



Social Capital and Civic Participation in the Ozarks:

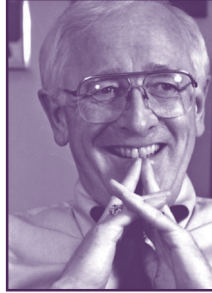
Summary of Findings from the Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey

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Dr. Lloyd R. Young
1930 - 2009

**This report is dedicated to
the late Lloyd R. Young and his vision
of the good community.**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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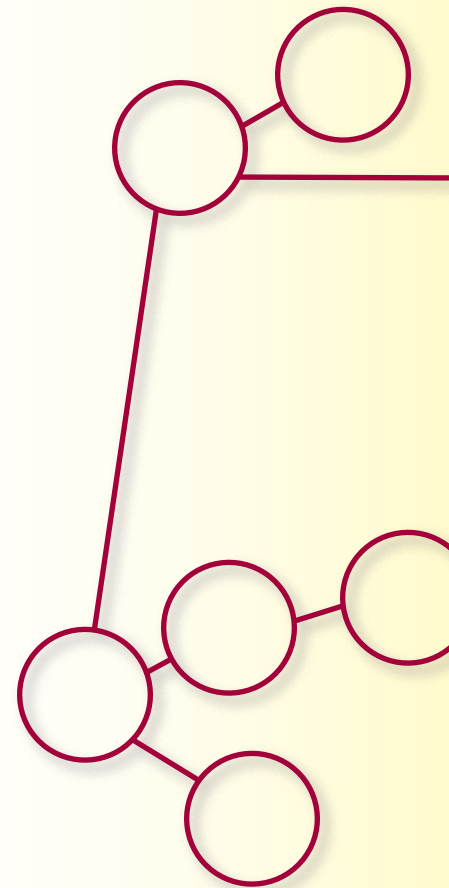
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Networks like these are valuable because they provide people and communities with access to a variety of resources, including information, economic opportunity, better education, public safety, public health, and citizen participation in community affairs.

Executive Summary Findings from the Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey

Social capital exists when members of a community have networks of trusting mutual relationships with others. Networks like these are valuable because they provide people and communities with access to a variety of resources, including information, economic opportunity, better education, public safety, public health, and citizen participation in community affairs.

This report is a follow-up to a 2008 study, that found that Greene County and the City of Springfield, Missouri had higher levels of social capital than the national average, but also lower levels of civic participation and trust in local government. These findings presented a riddle: how could high levels of social capital be accompanied by low levels of civic participation? Past social capital studies suggested the opposite -- that high social capital would generate high levels of civic participation. Solving this riddle is important for the community since studies have shown that low levels of citizen participation are indicative of poor civic health. Studies have also suggested that one possible solution to the riddle was that Greene County residents had high levels of bonding social capital (connections with similar others), but low levels of bridging social capital (connections with different others). Certainly, civic engagement and political participation require working with different people and diverse groups. So, the idea of a relative lack of bridging social capital in the Ozarks became part of the public policy dialogue in Springfield.

The Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey (ORSCS) was designed to study the issue of low civic participation and whether a lack of bridging social capital could solve the riddle. To measure bridging social capital we created four measures of network diversity¹. These measures allowed an analysis of how network diversity was associated with key factors related to civic participation, such as trust and group membership.

The data emphatically showed that network diversity was positively associated with trust, group membership, and civic participation; that individuals with greater network diversity had more trust, more group membership, and greater civic participation. Furthermore, network diversity was higher for people with greater levels of education, income, and occupational prestige. The findings summarized in this report support the idea that high social capital and low civic participation are associated with low levels of bridging social capital.

The Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey also allowed us to compare the findings from 2008 with those from 2010. Generally, the comparison revealed an increase in Greene County's social capital, which was somewhat surprising given the recessionary economic conditions at the time of the survey. However, the survey findings also revealed that trust increased more than voluntary group membership, which actually declined for several of the groups examined in the survey. Trust in local government also increased, but its magnitude was much smaller than trust in police, neighbors, stores, and the local media, which is consistent with the problem of civic engagement in Greene County. Furthermore, the positive changes in trust between 2008 and 2010 were found in groups with high levels of income, education, and occupational prestige². Given the recent increases in poverty, demographic diversity and "brain drain" in the region, and the challenges that they pose, the findings summarized in this report suggest that one strategy for meeting those challenges would be to invest in bridging social capital among less advantaged individuals and groups, by providing them with more opportunities to participate in diverse civic groups.

¹ The term "diversity" is used in two different contexts in this report. One refers to diversity of network connections, and the other refers to demographic diversity in communities. When the position generator measures are being discussed, it is in reference to the diversity of network connections.

² The combination of a person's education, income, and occupational prestige is generally used to measure what social scientists refer to as their "socioeconomic status," or SES.

INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Social Capital

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Introduction

We are pleased to report the results of the Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey to the community. A lot has developed since we presented the first Social Capital Survey results in February 2009. Since that time, we have discussed social capital with: the Community Foundation of the Ozarks, the Mayor's Commission on Children, the City Manager and his department heads, the United Way, the community's Strategic Plan Coordinating Committee, the Good Community Committee, and the Mid-Metro Rotary Club. We also have collaborated with the National Conference on Citizenship and produced Missouri's first Civic Health Assessment Report. During these presentations, the conversation about building a good community has evolved significantly, and it is necessary to summarize this changing discourse to provide a context for using the findings of the second Social Capital Survey. But first, a brief overview of social capital is in order.

What is "social capital"?

Social capital refers to networks of social relationships characterized by norms of trust and reciprocity. The central premise of social capital is that social networks have value because they provide people with access to vital resources. Like physical capital (e.g., technologies and tools) and human capital (e.g., education, talent, and skills), social capital enhances the productivity of both individuals and groups. Unlike physical capital, however, social capital doesn't wear-out or depreciate with use – in fact it appreciates as it is used. Also unlike physical capital, social capital is non-exclusive and can be used by many people at once. In this sense, social capital has many attributes of a "public good."

Social capital has two dimensions: a structural dimension and an attitudinal dimension. The structural dimension involves how individuals are attached to different groups and organizations, while the attitudinal dimension refers to the feelings of trust people have with others. The survey questions used to measure social capital reflect these two dimensions.

Why is social capital important?

A growing body of scholarly literature over the last twenty years shows that social capital facilitates many important individual and social goods. For example, it has been observed that communities with high levels of social capital are also likely to have higher educational achievement, more responsive governmental institutions, faster economic growth, and lower rates of crime and violence. In addition, people who live in communities with high levels of social capital are likely to be happier, healthier, and to have a longer life expectancy than people from communities with lower social capital. In places with greater social connectedness, it is easier to mobilize citizens to address public issues (e.g., establishing a hazardous waste disposal facility, reducing a crime problem, or building a community park), and it is easier to arrange things that benefit the group as a whole (a child-care cooperative among welfare mothers, a micro-lending group that enables poor people to start businesses, or farmers banding together to share expensive tools and machinery).

Why study social capital?

Understanding a community's social capital resources can inform public policy. Just as economists track investment in physical capital to assess the health of economies, sociologists study social capital to track the health of communities. Social capital is a proxy for social well-being and civic health, and studying it allows communities to track their well-being over time and to compare their social capital with other communities, states, and the nation. This is one advantage of the social capital survey; it has been used by many communities and scholars and thus allows for comparative analysis.

A second reason to study social capital is that the questions on the survey identify where social capital is strong and where it is weak in the community. This is crucial information for those who want to invest in social capital. For example, the survey identifies the groups and organizations that different types of individuals are

The central premise of social capital is that social networks have value because they provide people with access to vital resources.

People who live in communities with high levels of social capital are likely to be happier, healthier, and to have a longer life expectancy than people from communities with lower social capital.

Social capital is a proxy for social well-being and civic health.

involved in, which provides a guide for where communities should invest in efforts to build social capital.

A third reason to study social capital has to do with mobilizing existing groups and organizations to address community problems. Again, because the survey questions identify the areas where social capital is strong and where it is weak, community policy makers can identify organizations where social capital is strong and mobilize these groups to address specific problems. In the Ozarks, for example, it is clear that faith-based organizations generate significant amounts of social capital and can, therefore, be mobilized to solve community problems, such as child poverty and abuse.

The Springfield/Greene County Social Capital Survey

The first Social Capital Survey was conducted in May and June of 2008, and the results were reported in February of 2009. It found that Ozark residents had higher levels of generalized and local trust than the national average. It also revealed that Ozarkers had more social connections than the average US citizen. Generally, the Ozarks had higher levels of social capital than the national average. However, the Survey also found that residents of Greene County reported that they were much less trusting of local and national government than were the respondents from the nation at large. In addition, a higher proportion of Springfield area residents reported that they felt politically excluded compared to the national population. Local respondents also expressed a notably lower sense of community efficacy than their counterparts nationwide. For example, a lower proportion of Greene County residents than the national average reported that they cooperated with neighbors to fix something in their neighborhood, or to have worked on a community project.

These findings posed an interesting riddle: how could high levels of social capital be associated with political alienation and low civic engagement?

One possible solution to the riddle was that Greene County residents had high levels of bonding social capital, but low levels of bridging social capital.

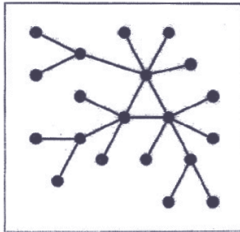
These findings posed an interesting riddle: how could high levels of social capital be associated with political alienation and low civic engagement? Previous social capital studies suggest the opposite: that high levels of social capital would generate high levels of civic engagement and political participation. Clearly, something unique was at work in the Ozarks, and just having a good stock of social capital was not enough to generate civic engagement and civic health. As we presented the survey findings to numerous community groups, this riddle was a major topic of discussion. Eventually, civic engagement became identified as a community problem.

One virtue of social capital is that it calls attention to social networks and how they relate to different kinds of trust. In attempting to solve the riddle, we introduced two key concepts that focus on the nature of the networks comprising social capital, and the types of trust they are associated with: *bonding* social capital and *bridging* social capital. Bridging social networks bring individuals together with others who are different from them in terms of their race, social class, ethnicity, education, religion, age, or gender. Bridging networks sustain *generalized* trust and reciprocity (e.g., most of the time people can be trusted) among individuals and communities. Bonding social networks bring individuals together with others like them and sustain *particularized*, in-group, trust and reciprocity (e.g., trust in the people you actually know and regularly interact with). One possible solution to the riddle was that Greene County residents had high levels of *bonding* social capital, but low levels of *bridging* social capital. Certainly, civic engagement and political participation require working with different people and diverse groups. So, the idea of a relative lack of bridging social capital in the Ozarks has become part of the public policy dialogue. The idea of social capital encouraged some local policymakers and leaders to think of community as more than geographic entities; as mosaics of social networks.

We examined research in social networks and exchange to see if we could expand on the key distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. In particular, we were interested in how network structure influences trust and reciprocity. Figures 1 and 2 provide a visualization of how network structure influences the flow of resources and the stability of networks. Note that in the hierarchical/bureaucratic network depicted in Figure 1, there are three “nodes” in the center of the network that form a triangle. For any of the other nodes to exchange, they must go through at least one of the three center nodes. The non-center nodes are dependent on the center nodes for exchange, and dependency inhibits trust and reciprocity. Further-

more, removal of any of the center nodes would dramatically reduce the ability of resources to flow through the network and connect with other nodes.

BUREAUCRATIC / HIERARCHICAL
NETWORK* Figure 1



INFORMAL / POLYCENTRIC*
NETWORK Figure 2

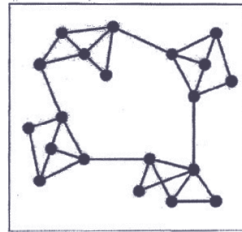


FIGURE 1 Bureaucratic / Hierarchical Network*
FIGURE 2 Informal / Polycentric* Network

*FIGURES 1 and 2 were taken from Baldassari and Diani (2007: 741) ³

³ Baldassari, Delia and Mario Diani. 2007. "The Integrative Power of Civic Networks." *American Journal of Sociology* 113(3): 735-780.

Hierarchical/bureaucratic networks are, thus, less stable than informal/polycentric networks. Note that the informal/polycentric network structure does not have any central nodes and thus doesn't have as much dependency; there is more than one way for nodes to connect and exchange. It is, therefore, more stable because if a node is removed, other nodes can still connect with each other and exchange. Therefore, resources and information flow more fluidly in polycentric networks than in hierarchical networks.

In *Why the Garden Club Couldn't Save Youngstown* (2009), network theorist Sean Safford examines the structure of organizational networks in two American cities, Youngstown, Ohio and, Allentown Pennsylvania, in order to determine why Allentown was better able to mitigate the effects of deindustrialization than Youngstown. In the book he demonstrates that "multiplexity" is a key indicator of economic performance and civic health. Multiplexity "refers to the degree that the relationship between two individuals exists on multiple dimensions" (p.137). It involves a network structure consisting of intersecting, rather than overlapping, connections between actors.

NETWORK OF ECONOMIC AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS: YOUNGSTOWN, 1975*
Figure 3

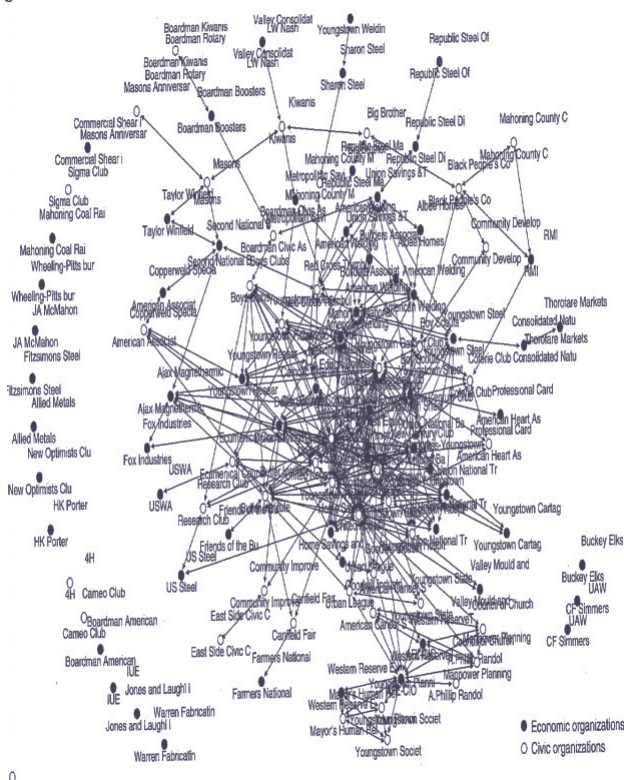


FIGURE 3 Network of Economic and Civic Organizations: Youngstown, 1975*

*Taken from Safford (2009: 89) ⁴

⁴ Safford, Sean. 2009. *Why the Garden Club Couldn't Save Youngstown*. Harvard University Press.

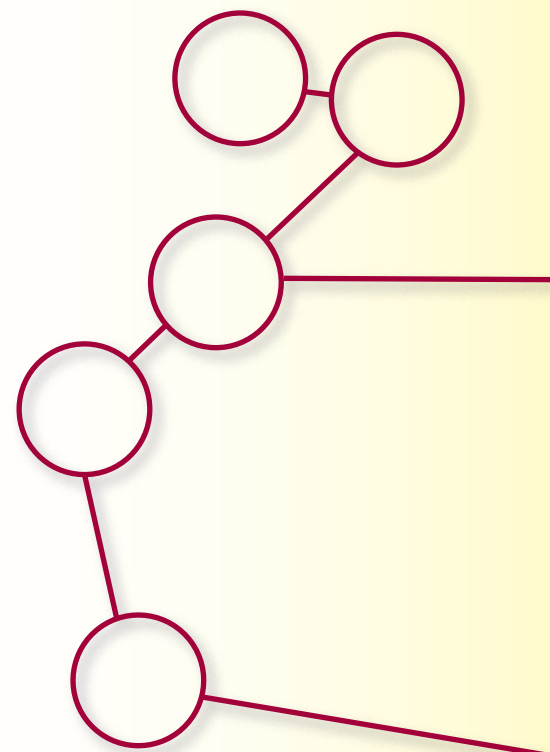
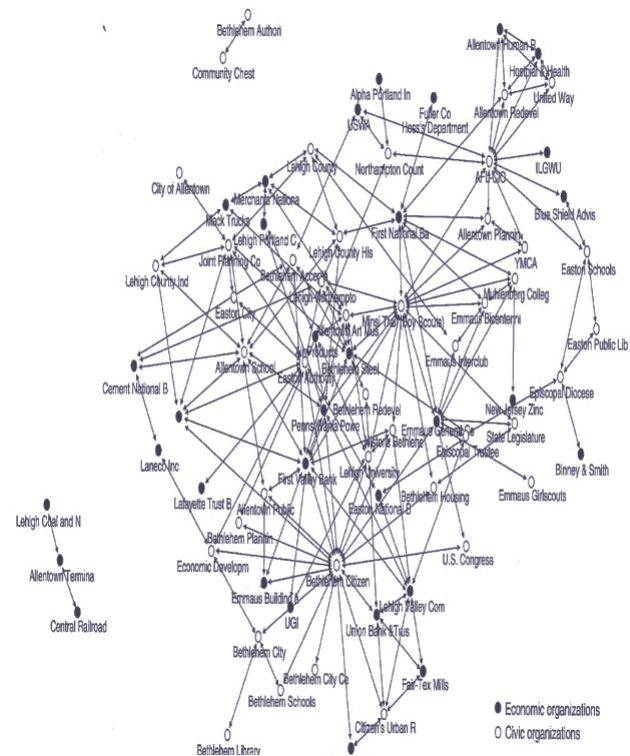


Figure 4
Network of Economic and Civic Organizations: Allentown, 1975*
*Taken from Safford (2009: 88) ⁵

⁵ Safford, Sean. 2009. *Why the Garden Club Couldn't Save Youngstown*. Harvard University Press.

NETWORK OF ECONOMIC AND CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS: ALLENTOWN, 1975*
Figure 4



Figures 3 and 4, taken from Safford's book, give a visualization of redundant versus multiplex network structures. Comparing the Youngstown and Allentown network structures, it is clear that Youngstown had many redundant and overlapping connections, while Allentown had more intersecting connections. Note also that Youngstown had many nodes with no connections, while Allentown had only a few unconnected nodes. In the language of social capital theory, Allentown had more bridging social capital than Youngstown. Allentown had a richer, more diverse "multiplex" structure and was better able to exchange resources and successfully confront the crisis of deindustrialization.

In Springfield, community *leadership* has a rich multiplex structure involving connections among philanthropic, business, faith-based, university, and local government groups. This multiplex leadership structure is clearly visible in the work of groups such as the Good Community Committee. Individuals from each of these sectors have a unique set of perspectives, resources and interests and provide a richer, more diverse base for innovative community problem solving. However, as the first survey revealed, many Ozarkers were not civically engaged or connected to a multiplex network. Thus, Safford's concept of multiplexity sharpens the concept of bridging social capital by identifying what connections are bridged, and suggests that the Ozarks needs to broaden its base of civic participation, especially among its less advantaged citizens. There is a multiplex network among local leaders; however, most ordinary citizens lack such diverse and resource-rich connections. Looking at Springfield through the lens of multiplexity, the efforts of the Community Partnership of the Ozarks to work with less advantaged neighborhoods seems especially appropriate for increasing civic health.

Here is what we have learned since the first social capital survey and how the community conversation on civic health has evolved to shape the Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey:

1. Networks are important because they provide access to resources that are vital to civic health.

SOCIAL CAPITAL SURVEY

Diversity and Civility Emerge, Survey Design

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2. How networks are structured influences trust and reciprocity and access to vital resources. Polycentric, or horizontal, network structures generate more trust and reciprocity and are more stable than hierarchical, or top-down, network structures.
3. Diverse multiplex networks have richer resources than more homogenous networks and are more innovative and effective at problem solving.
4. Political scientist Robert Putnam (2007)⁶ has demonstrated that there is a tendency for members of diverse communities to hunker down with those who are similar to themselves and not trust and reciprocate with others who are different. In short, in diverse communities, absent strategies for encouraging cross-group association, both bonding social capital and bridging social capital can be inhibited, leading to a reduction of the communities' civic capacity.
5. Civic health and civic capacity require a balance of both bonding and bridging capital.
6. Broad-based civic engagement is important for mediating the effects of economic downturns and promoting sustainable and dynamic regional economic development.

⁶ Putnam, Robert. 2007. E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30(2): 137-174.

Diversity and Civility Emerge as Community Issues

In terms of the current discourse on social capital and civic engagement, two issues have become prominent and prompted community initiatives: Diversity and Civility. The Good Community Committee has formed a task force identifying ten tenets of civility and circulated posters in the community to promote the tenets, and the City hung street poll banners showcasing each of the civility tenets.

Similarly, leaders from faith-based, philanthropic, university, business, and municipal groups sponsored a community panel discussion at MSU on diversity and produced a Springfield Metro Area Race/Ethnicity Diversity Index. Findings from the ORSCS support the community's emphasis on Diversity and Civility, as 78.5% of survey respondents agreed or strongly agreed that "a diverse community is important to me." Similarly, 88.9% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that "civility in politics is important for a healthy democracy."

We know that more diverse networks have richer resources and are more innovative and effective at problem solving. We also know that it is difficult for individuals and groups to develop norms of trust and reciprocity with those who are different from them. It is now evident that in order to cultivate civic engagement and civic health we need to invest in bridging social capital and mobilize our region's multiplex structure. This requires:

1. Attracting diverse individuals and groups to our community, and,
2. Creating opportunities for these diverse groups to develop trust and reciprocity among themselves, e.g., Neighbor for Neighbor (N4N), a community effort to minimize economic hardship through a process of inclusive deliberative dialogue and community action.

The Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey Design

We designed the Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey (ORSCS) so that its results can inform policies to successfully address these issues.

Specifically, here are the major changes in the ORSCS:

- We increased the sample size from 799 to 2050, and changed the sampling method to better represent various groups (e.g., younger persons)

It is now evident that in order to cultivate civic engagement and civic health we need to invest in bridging social capital and mobilize our region's multiplex structure.

*Data was collected between
November 2010 and January 2011*

- The scope of the Survey was expanded to include the 10 counties of the Springfield Regional Economic Partnership.
- We used new measures of social networks to determine who is connected to whom, which allows us to measure some types of bonding and bridging social capital.
- We developed specific questions to address trust in government, the perceived importance of diversity, and perceptions of civility in political discourse.
- We used more precise measures of our survey respondents' geographic location.
- We developed questions to identify reasons for in- and out-migration in Springfield.

