Don't Know  
 99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
 (1320)

<PUBMEET>  
 1 never did this  
 2 once  
 3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)  
 4 2-4 times  
 5 5-9 times  
 6 about once a month on average  
 7 twice a month  
 8 about once a week on average  
 9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know  
99 Refused

56M. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) been in the home of a neighbor?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CNEIHOME>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53

--

98 Don't Know  
99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?

<NEIHOME >  
1 never did this  
2 once  
3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)  
4 2-4 times  
5 5-9 times  
6 about once a month on average  
7 twice a month  
8 about once a week on average  
9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know  
99 Refused

56N. (How many times in the past twelve months have you) been in the home of someone in <CITY\_STR> but outside your neighborhood?

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.  
IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CHMEXNEI>  
VALID RANGE 0 to 53

--

98 Don't Know  
99 Refused

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?

<HOMEXNEI >  
1 never did this  
2 once  
3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)  
4 2-4 times  
5 5-9 times  
6 about once a month on average  
7 twice a month  
8 about once a week on average  
9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know  
99 Refused

58. How many times in the past twelve months have you volunteered?

(IF NECESSARY PROMPT WITH CATEGORIES)

(IF NECESSARY: By volunteering, I mean any unpaid work you've done to help people besides your family and friends or people you work with.)

(IF NECESSARY: Count every time you did any volunteer work, no matter how much or little.)

(GIVE RESPONDENT A MOMENT TO THINK ABOUT THE ANSWER.

IF RESPONSE IS 53 OR GREATER, ENTER 53)

<CVOLTIME>

VALID RANGE 0 to 53

\_\_ (1340, 1341)

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

IF 0 OR 99, SKIP TO 60

(IF RESPONDENT IS UNABLE TO ANSWER, PROBE:) Would you say you never did this, did it once, a few times, about once a month on average, twice a month, about once a week on average, or more often than that?

(IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "A FEW TIMES", PROBE WITH:) Would that be closer to 2-4 times or 5-9 times?  
(1342)

<VOLTIMES>

1 never did this

2 once

3 a few times (ENTER ONLY IF FIGURE CANNOT BE CLARIFIED)

4 2-4 times

5 5-9 times

6 about once a month on average

7 twice a month

8 about once a week on average

9 more than once a week

98 Don't Know

99 Refused

60. Our last few questions are used to ensure that our sample for this survey accurately reflects the population as a whole. First, in what year were you born?

<BYEAR>

VALID RANGE 1895-1987

\_\_\_\_ (1356, 1359)

61. What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?  
(1360)

<EDUC>

1 Less than high school (Grade 11 or less)

CONTINUE

2 High school diploma (including GED)

SKIP TO 62

3 Some college

SKIP TO 62

4 Assoc. degree (2 year) or specialized technical training

SKIP TO 62

5 Bachelor's degree

SKIP TO 62

6 Some graduate training

SKIP TO 62

7 Graduate or professional degree

SKIP TO 62

8 Don't know

SKIP TO 62

9 Refused

SKIP TO 62

61A. Do you have a GED or high school equivalency?  
(1361)

<EDUC2>

1 Yes

- 2 No
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Refused

62. Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino?  
(1362)

- <HISPAN>
- 1 Yes
  - 2 No SKIP TO 63
  - 8 Don't know SKIP TO 63
  - 9 Refused SKIP TO 63

62A. Would you say your background is Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, or something else and if so what?  
(1363)

- <HISPNAT>
- 1 Mexican
  - 2 Puerto Rican
  - 3 Cuban
  - 4 Dominican
  - 5 El Salvadoran
  - 6 Guatemalan
  - 7 Colombian
  - 8 Venezuelan
  - 9 Haitian
  - 10 Jamaican
  - 11 Honduran
  - 12 Brazilian
  - 13 Other
  - 88 Don't know
  - 99 Refused

62B. Do you consider yourself to be White or Black?  
(1364)

- <HISPRACE>
- 1 White SKIP TO 64
  - 2 Black SKIP TO 64
  - 3 Other SKIP TO 64
  - 8 Don't Know SKIP TO 64
  - 9 Refused SKIP TO 64

63. Do you consider yourself to be White, Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American, or some other race?  
(1365)

- <RACE>
- 1 White SKIP TO 63C
  - 2 African American or Black SKIP TO 64
  - 3 Asian or Pacific Islander SKIP TO 63B
  - 4 Alaskan Native SKIP TO 64
  - 5 Native American SKIP TO 64
  - 6 Other
  - 8 Don't know SKIP TO 64
  - 9 Refused SKIP TO 64

63A. (IF NWSCREEN=5 ADD "What do you consider your race to be, please") Specify:  
(1366)

- <RACEO> [STRING] SKIP TO 63C

63B. Would you say your background is Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Filipino, or something else, and if so what?

(1368)

<ASNNAT>  
1 Chinese SKIP to 64  
2 Korean SKIP to 64  
3 Japanese SKIP to 64  
4 Filipino SKIP to 64  
5 Asian Indian SKIP to 64  
6 Vietnamese SKIP to 64  
7 Cambodian SKIP to 64  
8 Indian SKIP to 64  
9 Pakistani SKIP to 64  
10 Other SKIP to 64  
98 Don't know SKIP to 64  
99 Refused SKIP to 64

63C. From what country did your ancestors come? (can code up to 2 from fixed list)

<ETHNIC1>  
<ETHNIC2>

8888 Don't Know  
9999 Refused

64. Are you an American citizen?

(1375)

<CITIZ>  
1 Yes  
2 No  
8 Don't know  
9 Refused

64A. Were you born in the United States?

(2224)

<BORNUS>  
1 Yes SKIP TO 64B  
2 No SKIP TO 64C  
8 Don't know SKIP TO 64D  
9 Refused SKIP TO 64D

64B. What state were you born in?

<STATBRN>

(2232) 1 Alabama  
2 Alaska  
3 Arizona  
4 Arkansas  
5 California  
6 Colorado  
7 Connecticut  
8 Delaware  
9 District of Columbia  
(2233) 10 Florida  
11 Georgia  
12 Hawaii  
13 Idaho  
14 Illinois  
15 Indiana  
16 Iowa  
17 Kansas  
18 Kentucky  
19 Louisiana  
(2234) 20 Maine  
21 Maryland  
22 Massachusetts

23 Michigan  
 24 Minnesota  
 25 Mississippi  
 26 Missouri  
 27 Montana  
 28 Nebraska  
 29 Nevada  
 (2235) 30 New Hampshire  
 31 New Jersey  
 32 New Mexico  
 33 New York  
 34 North Carolina  
 35 North Dakota  
 36 Ohio  
 37 Oklahoma  
 38 Oregon  
 39 Pennsylvania  
 (2236) 40 Rhode Island  
 41 South Carolina  
 42 South Dakota  
 43 Tennessee  
 44 Texas  
 45 Utah  
 46 Vermont  
 47 Virginia  
 48 Washington  
 49 West Virginia  
 (2237) 50 Wisconsin  
 51 Wyoming  
 52 Other, Specify  
     998 Don't Know  
     999 Refused

64B1. Were either of your parents born outside the United States?

<IMMIGGEN>

1 Yes

2 No

8 Don't Know

9 Refused

**ALL WHO ANSWER 64B1, SKIP TO Q64D**

64C. What country were you born in?

(2240, 2242)

<CTRYBRN>

998 Don't Know

999 Refused

64D. How many years have you lived in the United States?

<YRSINUS>

65. How many different telephone numbers does your household have, not counting those dedicated to a fax machine or computer or cell phones?

(1376)

<PHONES>

VALID RANGE 1-9

66A. If you added together the yearly incomes, before taxes, of all the members of your household for last year, 2005, would the total be: (READ LIST)

(1377)

- 1 Less than \$30,000 or
- 2 \$30,000 or more

---DO NOT READ BELOW---

- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

IF <YP\_1> = 2, SKIP TO 66C. IF <YP\_1> = 8 or 9, SKIP TO INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE 68

66B. Would that be: (READ LIST)

(1378)

<YP\_2>

- 1 \$20,000 or less
- 2 Over \$20,000 but less than \$30,000

---DO NOT READ BELOW---

- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

IF Q66B WAS ASKED, SKIP TO INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE 68

66C. Would that be: (READ LIST)

<YP\_3>

(1379)

- 1 \$30,000 but less than \$50,000
- 2 \$50,000 but less than \$75,000
- 3 \$75,000 but less than \$100,000
- 4 \$100,000 or more

---DO NOT READ BELOW---

- 8 Don't Know
- 9 Refused

(IF ADDRESS INFORMATION PRE-MATCHED SKIP TO CLOSING)

(IF ADDRESS INFORMATION INCOMPLETE:)

68. Those are all my questions. In order for us to compare your answers to publicly available data about your community, we would also like to ask you for your address. We will use this information only to match you to the right geographic unit and then we will discard it. We will not give your address to any one else or use it for any purpose that you have not authorized.

