

Cultural Pluralism and Social Capital in Garden City, Kansas

by
Molly DesBaillets

Submitted to the Department of Anthropology and the Faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

2008

Donald D. Stull, Chair

Jane Gibson

John Kennedy

Date Defended: December 12, 2008

The Thesis Committee for Molly DesBaillets certifies this is the approved version of the following thesis:

Cultural Pluralism and Social Capital in Garden City, Kansas

Committee:

Donald D. Stull, Chair

Jane Gibson

John Kennedy

Date Approved: December 12, 2008

Abstract

Social capital is defined as: networks that enable access to resources—like getting a job through a neighborhood friend—and is associated with well-functioning societies. Robert Putnam’s 2007 article, “E Pluribus Unum,” characterizes ethnically diverse communities as inherently low in social capital. I went to Garden City, Kansas, a majority-minority community, to assess the function of social capital in a specific context. I used ethnographic data from the summer of 2007 and the Changing Relations Project to compare changes in social capital over time. The World Bank’s measures of social capital—networks, cooperation, trust, and inclusion—were used to assess social capital in Garden City. My findings led me to conclude that large influxes of diverse people produced context-specific social capital in Garden City, contrary to Putnam’s hypothesis which associates cultural pluralism with low social capital. Recommendations to further strengthen specific forms of social capital in Garden City follow the conclusions.

Key words: cultural pluralism; social capital; municipal policy; Garden City, Kansas

Acknowledgments

To my dear parents, your unwavering support throughout my life gave me the strength and wherewithal to pursue my heartfelt desire for a career in anthropology, I am eternally grateful. My dear children, thank you for being so agreeable with your grandparents while I was in the field, and for letting me get my work done when I needed to.

Don, it has been a long journey, this thesis, along which I learned more than I ever thought I could, thank you. When I think of all the time and effort you used to mentor me, your statue, The End of the Trail, comes to mind. I hope to repay you by putting your tutelage to good use in the years to come.

Thank you to my friends in Garden City Joyce McGaughey, Patricia Whorf, Jim and Caverly Rojas, Nancy Harness, Penny Schwab, Angelica Castillo, the crew at Bo's Outback, the morning gents at Traditions, and everyone who graciously spent their time and thoughts with me. I was thoroughly impressed with Garden Citians' openness, kindheartedness, hospitality, and friendship, watch out—I may be back!

My admiration and gratitude are with my committee members, Jane Gibson and John Kennedy, for their thorough reading, commentary, and support.

Thanks to the University of Kansas' Graduate Research Fund—and by extension the Kansas taxpayers—for funding my stay in Garden City and time to write up my findings.

Contents

Chapter 1	
Introduction: The Theory.....	1
Chapter 2	
Garden City, Kansas.....	15
Chapter 3	
Methods.....	26
Chapter 4	
The Presence of Social Capital in Garden City.....	31
Chapter 5	
The Absence of Social Capital in Garden City.....	50
Chapter 6	
Social Capital and Municipal Government.....	64
Chapter 7	
Conclusions and Recommendations.....	76
References Cited.....	85
Appendix 1	
Individual Questionnaire.....	91
Appendix 2	
Organization Questionnaire.....	93
Appendix 3	
Community Questionnaire.....	95

Chapter 1 Introduction

Social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue.” The difference is that “social capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital. (Putnam 2000:19)

In his seminal book *Bowling Alone*, Robert Putnam (1995) illustrates a lack of social connectedness in the United States. Putnam argues that since the 1950s social capital has diminished in part due to television and suburbanization. We have become so disconnected from each other that even bowling, once inherently social, has become solitary.

Putnam’s initial formulation of social capital spurred scholars to further differentiate its sources, forms, functions, measures, and outcomes. The forms of social capital—bonding, bridging, and linking—were differentiated to identify specific kinds of networks. Each form can be identified both within and between networks. Bonding social capital (Gittell and Vidal 1998) occurs between individuals or networks that share ethnicity or socioeconomic status; bridging social capital transcends those differences. Linking social capital (Grootaert 1998) refers to the vertical nature of a network; for example, the link between municipal government and community networks.

Scholars agree that social capital has the potential to improve communities by fostering better health, economic improvement, and cooperation. But the dynamics of

social capital—its functions, sources, and forms—remain largely unexplored in specific communities. Gaps in the social capital scholarship thus include: 1) the impact of diversity in a specific community; and 2) dynamics over time.

In his recent article, “E Pluribus Unum,” Putnam (2007) describes ethnically diverse communities as lower in social capital than those that are homogeneous. According to his analysis, ethnically diverse communities tend to “hunker.” Hunkering includes distrust of neighbors, low expectations of community leaders, less volunteering, and less work on community projects. “[Ethnic] diversity, at least in the short run, seems to bring out the turtle in all of us” (ibid.:147).

Contrastingly, Bowles and Gintis (2002) correlate low social capital with economic disadvantage. “Ethnic heterogeneity was considerably less important in predicting low collective efficacy than were measures of economic disadvantage, low rate of home ownership, and other indicators of residential instability” (ibid.:F422). Their findings point to another social cleavage to consider, class. Diversity is represented not only by ethnic differences, but also economic ones. Thus, the question emerges, how is social capital impacted by diversity?

Garden City, Kansas, is an ideal place to explore this issue for several reasons. First, Garden City enjoys an extensive history of scholarship. The Changing Relations Project (CRP), a team of researchers funded by the Ford Foundation, examined accommodation and accord in Garden City in 1988-1990. The project was part of a five-site study which sought to understand the relationship between new immigrants and established residents (Lamphere 1992). “Team members examined interrelations

in everyday life in formal mediating institutions (such as school systems and corporate workplaces) and also in informal settings such as neighborhoods, festivals, and public spaces” (ibid.:5). Although not a popular term at the time, the CRP team examined what today might be called social capital and thus can be used as a benchmark, but not a comparison, to gauge changes over time. Over the last 20 years several scholars have conducted research in Garden City. Although their research interests were varied, they complement the CRP’s data with information about the function of social capital in healthcare, housing, and Latino-owned businesses.

Recent recommendations call for context-specific data (Lochner et al. 1999; Ostrom 1999; Foley and Edwards 1999; Cattell 2001; Falk and Kilpatric 2000; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). They argue that consideration of social capital in a real place over time will help understand how social capital works. Foley and Edwards (1999) and Lochner et al. (1999) call for an examination of the *content* of social ties. “Systematic social observation...may yield additional insights into the process of social cohesion” (ibid.:267). Ostrom (1999) notes that social capital is formed “over time and is embedded in common understanding rather than in physically obvious structures” (ibid.:179). She further suggests that researchers “must probe deeply and in non-threatening ways to get adequate information on the rules used” (ibid.:180). “Context counts and counts crucially” (Foley and Edwards 1999:151).

Scholars explain what social capital is, how to measure it, and how to get it. Definitions vary widely. For some social capital is an individual asset, for others a group asset, and for still others it can be both. Many scholars include networks as part

of their definition, while others use the idea of culture or norms and values. Measures also differ. The World Bank finds trust, cooperation, inclusion, and networks to be the important measures. Putnam (1993) identifies trust, reciprocity, norms, and networks as necessary for social capital to exist. Scholars have also debated the best way to get social capital, either through government or through community networks. Literature has focused on the development and refinement of social capital as a theory. But, specific instances of contextualized social capital are lacking.

I went to Garden City for seven weeks in the summer of 2007 to observe how social capital has changed in the last 20 years and how it is impacted by diversity and municipal government. The puzzle of how and why social capital has changed over time in a community can be pieced together by comparing social capital in Garden City from 1987 to 2007.

Social Capital: The Theory

Bourdieu (1983) distinguished social capital from economic and cultural capital. The division provided a way to understand that capital (previously understood in economics as material wealth) could also be used to understand other human assets. Economic capital is money and things, like property, easily converted to money. Cultural capital is training that provides access to money; for example, a college education should lead to a higher paying job. Social capital is networks that enable access to resources, like receiving childcare from a neighbor. Bourdieu's delineation of social capital led scholars from numerous disciplines to further differentiate its functions, measurements, sources, and types.

Portes (1998) argues that social capital is a source of social control, family support, and benefits through extrafamilial networks. Thus, a community with high social capital enjoys the benefits of close family ties and access to resources through networks. Bowles and Gintis (2002) identify influence, control, and social stability as important functions. Social capital, according to this view, is a form of social control that ensures business will be conducted by the private sector, services will be supplied by the government, and neighbors will behave in a neighborly fashion.

[social capital] is to be sought not in the vestigial values of an earlier age, but in the capacity of communities, like that of markets and states, to provide successful solutions to assist in solving contemporary problems of social coordination (ibid.:F433).

Sandefur and Laumann (1998) offer community governance as a positive function; social capital is a tool that enables individuals to participate in governance through face-to-face interaction with, and influence on, government. Knack and Keefer (1997:1283) found economic progress to be positively correlated with social capital. Using the World Values Surveys, they concluded that “trust and norms of civic cooperation are essential to well-functioning societies.”

Conversely, Portes (1998) identified negative effects of social capital: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, downward leveling of norms. Anyone who has lived in a small town can understand that gossip, outsider status, and social constraints on behavior can be crippling. The issue of downward leveling of norms is illustrated by gangs (ibid.:18): members have high levels of social capital, but enforced norms are not associated

with well-functioning society. Despite social capital's negative functions, overall it is seen as positive. Thus, scholars view social capital as an asset to be maintained, developed, and encouraged.

Healthy, economically equitable communities are facilitated by a combination of governments, organizations, families, and individuals. "The capacity of communities to solve problems may be impeded by hierarchical division and economic inequality among members" (Bowles and Gintis 2002:F419). Thus, social justice positively impacts social capital. Bowles and Gintis (ibid.:F421) also posit that social capital (community governance as they view it) solves problems that individuals, markets, or states alone cannot:

Far from representing holdovers from a pre-modern era, the small scale local interactions that characterize communities are likely to increase in importance as the economic problems that community governance handles relatively well become more important.

Forms of social capital are identified by Portes (1998) as bounded solidarity, values, reciprocity, and trust; and by Putnam (1995) as networks, norms, and trust. These forms are utilized to measure the existence of social capital by each author. While Putnam gathered statistical data to establish the presence of social capital in the U.S., lack of records makes this form of analysis impossible in much of the world. The World Bank stepped in to fill this gap by formulating its own measurements and questionnaires as tools to identify and address social capital in developing nations. The World Bank developed the measures of networks, cooperation, trust, and

inclusion to be as culturally neutral and globally applicable as possible (Grootaert et al. 2004).

I use the measures developed by the World Bank because their efforts to be as cultural neutral as possible are more likely to identify different cultural networks than Putnam's, which are based upon the strength of social capital in the United States in the 1950s. The United States has unarguably changed since the 1950s; measures based upon that time period assume a more homogeneous society. To identify networks associated with newcomer communities, more culturally neutral measures are necessary; therefore I use both the World Bank's measures and questionnaires (Appendices 1-3). Some adaptations were made to the questionnaires to better fit the community.

Networks are groups that function cooperatively, such as workplaces, families, or social service agencies; they provide face-to-face interaction and resource sharing between members. Networks are both an outcome of trust and cooperation (and potentially inclusion) and a means to strengthen them. *Cooperation* is resource sharing between individuals within a network, or between networks. *Trust* is observable in public behavior and interpersonal relations; cooperation requires trust and it can be built within and between networks. *Inclusion* is observable in the diversity of patrons, participants, volunteers, or employees in a network and their roles within that network. Cooperation between diverse networks also indicates inclusion. Networks are evidence of cooperation, which can lead to trust. Trust can also serve as the basis for cooperation and perhaps networks. Inclusion measures

bridging social capital. While the other measures provide evidence of social capital, the highest form of social capital must also be inclusive. Inclusion can foster trust, cooperation, and networks between diverse communities. Although each measure can stand alone, they also interact with one another in mutually reinforcing ways.

Adler and Kwan (1999) identify three sources of social capital —motivation, opportunity, and ability. People are motivated through socialization, which creates shared beliefs, leading to trust. As individuals are socialized (by their parents, school, community, workplace, or religion) they begin to share beliefs with those around them and develop trust, this process motivates individuals to be part of a network. Portes (1998) explains that trust exists when individuals who do not behave according to a set of shared beliefs are somehow punished (e.g., gossip, being ostracized or teased), functioning to constrain behavior. Trust is increased when individuals are thereby able to predict others' behavior based upon a similar belief system.

Shared beliefs and trust are considered important facets of motivation. A possibility not explored by Adler and Kwan, however, is finding motivation in shared experiences, regardless of differences in socialization and beliefs. For example, in a geographic community, members holding varied beliefs share daily experiences such as streetscape, municipal upkeep, events, schools, and community businesses. Interaction can also lead to trust regardless of shared values, examples include conversations about road construction, an event like the county fair, or a common issue like a smoking ban in restaurants. Living in the same town, regardless of shared beliefs, community members share experiences, which can motivate individuals to

form networks. Thus, motivation based upon shared experience is a possibility not explored by Adler and Kwan.

Opportunity to foster social capital in a geographic community exists during face-to-face interaction. Community gatherings, workplace socializing, business space (e.g., restaurants and markets), religious functions, public rituals, and recreation offer the opportunity to build social capital. Opportunity identifies more specifically the efficacy of a network. Opportunities are rich when a network meets often, effectively shares information, and strengthens trust.

Ability refers to the kinds of resources available through networks. Ability to provide resources differs from network to network. Some networks can supply child care, yard maintenance, or auto repair; others can help with jobs, business loans, or housing. The ability of a network lies in the resources available to its members. Networks which lack either physical or cultural capital can access networks with complementary strengths if both are cooperative and inclusive. The sources of social capital—motivation, opportunity, and ability—are helpful constructs in formulating and implementing policy designed to increase social capital.

Bonding and Bridging Social Capital

Dividing social capital into different forms helps explain specific strengths and weaknesses in social ties. Identification of specific kinds of social capital facilitates a better understanding of how it works in a real community. Bonding and bridging (Gittell and Vidal 1998) are two forms of social capital.

Bonding occurs between members of similar groups. Bonding social capital is represented when the members of a network or an institution share identities, economic status, religion, political beliefs, or ethnicity. The characteristics of bonding change with context. To establish what bonding consists of, social cleavages must first be identified. Once cleavages in a community are identified they can be used to identify bonding social capital. In a community where religion is the main social cleavage, for example, a network of ethnically diverse individuals may represent bonding social capital as ethnicity is not a salient community division.