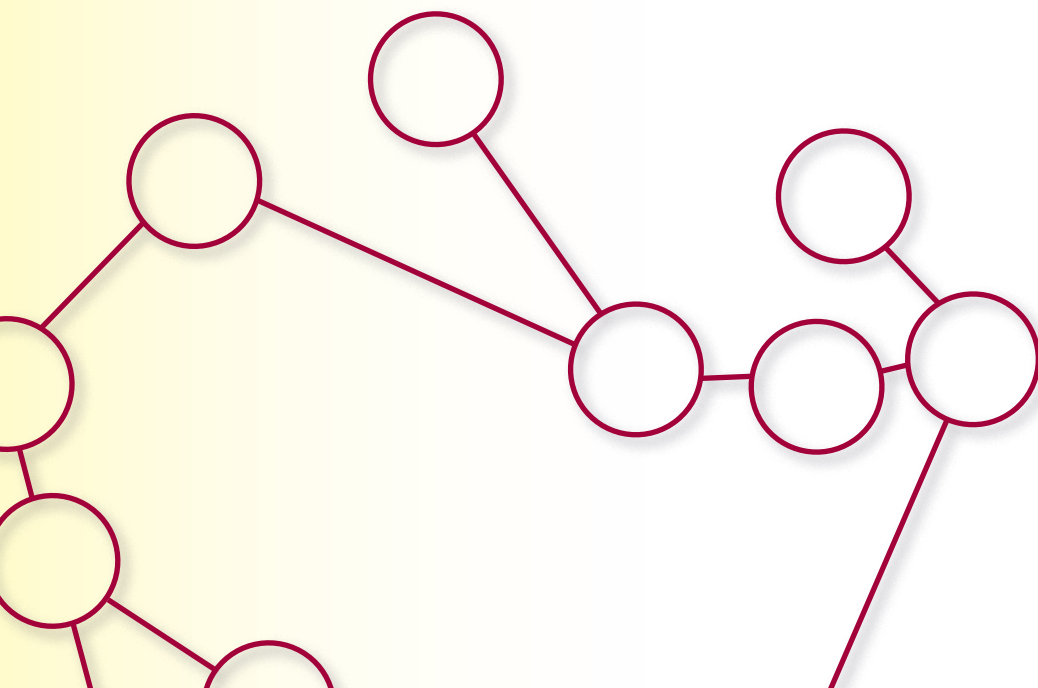
The Ozarks Regional Social Capital Survey provides the community with a rich and extensive source of data that can be used to address a number community issues, such as, reasons for in- and out-migration to Springfield, or the extent and effects of religiosity in the Ozarks. This report, however, will examine the survey data for what they reveal about civic engagement and civic health in the Ozarks – issues identified as problematic by the first survey. In the future, we will produce additional white papers on other community issues.

Data Collection

The survey was administered by telephone to a random sample of 2,050 respondents in ten counties in Southwest Missouri. Respondents were interviewed by trained student interviewers through the Center for Social Science and Public Policy Research (CSSPPR) at Missouri State University. Data was collected between November 2010 and January 2011, and the surveys took between 15 and 25 minutes to complete, on average. The final response rate⁷ for the survey was 33%, which is comparable to response rates for national surveys of similar length.

We also oversampled respondents ages 18 to 34 for the survey. There were several reasons for this. First, we oversampled younger respondents because the results of the first social capital survey were disproportionately influenced by respondents over the age of 65. Second, the issue of “brain drain” (the tendency for young, highly educated people to leave the region) has become an issue of concern for economic development, and we needed a larger representation of these types of respondents in order to examine that issue more effectively.

⁷ The response rate was calculated by taking the number of people who were contacted and agreed to complete a survey by the total number of people contacted (those who agreed and those who refused to participate).



SOCIAL CAPITAL SURVEY

Survey Demographics

Survey Demographics

Table 1 presents some of the demographic characteristics of the sample that was used for this study.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF OZARKS REGIONAL SOCIAL CAPITAL SURVEY
Table 1

COUNTY (N=2028)		GENDER (N=1507)	
Barry	6.1%	Female	67.0%
Christian	14.6%	Male	33.0%
Dade	1.1%	HOME OWNERSHIP (N=2010)	
Dallas	3.3%	Own	89.0%
Greene	33.1%	Rent	11.0%
Lawrence	8.0%	MARITAL STATUS (N=1950)	
Polk	7.1%	Married	81.4%
Stone	7.5%	Separated/Divorced	7.6%
Taney	7.3%	Widowed	3.9%
Webster	11.7%	Never Married	6.8%
EMPLOYMENT (N=1971)		POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (N=1658)	
Full Time	56.3%	Somewhat/Very Conservative	57.1%
Part Time	9.2%	Middle-of-the-Road	27.4%
Laid Off	1.9%	Somewhat/Very Liberal	14.7%
Unemployed	4.1%	PARTY AFFILIATION (N=1656)	
Retired	9.4%	Republican	48.9%
Permanently Disabled	5.2%	Democrat	16.7%
Homemaker	10.9%	Independent	23.2%
Student	3.0%	No Preference	8.6%
EDUCATION (N=1939)		RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE (N=1783)	
High School or Less	28.0%	Never	12.7%
Some College/ Assoc Degree	35.2%	Once a month or less	22.4%
Bachelor's	21.1%	Weekly	44.3%
Graduate/Professional	15.7%	More than once per week	20.5%
INCOME (N=1425)		MAIN NEWS SOURCE (N=1947)	
\$20k or less	9.5%	Television	60.1%
\$20k to \$50k	37.6%	Internet	23.7%
\$50k to \$100k	38.9%	Newspapers	5.8%
\$100k or more	14.0%	Radio	9.8%
AGE (N=1930)			
18 to 34	35.4%		
35 to 49	21.6%		
50 to 64	36.5%		
65 and older	6.5%		

Not all survey respondents answered every question, so the statistics presented in Table 1 are the valid percentages from those who answered the demographic questions. The number of people who responded to each question is reported in parentheses next to the variable name.

Some things stand out in Table 1:

- A plurality (33.1%) of respondents were from Greene County. Christian County had the second highest proportion of respondents (14.6%).
- More than half (56.3%) of respondents were working full-time at the time they took the survey, while 6% were either unemployed or had recently been laid off, and just under 10% of respondents were retired.
- A little more than one third of respondents were between the ages of 18 and 34, and about 37% of respondents were between 50 and 64 years old.

- The survey overrepresented women as opposed to men (67% to 33%). This is common in phone surveys, and we made adjustments for it in our analysis.
- Homeowners are also overrepresented in this sample, as nearly 90% of respondents owned their home.
- Over 80% of the sample is married, 6.8% were never married, and 7.6% were divorced.
- The sample reflects the conservative political perspective of the region as nearly 60% of respondents classified themselves as either conservative or strongly conservative, and nearly 50% were self-identified as Republicans. In contrast, fewer than 15% of respondents considered themselves liberal/very liberal, and only 17% self-identified as Democrats.
- The sample also reflects the religiosity of the region as nearly two-thirds of respondents reported attending church once a week or more.
- Respondents overwhelmingly reported that the television (60.1%) and the Internet (23.7%) were their main source for news. Less than 10% reported that they mainly get their news from the radio, and less than 6% said that they get their news from newspapers.

Table 2 presents a comparison of the demographic characteristics for Greene County respondents from the 2008 survey with the demographic characteristics for Greene County in the 2010 survey.

COMPARISON OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS FOR GREENE COUNTY 2008-2010
Table 2

	2008	2010		2008	2010
AGE	(N = 646)	(N = 715)	GENDER	(N = 650)	(N = 571)
18 to 34	14.7%	33.8%	Female	64.5%	61.8%
35 to 49	26.8%	19.9%	Male	35.5%	38.2%
50 to 64	29.1%	39.4%	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	(N = 739)	(N = 688)
65+	29.4%	6.9%	Protestant	62.0%	57.4%
EDUCATION	(N = 653)	(N = 711)	Catholic	9.1%	10.3%
HS or Less	35.1%	23.1%	Other Christian	17.7%	17.1%
Some College	32.8%	31.4%	Other Religion	3.5%	2.8%
Bachelor's Degree	18.8%	25.9%	No Religion	7.7%	11.0%
Advanced/Professional Degree	13.3%	19.7%	POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION	(N = 642)	(N = 618)
INCOME	(N = 464)	(N = 541)	Democrat	28.3%	22.3%
\$20k or Less	9.5%	8.9%	Republican	42.2%	45.5%
\$20k to \$50k	42.7%	33.5%	Independent	19.8%	23.0%
\$50k to \$100k	33.6%	38.6%	POLITICAL IDEOLOGY	(N = 636)	(N = 619)
\$100k+	14.2%	19.0%	Very Conservative/Conservative	50.5%	51.9%
LABOR FORCE STATUS	(N = 760)	(N = 729)	Moderate	27.0%	29.1%
Full-Time	41.7%	55.4%	Very Liberal/Liberal	21.4%	19.0%
Part-Time	8.7%	10.2%			
Laid Off/Unemployed	3.8%	6.2%			
Retired	31.8%	10.0%			
Disabled	4.3%	3.8%			
Other	9.6%	13.8%			

Table 2 shows that compared to the 2008 respondents, the 2010 Greene County respondents were younger, more highly educated, had higher incomes, were more likely to be employed full-time or part-time, and were more likely to be laid off or unemployed. The rest of the 2010 demographic characteristics are similar to the 2008 characteristics.

The next section reports changes in social capital between 2008 and 2010 for Greene County.

Differences in Social Capital: 2008-2010

In examining how the attitudinal and structural/network dimensions of social capital have changed between 2008 and 2010, we are drawing on only Greene County respondents from the 2010 survey because, in 2008, our sample included only Greene County respondents.

In this section, we compare changes in Springfield to national changes in general trust and trust in government from 2008-2010.

Differences in Levels of General Trust in Greene County and the United States

FIGURE 5

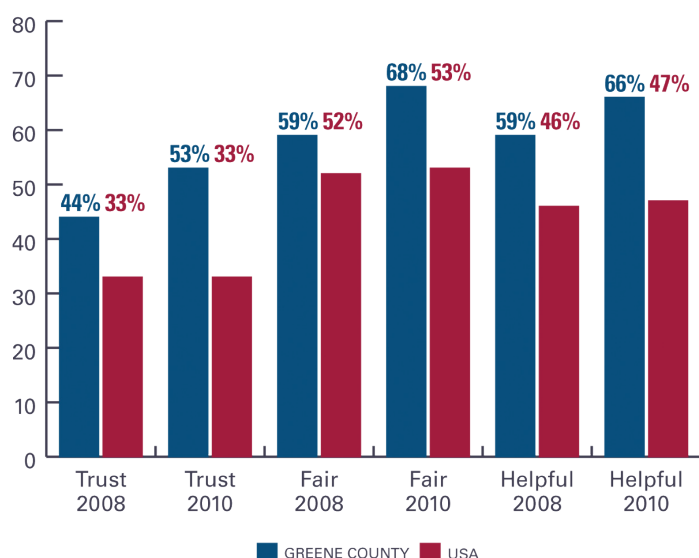


Figure 5. Differences in Levels of General Trust in Greene County and the United States⁸ (2008-2010)

⁸ National data were derived from the 2008 and 2010 General Social Surveys.

- In 2008, the percentage of Greene County respondents saying that “most people can be trusted” was eleven percentage points higher than the national average (44% to 33%). In 2010, there was a nine point increase in the number of respondents who reported that most people can be trusted (from 44% to 53%), while the national average remained unchanged. Overall, these data show that levels of general trust in Greene County are about twenty points higher than the national average.
- Similarly, the percentage of Greene County respondents saying that “most people are fair” increased by about nine percentage points between 2008 and 2010 (from 59% to 68%), while the national average barely increased. The percentage of people in Greene County who believe that people are fair was about seven points higher than the national average in 2008 (59% to 52%), and was nearly fifteen points higher two years later (68% to 53%).
- The percentage of Greene County respondents saying that “people are helpful” was also substantially higher than the national average in both waves of the survey. In 2008, the percentage was about thirteen points higher than the national average (59% to 46%), and in 2010, it was nineteen percentage points higher (66% to 47%).
- There were statistically significant⁹ increases in all three of the general trust measures in Greene County between 2008 and 2010. There was a nine point increase in the percent of respondents who said that, “in general, most people can be trusted” (from 44% to 53%), a nine percentage point increase in the percent of respondents who said that, “most of the time people try to be fair” (from 59% to 68%), and a seven point increase in the percentage of respondents who said, “most of the time people try to be helpful” (from 59% to 66%).

Levels of general trust in Greene County are about twenty points higher than the national average.

There were statistically significant increases in all three of the general trust measures in Greene County between 2008 and 2010.

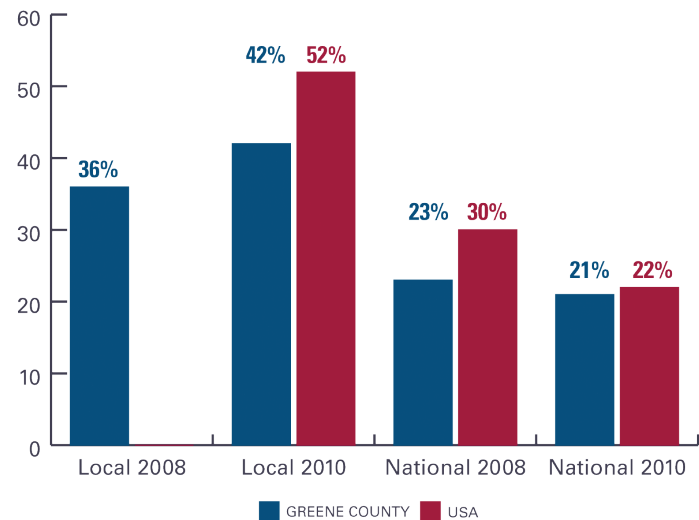
⁹ Statistical significance refers to the probability that the observed differences across categories are a result of random chance. The smaller the probability the more likely it is that the differences observed in the sample actually exist in the population of Greene County. In general, when working with random samples, significance is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the importance of a difference. Importance can also be determined by examining the strength of the relationship, thus larger differences that are statistically significant are substantively more meaningful than smaller differences that are statistically significant. All of the results reported below are statistically significant, unless otherwise noted.

14 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

The data in Figure 5 indicate that in Greene County, attitudes towards trust, fairness, and helpfulness increased significantly between 2008 and 2010, and were significantly higher than national levels in both years.

Differences in Trust in Local Government and National Government in Greene County, Missouri and in the United States 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 6



In Greene County there was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who said they trust the local government to do what is right “most of the time” or “just about always”

¹⁰ Respondents were asked, “How much of the time do you think you can trust the NATIONAL/LOCAL government to do what is right?” Possible answers were: just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or hardly ever? The numbers reported in Figure 6 represent the percent who responded, “most of the time,” or “just about always.”

¹¹ National data on trust in local government are not available for 2008.

- Generally speaking, trust in government¹⁰ in Greene County is lower than the national average. In 2010, trust in local government in Greene County was ten percentage points lower than the national average (42% to 52%).¹¹ In 2008, trust in national government was seven points lower than the national average (23% to 30%). By 2010 the national average saw an eight percentage point decrease in trust in national government (from 30% to 22%), which was very close to the percentage for Greene County (21%).
- In Greene County there was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who said they trust the local government to do what is right “most of the time” or “just about always” between 2008 and 2010 (from 36% to 42%). There was a slight decline in trust in national government, but it was not statistically significant.

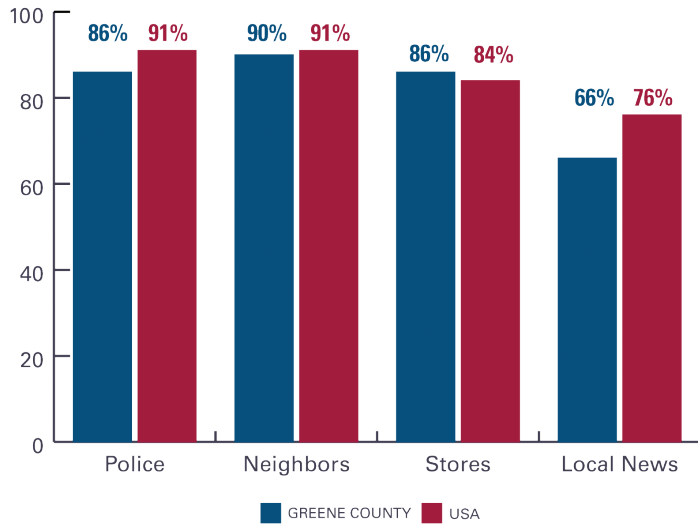
As Figure 5 demonstrates, general trust in Greene County was much higher than in the nation as a whole. However, trust in both local and national government in Greene County was lower than national levels, which is part of the local problem of civic engagement, and is consistent with the local conservative political perspective.

People don’t engage with those they don’t trust. The best that can be said about the findings in Figure 6 is that a comparatively small, but growing, proportion of Greene County residents trust their local government.

Factors Related to Increases in Trust

Differences in Local Trust (2008 - 2010)

FIGURE 7



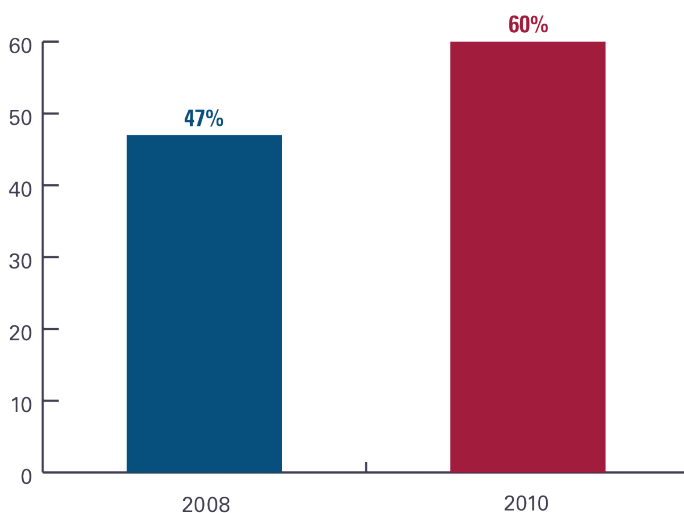
- There were statistically significant increases in local trust in Greene County between 2008 and 2010 for two groups: local police and local news. The percentage of respondents who said they trust the local police “a lot” or “some” increased by five points (from 86% to 91%). The percentage of respondents who said they trust the local news media “a lot” or “some” increased by ten points (from 66% to 76%). Trust in neighbors and in people who work in local stores were unchanged between 2008 and 2010.

Looking at Figures 6 and 7, it is interesting to note the differences in the magnitude of trust in police, neighbors, stores, and local news (from 91% to 76%) compared with levels of trust in government (42% to 21%). Generally, Greene County respondents are a very trusting group, except when it comes to government. Again, this reflects and reinforces the civic engagement problem.

Factors Related to Increases in Trust in Greene County

Difference in Percentage Who Believe Most People Can Be Trusted (Age 50 to 64)
2008 - 2010

FIGURE 8



16 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

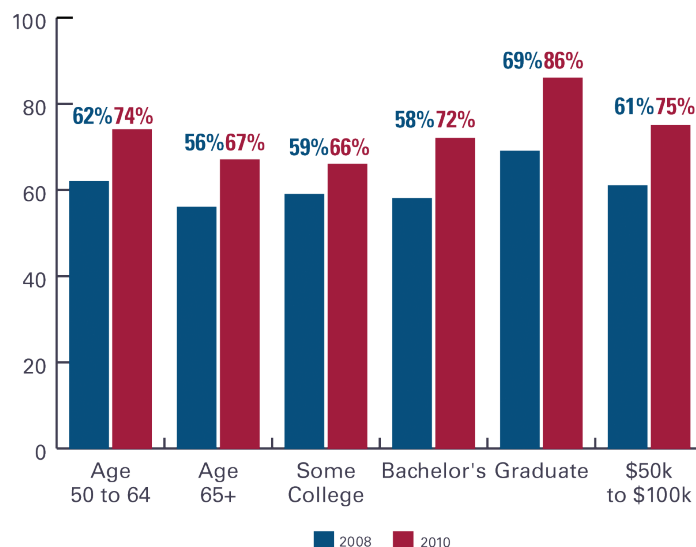
Factors Related to Increases in Trust

- Increases in the percentage of Greene County respondents who said, “Most people can be trusted” were fairly uniform across age, education, and income categories. The sole exception was respondents age 50 to 64, who saw a greater increase in the second wave (from 47% to 60%) than the other age groups that saw no significant increase between the first and second waves of the survey.

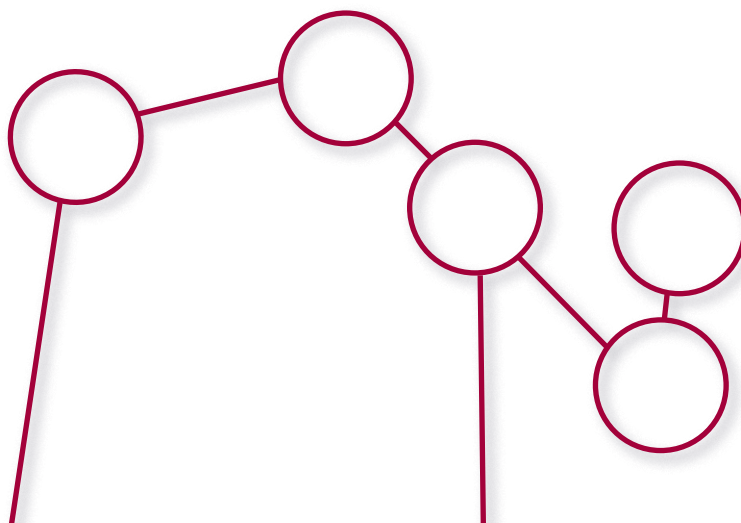
So far, we have been looking at overall measures from our sample. Figure 8 shows that in the case of increases in general trust, those in the 50 to 64 age group accounted for a disproportionate share of the change. In other words, much of the overall change in general trust between 2008 and 2010 (from 44% to 53% reported in figure 3) occurred in the 50 to 64 age group. As we continue to examine differences in the two dimensions of social capital between 2008 and 2010, we will consider separate groups in the data to highlight which demographic groups influenced change the most. By doing so, we are able to identify in what groups the differences in social capital are the most substantial.