Would you be willing to give us your address for this purpose?

(1408)

<GEO1>

- 1 Yes → CONTINUE
- 2 No → SKIP TO 70

69. What is your street address?

(1608, 1679)

<ADDRESS1> [STRING] (number and street) → SKIP TO CLOSING

70. We understand. Would you be willing to tell us the name of your street and the name of the streets that meet at the nearest intersection?

(1410)

- 1 Yes → CONTINUE  
 2 No → SKIP TO CLOSING

70A. What street do you live on? (RECORD VERBATIM)

<STREET> [STRING]

70B. What two streets cross in the nearest intersection? (RECORD VERBATIM)

<CROSSST> [STRING]

**CLOSING:**

That's all my questions. I want to thank you very much for taking the time to talk with us. We will announce the results of this survey sometime in the next few months, we hope you look for the news story.

**ADMINISTRATIVE AND OTHER VARIABLES**

The following variables are needed to implement the questions as specified above:

SAMP	Sample ID (1...42...)
RACOPT	Racial module in use (0,1)
FORM	For split ballots
CALL	Call Number (to this HH)
CALLD	Date of Call
CALLT	Time Call initiated
INTERID	Interviewer ID
NAME1	Name used in Intro text
NAME2	Name used in Other text
STATE	State for Exchange
SEN1	Senator from <State>
SEN2	Senator from <State>
GROUPX	Alternative group for race questions
GROUPY	Additional alternative group for race questions
LOCAL5	FOR Q57
RNAME	First name of respondent (for callbacks)
SCREEN	Screening switch
0	No screening
1	Screening switch for Black & Latino
2	Screening switch for Latino
3	Screening switch for Black
4	Screening switch for County list
5	Screening switch by ZIP
6	Screening switch by town/city
7	Screening switch for other geographic screen
8	Screening switch for non-white respondents
Screening Variable List, geographic screens	
CNTYLST	County list for screen [string]
TOWNLST	City/Town list for screen [string]
ZIPLST	ZIP list for screen [string]
SCR1	Other Geo screen [string]

## APPENDIX B: Frequency Distribution of Responses to All Social Capital Items

### Social Connectedness SOCIAL SUPPORT

Q53. Number of close friends (variable friends)

	National (n=2741)	Kansas (n =2455)	Urban (n=352)	Rural (n=351)	Wichita (n=351)	Abilene (n=348)	Garden City (n=349)	Kansas City (n=351)	Junction City (n=350)
No close friends	3.8	2.6	2.3	2.0	4.8	2.3	3.2	3.1	4.0
1 – 2 close friends	17.8	15.7	15.6	16.8	11.4	14.7	16.3	21.1	24.3
3 – 5 close friends	36.0	37.5	36.1	37.0	42.7	45.1	43.0	35.0	38.9
6 – 10 close friends	23.7	24.2	24.1	23.6	25.9	20.1	20.6	24.2	16.9
More than 10 close friends	18.5	19.2	21.3	20.2	14.5	17.5	16.9	16.5	16.0
Don't know	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.1	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	-	-	-

Q54. Number of people you can confide in (variable *confide*)

	National (n=2741)	Kansas (n =2455)	Urban (n=353)	Rural (n=351)	Wichita (n=351)	Abilene (n=350)	Garden City (n=350)	Kansas City (n=351)	Junction City (n=349)
Nobody	2.7	1.6	1.1	2.3	1.5	1.4	2.6	2.8	1.7
One	7.7	6.9	4.5	10.5	6.3	8.6	9.1	10.8	7.2
Two	17.1	13.8	11.6	15.7	16.0	16.0	16.6	16.8	22.6
Three or more	72.4	77.6	82.4	71.5	76.1	74.0	71.1	69.5	68.5
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	-	-
Refused	0.1	0.1	0.3	-	0.3	-	-	-	-

## SOCIAL INTERACTION (Informal)

56D. How often visited with relatives (variable vfamcat created from variable cfamvisi)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n =2455 )	<b>Urban</b> (n=351)	<b>Rural</b> (n=352)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=351)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	4.9	4.7	5.1	3.7	3.7	7.4	7.1	9.1	8.3
1 – 3 times	10.1	9.1	10.5	4.5	12.0	9.4	15.1	9.4	20.9
4 -11 times	25.0	25.3	23.9	29.3	22.5	21.1	27.7	23.9	26.3
12 – 25 times	22.6	23.0	21.7	25.9	22.5	22.3	25.7	21.0	12.6
26 – 51 times	15.9	16.3	17.4	14.2	18.2	15.4	8.3	13.1	16.0
> 52 times	21.1	19.5	19.9	18.8	19.1	22.0	15.4	21.3	14.3
Don't Know	0.2	1.7	0.6	3.7	1.7	2.3	0.6	2.0	1.7
Refused	0.3	0.4	0.9	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-

Q56F. How often had friends over to your home (variable cfrdvisi)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
0 times	10.0	7.6	6.5	7.7	9.1	7.7	12.4	12.5	8.5
1 – 2 times	6.4	7.1	5.5	9.9	6.6	4.7	10.0	7.9	7.1
3 – 5 times	14.6	13.8	10.5	16.1	19.4	13.0	13.0	16.1	17.0
6 – 11 times	18.7	16.5	17.0	16.8	13.3	23.4	16.4	18.0	18.2
12 – 53 times	38.4	53.2	59.0	46.9	50.0	50.2	46.3	44.6	46.8
Don't know	0.3	1.3	0.8	2.2	1.4	0.8	1.8	0.4	2.1
Refused	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.1	-	0.5	0.3

Q51. How often (do you) talk to of visit with immediate neighbors? (variable *neisoc*)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Just about everyday	18.0	18.5	16.5	19.2	21.0	25.2	22.5	24.3	25.7
Several times a week	29.9	35.7	38.6	32.9	34.2	31.8	30.3	29.1	32.4
Several times a month	20.7	19.0	19.9	18.8	17.2	22.4	15.4	17.7	12.2
Once a month	10.6	9.9	7.9	13.7	9.9	9.2	10.6	8.2	11.4
Several times a year	6.4	5.0	4.1	7.8	3.7	6.3	4.0	3.9	3.3
Once a year or less	4.5	3.5	3.9	1.1	6.2	3.5	3.4	5.1	5.6
Never	9.5	8.2	9.1	6.4	7.2	1.6	13.8	11.7	8.6
Don't know	0.4	0.1	.0	-	0.2	-	-	-	0.9
Refused	-	0.1	-	0.1	0.4	-	-	-	-

56H. How often socialized with co-workers outside of work (variable *jobsocat* created from variable *cjobsoc*)

	<b>National</b> (n=1755)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1705)	<b>Urban</b> (n=258)	<b>Rural</b> (n=230)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=231)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=220)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=249)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=226)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=249)
0 times	20.6	22.9	22.9	23.0	23.4	20.0	23.7	19.9	26.5
1 – 3 times	17.7	16.3	14.0	17.4	19.0	16.8	17.7	27.9	12.9
4 -9 times	18.9	21.0	22.1	20.0	19.9	17.3	19.7	17.7	16.9
10 – 23 times	24.1	22.6	23.3	23.0	22.5	30.0	24.1	14.6	21.7
26 – 53 times	17.8	16.7	17.4	15.7	15.2	14.5	12.4	19.5	20.1
Don't Know	0.4	0.2	-	0.9	-	1.4	2.4	0.4	1.6
Refused	0.4	0.3	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	0.4

Note: This question was asked only of respondents who work for pay.