Bridging occurs between people who differ in a way that is meaningful within a specific context. A community might have high levels of bonding social capital, yet, with distinct ethnic (or other) divisions, it might lack bridging social capital. The presence and strength of social cleavages in the specific community dictate what is, and is not, bridging social capital. If language is a salient social cleavage, then bridging social capital would consist of networks or institutions that span the languages involved. Bridging social capital is measured by inclusion. Inclusion in a community speaks to high levels of bridging social capital.

Social scientists debate whether ethnically homogenous or diverse communities possess greater capacity for social capital. Adler and Kwan (1999:10) postulate “the availability of a common belief system...allows [for]...joint action.” Knack and Keefer (1997:1) find “trust and civic norms are stronger in nations with...ethnically homogenous communities.” Woolcock and Naryan argue that bonding social capital, utilized within the community to get by, is an asset in poor

communities; but bridging social capital, utilized outside the community to get ahead, is lacking (ibid.:232). Putnam describes ethnically diverse communities in “E Pluribus Unum” (2007), as lower in volunteerism, participation in organizations, and voting than homogeneous ones. Instead, he argues, people in diverse communities “hunker.” But Putnam (ibid.:17) admits,

We have not yet considered any dynamic evidence about the effects of immigration and diversity over long periods of time within a single place...exploring the dynamics, as opposed to the comparative statistics, of diversity and social capital requires entirely different methods.

Linking Social Capital

Linking social capital highlights the relationship between networks with differential abilities. Linking social capital (Grootaert 1998) exists between the government and the people it represents. Linking specifically refers to the vertical nature of the tie. Vertical ties (Latham 2000) occur between groups, or group members, of different socioeconomic status. Bowles and Gintis (2002:F428) pinpoint the importance of vertical networks, “[the] downside of community becomes particularly troubling when insiders are wealthy and powerful and outsiders are exploited as a result.”

Fukayama (1999:11) finds “states indirectly foster the creation of social capital by efficiently providing necessary public goods” and “governments...pass on social capital in the forms of social rules and norms.” Linking social capital between the government and diverse community members thus ensures equity in a community. Putnam (1993:6) says “wise policy can encourage social capital formation.” Adler

and Kwan (1999:11) further postulate, “Strong government responsive to people’s needs plays an important role in building social capital.” Knack and Keefer (1997:1253) agree, “trust and norms of civic involvement are linked to better performance of government institutions.” Municipal government is therefore important in fostering social capital.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000:234) describe two perspectives to examine social capital. An institutional examination adopts a structural perspective; social capital is a product of political, legal, and institutional factors. When a government does not encourage social capital the community lacks it; good government is essential to making local programs work. Although government can encourage social capital, the implementation of national policies use broad statistical evidence that loses the voice of the poor (ibid.:235).

In providing broad statistical evidence for the importance of social capital, the subtlety, richness, and enormous variation gleaned from case studies of individual countries and communities is lost, as are the voices of those most directly influenced by weak institutions: the poor.

Municipal government has the capacity to implement local policies addressing the poor.

The synergy view (ibid.:235) marries network and institutional perspectives. From this perspective, networks and institutions must work together to create social capital (ibid.:236). Partnerships between the state, communities, and firms are required for high levels of social capital. The main actor, able to encourage bridging

social capital and create linking social capital, is government, as it provides public goods and enforces of the rule of law.

Although the network and institutional perspectives both have explanatory power, consideration of networks and institutions, the synergy view, allows for a broader more nuanced understanding of social capital in a community. In any community the relationships between networks and institutions—or formal and informal networks—are important to understanding social capital. An understanding of social capital in either networks or institutions alone does not draw a complete picture of a community. Therefore, I choose to adopt the synergy view and examine social capital in both institutions and networks, and the relationship between them.

Social capital exists in, and between, institutions and formal and informal networks, and has a broad array of meanings. For my purposes, social capital exists in all social networks—between individuals within networks, and the networks themselves. The assets gained through these networks are also broad. Jobs, governmental representation, psychological and economic well-being, healthcare, childcare, and a sense of belonging are all positive assets social capital helps provide to community members. Many factors influence the attainment of these assets, such as: network size, formal or informal status, type (e.g., workplace, government, social service agency, or neighborhood), rules, hierarchy, information-sharing capacity, and decision-making process. These network attributes combine with members' motivation, opportunity, and ability to participate, producing community-specific levels and types of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Bonding social

capital is between networks or network members who share language, ethnicity, or class. Bridging social capital occurs when members of a network differ in those ways, or when networks with different kinds of bonding social capital cooperate. Linking social capital occurs when network members, or networks that cooperate with one another, are of different classes or have different levels of access to power.

Chapter 2 Garden City, Kansas

Located 215 miles west of Wichita and 309 miles east of Denver, Garden City is surrounded by the uninterrupted vastness of southwest Kansas. Settled in the last quarter of the 19th century by Texas cattlemen, former buffalo hunters, and optimistic farmers from “back East,” it has never had the mystique of its nearby rival, Dodge City. But it has emerged as the primary trade and service center for southwest Kansas and adjacent portions of Colorado, Oklahoma, and Texas.

An 1879 plat map, centered on the newly built rail-line, marks the beginning of Garden City, Kansas. When the Santa Fe line was extended from neighboring Dodge City to continue over Raton Pass in Colorado, the railway lured customers with cheap farmland. By 1887 Garden City had grown to a town of 2,000 (Stull et al. 1990).

Constructed Space

Finnup Park is the city’s largest and busiest park. The 110-acre park was donated to the city in 1919 by George W. Finnup, whose fortune was made in the sugar beet industry. It is home to an extensive zoo, a gargantuan swimming pool (known as “the big pool”), the Finney County Historical Museum, shady picnic grounds, horseshoe pits, and several baseball fields. Both the pool and the zoo have traditionally been free to the public; but recently, the pool adopted a \$1.00 fee, and

the zoo asks vehicular visitors for \$3.00. The nominal fees have not, however, greatly changed the accessibility of the park to the majority of community members.

On weekends the zoo is full of families meandering through the thick vegetation, exclaiming about the monkeys' behavior. Visitors not only see giraffes, lions, and elephants, they also see memorials to Garden City's past. Just outside the zoo sits the home of one of the town's founding fathers, William Fulton. The Fulton home was moved from near the railroad tracks and is now filled with historical photographs, stories, and a drawing room furnished as it might have been around the turn of the 20th century.

It is said that as Mrs. Fulton, William's wife, was gardening by the railway one day when a passenger commented that her garden was so lovely the town should be named Garden City, and so it was. This moment is memorialized with a statue of Mrs. Fulton gardening by the railway depot. The statue, erected in 2007, and the maintenance of the Fulton home as an exhibit space, indicates the importance of this historic story to current community members.

Another memorial in the park from the early 1900s is the Garden City Western Railway locomotive. It carried sugar beet products from surrounding farms to the factory and the Santa Fe line. Its presence memorializes two early industries in Garden City, the railroad and sugar beets.

The sugar beet and the railroad industries needed workers. Mexicans came in the early 1900s to fill entry-level jobs. The arrival of new laborers created Garden

City's first ethnic enclave, dubbed "Little Mexico," south of the tracks, surrounding Finnup Park.

Another memorial in the park is ironically related to the nickname "Little Mexico." The southern edge of Finnup Park, and the city, is the now dry Arkansas riverbed. The river was the border between the U.S. and Mexico until the United States won the Mexican War in 1845. A marker of this border, and the previous riverbed, sits near the horseshoe pits.

A stone's throw away from the marker is the municipal pool, which was, upon completion in 1922, the world's largest, free, outdoor, concrete, municipal swimming pool (Preservations 2006). The pool remains a primary municipal attraction. Summers in Garden City find Finnup Park full of community members visiting the zoo, swimming in the pool, picnicking under the thick shade, and playing baseball in the evening.

Beyond the camels, Main Street marks the western edge of Finnup Park. Across the street are the county fairgrounds with a large grandstand and arena. The fairgrounds have the largest crowd capacity in Garden City. The county fair, the monster truck show, Quinceañeros (a traditional Mexican birthday celebration for 15 year old girls) and rodeos are held at the fairgrounds.

Main Street continues south, over the Arkansas riverbed and past the Sandsage Bison Range. Volunteers offer tours in four-wheel-drive vehicles over the sandy hills of the Sandsage Bison Range, through the native vegetation—to find and view the herd. A stop on the tour offers a view of the eight or so trees left of the

Garden City National Forest Reserve, a failed federal experiment that began in 1905 to find a tree species that would grow well in the Great Plains. The municipal golf course, Buffalo Dunes—a source of much pride to Garden City golfers—marks the end of the municipal facilities to the south.

Going north, Main Street crosses over the tracks and through the historic central business district, recently established as part of the Kansas Main Street program. Downtown Vision is a newly created, municipally funded agency that seeks to reestablish the historic downtown as a central part of the city. Much of the focus of Downtown Vision is on historic architecture. Grants through the Kansas Main Street program have helped several downtown businesses rehabilitate their facades.

Another focus of Garden City's architectural rehabilitation efforts are two historic buildings from the end of the 19th century: the Windsor Hotel—dubbed the Waldorf of the Prairie—and the Buffalo Jones Hotel. The landmarks both have impressive central atriums with skylights, the height of architectural opulence at the time. The hotels are the products of a rivalry between two true western characters and prominent founders of the town, Buffalo Jones—credited with saving the North American Bison from extinction, and John Stevens—whose Windsor, completed in 1887, was built to outdo Buffalo Jones Hotel. The Windsor stayed open until 1977 when it was closed by the state fire marshal. Although the focus of much attention, planning, and fundraising efforts, the hotels remain closed. Refurbishment dreams have been dashed by astronomical price tags.

To augment his three-story hotel, Stevens also donated the caddy-corner lot for a park. Stevens Park marks the end of the historic business district along Main Street and lies at the geographic heart of the city; it boasts tall shade trees, ample benches, and a spacious band shelter. Although Finnup Park offers ample recreation for the community, Steven's Park hosts events in need of its gracious band shelter: weekly Municipal Band concerts, Sunday concerts, the annual National Night Out, and Fiesta were all held in Steven's Park in 2007.

Efforts to revitalize the historic downtown are juxtaposed against the expansion of big-box businesses on the northeastern edge of town. Wal-Mart, Home Depot, J.C. Penny, and Target have now shifted the locus of economic activity in Garden City. It is now more likely to see community members greeting acquaintances in the aisles of Wal-Mart than on the sidewalks of Main Street.

Agricultural, Industrial, and Demographic Developments

While the town's fathers constructed monuments to their visions, farmers on the surrounding land struggled because of the low average annual rainfall of 18 inches. Beginning in 1879, irrigation ditches running off the Arkansas River were dug; they provided the ability to sell and cultivate more farmland. Water from irrigation made sugar beet production possible, an industry that sustained Garden City for half a century (Reeve 1996:33).

Technological advances in the 1960s gave farmers access to the Ogallala Aquifer, a large body of water lying underneath much of the High Plains, and the

opportunity to more intensively produce grain. “Center-pivot irrigation brought marginal land under cultivation and within 10 years a new "corn belt" emerged, as southwest Kansas became one of the most productive agricultural areas in the nation” (Fund and Clement in Stull et. al.1990:1). This opportunity gave rise to others.

Increased grain production attracted feedlots. Abundant cattle, in turn, attracted packing plants. In an effort to cut costs of shipping and escape a unionized labor force (Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992:38), IBP reinvented the U.S. meatpacking industry by relocating in rural areas. First, the company opened a plant in Iowa, then Nebraska, and eventually rural southwest Kansas. The emphasis on lowering costs was, and continues to be, part of the industrialization of agriculture (Stull and Broadway 2004). Finney County’s unemployment rate was 3.2 the year before the IBP plant opened (Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992:39). Moving from an urban location with an existing labor supply, to one with hardly any, meant the labor force would have to be brought in.

IBP opened the world’s largest beef processing plant in 1980, Monfort opened another in 1983, both within 10 miles of Garden City. The industry dramatically changed the face of the community. New labor migrants from Mexico and Southeast Asia arrived to take jobs in the packing plants. As the immigrant population grew, so did community needs for health care, housing, food assistance —and bilingual teachers, police officers, and municipal staff. Several agencies swiftly formed to meet the new needs (Stull et al. 1990).

Educational needs were met by building new elementary schools and the Adult Learning Center, which offered English classes to non-native speakers. Construction and annexation of a trailer park for packing plant workers met housing needs. Emmaus House opened to provide temporary food and shelter and a food pantry. United Methodist Western Kansas Mexican-American Ministries (MAM) opened a clinic in 1987 to provide health care for low-income patients. MAM also provides a food and clothing bank, translation and notary services, and citizenship assistance (ibid.). This impressive list of responses reflects the sincere and fruitful efforts of community members to create and maintain networks facilitating cooperation, trust, and inclusion in Garden City.

In 1980 Garden City's population was 18,256 and 16 percent Hispanic (ibid.). The minority population has continued to grow. In 1989 school district enrollment of minority students was 36 percent; in 1996 the number grew to 54 percent (Kral 1997:13); by 2006 minority students were 73 percent of the student body (USD 457 2007). Over the course of the last 17 years, minority student enrollment in the Garden City School District has grown by 37 percent. With a population of 28,451 in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau), the city had gained 10,000 inhabitants since 1980, an overall population increase of 50 percent in 20 years. It also emerged as the state's first majority-minority community (Stull and Broadway 1990).

The Changing Relations Project

With packing plant openings across the region, southwest Kansas emerged as the U.S. beef industry's processing center. The related demographic changes also drew a team of six social scientists (five anthropologists and a cultural geographer) to Garden City. The team, led by Donald D. Stull of the University of Kansas, was part of the Changing Relations Project (CRP)—a national study of the “new immigration,” funded by the Ford Foundation. The project began in 1988 and sought to understand the impacts of rapid growth on Anglos, Hispanics, and Southeast Asians in the arenas of work, school, neighborhoods, and community structure (Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992). The CRP found ethnic relations were generally positive, due to: 1) the small town culture with a history of diversity; 2) lack of competition for resources (ample work); and 3) community responses to newcomer needs (Stull et al. 1990).

To encapsulate the nature of relations between established residents and new immigrants is a difficult, if not impossible, task. That they are complex and dynamic goes without saying. But if summarize we must, then we must say—"It depends." It depends on the setting, the groups involved, the class background and individual personalities of those who come face to face. Relations between new immigrants and established residents at times appear to be absent altogether; at other times fraught with bigotry, waiting to erupt in open conflict; still others show a warmth and generosity—a reaching out—that reflect the ideals of America at its best.