Difference in Percentage Who Believe that Most People are Fair 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 9

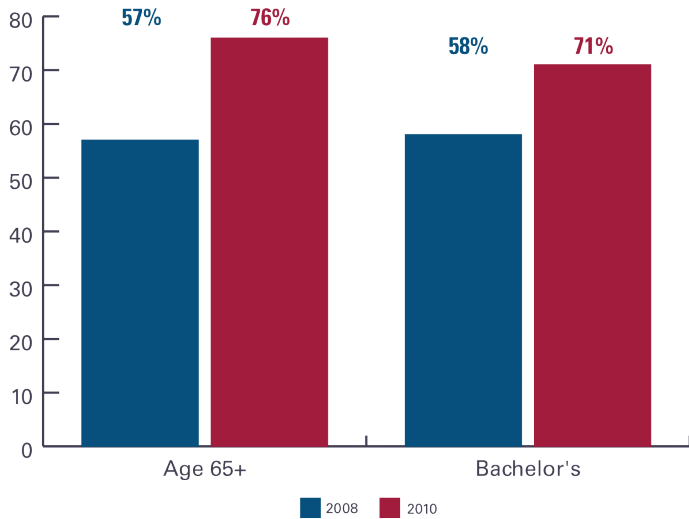


- Unlike the belief that most people can be trusted, increases between 2008 and 2010 in the percentage of respondents who believe that most people are fair differed across age, education, and income. Older, more highly educated respondents, and those who had incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000 showed more differences than other groups. There were not significant increases in the belief that people are fair among younger, less educated, low income respondents.



Difference in Percentage Who Believe that People Try to be Helpful 2008 - 2010

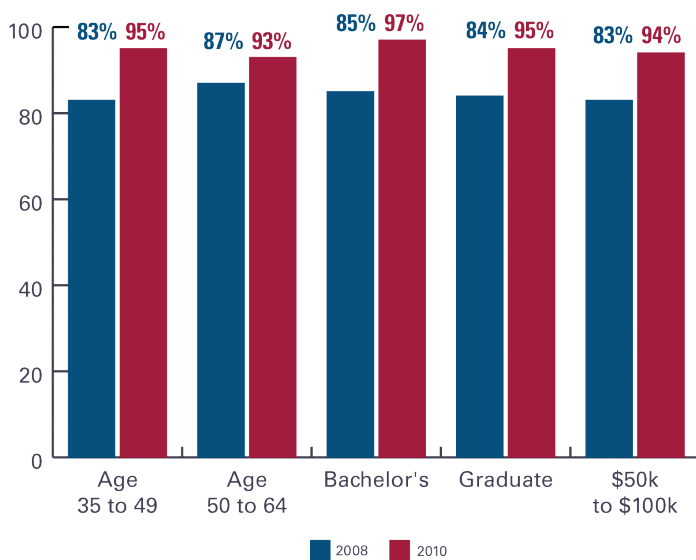
FIGURE 10



- Changes in the belief that people try to be helpful were driven primarily by respondents age sixty-five and older, and by respondents with Bachelor's degrees.

Differences in Trust in Local Police 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 11



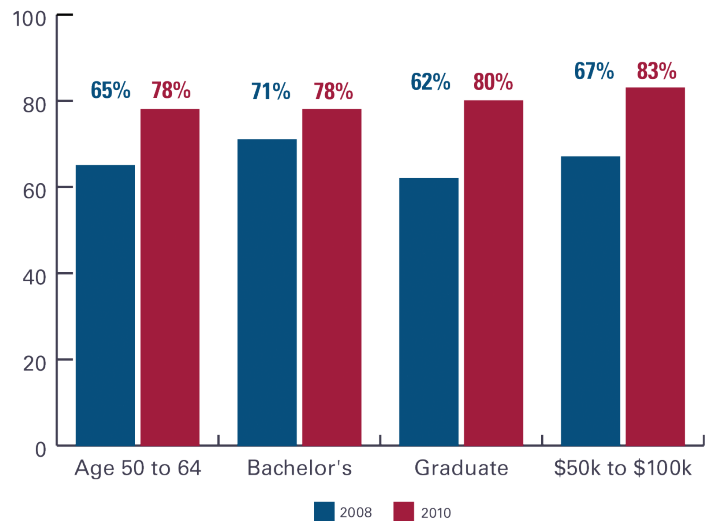
- The increase in trust in local police differed by age, education, and income. Specifically, respondents age thirty-five to sixty-four, respondents with Bachelor's degrees and higher, and more affluent respondents with incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000, all experienced significant increases in trust in police.

18 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

Factors Related to Increases in Trust

Differences in Trust in
Local News Media 2008 - 2010

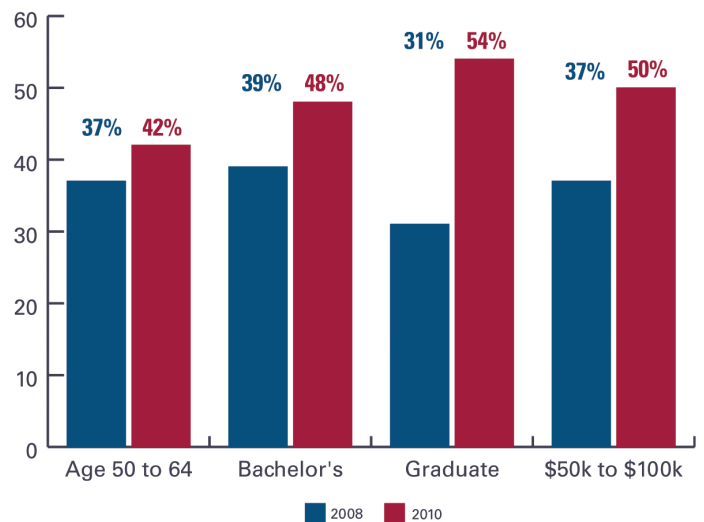
FIGURE 12



- Significant differences in trust in local news media occurred between 2008 and 2010 among respondents age fifty to sixty-four, respondents with Bachelor's degrees and graduate or professional training, and respondents with household incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000.

Differences in Trust in Local Government
2008 - 2010

FIGURE 13

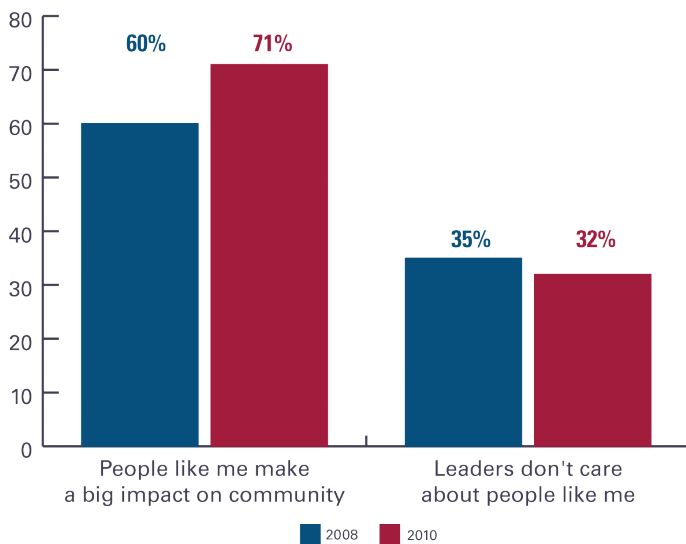


- The increase in trust in local government was greatest for respondents aged 50 to 64, respondents with Bachelor's degrees and graduate or professional training, and respondents with household incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000.

Here, we describe factors related to changes in attitudes and behaviors related to civic engagement.

Differences in Levels of Efficacy and Alienation 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 14

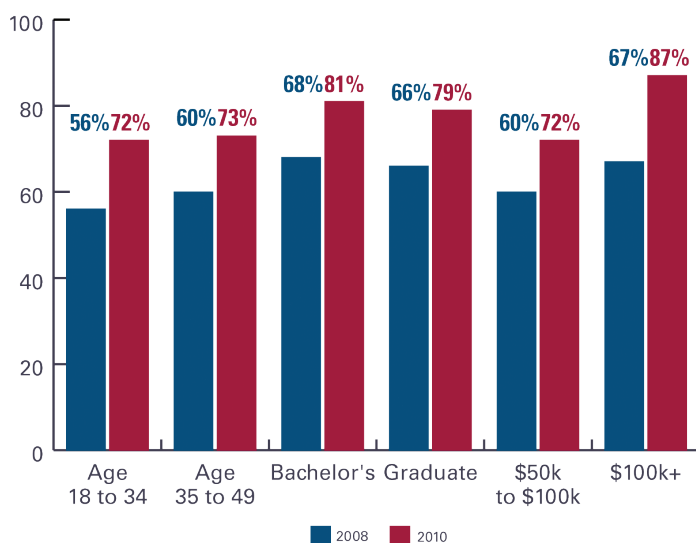


- Overall, levels of efficacy increased and levels of alienation decreased in Greene County between 2008 and 2010. There was a significant increase in the percentage of respondents who said that they could make “a moderate impact” or “a big impact” on their community (60% to 71%). There was also a significant decline in the percentage of respondents who “agreed” or “strongly agreed” that local leaders don’t care about people like them (from 35% to 32%).

There was also a significant decline in the percentage of respondents who “agreed” or “strongly agreed” that local leaders don’t care about people like them.

Factors Related to Differences in Efficacy 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 15



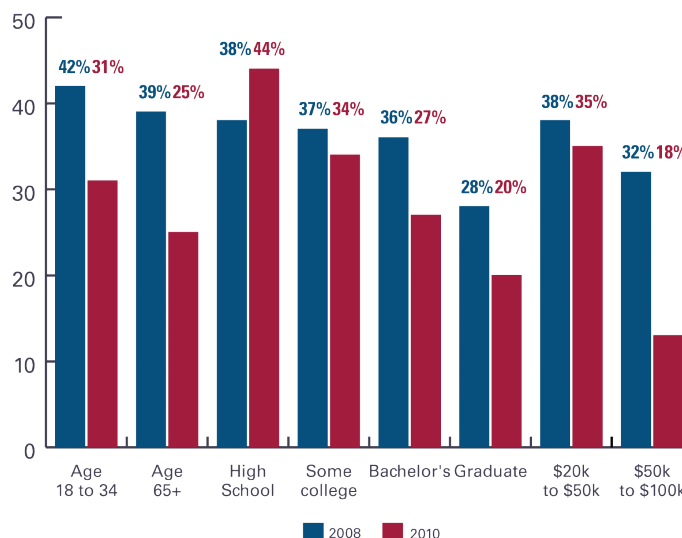
- Changes over time in perceived efficacy differed by age, education, and income. Greene County respondents between age eighteen and forty-nine saw significant increases in efficacy, as did respondents with Bachelor’s degrees and graduate or professional training, and respondents with household incomes \$50,000 and higher. It is noteworthy that each of these groups saw double-digit increases between waves one and two of the survey.

20 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

Factors Related to Increases in Trust

Factors Related to Differences in Alienation
2008 - 2010

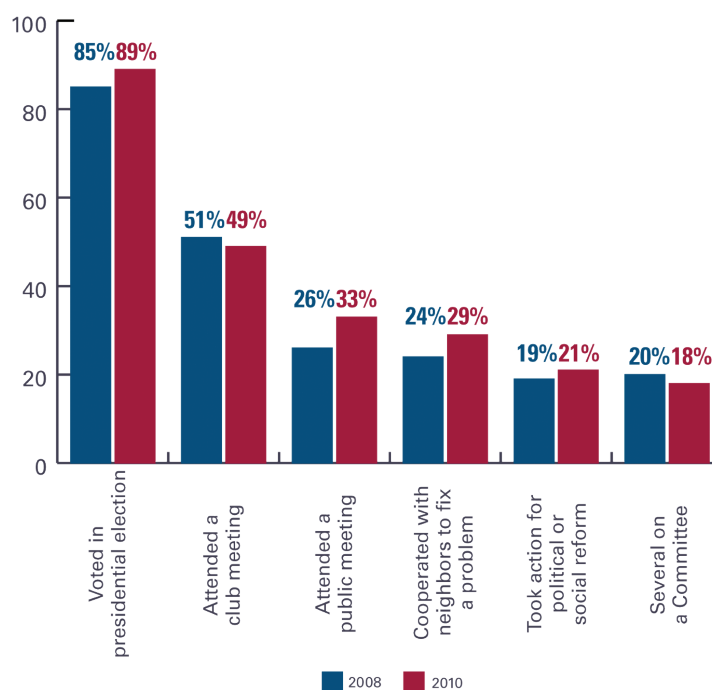
FIGURE 16



The decrease in alienation was also stratified by age, education, and income. The youngest and oldest respondents saw significant decreases in alienation, as did respondents with some college, a Bachelor's degree, and graduate or professional training, as well as respondents with household incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000 and \$50,000 to \$100,000. Respondents with a high school diploma or less actually saw a significant increase in alienation between the first and second wave of the survey.

Differences in Levels of Civic Participation
2008 - 2010

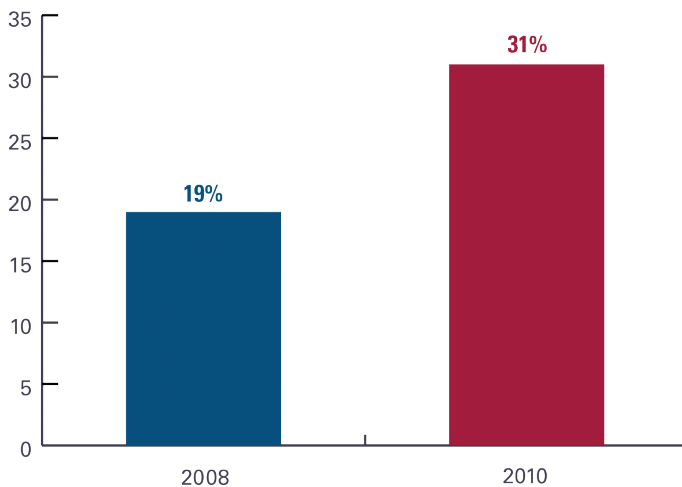
FIGURE 17



- There were significant increases in two types of civic participation. There was a seven percentage point increase in respondents who said that they attended one or more public meetings in the past year (from 26% to 33%), and there was a five point increase in respondents who said that they cooperated with neighbors to fix a problem (from 24% to 29%). There was little change in the other four measures of civic participation.

Factors Related to Differences in Percent Who Attended a Public Meeting (Age 65+) 2008 - 2010

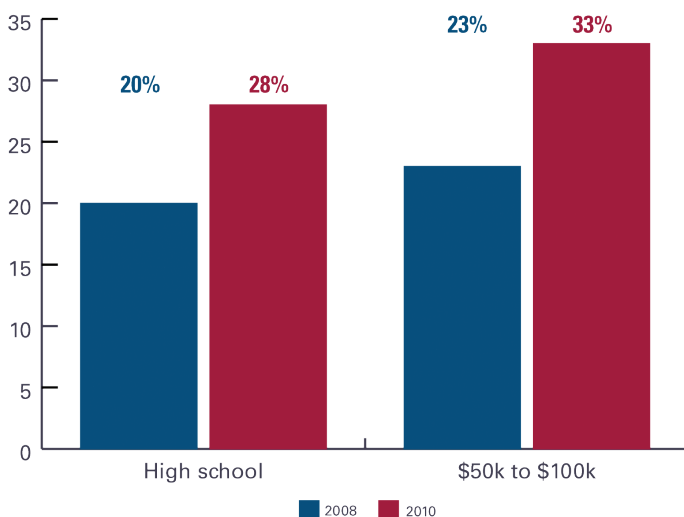
FIGURE 18



- Increases in the percentage of respondents who attended at least one public meeting were fairly uniform across levels of age, education, and income. The sole exception is for respondents age sixty-five and older, who were significantly more likely to have experienced an increase in public meeting attendance than the other age groups.

Factors Related to Differences in Neighborhood Cooperation 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 19



There were significant increases in two types of civic participation.

There was a seven percentage point increase in respondents who said that they attended one or more public meetings in the past year and a five point increase in respondents who said that they cooperated with neighbors to fix a problem.

22 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

Factors Related to Increases in Trust

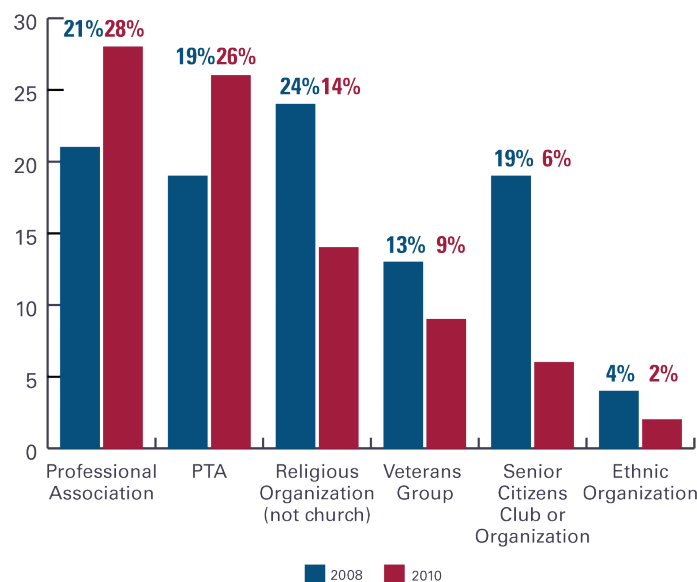
The increase in cooperation with a neighbor to fix something in the neighborhood was disproportionately concentrated among respondents with a high school diploma or less education.

- The increase in cooperation with a neighbor to fix something in the neighborhood was disproportionately concentrated among respondents with a high school diploma or less education, and by respondents earning between \$50,000 and \$100,000.

Here, we describe the differences in group membership in Springfield from 2008 to 2010.

**Differences in
Group Membership 2008 - 2010**

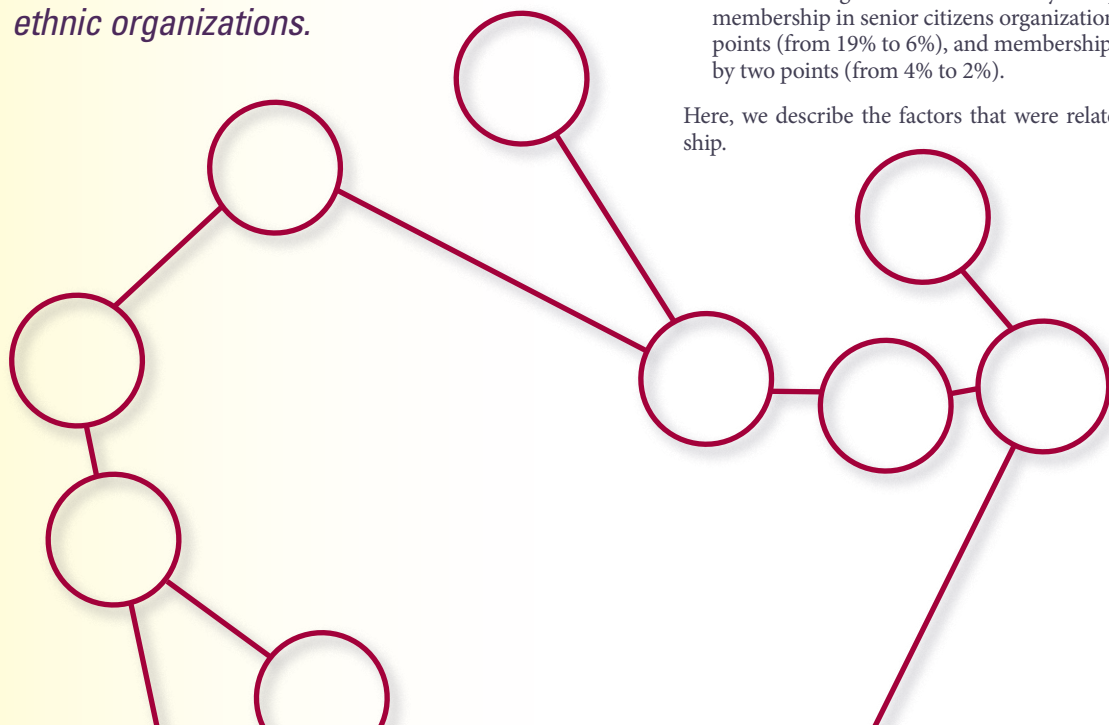
FIGURE 20



Membership in professional organizations and PTA increased, and declined in religious (beside place of worship), veterans, senior citizen and ethnic organizations.

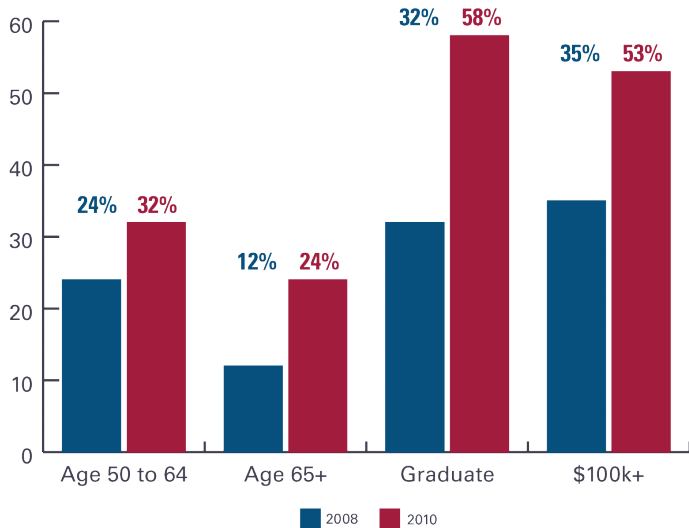
- There were significant changes in membership in six types of organizations. Membership increased in two of the six types of organizations. Membership in professional organizations increased by seven percentage points (from 21% to 28%), and membership in PTA increased by seven percentage points (from 19% to 26%). The remaining four types of organizations saw declines in membership between 2008 and 2010. Membership in religious organizations (besides place of worship) declined by ten percentage points (from 24% to 14%), membership in veterans organizations declined by four percentage points (from 13% to 9%), membership in senior citizens organizations declined by thirteen percentage points (from 19% to 6%), and membership in ethnic organizations declined by two points (from 4% to 2%).

Here, we describe the factors that were related to differences in group membership.