56C. How often played cards or board games with others (variable *ccards*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	32.8	25.7	21.6	30.0	26.5	22.7	43.1	35.4	28.7
1 – 2 times	8.4	10.0	9.9	12.6	7.8	12.4	6.7	4.7	10.1
3 – 5 times	14.2	15.5	18.1	8.4	19.0	14.1	9.9	20.8	12.8
6 – 11 times	14.5	14.0	13.4	16.5	13.4	14.3	12.2	9.4	10.7
12 – 60 times	29.9	33.6	36.3	31.0	31.7	35.7	27.2	28.7	36.6
Don't know	0.1	0.7	-	1.5	1.4	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.8
Refused	0.2	0.4	0.6	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	0.3

56I. How often hung out with friends in a public place (variable *frhngcat* created from variable *cfrdhang*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=353)	<b>Rural</b> (n=352)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=351)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	24.3	19.0	16.7	22.4	20.6	21.4	19.9	17.6	18.0
1 – 6 times	24.5	27.9	26.3	29.8	28.9	29.4	27.4	29.5	30.0
7 - 23 times	27.1	23.8	21.5	29.0	19.1	25.4	25.6	29.3	25.4
24 – 53 times	23.4	27.7	33.7	17.9	29.1	22.9	23.9	22.4	24.9
Don't Know	0.4	0.7	0.6	0.3	1.7	0.9	2.6	0.9	1.7
Refused	0.3	0.8	1.1	0.6	0.6	-	0.6	0.3	-

## SOCIAL TRUST

Q6. ...Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? (variable *trust*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n= 2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =353)	<b>Rural</b> (n =352)	<b>Wichita</b> (n =349)	<b>Abilene</b> (n =349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n =349)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n = 352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
People can be trusted	43.5	46.6	48.7	44.6	49.6	48.1	38.7	31.0	45.4
You can't be too careful	51.7	46.3	45.6	46.6	40.7	45.3	55.9	61.9	46.9
It depends	3.7	5.7	4.2	6.5	9.2	6.6	4.6	7.1	6.9
Don't know	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.4	0.6	-	0.9	-	0.9
Refused	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.9	-	-	-	-	-

Q7. People in your neighborhood (variable *trnei*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =349)	<b>Wichita</b> (n =350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n =350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n =350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n = 352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =349)
Trust them a lot	45.1	53.3	57.4	57.9	41.1	62.0	40.3	28.4	46.1
Trust them some	34.2	30.8	25.9	30.9	43.7	28.6	33.7	39.5	31.5
Trust them only a little	13.3	9.3	9.4	6.3	10.3	6.3	20.6	18.8	12.6
Trust them not at all	5.6	4.9	5.7	3.4	3.4	2.0	4.3	9.1	6.9
Does not apply	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.6	1.4	0.9
Don't know	0.8	0.4	0.3	-	0.3	-	0.6	2.8	2.0
Refused	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.9	0.9	-	-	-	-

Q7B. People you work with (variable *trwrk*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n =2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =353)	<b>Rural</b> (n =352)	<b>Wichita</b> (n =350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n =351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n =350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n = 352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =349)
Trust them a lot	40.0	43.6	43.3	46.0	43.7	49.9	39.4	31.8	43.8
Trust them some	26.2	29.5	31.7	25.3	29.7	23.9	26.6	30.7	25.5
Trust them only a little	9.7	8.8	9.3	7.4	7.4	2.6	18.6	13.9	8.0
Trust them not at all	4.7	1.5	1.7	0.6	2.0	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.2
Does not apply	18.8	16.0	13.0	20.2	17.1	20.2	11.7	20.2	18.9
Don't know	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.3	-	-	0.3	-	0.6
Refused	0.2	0.1		0.3	-	-	-	-	-

Q7D.(How much can you trust) People who work in the stores where you shop (variable *trshop*)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=350)	<b>Rural</b> (n=343)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=342)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Trust them a lot	29.0	33.2	32.2	40.6	29.0	41.5	26.6	17.5	26.9
Trust them some	47.5	45.8	47.4	42.4	44.9	41.5	43.0	50.8	47.9
Trust them only a little	16.1	16.2	16.4	12.7	20.1	9.5	24.9	21.5	17.3
Trust them not at all	5.2	3.4	3.6	2.1	3.9	5.2	4.3	7.3	5.4
Does not apply	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.1	1.2
Don't know	1.3	0.9	0.2	1.5	1.6	0.4	0.4	2.3	1.1
Refused	0.2	0.1	0.4	2.3	0.2	1.0	1.3	0.4	2.4

**BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL -- ACROSS RACE and ETHNICITY**

56G. Frequency probe: had a friend of a different race at home or visited theirs

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n =2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=350)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=348)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=351)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=349)
0 times	31.8	34.0	31.0	48.3	22.7	37.4	32.2	20.5	16.0
1 – 3 times	21.4	16.1	14.5	16.3	20.1	15.7	16.8	19.9	14.9
4-12 times	27.0	25.0	26.4	20.9	26.1	29.1	24.2	30.4	33.5
≥13 times	17.0	23.5	27.0	13.4	29.3	15.7	26.2	27.0	33.0
Don't know	0.5	0.8	0.3	1.1	1.4	1.4	0.6	1.7	2.0
Refused	0.5	0.6	0.9	-	0.3	0.6	-	0.6	0.6

\*146 (5.3%) missing cases

55I. Has a personal friend who is black or African-American -- Among whites

	<b>National</b> (n=1901)	<b>Kansas</b> (n =1990)	<b>Urban</b> (n=292)	<b>Rural</b> (n=308)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=272)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=331)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=200)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=156)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=225)
Yes	64.1	59.6	64.0	44.8	71.7	62.5	58.0	78.8	76.4
No	35.7	40.3	36.0	55.2	28.3	37.2	42.0	21.2	23.1
Don't know	0.1	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.4
Refused	0.1	0.0	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	-

55G. Has a personal friend who is Latino or Hispanic -- Among whites

	<b>National</b> (n=1901)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1990)	<b>Urban</b> (n=292)	<b>Rural</b> (n=307)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=272)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=331)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=201)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=155)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=225)
Yes	53.2	53.1	52.7	45.6	66.9	57.4	80.6	63.9	67.6
No	46.3	46.2	46.6	53.7	32.7	42.3	19.4	36.1	32.4
Don't know	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.4	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.1	0.2	0.3	-	-	0.3	-	-	-

55H. Has a personal friend who is Asian -- Among whites

	<b>National</b> (n=1901)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1990)	<b>Urban</b> (n=292)	<b>Rural</b> (n=308)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=272)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=331)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=202)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=156)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=225)
Yes	36.0	34.4	36.6	25.3	44.9	24.2	37.6	34.6	52.9
No	63.2	65.2	62.7	74.7	55.1	75.5	61.9	64.7	46.7
Don't know	0.7	0.3	0.7	-	-	-	-	0.6	0.4
Refused	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	0.3	0.5	-	-

55F. Has a personal friend who is white (variable bwht) -- Among African-Americans:

	<b>National</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=28)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=33)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=98)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=67)
Yes	76.4	68.8	57.1	100.0	87.9	100.0		77.6	85.1
No	23.6	31.2	42.9	-	12.1	-		22.4	14.9
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-

55G. Has a personal friend who is Latino or Hispanic (variable bhis) -- Among African-Americans:

	<b>National</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=27)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=32)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=99)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=67)
Yes	40.7	73.2	96.3	100.0	37.5	100.0		47.5	76.1
No	59.0	26.8	3.7	-	62.5	-		52.5	23.9
Don't know	0.3	-	-	-	-	-		-	-

55H. Has a personal friend who is Asian (variable basn) -- Among African-Americans:

	<b>National</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=27)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=32)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=5)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=99)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=68)
Yes	34.3	17.1	3.7	100.0	43.8	100.0		22.2	44.1
No	65.0	82.9	96.3	-	56.3	-		77.8	55.9
Don't know	0.5		-	-	-	-		-	-
Refused	0.3								

55F. Has a personal friend who is white (variable bwht) -- Among Hispanics:

	<b>National</b> (n=385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n =24)	<b>Rural</b> (n =22)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=131)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=74)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=28)
Yes	63.5	82.8	87.5	81.8	82.1	100.0	68.7	71.6	78.6
No	36.1	17.2	12.5	18.2	17.9	-	31.3	28.4	21.4
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

55I. Has a personal friend who is black or African-American (variable bblk) -- Among Hispanics:

	<b>National</b> (n =385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n=24)	<b>Rural</b> (n=21)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=131)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=74)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=28)
Yes	31.3	58.3	70.8	47.6	53.6	33.3	37.4	45.9	75.0
No	68.3	41.7	29.2	52.4	46.4	66.7	62.6	54.1	25.0
Refused	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

55H. Has a personal friend who is Asian (variable basn) -- Among Hispanics:

	<b>National</b> (n=385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n =24)	<b>Rural</b> (n =21)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=131)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=74)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =28)
Yes	20.6	42.8	45.8	52.4	32.1	-	20.6	35.1	42.9
No	78.8	56.9	54.2	47.6	67.9	100.0	77.9	63.5	57.1
Don't know	0.3	0.3	-	-	-	-	1.5	1.4	-
Refused	0.3								

**BRIDGING SOCIAL CAPITAL – OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF FRIENDSHIPS**

Q55E. Has personal friend with different religious orientation(variable brel)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	75.8	76.3	76.7	75.5	79.1	80.6	77.4	69.0	80.6
No	21.4	21.1	20.7	21.9	18.3	16.2	21.1	28.1	16.6
Don't know	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.8	1.4	2.8	2.9
Refused	0.2	0.0	-	-	0.3	0.3	-	-	-