Garden City is a community trying to come to grips with a decade of rapid change—in its economy, its people, in its very self-image. The choices it has made have not all been the right ones, and it is not perfect by a long shot. But after two years of study, we have come full circle. We were drawn to Garden City because it appeared to be successfully adjusting to rapid growth and increasing ethnic diversity. We have not changed our minds. Garden City is a community that has tried hard to accommodate its new immigrants—not all have been warmly welcomed, and their needs have not all been met. But it has tried, and it keeps on trying. (ibid.:102-103)

While recognizing community members' adaptations to newcomers, the CRP also made recommendations to Garden City. Recommendations included:

- 1) Education: Support for a soccer program, cultural competence training for teachers, more funding for paraprofessionals, outreach to bilingual students with volunteer programs, transportation to library events, a bookmobile, and the acquisition of bilingual reading material.
- 2) Housing: Strengthen codes for rental housing.
- 3) Social services: Establish public support for nongovernmental agencies serving immigrants, create a multilingual central referral agency, expand cooperative relationships with the packing plants to generate financial assistance for community needs, provide transportation, and provide English classes for non-native speakers.
- 4) Mass communications: Expand local media to reach non-English speakers.
- 5) Day care: Improve community access to day care.
- 6) Health care: Create a county health clinic.

The city and community responded to many of the CRP's suggestions: soccer fields were constructed, a bookmobile visits several neighborhoods during the summer, teachers and paraprofessionals are offered Spanish classes in the summer, a bilingual elementary school was established, a community resource guide is distributed and updated annually, a municipal bus began operation, the Adult Learning Center has a new facility and expanded class times, a county health clinic opened, and the Cultural Relations Board (CRB) was created as an advisory board to

the city council to identify and make recommendations about how to best address community issues pertaining to diversity.

While community members have plodded through the nuts and bolts of creating, implementing, and maintaining myriad recommendations, the CRP also helped create a time and space for reflection on Garden City's experiences.

Perhaps the most lasting legacy of the Changing Relations Project in Garden City is its annual Five-State Multicultural Conference. Now in its eleventh year, this conference grew directly out of the heightened awareness of Garden Citians that theirs was a cosmopolitan community, one that had much to learn from its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and much to teach others. (Stull and Broadway 2001)

The impact of diversity in Garden City teaches an important lesson. How they organized, formed new networks, and responded to the multiple and varied needs of newcomers—and continue to do so—demonstrates the importance of social networks as a resource.

Adaptations to newcomers began with the leadership of the Ministerial Alliance, a group of clergy who pool resources for community projects.

In the early 1980s, key members of the Garden City Ministerial Alliance saw potential for adverse community reaction to the growing number of Southeast Asians and responded decisively. They worked with the newspaper, key school personnel, and community volunteers to provide services to incoming Southeast Asians and to counter rumors and negative community reactions. (Stull et al. 1990:67)

The Ministerial Alliance was also influential in raising money for other early adaptations such as the Adult Learning Center (ibid.).

Some agencies, originally created to serve migrant farmworkers, already served Hispanics, such as Mexican-American Ministries. Others arrived, like

Harvest America, at the height of the ethnic in-migration. And some agencies, Emmaus House in particular, were created to meet the needs of new immigrants and transients, regardless of ethnicity. These agencies reflect the concern and generosity of Garden Citians, and indeed Americans in general. But as with "points of light" throughout the nation, they are understaffed and poorly financed. (ibid.:118-119)

After the CRP made its recommendations, the community worked to implement some of them. The list of adaptations is impressive, clearly demonstrating the power of social science to positively contribute to a community—if the community is accepting, as Garden City has proven to be.

Although Garden City has adapted to the new immigration and has utilized advice about the accommodation of newcomers, the CRP also found it had two spheres, one comprised of newcomers, and another of established residents.

Garden Citians often say that people “get along” in large part because the different ethnic groups “don’t mix.” As one Anglo packinghouse worker succinctly put it: “People get along here because they don’t [mess] with each other; whites don’t [mess] with Mexicans and Mexicans don’t mess with Vietnamese” (Stull field notes 5/25/89:1) So Garden City still belongs to the sedentary old-timers; the newcomers, especially Hispanics and Southeast Asians, live and work in the community but never become fully part of it. (Stull, Broadway, and Erickson 1992:62)

Although both newly formed and existing institutions reached out to and involved newcomers, institutionalized interethnic alliances did not exist. Anglos continued to dominate institutions (ibid.:63).

The CRP’s report quotes an editorial from the local newspaper, the *Garden City Telegram* (January 2, 1990) that takes the CRP’s findings into consideration and looks to the future, “Southwest Kansans are sincere, friendly, outgoing. We need only to share ourselves to change the state of international relations in Finney County from

a passive, peaceful co-existence to an active lively friendship” (in Stull et. al 1990:103). Clearly the desire to further develop relations between newcomers and established residents in Garden City existed in 1990. After many adaptations to diversity, the letter extols the importance of bringing newcomers and established residents together in a more active relationship.

The Changing Relations Project’s report of Garden City’s successful accommodation of newcomers attracted journalists, filmmakers, and other social scientists. Subsequent researchers have examined immigrant housing, health care, assimilation, identity, and economic strategies (Kral 1997; Shaw 1999; Jimenez 2005; Cohn 2006). Findings highlight challenges to equitable housing and health care while illuminating immigrants’ strategies to become part of Garden City with ethnically specific stores and identities.

Today immigrants are primarily from Mexico, but also El Salvador, Guatemala, Somalia, India, Laos, and Vietnam, along with U.S. citizens from other cities. The availability of entry-level jobs in the packing plant and associated industries continues to draw newcomers.

Chapter 3 Methods

My research builds on two decades of scholarship on Garden City, but I was the first to explicitly examine social capital. I sought to understand how social capital has changed over the last 20 years, focusing on diversity and municipal government. My fieldwork was conducted over a seven-week period from June 21 to August 9, 2007.

On the first day of summer I drove from humid eastern Kansas to the arid High Plains. As the trees receded, the distant pancake-flat horizon began to dominate the landscape. The tallgrass prairie gave way to shortgrass—oil derricks, wheat and milo fields, and irrigated circles of corn marked the scenery on the last leg of the trip. The smell of the beef industry greeted me as I arrived.

I initially stayed in a home about five blocks from Stevens Park, near the historic central business district. The owner of the home rented out several rooms, so I had four house-mates—all long-time residents of Garden City. My new neighbors and house-mates welcomed me into their lives, inviting me to share home-cooked meals, introducing me to family members, and taking me to garage sales, bingo, church, and on driving tours of town.

My residence for the second half of my fieldwork was about five miles outside town, with a family who also shared their lives with me. We had dinners at various restaurants; watched little-league baseball games, and reminisced about the

Changing Relations Project—my hostess was the former owner of Tom’s Tavern, where Don Stull conducted much of his fieldwork.

I used several methods to identify and understand bonding, bridging, and linking social capital: 1) review of local literature—the newspaper, brochures, and public meeting minutes; 2) participant observation; 3) in-depth and informal interviews; 4) focus groups; and 5) a community forum.

I conducted participant observation at special events, governmental meetings, and during everyday interactions in public places. Observational sites included my initial downtown neighborhood, parks, the library, church, the pool, the zoo, a ride-along with a police officer, city commission meetings, chamber of commerce events, Emmaus House, Mexican-American Ministries, a walking trail, East Garden Village, the senior center, bingo, and the community college.

I sought to answer: what is the relationship between municipal government, diversity, and social capital in Garden City, Kansas? The level of social capital in a community has been linked to the level of ethnic diversity (Putnam 2000) and the function of government (Adler and Kwan 1999; Knack and Keefer 1997; Putnam 1993; Fukayama 1999). Explicit considerations of these dynamics in a municipality adds depth to previous findings. Two decades of scholarship and the ethnographic method offered a unique opportunity to test the results of national and worldwide surveys—the basis for most findings about social capital—and to better understand: 1) how social capital changes over time; and 2) how social capital functions in a specific context.

I focused on the measurements of trust, cooperation, inclusion, and networks (Appendix 1-3). I chose these measurements, developed by the World Bank (Woolcock and Narayan 2000), because of their applicability to a specific community. While many scholars have grappled with the theory of social capital, few have discussed how to apply it in a given context. The World Bank's literature, however, provides a fully developed guide to gauge a community's social capital.

Familiarizing myself with the community was my first step. My first weeks were spent observing groups in restaurants, parks, the library, baseball games, and the pool. In the morning I would have coffee downtown with “eleven retirees and a mortician,” as they jokingly refer to themselves—one of many morning coffee klatches that meet regularly around town. My days were primarily spent at the Big Pool, the recreation center, city commission meetings, and the library. I attended services at St. Mary's and St. Dominique's Catholic Churches for three weeks each. Evenings were full of baseball games, committee meetings, Stevens Park concerts, and volunteering at Emmaus House. After I discovered Bo's Outback, a downtown 3.2 bar, my evenings generally ended with the “family.” The regulars at Bo's consisted of many family members, a designation extended to those who spent a lot of time with them, both in the bar and at their house.

As I became more familiar with Garden City, I used snowball sampling—asking contacts for the names and numbers of others who might be willing to participate—to recruit for in-depth interviews and gain access to events. Don Stull graciously provided me with business cards of his contacts developed during the

Changing Relations Project. I used his contacts, along with my own, to reassess social capital after 20 years.

I completed 28 informal interviews (one-on-one conversations), 23 in-depth interviews (tape-recorded, Appendices 1 and 2 served as guidelines), and two focus groups (tape-recorded, Appendix 3 served as a guideline). I interviewed several highly ranked city employees, a representative of the Catholic Church, all the city commissioners, directors of nongovernmental organizations, a representative of the chamber of commerce, school teachers, several business owners, and other community members. I interviewed Anglo, Hispanic, and Vietnamese life-long and long-term residents.

I held two focus groups in the classrooms of the Adult Learning Center, each with students from three ESL classes, totaling 39 individuals. Ethnic diversity was represented in focus groups by Spanish-, Somali-, Lao-, and Vietnamese-speaking participants. Participants provided meaningful data representing newcomers and English-language learners (a Spanish interpreter was present). The questions I posed to focus groups and interview participants attempted to identify: 1) how community members cooperate; 2) network presence and function; 3) levels of trust; and 4) inclusion.

I returned to Garden City to observe Fiesta—September 13-15, 200—and to present my preliminary findings at a community forum on October 21.

Chapter 4

The Presence of Social Capital in Garden City

In early summer 2007, I attended a Little League game to cheer on the nephew of a native Garden City Chicano in his 50s. Several men his age greeted him with hugs; they talked about how baseball has changed, reminiscing about the good old days. His sister, two nieces, and their children, all greeted him and spent a few minutes catching up. Spectators came to support the players. During the games they chatted about work, the progress of players, and when they used to play baseball, while their children played games like patty-cake (fieldnotes, 7-3-07).

Later that summer, I went to a game with a local Anglo woman in her 60s to watch her granddaughter. She visited with several acquaintances, catching up on their families and jobs. She first sat with her son, his wife, and their daughter. A few innings later, her granddaughter and her husband arrived. As players' mothers commiserated about work, I joined their conversation. One invited me to a monthly meeting where women and their children gather to make scrapbooks in local churches. A few days later I attended the scrapbook meeting where I was invited to an end-of-the-year work party and to become friends on Myspace, an Internet social network.

League baseball is a central summer activity in Garden City. Relationships forged by the American pastime thread their networks throughout the community. It illustrates each indicator of social capital—trust, cooperation, inclusion, and networks—why it is hailed as an important asset, and how it works. By keeping up

with the “how are ya’s” and “whatcha doin’s,” spectators and players—at both adult and Little League games—contribute to individuals’ psychological health and sense of community (Putnam 2000:113; Cattell 2001:1509; Fukuyama 1999:10).

Participation in baseball builds feelings of *trust*, belonging, connectedness, and well-being—reasons social capital has a positive influence on community health.

Bleachers at baseball games in Garden City were ethnically mixed, representing another important part of social capital, *inclusion*. Families and team members are part of a *network*, a group with regular channels of communication, regular meeting times, and means for collective action (for example, obtaining a sponsor). *Cooperation* occurs as teams practice and play together and when family and friends in the stands support the players. The face-to-face contact of team members and their families is one way trust, inclusion, cooperation, and networks are built in Garden City.

The indicators of social capital may seem difficult to pin down. What constitutes trust, cooperation, inclusion, and networks varies from person to person, culture to culture. To clarify the matter, I turn to the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2004): “trust: to permit to stay or to go or to do something without fear or misgiving.” When people celebrate together, chat, eat in a restaurant, or act warmly toward each other, they demonstrate a degree of shared trust. Of course, there is a continuum; higher degrees of trust are observable when agreements are kept and expectations are met, such as the lending and borrowing of expensive items like a computer or car.

People are cooperative when they “act jointly or in compliance with others” (ibid.). Cooperation can range from yard maintenance to procuring fluoridated municipal water. “Include” means “to take in or comprise as a part of a whole” (ibid.). Thus, inclusion ranges from being included in a party to being included in institutional decisions. A network is “a group or system of related or connected parts” (ibid.), ranging from family to neighborhoods to businesses to government.

Trust, cooperation, inclusion, and networks can be observed in public rituals other than baseball; they exist in neighborly relations, business space, and institutions. Each arena offers an example of a type of social capital, either bonding, bridging, or linking. Inclusion is the key difference between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding occurs between like individuals in networks, or between like networks; and linking is between networks or individuals in networks who differ in ways salient to the community. Linking social capital calls specific attention to the importance of ties between those who have access to different kinds of resources (i.e., babysitting and employment). When links between government, business, and community members are strong, access to resources is equitable and linking social capital is high. Figure 1 categorizes the examples of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital in Garden City.