Factors Related to Differences in Membership in Professional Associations 2008 - 2010

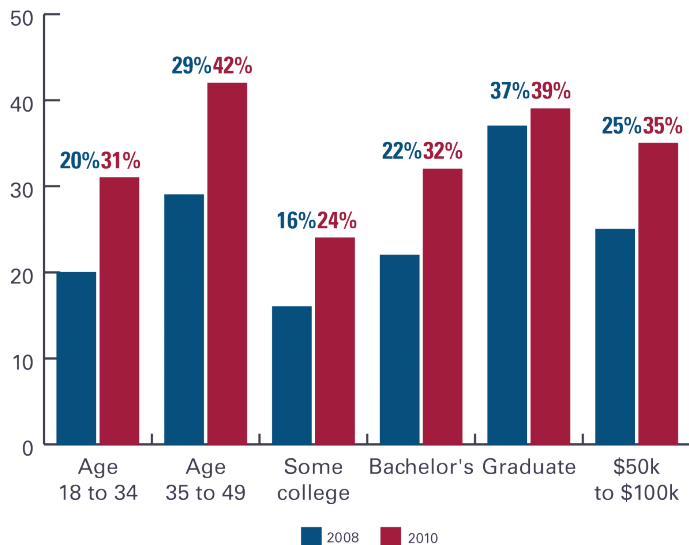
FIGURE 21



- Positive changes in membership in professional association memberships was much more common among older, more highly educated respondents, with household incomes greater than \$100,000.

Factors Related to Differences in Membership in PTA 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 22



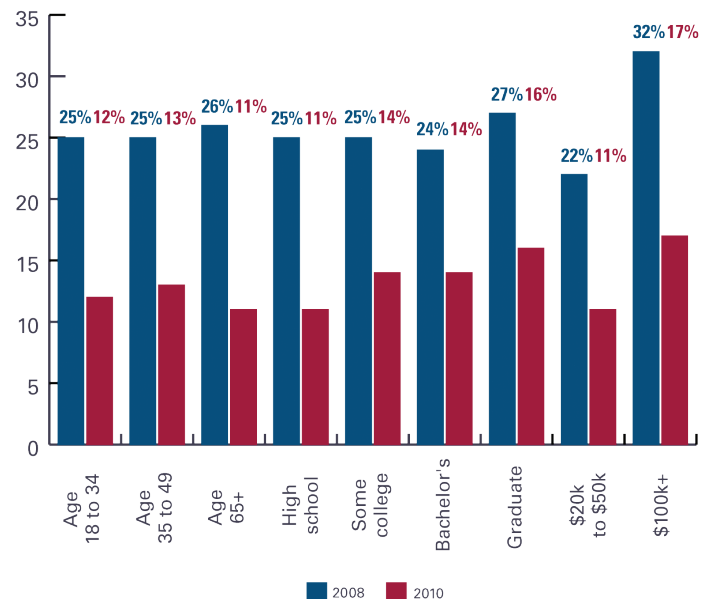
- The increase in membership in parents' groups and associations, such as the PTA, was greatest for respondents between the ages of eighteen and forty-nine, respondents with higher levels of education, and respondents with incomes between \$50,000 and \$100,000.

24 DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL: 2008 - 2010

Factors Related to Increases in Trust

Factors Related to Differences in Membership in Religious Organizations 2008 - 2010

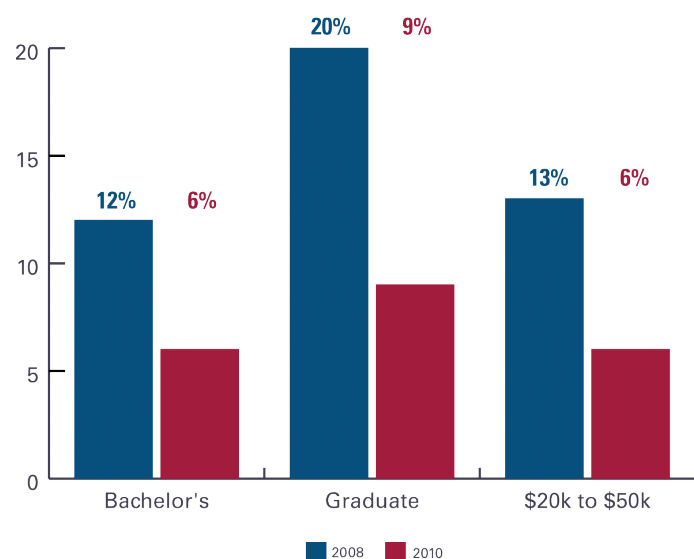
FIGURE 23



- Participation in religious organizations other than the respondents' place of worship saw significant declines for three out of four age groups, across all education levels, and for respondents with household incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000, and with incomes greater than \$100,000.

Factors Related to Differences in Membership in Veteran's Groups 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 24

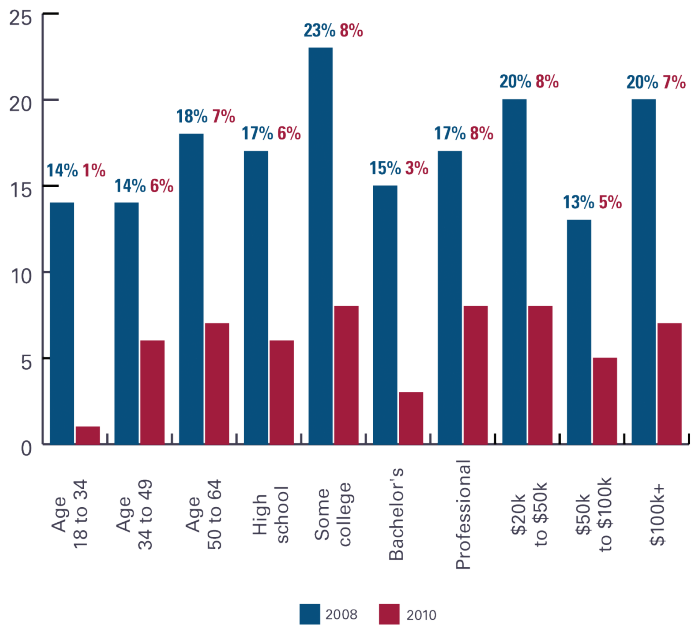


- Membership in veteran's groups declined significantly for more highly educated respondents with Bachelor's degrees and graduate or professional

training, and for respondents with household incomes between \$20,000 and \$50,000.

Factors Related to Differences in Membership in Senior Citizens Groups 2008 - 2010

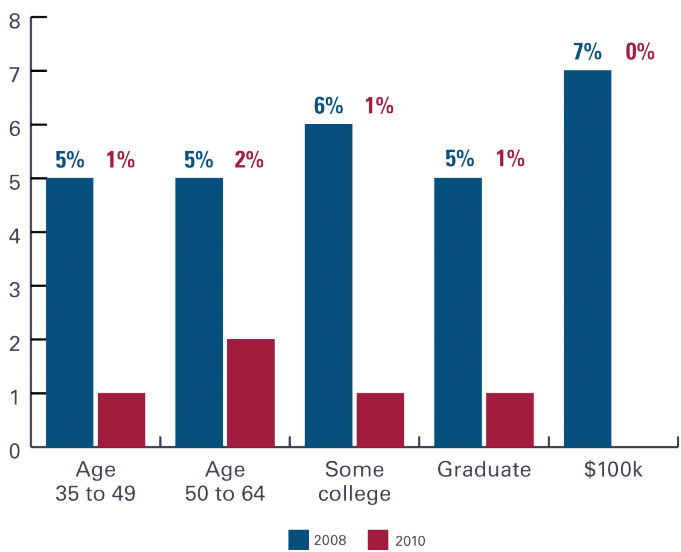
FIGURE 25



- There were steep declines in membership in senior citizen groups for all but the oldest age group, across all levels of education, and for all but the lowest income group.

Factors Related to Differences in Membership in Race/Ethnic Organizations 2008 - 2010

FIGURE 26



26 SUMMARY OF CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL

Attitudinal Dimension of Social Capital

- The decline in membership in race/ethnic organizations occurred among respondents between the ages of thirty-five and forty-nine and fifty to sixty-four, as well as among more highly educated respondents, and respondents with household incomes greater than \$100,000.

Summary of Changes in Social Capital 2008 - 2010

Attitudinal Dimension of Social Capital

In terms of the attitudinal dimension of social capital (trust, fairness, and helpfulness), we found significantly higher levels of trust, fairness, and helpfulness in Greene County in 2010 than in 2008, and higher levels than in the nation as a whole. While these general trends would reflect well on civic health in the county, we found something different when we looked at subgroups separately. Much of the positive change in attitudes came from older, wealthier, and more educated respondents, and similar differences over time were not observed among younger, poorer, and less educated persons.

It is also noteworthy that trust in local police, neighbors, stores, and local news was relatively high, and actually increased for police and local news. In contrast, while trust in local government increased 6 percentage points (from 36% to 42%), the magnitude of that trust is roughly half that for police (91%), neighbors (91%), stores (84%), and local news (76%). However, while the magnitude of trust in local government was significantly lower than other forms of local trust, the percentage of change between 2008 and 2010 was greater, as the 6 point increase in trust in local government represents a 16.67% increase in 2010 relative to 2008. The magnitude of trust in national government is half as much at 21%, than local trust at 42%. In addition, Greene County respondents have less trust in both local government and national government than national respondents. So, what the survey data reveal is that, generally, Greene County residents are a very trusting group, except when it comes to trusting government.

The survey had two additional attitudinal questions that addressed the subjective dimension of civic engagement. One addressed social efficacy (people like me make a big impact on the community), and the other measured alienation (leaders don't care about people like me). Efficacy increased from 60% in 2008 to 71% in 2010, a significant and positive change. Alienation also declined from 35% in 2008 to 32% in 2010, another significant and positive change. But changes in efficacy and alienation both fit the larger general trend of being stratified by income and education. Those with more education and income were the ones with increasing efficacy and declining alienation. Other demographic groups were not a part of the overall positive attitudinal change. For example, those with a high school diploma or less actually experienced an increase in alienation from 38% in 2008 to 44% in 2010.

Group Membership Dimension of Social Capital

Group membership is a central dimension of social capital and provides the sinews that constitute a community's network structure. There were significant differences in Greene County group membership between 2008 and 2012. Membership in professional associations increased from 21% in 2008 to 28% in 2010, and PTA membership also increased from 19% in 2008 to 26% in 2010. These are significant and healthy changes, but like many of the attitudinal changes, group membership increases are driven by those with high levels of education and income.

Much of the positive change in attitudes came from older, wealthier, and more educated respondents, and similar differences over time were not observed among younger, poorer, and less educated persons.

Greene County residents are a very trusting group, except when it comes to trusting government.

Those with more education and income were the ones with increasing efficacy and declining alienation.

Changes in Levels of Civic Participation

Four groups saw differences in membership between 2008 and 2010, which raises concerns about civic health in Greene County. Membership in religious organizations other than one's place of worship was 24% in 2008, and it was 14% in 2010. What is disturbing about this is how evenly the difference is spread across different groups in the County. Membership in senior citizens organizations was 19% in 2008, and only 6% in 2010, and, like the differences in religious organizations (non-church), the differences were spread evenly across numerous groups. These widespread, large differences in membership across the county are a cause for concern.

Two other groups, veterans groups and ethnic organizations, saw a decline in their membership; however, the declines were not as steep or widespread as those in religious groups and senior's groups. Veteran's group membership declined from 13% in 2008 to 9% in 2010. What is notable here is that a significant amount of the decline involved respondents with Bachelor's or graduate education. Ethnic organization membership decline was relatively small, falling from 4% in 2008 to 2% in 2010. Much of the membership decline was driven by wealthy, educated respondents.

As we examine group membership in Greene County, it is important to recognize how central religion is in generating associational ties. Although church membership rates showed no statistically significant difference between the two surveys, its magnitude is substantively very important. In 2010 65% of respondents were members of a church and attend services once a week or more, and 35% of respondents were members of a Bible study group. These membership rates are much higher than those for secular groups, such as professional associations (28%) and the PTA (26%), and they reveal how important religion is in bringing people together in Greene County.

Changes in Levels of Civic Participation

Two types of civic participation increased in Greene County between 2008 and 2010: public meeting attendance, and cooperating with neighbors to fix a problem. The proportion of respondents who attended a public meeting was 26% in 2008, and it was 33% in 2010. The difference was fairly evenly distributed among different groups, although differences between respondents age 65 and older were the largest. The percentage of respondents who cooperated with neighbors to fix a problem increased from 24% in 2008 to 29% in 2010. Interestingly, the increase was greatest for those with a high school diploma or less education and those earning between \$50,000 and 100,000. Three other types of civic participation: attended a club meeting, took action for reform and served on a committee, showed no significant difference between the first and second surveys.

One major issue the ORSCS was designed to address was how Greene County could have high levels of social capital and low levels of civic engagement. In this section we have examined changes in two major dimensions of social capital: the attitudinal and the associational. What the survey findings reported here suggest is that the associational dimension is more problematic than the attitudinal dimension. Attitudes of trust, helpfulness and fairness all increased significantly between 2008 and 2010, and those increases occurred disproportionately for people at the upper-end of the socioeconomic ladder. In contrast, group membership was lower for two thirds of the groups listed on the survey.

These widespread, large differences in membership across the county are a cause for concern.

What is notable here is that a significant amount of the decline involved respondents with Bachelor's or graduate education.

Two types of civic participation increased in Greene County between 2008 and 2010: public meeting attendance, and cooperating with neighbors to fix a problem.

What the survey findings reported here suggest is that the associational dimension is more problematic than the attitudinal dimension.

¹² As was noted in the executive summary socioeconomic status (SES) is an indicator of social position based on an individual's level of education, income, and prestige. It is used in the social sciences to study how social position is related to a number of outcomes, including social capital and civic engagement.

Social Capital and Civic Engagement

In this section we summarize a number of factors that are related to civic engagement in the Ozarks. Specifically, we examine how respondents' social capital (their levels of trust, their membership in voluntary associations, and the characteristics of their networks), and respondents' socioeconomic status¹² (education level, income level, and occupational prestige) are related to their civic engagement (their feelings of efficacy and alienation, and their civic behaviors). Additionally, we examine the ways that the attitudinal and structural components of social capital are related to each other and to respondents' SES. The results in this section are based on the total 10-county sample.

MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL, CIVIC ENGAGEMENT, AND SES
Table 3

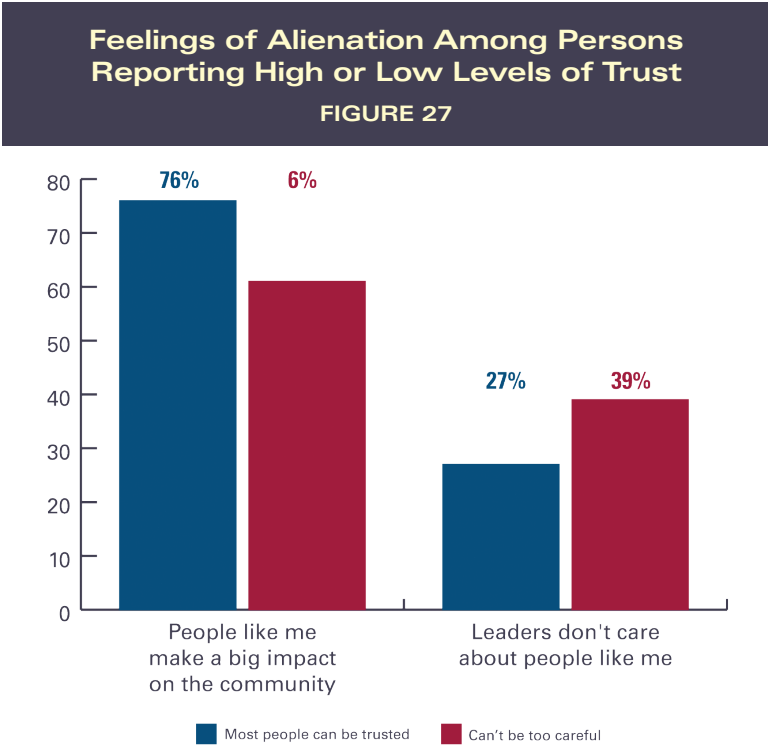
	Dimension
SOCIAL CAPITAL	
Trust	Attitudinal dimension
Voluntary associations	Structural dimension
Network characteristics	Structural dimension
CIVIC ENGAGEMENT	
Civic behaviors	Behavioral dimension
Efficacy	Attitudinal dimension
Alienation	Attitudinal dimension
SES	
Education	
Income	
Occupational prestige	

To fully understand the dynamics between social capital and civic engagement, it is important to understand how all of the dimensions are interrelated.

Trust and Civic Engagement

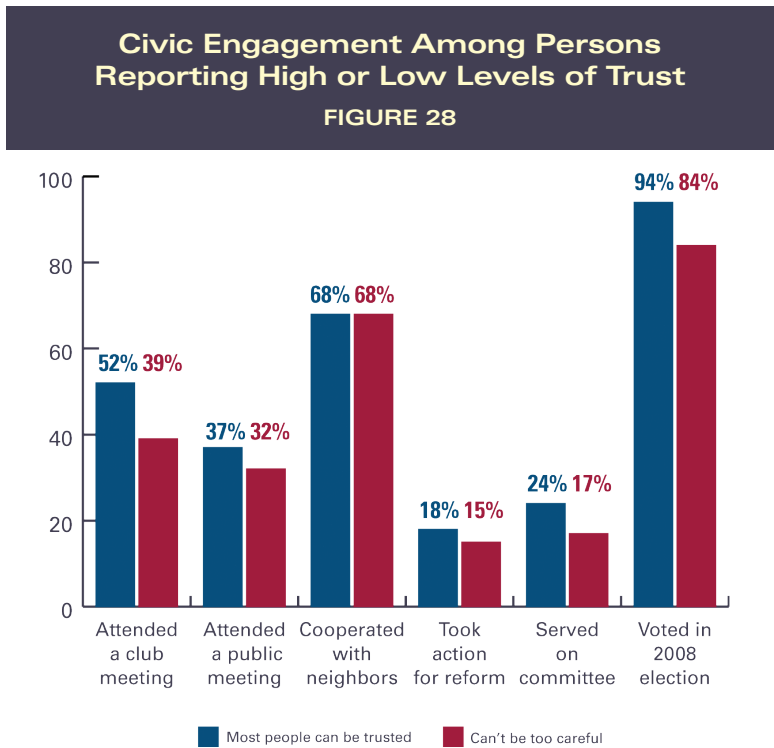
In this section, we summarize the relationship between trust and the attitudinal and behavioral components of civic engagement.

Figure 27 shows how one of the attitudinal dimensions of social capital, trust, is related to two attitudinal dimensions of civic engagement, efficacy and alienation.



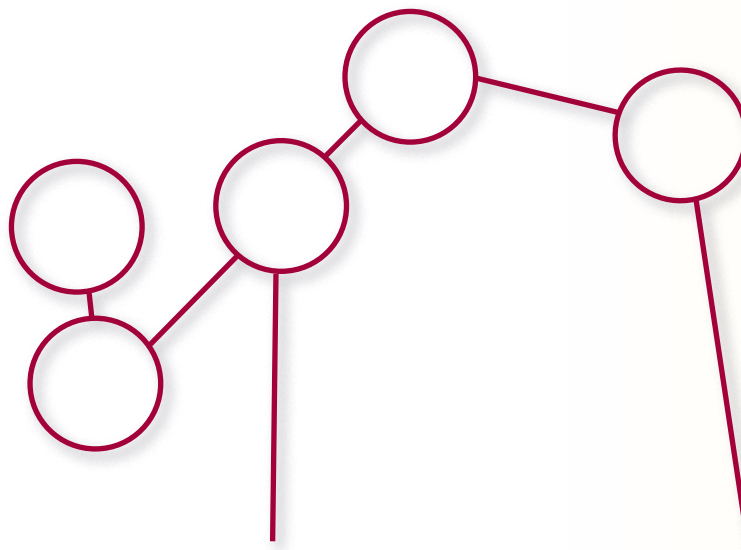
- The results clearly show a strong association between these attitudinal dimensions. Respondents who believe that most people can be trusted were more likely to agree or strongly agree that “People like me make a big impact on the community” than respondents who said that you can’t be too careful when dealing with people (76% to 61%). Similarly, more trusting respondents were less likely to agree with the statement that “Community leaders don’t care about people like me” than respondents who were less trusting (27% to 39%).

Figure 28 shows the relationship between trust, an attitudinal dimension of social capital, and six behavioral aspects of civic engagement.



- Respondents who were more trusting of people in general had higher levels of civic engagement for five out of the six indicators, the sole exception being cooperating with neighbors, where those who were more trusting were just as likely to have cooperated with their neighbors as those who were less trusting.

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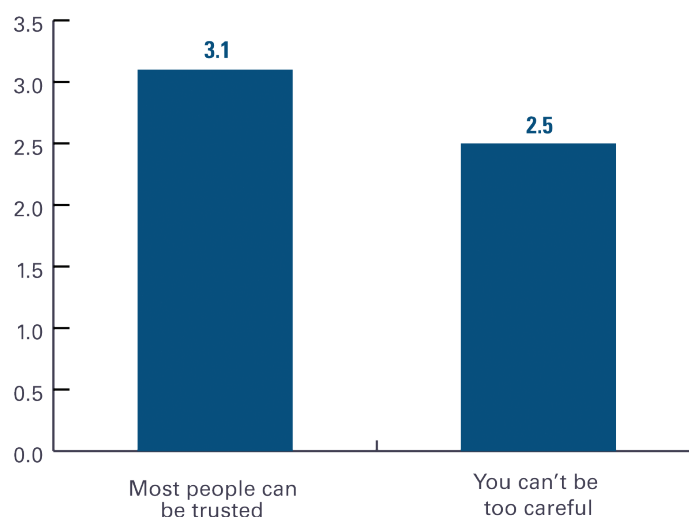


Voluntary Association and Trust

Figure 29 shows the relationship between trust, the attitudinal dimension of social capital, and membership in voluntary associations, a structural dimension of social capital.