Q55A. Has personal friend who owns a business (variable bbus)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=349)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=349)
Yes	63.3	68.2	69.6	72.4	61.7	72.0	61.3	53.1	68.2
No	36.2	31.6	30.4	27.6	37.1	28.0	38.4	46.6	31.5
Don't know	0.4	0.1	-	-	0.9	-	0.3	0.3	0.3
Refused	0.1	-	-	-	0.3	-	-	-	-

55B. Has personal friend who is a manual worker (variable bworker)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	74.2	78.7	76.4	84.9	78.3	80.1	69.7	71.0	78.0
No	25.6	20.8	23.0	14.5	21.4	19.4	30.3	28.4	22.0
Don't know	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.6	-	0.6	-	0.3	-
Refused	0.1	0.1	-	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-

55C. Has personal friend who has been on welfare (variable bwelf)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=349)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	46.4	47.1	46.6	48.7	47.0	49.0	33.7	44.8	56.3
No	49.8	49.8	50.3	47.9	51.3	48.1	59.7	50.4	41.4
Don't know	3.6	2.9	2.8	3.4	1.4	2.6	6.6	4.5	2.3
Refused	0.2	0.2	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	-

55D. Has personal friend who owns a vacation home (variable bvach)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	45.9	40.1	41.5	37.0	42.6	28.7	34.9	41.8	25.1
No	52.8	58.1	56.5	61.8	55.4	70.2	62.6	56.8	71.1
Don't know	1.2	1.7	2.0	1.1	1.7	1.1	2.6	1.1	3.7
Refused	0.1	0.1	-	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-

Q55K. Has personal friend who is a community leader (variable bleader)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=349)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	45.9	51.5	48.3	61.5	45.3	60.0	43.1	45.9	46.3
No	53.4	47.9	51.7	37.0	53.9	39.1	56.3	53.5	53.7
Don't know	0.6	0.5	-	1.4	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.3	-
Refused	0.1	0.1	-	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-

## INTER- AND INTRA-RACIAL TRUST

Q7H. How much do you trust African-Americans or Blacks (variable trblk) -- Among whites

	<b>National</b> (n=1901)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1990)	<b>Urban</b> (n=293)	<b>Rural</b> (n=309)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=274)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=331)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=200)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=156)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=225)
Trust them a lot	28.3	29.3	30.4	27.8	29.2	36.3	32.5	21.2	32.4
Trust them some	55.1	54.1	51.9	55.0	57.7	53.8	52.5	62.8	51.6
Trust them only a little	6.9	8.7	10.6	6.8	6.6	6.0	5.5	9.0	9.3
Trust them not at all	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	0.3	3.5	3.2	2.7
Does not apply	3.5	2.8	2.0	5.2	0.7	1.5	3.5	2.6	1.3
Don't know	2.6	2.2	2.0	2.6	2.2	0.9	1.5	-	2.2
Refused	1.6	1.0	1.0	0.6	1.8	1.2	1.0	1.3	0.4

Q7J. How much do you trust Hispanics or Latinos? (variable *trhis*) -- Among whites

	<b>National (n=1901)</b>	<b>Kansas (n=1990)</b>	<b>Urban (n=292)</b>	<b>Rural (n=307)</b>	<b>Wichita (n=272)</b>	<b>Abilene (n=331)</b>	<b>Garden City (n=200)</b>	<b>Kansas City (n=156)</b>	<b>Junction City (n=224)</b>
Trust them a lot	27.5	27.6	29.5	24.1	29.0	30.8	28.5	23.1	30.4
Trust them some	52.0	53.2	52.4	53.4	54.8	55.6	51.0	59.0	51.3
Trust them only a little	9.0	9.7	10.3	9.4	8.1	5.4	10.0	9.6	9.4
Trust them not at all	2.5	2.9	2.7	3.3	2.9	1.2	6.0	2.6	4.0
Does not apply	4.4	3.3	1.7	6.5	1.8	2.7	2.5	3.2	1.3
Don't know	3.1	2.2	2.1	2.6	1.8	2.7	1.0	1.3	3.1
Refused	1.5	1.2	1.4	0.7	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.3	0.4

Q7I. How much do you trust Asians (variable *trasn*) among non-Hispanic whites

	<b>National* (n=1901)</b>	<b>Kansas (n=1990)</b>	<b>Urban (n=292)</b>	<b>Rural (n=308)</b>	<b>Wichita (n=272)</b>	<b>Abilene (n=331)</b>	<b>Garden City (n=201)</b>	<b>Kansas City (n=156)</b>	<b>Junction City (n=225)</b>
Trust them a lot	28.3	27.7	29.8	23.9	29.2	28.6	32.3	22.1	31.8
Trust them some	51.7	53.4	52.1	53.8	56.2	52.5	54.4	57.5	52.9
Trust them only a little	6.9	8.4	9.9	7.2	6.0	7.5	2.9	9.1	7.3
Trust them not at all	1.6	2.0	1.3	2.8	2.5	1.1	2.5	3.4	2.8
Does not apply	6.3	4.8	2.9	9.1	2.5	5.4	4.7	4.4	1.4
Don't know	3.7	2.3	2.2	2.5	2.1	3.8	1.9	2.3	3.0
Refused	1.5	1.4	1.8	0.7	1.6	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.7

Q7G. How much do you trust white people (variable *trwht*) -- Among African-Americans:

	<b>National</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=27)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=6)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=5)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=98)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=66)
Trust them a lot	21.3	13.0	11.1	-	18.2	-		15.3	27.3
Trust them some	51.2	44.6	33.3	100.0	54.5	-		61.2	47.0
Trust them only a little	17.8	28.0	37.0	-	18.2	-		13.3	15.2
Trust them not at all	5.2	1.8	-	-	3.0	100.0		5.1	-
Does not apply	2.0	10.7	18.5	-	-	-		1.0	-
Don't know	1.0	0.4	-	-	-	-		2.0	3.0
Refused	1.5	1.4	-	-	6.1	-		2.0	7.6

Q7J. How much do you trust Hispanics or Latinos (variable trhis) -- Among African-Americans:

	<b>National</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=28)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=33)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=5)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=97)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=68)
Trust them a lot	17.3	13.4	10.7	100.0	18.2	-		12.4	25.0
Trust them some	48.4	62.6	71.4	-	42.4	-		62.9	50.0
Trust them only a little	18.9	8.2	-	-	27.3	-		11.3	16.2
Trust them not at all	8.2	2.4	-	-	6.1	100.0		5.2	
Does not apply	3.4	11.3	17.9	-	-	-		3.1	
Don't know	2.7	0.8	-	-	-	-		3.1	1.5
Refused	1.0	1.4	-	-	6.1	-		2.1	7.4

Q71. How much do you trust Asians -- among African-Americans

	<b>National*</b> (n=261)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=171)	<b>Urban</b> (n=27)	<b>Rural</b> (n=1)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=33)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=0)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=98)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=67)
Trust them a lot	15.5	12.1	9.9	-	18.5	-	-	12.0	21.1
Trust them some	46.3	64.4	71.2	100.0	46.8	6.9	-	61.7	56.3
Trust them only a little	20.6	8.3	-	-	28.7	93.1	-	11.1	13.8
Trust them not at all	5.9	1.3	-	-	1.4	-	-	4.3	0.5
Does not apply	4.3	11.6	18.9	-	-	-	-	5.1	91.7
Don't know	6.4	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	3.9	1.2
Refused	1.0	1.4	-	-	4.7	-	-	1.9	7.1

Q7G. How much do you trust white people (variable *trwht*) -- Among Hispanics:

	<b>National</b> (n=385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n=23)	<b>Rural</b> (n=21)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=131)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=73)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=29)
Trust them a lot	23.4	30.1	47.8	19.0	17.9	33.3	16.8	12.3	37.9
Trust them some	45.9	44.7	39.1	23.8	75.0	67.7	44.3	60.3	48.3
Trust them only a little	20.8	15.0	8.7	28.6	7.1	-	29.8	20.5	10.3
Trust them not at all	6.6	7.2	-	28.6	-	-	8.4	4.1	-
Does not apply	2.8	0.1	-	-	-	-	0.8	-	3.4
Don't know	0.3	3.0	4.3	-	-	-	-	2.7	-
Refused	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q7H. How much do you trust African-Americans or Blacks (variable trblk) -- Among Hispanics:

	<b>National</b> (n=385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n=24)	<b>Rural</b> (n=22)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=132)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=74)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=28)
Trust them a lot	13.7	27.1	45.8	18.2	17.9	33.3	9.1	4.1	32.1
Trust them some	42.5	34.5	29.2	13.6	64.3	66.7	41.7	52.7	53.6
Trust them only a little	22.4	15.9	8.3	31.8	10.7	-	29.5	18.9	3.6
Trust them not at all	18.3	17.3	12.5	27.3	7.1	-	15.9	23.0	7.1
Does not apply	2.5	2.1	-	9.1	-	-	3.8	-	3.6
Don't know	0.4	2.8	4.2	-	-	-	-	1.4	-
Refused	0.2	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

How much do you trust Asians -- among Hispanics:

	<b>National*</b> (n=385)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=193)	<b>Urban</b> (n=24)	<b>Rural</b> (n=21)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=28)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=6)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=131)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=74)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=28)
Trust them a lot	15.0	28.8	45.1	19.1	25.8	-	8.1	5.9	39.2
Trust them some	41.9	37.6	26.1	28.1	64.5	64.8	43.6	55.0	47.9
Trust them only a little	22.4	17.0	7.6	32.7	9.7	-	28.6	24.2	10.9
Trust them not at all	10.2	11.3	13.3	18.4	-	-	8.3	7.9	-
Does not apply	5.1	1.2	1.9	98.3	-	21.4	6.1	-	2.0
Don't know	5.2	3.9	6.0	-	-	-	5.4	7.0	-
Refused	0.2	0.4	7.9	1.7	-	13.7	-	-	-

**COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT  
INVOLVEMENT WITH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS – SECULAR**

33C. Participate in youth organization (variable *grpyouth*). (*Note: asked of random 60% within the Kansas sample*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=204)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=210)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	24.1	28.6	30.9	23.7	29.3	25.0	30.9	30.0	32.5
No	75.9	71.3	69.1	76.3	70.7	75.0	69.1	69.5	67.5
Refused	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-

33D. Participate in parent association or other school support group (variable *grppta*):

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 216)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=204)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	20.8	19.4	21.2	14.8	19.5	20.3	23.5	25.8	24.5
No	79.0	80.6	78.8	85.2	80.5	79.7	76.5	74.2	75.5
Don't know	0.2								
Refused	0.02								

33F. Participate in neighborhood association (variable *grpnei*):

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =216)	<b>Rural</b> (n=215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	20.5	21.0	22.2	14.4	24.4	5.9	13.2	35.9	15.5
No	79.4	78.9	77.8	85.1	75.6	94.1	86.3	64.1	84.5
Don't know	0.1	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33H. Participate in charity or social welfare organization (variable grpsoc)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	33.9	39.9	44.2	35.3	37.2	28.8	32.2	35.4	35.5
No	65.9	60.0	55.8	64.7	62.4	71.2	67.8	64.6	64.5
Don't know	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33K. Participate in service or fraternal organizations (variable grpfrat)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =201)
Yes	13.9	17.8	19.8	14.9	17.3	16.5	10.7	16.3	17.4
No	86.0	82.2	80.2	85.1	82.7	83.5	89.3	83.3	82.6
Don't know	0.1								
Refused	0.02								

33G. Participate in seniors groups (variable grpeld)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=204)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	14.6	16.6	18.9	12.1	13.8	12.3	17.6	25.8	15.0
No	85.4	83.1	81.1	87.4	85.3	87.7	82.4	74.2	85.0
Don't know	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33N. Participate in literary, art, or musical group (variable grpart)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =216)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	19.4	18.6	24.1	9.8	16.0	21.2	13.2	20.1	15.5
No	80.5	81.2	75.9	89.3	84.0	78.8	86.8	79.9	84.0
Don't know	0.02	0.2							
Refused	0.02								

33O. Participate in hobby, investment, or garden club (variable grphob)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=204)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	23.7	23.9	25.8	19.1	26.7	26.3	27.9	23.4	22.0
No	76.1	76.1	74.2	80.9	73.3	73.3	72.1	76.1	78.0
Don't know	0.1								
Refused	0.1								

33B. Participates in sports club or league, or an outdoor activity club (variable grpsport)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2738)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n=217)	<b>Rural</b> (n=215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=200)
Yes	21.2	26.1	30.7	20.8	23.0	22.9	23.2	22.6	20.6
No	78.8	73.8	69.3	79.2	77.0	77.1	76.2	77.4	79.4
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33M. Participate in public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee (variable grppol)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 216)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=210)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	9.8	14.4	17.5	10.6	13.3	9.3	8.8	9.5	8.0
No	90.1	85.6	82.5	89.4	86.7	90.7	91.2	90.5	91.5
Don't know	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.1								

33L. Participate in ethnic, nationality, or civil rights organizations (variable grpeth)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =199)
Yes	5.9	5.5	6.9	1.9	5.8	3.0	3.4	12.9	3.0
No	93.8	94.5	93.1	98.1	94.2	97.0	96.6	87.1	97.0
Don't know	0.3								
Refused	0.1								

33J. Participate in professional, trade or business association (variable grpprof)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =216)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=235)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	22.2	25.7	28.7	21.9	25.2	22.0	21.5	20.1	19.0
No	77.7	74.2	71.3	77.7	74.8	78.0	78.5	79.9	81.0
Don't know	0.1	0.1							
Refused	0.02								

33I. Participate in labor union (variable *grplab*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n= 1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =216)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=235)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =201)
Yes	10.3	8.9	9.7	6.0	10.6	4.7	5.9	12.9	4.0
No	89.5	91.1	90.3	94.0	89.4	95.3	94.1	87.1	96.0
Don't know	0.1								
Refused	0.1								

33E. Participate in veteran's group (variable *grpvet*):

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =216)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =201)
Yes	10.0	10.2	8.3	12.1	11.1	17.8	9.3	12.0	25.4
No	89.9	89.8	91.7	87.9	88.9	82.2	90.7	87.1	74.6
Don't know	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.02	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33P. Participate in self-help program (variable grpsel)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	20.3	21.7	25.3	14.0	23.0	14.8	23.4	23.4	26.5
No	79.6	78.3	74.7	86.0	77.0	84.7	76.6	76.6	73.5
Don't know	0.1								
Refused	0.02								

**PARTICIPATION IN FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS**

Q29. What is your religious preference (variable *relig*)?

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Protestant	44.9	49.5	49.3	50.4	48.3	65.3	38.5	50.6	52.5
Catholic	23.7	22.3	21.9	22.2	22.2	12.4	38.3	25.1	15.3
Another type of Christian	12.1	15.9	15.0	17.1	17.3	13.9	11.8	14.9	14.0
Jewish	1.1	0.2	0.3	-	0.4	1.7	-	0.2	-
Some other religion	3.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.0	2.3	3.2	0.7	3.1
No Religion	13.4	9.6	11.2	7.5	9.3	4.1	7.4	7.4	12.8
Don't know	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.7	-	0.2	-	0.6	1.0
Refused	1.0	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.8	0.6	1.2

Q30. Are you a MEMBER of a local church, synagogue, or other religious or spiritual community (variable *relmem*)?

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes	54.6	62.8	63.2	65.9	59.4	71.3	53.8	58.8	56.8
No	32.5	26.9	25.2	26.3	30.8	24.5	37.7	33.2	29.2
No Religion (or Refused)	14.7	10.0	11.6	7.8	9.8	4.2	8.2	8.0	14.0
Don't know	-	0.3	-				0.3		
Refused	0.02								

Q31, How often do you attend religious services?

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Every week (or more often)	34.4	40.8	36.2	37.2	39.1	44.3	36.7	32.6	32.0
Almost every week	6.6	8.2	7.6	8.2	5.6	6.9	5.9	5.6	6.4
Once or twice a month	14.9	15.0	14.3	12.6	9.7	15.4	14.2	20.7	9.5
A few times per year	16.9	14.6	11.0	16.0	14.0	12.1	17.7	15.6	11.4
Less often than that	12.2	11.1	18.8	17.3	20.6	16.6	16.4	17.0	23.9
No Religion (or Refused)	14.7	10.0	11.6	7.8	9.8	4.8	8.2	8.0	14.0
Don't know	0.3	0.3		0.4	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.2	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	-

Q33A. Participates in organization affiliated with religion (variable grprel).