Figure 1

The Presence of Social Capital in Garden City

	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Trust	Fiesta, Stevens Park Concert Series, County Fair, Ethnically Specific Businesses and Families, Cultural Groups	Informal Interethnic Networks (Neighborhoods and Families), Baseball, Zoobalee, Ethnically Diverse Businesses	Municipal Government & Service Agencies, Service Agencies & Big Business, MAM & Newcomers
Cooperation	Fiesta, Stevens Park Concert Series, County Fair, Ethnically Specific Businesses and Families, Cultural Groups	Informal Interethnic Networks (Neighborhoods and Families), Baseball, Zoobalee, Ethnically Diverse Businesses	Municipal Government & Service Agencies, Service Agencies & Big Business, MAM & Newcomers Fiesta & Municipal Government
Inclusion	N/A	Informal Interethnic Networks (Neighborhoods and Families), Baseball, Zoobalee, Ethnically Diverse Businesses	MAM & Newcomers
Networks	LULAC, COHOP, Ethnically Specific Businesses and Families, Cultural Groups	Informal Interethnic Networks (Neighborhoods and Families), Baseball, Ethnically Diverse Businesses	Community Services Council, MAM

Bonding Social Capital

Fiesta

Fiesta is an 80-year tradition among Hispanics in Garden City. On the weekend nearest *diez y seis de Setiembre* (September 16), Mexican Independence

Day is celebrated with a contest for Fiesta Queen, a parade, a dance with live music, piñatas, pony rides, and food. According to the CRP:

Fiesta applauds the courage and tenacity of the established Hispanics, how over several generations they have made a place for themselves in this community while retaining their heritage—a point often missed by Anglos. But in celebrating the accomplishments of their immigrant ancestors they seem to overlook the struggles of the new immigrants standing beside them. The welcoming statement in the 1988 Fiesta program, dedicated to the "immigrant woman from Mexico," praises the *vieja* for her struggle, but ignores her modern-day sister. (Stull et. al. 1990:66)

The CRP was calling attention to a divide within the Hispanic community in Garden City between those whose families came around the turn of the 20th century and those who came after 1980. The welcoming address at the 1988 fiesta said: “Today we dedicate the fiesta to the immigrant woman from Mexico, who came to join her husband. A few years after 1900...” (ibid.). By including the date, the welcome was extended only to those families who have been in Garden City for several generations. Further analysis by the CRP described the event participants:

Ironically, these celebrations attract large numbers of immigrant Hispanics, fewer natives. Fewer still are the Anglos, while only a handful of Southeast Asians are to be seen.... At the 1989 Fiesta, less than 10 percent of those present at any given time were non-Hispanic, and most public officials were conspicuously absent. (ibid:66-67)

Thus, in the late 1980s Fiesta was organized by established Hispanics, but frequented by both established and newcomer Hispanics. Arthur Campa, a member of the CRP research team, explained that “Resident Mexican Americans [whose families immigrated to Garden City around the turn of the 20th century] seek public recognition and greater acceptance from the dominant Anglo community by

sponsorship of community cultural events. Traditionally the Hispanic cultural event [was] ‘Fiesta’” (Campa 1990:355). Campa also described the organizing committee: “Traditionally this group was controlled by two native Hispanic families” (ibid.). Fiesta was thus a public ritual organized by a network of Hispanics with deep roots—and dense networks—in Garden City.

By 2007, Fiesta had shifted from a ritual organized by English-speaking Mexican Americans to one by and for Spanish-speaking newcomers. The welcoming statement at Fiesta was given by the Hispanic mayor—who was born and raised in Garden City—in halting Spanish. Announcements throughout the rest of the day came in rapid-fire Spanish from Mexican-born members of the Fiesta board. Waiting in line for the piñata and ponies, families spoke Spanish—among themselves and with others in line. After breaking open the massive piñatas, children scrambled for tamarind and chili-powder-flavored candies.

At the 2007 Fiesta, Spanish-speaking participants and organizers shared Mexican identities. The program illuminated the intended function of the celebration. The phrase “la cultura eres tu, you are the culture” was placed above a young boy whose face was painted with the Mexican flag. The slogan and image implied that Mexicans in Garden City should maintain a Mexican identity separate from Mexican Americans, who have been in Garden City for several generations.

Fiesta represents strong bonding social capital within the newcomer Hispanic community. Organizers and participants called upon their Mexican identities in language use and the program logo and imagery. Newcomers’ high level of

participation in Fiesta indicates the continued salience of Mexican identity in Garden City. Fiesta is a good example of a public ritual demonstrating bonding social capital within the newcomer Hispanic community. Further examples reflect its strength.

COHOP

The Coalition of Hispanic Organizations and Professionals' (COHOP) Parent Resource Fair also drew a large crowd of newcomers. COHOP was founded to address the needs of newcomer Hispanics by bilingual sisters in their 20s who grew up in East Garden Village, an ethnically diverse trailer park built in the early 1980s to provide housing for IBP's growing workforce. The event, held at the Eagles Lodge on a Sunday afternoon, sought to encourage parents to focus on their childrens' education. Representatives from several local agencies were present, including the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Garden City School District, and the closest universities—Fort Hays State University and Kansas State University. After eating sloppy-jos and potato chips served by volunteers, families smiled as they talked to agency representatives in Spanish. *La Nueva*, the local Spanish-language radio station, was broadcasting live. COHOP also gave family-oriented board games as door prizes. "All parents and students welcome; Food, Drinks, Prizes and Spanish translators will be available." COHOP's flyer addressed several issues pertinent to newcomers: childcare, language barriers, and scheduling mealtimes.

Ethnically Specific Businesses

Morning coffee klatches meet weekdays in McDonald's, the grocery store coffee shop, and cafes to talk with each other in English and Spanish. Face-to-face interaction in business spaces, like the coffee klatches, offered me an arena to observe how social capital functions. It is perhaps in the arena of small locally owned businesses—such as restaurants, markets, and bakeries—where the most change has occurred in Garden City's social capital over the last 20 years.

The number of businesses catering to Spanish-speaking newcomer populations has dramatically increased over the last 20 years. A 2006 survey of 39 Hispanic businesses in Garden City found 80 percent opened in the last 10 years (Cohn 2006). Spanish is present in many forms in these businesses; it is spoken by counter personnel, printed on posted advertisements and free regional newspapers, and heard over speakers playing the radio or television. A native Garden City Mexican American woman pointed out that small local businesses have made many strides since the days of a segregated Garden City when “Little Mexico” was south of the tracks (community forum, 10-20-07).

Stevens Park Concert Series and the Finney County Fair

The Stevens Park Concert Series was held every Sunday evening of the summer in the downtown park. Anglo families and teen groups came to hear religious music. Performances ranged from the First Baptist Trio, whose songs encouraged the audience to hum along or mouth the words, to a young heavy metal band that drew a

large teen crowd. Elderly audience members joked that the volume of the heavy metal band made them turn off their hearing aides, yet they stayed until the end. Audience members arrived on time, chatted quietly between songs, and most stayed until the end. As the summer waned, 9:30 P.M.—when the concert ended—seemed a bit late for many, so some quietly departed with apologies between songs. Audience behavior was unified; people arrived on time, sat quietly during the performances, and clapped at the end of songs. Many of the audience members were loyal, returning each week.

The Finney County Fair also reflected an Anglo Garden City. The three-day fair included a country music performer, a demolition derby, midway rides, and contests, including the categories of crops, Boy Scouts, food preparation, garden, and photography. Few—if any—Hispanics were present at the awards ceremony. The white faces in the audience are another example of programming culturally relevant to Anglo community members. Bonding social capital in Garden City is strong, ethnically homogenous community members sponsor and attend events, and visit with each other in ethnically specific businesses.

Bridging Social Capital

Neighboring

Informal networks were an important part of newcomers' social capital at the time of the Changing Relations Project:

Established residents assist new arrivals (Southeast Asians) with food, shelter, transportation, and information, usually along lines of kinship and friendship. Established refugees may also seek out new unrelated refugees as clients for

various goods and services such as automobiles, and apartments, tax preparation, translation, and interpretation services. (Stull et. al. 1990:49)

At the time of the CRP, informal networks were an important means for both established residents and newcomers to access necessary resources. Cooperation within newly forged networks represented a level of trust between neighbors, which sometimes crossed ethnic lines:

Male informants, particularly Latinos, reported after-work drinking and gambling parties with neighbors of different ethnic groups who were also packing plant workers. In several instances, residents reported borrowing, friendly conversation, and assistance from members from of other ethnic groups during emergencies. (Benson 1990:369)

Informal neighborhood networks were also strong in my multiethnic downtown neighborhood in 2007. Neighbors spent evenings in front yards chatting, visiting elderly neighbors, and lending and borrowing. One day I stood outside the house where I was renting a room, I had locked my keys inside. My neighbor was walking back from the gas station. She stopped, asked what happened, and proceeded to knock loudly for someone to let me in, something I was not sure was acceptable. But she knew the owner of the house well enough to know that knocking loudly was okay.

My neighbor, a 40-year-old Hispanic woman and long-time Garden City resident, helped introduce me to Garden City. We went to garage sales, lunch, the gas station, and bingo games together. At one bingo game we bought some refreshments before we sat down. After a sip of her soda, my neighbor discovered that it was only carbonated water—the machine was out of syrup. She handed her cup to me, “take a drink and see” she directed. I did and agreed. She then brought her cup back to the

refreshment stand and gave the woman behind the counter the same direction—which she also followed. Both the counter woman and I trusted her enough to drink from the same cup, something my neighbor expected of us.

A few days later the same neighbor took me to meet another neighbor. After the introductions, my neighbor asked if the woman's son had been by. She said he had just stopped by to help with the yard. We sat down in the living room and my new acquaintance told me about herself. She had originally moved into her house to take care of an ailing mother-in-law and never moved out. She told of feeling lucky to have been able to care for several sickly family members. Later the two neighbors laughed about their evening walks to gather cans for a nun who recycled them to buy necessities for the needy. My hostess's daughter drove up and walked through the front door, so we took our leave. Walking out on the porch, we scanned the street for goings on, two houses down an elderly man was sitting on the porch, my neighbor figured he was waiting for his son-in-law to pick him up to go to church (fieldnotes, 7-1-08).

Not only did neighbors help each other when they were in need, spend free time together, help out family members, and contribute to church agencies, they also looked after each others' homes. An Anglo woman in her 70s was one of many who spoke of good relations with neighbors: "We usually have our son check things, and we have a wonderful neighbor over here. Last winter we had problems and our neighbor took care of everything, it was really nice" (interview, 7-15-07). These individuals belong to strong informal networks of neighbors and family that provide

access to the resources of support and protection. Neighbors knew each other well, checked in on each other, ate together, and asked favors of one another. Family ties were strong. Adult children helped their parents with transportation, yard maintenance, errands, and parents helped their adult children with child care. Similar sentiments emerged in both interviews and focus groups. I asked focus groups and interviewees if they trusted others in Garden City and if they felt trusted. Answers were always positive. Interviewees frequently responded that neighbors were helpful and watched their homes during absences.

But qualifiers of “in my neighborhood” or with “the people I know” were often used. Trust in Garden City is thus developed through frequent, informal everyday interactions. This has changed very little since the Changing Relations Project, when “contexts which bring people together and provide opportunities for common interests and strategies to emerge are found in each of the arenas of study—school, workplace, neighborhoods, and community” (Stull et. al. 1990:63). When neighbors, committee members, and event participants share time and space together, trust has the potential to grow.

The neighborhood I lived in for the first part of my stay, and the families in it, were ethnically diverse. Indeed, more recent generations of Mexican Americans live in all areas of Garden City (Broadway and Stull 2006:111). Thus, the examples cited not only illustrate strong bonding social capital among families, but also bridging social capital between different cultural groups who share neighborhoods and

sometimes even family members. Bridging social capital was also evident at public rituals.

Zoobalee

The Fourth of July celebration—called Zoobalee—illustrates a shift toward higher degrees of bridging social capital. At the time of the CRP’s 1990 report, it was planned by Anglos, who also made up most of its participants.

The community's major public rituals—Beef Empire Days and Fourth of July/Zoobalee—are Anglo-dominated. Most in attendance are Anglos. These rituals reveal oldtimer values and attitudes and provide an opportunity for the community to demonstrate generosity. (Stull et al. 1990:64)

In 2007, Zoobalee patrons more closely resembled the demographics of the community, and included Mennonite, Hispanic, and Asian participants.

Advertisements were placed on the tables of restaurants where personnel and patrons spoke English, as well as those where Spanish was spoken. The event was held at the zoo, a space commonly used by diverse parts of the community. Attendees donned t-shirts and hats picturing the Mexican and American flags together. A banner hung in the gazebo advertising “Spanish/English DJ,” although the disk jockey only played top-40 English pop and country music. The Spanish Assembly of God served Salvadoran papusas—a stuffed tortilla—and horchata—a sweetened rice milk typical in Central America. A group of diverse high-schoolers from Interact, a Rotary program, painted faces. Sombreros were offered as prizes. Visitors were a mix of Anglos, English-speaking Hispanics, and Spanish-speakers.

Anglo volunteers acted as zoo docents, gave tours, drove support vehicles, collected fees, and organized activities, illustrating the strength of the organizing network—the Rotary—in Garden City. The Rotary is a network of mostly Anglo established residents. While organizers and volunteers were primarily Anglo (with some established Hispanics), their efforts to include newcomers were extensive. Advertising in Spanish-speaking establishments, inclusion of the Spanish Assembly of God for food service, the Spanish/English DJ, and prizes with Hispanic motifs demonstrated an effort to include Latinos in the celebration. By considering varied cultural norms, practices, and perceptions during planning, the Rotary sought to bridge divides between the major ethnic groups.

Ethnically Diverse Businesses

Everyday interactions between members of differing cultural groups also offer a chance for trust to develop. The two bars I frequented are good examples. On my first visit to Bo's Outback I looked through the window and stood outside weighing my options. Should I go in, I wondered? Will I feel comfortable, or will I get stuck in a place I can't wait to get out of? As a stranger I was apprehensive. I began to hear loud exclamations through the glass, then realized people inside were looking at me. Feeling embarrassed I decided to go in. A month later, I was a regular in the small downtown 3.2 bar. Three point two bars in Garden City are markedly different than the clubs that serve liquor. The clientele in the two clubs I visited—The Grain Bin and Time Out—changed nightly; people came to celebrate, dance, and get drunk.

The social scene changes when only beer with a 3.2 alcohol level is served. Bartenders knew customers' first names, their jobs, and often their families. Bo's had pool and shuffle-board tables, weekend Karaoke, and bar games which the bartender pulled out when things got dull. Regular customers at 3.2 bars gathered in groups of friends at communal tables, or at the bar. The friendship circles represented in 3.2 bars extended beyond the bar. Hispanic, black, and Anglo patrons in Bo's invited me to ethnically mixed barbeques, a wedding, mini-golf, and yes, even bowling.

Spending time with regulars at another 3.2 bar (Heavy's) led to an offer, which I accepted, for housing. A regular offered me a room in a home after the bartender vouched for me. I felt comfortable accepting the offer after another regular vouched for the person who made the offer.

Anglos, Hispanics born in Garden City, and immigrants were all frequent patrons at Vietnamese-owned Kieu Fashion, which posted signs in English and Spanish and played Spanish music. A Vietnamese grocery store sold calling cards advertised in Spanish, and Spanish-speaking families milled in the aisles. Two Vietnamese liquor stores posted advertisements in Spanish and the staff spoke Spanish with patrons. Spanish language skills—a form of cultural capital—were also valuable for employees in national chains, such as Sears, McDonald's, and Wal-Mart. Thus, a wide range of businesses chose to portray themselves as Spanish friendly. The nonexclusive, Spanish-friendly atmosphere provides an arena for face-to-face interethnic interaction—evidence of the inclusion of multiple language groups. The

purposeful inclusion of differing language groups demonstrates business owners' willingness to cooperate with diverse community members.