Voluntary Association by Level of Trust

FIGURE 29



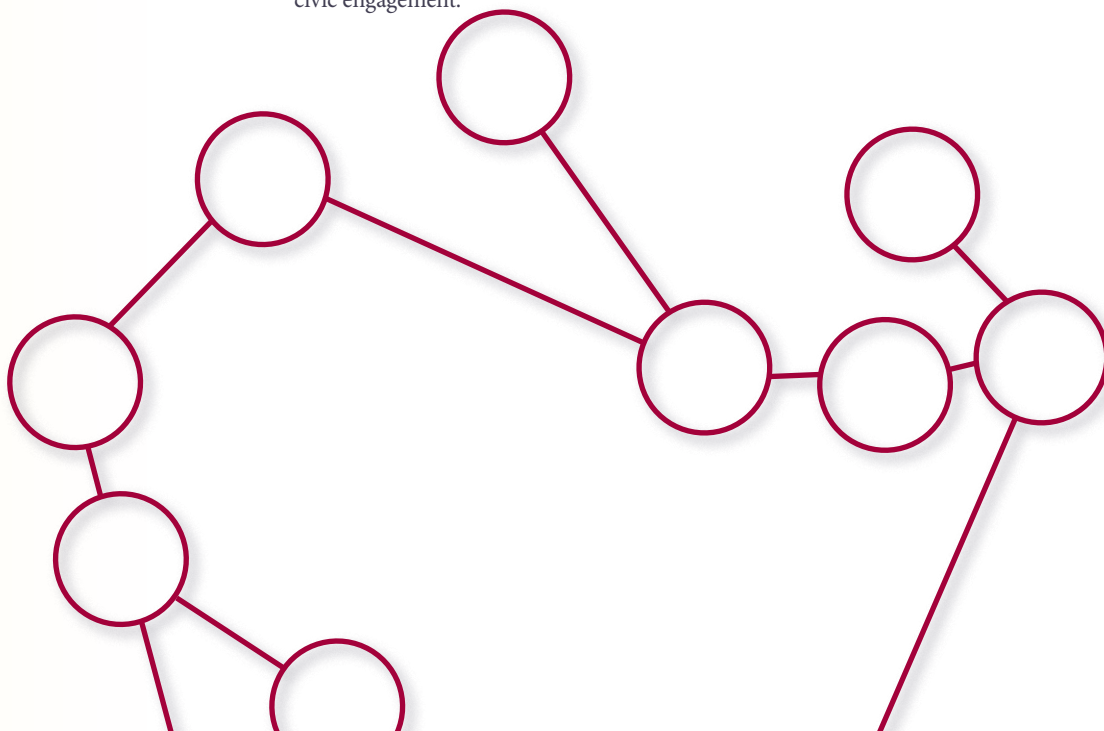
- These results show a positive relationship between the structural and attitudinal dimensions of social capital. On average, respondents who belonged to more voluntary associations were more trusting¹³. Specifically, respondents who believed that most people can be trusted belonged to an average of 3.1 voluntary associations, while those who believed that you can't be too careful when dealing with people belonged to 2.5 voluntary associations.

On average, respondents who belonged to more voluntary associations were more trusting.

¹³ Prior research on the relationship between trust and voluntary association suggests that the relationship between the two is reciprocal. That is, people who are trusting are more likely to participate in voluntary associations, and participation in voluntary associations increases trust. The issue of causality is addressed later in the report.

Voluntary Association and Civic Engagement

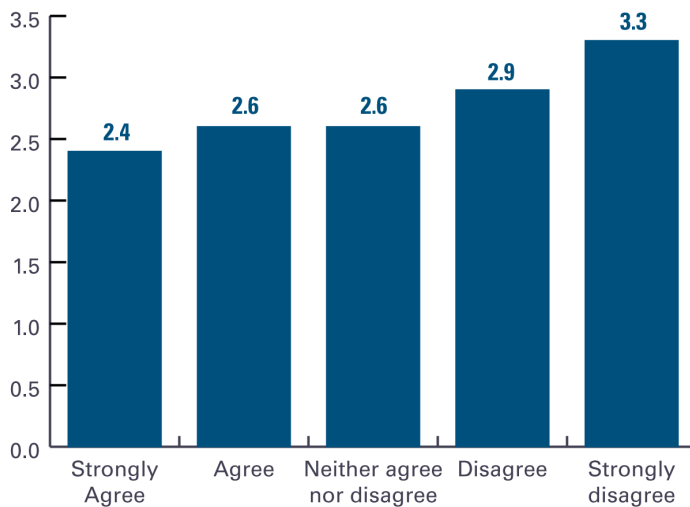
Figure 30 shows the relationship between voluntary association membership, a structural dimension of social capital, and alienation, an attitudinal dimension of civic engagement.



Voluntary Association and Civic Engagement

Number of Memberships in Voluntary Associations by Agreement with Statement, "Community leaders don't care about people like me" (alienation)

FIGURE 30

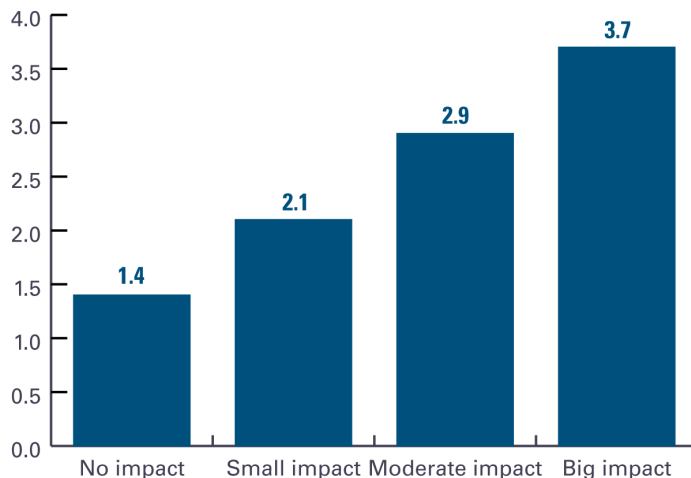


- Respondents who strongly disagreed that community leaders don't care about people like them belonged to about one more voluntary association, on average, than respondents who strongly agreed.

Figure 31 shows the relationship between membership in voluntary associations, a structural dimension of social capital, and efficacy, an attitudinal dimension of civic engagement.

Number of Memberships in Voluntary Associations by Response to Statement, "How much impact do you think people like you can have on the community?" (efficacy)

FIGURE 31

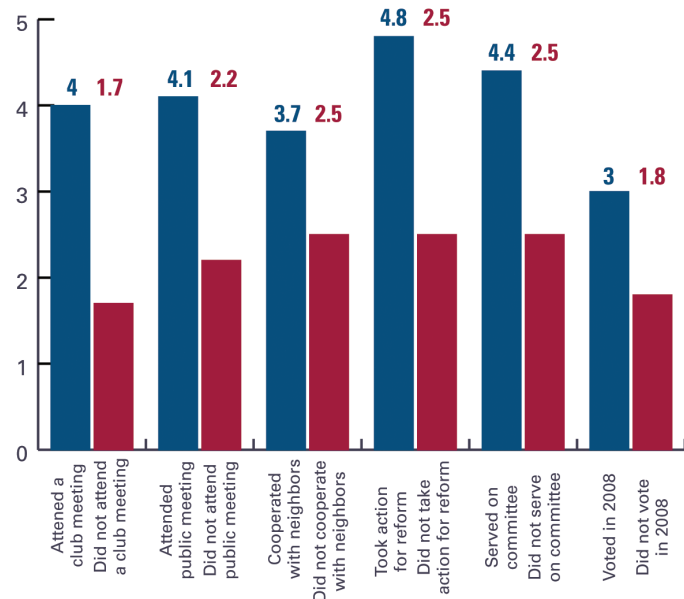


- Respondents who felt that they could make a big impact on the community belonged to an average of 3.7 voluntary associations, compared with only 1.4 memberships for respondents who felt that they could make no impact.

Figure 32 shows the relationship between membership in voluntary associations, a structural dimension of social capital, and the six indicators comprising the behavioral dimension of civic engagement.

Number of Memberships in Voluntary Associations by Civic Behaviors

FIGURE 32



- These results show that there is a clear relationship between membership in voluntary associations and civic behaviors. On average, respondents who belonged to more voluntary associations were more likely to have engaged in each of the civic activities that were measured in the survey.

The preceding analyses highlight that membership in voluntary associations and general trust are interrelated, and that both dimensions of social capital are associated with civic engagement. As you will read below, we suggest that one way to increase civic engagement in the Ozarks is to provide more opportunities for ordinary citizens to interact with diverse populations via membership in voluntary associations.

Characteristics of Respondent Networks

In the first survey, we proposed that network structure could solve the riddle of high social capital and low civic engagement, and we introduced the concepts of bridging and bonding social capital. Since civic and political participation often involves working with diverse groups of people, perhaps Greene County respondents had high amounts of bonding social capital (connections to similar others) and low amounts of bridging social capital (connections to different others). Because we thought it was important to examine the extent to which people were socially linked to different kinds of other people, we devised a way to measure this.

In order to measure and examine how the characteristics of people's social networks influence their levels of civic engagement, we incorporated new questions¹⁴ into the 2010 survey that allowed us to identify four different characteristics of respondents' social networks. Specifically, we measured people's connections to various occu-

¹⁴The new social network questions we used in the survey were based on the "position generator" methodology. For technical information on this methodology, and some examples of how it's been used in other studies, see Nan Lin and Bonnie Erickson's (2008) edited volume *Social Capital: An International Research Program*. Oxford University Press.

pations with different levels of prestige, which provides an indicator of network diversity and one type of bridging social capital¹⁵.

Many important resources are concentrated in particular parts of social structure, and people from various occupational positions have access to different types of resources. Instead of asking about social relationships with particular people, or people with particular resources, we asked about their connections to occupations in which different kinds of resources are concentrated. These types of measures are called “position generators.”

Since work is a major activity that connects people to one another in advanced societies, and is the role most strongly associated with other aspects of a person’s life and social condition, occupations are the first social locations we chose to consider. Occupational prestige is a variable that has been shown to be strongly linked to resource differences. Thus, the more that a person knows people from all levels of the occupational hierarchy, the more likely it is that the person has access to a wide range of potentially useful resources. For example, a person who is friends with a doctor, lawyer, farmer, and mechanic can access a broader range of information and resources than can a person who is friends only with a member of the clergy and a waitress.

We selected fifteen occupations and asked respondents whether they knew anyone in each of the occupations. We asked about a range of occupations in the community, from very high to very low prestige, in order to examine several characteristics of social networks. We chose five occupations with low prestige, five with medium prestige, and five with high prestige. We also gathered information on the nature of the respondent’s access to an occupation. We asked if access was through a relative, a close friend, or an acquaintance in order to measure tie strength. Table 4 provides a summary of the occupations we asked about and descriptive statistics of the responses to the questions.

TYPES OF OCCUPATIONAL CONNECTIONS AND ASSOCIATED
OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE INDICATOR VALUES ¹⁶
Table 4

	Prestige	%
“Do you know anyone who is a/an”	Score	Yes
HIGH PRESTIGE		
Doctor	86	65.7
Lawyer	75	62.5
Clergy	69	62.3
Teacher	65	86.8
Policy maker	61	29.9
MEDIUM PRESTIGE		
Police officer	60	67.2
Business exec	59	65.1
Entrepreneur	44	83.4
Farmer	40	73.9
Mechanic	40	73.4
LOW PRESTIGE		
Carpenter	39	75.8
Cashier	32	69.2
Waiter/waitress	29	63.0
Janitor	22	51.5
Unemployed	--	68.8
MEAN	50.9	66.4

- Table 4 summarizes responses to the fifteen occupational connection questions. Occupational prestige scores (of the people respondents were connected to) ranged from 22 (janitors) to 86 (doctors). Teachers (86.8%) and entrepreneurs (83.4%) were the most common connections that people had, while connections to policy makers (29.9%) were relatively rare.
- It is noteworthy that more than two thirds (68.8%) of respondents knew someone who was unemployed. Of those who knew someone who was unemployed, more than half had an unemployed relative (58.5%), and one quarter had a close friend who was unemployed (26.6%).

¹⁵ As was noted in the executive summary, the term “diversity” is used in two different contexts in this report. One refers to diversity of network connections, and the other refers to demographic diversity in communities. When the social network measures are being discussed, it is in reference to the diversity of network connections.

¹⁶ Survey respondents were also asked what their occupations were and we assigned each respondent a code for either a high-prestige, medium-prestige, or low-prestige occupation using the same criteria as was used for their responses to the occupational connection questions.

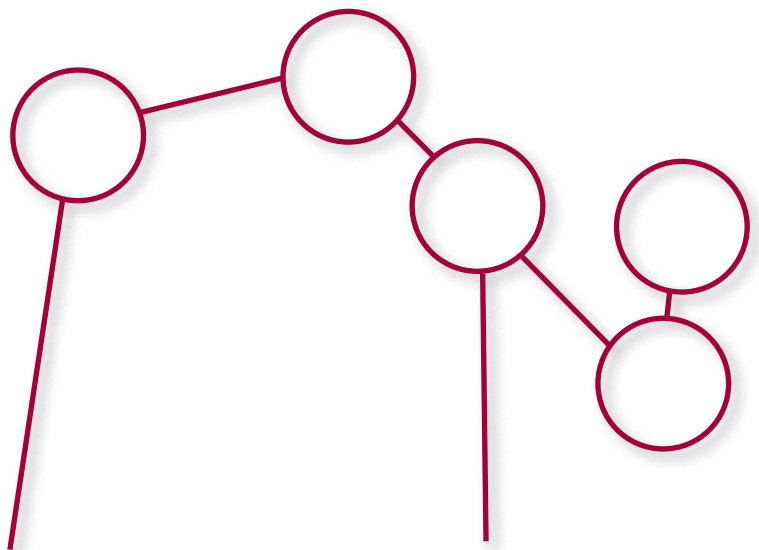
The results of the 2008 Greene County social capital survey suggested that one solution to the riddle of high levels of social capital and low levels of civic engagement involved network structure. Specifically, we proposed that Greene County residents had high levels of bonding social capital and low levels of bridging social capital. Since effective civic engagement often involves working with diverse groups of citizens, it seemed logical that low levels of bridging social capital would inhibit civic engagement. To test this hypothesis, we examined different facets of social connections in the Ozarks. Specifically, we measured four different dimensions of network connections, based on occupational positions.

Four Measures of Network Structure:

1. **Total Number Of Connections To Different Occupations.**
The first is a measure of network diversity, and it was calculated by counting the actual number of connections each respondent had to the 15 different occupations.
2. **Range Of Occupational Prestige Connections.**
The second measures the range of connections to occupations, and it was calculated by subtracting the prestige score of each respondent's lowest occupational connection from the prestige score of the respondent's highest occupational connection.
3. **Highest Occupational Prestige Connection.**
The third is a measure of the highest occupational connections respondents had, which is an indication of the "upper-reachability" of accessible resources through their network ties. It was calculated by identifying each respondent's connection to the occupation with the highest prestige score.
4. **Number Of High Prestige Occupational Connections.**
The fourth is a measure of the total number of high prestige connections respondents had. It was calculated by adding the number of each respondent's connections to the 5 highest prestige occupations.

Basically, we developed these four measures to see how network structure impacts civic engagement. They allow us to capture the multiplexity of network structure in the Ozarks. Another way to view these measures is as a proxy for bridging social capital. In what follows we examine how each of these measures affects factors known to influence civic engagement, such as trust, associations, feelings of efficacy and alienation, and SES.

Below we summarize the four different measures of social networks and summarize how each is related to the other dimensions of social capital, and to civic engagement, as well as how they are stratified by socioeconomic status and age.



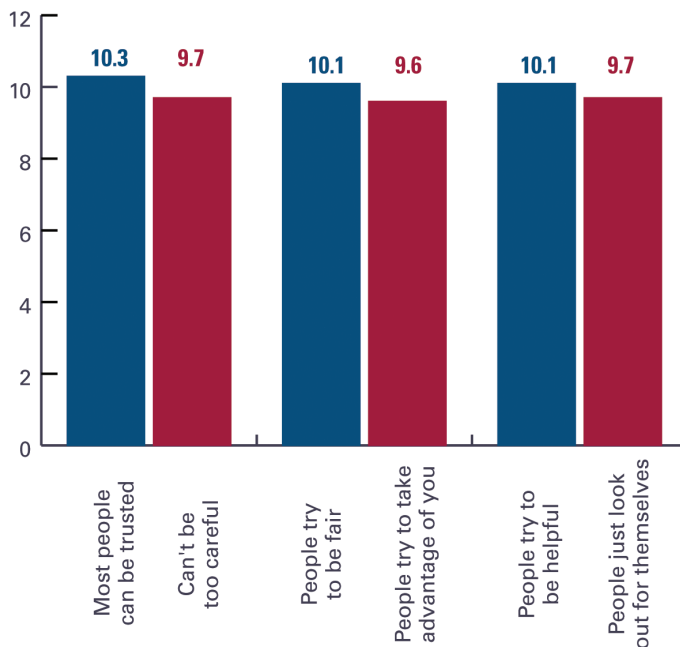
Trust and Network Measures

Trust and Network Measures

In Figures 33 through 36, we summarize the relationship between the four network diversity and structure measures, which comprise a structural dimension of social capital, and three measures of general trust, which are an attitudinal dimension of social capital.

**Total Number of Connections to
Different Occupations by General Trust**

FIGURE 33

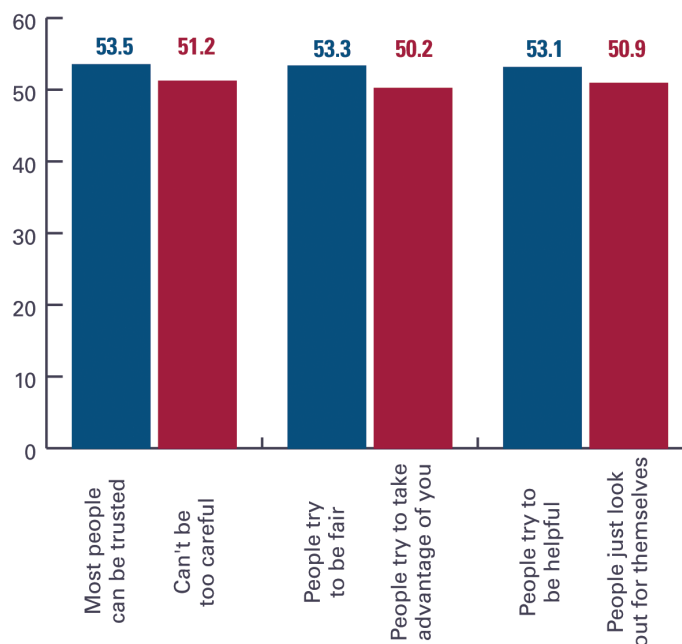


- On average, respondents who said that most people can be trusted had connections to 10.3 of the 15 possible occupations, whereas those who said you can't be too careful only had connections to 9.7 of the possible occupations, a statistically significant difference. Similarly, respondents who said the people try to be fair had connections to 10.1 occupations, whereas respondents who said that people try to take advantage of you only had connections to 9.6 of the occupations, on average. Finally, respondents who said that people try to be helpful had an average of 10.1 connections, and respondents who said that people just look out for themselves had connections to 9.7 occupations. Overall, these results suggest that people who have a greater number of occupational connections are significantly more trusting than those with fewer occupational connections. In other words, these data suggest that having more diverse social networks is associated with high levels of general trust.

People who have a greater number of occupational connections are significantly more trusting than those with fewer occupational connections. In other words, these data suggest that having more diverse social networks is associated with high levels of general trust.

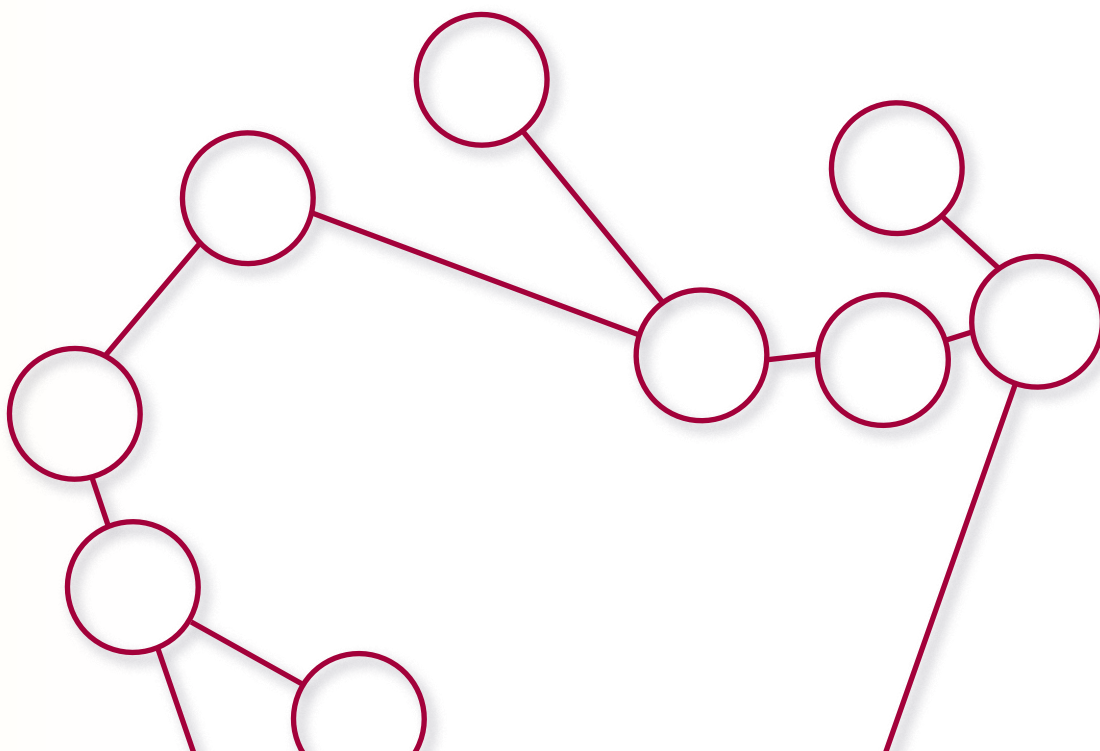
Range of Occupational Prestige Connections
by General Trust

FIGURE 34



People who are connected to a broader range of people distributed across the occupational spectrum are significantly more trusting than those who are connected to others in a narrower range of occupations.