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 215)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=226)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=209)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	17.2	25.4	32.3	16.3	21.7	19.9	22.0	22.0	22.5
No	82.7	74.6	67.7	83.7	78.3	80.1	78.0	78.0	77.5
Don't know	0.1								
Refused	0.1								

## PARTICIPATION IN ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES

56A. How often attended a parade, local sports or art event (variable paradcat created from cparade)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
0 times	27.9	18.3	16.5	15.7	24.3	17.8	24.3	30.3	22.9
1 – 2 times	16.9	19.0	20.2	18.5	15.7	20.9	18.6	19.3	18.3
3 – 5 times	23.5	28.1	27.0	31.3	27.7	24.9	26.9	23.2	27.7
6 – 11 times	12.0	12.8	12.5	14.8	10.6	14.3	14.9	11.3	14.9
12 – 53 times	17.2	20.9	23.0	18.8	20.6	22.1	15.1	15.3	16.0
Don't know	-	0.5	0.3	0.9	0.9	-	0.3	0.3	0.3
Refused	0.4	0.4	0.6	-	0.3	-	-	0.3	-

\*53 (1.9%) missing cases

56B. How often took part in artistic activity with a group (variable artcat created from cartist)

	<b>National*</b> (n = 2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=351)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
0 times	63.4	55.5	49.4	60.1	64.6	63.1	66.0	60.1	59.7
1 – 2 times	7.8	10.0	9.7	10.3	11.7	8.9	10.3	6.6	7.1
3 – 5 times	7.6	8.9	11.1	6.8	4.6	6.6	7.7	10.0	8.3
6 – 11 times	5.1	6.5	7.4	6.6	4.9	5.7	4.3	3.1	7.7
12 – 53 times	11.9	18.4	21.9	14.8	13.4	15.4	11.7	19.9	16.9
Don't know	0.1	0.3	-	0.9	0.6	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	0.3

\*107 (3.9%) missing cases

56E. How often attended a club meeting (variable clubcat created from cclubmet)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
0 times	61.8	54.3	51.1	57.5	54.0	50.4	62.9	63.2	59.4
1 – 2 times	9.0	8.7	9.4	8.3	7.7	9.4	8.0	7.9	6.9
3 – 5 times	7.5	8.0	7.7	8.0	9.1	6.6	7.4	6.8	9.1
6 – 11 times	6.9	9.8	11.4	8.8	7.7	10.0	8.6	8.8	6.3
12 – 53 times	12.8	18.7	19.6	17.1	21.1	23.6	13.1	13.0	18.0
Don't know	0.3	0.1	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	0.3
Refused	0.3	0.4	0.9	-	0.3	-	-	-	-

\*39 (1.4%) missing cases

56J. How often played a team sport (variable sprtcat created from csocsprt)

	<b>National*</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=351)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
0 times	73.1	66.2	62.5	73.8	66.3	71.4	65.5	60.8	58.9
1 – 2 times	5.9	6.3	6.5	6.6	3.4	2.0	7.4	9.9	6.9
3 – 5 times	4.8	6.7	7.4	5.7	6.0	8.6	8.0	7.4	9.7
6 – 11 times	3.9	5.6	7.7	3.1	4.6	3.1	5.7	3.7	6.6
12 – 53 times	9.4	14.5	15.6	9.7	18.6	14.6	12.8	17.9	17.1
Don't know	-	0.3	-	1.1	-	0.3	0.3	-	0.9
Refused	0.2	0.4	0.3	-	1.1	-	-	0.3	-

\*71 (2.6%) missing cases

Q56L. How often attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?

	<b>National*</b> (n=2735)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	59.2	54.4	53.9	50.8	61.3	56.3	65.6	55.5	56.1
1 – 2 times	18.3	18.2	17.0	21.9	14.9	21.9	16.3	19.5	21.6
3 – 5 times	11.9	12.1	10.2	14.9	12.5	9.5	9.2	14.7	9.5
6 – 11 times	5.6	6.3	7.3	5.9	4.6	8.5	5.2	3.6	7.4
12 – 60 times	4.7	8.3	10.5	6.0	6.5	3.8	3.4	6.3	4.5
Don't know	0.1	0.1	-	0.4	-	-	0.2	0.1	-
Refused	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.3	-	0.2	0.3	0.9

## VOLUNTEERING AND GIVING

Frequency probe: Number of times volunteered (created variable *volcat* from variable *cvoltime*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 350)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=351)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
None	40.8	32.6	30.1	33.4	34.0	32.4	40.2	44.3	39.7
1 -4 times	19.8	18.0	19.3	13.7	20.0	18.6	17.9	23.0	18.0
5 – 12 times	19.6	23.6	23.6	24.3	25.7	23.8	21.4	15.3	18.9
13 – 53 times	19.2	24.2	25.3	26.9	19.4	24.9	19.1	16.2	22.0
Don't know	0.2	1.0	1.1	1.4	0.3	-	0.6	0.9	-
Refused	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.9	0.3	1.4

Q26. Worked on a community project? (variable *project*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes	34.0	40.8	42.9	41.3	35.1	48.9	36.6	35.5	41.7
No	65.6	59.2	57.1	58.7	64.9	51.1	63.4	64.5	58.3
Don't know	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q52. Worked with others to get people to fix or improve something in the neighborhood (variable neicoop)

	<b>National*</b> (n=1364)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1250)	<b>Urban</b> (n=175)	<b>Rural</b> (n=198)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=159)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=181)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=154)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=184)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=159)
Yes	32.0	28.4	26.3	32.6	27.4	33.0	21.9	71.5	26.6
No	68.0	71.4	73.1	67.4	72.6	67.0	78.1	28.5	73.4
Don't know	-	0.1	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	-	0.1	0.2		-	-	-	-	-

*Note: Question was asked of only half the sample.*

Q37B. Dollars Contributed to non-religious causes (variable *giveothr*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=353)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
None	30.7	27.2	24.9	32.5	20.0	25.8	32.6	39.1	29.1
Less than \$100	16.8	15.0	12.5	17.4	18.0	20.6	18.6	16.7	22.3
\$100 to less than \$500	26.3	29.8	34.6	24.8	27.1	30.9	26.3	20.4	26.6
\$500 to less than \$1000	8.3	8.2	8.5	8.3	8.0	7.7	7.7	7.1	6.3
\$1000 to less than \$5000	8.7	8.1	9.3	3.7	12.0	4.9	6.6	7.4	8.0
More than \$5000	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.4	2.0	0.9	0.3	0.8	0.9
Don't know	4.6	6.0	4.0	8.3	8.6	4.6	4.6	6.2	2.6
Refused	3.3	4.1	4.5	3.7	4.3	4.6	3.4	2.3	4.3

Q37A. Contributed to church or religious causes (variable *giverel*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n =350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n =349)	<b>Garden City</b> (n = 348)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n= 353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =351)
None	27.3	22.1	22.7	19.9	23.7	20.1	23.0	23.2	27.4
Less than \$100	11.6	9.1	8.5	9.1	9.4	16.3	14.4	11.0	13.4
\$100 to less than \$500	20.4	19.1	14.8	24.8	20.9	20.1	27.9	24.4	20.2
\$500 to less than \$1000	10.4	12.8	14.8	12.3	8.3	9.2	8.6	12.7	4.3
\$1000 to less than \$5000	16.0	20.1	22.4	18.2	19.1	18.6	10.3	12.5	17.9
More than \$5000	5.2	4.7	5.1	2.8	7.1	6.6	6.6	4.8	4.6
Don't know	5.6	7.2	6.8	7.7	6.6	3.2	4.0	9.1	6.0
Refused	3.9	4.8	4.8	5.1	4.9	6.0	5.2	2.3	6.3

## FORMAL LEADERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS

35. Served as an officer or on a committee (variable officer)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes	17.6	19.9	18.9	23.2	19.1	29.5	15.0	15.7	15.1
No	82.4	80.1	81.1	76.8	80.9	70.5	85.0	84.3	84.9

## CONVENTIONAL POLITICS

Q21. How interested are you in politics and national affairs? (variable polint)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=353)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=349)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Very interested	34.0	33.5	35.7	29.3	37.2	32.6	30.3	26.6	25.1
Somewhat interested	35.4	38.5	38.8	39.6	36.1	39.1	29.1	37.7	38.0
Only slightly interested	18.5	19.6	15.0	25.9	20.3	20.6	24.9	23.5	23.7
Not at all interested	11.9	8.3	10.2	5.1	6.3	7.7	15.7	11.6	13.1
Don't know	0.2	0.1	0.3	-	-	-	-	0.6	-
Refused	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q28. Knows the name of the state's two US Senators (variable *polknow*)

	<b>National*</b> (n=1359)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1195)	<b>Urban</b> (n=165)	<b>Rural</b> (n=186)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=158)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=161)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=156)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=183)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=162)
Failed to name either	57.1	54.6	50.7	56.9	51.8	50.5	69.1	78.2	63.9
One is close	2.5	1.9	2.4	0.7	3.5	1.8	3.7	0.8	1.3
One is correct or both are close	17.9	27.6	29.3	28.0	25.5	26.3	16.0	18.6	22.4
one is correct and one is close	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.4	2.8	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.1
both are correct	21.6	14.8	16.5	13.9	16.4	21.2	10.8	2.0	12.3
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q17. Frequency of reading a daily newspaper

	<b>National*</b> (n=2738)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2449)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=349)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=348)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	28.6	26.5	26.2	26.2	25.6	25.8	32.5	32.3	26.7
1time	12.2	11.9	8.3	17.4	13.0	7.4	10.2	14.3	8.0
2 times	10.2	11.7	10.5	12.0	14.4	4.8	10.0	13.9	14.2
3 times	9.1	10.2	10.9	10.8	8.3	3.6	8.0	7.7	7.2
4 times	4.1	3.7	4.4	2.9	2.5	4.1	3.7	4.6	5.4
5 times	4.9	4.5	4.6	5.0	3.3	3.5	5.3	3.4	8.0
6 times	2.9	3.8	3.8	3.9	3.3	10.3	12.3	2.2	8.8
7 times	28.1	27.7	31.4	21.7	29.7	40.4	18.0	21.3	21.6
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	-
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q22. Are you currently registered to vote (variable *regvote*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=351)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes	80.4	81.0	82.7	81.2	77.7	85.7	59.1	78.3	81.7
No	19.1	18.3	16.8	17.7	21.7	13.4	40.0	21.1	17.7
Not eligible to vote	0.3	0.5	0.3	1.1	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	-
Don't know	0.1	0.2	0.3	-	0.3	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.6
Refused	0.02								

Q23....did you vote in in the presidential election in 2004...?(variable *voteus*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes, Voted	69.9	73.3	75.6	74.1	68.3	80.3	51.4	66.8	67.7
No, Skipped that one	24.7	20.1	17.3	19.4	26.6	14.3	44.0	26.7	29.1
Was not eligible	5.0	6.1	6.0	6.6	5.1	5.4	4.0	6.3	2.6
Don't know	0.3	0.4	0.9	-	-	-	0.6	0.3	0.6
Refused	0.1	0.1	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

## ACTIVIST POLITICS

Q56L. How often have you attended a public meeting to discuss community affairs?

	<b>National*</b> (n=2735)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
0 times	59.2	54.4	53.9	50.8	61.3	56.3	65.6	55.5	56.1
1 – 2 times	18.3	18.2	17.0	21.9	14.9	21.9	16.3	19.5	21.6
3 – 5 times	11.9	12.1	10.2	14.9	12.5	9.5	9.2	14.7	9.5
6 – 11 times	5.6	6.3	7.3	5.9	4.6	8.5	5.2	3.6	7.4
12 – 60 times	4.7	8.3	10.5	6.0	6.5	3.8	3.4	6.3	4.5
Don't know	0.1	0.1	-	0.4	-	-	0.2	0.1	-
Refused	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.1	0.3	-	0.2	0.3	0.9

Q26B. Have you attended a political meeting or rally in the past year? (variable *rally*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=353)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Yes	17.8	16.6	20.2	13.7	11.7	21.4	12.6	14.2	16.3
No	82.1	83.2	79.8	86.0	88.0	78.6	87.1	85.3	83.7
Don't know	0.1	0.2	-	0.3	0.3	-	0.3	0.6	-

Q26A. Have you signed a petition in the past year? (variable *petition*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=349)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=351)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=351)
Yes	35.3	31.4	31.5	28.5	39.0	28.2	21.4	26.7	21.9
No	64.3	68.5	62.8	71.5	60.7	71.5	78.3	73.3	77.8
Don't know	0.2	0.1	0.3	-	0.3	0.3	0.3	-	0.3
Refused	0.02								

Q26D. Participated in any demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or marches in the past year? (variable *march*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n =352)	<b>Rural</b> (n =351)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=350)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =350)
Yes	7.2	8.9	11.9	3.1	8.3	4.0	14.3	12.8	3.4
No	92.6	91.1	88.1	96.9	91.7	96.0	85.7	87.2	96.6
Don't know	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

33M. Are you a member of a public interest or political action group, political club, or party committee (variable *grppol*)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=1516)	<b>Urban</b> (n =217)	<b>Rural</b> (n = 216)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=225)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=236)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=205)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=210)	<b>Junction City</b> (n =200)
Yes	9.8	14.4	17.5	10.6	13.3	9.3	8.8	9.5	8.0
No	90.1	85.6	82.5	89.4	86.7	90.7	91.2	90.5	91.5
Don't know	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	0.1								

Q34. Are you a member of a group that took LOCAL action for social or political reform?

	<b>National*</b> (n=2413)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2395)	<b>Urban</b> (n=345)	<b>Rural</b> (n =338)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=343)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=345)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=342)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=346)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=341)
Yes	20.1	19.5	20.9	17.6	21.2	13.1	14.4	14.7	13.0
No	79.9	80.5	79.1	82.4	78.8	86.9	85.6	85.3	87.0
Don't know	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Refused	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

**TRUST OF LOCAL INSTITUTIONS**

Q24. How much of the time do you think you can trust your LOCAL government to do what is right?

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=352)	<b>Rural</b> (n=350)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=351)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=350)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=352)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Just about always	5.8	8.8	6.8	12.0	10.0	10.5	11.4	7.4	4.0
Most of the time	39.9	45.3	51.7	40.3	39.6	55.0	38.9	28.7	4.3
Some of the time	43.2	36.1	31.8	40.3	38.5	24.8	41.4	46.9	38.6
Hardly ever	10.0	8.6	8.0	7.4	10.3	9.1	6.6	17.0	13.7
Don't know	0.9	1.0	1.4	-	1.7	0.6	1.7	-	2.0
Refused	0.2	0.2	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-

Q7F. (How much do you trust) the police in your local community (variable trcop)

	<b>National</b> (n=2741)	<b>Kansas</b> (n=2455)	<b>Urban</b> (n=353)	<b>Rural</b> (n=350)	<b>Wichita</b> (n=350)	<b>Abilene</b> (n=351)	<b>Garden City</b> (n=349)	<b>Kansas City</b> (n=351)	<b>Junction City</b> (n=350)
Trust them a lot	53.4	57.8	59.2	55.4	64.9	60.4	49.0	41.0	48.9
Trust them some	27.9	29.3	28.3	31.1	25.1	27.1	34.4	37.6	32.9
Trust them only a little	9.8	7.8	9.1	4.9	7.7	5.1	10.3	11.1	8.9
Trust them not at all	6.9	4.3	3.1	7.1	0.9	6.6	6.3	9.1	8.0
Does not apply	0.9	0.5	-	1.1	0.6	0.3	-	-	-
Don't know	1.0	0.3	0.3	-	0.9	0.3	-	0.9	1.4
Refused	0.2	0.1	-	0.3	-	0.3	-	0.3	-

## **Appendix C: Interviewees in Five Target Cities**

### **Abilene:**

1. Ms. Katie Allen, Quality of Life (QLC) Director /Dk. Co. Arts Council Director
2. Mr. Marlin Berry, School Superintendent
3. Ms. Jane Foltz, Director, Recreation Commission Board
4. Ms. Laura Gunderson, Founder, “Newcomers, Friends, and Neighbors”
5. Ms. Judy Leyerzapf, Mayor and Chairperson of Abilene Area Asset Building Coalition
6. Mr. Larkin Mayo, Owner, Lebold Mansion
7. Ms. Kristine Meyer, Executive Director, The Community Foundation of Dickinson County, Inc.
8. Ms. Diane Miller, City Commissioner
9. Ms. Adrienne Potter, Owner, Abilene’s Victorian Inn
10. Ms. Marcia Weaver, Director of Leadership, Dickinson County Extension
11. Ms. Meta West, PAT Program Supervisor, Unified School District 435
12. Mr. Gary Yaschalk, Owner, Lebold Mansion

### **Garden City**

1. Mr. Richard Atha, Superintendent of Schools, Garden City Public Schools (USD 457)
2. Mr. Bob Halloran, City Manager
3. Mr. James Hawkins, Police Chief, Garden City Police Department
4. Mr. Kaleb Kentner, Director, Planning and Community Development, City of Garden City
5. Ms. Michelle Komlofske, Executive Director, Western Kansas City Community Foundation
6. Mr. Reynaldo Mesa, Mayor
7. Ms. Carol Meyer, President, Chamber of Commerce
8. Ms. Levita Rohlman, Director, Catholic Agency for Migration and Refugee Services
9. Ms. Penney Schwab, Executive Director, United Methodist Mexican-American Ministries
10. Ms. Michelle Stegman, Director of Human Resources, City of Garden City; Staff to Cultural Relations Board
11. Mr. Don Stull, Professor of Anthropology, University of Kansas
12. Mr. Rafael Terrazas, Sales, AM-FM Radio (Spanish radio)
13. Sister Janice Thome, Dominican Nun, Parents as Teachers

### **Junction City**

1. Ms. Pat Anderson, Assistant Superintendent, Unified School District 475
2. Ms. April Blackmon, Community Relations Officer, Fort Riley
3. Mr. Robert Cervera, Owner, Radio Shack
4. Mr. Mike Guinn, Assistant City Manager
5. Mr. Jason Haslouer, Director, Boys and Girls Club
6. Ms. Karen Jameson, State Farm Insurance Representative
7. Ms. Donna Martinson, Geary County K-State Research and Extension Family and Consumer Sciences Agent, 4-H
8. Ms. Verna McKim, Chair, Health Department Community Board Member
9. Mr. Mike Rhodes, Mayor
10. Ms. Marcia Smith, Executive Director, United Way of Junction City-Geary County

## **Kansas City**

1. Mr. Rick Behrens, Pastor, Grandview Park Presbyterian Church
2. Ms. Louetta Braswell, Executive Director, Leavenworth Road Association
3. Mr. Lowell Brune, Director, Leavenworth Road Association
4. Ms. Irene Caudillo, Director, Children and Family Services, Catholic Charities
5. Captain John Cosgrove, Commander of the Community Policing Department
6. Ms. Andrea Genereaux, Neighborhood Liaison, Livable Neighborhood Division, Neighborhood Resource Center
7. Mary Lou Jaramillo, President & CEO, El Centro, Inc.
8. Ms. Cheryl Land, Education Coordinator, Youth Build
9. Ms. Carol Marinovich, Prior Mayor of KC
10. Ms. Anne Murguia, City Commissioner, Member of Villa Argentine Neighborhood Association
11. Mr. Osvaldo Navarro, Community Policing Officer
12. Mr. Carlos Rodriguez, Community Policing Officer
13. Mr. Bill Scholl, Consultant, Office of Social Justice for the Archdiocese
14. Mr. Gary Talkin, Director, Neighborhood Resource Center
15. Ms. Debi Ward, Program Coordinator, Neighborhood Resource Center Code Enforcement Division
16. Mr. Ware, Police Captain
17. Mr. Wayne Wilson, Program Coordinator, ICC Certified Property Maintenance and Housing Inspector, Neighborhood Resource Center Code Enforcement
18. Ms. Wendy Wilson, Executive Director, Rosedale Development Association
19. Mr. Don Wise, Executive Director, Leadership 2000

## **Wichita**

1. Mr. Brian Black, President and Chief Executive Officer, Urban League of the Mid Plains
2. Ms. Margot Breckbill, Family Life Coordinator, Wesley Medical Center
3. Ms. Emmalee Conover, Pillar Chair, Safe and Secure Neighborhoods, Kansas Department of Corrections
4. Ms. Lorraine Dold, President and Chief Executive Officer, Rainbows United
5. Ms. Frances Ervin, Executive Director, TRIO Educational Opportunity Centers Program
6. Ms. Bonita Gooch, Editor, Community Newspaper
7. Ms. Rachelle Moody, Pillar Chair, Adult Education/Economic Development, Sedgwick County Division of Human Services
8. Ms. Janet Pape, Executive Director, Catholic Charities
9. Ms. Laura Shaneyfeld, Attorney, Monnat & Spurrier
10. Mr. Mark Stanberry, Pillar Chair, Housing for All, Wichita Housing and Community Services Department
11. Ms. Mary Vaughn, Director of Housing and Community Services, City of Wichita
12. Mr. Eric Williams, President, KenMar Neighborhood Association and President, Central Northeast Council of Neighborhood Associations
13. Ms. Kris Wilshusen, Independent Consultant

## Appendix D: Interview Guide

### **Part I: Community Mapping**

I wanted to start by asking you to tell me about your city/town using this map if that would be helpful. We are interested in the physical features of your city – things that you think are special, unique, or important. But we are also interested in things about the city that can't be captured by a map – or things that only people who live here or who know your city would know, like neighborhoods in the city; where people live and where they work; or what you would go to certain parts of the city for.

- a. Could you point out some of the places in your city where people gather or get together, either formally or informally? Can you tell me more about those places, who goes there, and what people do there? Are there groups of people who don't go to these places or that you would not be likely to run into in these places?
- b. Could you describe for me the 'feel' of some of these neighborhoods/areas? For example, even if there aren't public gathering spots or places that large numbers of people are drawn to, I'm interested in hearing what the neighborhoods feel like. (e.g., Is there a lot of street life? Do people spend time outside in these neighborhoods? If I walked through this part of town during the day/at night, would I be likely to see people? What would they be doing?)
- c. How do people in your city/town get to different parts of the city? How much 'traffic' is there between these neighborhoods or areas that you identified? What are the areas of the city that are the most/least accessible? Why is that?

### **Part II: Social Capital**

In our work with the Kansas Health Institute we are interested in something that people have called 'social capital.' This is a vague term, and it has many definitions or parts. In general, people think of social capital as referring to social connectedness and civic engagement or participation. So it includes things like involvement in community associations, political participation, informal socializing, and social trust. Social capital is thought of as a resource of communities because these types of connections to others have benefits for health and quality of life.

I wanted to show you some of the preliminary findings from a survey of social capital that KHI did in the state of Kansas and that included your city/town. And I wanted to ask you to reflect on some of these findings from your perspective as a resident but also as a community leader. The analysis of the survey is not complete and so I have just selected a few questions from it to discuss with you.

*Data for this section will be provided to the interviewee on a handout*

#### Social trust:

The survey findings from this city showed that \_\_\_% of residents said that "most people can be trusted" and that \_\_\_% said that "you can't be too careful in dealing with people."

How do these findings compare with your experience and your knowledge of this city?

What are some of the things that get in the way of people being able to trust one another?

Are these more pronounced in some areas of the city, or among some members of the populations?  
(Please elaborate).

What do you think might be done to promote social trust in this city?

#### Tolerance:

In response to the survey people were asked whether they had “warm or cold feelings for gay men and lesbians,” and they were asked to rate their feelings on a scale from 0 to 100. The average for this city was \_\_\_\_.

How do these findings compare with your experience and your knowledge of this city?

Are there any specific incidents or events that you can recall that capture or illustrate how you think people in your city feel about gay men and lesbians?

What kinds of issues does this raise for (law enforcement/religious leaders/neighborhood association members)?

#### Political participation:

When we asked people whether they had attended a political meeting or rally in the last 12 months, \_\_\_\_% of the people surveyed in this city said that they had, and \_\_\_\_% said that they had not.

How does this finding compare with your experience and your knowledge of this city?

Could you tell us about a local issue around which people got politically involved or engaged?

As far as you know have there been any attempts to increase political participation of people in the city? If so, could you describe them for me?

#### Associational involvement

When we asked people whether they had been involved in the PTA or PTO or other school support or service groups during the last 12 months, \_\_\_\_% said that they had, and \_\_\_\_% said they had not.

How does this finding compare with your experience and your knowledge of this city?

What are some of the impediments to greater involvement in associations from your perspective?

#### Informal sociability

When we asked people about informal socializing, for example, how many times they had played cards or board games with others in the last 12 months, the average for people who responded from this city was \_\_\_\_.

While we recognize that playing cards and board games is not the only form of informal socializing that people do, how does this finding compare with your experience and your knowledge of this city?

What kinds of events or social activities are examples of things that bring people together in this city?

Are there segments of the city that are not involved in these events or activities? Could you tell us more about that?

### **Part III: Trends and Changes over Time**

In this last part of the interview we wanted to ask you, regardless of how long you have been in your city/town, if you could talk to us about any changes you have observed over time in any of these domains that we have been talking about. If so, it would be helpful if you could describe those briefly. To what do you attribute these changes? [*Probes will be used to follow-up on how the changes have been managed by community leaders or residents; to trace the appropriate time periods over which the changes have occurred; to examine whether these changes are specific to this locality or are imagined to be more general trends, etc.*]

Are there any plans or programs that you know of to make changes in the city that you think will matter in terms of social capital? These could be physical changes to the environment (for example, building additional parks, putting in public transportation, re-invigorating the downtown shopping district, etc.). Or they could be programs or initiatives to encourage civic engagement or provide opportunities for volunteering or leadership. Could you describe these briefly?

How important do you think social capital is to the work you do in \_\_\_\_\_ (e.g., health, law enforcement, the promotion of business initiatives, etc.)? Can you give us some examples of how you think it matters to the work that you do?