Linking Social Capital

Municipal Government, Big Business, and Social Service Agencies

I think there has been a real symbiotic relationship there that grew out of need in the late '70s and early '80s. We knew we were gonna be significantly impacted by new people from out of the country. All the agencies, the county, the school district, and the community college tried to develop facilities and resources and communication so that we weren't duplicating services and provided the best outcome, from that we have developed a pretty symbiotic relationship. I think there are a lot of social service agencies which rely upon, and do receive, support from the city and county when it's necessary. We do provide some financial support, or facility support, or transportation, for instance. Public transportation will assist their clients. I'm sure there will be ways in the future, sometimes we provide them with staff expertise, grants. We're the host agency every year for the Emmaus House grant, [we]write it, receive it, and manage it, and give them the money. We enjoy doing that. (interview, 8-2-07)

This quote from a long-time resident and municipal employee shows that the city was proud to support local service agencies that help ensure community members have access to the necessary resources of housing, medical care, transportation and food.

A social service provider told me that when her agency first opened, its philosophy was very different from city government's, but over the years the two have converged—the city has even given her agency some land (interview, 7-20-07). Social service agencies and big business also cooperate. Tyson “help[s] me tons,” said one social service provider, by allowing her to ask its employees for donations (fieldnotes, 8-1-07). Also the meat for the sloppy-jos at COHOP's education event

was donated by Tyson. These examples suggest that Tyson is willing to cooperate with social service agencies when asked.

The Community Services Council (CSC) is another example. The CSC seeks to coordinate the efforts of many NGOs in Garden City through monthly meetings in which agencies share information. They seek to link people with the appropriate agencies and ensure agencies are not duplicating services. A free, bilingual resource guide with listings of over 200 local service agencies, updated annually, is one way the CSC helps newcomers access resources. Communication between networks is also facilitated by the CSC's monthly meetings.

MAM

Mexican American Ministries (MAM) exemplifies institutionalized inclusive practices. MAM offers medical and legal aid, parent education, clothing, and a food pantry to needy community members, including Hispanics, Mennonites, Somalis, and Southeast Asians in three Southwest Kansas locations. Its board is ethnically and economically diverse.

MAM's lasting success in providing necessary services to newcomers has elicited strong community support. The agency had ample volunteers, donations from community members, and municipal support. Perhaps the most telling example of MAM's success is its staff members, who were once clients. One employee explained that her passion for her job stemmed from her experiences as a child when MAM helped her parents become citizens (interview, 8-1-07).

Representatives of the city and service agencies often cited cooperation. They were able to communicate with and trust one another, enabling access to resources—the essence of social capital. This represents linking social capital because each type of network provides community members access to the differing resources of city services, social services, and jobs.

Conclusions

Part of Garden City's strong social capital is due to large influxes of immigrants. Arrivals increased demands on existing service agencies and led to the formation of new ones. Social service agencies' needs in turn increased community members' cooperation with donations of time, money, and other resources that enabled expansion of services. The city also increased its capacity to cooperate with service agencies—by providing land and other resources—as a product of new arrival's needs, creating increased trust between the city and service agencies. Big businesses have also sought to aid service agencies by offering access to donors and donating food for events.

Neighborhoods, public rituals, and local businesses also demonstrate social capital in Garden City. Informal networks between family and neighbors are strong. Lending and borrowing, visiting, and helping are the norm, providing evidence of cooperation, trust, and inclusion, in informal networks. Local businesses offer space for daily interactions, serving to establish, maintain, and strengthen informal

networks. Public rituals demonstrate the community's social capital, participation—as both planners and participants—evidences cooperation, networks, and inclusion.

Fiesta is a good example of how social capital has changed in Garden City over time. In 2007 it was sponsored by the city, programming included a city employee and the mayor, and some celebrants were natives active in city government—a change from the past. The shift over the last 20 years from an event by and for Mexican Americans to one by and for Mexican newcomers demonstrates a higher degree of inclusion of newcomer groups and an increase in linking social capital between newcomers and the city.

Chapter 5

The Absence of Social Capital in Garden City

Social capital is absent when community members are mistrustful, do not cooperate, or are excluded from networks and their decision making. While I observed bonding and bridging social capital in neighboring activities, local businesses, and at public rituals in Garden City, I found it lacking in other arenas. Formal and informal networks did not appear to cooperate or trust and include one another. The same was true between unfamiliar people in the broader community.

Signing in at the entry on my weekly visit to the big pool I was checking a text message. The attendant cautioned me to hide my cell phone. She told me five cell phones were stolen a few days ago, and three undercover police were trying to address the issue. She also said a whole purse had been stolen and a gang member arrested. (fieldnotes, 6-24-07)

Even in my downtown neighborhood, fear of crime indicated a lack of trust in the broader community. One afternoon I noticed the windows of my car had been rolled up and the doors locked. Later my housemate told me that “there are people who steal things, you better keep your doors locked” (fieldnotes, 6-27-07). While these warnings do show willingness to cooperate—by providing me with warnings—they also point to the lack of trust in the broader community.

While interaction is the primary way Garden Citians learn to trust one another, face-to-face interaction can also impede trust. The context of face-to-face interaction is crucial. A long-time Anglo community member described Hispanic parents’ behavior at her granddaughter’s school Christmas program: “Everyone was just standing up taking pictures and talking during the program, they left as soon as their

kids were done. If I were the principal I would have stopped the whole thing, how rude” (fieldnotes, 7-22-07). Thus, face-to-face interaction between diverse communities can also deplete social capital. Figure 2 categorizes the absence of each form of social capital within each of its measurements. The figure shows that bridging and linking social capital were absent between certain groups. Bridging social capital was absent between different linguistic groups and the broader community, and linking social capital was absent between municipal government, big business, and informal networks.

Figure 2

Absence of Social Capital in Garden City

	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Trust	----	Different Linguistic Groups and the Broader Community	Municipal Government, Big Business and Informal Networks
Cooperation	-----	Different Linguistic Groups and the Broader Community	Municipal Government, Big Business and Informal Networks
Inclusion	N/A	Different Linguistic Groups and the Broader Community	Municipal Government, Big Business and Informal Networks
Networks	----	Formal Interethnic Networks and Different Linguistic Groups	Municipal Government, Big Business and Informal Networks

Linking Social Capital

Formal and informal networks function differently, North (1990) describes the distinction: “envision a continuum...from unwritten traditions and customs to written laws.” While formal networks link NGOs and the city, and informal networks are evident in neighboring activities, the two spheres remain largely separate. Formal networks provide services such as healthcare, food assistance, street maintenance, and jobs, but often do not include employees, clients, or community members in the decision-making process. Boards, committees, and departments are led primarily by Anglos, who make decisions about cultural groups, neighborhoods, and families. While individuals belonging to informal networks may be subject to the decisions of formal networks, they are not a part of them. Thus, individuals and their informal networks, such as cultural groups, families, and neighborhoods, are not fully included in formal networks, such as big business (e.g., Tyson, Wal-Mart, and Home Depot) and municipal government.

The following questions help identify a network’s internal cooperation: Do networks’ decisions consider viewpoints of diverse members, or do homogeneous segments of the network consistently make decisions? Are decisions shared in a consistent manner with the entire network? Exclusion from decision making in formal networks impedes trust and cooperation between formal and informal networks. Formal networks’ failure to achieve inclusion and cooperation with the broader community indicate an absence of social capital.

Spruce Park Planning Meeting

The Spruce Park planning meetings illustrate hurdles to cooperation between the city (a formal network) and a neighborhood (an informal network). City employees went door-to-door dispersing pamphlets about the meeting in Spanish, English, and Vietnamese to gain community input on design of the park. Meetings were held in the evening at an elementary school within walking distance of the proposed park site and East Garden Village—an ethnically diverse trailer park housing primarily packing-plant workers. Attendees, however, were Anglo community members active in formal networks, much to the disappointment of the hard-working organizers. Ethnically diverse newcomers whose input was actively sought did not come, leaving organizers to wonder why. An explanation is the absence of common networks, trust, and cooperation between the neighborhood and the city.

Inclusion

While the Spruce Park meeting planners sought, but did not garner, participation from diverse community members, other networks have had greater success. Some networks do have members from diverse backgrounds. But, regardless of participation levels, members of networks cite a lack of agency. A native Mexican and long-time resident said: “I participate in many ways, but don’t think my voice is heard—like others who participate and feel used and abused. Someone else always gets the credit for organizing” (interview, 8-3-03). The function of networks—not

only their presence—is an important factor in the formation of trust. If a network holds inclusive events, it has achieved a level of inclusion, but to be fully inclusive, a network must include diverse community members in decision making. Without a say in decision making, trust, cooperation, and inclusion cannot be achieved.

In several instances, individuals with deep roots in the community explained how they felt omitted from formal networks. A local business owner and long-time resident told me, “My wife is a member of the chamber, but we feel our dues are largely wasted. The chamber is very cliquish” (fieldnotes, 7-31-07). In another example, a community-based network offered to plant flowers around town. An Anglo woman in her 70s from the club said: “It’s hard to get the city to go along with something like that....They pretty much want a certain pattern, they like to be in charge” (interview, 7-15-07). When formal networks—such as the city, the chamber of commerce, or Tyson—refuse to cooperate with informal community-based networks, trust is lost.

Even the City Survey (2006:15), funded by the city to gain insight from community members, says:

There is a sense that one must be part of the “right crowd,” or of a “social elite,” or of a “clique” to truly participate. Common phrases were: “the same people are always in charge of everything,” “I joined but didn’t feel welcome.” “I volunteered but they never called me.”

Network membership alone does not indicate a high level of social capital, these examples illustrate individuals’ feelings of exclusion regardless of membership. Formal networks did not cooperate well with them, depleting trust.

Divergent sentiments from formal and informal networks are clear roadblocks to linking social capital. “I don’t think GC is too atypical in that there isn’t a lot of participation from the public,” said a city employee (interview, 8-2-07). Thus, lack of participation is seen as unavoidable by some parts of the municipal power structure. Community members, however, feel: “They [the city] don’t care about what we think, maybe the business owners but not us” (ESL focus group participant, 7-18-07). These two perspectives hinder the formation of trust and cooperation between the city and community members not included in formal networks.

An interview with a community member and business owner presents another perspective: “They [the city] haven’t ever brought anything to vote, like when IBP came in they didn’t put it to a vote. People think anything economic coming in helps” (7-18-08). When the city acts without incorporating community input, it loses trust and an opportunity to include and cooperate with the broader community. Perceptions are multifaceted, each indicating a different challenge to cooperation. Some struggle to have their voices heard, others don’t think anyone cares, and still others feel left out of the decision-making process.

Individuals with strong neighborhood and familial networks can feel disconnected from service agencies, the city, big businesses, and Garden City as a whole. Informal neighborhood and family networks do not provide an opportunity for information sharing—or participation in decision making—in the broader citywide community. Individuals who only belong to informal networks feel disconnected from formal ones. Those who do belong to formal networks view cooperation as

uneven—with only the leaders making choices. Cooperation between formal and informal networks—a form of linking social capital—is thus absent.

Social scientists claim government is best positioned to foster inclusion (Adler and Kwan 1999; Knack and Keefer 1997; Putnam 1993; Fukayama 1999). When asked how the city supports diversity, a city employee offered me articles about Tet, Fiesta, and Junteenth. Each of these public rituals are ethnically specific, Tet is a Vietnamese holiday, Fiesta Mexican, and Junteenth African American. Thus the municipality primarily supports bonding social capital in its community-event sponsorship (e.g., the Stevens Park Concert Series).

Local events held by community organizations have been, to varying degrees, more inclusive because of cultural considerations in planning, decision making, and language use. But, according to Danielle Cohn (2006:32), a German anthropologist who studied Hispanic immigrants in Garden City:

Most Hispanics enjoy the existence of common celebrations, but at the same time they criticize a weak political engagement in their community—which becomes visible in the absence of local unions or other political groups. In part many blame their own people who have not organized themselves as a collective when they lament the small number of Hispanic representatives in local political committees.

A man from Mexico in his 30s supported Cohn's findings, saying “we need to organize” (ESL focus group, 7-18-07). A lack of formal representation within the Hispanic community has thus been identified.

Formal networks also incorporate Hispanics. According to the Changing Relations Project: “A modest shift in power relations appears to be occurring

following the election in April 1989 of an immigrant Mexican American to the school board and a native Mexican American to the city commission” (Stull et al. 1990:52). Since then Hispanics have regularly been elected and reelected to the city commission, several have served as mayor. The trend is not, however, remotely reflective of the increase in the Hispanic population from 16 percent in 1990 to about 50 percent today. In addition, many of the Hispanic representatives are established residents, perhaps not representative of the wants and needs of newcomers. A long-time resident and municipal employee said:

There is a division in the Hispanic culture between, I’m gonna call them, natives and newcomers, and it’s pretty marked. The natives are anglicized, if you will, and are part of the community—part of the decision making—many of them are officials, successful business men, and recognized.
(interview, 8-2-07)

Existing formal networks have therefore had some success in incorporating diverse community members who have adopted Anglo norms.

Formal and Informal Networks

Newcomers, often from diverse cultural backgrounds, reported reliance upon informal networks for resources and did not report inclusion in formal networks. When I asked 28 ESL focus group participants about the activities they do in groups, 11 answered that they went to the zoo, 8 answered they went to barbecues, and 6 said they went dancing. Groups going to the zoo, barbeques, and dancing represent informal networks, consisting of friends and family. Contrastingly, established residents answered that their group activities were: the community college

endowment, the chamber of commerce, Downtown Vision, Rotary, Finney County Historical Society, Finney County Library, the Senior Center, Optimists, the hospital, the United Way, church groups, and Emmaus House—all formal institutions. Newcomers and established residents were both part of strong networks, but newcomers' were primarily informal while established residents' were primarily formal. Linking social capital is absent when individuals lack a connection to formal networks. Although formal networks provide employment and services (e.g., Tyson, the United Way, and municipal government) to members of informal networks, their omission from the decision-making process indicates a lack of inclusion.

The Changing Relations Project found that: “Institutionalized interethnic alliances do not exist in Garden City, but some Anglo-dominated institutions and organizations try to reach out and involve representatives of other ethnic groups” (Stull et al. 1990:63). Today's situation is not much different. An Anglo service provider explained her feelings about inclusion: “it is challenging to get the Hispanic community to buy into Boy and Girl Scouts, I wonder if it isn't the same thing with the fair, we try hard with little success” (fieldnotes, 8-1-07). Anglo members of formal networks express frustration, feeling their hard work to include Hispanic community members has little effect. In another interview an Anglo in her 60s explained:

The social committees in our church made an extended outgoing effort to include the Vietnamese and the Southeast Asians. On the surface they had a few leaders who were very polite and courteous, but that's as far as it went. I remember we went out to where they live and tried to visit with them, to try and encourage them and become involved in helping them. They sort of shied away, they weren't rude they just...they were there, and we were here. We

also invited them to church for social functions. A few of them came, but that's as far as it went. I think we learned that that is the way they choose to live and to do. (interview, 8-7-07)

While newcomers may prefer exclusive ethnic groups for social ties, they also invariably become participants in formal institutions of one kind or another. Participation in formal institutions, however, does not automatically indicate inclusion. A Mexican American and long-time resident explained that she feels there is a trust issue on the part of the Hispanic community. They don't participate in the PTO since those in charge tend to call their Anglo friends to participate. Extra-curricular activities are also Anglo. The ones making the decisions about who gets to participate are Anglo (fieldnotes, 8-3-07). While newcomers participate in formal networks—such as the workplace, social service agencies, and schools—omission from planning and decision making within those networks limits bridging and linking social capital.

Language

A Mexican American said language is the main divide in Garden City (fieldnotes, 8-3-07)—as did many others. A long-time resident Anglo in his 50s put it this way, “How well can you know your neighbor when you don't speak the same language? I mean I can say ‘buenos dias’ but then what?” (fieldnotes, 6-25-07). Clearly language is a hurdle to bridging social capital identified by both newcomers and natives.

Mr. Lopez is a business owner who has lived in Garden City his whole life. He eloquently argues why language divisions will dissipate over time. In a compassionate letter to the editor of the Garden City Telegram, Mario Lopez (2007) writes,

Where do people get the idea immigrants do not want to learn English? Paula Flores made an excellent point when she wrote of the waiting list for people enrolling in classes to help with their assimilation in our community. The problem is some expect this to happen overnight. They tend to forget there are countless cases of people having difficulty changing from German, Italian, Chinese, and Vietnamese, just to name a few. In many cases second generations become masters of the language and assist parents and grandparents. This is an evolutionary process which will occur in much the same manner that we as a society have evolved from blatant prejudice widespread before the civil rights movement of the 60s.

That said, another argument is made by a native Garden City Anglo business owner about why Spanish is unique:

Now in our community we have Spanish language radio stations, Spanish TV stations...a weekly Spanish language newspaper and many clerks who speak Spanish. We have gotten to the point where if you are Spanish only you can function pretty well in this community and that is less incentive to speak English and it seems to me we are becoming established as two side by side cultures here, one English and one Spanish. (interview, 8-1-07)

According to this person, the proliferation of services available in Spanish inherently changes the dynamics of the linguistic divide. Both perspectives are valuable, the question is: how can Garden City include and accommodate linguistically diverse newcomers while providing the means to facilitate inclusion?

Adaptations to English-language learners have been made. The Adult Learning Center continues to provide low-cost language instruction in English. At the

time of the Changing Relations Project, bilingual education was “a divisive force in some of the elementary schools. The program is handicapped by what are seen as capricious actions by principals who do not understand its goals and district administrators who send mixed messages to staff” (Stull et.al. 1990:78). Teacher development and program implementation have continued to adapt over the last 20 years. In 2007, Buffalo Jones Elementary became a dual language school: all children are taught in both Spanish and English. In the summer of 2007 school district employees took Spanish classes, offered by the school district, to help prepare for multilingual classrooms. As linguistically diverse enrollment continues to grow, inclusion in schools remains a key issue.

The community has tried to help Spanish speakers learn English. But English speakers yearning to learn Spanish express different sentiments: “I wanted to learn Spanish to be able to communicate better with my staff. I called the city college and was told the class was only for Tyson employees”(fieldnotes, 7-12-07). I also made several attempts to find Spanish II classes. The school district offers them for their employees and there was a class for business owners, both without financial aid or loan options and costing over \$100.00. Neither the summer nor fall course offerings at the city college included Spanish II.

Pluralism is therefore not equal. Garden City serves newcomers’ efforts to learn English, offers the support of social service agencies, and provides events and spaces for different cultures. Adaptation to social needs does not, however, include an effort to adapt existing cultural events—or the structure of municipal government—to

reflect demographic shifts. According to the New Pluralism Project, which studied several communities with demographics similar to Garden City, “It is important to realize that communities can benefit by adjusting to new immigrant populations as much as new immigrants can benefit by adjusting to the communities where they are settling” (Kissam and Griffith 2006:4). Thus institutional policy greatly impacts social capital.

Trained Professionals

Teachers (and other professionals such as physicians and police officers) represent another group of newcomers who could benefit from more inclusive practices. Many teachers leave Garden City each year. The 2006 City Survey highlights this issue, “dissatisfaction with the lack of coordinated community effort to support recruitment and retention of physicians... and teachers.” Attending the Chamber of Commerce’s newcomer social, I was struck with the number of new, mostly Anglo, teachers. A chamber member told me, “It was the same last year, and next year it will be the same again.” The issue is not a new one. The Changing Relations Project identified teacher recruitment as one of the major challenges facing Garden City after the arrival of the beef-packing industry (Stull and Broadway 2004). Without inclusion, cooperation, and trust those who do make it to Garden City do not find ample reasons to stay.

Conclusions

I found little evidence of linking social capital between formal and informal networks. Linking between the city, big business, and NGOs; and cultural groups, neighborhoods, and families (Figure 2) was the most elusive form of social capital in Garden City. Municipal support of culturally specific events does not foster strong linking social capital, although it is a start. Excluding cultural groups and other informal community networks in the decision-making process of formal networks—like big business and municipal government—prevents trust and cooperation in the broader community from forming. While formal networks perceive community members as unwilling to participate, community members perceive formal networks as either unwilling to listen or exclusionary. Lack of linking social capital in Garden City is evidenced by the absence of trust, cooperation, and inclusion between formal and informal networks.

Chapter 6

Social Capital and Municipal Government

Garden City's municipal structure struggles to include diverse community members, some of whom are noncitizens. Social capital's function in municipal government is illuminated by elected officials, municipal policy, and the decision-making process. Wielding a great degree of authority in a community's development, municipal government is the keystone to social capital in U.S. cities.

A "glass ceiling" still exists for Hispanics in Garden City. Americans with Mexican heritage hold limited decision-making roles in the community. Lack of inclusion in municipal decision making was often cited (focus group, 7-18-07; interviews, 7-9-07 and 8-3-07; fieldnotes, 7-21-07). However, the election of Hispanics to the city council and their subsequent appointment by the council to serve as mayor, prove that both the community at large and elected officials are supportive of inclusion.

Closer examination of the municipal structure highlights the relatively weak decision-making capacity of the electorate. In the council-manager form of municipal government employed in Garden City, the mayor and council members are only compensated for the time they spend at council meetings. In 2007, all council members were business owners or held other full-time positions. The city manager, on the other hand, is a full-time employee who initiates meeting agendas and the city budget. Since the manager is a full-time employee and the council members all hold other full-time jobs, it is the manager who supplies the council with explanations

about agenda items. Council members rely heavily on this source of information about specific agenda items due to their time constraints. As a result, his views often sway the council's votes (fieldnotes, 6-16-07).

Inclusion of noncitizens in municipal government poses a serious difficulty to Garden City. Tyson depends heavily on them to fill the jobs at the packing plant. "Without access to that workforce, this community would not be the community it is today. They [noncitizens] are here to do that work" says the city manager (Titegen 2007). Garden City, like much of the nation, finds itself in a catch 22. Workers are needed to fill low-skill, low-wage jobs; immigrant workers seek jobs unavailable in their home countries. The catch is that federal and state governments do not facilitate the means for workers to fill the jobs legally. There isn't even a citizenship office, now under the Department of Homeland Security, in Garden City—the closest office is in Wichita. Citizenship is in the hands of the federal government and drivers' licensing in the state's. Adaptation to noncitizen community members is a challenge for the municipality.

Bridging and linking social capital are useful tools to include noncitizens. A municipality that seeks to increase social capital by including noncitizens in community networks will increase social stability, improve health (Bowles and Gentis 2002), facilitate economic success (Knack and Keefer 1997), and increase participation in government (Sandefur and Laumann 1998), thereby benefiting all community members. Garden City chose this path by adopting recommendations relating to social capital made by the Changing Relations Project. The school district

created a soccer team at the high school and a bilingual education program. The city created soccer fields and the Cultural Relations Board. The city also supported and cooperated with nongovernmental agencies serving noncitizens, such as Emmaus House and MAM. But, elected officials are challenged to serve community members who cannot make their voices heard in the most fundamental way—voting. The presence of noncitizens thus poses a unique challenge to linking social capital.

While noncitizens do not enjoy voting rights, others in their informal networks may. Fix and Zimmerman (2001) identified the prevalence of mixed-status families whose members include citizens, noncitizens, and those who fall between (e.g., legal permanent residents or green-card holders). Informal newcomer networks also represent such a mix. Electoral structures ensuring the impact of votes cast by citizens who are members of newcomer networks are a means to increase linking social capital between newcomers and the municipality. Davidson and Grofman (1994) use case studies surrounding the creation of the Voters Rights Act of 1965 to demonstrate that district elections prevent “vote dilution” (ibid.: 23) and thereby strengthen the impact of voters representing racial minorities. Garden City municipal elections are at large, not by district, as they have been since the creation of the city charter in 1948. Despite dramatic demographic shifts, election practices have not changed.

Drivers Licenses

In 2007 the challenge to include noncitizens in the community became very clear. The city council adopted stiffer penalties for driving without a license or

insurance. Its goal was to reduce the number of uninsured drivers (Tietgen 2007). But noncitizens cannot get a license and, therefore, do not qualify for insurance.

Furthermore, many noncitizens living in Garden City work 10 miles away in the Tyson packing plant. Without public transportation to the plant, workers are left with no alternative but to drive. The Sunflower Community Action Committee—a grassroots nonprofit agency, based in Wichita, which helps communities organize—held meetings, which the mayor attended, where community members asked that the law be repealed (*ibid.*). After the meeting, the city council discussed their request and denied it.

Expressing needs and concerns in a public meeting was a means for noncitizens to cooperate with the city. Newcomers showed up at a given time and place, strengthening the Sunflower Community Action Committee (SCAC) network and bonding social capital between license-seeking noncitizens. The mayor's presence at the meeting also indicated cooperation with the SCAC and, thus, a level of linking social capital. By voicing concerns about the new law to the mayor, newcomers pleaded to be included in municipal decision making. Had the city council addressed the pleas, by exploring alternative accommodations (e.g., lobbying state and federal governments to provide more local control, or providing other potential means of transportation to work) it could have successfully included noncitizens and increased the level of linking social capital.

Of Dogs and Water: Inclusion and Planning

Advisory committees, which meet monthly to formulate recommendations about specific aspects of municipal governance—such as the environment, planning, housing, and cultural relations—are a municipal mechanism to address inclusion. A 2007 article in the Garden City Telegram explained the intended function of advisory committees. In “City Looking for Ways to Improve,” the assistant city manager explained that the Capital Improvements Program Committee “is made up of various volunteers who examine ideas and suggestions to improve the city...ideas are taken from residents’ input” (Tietgen 2007). According to this explanation, advisory committees try to achieve inclusion.

The ideal of inclusion is discussed by the New Pluralism Project, which conducted research in other meat processing communities to identify “local community strategies for immigrant integration” (Kissam and Griffith 2006:1). It warns:

The concept of direct Democracy need not be simply an empty ritual. There is growing evidence that widespread participation in community discussion, dialogue, and decision-making can have a tangible impact on the lives of everyone in the community. These positive impacts are both direct and indirect. (ibid.:7)

The Telegram article brings up the fundamental issue of the implementation of community-generated suggestions. Two suggestions are mentioned in the article; first, the construction of an animal shelter which was in the planning stages at the time; second, adding a water fountain. While the city council strongly supported plans

to build a new animal shelter; the drinking fountain was cut from the budget (Tietgen 2007).

A lot of effort was put into the animal shelter issue in the summer of 2007. It was the only issue that drew a group of community advocates to a city council meeting over the summer—many were volunteers from the local humane society—and a special meeting between the county and city commissioners was called to seek a joint solution. Advocates at the joint meeting for the shelter included both the local head of Tyson (in uniform) and his wife. None were Hispanic. Council meetings are held on the second floor of the city building, a space where newcomers are rarely seen.

It might be said that the city council responded to strong community support for the animal shelter, but closer examination of the factors influencing participation in the meetings points to an alternative explanation. Individuals with enough time and resources to volunteer at the shelter could use the same time and resources to attend business meetings about the city budget. Although many community members showed their support for an animal shelter at the budget meetings, other budget items—which no one was present to support—may have been equally important to other segments of the community. Community members who are newcomers, noncitizens, or who struggle to meet the daily demands of feeding and housing their families lack the resources to attend commission meetings and were thus left out of the decision-making process.

A drinking fountain at Rotary Park was also part of the city council's budget talks over the summer. Rotary Park is located along a popular walking trail and is heavily used for soccer and baseball practice. It is utilized by Hispanics, Anglos, and Southeast Asians—as is Stevens Park. At a city council meeting seeking to balance the budget, a member of city government proposed cutting the water fountain in Rotary Park. The parks superintendent said it was needed for the Talley Trail (the walking trail along the edge of the park) because people were taking water out of a property owner's hose (fieldnotes, 6-17-07). After a discussion by the city manager about how “even at the golf course” the water fountain was not well utilized, it was taken out of the budget. The issue was revisited at a later meeting when a commissioner asked to add the fountain back to the budget; the manager agreed to do so.

The type of interchange between the manager and commissioners surrounding the water fountain is common in council meetings. Commission votes ultimately decide measures. The manager has extensive control over the process and information provided to the commission, since he develops the budget and agendas for council meetings. One native Garden City resident, when speaking about the city manager's relationship to the commissioners, went so far as to say, “I think it must be hard for him to pretend like he has new bosses every two years [after council elections]” (fieldnotes, 7-21-07).

The drinking fountain was a community-generated idea, supported by logical evidence about why the fountain was needed—people were using someone's private

hose. The commission originally rejected the idea, based partially on its own experiences at the golf course. The municipal golf course is an exclusive space, serving Garden City's upper-class, which is primarily Anglo. Rotary Park, and suggestions about its needs, came from a decidedly more ethnically and economically diverse population via a member of the municipal staff. Although the suggestion for the water fountain was made and heard, the ultimate decision lay with council members who were mostly Anglo, and who were advised by an Anglo manager, whose decisions (based upon their own experiences) differed from the more diverse, less affluent patrons of Rotary Park.

The entire water fountain discussion, which lasted 15 minutes at one meeting and several at another, is omitted from the council meetings minutes posted on the city's Web site. Although the city points to transparency as an intended goal in its communications plan—and posts council meeting minutes on its Web site to this end—the water fountain issue is cause to doubt its commitment to this ideal.

Examination of the drinking fountain issue illustrates the impact of municipal decision making and a finding of the New Pluralism Project:

Public trust in elected officials, [and] government, continues to erode in the first decade of the 21st century—in part because they are perceived as not being responsive to their constituents. Local government and institutions must be accountable to their constituents and responsive to their needs and recognize immigrants as well as native-born community residents as important. (Kissam and Griffith 2006:5)

Garden City has created infrastructure, like the CRB and other advisory boards, to incorporate diverse community perspectives. But to be successful, infrastructural

changes must fulfill their intended function. To determine if they work, their function must be critically examined.

Cultural Relations Board

The Cultural Relations Board (CRB) began in response to recommendations by the Changing Relations Project to address issues facing the diversifying population. The CRB was designed to address cultural issues. Its current function is primarily to fund culturally specific events—Tet (Vietnamese New Year), Juneteenth, and Fiesta (Stegman 2007).

In 1992 the CRB recommended that a quality housing code be adopted (Kral 1997:16). It included minimum standards for plumbing, foundations, electrical wiring, heating, roofs, doors and windows, smoke detectors, and pest control (ibid.). The municipal government failed to follow the CRB's recommendations due to opposition from landlords. Landlords' needs were pitted against tenants', many of whom were noncitizens. Landlords argued "that housing 'standards should be set by the market,' city and county governments should 'stay out of the way and let this profession function as a private enterprise'...echoing the tenants of Western economic thought" (ibid. 51). Lack of fluency in English and restricted mobility due to unauthorized immigration status place tenants at a severe disadvantage in the landlord-tenant relationship (ibid.: 56-57).

Kral cites several landlords' pleas at public hearings, but none from tenants. While the hearings were public—much like the Spruce Park planning meetings and

city budget meetings—newcomers did not participate. According to Kral (1997:57): “Fear of being turned in to immigration authorities is a factor that prohibits undocumented immigrants from complaining about their housing conditions.” When individuals are fearful of the government, trust and cooperation—the building blocks of social capital—cannot form. The city commission decided to not adopt the CRB’s recommendations. Although the CRB sought to include low-income renters in the decision-making process, they continue to be excluded.

The city commission’s decision not to adopt the quality housing code crippled the inclusion of the low-income renters the CRB sought to include in decision making. Karla Kral recommended that the city create a landlord-tenant board, reflecting the diversity of tenants and landlords. She further suggested that the board help educate and translate housing issues for landlords and tenants. Lastly, she reiterated the need for an occupied-housing code. None of her recommendations were adopted.

The current CRB reflects the community’s diversity well, with Mexican, Argentine, Asian, and Anglo community members. Yet, it has little impact. In several interviews, the Cultural Relations Board was cited as the way the city addresses issues of diversity. The meetings I attended, however, addressed issues of cultural understanding for the board, and the board only. For example, an East Indian hotel owner now living in Garden City attended a meeting and described his culture and experiences in Garden City.

Both co-chairs of the CRB are Anglo newcomers to the community.

Newcomer status makes it hard to reach diverse networks in the community, thereby diminishing the mission of the board. This can easily be construed as problematic by diverse community members who already feel their voices, even when heard, are not listened to. The New Pluralism Project identified the importance of the decision-making process:

More community discussion and involvement, when structured to focus on problem-solving not controversy for its own sake, can lead to effective and innovative strategies for addressing common civic concerns. Indirectly, more involvement in civic dialogue and decision-making strengthens local residents' commitment to pitching in and helping out to make the community better. (Kissam and Griffith 2006:8)

The existence of the CRB represents Garden City's ideal of commitment to cultural diversity and immigrants. In supporting Fiesta, Tet, and Juneteenth it supports bonding social capital—not linking and bridging social capital—which are in greater need of development. Its lack of information sharing with the wider community, and influence over policy decisions, shows that the actual commitment to diversity does not fulfill the ideal.

Conclusions

While municipal government in Garden City has effectively cooperated with social service agencies providing for newcomers' needs, decisions about a wider range of issues—from housing to a water fountain to municipal decision making—suggests room for improvement. The basic needs of newcomers have been met, but

inclusion in decision making remains elusive. Including diverse newcomers raises issues of race, class, and citizenship. Governmental decisions not only favor Anglos, and citizens, but also the upper class, as shown with the landlord-tenant dispute and the decision-making processes for the animal shelter and water fountain.

The mayor and some council members actively participated in meetings with several groups of newcomers in 2007; however, lack of authority in the council-manager form of municipal government circumscribed their ability to propose solutions. Fredrickson, Wood, and Logan (2001:881) find, “council-manager government is frequently criticized, especially in larger cities, for not being able to provide adequate leadership. In cities where municipal leaders face the difficulty of reconciling conflicting demands, strong political leadership is particularly necessary.” Growth and diversification have led to a need for critical evaluation of Garden City’s municipal structure.

Garden City’s municipal government has embraced the ideal of diversity by creating the Cultural Relations Board and supporting ethnically specific annual events. Its real commitment remains questionable. Policy choices such as increased penalties for driving without a license, inattention to tenants’ needs, and disregard of input from diverse segments of the population—as in the case of the Rotary Park water fountain—point to the greater access and influence of upper-class Anglos in municipal governance.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

Garden City's social capital is specific to its history, geography, constructed space, and demographics. Despite the context-specific nature of social capital in Garden City, it is relevant to Putnam's formulations about social capital in the United States. Putnam finds social capital has continuously waned since the 1950s, due in part to diversity. Garden City's social capital disputes his findings.

The challenge to Putnam's assertions is based upon the emergence of new kinds of civic organizations in Garden City, Kansas, due, in large part, to increasing ethnic diversification. Mexican-American Ministries, Emmaus House, the Adult Learning Center, the Coalition of Hispanic Organizations and Professionals, and the League of United Latin American Citizens have either emerged or increased their capacities over the last 30 years. These networks rely upon broad community support for volunteers, donations, and infrastructural aid. The presence of these networks as well as those identified in public rituals, neighboring activities, and baseball, reflect the strength of social capital in Garden City.

Putnam identifies decreasing enrollment in traditional nationwide civic organizations like the Knights of Columbus, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Scouts, and Parent Teacher Organizations. But in Garden City, locally based need-specific organizations have evolved. These new networks address basic human needs, a more relevant and practical form of civic involvement in Garden City than those considered by Putnam. In Garden City, Putnam's 1950s-era ideal of civic virtue has been

transformed to its 21st century equivalent: civic triage. Societal shifts changed the community's needs, forcing networks to cope with basic human needs instead of civic virtue.

Externalization of services by big businesses and difficulty attaining citizenship have so taxed the social fabric of Garden City that civic networks are forced to provide basic needs such as housing, food, clothing, education, medical care, and citizenship assistance. Reflecting on Garden City ten years after the Changing Relations Project, Stull and Broadway (2006:114) concluded that:

The ability of the community to meet newcomers' needs is constrained by the persistence of a low-wage economy and the employment practices of the packers. And despite a decade of concerted effort by local government and nonprofit agencies to resolve the problems we identified at the close of the Changing Relations Project, most remain unabated. Until the meatpacking industry recognizes its responsibility to the communities that are home to its facilities, these communities will continue to struggle. The struggle may be valiant, as it has been in Garden City, but it will be unlikely to do much more than hold the line.

Participation in civic networks has shifted to ensure the well being of those most in need, noncitizens, and the uninsured. Thus, social capital has adapted to meet new community needs in Garden City.

Social capital is complex; so too are its functions in Garden City. Different types of networks possess different types and levels of social capital. Bonding social capital is high; bridging and linking are less so. Informal networks possess higher degrees of bridging social capital than formal networks. Linking social capital between those uninvolved in formal networks—often newcomers—and municipal government is low. The challenge is to foster higher degrees of bridging social capital

in formal networks, and linking social capital between formal and informal networks. Strides can be made to increase ties between diverse community members and the municipal government.

Garden City is rightfully applauded by social scientists and neighboring communities for its ability to address issues of growth, increased cultural pluralism, and the working poor. In so doing, new networks reflecting social capital have emerged to address pertinent community issues. *Bowling Alone* concludes with several recommendations Garden City has already achieved. One example is to design communities to “encourage more socializing with friends and neighbors” (Putnam 2000: 408). Downtown Vision was formed to encourage revitalization of the historic downtown business district. The Dominican sisters created the community garden to allow people without land to produce their own food. Fiesta, the Steven’s Park Concert Series, the Finney County Fair, Zoobalee, and neighboring activities offer further opportunities to socialize.

Linking social capital remains elusive. Two opposing perspectives prevail: municipal staff cites apathy on the part of residents, while ESL students and interviewees cite apathy on the part of the city. To strengthen linking social capital, the gap between uninvolved community members and municipal government must be filled. If municipal government takes the first step to address issues related to social capital, the community must take the second by rewarding policy improvements (Falk and Kilpatrick 2000). Taking these steps will strengthen linking and bridging social capital in Garden City.

Mexican-American Ministries exemplifies inclusive practices that bolster bonding, bridging, and linking social capital in Garden City. Due to mandates set forth for community health centers, its board is both ethnically and economically diverse. Institutional mechanisms for feedback exist and consequently an inclusive network is achieved. If Mexican-American Ministries can do it, so too can other institutions in Garden City.

Garden City's municipal government met community needs by collaborating with social service agencies, addressing infrastructural issues associated with its boomtown status in the 1980s (Stull and Broadway 2004), supporting culturally diverse public rituals, and forming the Cultural Relations Board. The community developed social service agencies, maintained neighboring activities, and elected ethnically diverse leaders. Thus, municipal government and community members have maintained high levels of social capital in Garden City over time.

The beef-packing industry, on the other hand, demanded tax abatements and myriad community concessions upon its arrival in Garden City. After almost 30 years, Tyson has still not reciprocated by cooperating, including, or fostering trust with municipal government or community members. Donating food for the COHOP (Coalition of Hispanic Organizations and Professionals) event and allowing a social service agency to access its workforce are paltry offerings after what Tyson has asked of Garden City. Tyson could begin to foster trust and cooperation with the community if it were to support efforts to increase social capital. But it is unlikely Tyson will

change its ways, given the driving force of profit maximization, unless the community demands it.

In some ways, Garden City exemplifies social capital. Community members are well connected with one another; networks, trust, and cooperation abound. The community has adapted to influxes of newcomers with agility (Stull and Broadway 2004). Due in part to large influxes of newcomers, Garden City is a successful model of a contemporary, diverse community with high bonding social capital, increasing linking social capital, and a commitment to increasing bridging social capital.

Recommendations

1) Create a “Casa Communal”

“A place to talk about our problems, that’s free...and to play, a free place to unite and discuss problems, worship, and communicate with others” (ESL Focus group, 7-18-07, interpreted from Spanish). Although spaces exist for community meetings, none meet the ideal of a community center. The library rooms cannot be used for meetings with food, private clubs like the Knights of Columbus and the Eagles offer spaces only to paying customers, and profits go to largely Anglo club members. Social scientists from the New Pluralism Project found that:

Informal interactions among neighbors and co-workers, as well as a multitude of never-recorded discussions among community leaders, immigrant advocates, teachers, small business people, and members of civic organizations almost always lie beneath the more-visible formal actions of elected officials (Kissam and Griffith 2006:4).

A “casa communal” could provide a venue for such informal relations. If the State Theatre (already owned by the city and now closed) were used as a community center, it would also serve Downtown Vision’s goal of bringing people back to downtown.

Other data point to potential uses for a community center. Focus group participants asked for a public market where they could spend Sundays walking around, visiting neighbors, and enjoying the community. Sunday markets held in the town plaza are a common feature of hometowns in Mexico that some said they would like to have in Garden City. Such a market could be held at a community center, or in Stevens Park in the summer. A community center could also provide a home for after-school programs, weekend dances, or gaming nights to provide youth activities which the 2006 City Survey found lacking. A community center could be used in many ways to increase Garden City’s social capital.

Space for face-to-face contact could allow community members to: 1) become more trusting of, and cooperative with, the municipal government and other diverse community members; and 2) form new—potentially more inclusive—networks and strengthen old ones.

2) Improve the function of the Cultural Relations Board (CRB)

The Cultural Relations Board reflects the community’s diversity, yet it has little impact on anyone other than board members. Attention to issues of inclusion should be a function of the CRB. Events designed to encourage interethnic interaction, and therefore bridging social capital, are the next step in any ethnically

diverse community. Possibilities include the Stevens Park Concert Series and the Finney County Fair. The advertising, structure, and activities of other inclusive events (e.g., Zoobalee and baseball games) are potential models to emulate. Events fostering bridging social capital provide an opportunity to motivate newcomers to become part of the social fabric of Garden City, regardless of cultural differences.

Some individuals yearn to be a part of formal community networks. Others feel no one wants their input. Seeking individuals involved in informal networks to serve on committees and boards can address inclusion and cooperation in broader ways, incorporate informal neighborhood networks into formal agency networks, and foster trust. “[The city] could do better by going out and introducing themselves and passing out cards” (interview, 8-3-07). This idea suggests a grassroots way to include informal networks in formal ones, and a place for the CRB to start.

3) Evaluate municipal structure

During the rapid growth of the 1980s, Garden City met community needs by collaborating with social service agencies and addressing infrastructural needs. It is now important to critically examine the function of municipal structure. Currently, Garden City employs a council-manager form of government. The council-manager form is modeled upon corporations, the city manager as the CEO, commissioners are the board of directors, and citizens the stock holders (Frederickson and Johnson 2001). In this model, social considerations (like social capital) are subjugated in favor

of physical (economic) capital. Economics are the primary consideration in the corporate council-manager model.

In contrast, a mayor-council municipal government is modeled after the federal government (ibid.). Checks and balances and political responsiveness are characteristics of this model, derived from notions of democratic rule.

Council-manager government is frequently criticized, especially in larger cities, for not being able to provide adequate leadership. In cities where municipal leaders face the difficulty of reconciling conflicting demands, strong political leadership is particularly necessary. In such a city, an elected mayor rather than an appointed manager is likely to have the public visibility and conflict orientation to engage in the far-reaching political and coalition-building activities necessary for effective leadership. (ibid.:881)

Thus, Garden City's growth and diversification are cause to reevaluate the effectiveness of its form of city government, which has not changed with its demographics.

Recent trends in municipal governance are toward a third model, the "adapted city" (ibid.), which combines aspects of both mayor-council and council-manager municipal structures in unique, community-specific ways. Municipalities with both mayor-council and council-manager city charters have adopted practices not typically aligned with their form of charter. For example, a city like Garden City with a manager-council municipal government might modify its municipal structure to capitalize upon the strengths of a council-mayor structure without abandoning the city charter. Adapted cities choose between direct mayoral elections and selection of the mayor by the council, mayoral service on or off the council, and part- or full-time service of the mayor, among other things. Adapted cities retain a city manager, while

adapting the role of the mayor to address issues of political responsiveness and checks and balances.

In Garden City the mayor's contact with the community provides more ability to foster social capital than the city manager. In the summer and fall of 2007, the mayor attended National Night Out, Fiesta, LULAC meetings, and the Sunflower Community Action meeting on new penalties for driving without a license. This presence fosters linking social capital between the municipal government and various networks within the community. Cooperation is achieved if the mayor uses suggestions gathered in various community meetings —which can help foster trust in the municipal government.

Increased inclusion of citizens in municipal government would increase linking social capital. As an elected official the mayor is directly responsible to the electorate, thereby enhancing their inclusion in municipal government. The mayor's participation in diverse formal and informal networks can address inclusion better than a manager who sits in an office. District elections, instead of at-large elections currently employed in Garden City, have also been linked to increased inclusion of diverse community members (Davidson and Grofman 1994). Trust, cooperation, and inclusion between the municipal government and residents in Garden City are important considerations in evaluation of municipal structure.

References Cited

- Adler, Paul, and Seok-Woo Kwon
1999 Social Capital: The Good, the Bad and the Ugly.
URL <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=186928>> (April 7, 2007).
- Benson, Janet
1990 Good Neighbors: Ethinc Realtions in Garden City Trailer Courts.
Urban Anthropology 19:361-386.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1986 The Forms of Capital. *In*: Handbook of Theory and Research for the
Sociology of Education. John G. Richardson, ed. Pp. 241-258. New
York: Greenwood Press.
- Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis
2002 Social Capital and Community Governance. *The Economic Journal*
112:F419-F436.
- Campa, Arthur
1990 Immigrant Latinos and Resident Mexican Americans in Garden City,
Kansas: Ethniciy and Ethnic Relations. *Urban Anthropology* 19:345-
360.
- Cattell, Vicky
2001 Poor People, Poor Places, and Poor Health: The Mediating Role of
Social Networks and Social Capital. *Social Science and Medicine*
52:1501-1516.
- Cohn, Danielle
2006 Socio-economic Strategies and Identity Constructions of Latin-
American Immigrants in Southwest Kansas/ U.S.A. Master's Thesis,
Department of Cultural Anthropology, University of Cologne,
Cologne, Germany.
- Coleman, James
1988 Social Capital and the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal*
of Sociology 94:S95-S120.
- Davidson, Chandler, and Bernard Grofman
1994 Quiet Revolution in the South: The Impact of the Voting Rights Act,
1965-1990. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

- Falk, Ian, and Sue Kilpatrick
 2000 What *is* Social Capital? A Study of Interaction in a Rural Community. *Sociologia Ruralis* 40:87-109.
- Finney County Preservation Alliance
 2006 The Windsor Hotel, a “Monument to Garden City’s Past” and a Perfect “Gateway to Garden City’s Future” or “Why We Must Preserve The Windsor Hotel?” Preservations, the Newsletter of the Finney County Preservation Alliance (Garden City, Kans.), May 2006:1.
- Fix, Michael, and Wendy Zimmermann
 2001 All Under One Roof: Mixed-Status Families in an Era of Reform. *International Migration Review* 35: 387-419.
- Foley, Michael, and Bob Edwards
 1999 Is it time to Disinvest in Social Capital? *Journal of Public Policy* 19:141-173.
- Fredrickson, George, and Gary Johnson
 2001 The Adapted American City. *Urban Affairs Review* 36: 872-884.
- Frederickson, George, Curtis Wood, and Brett Logan
 2001 How American City Governments Have Changed: The Evolution of the Model City Charter. *National Civic Review* 90:3-18
- Fukuyama, Francis
 1999 Social Capital and Civil Society.
 URL<<http://www.imf.org/External/Pubs/FT/seminar/1999/reforms/fukuyama.htm>> (March 16, 2007).
- Garden City, Kansas, City of
 2006 Communications Plan. City of Garden City, Kansas.
- Garden City Cultural Relations Board
 2000 Changing Relations Newcomers and Established Residents in Garden City, Kansas 1990-2000. City of Garden City, Kansas.
- Granovetter, Mark S.
 1973 The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal of Sociology* 78:1360-1380.

- Grootaert, Christiaan, Deepa Narayan, Veronica Nyham Jones, and Michael Woolcock
 2004 Measuring Social Capital: An Integrated Questionnaire. World Bank Working Paper No. 18. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Grootaert, Christiaan, and Thierry Van Bastelaer, eds.
 2002 Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Multidisciplinary Tool for Practitioners. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Jimenez, Thomas R.
 2005 Replenished Identity: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and Ethnic Identity. Dissertation July 2005. Harvard.
- Kissam, Edward, and David Griffith
 2006 Local Community Strategies For Immigrant Integration: Summary Findings from the New Pluralism Project. Burlingame, Calif.: Aguirre Division, JBS International.
- Knack, Stephen, and Phillip Keefer
 1997 Does Social Capital Have an Economic Payoff? A Cross-Country Investigation. Quarterly Journal of Economics, November:1251-1288.
- Knox, Hannah, Mike Savage, and Penny Harvey
 2006 Social Networks and the Study of Relations: Networks as Method, Metaphor and Form. Economy and Society 35:113-140.
- Lelieveldt, Herman
 2004 Helping Citizens Help Themselves: Neighborhood Improvement Programs and the Impact of Social Networks, Trust, and Norms on Neighborhood Oriented Forms of Participation. Urban Affairs Review 39: 531-551.
- Lochner, Kimberly, Ichiro Kawachi, and Bruce Kennedy
 1999 Social Capital: A Guide to its Measurement. Health and Place 5:259-270.
- Lopez, Mario
 2007 Strength in Diversity. Garden City (Kans.) Telegram, July 19: A4.
- North, Douglass C.
 1990 Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Oakley, Deirdre, and Hui-shien Tsao
 2007 The Bottom-Up Mandate: Fostering Community Partnerships and Combating Economic Distress in Chicago's Empowerment Zone. *Urban Studies* 44: 819-843.
- Organizational Synapse, LLC
 2006 Garden City Speaks: Garden City Listens. The 2006 City Survey. City of Garden City, Kansas.
- Ostrom, Elinor
 1999 Social Capital: A Fad or a Fundamental Concept? *In* Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective. Partha Dasgupta and Ismail Serageldin, eds. Pp.172-214. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- Policy Research Institute
 2003 Kansas Statistical Abstract. Lawrence: University of Kansas.
- Portes, Alejandro
 1998 Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1-24.
- Putnam, Robert
 1993 The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life.
 URL
 <<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/assoc/13putn.html>>
 (March 16, 2007).
- 1995 Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy* 6:65-78.
- 2000 Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- 2006 E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2):137-174.
- Reeve, Agnesa
 1996 Constant Frontier: The Continuing History of Finney County, Kansas. Garden City, Kansas. Finney County Historical Society.
- Sandefur, Rebecca L., and Edward O. Laumann
 1998 A Paradigm for Social Capital. *Rationality and Society* 10:581-501.

- Stone, Wendy
 2001 Measuring Social Capital. Research Paper No. 24. Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies-Commonwealth of Australia.
- Stull, Donald D.
 2004 Blind Dog in a Meat House: Anthropology, Advocacy, and the Meat and Poultry Industry. Paper Read at annual meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
- Stull, Donald D., Janet Benson, Michael Broadway, Arthur Campa, Ken Ericson, and Mark Grey
 1990 Changing Relations: Newcomers and Established Residents in Garden City, Kansas. Institute for Public Policy and Business Research, University of Kansas, Report No. 172.
- Stull, Donald D., and Michael Broadway
 2001 "We come to the Garden"...Again: Garden City, Kansas, 1990-2000. *Urban Anthropology* 30:269-300.
- 2004 Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.
- 2008 Meatpacking and Mexicans on the High Plains: From Minority to Majority in Garden City, Kansas. *In Immigrants Outside the Megopolis: Ethnic Transformation in the Heartland*. Richard C. Jones, ed. Pp. 115-133. Lanham, Mad: Lexington Books.
- Stull, Donald D., Michael Broadway, and Ken C. Ericson
 1992 The Price of a Good Steak: Beefpacking and Its Consequences for Garden City, Kansas. *In Structuring Diversity*. Louise Lamphere, ed. Pp.1-34. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tietgen, Gwen
 2007 Meeting to Focus on Immigrant's Concerns. Garden City (Kans.) Telegram, URL
 <<http://testing.gctelegram.com/view.cti?cat=Search&state=view&key=matt%20allen%20&...>> (January 30, 2008).
- 2007 Group Pleads With Mayor to Repeal Increased Penalties. Garden City (Kans.) Telegram, November 5:A1.
- 2007 Vigil Focuses on Immigrants' Plight. The Garden City (Kans.) Telegram, December 3:A1.

USD 457

2007 High School Facility Study Group. Garden City, Kansas School District.

Woolcock, Michael, and Deepa Narayan

2000 Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy. World Bank Research Observer 15: 225-249.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire Individual

Networks

What types of activities do you do with your friends or what organizations do you belong to?

How often do you participate in group activities?

What do other group members have in common with you?

How are they different?
(Same occupation? Same gender? Same religion?)

How are decisions made? (Discussion, leader, or combo?)

Have you gotten new skills or learned something belonging to this group?

Inclusion

What kinds of differences divide people in Garden City?
(Education? Wealth? Landholdings? Social Status? Men/Women? Younger and older generations? Newcomers and oldtimers? Political affiliations? Religious beliefs? Other?)

Do these differences cause problems?

How are these handled?

Do you do anything with members of communities different than your own? What?

How do you think the city reaches out to you, your community or other communities?

How do you think the city could better service your community?

or bring together members of different communities?

If there were a problem in GC (violence) who would deal with the situation?
(Households? Neighbors? Municipal government? All community leaders?)

Cooperation

Have you gotten together with other community members and asked something of the city government recently? What? What happened?

Have you done that before?

Is voting important? Why?

Is reading the local paper important? Why?

Have you ever made personal contact with an influential person?

Alerted the media of a problem? What?

Participated in an election campaign? Why?

Participated in a protest, march or demonstration? What? Why?

Talked with other people in your area about your problem?

Notified the court or police about a problem?

Volunteered?

If a decision about a development project needed to be made, would the community be asked to help make the decision or would community leaders make the decision themselves? Why do you think so?

How much do you think people participate in the community in Garden City?

Do you think you have an influence on making GC a better place to live?

Trust

Do people trust each other in GC enough to lend things to each other? Has this gotten better /worse or stayed the same in the last few years?

If you had to go away for a couple days who could you ask to take care of your house?

Do you think people look out only for their own families or GC as a whole? Why?

Do you think most people in Garden City are honest and can be trusted? Why?

Are people only interested in their own welfare? Why?

Do you think you need to be careful in GC that others don't take advantage of you?

Do you always have someone to help you with a problem?

Do you pay attention to the opinions of others in GC?

Do you think most people in GC are willing to help you if you need it?

Do you feel accepted as a member of GC?

Appendix 2

Questionnaire

Organization

Name of organization:

Type of organization:

Membership:

Networks

How was your organization created? Who was responsible?

What kinds of activities is your organization involved in?

Has the structure and purpose of the organization changed purpose over time? How?

What help did the organization receive from the outside? Has it received advice funding or other support from the city government? What about non-governmental organizations? How did you get this support? Who initiated it? How was the support given?

How do members become involved in your organization?

Why are people willing to serve the organization?

Is it hard to convince people to continue being active in the organization?

Are your active members also members of other organizations?

How stable is the leadership of your organization? Are there enough leaders with enough availability?

Do the leaders possess good skills?

How participatory are members in yours and others organizations?

Cooperation

What were the two most important decisions made in the last year?

Do your members participate in decision making?

Do your members have informal opportunities to discuss decisions?

Do your members consult with other organizations or the community?

Was there broad debate including opposing positions and honesty?

Is there a mechanism for dissemination of the results and the decision making process?

Is your organization able to respond to changes that affect that organization?

Has your organization been able to reflect upon and learn from experience?

Inclusion

How accepted is the leadership in organizations and underrepresented communities?

How diverse are the leaders of your organization?

Have there been petitions or formal expression of demand in the last three years?

Have there been informal ways for members to express their demands?

How has the organization addressed these demands?

Is your organization able to resolve conflicts with other organizations or social actors?

Trust

How would you characterize the relationship between the executive director, management and technical staff?

Are there any issues which prohibit community members from participating in your organization?

Appendix 3

Questionnaire

Community (Focus Group)

Trust:

Where were you born?

How long have you been in Garden City?

What do you do for work?

Do people in GC trust each other enough to lend and borrow things?

Can you give me examples?

How does this trust compare to other communities in which you have lived?

Do you think people in GC care about the whole community or just their own families?

Networks

What types of activities do you do with your friends or what organizations do you belong to?

How often do you participate in group activities?

What do other group members have in common with you?

How are they different?

(Same occupation? Same gender? Same religion)

How are decisions made? (Discussion, leader, or combo?)

Have you gotten new skills or learned something belonging to this group?

Inclusion

What kinds of differences divide people in Garden City?

(Education? Wealth? Landholdings? Social Status? Men/Women? Younger and older generations? Newcomers/oldtimers? Political affiliations? Religious beliefs? Other?)

Do these differences cause problems?

How are these handled?

Do you do anything with members of communities different than your own? What?

How do you think the city reaches out to you, your community or other communities?

How do you think the city could better service your community? or bring together members of different communities?

What things did other places you have visited or lived do that you would like to see in GC?

If there were a problem in GC (violence) who would deal with the situation? (Households? Neighbors? Municipal government? All community leaders?)

Cooperation/Community Support

How do you get your news about GC?

What parts of the news are you most interested in?

Do you know of a time when the community organized to address a problem in GC?

What was the issue?

Was the community successful?

What are some main needs that you feel need to be addressed in GC?

If a decision about a project needed to be made in GC, would the community be asked to help make the decision or would community leaders make the decision themselves? Why do you think so?

What organizations have helped you since you moved to Garden City?

What did they help you with?

How did you find those organizations?

What buildings have you used for meeting space?

How much do you think people participate in the community in Garden City?
Do you think you have an influence on making GC a better place to live?