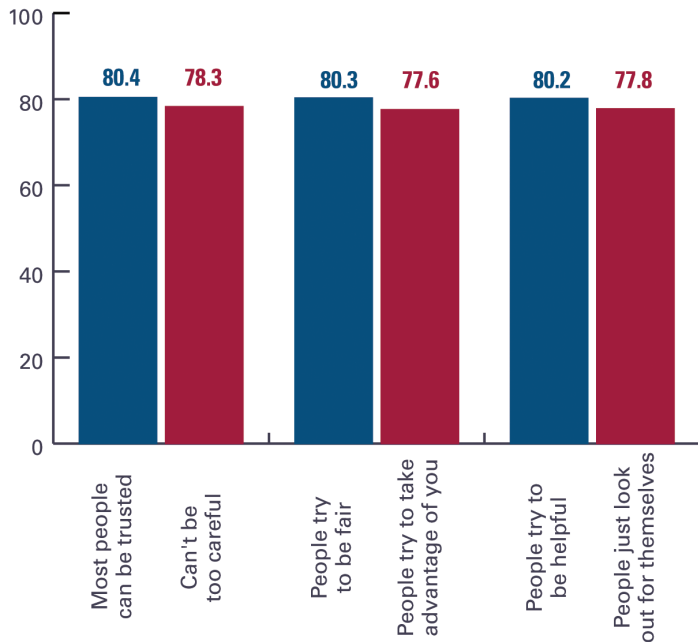
- On average, respondents who said that most people can be trusted had an occupational prestige range of 53.5, and respondents who said that you can't be too careful had an occupational prestige range of 51.2. Similarly, respondents who said that people try to be fair had an occupational prestige range of 53.3, and respondents who said that people try to take advantage of you had an occupational prestige range of 50.2. Finally, respondents who said that people try to be helpful has an occupational prestige range of 53.1, and respondents who said that people just look out for themselves had an occupational prestige range of 50.9. Overall, these results show that people who are connected to a broader range of people distributed across the occupational spectrum are significantly more trusting than those who are connected to others in a narrower range of occupations.



Trust and Network Measures

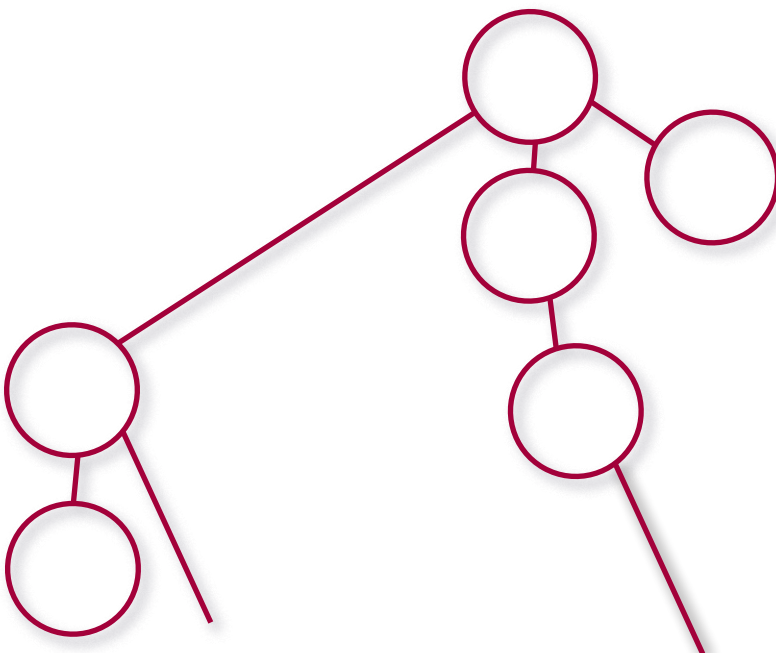
**Highest Occupational Prestige Connection
by General Trust**

FIGURE 35



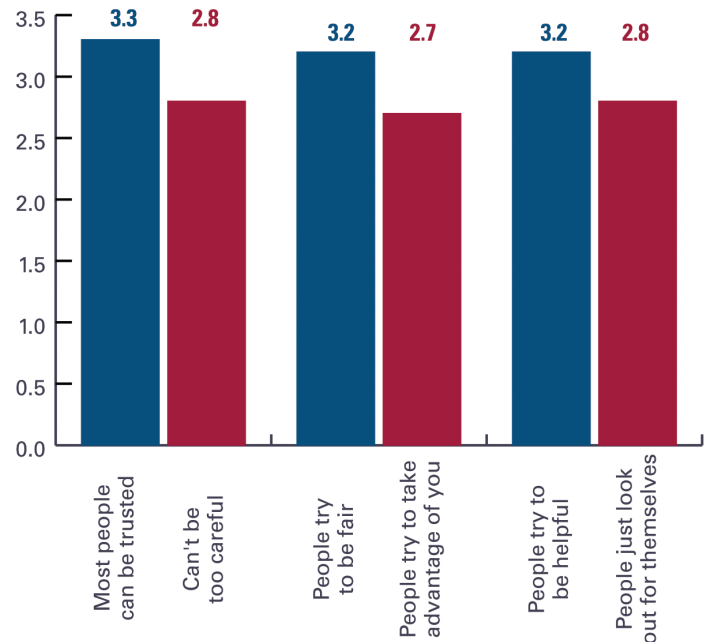
- On average, respondents who said that most people can be trusted had connections to higher prestige occupations than respondents who said you can't be too careful. The same pattern holds for respondents who said that people try to be fair and for respondents who said that people try to be helpful, as they both had connections to higher prestige occupations, on average, than respondents who said people try to take advantage of you and respondents who said people just look out for themselves. Overall, the data shows that people who have connections to people in occupations with higher prestige, on average, are more trusting than respondents who have few connections with people in high-prestige occupations.

Overall, the data shows that people who have connections to people in occupations with higher prestige, on average, are more trusting than respondents who have few connections with people in high-prestige occupations.



Number of High Prestige Occupational Connections by General Trust

FIGURE 36



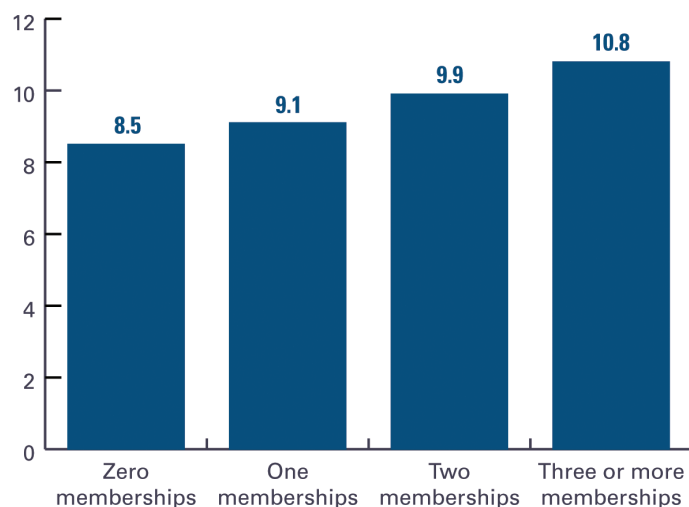
- On average, people who are more trusting have connections to a greater number of high-prestige occupations than people who are less trusting. This holds for all three measures of general trust.

Voluntary Association and Network Measures

In Figures 37 through 40, we summarize the relationship between the four network diversity and structure measures, a structural dimension of social capital, and membership in voluntary associations, which is also a structural dimension of social capital.

Total Number of Occupational Connections by Voluntary Association Membership

FIGURE 37

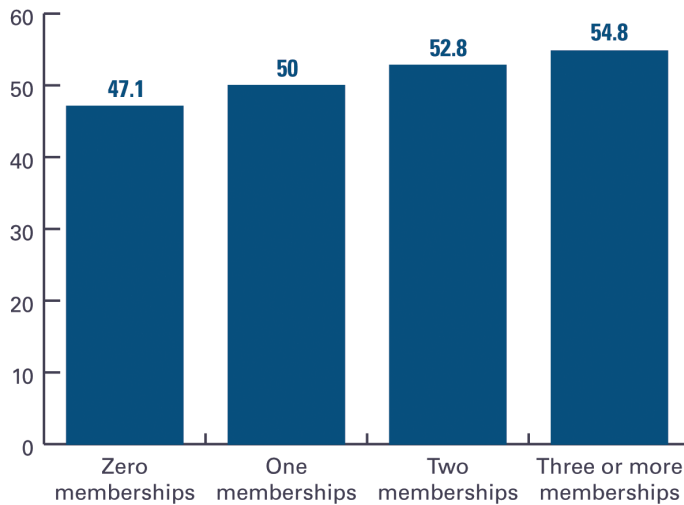


Voluntary Association and Network Measures

- There is a clear relationship between the total number of connections respondents had and the number of voluntary associations they belonged to. Respondents who did not belong to any voluntary associations had an average of 8.5 connections, while those with one membership had an average of 9.1 connections, those with two memberships had an average of 9.9 connections, and those with three or more memberships had 10.8 connections.

Range of Occupational Prestige Connections by Voluntary Association Membership

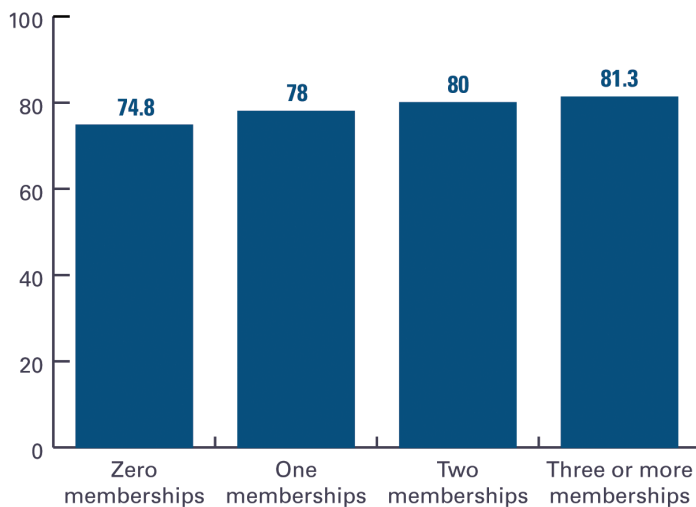
FIGURE 38



- Respondents who were not members of any voluntary associations had a much narrower range of occupational prestige connections (47.1) than respondents who were members of one voluntary association (50), those who were members of two voluntary associations (52.8), and those who were members of three or more voluntary associations (54.8).

Highest Occupational Prestige Connection by Voluntary Association Membership

FIGURE 39

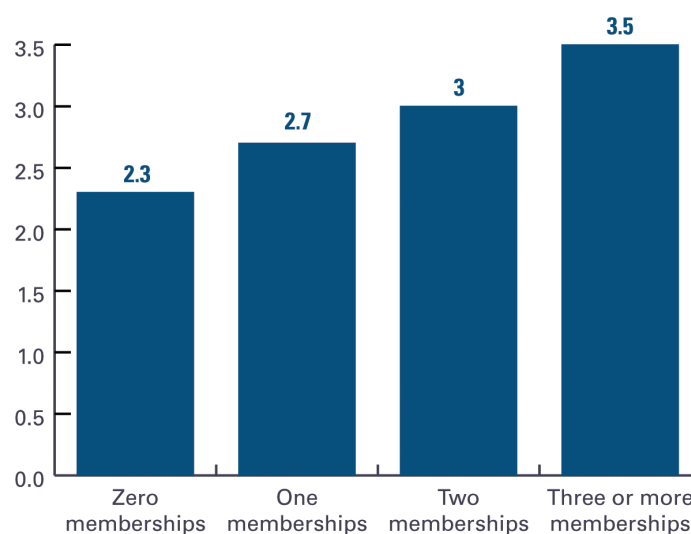


- On average, respondents who were not a member of any voluntary associations had connections to lower-prestige occupations (highest average prestige

connection was 74.8) than those who were members of one voluntary association (highest average prestige connection was 78), two voluntary associations (highest average prestige connection was 80), or three or more voluntary associations (highest average prestige connection was 81.3).

Number of Connections to High-Prestige Occupations by Voluntary Association Membership

FIGURE 40



- Respondents who were not a member of a voluntary association had connections to an average of 2.3 high-prestige occupations, which was lower than the average number of high-prestige connections for respondents who were members of one voluntary association (2.7), two voluntary associations (3), or three or more voluntary associations (3.5).

The uncommonly consistent results presented above show that having a diverse, multi-layered network of family, friends, and acquaintances is associated with high levels of general trust and with increased voluntary associations. The three dimensions of social capital (see Table 4) are interconnected. While the flow of causation is not unidirectional, the results suggest that policies and programs to diversify people's social networks (encourage bridging relationships) may contribute to increases in general trust and voluntary association.

Network Measures and Civic Engagement

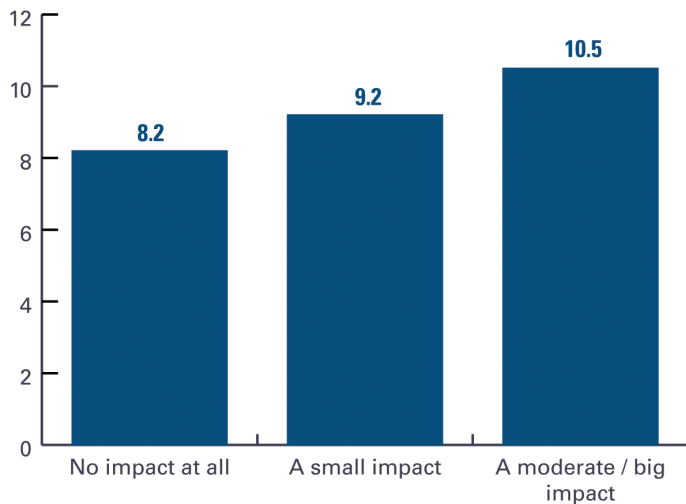
Figures 41 through 44 show the relationship between the four “position generator” network measures, a structural dimension of social capital, and the attitudinal and behavioral dimensions of civic engagement. Previously, we identified efficacy and alienation as attitudinal components of civic engagement. In this section, only the relationship between the network measures and efficacy are summarized, because there was not a significant relationship between any of the network measures and feelings of alienation.

The uncommonly consistent results presented above show that having a diverse, multi-layered network of family, friends, and acquaintances is associated with high levels of general trust and with increased voluntary associations.

Voluntary Association and Network Measures

Total Number of Occupational Connections by Efficacy

FIGURE 41

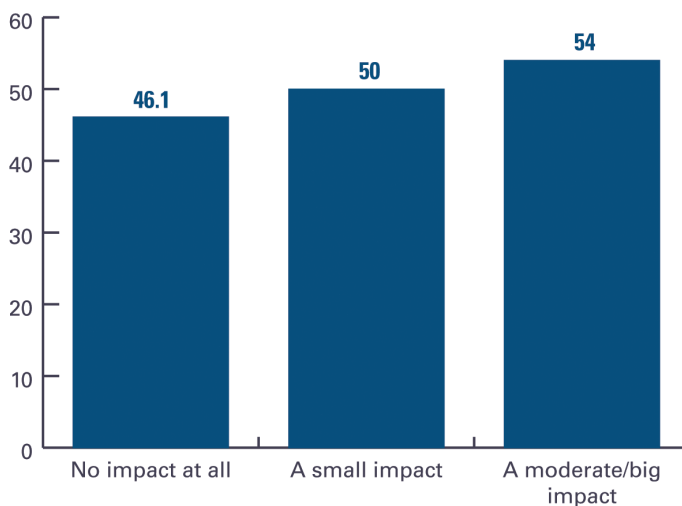


- On average, respondents who said they can make a moderate or a big impact on the community had 10.5 network connections, respondents who said they can make a small impact had 9.2 connections, and people who said they make no impact at all had 8.2 connections. Thus, the results suggest that greater network diversity is associated with higher levels of efficacy.

Greater network diversity is associated with higher levels of efficacy.

Range of Accessible Occupational Prestige by Efficacy

FIGURE 42

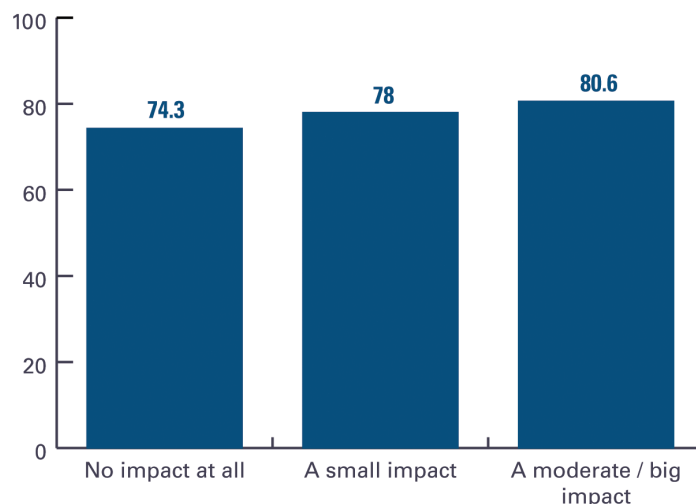


- On average, respondents who said they could make a moderate or big impact on the community had an occupational prestige range of 54, respondents who said that they could make a small impact had an occupational prestige range of 50, and respondents who said they could make no impact at all had an occupational prestige range of 46.1. Overall, these results suggest that a broader range of connections to occupational prestige categories is related with higher levels of community efficacy.

A broader range of connections to occupational prestige categories is related with higher levels of community efficacy.

Highest Occupational Prestige Connection by Efficacy

FIGURE 43

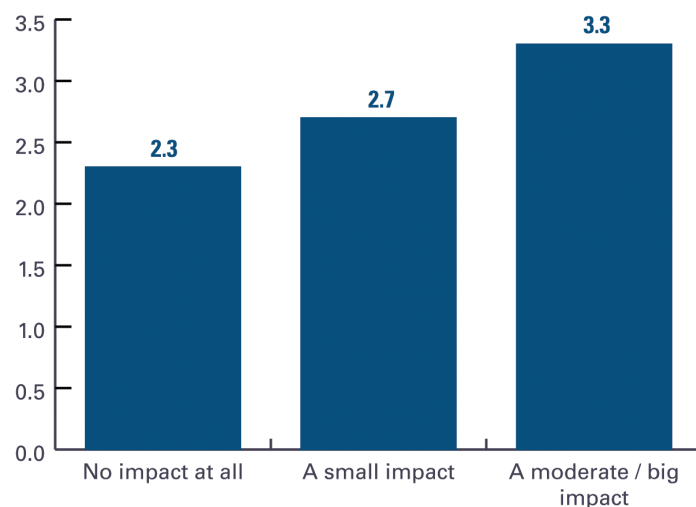


People with higher levels of political efficacy have connections to higher prestige networks, on average, than people with lower levels of political efficacy.

- On average, respondents who said they could make a moderate or big impact on the community had higher prestige connections (80.6) than respondents who said they could make a small impact (78) and respondents who said they can make no impact (74.3). Thus, the results suggest that people with higher levels of political efficacy have connections to higher prestige networks, on average, than people with lower levels of political efficacy.

Number of High Prestige Occupational Connections by Efficacy

FIGURE 44



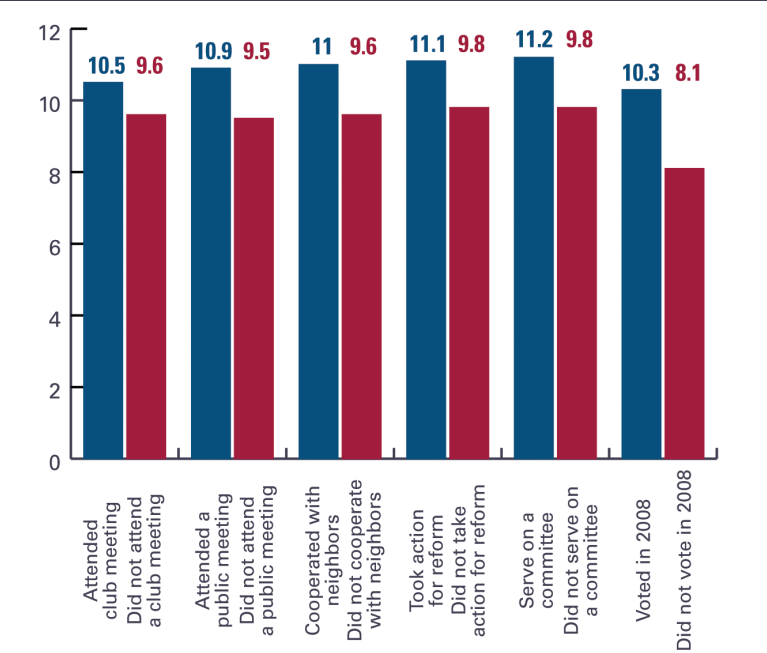
- Figure 44 shows that, on average, respondents who said that they could make a moderate or a big impact on the community had connections to 3.3 high-prestige occupations, respondents who said they could make a small impact had connections to 2.7 high-prestige occupations, and respondents who said they make no impact at all had connections to 2.3 high-prestige occupations. Overall, it appears that people with a greater number of high-prestige connections, on average, have more efficacy than people with few high-prestige connections.

Network Measures and Civic Behaviors

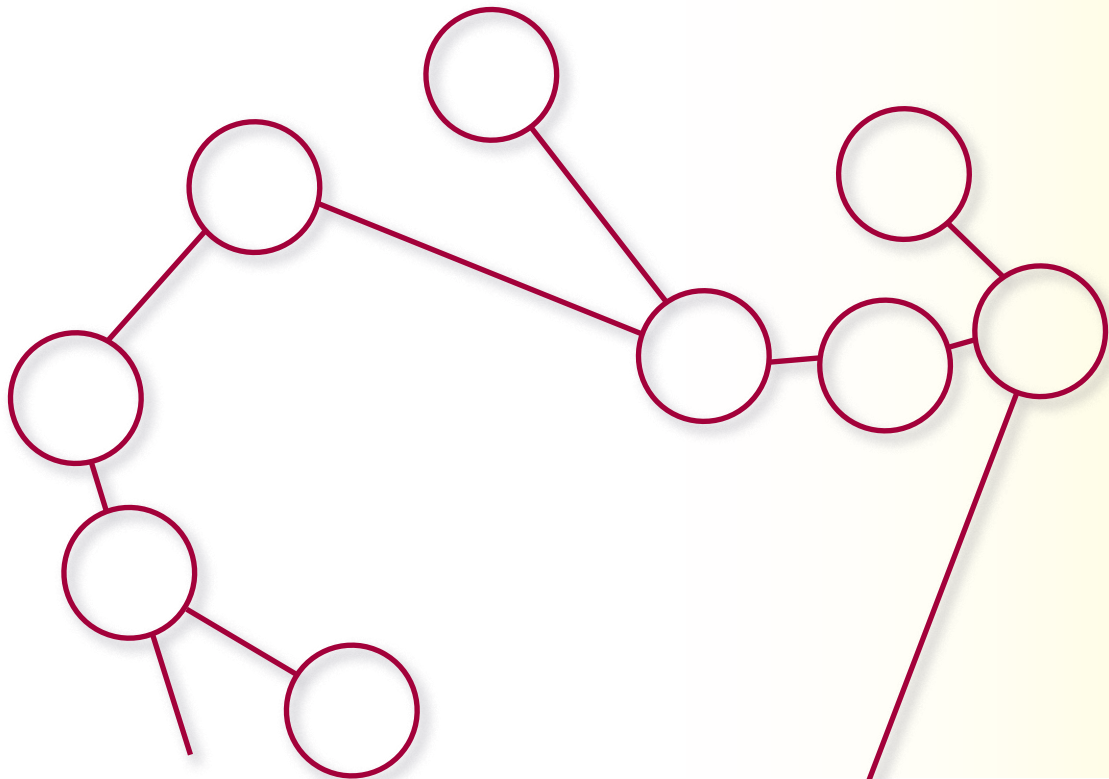
Network Measures and Civic Behaviors

Figures 45 through 48 show the relationship between the four position indicator network measures, representing a structural dimension of social capital, and the six types of civic behaviors, representing the behavioral dimension of civic engagement.

**Total Number of Occupational Connections
by Types of Civic Engagement**
FIGURE 45



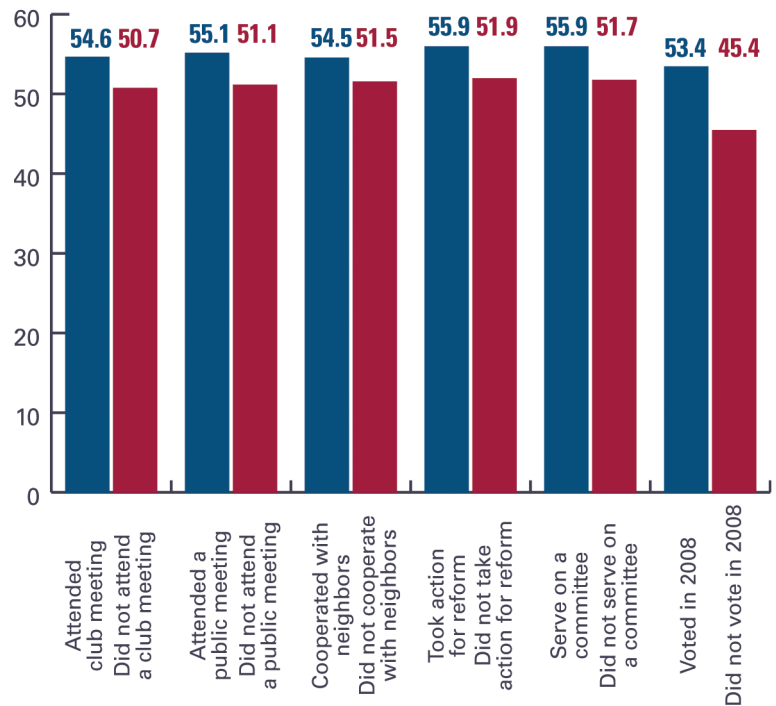
- On average, respondents with a greater number of occupational connections have higher levels of civic engagement than respondents with fewer occupational connections. This is true across all six types of civic engagement that were asked about in the survey.



CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT NETWORKS

**Range of Occupational Prestige Connections
by Types of Civic Engagement**

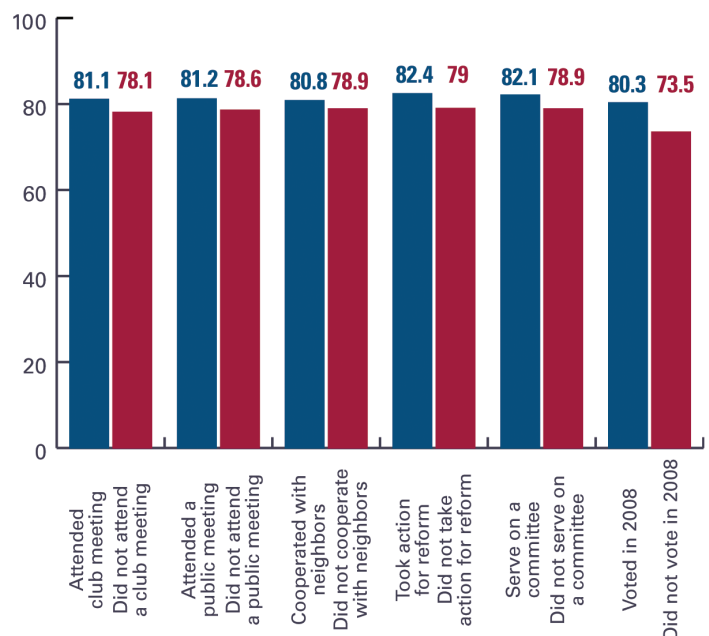
FIGURE 46



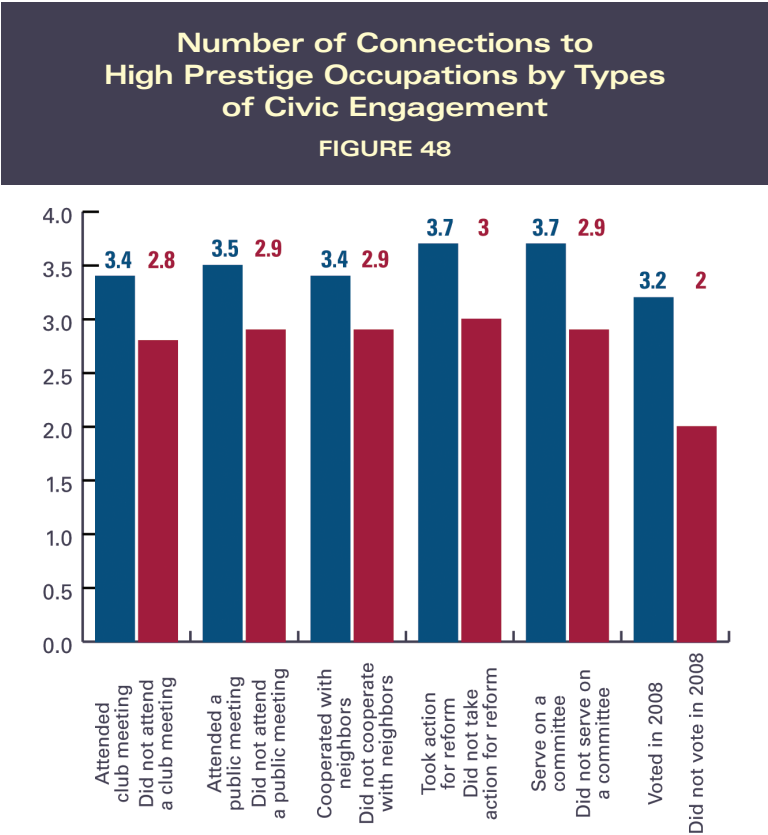
- Respondents with a broader range of occupational prestige connections have higher levels of civic engagement than respondents with a narrower range of connections. This relationship holds up across all six types of civic engagement.

**Highest Occupational Prestige Connection
by Types of Civic Engagement**

FIGURE 47



- On average, respondents who were more civically engaged had connections to higher prestige occupations than respondents who were less civically engaged. This is true across all six types of civic engagement.



- On average, respondents who were more civically engaged had a greater number of high prestige occupational connections than respondents who were less civically engaged. This is true across all six types of civic engagement.

Clearly, people with diverse, multilayered networks are more civically engaged than are individuals who have narrower, more homogenous networks.

SES and Social Capital

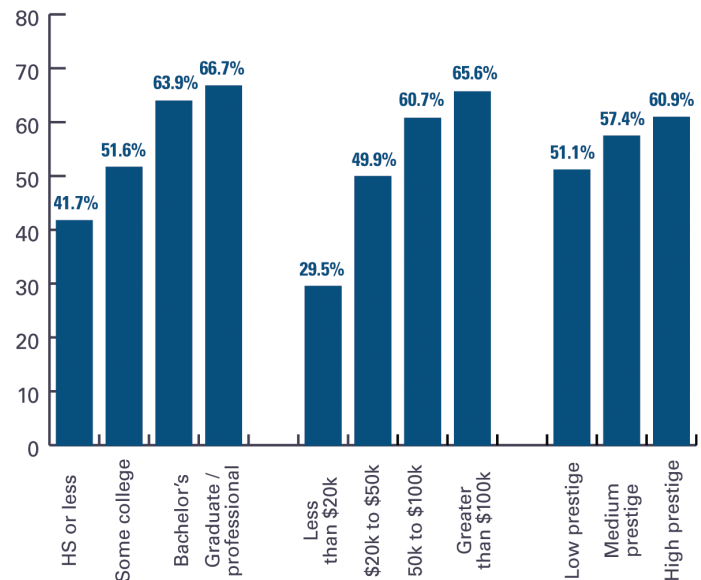
In the section of the report documenting the changes in social capital in Greene County between 2008 and 2010, the data suggested that the bulk of the overall positive changes over time in social capital occurred among respondents at the upper end of the socioeconomic ladder, and that those positive changes did not occur among less advantaged respondents. Here, we present the results of a close examination of the 2010 survey on how socioeconomic status is associated with social capital. In Figures 49 through 51, we summarize the relationship between respondents' SES and their levels of social capital. The survey provides multiple indicators of social capital. However, in this section we restrict our focus to the responses to one question measuring generalized trust, one question measuring local trust, and whether the respondents belonged to at least one voluntary association. In general, the nature of the relationship between SES and social capital follows the same pattern no matter which indicators of social capital are examined. We decided to present the results for one example of each type of indicator of social capital to reduce redundancy and conserve space.

Figure 49 shows the relationship between socioeconomic status and trust, an attitudinal dimension of social capital.

People with diverse, multilayered networks are more civically engaged than are individuals who have narrower, more homogenous networks.

Percentage of People Who Believe Most People can be Trusted by SES

FIGURE 49



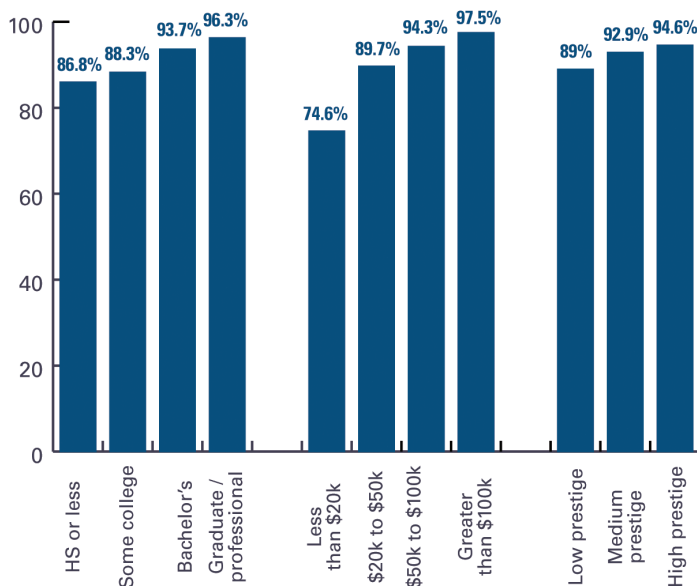
Respondents with a Bachelor's degree or higher level of education are more trusting than respondents with some college or lower levels of education.

- The results show that respondents with a Bachelor's degree or higher level of education are more trusting than respondents with some college or lower levels of education. There is a 25-point difference between respondents with graduate or professional training and respondents with a high school diploma or less education.
- A similar pattern emerges when looking at the relationship between income and trust. Respondents with higher levels of income were more trusting than respondents with lower levels of income. There is a stronger association between income and trust than between education and trust, as the difference in trust between the highest income group and the lowest income group is about 36 points, compared with a difference of 25 points between the highest education group and the lowest education group.
- Additionally, these results show that trust differs by level of occupational prestige as respondents with high-prestige occupations were significantly more trusting than respondents with low-prestige occupations. However, the strength of the association is relatively weaker than for education and income, as there is only about a 10 point difference in trust between high-prestige occupations and low-prestige occupations.

Figure 50 shows the relationship between socioeconomic status and trust in neighbors, an attitudinal dimension of social capital.

Percentage Who Trust Their Neighbors a lot / some by SES

FIGURE 50



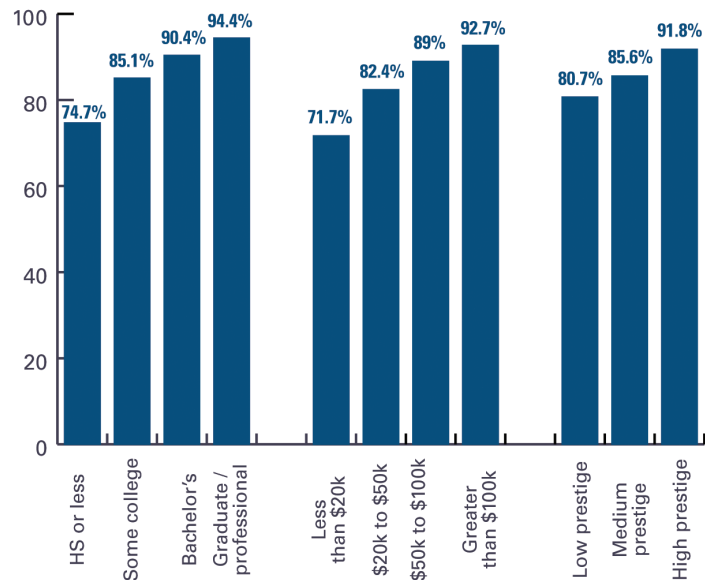
- Level of education is related to trust in neighbors. Specifically, while trust in neighbors is fairly high for all levels of education, respondents with Bachelor's degrees and higher levels of education were significantly more likely to trust their neighbors than respondents with lower levels of education. There is nearly a 10-point difference in the level of trust in neighbors between respondents with the highest levels of education (96.3%) and respondents with the lowest levels of education (86.8%).
- Income is also significantly related to trust in neighbors. Respondents with the highest household incomes were more trusting than respondents with the lowest income levels. Specifically, trust in neighbors was nearly 23 points higher for respondents from households that earn more than \$100,000 per year (97.5%) than for respondents from households that earn less than \$20,000 per year (74.6%). As was true for general trust, the association between income and trust in neighbors appears to be stronger than the associations for either education and occupational prestige and trust in neighbors.
- Respondents with higher prestige occupations had more trust in their neighbors than respondents with lower prestige occupations. Respondents with high-prestige occupations had levels of trust in their neighbors that was about 5 points higher than respondents with low-prestige occupations.

Figure 51 shows the relationship between socioeconomic status and membership in voluntary associations, a structural dimension of social capital.

Respondents with Bachelor's degrees and higher levels of education were significantly more likely to trust their neighbors than respondents with lower levels of education.

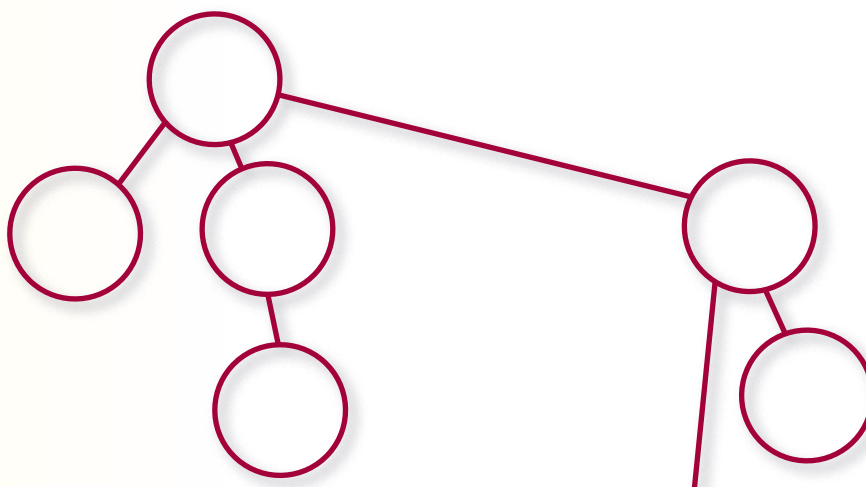
Percent Who Belong to at Least One Voluntary Association by SES

FIGURE 51



Respondents with higher levels of education were significantly more likely to belong to at least one voluntary association than respondents with lower levels of education.

- Education is significantly related to membership in voluntary associations. Respondents with higher levels of education were significantly more likely to belong to at least one voluntary association than respondents with lower levels of education. Respondents with the highest levels of education were about 20 points more likely to belong to at least one voluntary association than respondents with the lowest levels of education (94.4% to 74.7%).
- Income is also significantly related to membership in voluntary associations. Respondents with higher levels of household income were 21 points more likely to belong to at least one voluntary association than respondents from households with lower incomes.
- Respondents with high-prestige occupations were 11 points more likely to belong to at least one voluntary association than respondents with low-prestige occupations.

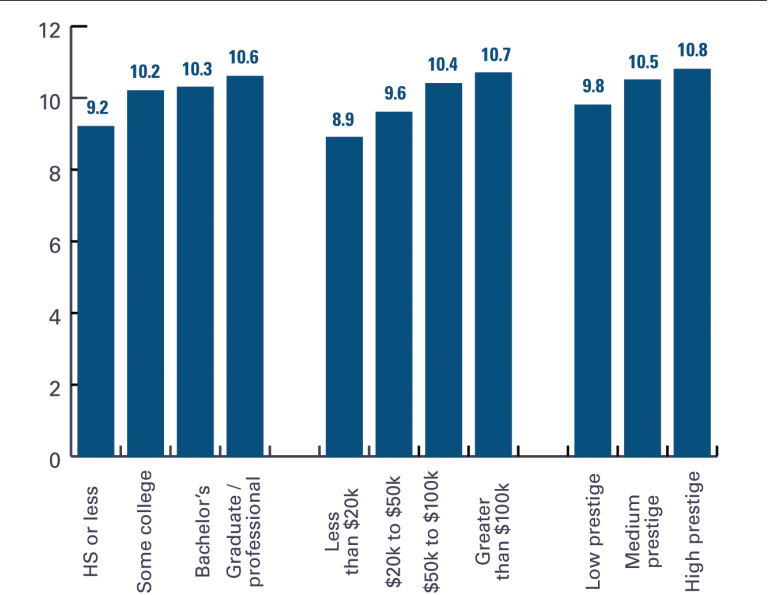


SES and Network Measures

Figures 52 through 55 show the relationship between SES and the four position indicator network measures, which comprise a structural dimension of social capital.

Average Number of Occupational Connections by Education, Income, and Respondent Occupational Prestige

FIGURE 52

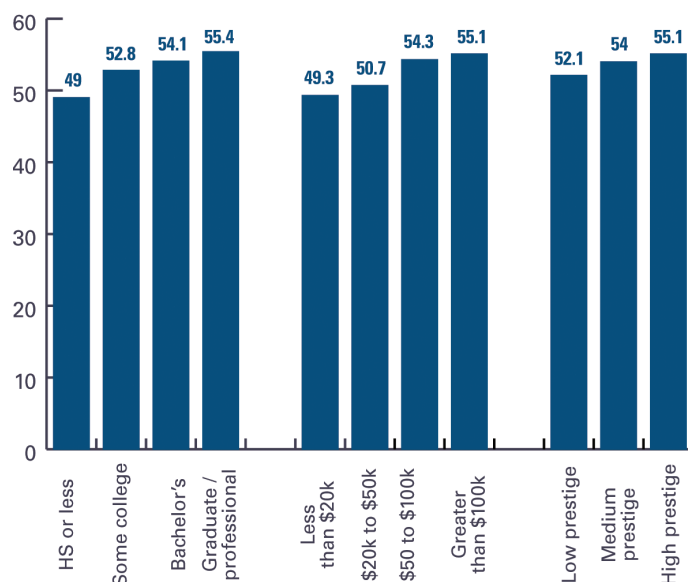


- On average, respondents with higher levels of education have a greater number of occupational connections than respondents with lower levels of education. Specifically, respondents with the highest levels of education had an average of 1.4 more connections than respondents with the lowest levels of education.
- Respondents with higher household incomes had significantly more occupational connections than respondents with lower household incomes. Respondents from the highest income households had an average of 1.8 more connections than respondents from the lowest income households, the largest gap for any of the three indicators of SES.
- Respondents with high-prestige occupations had an average of one more occupational prestige connection than respondents with low-prestige occupations.

Respondents with higher levels of education have a greater number of occupational connections than respondents with lower levels of education

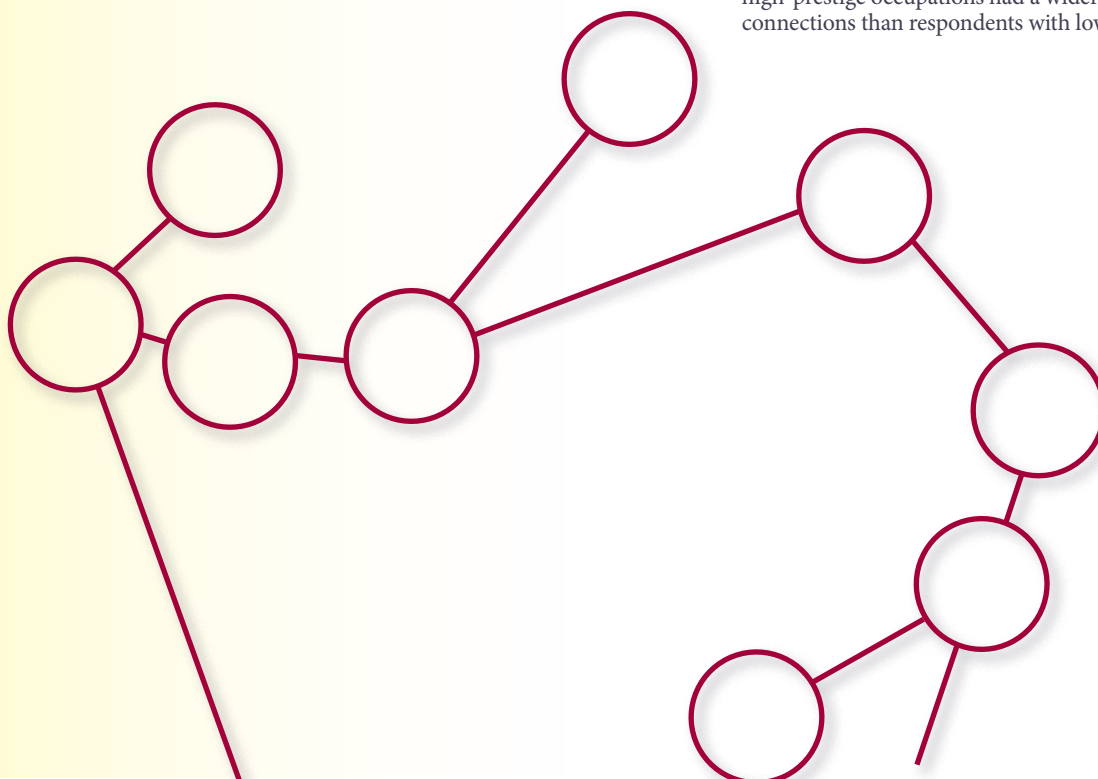
Range of Occupational Connections by Education, Income, and Respondent Occupational Prestige

FIGURE 53



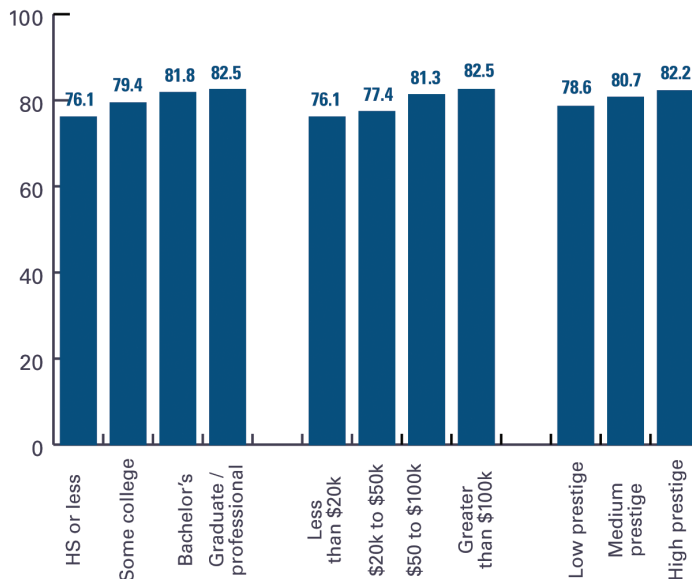
More highly educated respondents had significantly wider ranges of connections than less educated responses.

- More highly educated respondents had significantly wider ranges of connections than less educated responses. For example, respondents with graduate training had a range of 55.4, while respondents with a high school diploma or less education had a range of 49.
- Respondents from high-income households also had a wider range of occupational connections than respondents from low-income households. Respondents with household incomes that were \$100,000 or more had a range of 55.1, while respondents with household incomes that were \$20,000 or less had a range of 49.3
- Though the magnitude of the difference wasn't as great, respondents with high-prestige occupations had a wider range of occupational prestige connections than respondents with low-prestige occupations (55.1 to 52.1).



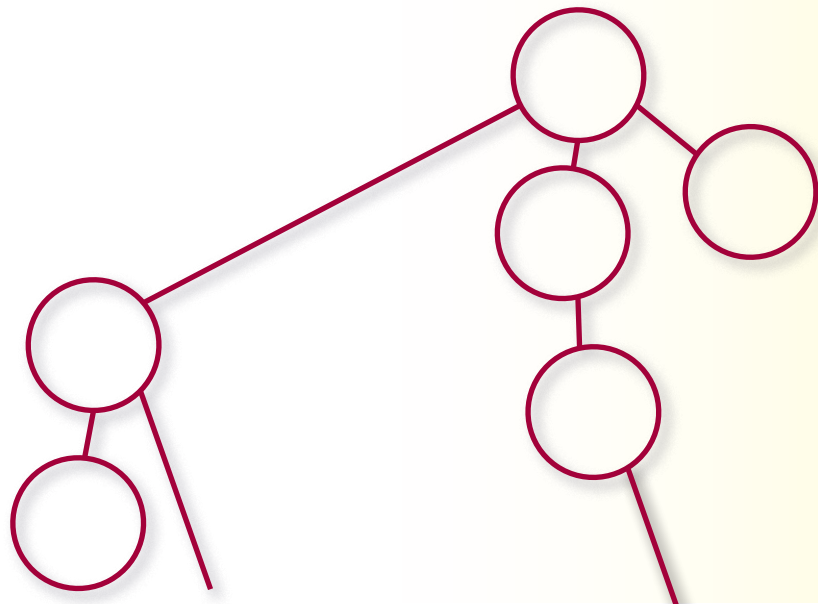
Highest Occupational Connection by Education, Income, and Respondent Occupational Prestige

FIGURE 54



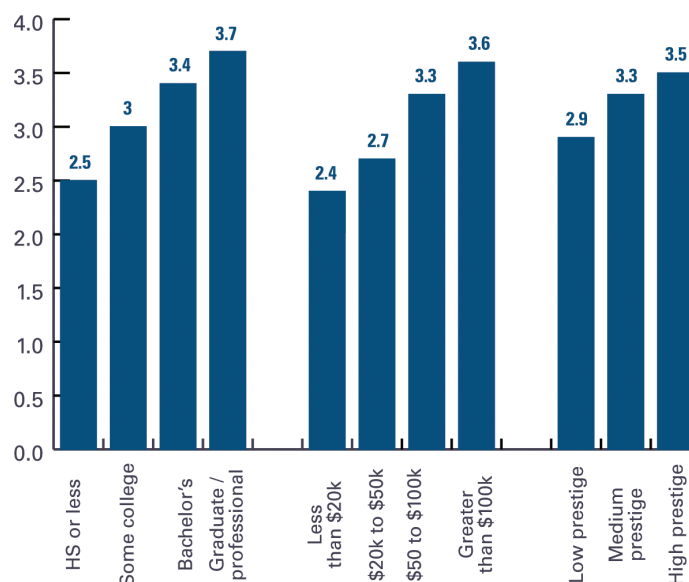
- On average, higher levels of education are associated with access to higher prestige occupational connections. For example, respondents with graduate training had a connection to an average highest occupational prestige score of 82.5, while respondents with a high school diploma or less had a connection to an average highest occupational prestige score of 76.1.
- Household income is also significantly related to the highest prestige occupation that respondents have access to. Respondents from the highest-income households had a connection to an average highest occupational prestige score of 82.5, while respondents from the lowest-income households had a connection to an average highest prestige score of 76.1.
- Occupational prestige also is significantly associated with the highest prestige occupation that respondents have access to. Respondents with high-prestige occupations had a connection to an average highest occupational prestige score of 82.2, while respondents with low-prestige connections had a connection to an average highest occupational prestige score of 78.6.

Higher levels of education are associated with access to higher prestige occupational connections.



Average Number of High Occupational
Prestige Connections by SES

FIGURE 55



Respondents with higher levels of education had connections to a greater number of high-prestige occupations, on average, than respondents with lower levels of education.

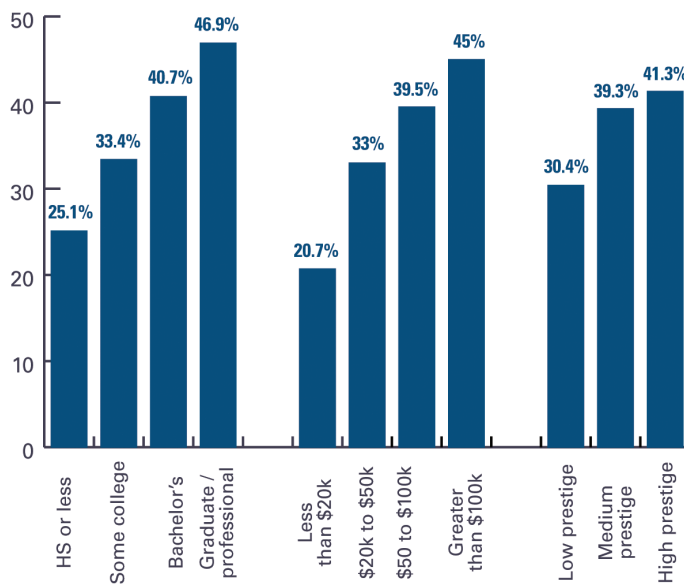
- Respondents with higher levels of education had connections to a greater number of high-prestige occupations, on average, than respondents with lower levels of education. Respondents with graduate training had an average of 3.7 connections to high-prestige occupations, while respondents with a high school diploma or less only had connections to 2.5 high-prestige occupations, on average.
- Respondents from high-income households had a greater number of connections to high-prestige occupations, on average, than respondents from low-income households. Respondents from households with incomes greater than \$100,000 were connected to 3.6 high-prestige occupations, on average, while respondents from households with incomes less than \$20,000 only had an average of 2.4 high-prestige connections.
- Respondent occupational prestige was also significantly related to the number of high-prestige connections they had. People in high-prestige occupations had an average of 3.5 connections to high-prestige occupations, while those in low-prestige occupations had an average of 2.9 high-prestige connections.

SES and Civic Engagement

The nature of the relationship between SES and civic engagement is remarkably consistent across all six behavioral indicators of civic engagement. In the interest of avoiding redundancy and conserving space, Figure 56 presents the results of the relationship between public meeting attendance, one of the behavioral dimensions of civic engagement, and the three indicators of SES.

**Percent Who Attended a Public Meeting
by Education, Income, and
Respondent Occupational Prestige**

FIGURE 56



- Respondents with higher levels of education were more likely to have attended at least one public meeting than respondents with low levels of education. For example, nearly 47% of respondents with graduate training had attended a public meeting, while only about 25% of respondents with a high school diploma or less had attended at least one public meeting.
- A similar pattern exists for the relationship between income and attending a public meeting. Respondents with higher incomes were more likely to have attended a public meeting than respondents with lower incomes. For example, 45% of respondents from households with incomes greater than \$100,000 had attended at least one public meeting, while only about 21% of respondents from households with incomes lower than \$20,000 had attended a public meeting.
- Occupational prestige follows a similar pattern. Respondents with high-prestige occupations are more likely to have attended a public meeting than respondents with low-prestige occupations.

Respondents with higher levels of education were more likely to have attended at least one public meeting than respondents with low levels of education.

One plausible way to enhance civic participation among Ozarkers is to implement policies and programs that promote interactions and relationships among socio-economically, religiously, and ethnically diverse individuals.

Summary of Social Capital and Civic Engagement in the Ozarks

Results from the 2008 and 2010 Ozark Regional Social Capital Surveys showed that residents of Southwest Missouri have growing and above-average levels of general social trust, compared to national averages. Also, respondents' level of community efficacy rose, and their sense of alienation declined between 2008 and 2010. However, these subjective improvements occurred mostly among middle-aged or older persons, and people with high socio-economic status. That is one likely reason that overall gains in the attitudinal dimension of social capital were not consistently transferred into similarly strong increases in the measures of civic participation.

Our analyses of the 2010 survey showed that the various dimensions of social capital are highly interrelated, and that there is a positive association between the attitudinal and structural components of social capital. For example, Figure 29 showed that people with a large number of voluntary associations are more trusting than those with few voluntary associations.

To investigate further the relationship between social capital and civic engagement, we introduced new network structure measures. The results show that people who have multi-layered, diverse networks tend to have greater general trust (see Figures 33-36) and more voluntary associations (see Figures 37-40) than individuals with narrower and more homogenous networks. And, importantly, people with diverse networks (bridging relationships) reveal consistently higher rates of six forms of civic engagement compared with those who have more homogeneous networks (bonding relationships).

When we looked at the relationship between peoples' SES and their network structure, we found that high-SES individuals are more likely to have multiplex, diverse networks than people of average or below-average SES.

The causal relationships between SES, social capital, and civic engagement are complex and multi-directional. However, one plausible way to enhance civic participation among Ozarkers is to implement policies and programs that promote interactions and relationships among socio-economically, religiously, and ethnically diverse individuals. In short, policies and programs that increase bridging social capital likely would enhance civic participation among residents of Grene County and Southwest Missouri.

Conclusion: Social Capital and Civic Engagement in the Ozarks

This report has been organized around the issue of civic engagement in the Ozarks, which emerged as a community issue in the findings from the 2008 Springfield/Greene County Social Capital Survey. The 2008 study revealed high levels of social capital (measured as trust and voluntary association) and low levels of civic engagement in Springfield and Greene County. These findings posed a riddle, since the scholarly research on social capital has consistently found that in communities with high levels of social capital there is greater civic engagement. We subsequently hypothesized that the solution to the riddle was a lack of bridging social capital in the region. Since effective civic engagement often involves working with diverse groups of citizens, it seemed logical that low levels of bridging social capital would inhibit civic engagement. Unfortunately, the 2008 survey did not have any true measures of bridging social capital, which is why we tried to capture it using the position generator methodology for the 2010 study. The data and results presented in this report support the hypothesis that bridging social capital is related to higher levels of civic engagement.

Analysis of the “position generator” measures revealed that citizens who had access to more diverse networks had higher rates of civic participation. Specifically, the results summarized in Figures 45 through 48 show that citizens with more connections, with a broader range of connections, and with access to higher prestige connections, were more likely to have engaged in a number of civic behaviors.

We also examined how SES is related to the attitudinal and structural dimensions of social capital and civic engagement. Social capital is highly stratified by SES in the Ozarks. People with higher levels of education, higher incomes, and who work in more prestigious occupations are also more trusting, better connected and more civically engaged. Additionally, our examination revealed that there are encouraging signs as several key indicators of social capital and civic engagement actually increased between 2008 and 2010. However, the news was not all good, since the gains appear to have been concentrated at the top of the socioeconomic ladder, indicating that there is potentially increasing inequality in social capital and civic engagement in the region.

Causality

From a statistical standpoint, we cannot definitively determine or prove causality among the variables we examined. But, the data clearly and emphatically show that there are strong associations between the attitudinal and structural dimensions of social capital and between social capital and civic participation. While technically we can't prove causality, the consistency of the patterns of association in the data strongly suggests that the wider the range of social connections people have, the more bridging social capital they have, which grants them better access to the community's multiplex network structure, where they are more likely to garner higher levels of social capital and more opportunities for civic engagement.

From a policy perspective, causality may not matter all that much. For example, in the relationship between trust and voluntary association it is plausible that more trusting people will be more likely to participate in voluntary associations. However, it is equally plausible that involvement in voluntary associations could lead to higher levels of trust. In fact, the literature on social capital shows that there is a reciprocal relationship between the two. So, from a policy perspective, if you want to increase trust in the community, it makes sense to focus on creating broader opportunities for voluntary association.

Policy Threats and Opportunities in the Ozarks

The 2011 Community Focus Report identified collaboration as a blue ribbon and it's a strength that we can build on. Collaboration is what drives the multiplex structure involving groups representing the philanthropic, religious, educational, private, and local government sectors of Springfield and the Ozarks society. The results summarized in this report can be used to inform policies related to civic

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Policy Threats and Opportunities in the Ozarks

Collaboration is what drives the multiplex structure involving groups representing the philanthropic, religious, educational, private, and local government sectors of Springfield and the Ozarks society.

¹⁷ The 2000 data are from U.S. Census Bureau Decennial Census Summary File 3. The 2010 are 5 year estimates (2006-2010) from the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey.

Income is strongly related to social capital and civic participation

So, as the population of low-income citizens grows we can expect to see declines in social capital and civic engagement in the future. This suggests that community leaders need to provide innovative opportunities for civic engagement, particularly in low-income areas.

Clearly, increasing levels of poverty are a regional issue, and are not solely confined to Springfield and Greene County.

engagement in the region. Next, we discuss how the results in this report can be used to inform policymaking decisions related to trends in the region. Specifically, increasing levels of poverty and brain-drain threaten the development of social capital and civic participation in the Ozarks, while increasing diversity of the region, specifically in Springfield, poses both a threat and an opportunity.

Poverty has increased significantly in the region over the course of the last decade. We know from the results in this report that income is strongly related to social capital and civic participation. Specifically, lower levels of income have consistently been shown to be associated with lower levels of social capital and civic engagement. So, as the population of low-income citizens grows we can expect to see declines in social capital and civic engagement in the future. This suggests that community leaders need to provide innovative opportunities for civic engagement, particularly in low-income areas. Current efforts, such as the Neighbor for Neighbor program and the SPS community schools initiative, which provide low-income residents with opportunities for engagement around key community issues, are steps in the right direction.

CHANGES IN POVERTY IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI 2000-2010 ¹⁷
Table 5

COUNTY	Families in Poverty (2000)	Families in Poverty (2010)	Change	Individuals in Poverty (2000)	Individuals in Poverty (2010)	Change
Barry	11.8%	13%	+1.2	16.6%	17.1%	+0.5
Christian	7.1%	7.8%	+0.7	9.1%	9.5%	+0.4
Dade	9.3%	17.5%	+8.2	13.4%	20.5%	+7.1
Dallas	14.2%	12.5%	-1.7	17.9%	16.4%	-1.5
Greene	7.6%	11.2%	+3.6	12.1%	16.2%	+4.1
Lawrence	11.0%	13.6%	+2.6	14.1%	17.3%	+3.2
Polk	11.1%	16.2%	+5.1	16.3%	21.6%	+5.3
Stone	8.5%	10.5%	+2	12.8%	16.0%	+3.2
Taney	9.4%	10.5%	+1.1	12.4%	14.8%	+2.4
Webster	9.6%	12.4%	+2.8	14.8%	16.8%	+2.0
United States	9.2%	11.3%	+2.1%	14.2%	15.3%	1.1%

Table 5 shows changes in poverty for all ten counties included in this study. Clearly, increasing levels of poverty are a regional issue, and are not solely confined to Springfield and Greene County. Thus, the City of Springfield's emphasis on regionalism in its new community strategic plan is well-founded.

Brain-Drain

Brain-drain refers to the process where highly educated people leave the community. One of the defining characteristics of the region is the large number of institutions of higher education. The 2008 Market Street Next Cities report and The Network's 2009 Next Cities Report both raised the issue of brain-drain as a significant threat to economic development in Springfield.

The second social capital survey was designed with the brain-drain issue in mind, because it is an issue that affects social capital and civic participation. The survey asked respondents whether they expected to be living in the region five years from now. The results suggest that students, young adults, and people with Bachelor's degrees were most likely to say that they planned on moving out of the region within the next five years. These are the demographic characteristics of young professionals who tend to possess high levels of both human and social capital. The fact that young professionals are the most likely to report that they expect to leave the region poses a threat to the economic and civic health of the region, since we know that high SES people have higher incomes and are more likely to volunteer, be trusting, and to be civically engaged.

The survey also tells us something about why young professionals plan to leave the region. Of those who said they were expecting to move away, respondents ages 18 to 49 were most likely to cite employment/job opportunities as the number one reason for why they were planning on leaving. The second most cited reason among 18 to 49 year olds was because they either wanted a change of scenery, or would move for other cultural reasons.

The results of the survey also suggest that young people value living in a diverse community, as nearly 82% of respondents ages 18 to 34 either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "living in a diverse community is important to me." In contrast, a little more than

Brian Drain • Diversity: Threat and Opportunity

70% of respondents 65 and older agreed or strongly agreed with that statement. This mirrors the findings of The Network's 2009 Next Cities task force report, which found that 87% of young professionals valued living in a diverse community. The takeaway from the connection between brain-drain and diversity is that the lack of diversity is perhaps one issue propelling brain-drain.

Diversity: A Threat and an Opportunity

The Next Cities Report found that a lack of diversity in the Springfield MSA poses a threat to economic development. Lack of socioeconomic and racial diversity poses a threat because diversity is associated with innovation, and a number of businesses have cited the lack of diversity among their reasons for deciding not to locate in the area. While the region has a problem in terms of a lack of racial and socioeconomic diversity, recent census data indicates that the region is steadily becoming more diverse. Changes in racial/ethnic diversity for the Springfield MSA are presented in Table 6.

CHANGES IN RACE / ETHNIC DIVERSITY FOR SPRINGFIELD MSA 2000-2010¹⁸
Table 6

	2000	2010	Change
Non-Hispanic White	93.8%	91.5%	-2.3
Non-Hispanic Black	1.6%	2.0%	+0.4
Hispanic	1.6%	2.7%	+1.1
Non-Hispanic Asian	0.9%	1.2%	+0.3
Non-Hispanic Native American	0.6%	0.6%	0
Other	0.1%	0.1%	0

Diversity also has implications for social capital and civic participation in communities. Robert Putnam's work has shown that rapid increases in diversity sometimes reduce social solidarity and social capital in communities. In ethnically diverse neighborhoods, residents of all races tend to "hunker down," trust declines, altruism and community cooperation becomes more rare, and friendship networks become smaller. Thus, the changing demographics of the region pose a significant threat to civic health.

However, while diversity poses a possible threat, it also creates an opportunity. A more diverse population creates opportunities to enhance the multiplex network structure of communities by increasing the potential for intersecting, rather than overlapping, connections. However, in order to seize this opportunity, the community will need to actively invest in building bridging social capital and promoting civility by creating opportunities for diverse people to work together to solve community problems.

The results summarized in this report strongly suggest that we need to invest in bridging social capital so that multiplex networks can be mobilized to address community problems. The results also strongly suggest that there is a deficit of social capital and civic participation among low-SES citizens. Therefore, efforts at building bridging social capital should be undertaken with a special emphasis on integrating low-SES citizens into the community decision-making process.

The fact that young professionals are the most likely to report that they expect to leave the region poses a threat to the economic and civic health of the region, since we know that high SES people have higher incomes and are more likely to volunteer, be trusting, and to be civically engaged.

¹⁸ Statistics for race/ethnicity were based on the 2000 and 2010 decennial census.

Young people value living in a diverse community.

Lack of diversity is perhaps one issue propelling brain-drain.

The community will need to actively invest in building bridging social capital and promoting civility by creating opportunities for diverse people to work together to solve community problems.

This report strongly suggest that we need to invest in bridging social capital so that multiplex networks can be mobilized to address community problems.

Building bridging social capital should be undertaken with a special emphasis on integrating low-SES citizens into the community decision-making process.



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"You've literally changed the conversation within our community. We will be using this data to drive our new communication and engagement strategies" and to "move the needle toward greater civic engagement."

Greg Burris

City Manager
CITY OF SPRINGFIELD

"The social capital report has done a remarkable job in changing our vernacular and dialogue about the community."

Brian Fogle

President/CEO
COMMUNITY FOUNDATION
OF THE OZARKS

"The social capital survey is a perfect example of the university's Public Affairs mission at work. We are able to blend our expertise with the needs of the community to help make educated decisions on important social and economic issues."

Victor Matthews

Dean of the College of
Humanities and Public Affairs
MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY