

Social Capital Networking and Immigrant Populations in Rural Minnesota

A Qualitative Research Project

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The fact that this is being published, that I completed the course work, and all the requirements for the Ph.D., does not rest solely on my shoulders or efforts. When I began the journey people asked me why I was pursuing my Ph.D. My response was always the same, “It’s my own Mt. Everest.” Some people choose to climb physical mountains; I chose my mountain climb to be academic. I am still amazed that I made it safely to the top and back down. Along the way there were great chasms to be traversed – my father’s death came in the midst of course work and was difficult for me and yet I attribute this completion in part to him. He taught me to believe in myself, to work hard, and to be disciplined and the belief in a Higher Power.

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People I met through course work have left an impact in my life and I so missed that once I completed the course work. A lasting friendship remains with Dr. Pete

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all the people in the communities I studied, to the leaders everywhere who work to make their communities inclusive, and to the immigrants who brings their talents, their knowledge, their hard work, and life experiences to rural communities.

ABSTRACT

Combining social capital theory and immigration history and theory a qualitative study was conducted using a variation of Critical Incident Technique to identify the motivations of individuals in rural communities who championed community responses to the influx of large immigrant populations. Twenty-eight individuals identified as key champions in two rural communities were interviewed to determine, how they as formal or non-formal leaders sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in successful strategies to ease successful transitions of new immigrants into their communities. Interviews determined what individual champions did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation.

Data analysis revealed three themes: 1) Fear of change in the community; 2) Collaboration as the road to success; 3) Communities and schools recognizing immigrants as key to continued growth. Analysis also revealed two key components influencing leaders to intentionally work with immigrant integration: 1) An understanding of their own immigration history; and 2) a previous experience of caring for or being “the other.” These factors helped create the linking networks or weak ties between the host community and the immigrant communities.

The findings and recommendations provide insight and recommendations for weaving diversity into community development and leadership programs that business leaders and other stakeholders in rural communities can use. Community leadership programs must be intentional in providing cross-cultural education for participants. The curriculum must include participants deliberating, getting to know their own cultural

values, cultural communication patterns, personal and national immigration history, and diverse ways of looking at the world. In addition community leaders need opportunities to learn what it means to be the outsider.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders have done to create bridging networks for foreign born residents and the host communities to work towards integration in rural Minnesota. While there is little research on network ties for immigrants, Wierzbicki (2003) argues for the need for strong social networks to act as the linchpin enabling immigrants to be able to develop primary relations with members of other racial and ethnic groups in their host community. In addition, the literature that exists on immigrant assimilation is focused on urban communities, bringing more attention to the lack of research on how networks are created between immigrants and host community members in rural areas.

What I specifically want to know is how native-born formal and non-formal leaders were intentional in creating connections with immigrants and what motivates them. In my review of the literature I was able to identify one source that discussed a theoretical perspective for understanding what may motivate people to support diversity and social justice. This research adds to that theory.

This dissertation is not and was not intended to be a rigorous study of change in rural communities. However, what it does do is give the perceptions and influences of those who stepped forward to champion change.

What is known

In the past several years, social capital has become a widely discussed topic that reaches across a breadth of disciplines, including economics, business, politics, human development and sociology. Evidence indicates that social capital is not a recent topic, but rather one that dates back to Aristotle who regarded people as political or social animals (Streeten, 2002). Historically, sociology has documented group involvement and participation and the positive consequences for both the individual and the community. Most recently scholars such as DeFilippis (2001), Farr (2004), Portes (1998), and Sobel (2002) concur that the idea is not new, acknowledging Alex de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*. These same scholars argue that the original meaning of the term and the heuristic value have shifted over time as the concept of social capital is applied across different disciplines.

This shift across disciplines stems from the early understanding by John Dewey that schools were central to the community connections and democracy. This thought was expanded by Lyda Hanifan in the early 1900s to include the connections among neighbors. However, in the 1970s the field of economics found Glen Lour using the concept associated with earning potential and policy implications. Social capital has also been referenced by James Coleman by combining the economic jargon with human relationships; whereby, individuals use their connections to increase their economic status. In the past decade, Robert Putnam has popularized the term to be used beyond the individual and family to include institutions and government (Putnam, 2000).

Despite these variations, there is a consensus (Portes, 1998, Smith and Kulynch, 2002, Ponthieus, 2004, Farr, 2005) that social capital is a resource referring to the social networks individuals, families, and communities possess (Putnam, 2000).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a historical and philosophical perspective of social capital relative to the assimilation of immigrants into communities over the past 100 years. The literature review will include: an historical perspective of social capital, the controversy behind the concepts, selected philosophical perspectives, and a description of the theoretical framework, the challenges and limitations of social capital, immigration history, integration of immigrant theory, and finally the implications for social capital theory as it relates to immigrant integration into rural communities.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to identify:

1. How have U.S. born formal and non-formal leaders helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community?
2. What are the motivations of native-born residents who promote immigrant integration?

This study seeks to gain a qualitative understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders in two identified communities have done to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into the communities. For purposes of this study I used Ronald Heifetz's definition of leadership, "Leadership is the activity of mobilizing people to tackle the toughest problems and do the adaptive work necessary to achieve progress." (Heifetz, Kania, & Kramer, 2004, p. 24) I interviewed key champions to discover how they have sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy

behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities will identify what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation.

Need for the Study

As the face of rural America is changing so are the faces in rural Minnesota and there are many factors effecting the transformation. Two key factors include immigration (the movement into a country where one is not a native) and migration (where one moves within one's own country). The dominant Caucasian, non-Hispanic white population is declining and aging (Dalla, Ellis, & Cramer, 2005) and young people are moving to metropolitan areas. The remaining group is a rural, aging population with fewer people able to sustain the economic and civic vitality of communities.

In order for rural Minnesota businesses to prosper, communities have recruited immigrants from other parts of the world since the early 1980's which has resulted in a shift in cultural norms. If communities have not positively addressed these challenges, cultural conflict and eventual deterioration will occur. Thus the future of a community depends on the success of diverse peoples and cultures integrating the community, not just offering economical growth but also building a strong, cohesive community (Flora, 2005).

A concentrated and thorough review of the historic and current reality of immigration, through the lens of social capital and assimilation theory, is necessary before a plan to facilitate the integration process can be developed. The emphasis on the importance of networking in social capital theory provides a way to examine opportunities to help communities be successful. Hirschman (1983), Alba and Nee (1997, 2003), Wierzbicki (2003), and Anderson, (2008) all indicate the importance of

networking relationships between immigrants and their host society. *Social Capital* is defined as the cement of society's good will – or the cohesiveness in a community (Putnam, 2000).

The value of networks in a community is supported by research by the University of Minnesota Extension, which developed a model for rural communities related to social capital in rural communities (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008). The research team recognized that the following three networking conditions matter when thinking about social capital:

Trust – the assured reliance on the character, ability, strength or truth of someone or something.

Engagement –to take part...doing something for another without any immediate expectations of return (reciprocity).

Connections/Networks – A collection of people you know who you can count on.

Networks can be important for personal success – i.e. jobs, professional organizations, and volunteer work – and communities can create and use networks to improve the quality of life in their town. Networks also help get information, ideas, influence, and resources to accomplish goals (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008, p.1).

It is important to understand both the historical context of social capital in relation to immigration and also the social aspects of present day immigrants into the community. A review of immigration history and assimilation theory will be examined in an effort to find out how immigrants from an earlier era assimilated into United State society, what worked, what did not, and what can be learned. To date, the research on immigrant

assimilation in rural communities is minimal as much is focused on how immigrants resettle into metropolitan communities (Winchester & Loehr & Loehr, 2005, & Flora, 2005).

Looking to social capital theory as well as understanding historical accounts of assimilation can help as Minnesota confronting changes in diversity of income, race, ethnicity and religion as never before experienced (Flora, 2005). Communities need to draw upon their resources and work together through the polarization that often happens in the midst of diversity. When faced with change, resilient communities are noted for being able to capitalize on the changes that improve the living conditions for everyone in the community (Flora, 2005).

Research Approach

This study is a case study using the Critical Incident Technique (CIT) to understand through interpretation how formal and non-formal leaders have created bridging networks with foreign-born residents and host community members (McClure, 1989). This technique analyzes the behaviors of native community members and provides an understanding of the factors that help communities effectively integrate new immigrants.

Simply put, Critical Incident Technique (CIT) is a set of procedures for collecting data from experts in the existing human system to learn about human behavior that serves to facilitate potential usefulness in solving problems (Flanagan, 1954). In the critical incident technique (CIT) the researcher looks for information on how the performance of activities of people and the system interface. The investigator focuses on particular events that caused change. These events are recorded and stored with analysis that can show

clusters or themes that relate to human practice. In this study, the technique, referred to by Patton (2002) as appropriate for communities dealing with major events, focuses on the division between long-term residents and immigrants in host communities.

Process of selecting community and participants

The communities used for this study were chosen by asking for nominees from the leading experts at the University of Minnesota who are engaged in rural community development research as well as an expert demographer in immigration from the University of Minnesota. Criteria for the communities selected were based on these factors: the popular perception of which communities in Minnesota are more successful in immigrant integration; the fact that both of the selected communities are a great distance from a metropolitan community that offers other services and opportunities which foreign born residents may connect; and both of these communities have food-processing plants that have been an employer of foreign-born residents for at least twenty years; and each of these communities has a population of less than 20,000 and is a regional center.

These two communities are located in south west Minnesota. I had a key contact in each community from previous community leadership and diversity work while employed with the University of Minnesota Extension. A letter (Appendix 1, p. 169) containing a written description of the study was sent to each of the key contacts followed up with a phone conversation to determine their interest in working on this project. During this time, I asked if the key contact would solicit other formal and non-formal leaders in the community who are recognized as being significant in working with immigrants in their integration process. Using the chain sampling technique, these

individuals were asked to contact me if they were willing to be interviewed. Many individuals' names were recommended from multiple sources as individuals whom I needed to interview. (Appendix 2, p. 170)

The process continued until I had sufficient participants to be interviewed, at which point I traveled to the communities to conduct the interviews. Key informants included mayors, chambers of commerce presidents, school superintendents, President of the community college in one community and chancellor in the other community, community education directors, integration collaborative directors, teachers, University of Minnesota Extension nutrition paraprofessionals, various agency staff, volunteers, and clergy. While in each community if an individual was recommended by several people that I did not have on my list I made contact to get an interview with the individual which proved to be a successful technique.

Procedures

Data collection was comprised of individual interviews that took place in a quiet location in the participant's community. Open-ended, structured questions and probes were used to obtain in-depth response about the individual's experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. These approximately one hour interviews were audio taped to be transcribed following the interview. I also took notes during the interview and recorded reflections after each interview was complete. All interviews were conducted in accordance with approval from the IRB and have remained confidential to the community and individuals interviewed.

Upon completion of the interviews, each audio taped interview was transcribed and checked for accuracy against the tapes. Analysis and searching for meaning and themes was done in conjunction with my advisor,

Significance of the study

This research makes a contribution to community development work by providing an insight into how and why key people in a community experiencing an influx of immigrants help to create connections between the host community and the immigrant community. Knowledge gained from these interviews will provide insight for other communities to learn best approaches to identify barriers and create opportunities for a healthy integrated community. It will also add to the research insight into what motivates people to work with immigrants, taking a stand at a time it is not popular.

In addition, this study provides new information and approaches to course content of rural community leadership programs as well as community diversity efforts, and will guide diversity education workshops and programs that are offered throughout rural communities. Incorporating insights gleaned in this study into other leadership and diversity course offerings, participants will gain a greater understanding of their own and other cultures. They will also be able to learn how they can be instrumental in creating connections with immigrants. More than just learning about the culture, communities need to connect new cultures with existing civic opportunities.

Democracy in the United States depends on residents being involved in their government. Again, this study will aid in leadership development educational opportunities for citizens and elected officials. Learning successful strategies to create

connections between the United States host community and new immigrants can make these opportunities more beneficial for all concerned.

The goal of this work is to provide the research that will enable American citizens to build better communities where people of all backgrounds are welcomed and encouraged to contribute according to their talents and interests.

Definition of terms

Bonding – networks that connect folks who are similar (inter-group), such as professional organizations, religious groups, or close neighbors. Bonding networks tie people who are alike together such as family, friends, and neighbors (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayan, 1999 & Putnam, 2000).

Bridging - networks are weaker ties that help connect folks who are diverse (extra-group) and can help people get ahead and gain opportunities. They are usually with people who are different from themselves (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayan, 1999 & Putnam, 2000).

Champions – in this research it is the individuals in the community who serve as a bridge or connector for new immigrants as they integrate into the community.

Chain sampling – an approach for locating information-rich key informants by asking well-situated people who should be interviewed (Patton, 2002).

Connections/Networks – A collection of people you know who you can count on. It is the networks that can be important for personal success – i.e. jobs, professional organizations, and volunteer work. (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008, p.1).

Critical Incident Technique (CIT) is a set of procedures for collecting data about human behavior that serves to facilitate potential usefulness in solving problems (Flanagan, 1954)

Diversity and sameness refers to ways in which people are different and ways in which people are alike. (Granovetter 1973, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999, Putnam, 2000 & Flora, 2005).

Engagement –to take part doing something for another without any immediate expectations of return (reciprocity) (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008, p.1).

Exclusion - refers to who is not invited, accepted or treated fairly in these environments (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Immigrant – someone who is not a citizen of the country but has been admitted as a lawful permanent resident (Ronningen, 2000).

Inclusion - brings the talent of all citizens and stakeholders into communication and cooperation (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Linking networks – the links to organizations and systems that can help people gain resources and bring about change. They are usually with organizations that have resources, both within and outside of the communities (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008, p.1).

Networks - collections of people that can be counted on for some kind of help. (Putnam, 2000; Stone and Hughes, 2002; Walker, et. al., 2002).

Norms of behavior, or “norms” - a shorthand way of describing what is “normal.”

Norms of behavior refer to the way things really get done and/or how people really treat each other. (Anderson, et. al, 1999, Stone and Hughes, 2002 & Scheffert, et. al, 2008)

Personal civic engagement is the extent to which one participates in the civic culture of a community (Putnam, 2000 & National Civic League, 2005).

Refugees – any person who lives outside of their country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or fear of being persecuted (Ronningen, 2000).

Safety refers to the actual or perceived risk of harm based on a specific place. Perceptions of safety may include a sense of who is welcome or not into a particular neighborhood (Putnam, 2000).

Social adaptation refers to ways in which immigrants and refugees learn to negotiate into their new community (Fennelly, 2006).

Social capital - is a broad term encompassing the norms and networks facilitating collective action for mutual benefit (Woolcock, 1998, p 5).

Social processes - process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence (Park, 1930:2811).

Trust – the assured reliance on the character, ability, strength or truth of someone or something (Scheffert, et.al, 2008).

Trust-efficacy is the belief that one’s own actions can improve life (Putnam, 2000, Scheffert, & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Trust-general involves positive, confident interaction with others in respect to oneself with institutions, different types of people, the factors that make people trustworthy, and trust between native residents and new residents in a community (Putnam, 2000 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Weak ties or linkages - refers to individuals who are able to move between groups and in so doing, bring back new ideas and information (Granovetter, 1973 & 1983).

Qualifications of the researcher

As a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota in the Work, Community, and Family Education program, I have completed the course work as well as my preliminary written and oral exams. I also possess a Masters of Education from Penn State University and for the last twenty years have had a career in Extension at Penn State University and the University of Minnesota. Through the past twenty years, I have worked within and with a variety of populations and communities, giving me an understanding of community life and leadership. My course work as a student has been focused on community development within the realm of intercultural understanding. Personally, I have lived, worked, and volunteered in a variety of communities giving me an appreciation of the diverse nature of people and societies.

In this section I introduced the topic of social capital and its relationship to immigrant integration in rural communities in Minnesota. The next chapter is a review of the literature encompassing the historical theoretical underpinnings, philosophical perspectives and framework of social capital; the historical account of immigration and assimilation as well as the current situation in rural Minnesota; the canonical account of

assimilation theory; and closes with a discussion of the relationship between social capital and immigration in the present context of immigration in rural communities.

CHAPTER II

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following chapter begins with a broad view of social capital theorists and writers from the 19th century John Dewey and Lyda J. Hanifan in order to locate social capital within its historical context. It concludes with a review of the leading scholars Pierre Bourdieu, Glen Lour, James Coleman, Cornelia Flora and Robert D. Putnam. This section also includes the latest research by a team at the University of Minnesota Extension with applicability to rural communities.

Social capital theory is used in this study because of the recognition of its impact in community work. In addition, I am interested in how host community leaders use their social capital to benefit immigrants. I have also reviewed immigration history and assimilation theory with the intent of having a better understanding of the process and challenges in immigrant integration. In reflecting on how leaders use their social capital to create networks with immigrants I wanted to create a better understanding of what leaders can do to address the influx of demographic changes in rural Minnesota in integrating immigrants. There is a lack of research on what motivates leaders to work with immigrants for integration.

Historical Contributions

John Dewey

Historical records credit John Dewey, an American philosopher, psychologist and educational reformer with naming social capital. Dewey used the term “social capital” with no definition in multiple publications in the early 1900’s (Putnam, 2000 & Farr, 2004). Dewey emphasized that school was a central point for the community to

assemble, to learn, share talents, and engage in democracy and that these connections would strengthen a community as well as lead to true democracy.

Lyda J. Hanifan

In 1916, Lyda J. Hanifan, the state supervisor of rural schools in West Virginia, first used the term social capital in an article titled “The Rural School Community Center.” Hanifan urged community involvement to improve rural schools. He spoke of social capital as the “good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse” that came from contact with neighbors and networks of neighbors (Putnam, 2000 p. 19 & Farr, 2004 p.11). Hanifan pointed to social capital as a means to improve the living conditions in the whole community (Putnam, 2000).

Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu, a French sociologist, has been credited with a more contemporary and theoretical definition of social capital (Portes, 1998, Smith and Kulynch, 2002). He defined the concept as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248). Bourdieu identified the possibilities of the misuse of these connections (Portes, 1998) and believed that social capital has a strong element of intergenerational transmission. In other words, children benefit from the connections of their parents and those connections are passed to the next generation.

Glen Lour

Lour is an economist from the 1970’s whose early use of social capital is occasionally cited (Portes, 1998, Smith and Kulynch, 2002). Putnam (2000) credits him

with using social capital to analyze the social legacy of slavery and his critique of racial income inequality and their policy implications (Portes, 1998). Lour recognized that no one rose to the level of his or her own competence alone and that the social context whereby individuals matured has an impact on what they can achieve. Using sociological literature on intergenerational mobility and inheritance of race he illustrated how the poverty of black parents was transmitted to their children (Portes, 1998, Smith and Kulynych, 2002).

James Coleman

Coleman's contribution to social capital was connecting the relationship of social and human capital as a resource for individuals. Human capital is defined as the skills and knowledge possessed by an individual (Portes, 1998). When an individual has networks as well as skills and knowledge it affects their opportunities for increasing their opportunities to increase their economic status.

Coleman was interested in what kept high school students from dropping out of school and whether social capital was an indicator. He found that human capital in relation to social capital was the key indicator of children staying in high school until graduation versus dropping out. The results indicated that social capital present in the family and the community plays a significant role in preventing school dropout.

Robert D. Putnam

Credit for popularizing the concept of social capital is given to Robert Putnam (Smith & Kulynych, 2002, Putnam & Feldstein, 2005 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Putnam has expanded the view of social capital beyond the individual and family to institutions and government. He was doing research to account for the social, political

and economic differences between the north and south in Italy, when he discovered that the performance of the government was related to how close the civic community functioned. Putnam's perspective of social capital is more civically oriented than those Coleman or Bourdieu have described.

The central premise of social capital for Putnam is that social networks have value. The capital refers to the collective value of all social networks and the norms that come from these networks. He claims that social capital, when combined with human and physical capital will spur economic growth. However, it is the social capital that is unique in that it also “. . . enhances the benefits of investments in physical and human capital . . .” (Putnam, 1993, p.36).

Three findings from his research explain good government and economic progress. First, trust has a positive impact on social life illustrated by networks of civic engagement that result in norms of general reciprocity. Second, civic networks also further coordination and communication and magnify information about the trustworthiness of other members. Third, past successes from these collaborative networks serve as ‘cultural templates’ for future collaboration (Putnam, 1993 & 2000).

While the orientation of these three contemporary researchers on social capital may differ, they each hold broad statements that are very similar: first, social capital is a resource; second, social capital is goal-oriented; and third, social capital is a form of social control that reinforces itself (Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Social capital is accumulative with use and deteriorates the entire community when it is not used.

In summary historically, Dewey and Hanifan believed that social capital was to be used to make positive change and to build democracy for all members of community.

They believed that by creating associations and connections social ills could be remedied. Being in the infancy of its conceptual development, their use of the term was more reflective of how they saw it being played out during their point in time. They were not necessarily writing scholarly papers on the concept, but merely reporting on the application by people working together.

A scholarly review by Bourdieu and Coleman proposed that social capital is not tangible but is something that individuals and families may possess that helps them to achieve their goals. They also identified power as a component of social capital which has potential for being abused. In reflecting on Dewey and Hanifan's application of social capital to make social change, Bourdieu and Coleman also saw that people working together was a powerful way to make things better and to build democracy for the good of all. However, Bourdieu and Colman did not specifically name power in relation to social capital. Putnam took social capital to a civic level of institutions and governments, recognizing that the connections that people have among family, friends, and neighbors affect democratic structures at the all levels.

Cornelia Butler Flora and Jan Flora

Cornelia Butler Flora and Jan Flora (Flora, 1997 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005) introduced the concept of *entrepreneurial social infrastructure* (ESI) believing that the focus needed to be broader than individual social capital. Their theory is based on the belief that communities with well-developed social infrastructures are more likely to engage in collective action for community betterment (Flora, 1997 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

They argue that social capital is useless without the opportunities to use it. The ESI concept differs from social capital in tangibility; it is easier to change a community's infrastructure than to improve something intangible like trust between people (Flora, 1997). They also argue that ESI benefits horizontal over vertical relationships in the community. Horizontal ties are the lateral ties within the community that are strong and create the norms of broad community participation. Vertical ties are the linkages to regional, state, and national resources and organizations cannot be just one gatekeeper making these links (Winchester & Loehr, 2005 & Scheffert, et. al. 2008).

Attempts to assess social capital

Because social capital is not something that is tangible – people can neither see it nor touch it - a mechanism needed to be used to help communities learn about the concepts of social capital as well as a benchmark for residents' perspectives on how well their communities were doing in this arena.

University of Minnesota Extension developed a model and assessment tool for rural communities as it relates to social capital in “Social Capital and Our Community” (Scheffert, et.al. 2008). The assessment tool is based on social capital theory with application to rural communities missing from the research in social capital. The University of Minnesota has named three conditions that matter when thinking about social capital (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008).

- *Trust* – the assured reliance on the character, ability, strength or truth of someone or something.
- *Engagement* - to take part...doing something for another without any immediate expectations of return (reciprocity)

- *Connections/Networks* - a collection of people you know who you can count on. It is the networks that can be important for personal success – i.e. jobs, professional organizations, and volunteer work. Communities can create and use networks to improve the quality of life in their town. Networks also help get information, ideas, influence, and resources to accomplish goals.

Extension professionals further defined networks and created an assessment tool that focuses on trust and engagement with the following three types of networks:

- *Bonding* – close ties that help people get by. These connections are usually with family, friends, and neighbors.
- *Bridging* – weaker ties that help people get ahead and gain opportunities. They are usually with people different from themselves who are engaged in different types of networks like occupations, organizations, etc.
- *Linking* – are the links to organizations and systems that can help people gain resources and bring about change. They are usually with organizations that have resources, both within and outside of the communities.

The concept of social capital has a long history that became popular at the end of the 20th century. Each scholar identified above has added to the dimensions and understanding of social capital. The term “social capital” now expands across a variety of disciplines and has become part of a common vernacular. Despite the wide use, the definition for social capital has not been agreed upon.

Philosophical Perspectives of Social Capital

In the past two decades many scholars have identified social capital as an element related to individual and family connections, poverty reduction, and school dropout prevention, economic development, civic engagement and neighborly connections; however, not everyone agrees on a definition of the concept. For example, the following statement is an example of the objections expressed

Social capital, in the version of which dominates since the beginning of the 1990s is finally not of great importance. It is not because the concepts and approaches, which it borrows from, are not themselves of great importance, it is precisely the opposite. In the end, social capital does not contribute to a better understanding of what it pretends to explain, and leads only to single and useless, prescription. (Ponthieus, 2004, p. 21).

Ponthieus (2004) agrees that social relationships, shared norms, values, and trust facilitate coordination and cooperation between individuals and groups. She also concurs that the concept is not new. The critique comes from using social capital as a principle that can explain economic and social phenomena.

Other critiques around social capital and the popularization by Putnam center on the use of the term “capital.” A significant criticism of Putnam’s view of social capital centers on the belief that the term “capital” attached to “social” impedes understanding because of the historical association of the word with economics. The term capital has traditionally been part of the legal and business terminology used by economists (Smith and Kulynych, 2002). It has also been associated with capitalism, which is an economic system that encompasses individualism, competition, and the pursuit of wealth as a major role. Scholars have argued for a different term, such as “social capacity,” because the nature of competition associated with capital is antithetical to the concept of social

networks. The critics believe that Putnam is calling on citizens to become social capitalists and that the present-day use of the word is obscuring many of the long-standing and historical meanings.

Putnam's critics would like to see his definition of community development practice and the use of social capital be returned to the understandings put forth by Lour, Bourdieu and Coleman (Portes, 1998 & DeFilippis, 2001, Farr, 2005). These scholars argue that social capital is not embodied in any particular person, but is embedded in people's social relationships and can be realized by individuals. It is the community, whether of interest or place, that possesses stocks of social capital. The belief is that Putnam has placed too much emphasis on the individual rather than the collective.

In refuting his critics Putnam (1993 & 2000), along with Coleman (1988) and Bourdieu (1986) believe that social capital can be a private good as well as a public good. Specifically, Putnam (1993) argues that central to the idea of social capital, networks and norms of reciprocity do have value. There is value for the individual people who are in the networks and there is value for externalities or the public.

That value serves as the rationale for use of the term "capital" despite its affiliation with the field of economics. Grotaert and van Bastelaer (2001) are clear that social networks do have value and, therefore, are equal to having capital. This idea of social capital as being both an individual and a community commodity is portrayed by Putnam (2000) when he talks about the various ways of being connected. A well-connected individual in a poorly-connected society is not as productive as a well-connected person in a well-connected society.

Further, even a poorly-connected person may receive some of the spillover benefits that come from living in a well-connected community. The term capital has been used analogously with both economic capital and human capital because, it is argued, social capital has similar benefits, even if they are harder to measure. While Smith and Kulynch (2002) have argued for a different term than capital, they have also emphasized that the relationships in social capital are deeper and more significant than economic capital.

Putnam (2000) says in *Bowling Alone* that our lives are made more productive by our social ties. Coleman saw the direct connection to social ties and the good that came for families when they had these connections in respect to both child-rearing and children's academic success. There are also negative implications. Another critique associated with the philosophical understanding of the present day popular view of social capital is that it is insufficient if used alone (Portes, 1998, Boyte, 2001, Farr, 2005 & Bridger & Alter, 2006). Social capital needs to be recognized in relation to other capitals within a community. Portes even accused Putnam of making social capital the miracle drug or cure-all for social ills. Boyte (2001), Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2001) and Sobel (2002) remind users that social capital cannot be evaluated without knowledge of the cultural context of the individual and the community. According to Portes (1998) and Boyte (2001) it is imperative to address issues of power, access, and privilege that will influence social ties and to identify who actually has access to various associations and connections within a community of place or interest.

For example, many believe that the inner city or poverty areas lack sociability or social capital. Portes and Landolt (1996) point to the fact that studies show the opposite.

Research by social anthropologists shows that many people in these areas rely on their social and family ties for economic survival. There is, in fact, considerable social capital in ghetto or poverty areas, but the assets obtainable through it seldom allow participants to rise above their poverty. In reality social capital cannot be isolated from issues of power, access, privilege and other capitals.

Despite these critiques the consensus among researchers concludes that social capital is a desirable resource to communities of any size or interest. It is seen to be the catalyst in the development of other, more tangible forms of capital such as economic or human (Winchester & Loehr , 2005).

A Theoretical Framework for Social Capital

Social capital has four assumptions that need to be considered when forming a research perspective. First, social capital measurement as well as practice is theoretically based. Second, social capital is understood as a resource that leads to collective action and has other forms of capital such as human, financial, environmental and physical. Third, social capital is multidimensional and must be understood in how the dimensions relate to each other and as a whole. Finally, social capital is contextual and it will vary within each situation (Stone, 2001). These assumptions and the theoretical framework provide the underpinnings for the connection of social capital and immigrant integration.

In its simplest form, social capital refers to the glue that holds the community together; however, scientists vary in their precise definitions and implications. The consensus is that social capital is seen as a resource and has impact on other capitals (human, financial, environmental or natural and physical) (Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Social capital is often associated with economic well-being as well as human

relationships in a community in order for a community to be healthy. Putnam has defined social capital as reciprocal and comprised of trust, norms or behavior, and networks (2000).

Within these broad categories are nine subcategories as identified by Granovetter (1973), Fuykuyama (1999), Putnam (2000), and Woolcock & Narayn (1999) which include norms of behavior, personal civic engagement, safety, trust-efficacy, trust-general, networks, diversity and sameness, inclusion and exclusion, and bridging and bonding. These categories have implications for integration of immigrants into new communities. These can be defined as follows:

Norms

Norms of behavior, or “norms”, is a shorthand way of describing what is “normal.” Norms of behavior refer to the way things really get done and/or how people really treat each other. They are the unwritten rules. Norms refer to both relationships and tasks. Relationship norms may center on issues of power and authority in a group. Task norms may center on how decisions are made and implemented. Norms are also behaviors that put into action beliefs and values that are often unstated. Norms can be identified by observing and listening carefully to themes in stories about important events, celebrations and rituals within the community (Anderson, et. al, 1999, Stone and Hughes, 2002 & Scheffert, et. al, 2008).

Personal civic engagement is the extent to which one participates in the civic culture of a community. The civic culture includes a sense of identity shared by the community and is expressed through its character, cultural life, and politics. It is also the

way citizens and the social organizations participate in relation to one another (Putnam, 2000 & National Civic League, 2005).

Safety refers to the actual or perceived risk of harm based on a specific place. Perceptions of safety may include a sense of who is welcome or not into a particular neighborhood. Most communities have a shared sense of safe and unsafe places within the community. A sense of a place as unsafe can be a barrier to association with that aspect of the community (Putnam, 2000).

Trust

Trust is a key but also the most difficult concept. Streeten (2002) states that sociologists have tried to explain trust in terms of social capital but they also recognize that trust is something that waxes and wanes and it is not clear why some societies have more trust than others. Trust arises from norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement according to Putnam (2000).

Trust-efficacy is the belief that one's own actions can improve life. People who lack efficacy have lost hope, often from being forced to cope with too few resources for too long and with too little success. Those who acquire a sense of efficacy, however, resolve to change their lives. Efficacy, the sense from which all further personal development springs, precedes education, skills training, or a job search (Putnam, 2000, Scheffert, & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Trust-general involves positive, confident interaction with others in respect to oneself with institutions, different types of people, the factors that make people trustworthy, and trust between native residents and new residents in a community (Putnam, 2000 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

Networks

Networks are collections of people that can be counted on for some kind of help. These networks function at a non-formal level and are useful for exchanging information, skills and resources. Sometimes non-formal networks develop into more structured coalitions or other groups. The ability to create and use networks is an important strategy for personal job success, professional organizations, in interpersonal relationships and for connecting to the community at large (Putnam, 2000; Stone and Hughes, 2002; Walker, et. al., 2002).

Diversity and sameness refers to ways in which people are different and ways in which people are alike. Understanding how individual interests, experiences, and characteristics connect as well as separate people is valuable. In addition, appreciating this diversity and recognizing commonality is critical to resilient communities (Granovetter 1973, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999, Putnam, 2000 & Flora, 2005).

Inclusion and exclusion are similar but refer primarily to who is invited and accepted into a family, team, or community. Exclusion refers to who is not invited, accepted or treated fairly in these environments. Inclusion, on the other hand, brings the talent of citizens and stakeholders into communication and cooperation. Exclusion purposely foregoes the talents of some citizens or stakeholders (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005).

The last category is *bridging and bonding*, which refers to two specific ways networks are built. Bonding networks connect folks who are similar (inter-group), such as professional organizations, religious groups, or close neighbors. Bridging networks connect folks who are diverse (extra-group). These types of networks may connect the

school with the workplace or towns across the state border, or bridging networks of newcomers to established groups (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayan, 1999 & Putnam, 2000).

Benefits of social capital according to the Saguaro Seminar report (Harvard University, 2003) found that places with higher levels of social capital have side benefits or spill over that Putnam identified earlier. A study by Harvard University and Streeten (2002) reported that communities with strong social capital tend to have better schools, less crime and violence, fewer teen pregnancies, better health, and greater affluence. As indicated earlier this is based on communities that had access to power and privilege.

The Challenges and Limits of Social Capital

The time needed to develop and nurture social capital is one of the first challenges or limitation that needs to be recognized. The fact that social capital increases with use and deteriorates for individuals and the community when it is not used makes it unique from other forms of capital.

When used, social capital is widely understood as a positive force among people and has been referred to as “who you know” or the glue that holds the community together, a dark side of social capital also exists. This dark side has been identified by Portes and Landolt (1996), Grootaert (1997), Fukuyama (1999), Streeten (2002), and Winchester & Loehr (2005). Bourdieu’s work identifies how social ties and networks perpetuate class and racism. These authors recognize that social capital is not tangible but that it exists at the individual as well as community level. They also confirm Flora (1997) who identified the importance of these connections at both individual and community level.

Social capital creates strong ties that can unintentionally or maybe even intentionally result in exclusion of others who are not in the network. Portes (1998) identified that the same strong ties that bring benefits to members of a group also are what enable the same group to bar access. He provided the example of white ethnics who are descendants of Italian, Irish and Polish immigrants who have tight control over the construction trades and fire and police unions of New York City. It has helped people from those groups but has excluded individuals who do not share the same ethnicity. There are other examples such as the “good-old-boys” network which excludes women in the workplace. Sometimes these strong ties or solidarity among groups can create barriers that can only be passed by government intervention. This idea is also true in communities of place, making it difficult for newcomers to enter and add to the social capital.

Fukuyama (1999) discusses the internal cohesion at the expense of outsiders who are treated with suspicion, hostility or outright hatred. This has been identified in Putnam’s work with the Mafia in Italy as well as evidenced with the Ku Klux Klan, anti-immigration Nativists movements and gangs. These groups have achieved cooperative ends on the basis of shared norms, strong ties and bonding, and therefore have what would be defined as possession of social capital. But they also produce negativity in the society in which they are embedded. Further, they may serve as a liability for development of other capitals in a community.

Portes (1998) and Streeten (2002) also caution that these networks and social interaction can cause illegitimacy, bribery, corruption, nepotism, cronyism and crime. Civic society means not only membership in such things as choral groups, PTA, and the

like, it can also be another name for lobbyists, the KKK, and gangs, and etc. as Fukuyama indicated (1999).

Mark Granovetter emphasized the need for weak ties in a community (1973 & 1983). A weak tie refers to individuals who are able to move between groups and in so doing, bring back new ideas and information. If a community is insular, homogenous, and lacks weak ties it reduces the ability of generating cooperation with outsiders. Without the networks of connection for all citizens in the community, the community will be divided and exclusive. It is the aspects of networking that include diversity and sameness, inclusion and exclusion and bridging and bonding that are essential at preventing the limits or dark side of social capital. For the specific immigrant populations in rural communities, social capital theory has additional drawbacks. The newer immigrants have lower levels of education and socio economic status. However, the concept does have utility in that I am specifically interested in what the host community champions have done to be intentional about creating relationships and opportunities to move in the direction of integration and inclusion.

Immigration and Assimilation

Since the 1960's, assimilation has been perceived primarily by researchers and writers in a negative light (Alba & Nee, 2003 & Penninx, 2003). Critics have labeled it as ethnocentric and patronizing for minorities and those who struggle to retain their cultural and ethnic identity (Alba & Nee, 2003). In fact, due to the negativity associated with the term, some researchers have begun using the term integration. Integration is the process by which immigrants become accepted into their new society as individuals and as a group. The definition is deliberately openly defined because the requirements for

acceptance from the receiving or host community vary greatly from country to country and community to community (Penninx, 2003).

Historically, assimilation and the melting pot theory were deemed a one-way street with the immigrants having to make all the changes. However, a closer look at the historical context of assimilation as well as a rethinking of how these terms are defined and actually played out in real life is imperative to our understanding of how researchers and communities face the challenges associated with the present era of immigration. If the expectation continues that the immigrants have to do all the changing and that the community does not also change, there will continue to be misconceptions and expectations about what is studied and what are best practices for positive community development as it relates to immigration (Penninx, 2003 & Anderson, 2007 & 2008).

Anderson (2007 & 2008) indicates that the United States is in the midst of an immigration crisis. As of the date of this research, the United States is at a heightened Nativists rhetoric and public discourse about cultural diversity that is comparable to WWI. People are deeply concerned with the meaning of America and many feel the national identity is in flux or threatened. As in the earlier immigration era, immigration historically brings a crisis of identity which is best understood as a crisis of assimilation (Anderson, 2007 & 2008). Before delving into assimilation theory it is important to take a look at immigration history and policy to gain a deeper understanding to the current situation.

History of Rural Immigration

As the face of rural America is changing so are the faces in rural Minnesota and there are many factors effecting the transformation. Two factors include immigration (the

movement into a country where one is not a native) and migration (movement within one's own country). The dominant Caucasian, non-Hispanic white population is declining and aging (Dalla, Ellis, & Cramer, 2005). Young people are moving to more metropolitan areas, leaving behind a rural, aging population. Thus, there are fewer people remaining to sustain the economic and civic vitality of rural communities. In order for rural Minnesota businesses to prosper, they have recruited immigrants from other parts of the world since the early 1980's. Long-term residents are faced with a shift in cultural norms that is causing conflict and creating anti-immigrant backlash. If communities do not positively address these challenges, cultural conflict and eventual deterioration will occur. Their future depends on the success of diverse peoples and cultures integrating the community, not just offering economical growth but also building a strong, cohesive community (Dalla, Ellis, & Cramer, 2005).

The challenges facing rural Minnesota are linked to the history of immigration policy, immigration patterns, and racial prejudice. The shift in demographics in rural communities is based on immigrants coming from places around the globe with different cultures and ethnicities than those traditionally in the community. Despite the fact that America is a nation built on immigration there are differing perspectives on the current immigration situation. Many of these prejudices lead to present day challenges.

Minnesota immigrants from the 1850's have been primarily comprised of Northern Europeans. A change began in the middle of the 20th century when immigrants came from Canada, Mexico, later from Asia, and most recently from Africa. The largest group of immigrants currently in Minnesota is from Mexico and other Latin American countries (Ronningen, 2000). Now Minnesota has the largest populations of Hmong and

Somali who are coming as refugees. A *refugee* is defined as any person who lives outside of their country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or fear of being persecuted. An *immigrant* is defined as someone who is not a citizen of the U.S. but has been admitted as a lawful permanent resident (Ronningen, 2000).

Early European immigrants came to seek a better way of life and many arrived prior to any sort of immigration policy (Fix and Passel, 1994, McDonald, 1998 & Lee, 2005). Today's immigrants include refugees who are fleeing for their safety as well as hoping to make a better life. While it has been considered the norm that new immigrants are marginalized (Fix & Passel, 1994) those of European descent were more likely to be considered American once they spoke English even though it took two or three generations for the immigrants to learn the language. The speed of English acquisition remains about the same. Putnam, (2008), indicates that the level of language acquisition with this new wave of immigrations is about what it was a century ago. The children learn to speak English and by the next generation they may be speaking only English.

In order to fit in, some of the early European immigrants Anglicized their surnames, while others were able to blend into the communities due to shared religious practices. It took immigrants coming from Southern and Eastern Europe longer since they were perceived as "dark" and many were marginalized appearing to be "black." (Hirschman, 1983, Alba & Nee, and Zhou, 1997).

New immigrants bring changes.

Farkas (2003) discovered that current immigrants are insistent on learning English because they see it as critical for their success pragmatically and to be understood.

However, even with learning English, full acceptance and integration into the community may be difficult based on a history of racial and religious intolerance in this country (Hirschman, 1983, Fix & Passel, 1994, Alba and Nee, 1997, MacDonald, 1998, Alba & Nee, 2003 & Lee, 2005).

Anti-immigrant sentiment is part of United States History.

As evidenced in a historical perspective of immigration in this country, new immigrants have typically been marginalized, (Fix & Passel, 1994, Lee, 2005, & MacDonald, 1998). An additional historical perspective reveals issues of discrimination based on race that adds to concerns for immigrants arriving who are not of the dominant race in this country. In fact, (Hirschman, 1983, Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2008, Zhou, 1997), research indicates that immigrants with darker skin still have the most difficulty assimilating into their new host communities. Ethnicity and skin color continue to be a concern with this new wave of immigrants.

Rural communities are dependent on new immigrants for survival both economically and socially due to a shrinking dominant culture (Ronningen, 2000 & Center for Rural Policy, 2003). However, there is often a general fear of new immigrants as evidenced by letters to the editor in local newspapers as well as the formation of such groups as FAIR (Federation of Americans for Immigration Reform) (Backgrounder, 2002, Center for New Community, 2002) who create a voice for anti-immigration sentiments and fear. Many European descendents seem to have romanticized their immigration history but have negative perspectives of new immigrants.

Early anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States, from a dominant culture perspective, has been identified in three phrases (Daniels, 2002). The first phase was

anti-Catholic and was aimed at Irish Catholics and to some degree the German Catholics who immigrated from the late 1830's to the mid 1850's. This was followed by the second anti-Asian phase, which was triggered by Chinese immigration and flourished from the early 1870's until the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1883 which codified anti-immigrant sentiment. Passage of this exclusion act happened after the Chinese helped build the transcontinental railroad. Successor movements were directed against Japanese from 1905 to 1924 and Filipinos in the 1920s and 1930s. Neither of these has ever totally disappeared (Daniels, 2002).

Finally, the third phase is known as the anti-all immigrants and began in the mid 1880's. During this time there was a movement for general restriction of immigration which culminated in the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 that dominated American immigration policy for the next forty years. However, there has never been a time when Nativists attitudes have not been present to some degree in American society (Daniels, 2002).

It was the Immigration Act of 1924 that ended open immigration from Europe and instituted a quota system to limit the "undesirables" from southern and eastern Europe. This act defined American natives as descendents of the white population of the country when it was founded (Hirschman, 1983Alba & Nee, 1997, Fennelly, 2007, Anderson, 2007 & 2008, & Alba & Nee, 2008,). Coinciding with this act is the implementation of the term "ethnicity" which is an American invention and rarely used until the 20th century and only after 1930. This terminology and dividing people into groups serves to contrast groups of people and prevent the population being seen as one group (Fennelly, 2006, and Putnam, 2007).

Mexicans become illegal aliens.

It is also important to recognize the history of Mexican immigration since they constitute the highest number of immigrants in Minnesota today. After the Mexican American War in 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was created. This treaty gave the northern half of Mexico to the United States and stipulated that anyone who was living in the area who did not declare their intention to remain a Mexican citizen or leave the territory within one year would automatically become a U.S. citizen. Those who did not become “illegal aliens.” This act served as the impetus for the Mexican American saying, “We did not cross the border, the border crossed us” (Fennelly, 2007). Historically, Mexicans have been recruited for labor in times of shortages and then when their labor was no longer needed it was followed with massive restrictions and deportation.

Immigration act of 1965

During the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments, also known as the Hart-Cellar Act, was passed by the Democratic controlled Congress. The passage of this act abolished the system of national-origin quotas that favored Europe and opened the doors for immigrants from Asia, Africa, and Latin American countries (Frum, 2000). In essence, the policies capped the number of immigrants from a given country and allowed a “diversity lottery” to ensure at least some possibility of entry from all countries (Macmillan, 2007).

Despite the fact that during the Civil Rights Era it became increasingly inappropriate to verbalize prejudices and antidiscrimination policies were put into place,

that did not prevent the continued prejudicial and racist acts that are woven throughout the United States history (Hirschman, 1983, Alba & Nee, 2003, Anderson, 2007 & 2008).

Racism and Prejudice Affects Immigration.

Not only do immigration policies reflect acts of prejudice against non-northern Europeans, the history of slavery of African-Americans and placement of American Indians on reservations also depicts acts of racism and prejudice in America (Beebejaun, 2006). Prejudice is defined as the acceptance of negative stereotypes which puts people into the category of “other.” Racism extends prejudice into an ideology or belief system that ascribes characteristics to a group that are inalterable. By ascribing negative labels to the immigrants, natives who are threatened can elevate their own cultural identity (Putnam, 2007 & Fennelly, 2008). Racial tensions are an on-going struggle in this country and play into the challenges for new immigrants as well. In rural Minnesota, the only racial diversity historically has been American Indians who live on reservations (Fennelly, 2007).

Immigration is a major issue throughout the world, not just in the United States. What is seen in the United States however is a shift away from European immigrants as the dominant source to Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans (Massey, 1993). Developed countries have become more diverse and multi-ethnic societies and it will continue to move in that direction with globalization. Immigrant patterns to the United States also reflect historical relations with the sending countries in terms of military, political, economic, and cultural involvement. As the United States has become more involved in the world, the world is now more involved in the United States through refugees particularly from South East Asian and the horn of Africa (Fennelly, 2007). An

intriguing question is how then did some people the strength to stand up to these prevailing trends? Research on this is beyond the scope of this study.

Assimilation Theory

Historically, assimilation, often known as the integration or incorporation, has been described as a process whereby characteristics of immigrant group members and host societies come to resemble each other. Typically, assimilation is seen as a long-term process that takes at least two to three generations, but there is not a fixed timetable (Hirschman, 1983, Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003, Brown & Bean, 2006 & Anderson, 2007 & 2008).

Assimilation has been described as minorities or immigrant groups being absorbed into the culture or mores of another group in order to make them similar (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003 & Merriam-Webster, 2008). Perceptions of assimilation are based on the European immigrants from a different era. Wierzbicki (2003) argues that the classic assimilation theory never meant an unadulterated prediction of Anglo-Conformity – or straight-line change, meaning only the immigrants would change. Alba & Nee (1997) concur that the old perception of assimilation is dated. However, assimilation as a social science concept still offers the best way to describe immigrant integration into the mainstream across generations. Assimilation may occur spontaneously based on interaction between majority and minority groups.

We do not know if what has been true in the past may not be true now in relation to immigrants' assimilation in the United States. (Anderson, 2007 & 2008). Alba and Nee (1997) indicate that there is little data presently available about second generation immigrants and there is virtually none on third and subsequent generations to give

evidence of assimilation of the new immigrants. It can be argued that in today's global environment, it would in fact be detrimental to extinguish the distinctive cultures, languages, and knowledge that children of immigrants bring to their host communities (Anderson, 2007 & 2008 & Alba and Nee 1997). A canonical account of assimilation, paralleled with the history of racial segregation and prejudice all add to our understanding of current immigration issues.

Canonical Account of Assimilation

Expectations for assimilation date back to the colonial time and are rooted in the historical experience of immigration in the United States as indicated in this quote by Ben Franklin in relation to the Germans in Pennsylvania.

Why should the Palatine boors be suffered to swarm into our settlements and by herding together establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a colony of aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our anglifying them? (Heer, D. (1996, p. 12)

The expectation was for all immigrants to become Anglo-Saxon. This is reflected in institutional laws that protected the white immigrants but not non-whites. Those Europeans that were considered non-white, Irish, Italian, Jews, worked hard to be labeled white to distinguish themselves from African-Americans and the discriminatory treatment they witnessed (Alba & Nee, 2003).

Anderson (2007 & 2008) identified the Anglo-Saxon model for American identity by emphasizing Northern European ideas and customs. Anglo Saxons emphasized the strength and success in American institutions and ideologies that were based on their

principles and they did not want these diluted by high levels of immigration, especially if they were not of Anglo-Saxon background. This was reported in the 1900s by E.A. Ross when there was an influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans.

The Melting Pot Theory

In 1908, Israel Zangwill wrote a pre-World War I play, titled *The Melting Pot*. The theme of the play was the belief that the divisions of nationality and ethnicity would soon disappear in the United States, as all Americans would blend into a new national identity. There is a significant emphasis on the institutional power of the United States to embrace the diversity of new comers and create something that is bigger, better, and stronger than before (Anderson, 2007 & 2008, Hirschman, 1983).

The melting pot soon symbolized a vision for American society, symbolizing a land of opportunity where race, religion, and national origin could not be barriers to social mobility. However, new immigrants were expected to be Anglo-American and strongly encouraged to learn English and to discard their ethnic culture (Hirschman, 1983 & Alba & Nee, 2003).

Park and the Chicago School

It was in the context of the diversity of Chicago that Robert Park and W. I. Thomas collaborated with their students at the newly formed Chicago School of Sociology to become the founders of modern sociological theory. They conducted research on race and ethnic relations in the early decades of the 20th century. Chicago was a polyglot city that was full of ethnic neighborhoods populated by recent immigrants from Europe and black migrants from the South. Park and his students formulated the

theory of assimilation that became the dominant theory in sociology on race and ethnicity (Hirschman, 1983).

The early definition of assimilation was defined as the “interpenetration and fusion where people and groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other people or groups and through sharing experiences and history are then incorporated into cultural life” (Park, R. E. & Burgess, E. 1969:735). It did not require erasing immigrant’s entire ethnic origins, but the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life (Park, 1930:2811).

These early concepts formulated Park’s thesis of the race-relations cycle of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation. He believed that ethnic antagonism and division were natural and come from an ethnocentric and competitive process of the modern society. Second, he believed that assimilation process is inevitable in modern society (Hirschman, 1983, Zhou, 1997 & Alba & Nee, 2003).

Park also believed that people needed to come into contact with each other that would not typically be connected. The instability of being in contact leads to *competition* that happens as groups struggle to gain advantages over each other. In time, the competition becomes more stable and results in *accommodation*, the social structure of usually unequal relations. An understanding of group positions comes into being at this stage of accommodation. When accommodation seems stable, personal relationships cross boundaries of the group and lead to eventual assimilation. (Hirschman 1983, Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2003). It is important to note that the race-relations cycle has been critiqued for assuming that assimilation is inevitable in multi-ethnic societies.

Milton Gordon's Framework

Gordon's framework took the Chicago school concepts to a new level and identified seven types of assimilation:

- *acculturation*: new comers adopt language, dress, and daily customs of the host society (including values and norms),
- *structural assimilation*: large-scale entrance of minorities will enter cliques, clubs and institutions in the host society;
- *marital assimilation*: widespread intermarriage across religious boundaries;
- *identification assimilation*: the minority feels bonded to the dominant culture;
- *attitude reception assimilation*: refers to the absence of prejudice;
- *behavior reception assimilation*: refers to the absence of discrimination;
- *civic assimilation* occurs when there is an absence of values and power struggles. (Gordon, 1964 & Hirschman, 1983).

Gordon believed that acculturation is inevitable as the minority group adapts to the cultural patterns of the host society, while retaining religious and music values (Gordon, 1964 & Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2003). Gordon focused on changes of the first generation of foreign born who are initially less assimilated. With each generation of American-born children they were more like the mainstream than their parents (Gordon, 1964, Zhou, 1997, Brubaker, 2001).

Gordon's major hypothesis was that acculturation of subsequent generations was dependent on *structural assimilation*. It was through the integration of minorities into

existing structures that the other types of assimilation could happen (Gordon, 1964, Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003, Brown & Bean, 2006). Ultimately he believed that prejudice and discrimination would decline and even disappear, resulting in intermarriage and the dissipation of minority separate identity.

However, this theory does not take into account local or social class or distinguish between individuals or groups. Assimilation can be thought of in stages with structural assimilation being a product of the maturity of the process (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003, Portes, 2005). Gordon's concept of *identification* assimilation requires ethnic identity to be exclusively national; however, the majority of Americans acknowledge some non-American ethnic ancestry (Alba & Nee, 1997).

Straight-Line Assimilation

Gans and Sandberg see immigrants and native-born people following a straight-line or a convergence over time, becoming similar in norms, values, behaviors and characteristics (Alba & Nee, 2003, Waters & Jimenez, 2005 & Anderson, 2007). Gans later changed "straight" to "bumpy" because simply put, it is a "bumpy" experience rather than easy as implied by "straight." Each generation works harder to develop a sequence of steps with each representing on average a new stage of adjustment in each generation away from ethnic origins and toward the host society; thus a "bumpy" process. (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2008, Anderson, 2007).

The bumpy process for immigrants' opportunities to assimilate can be blocked based on their race or ethnicity taking the form of discrimination and setting up institutional barriers to opportunities. Segmented or structural barriers in the form of poor urban schools, cut off access to employment are particularly severe in the case of the

most disadvantaged members of immigrant groups. These impediments can lead to stagnant or downward mobility, even as the children of other immigrants follow divergent paths toward classic straight-line assimilation (Brown & Bean, 2006).

Gans maintained that there is a generational dynamic in ethnic change that moves in the general direction of assimilation. Each generation has an impetus for change, beyond the passing of time. However, immigrant cultures change in place in response to the condition and culture of the host society (Hirschman, 1983, Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003, & Anderson, 2007) and not all immigrants are the same or influence change in the same way. For instance, immigrants who have more education and held leadership roles in their country of origin bring that knowledge and skill with them that can be beneficial for themselves and their fellow ethnic group.

Residential Mobility

Historically, as well as today, people settle in racial and ethnic communities that correlate to their human capital, economic, and educational attainment. As immigrants begin assimilating into the culture by learning the language and way of life in their new society they began to disperse into other communities or neighborhoods where other ethnic populations live. This usually takes at least two generations and upward mobility is more apt to happen when people's economic and educational attainment increases beyond that of their peers (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003). As people become more upwardly mobile they move out of ethnic communities that do not reflect their economic and educational level, leaving behind those that are less successful (Alba & Nee, 2003).

For immigrants living and working with main stream host society, the assimilation process is referred to as "spatial assimilation." The interaction with

residents of the host society serves as a connection to building networks within the new community. If immigrants are confined to dense residential communities where there is lack of day to day contact with members of the host society there are fewer opportunities for creating connections (Anderson, 2007 & 2008, Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2003).

Socio-economic progress

Education, occupation, and income equate with the attainment of average or above average socioeconomic standing. Education is a key indicator of socio economic and for immigrants school is a primary step toward full participation in the United States society. (Hirschman 1983 & Alba & Nee, 2003, Brown and Bean, 2006, & Putnam, 2008).

Labor migrants make slower progress assimilating into the larger community which may be due to lower educational attainment, hence less human and economic capital. This group will be competing for jobs on the bottom rung in the labor market and will have a harder time. The next generation of migrants may graduate from high school but are not as likely to go on to college compared to children of professionals and entrepreneurs.

The socio-economic perspective recognizes that not all immigrant groups start at the bottom of the ladder. Immigrants who come in with professional training and human capital will start higher in the work force. In this regard, members of immigrant minority are in similar position to those in the mainstream who have less education (Hirschman, 1983). The more resources and support within the family, the better chances for educational opportunities and therefore socio-economic stability.

Hirschman (1983) and Anderson (2007 & 2008) identify prejudice and discrimination as barriers for American minorities to achieve socioeconomic success. When black people began migrating to the north in the later part of the 19th and early years of the 20th century they initially had an equal chance in school. However, as first and second generation immigrants came from the South, East and Central (SEC) Europe, prejudice toward blacks kept them from moving forward in comparison to European immigrants who experienced declining discrimination.

Southern and Eastern European immigrants have succeeded despite a long legacy of social bigotry. Catholic and Jewish immigrants experienced intolerance and exclusion especially in legal professions (Hirschman, 1983 & Anderson, 2007).

Segmented Assimilation

Segmented assimilation is viewed as a middle-range theory, that addresses why there are different patterns of adaptation that emerge among contemporary immigrants as well as how these patterns lead to convergence into the new society and divergence from it (Zhou, 1997). The literature reveals that immigrants' success in adapting to their host society depends on their financial and human capital and residential location and economic success does elude some immigrants' descendents even as late as the third generation. Recent immigrants are more varied and diverse and face more structural barriers in terms of poor urban schools, educational opportunities and lack of employment, resulting in down-ward mobility (Zhou, 1997 & Brown and Bean, 2006). As a result some segments of the immigrant population tend to be more successful than others in the acculturation and assimilation process.

New Assimilation Theory

Assimilation is often viewed as ethnocentric, referring to the tendency to believe that the dominant culture is centrally important, and that all other groups are measured in relation to the dominant U.S. culture. Despite this perception of the word assimilate, social scientists still see it as the best term to use when describing and understanding the phenomenon of assimilation. The causes of assimilation are much less understood than the results. According to Alba and Nee (1997) conceptions of assimilation have been at the core of the American experience since colonial times and still need to be a part of the theory of ethnicity and race, especially for immigrants.

It is worth noting that early social scientists committed what is now regarded as an intellectual sin by expecting immigrants to give up their ethnic identity or what they regarded as inferior ways (Alba and Nee, 1997). Arguments in the literature seem to be focused more on whether the language of assimilation can be refashioned to create a clearer more accurate definition. Alba and Nee (1997 & 2003) argue that since the concept of assimilation is central to the culture of the American experience it provides the continuity between Euro-Americans and new immigrant groups. This continuity is at the heart of the continued debate on the primacy of assimilation as a goal for the United States society. A new name, it is argued, would be a denial of history and continuity in the study of the phenomenon (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003). Historically, assimilation has not meant Americanization, but rather a gradual decline in ethnic and linguistic markers (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003 & Anderson, 2007 & 2008).

There is a need to understand why immigrants and their descendents either seek to assimilate or end up assimilating as unintended consequences in their quest of goals. We

no longer assume assimilation is inevitable or that it is irreversible. Alba and Nee (2003) argue that assimilation is an outcome that stems from the cumulative effect of individual choices and actions in close-knit groups. This occurs at different rates within and across ethnic groups, essentially as the result of a repertoire of causal mechanisms.

Most generally, assimilation at the group level is defined as a decline with the end point being a disappearance of ethnic and racial distinctions and cultural and social differences. However, it is important to recognize that this does not assume that assimilation always goes towards the ethnic majority or that it only involves minorities (Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2003, Wierzbickis, 2003). Assimilation happens with both majority and minority groups. For minorities, it leads to changes in society that allows them as minorities to be able to function in mainstream society. The dominant culture is incorporating some elements from the minority culture. Over time the cultural and social distances for minority groups will narrow (Alba & Nee, 1997).

Historically, institutional laws have protected immigrants from European countries. That changed in 1965 when the quota system was implemented to diversify the number and national origins of immigrants. Since the dawn of the civil rights era, mechanisms have been put in place that monitor and enforce federal rules with consequences for discrimination. The ideological shift has not ended racial prejudice and practice but it has changed the character of the public legitimacy of racism. Today, generally black immigrants face racial barriers that are similar to those faced by African-Americans. Racial attitudes and discrimination are more complex and differentiated today in the United States, (Alba and Nee, 2003). Ultimately for true assimilation to take

place, what is crucial is the ability and willingness of the established groups in the white majority culture to include immigrants of color.

Current Rural Minnesota Immigrant Settlement

As was previously stated, rural Minnesota has been primarily a homogeneous culture comprised of people of northern European descent. The only historic diversity has come from the indigenous American Indian populations who were not uniformly integrated into local communities. Rural Minnesota has become a destination for Mexican migrant farm laborers over the last several decades that historically have lived in migrant camp housing and have not become intricately connected to their local communities. Being disconnected from the host community is changing as more migrant laborers settle into local communities. Many of the residents of rural Minnesota have tended towards a romanticized view of their own immigration story and have not recognized the similarities between their ancestors' experience and those of the present day immigrants adapting and learning culture and language that is foreign to them (Fennelly, 2008). This has been a potential cause of friction.

The attention to immigration has increased in Minnesota as foreign born populations move into the host communities (Fennelly, 2005). There has been a rapid increase in foreign born residents over the last decade, especially in the south central part of the state. Between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses, the foreign born population in Minnesota increased by 138% compared to 57% nationwide (Fennelly, 2005). In 2007, 6.5% of Minnesota's population was foreign born. (Fennelly & Haurt, 2009). When people from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, settle in predominantly white rural communities, they stand out. Acceptance of newcomers of any background is difficult in

rural communities, and even more so for immigrants and refugees whose physical characteristics make them stand out (Hirschman, 1983, Zhou, 1997, Wierzbicki, 2003, Fennelly, 2005, & Brown and Bean, 2006).

Why they come

Rural communities are experiencing the influx of immigration throughout the Midwest states because of the relocation of large food processing plants to rural areas. Historically, food processing plants were located in metropolitan communities and were unionized. In recent years, plants have been located out of urban areas and have hired non-union labor. The move to rural communities has been accelerated by business tax incentives, proximity of water and food sources and the opportunity to recruit non-union, low wage workers (Fennelly, 2008). There is an increasingly aging population in rural communities; food processing businesses consequently, have had to rely on and recruit immigrants as their primary labor source. The immigrants, many who are refugees from war zones, are coming as economic migrants and highly motivated to work (Fennelly, 2005, Shandy & Fennelly, 2006 & Fennelly, 2008). Immigrants are willing to work for lower wages and most have skill and language limitations. They also find a lower cost of living in rural communities.

Rural Communities Are More Likely to Have Difficulty Accepting Immigrants

Despite the economic revitalization immigrants bring with them, many of these rural communities have not been welcoming to the new populations. The dramatic shift in demographics has coincided with the loss of small farms, expansion of feedlots and agribusiness, consolidation of schools and the influx of large box store. In small towns, many or most people grew up knowing their neighbors and having clear definitions of

insiders and outsiders. People knew the hierarchy and politics of their community. Immigrants may be seen as a threat to this cohesive concept of American identity for many people (Fennelly & Federico, 2005, Fennelly, 2005).

A backlash has resulted in the formation of several white nationalist groups who write anti-immigrant letters to the editor in local newspapers (Center for New Community, 2002 & Fennelly, 2005). Clearly some native born people perceive threats over competition for resources, identity, and power of the majority culture. The perception that immigrants cost more to a community than they contribute is a major cause of this sentiment (Aizlewood & Pendakur, 2005, Coffe' & Geys, 2006, & Fennelly, 2006).

National Survey of Rural Residents

A national survey found that rural respondents perceive immigrants more negatively than urban or suburban counter parts and are more concerned about the impact of immigration on American jobs and economy (Fennelly & Federico, 2005). Other research by Fennelly (2008) on prejudice towards immigrants in the Midwest found that the level of education, particularly college level, is a key factor in predicting attitudes towards immigrants. People with higher education and income levels are more accepting of immigrants. People living in rural areas have lower levels of education and fewer opportunities to interact positively with other cultures; therefore, they are more likely to be prejudiced against non whites. Majority groups may respond negatively to diversity because according to Aizlewood & Pendakur (2005), differences threatens their identities and results in a reduced sense of trust and decreased cooperation.

Challenges to Immigrants in Rural Communities

Despite the desire to work hard, many immigrants face increased challenges in rural communities. Many of the services that would be available in metropolitan communities are not in place in small communities to help ease the transition to living in a new culture and community. For example, in metropolitan communities there are usually agencies that help resettle refugees as well as enclaves of various cultures to offer resources and support.

Immigrants' biggest obstacle to socio-economic stability is their lack of English language skills and the associated cultural barriers. Despite their desire to learn, it takes time to acquire a language competency level that can help them advance in the job market (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). Many also have lower levels of educational attainment because of educational disruption caused by war. Differences of religion, family composition, child care, traditional foods and even housing create challenges for the immigrants and their assimilation into the host community. Immigrants are often discriminated against and denied opportunities to get institutional support and recognition despite their devotion to America ideals of hard work and material success (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995 & Fennelly, 2006).

People in rural communities who welcome the new immigrants are faced with multiple challenges and limited resources. Many communities have tried to meet the needs by creating diversity committees to help with resettlement and immediate needs (Dalla, Ellis & Cramer, 2005 & Fennelly, 2005).

Immigrants may also resist efforts to integrate into the new community (Fennelly, 2005 & Shandy & Fennelly (2006). Shandy and Fennelly (2006) compared two African

immigrant populations in a rural community and found that some Somali interviewees took pride in Somali separatism. Also religious freedom and practice was much more difficult for the Somali Muslim population than the Sudanese Christians who shared religious ideals with the dominant culture.

Community sociologist Cornelia Flora states that resilient communities will draw on the diversity and resources within their community when going through difficult times (2005). The challenge for rural Minnesota is to draw on the diversity and strengths of the new residents as well as the long-term residents.

Is Social Capital the Answer?

Social capital has received a great deal of attention as the means for building healthy communities. For example, economists are pointing to social capital as the means for greater economic development and financial growth (Costa, 2002). However, not all researchers are ascribing the same value to social capital when it comes to racial and ethnic diversity within the United States. Putnam (2007) says there seems to be more social capital where there is lower diversity.

An individual's group-based ethno cultural characteristics will drive attitudes and behaviors. Aizlewood and Pendakur (2005) state that social capital is a cultural attitude that is inherited and learned, therefore, not easily shed. For whatever reasons, some groups may have more or less civic qualities that remain constant across generations and places of residence. In a review of the literature on ethnic boundaries and plural societies, Sanders (2002) found that patterns of social interaction help reinforce in-group members' self-identification and confirm outsiders' distinctive differences.

Community Homogeneity and Social Capital.

Many researchers have identified that the more homogeneous a community the greater the social capital (Costa, 2002, Sanders, 2002, Aizlewood & Pendakur, 2005, Beebeejaun, 2006, & Putnam, 2007). Aizlewood and Pendakur, (2005) and Coffe' and Geys (2006) note that people have more trust, networks, and higher comfort interacting with people who are of similar income, race, and ethnicity. Putnam (2007) conducted a four year survey following an ethnically diverse group of over 30,000 respondents from across the United States. He found respondents were more likely to hunker down in more ethnically diverse communities. These results were true even when he controlled his study for factors that might affect trust levels such as gender, education, and income. He is careful to point out, however, that is it not diversity that produces bad race relations. Rather, that people in diverse communities tend to expect the worst from their fellow community members and its leaders and therefore they volunteer less, and give less to charity and other civic engagement activities. Schafft & Brown pose that entrenched inequality may be more of an issue than social capital (2003).

Race and Prejudice Have Implications for Social Capital.

Hero (2003) points to the historical issues of race and prejudice in American communities and the implications for social capital. Race and ethnicity is fundamental in defining and understanding U.S. civic society. His research on racial inequality in civic life and economics reveals that there is little evidence associated with aggregated social capital for civic equality, and little for economic equality. Based on the deep tensions in this country between diversity and connectedness, it is very difficult to have a community that has people participating with equal standing in civic and economic engagement.

Despite the United States purporting to treat all citizens equally, there has been overt and covert discrimination based on issues of race and ethnicity that have created distrust across diverse groups (Beebeejaun, 2006).

These same sentiments are found in Costa's (2002) work on economics and social capital. There is a strong correlation between the level of social capital and demographic characteristics of the individual and the community. More homogenous communities foster greater levels of social capital, which isn't always recognized in the analysis of the data (Hero, 2003). Coffe' & Geys (2006) identified that economic inequality also plays a significant role in affecting the trust level in a community. Those with the resources are afraid of losing them and those without resources envy those who have them.

Socialization of Social Capital Happens in Enclaves.

Since people tend to self-segregate into enclaves where there are shared interests, they are also socialized into the same cultural norms and have greater empathy for people who remind them of themselves. People are more likely to trust others who are like themselves, in a "birds of a feather flock together" mentality (Aizlewood & Pendakur, 2005). When interpersonal contact is high, people tend to prefer to be with others who are like them, where they can build positive ties that turns into trust. Minority populations tend to keep to themselves because of fear of discrimination (Costa, 2002).

If the number of minorities living in a community is too small to form their own group or association they are less likely to participate in civic events. It is only when the minority population becomes large enough to provide a sense of belonging and comfort and have the ability to form their own club or associations that there will be an increase of heterogeneity in the community leading to over all participation (Costa, 2002). The

relationship between social capital, social networks, power, and social class is complicated and needs further exploration but is an important consideration when addressing the changing demographics in rural communities (Hero, 2002 & Beebeejaun, 2006).

Immigration: an ongoing phenomenon

The changing demographics in rural communities present challenges and opportunities. Ethnic diversity is going to continue to increase in more advanced countries based on immigration. Putnam (2007) indicates that in general this will strengthen the nations receiving the immigrants as well as those sending the immigrants. In the long run, successful immigrant communities can overcome the challenge of the “us” versus “them” by creating a broader sense of “we”. However, in the short-run, immigration and ethnic diversity, despite the economic benefits, will continue to challenge the community cohesion. Successful immigrant societies will need to overcome the fragmentation of ethnic differences by creating new forms of solidarity that cut across groups and are more encompassing of diverse identities.

Ethnic Bonded Social Capital Has An Important Role.

Studies conducted by Li (2003) indicate that ethnic attachment plays an important role in societies’ economies that reward assimilation and conformity. In other words, if immigrants continue to keep strong ties, use their traditional language and cultural values they are less likely to do well in the U.S. culture where the expectation is for immigrants to assimilate. The ethnic ties can help immigrants as they settle into a new community and begin looking for work but in the long run they may become trapped there if there are

linkages are not made across cultural groups. Host communities need to be cautious assuming that immigrants from the same place will get along (Portes, 1997).

These close ties are referred to as bonded social capital (what ties people who are alike together) and may insulate persons from becoming civically involved in the broader community. In addition, insular bonded social capital may be dependent on cultural values of religion, race, class and gender (Manzano Rivera, n.d.). In a study of social assimilation of immigrants in the European Union, dePalo, Faini, and Venturini (2006) found that the networks within the ethnic enclaves created bonding but decreased the connections outside of the group, or bridging.

However, research also shows the need for bonded networks for immigrants as a means for connection and support during the adjustment to living in a new country and society (Alba and Nee, 2003). But, being too bonded in an ethnic community may hinder minority individuals because of the dominant economic climate. On the other hand, it can also provide the mechanism of economics opportunities for entrepreneurs.

The Challenges of Bridging Networks with Immigrants.

Bridging social capital – or making connections to other groups - can be more difficult for immigrants with a language barrier combined with lower economic and class resources. Those who have these resources need to accept groups from different racial, cultural, and class backgrounds in order to build strong inclusive communities (Li, 2003, Putnam, 2007). These porous networks can help identify jobs, make connections to other spheres of interaction in the community and help cross-cultural understanding. People can have and need both bridging and bonding. The challenge comes in creating the ties across diverse groups (Putnam, 2007).

Bridging networks can occur when immigrants have the opportunity to live and work with members of the host society that enables them to build personal relationships that cross group boundaries (Alba & Nee, 1997). As indicated earlier, spatial assimilation creates more opportunities for host society members and immigrants to interact with each other, learn from each other, and create networks within the community.

It is important to note that just because people interact at work or socially, it does not guarantee that assimilation will take place. Ultimately, assimilation is a contingent outcome that stems from the cumulative effect of individual choices and actions in close-knit (bonded) groups (Alba & Nee, 2003). Assimilation may not be intended but rather the unintended consequences of an individual's pursuit of goals in caring for themselves and their family.

Need for Linking Networks

Mainstream society in the United States has different stratifications and categories. It may or may not be birth-ascribed, but there is unequal access to wealth, power, and privilege. Immigrants and ethnic minorities are constrained by ethnic hierarchy that limits access to social resources, such as job opportunities, housing, and education. Becoming American depends on which societal stratus absorbs the new immigrants (Alba & Nee, 2003).

Immigrant adaption may not uniformly lead to middle class status as was the expectation of immigrants a century ago. There is a lack of knowledge on the progress of varied and disparate ethnic groups of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Putnam (2007) and Macmillan (2007) indicate that public policy plays a crucial role in addressing

these disparities for immigrants and migrants. When people are linked to those with the power to influence public decisions, they are instrumental in being able to affect decisions that will help them be successful in the community.

Issues of Power and Leadership.

The issues of social capital have to be seen in relationship to a critical analysis of how power and privilege are embedded historically in power structures in order to create a more inclusive community (Schafft & Brown, 2003). A case study of Roma (Gypsy) populations in two Hungarian villages sheds some light on how to create inclusivity. One of the villages marginalized the Roma population in hopes that they would go away and in essence created more problems for themselves and the Roma. In the other village, the Roma leaders were involved in helping to establish a productive, collaborative working relationship with the local government creating better ties and networks, and resulting in positive working relationships, less conflict, and discontent for all villagers (Schafft & Brown, 2003). The study illustrates the benefits of creating linkages or ties across groups. By fostering participation the cross-cutting networks were created that also strengthened existing relationships. Also identified is the need to address issues of entrenched power and how it shapes collective action.

Putnam (2004) states the importance of recognizing the power in community leaders. Leaders need to be concerned about fostering networks that create trust and bridge divisions. Diversity and immigration can be seen as an important social and economic asset to a community. Diversity can be a challenge because most people live within communities of people like themselves and lack networks across ethnic groups. Immigration causes isolation because family and community ties are left behind so

greater effort has to be made by community members as well as the immigrants to create networks. American society will continue to become more diverse and communities will be challenged to use the diversity as an asset. Steps that are taken early in this process can determine the success and successful heterogeneous communities do happen. Chang (1997) stresses the importance of taking steps to prevent diversity from destroying the wholeness, by providing opportunities to diminish polarization, and by creating opportunities for diverse groups to know one another, build coalitions, resolve disputes, and negotiate differences.

Bonding and Bridging

There needs to be work toward bridging as well as bonding. Bonding connects people who are similar, while bridging networks connect people who are diverse in some way. Putnam (2007, p. 165) offers a quote by Senator Barack Obama whose life story is an example of creating ties between immigrant and native-born America:

...an America where race is understood in the same way that the ethnic diversity of the white population is understood. People take pride in being Irish-American and Italian-American. They have a particular culture that infuses the (whole) culture and makes it richer and more interesting. But it's not something that determines people's life chances and there is no sense of superiority or inferiority...if we can expand that attitude to embrace African-American and Latino-Americans and Asian-Americans, then...all our kids can feel comfortable with the worlds they are coming out of, knowing they are part of something larger.

This vision has implications for present day immigrants and their host communities in the effort to create the balance of bonding and bridging. The challenge is to figure out the balance. Strong ties are important for the well-being of immigrant

groups. Bonded social capital for immigrants within their own culture is powerful and makes the move and transition easier. Specifically in the Mexican immigrant populations, it was found that these ties have been instrumental in survival as the connections have helped people find and secure employment, housing, in dealing with immigration services, and settling into new communities (Erwin, 2002, Hernandez-Leon, 2002, Garcia, 2005, & Manzano Rivera, n.d.). Mexican immigrants have accumulated a great deal of social capital and experience, across states, regions, and even countries. These connections can be an asset to the receiving community as well.

Understanding cultural differences on how social networks and capital is viewed is important. There is a difference between social capital in the Mexican immigrant community and the theory of the reciprocal nature of social capital. Most Mexican immigrants do not feel the need to reciprocate directly to those that have helped them. Garcia (2005) found that providing service to others was done with no self-interest. The best way to show appreciation for help received is to help others not to reciprocate the kindness directly.

Issues around immigration and diversity have generated a great deal of political and media discussion, much of it negative. Putnam (2007) and Gerteis (2007) revealed that people for the most part see diversity as a part of America. Diversity has expanded people's horizons, enriched lives and added diverse perspectives providing better decisions in the work place and community.

Positive Effects of Immigration in the United States

Robert D. Putnam, of Harvard's Kennedy School of Public Policy, has been conducting research on the relationship of diversity, immigration, and social capital since

2001. In 2000, a nationwide survey, the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey, was carried out with a total sample size of roughly 30,000. Within this sample is a representative national sample of 3,000, as well as smaller samples representing 41 very different communities across the United States. Participating communities ranged from large metropolitan areas like Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Boston to small towns and rural areas like Yakima, Washington, rural South Dakota, and the Kanawha Valley in the mountains of West Virginia (Putnam, 2007).

Putnam (2007) summarizes the positive effects of new immigrants. New immigrants are associated with economic and population growth. Even though there is debate by economists over the economic consequences for native workers, there is a net positive effect for an increase in national income. Some studies have found that native-born American's income rises more rapidly if they are living where there are more immigrants than their counterparts living where there are fewer immigrants. Immigrants play an important role in off-setting the financial effects and work force retirement of the baby-boom generation in rural Minnesota (Ronningen, 2000).

While most of the survey respondents in Putnam's study (2007) were not against diversity because of the benefits, there was concern that too much emphasis on diversity can bring disunity to society. In addition, in a study by Gerteis (2007) respondents felt there was a cost associated with diversity. Lack of diversity makes it harder for groups and individuals to become part of a cohesive cultural fabric. People also associate the cost of diversity with the fear of a loss of trust, community, and unity. They wonder if there is too much diversity, will people get along on things that matter for the community.

Adaptation to immigration and diversity will take time and will require a reconstruction of social identities, not just adaptation of immigrants. It will be important that the native born also adapt to create a new “we” (Putnam, 2007). What is needed in a diverse society is a value system that cultivates respect and caring for people from different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as one’s own ethnic group or groups. To ensure a thriving, multiracial, democracy adults need to reflect on their own values and develop trust across and between diverse groups of people to insure a safe and healthy society. (Chang, 1997).

What Can Be Learned from Other Communities?

There is much that can be learned from other communities. Aizlewood and Pendakur (2005) contrast social capital findings in the United States and Canada. In the U.S. social capital measurements on trust and participation are substantially lower in ethnically diverse communities. However, in Canada, provinces with high ethnic diversity do not have lower scores on civic measures; in fact the opposite is true. Diverse regions in Canada have high scores on social capital. They also found that an increase in frequency of contact across diverse groups significantly offset negative effects of diverse context. Living in proximity is not enough to create heterogeneous community. People have to be intentional about working together and seeking opportunities to build trust.

Characteristics of Inclusive Communities

In Clutterbuck and Novick’s (2003) research on inclusive communities in Canada, they emphasized the importance of public policy’s impact. They found that investing in human and civic assets is the core to economic and social well being that needs to be recognized in order to have inclusive communities. In a global era, success will depend

on developing social capacities of people and communities to live in mutual trust and to create opportunities for people to contribute to innovative strategies at the local level.

Their study was comprised of more than 240 community participants in focus groups across Canada. When asked to describe what inclusive communities meant to them, the following cluster characteristics were identified:

- *Integrative and cooperative* – people are brought together in a variety of ways in the community and at work and are able to organize and work together.
- *Interactive* – there are accessible community spaces and open public places as well as groups and organizations that support social interaction and community activity, including celebrating community life.
- *Invested* – both public and private sectors commit resources for the social and economic health and well-being of the entire community.
- *Diverse* – diverse people and cultures are welcomed and incorporated into the structures, processes, and functions of daily community life.
- *Equitable* – everyone has the means to live in decent conditions (i.e. income supports, employment, good housing) and the opportunity to develop their own capacities and to participate actively in community life.
- *Accessible and Sensitive* - an array of culturally sensitive supports and services are readily available and accessible for the social, health, and developmental needs of their populations.

- *Participatory* – encourage and support the involvement of all members in the planning and decision-making that affect community conditions and development, which including an effective political voice.
- *Safe* - people feel safe within their homes, immediate neighborhood and extended community.

While these may not be the identical names of the different subcategories ascribed to Social Capital theory, the concepts are similar. Chaskin (2006) emphasizes the importance of using all the sources of capacity in a community to build relationships and create action in order to build social capital. Jime'nez (2007) also points to the need to create opportunities to participate in a civil society that build trust between immigrants and all the facets of their host community including law enforcement, elected officials and civic leaders.

Integration and Social Capital

Integration is a process of social and economic incorporation of immigrants and hosts to form mutual interaction and create an integral whole over time (Papademetrioux, 2003 & Fennelly, 2006). Integration is a long term process that requires attention be paid to cultural, social, political, and economic factors as key elements needed in the community for a successful democratic society with high social capital. Integration also depends upon change of institutional policy and practices in the host community, i.e. education, labor, legal, health, civic engagement, housing, immigration-serving organizations, and other community sectors (Fennelly, 2006).

Dudley (2004) indicates that there is a debate on how long it takes to build social capital. Some say up to ten years; some say shorter. For immigrants it may take longer

because of language and cultural differences. Another factor may be the trauma along with relocation as experienced by rural Minnesota refugees. Building social capital may also depend on how willing the host community or society is in creating an integrated community.

Communities that are experiencing the transition of demographics need deliberate networks that will increase ethnic and social diversity (Putnam, 2007). Other studies indicate that when individuals who live in heterogeneous neighborhoods have positive direct interaction with people from other ethnic groups they are more likely to extend trust to not just those groups but others as well (Aizlewood & Pendurka 2005).

Design Strategies for Integration.

The United States faces a challenge and opportunity to design strategies that will foster social capital within and across diverse groups. Chang (1997), Neuliep and McCrosky (1997), and Dalla, Ellis and Cramer (2005) provide the following compilation of ideas into the need of creating an integrated community that has high social capital.

1. Communities need to recognize and support the variety of ways to generate social capital. The ethnicity of the groups may affect how, where, and when it is formed. Social capital also depends on the economics, racial experience, linguistic background and cultural practices and beliefs. Being open to the experience of people from different backgrounds will provide understanding as to how social capital can be sustained and impacts the development of public policy.

2. By identifying the common values that bind all people together two myths can be dispelled. First, everyone is the same and second, people are so different they have nothing in common. There is a need to establish universal values that encompass

differences for individual and collective success. By working together, people can learn about each other's strengths and gain a deeper understanding of the beliefs people hold in common.

3. Communities also need to create an increased awareness of the interdependency that exists across race, language, and culture. People need to understand their individual well-being is dependent on the well-being of the greater society. People need to see themselves as a member of a larger, multi-ethnic community. However, Schwei and Fennelly (2007) identify that it is a challenge to know how to engage native-born residents in discussions of privilege and discrimination.

4. Communities must invest in leadership development that will involve cultivating people who have the skills and capacity to promote and support the previous strategies. As evidenced in the Hungary case studies, deliberate interaction with the Roma population was the impetus for leadership development and cross-cultural understanding that created cross-cultural bridging networking (Schafft & Brown, 2003).

5. At the local level, as new industries come to town, they must be prepared by establishing planning committees and public meetings to inform all citizenry of potential changes such as housing, education, religious, and other cultural consideration.

6. Local schools need to embrace diversity throughout their entire system and recruit English Language Learner (ELL) teachers.

7. Adult ELL needs to be offered at the worksite and if possible, in tandem with the work schedule.

8. Businesses have to address ways to provide goods and services that meet the needs of the array of cultures in their community.

These strategies all require being deliberate in the efforts and not leaving the future of the community to chance by taking a wait and see attitude. As evidenced in the case study in Hungary, marginalizing a population did not serve anyone well.

Despite the attention called for the need to create social capital bridging in communities and the recognition of its importance, there is a lack of understanding in the literature as to how it is created. There is a need to learn more about how bridges are built at the local level (Dudley, 2004).

Diversity Task Forces

Rural communities cannot afford to wait and see what happens as immigrants continue to populate their small towns. Communities need to be proactive to make the integration of immigrants and the host community members as constructive as possible. Rather, many communities have put into place a diversity task force to help immigrants with social adaptation. *Social adaptation* refers to ways in which immigrants and refugees learn to negotiate into their new community (Fennelly, 2006). As evidenced by research (Dalla, Ellis & Cramer, 2005, Jime'nez, 2007 & Fennelly, 2008) these endeavors have been beneficial for immigrants.

Although diversity task forces or coalitions are common in communities that are experiencing immigration growth, very little has been known about them. Schwei and Fennelly (2008) conducted a study of diversity coalitions in non-Metro Minnesota during 2006 -2007. Diversity coalitions are comprised of individual members who have served as the networking link between the community and the immigrants. Many of the communities studied have experienced tensions and prejudice which is consistent with other research conducted by Fennelly in Minnesota. Despite these tensions, the study

found that there are important signs of positive change in several of the communities. The work of the diversity coalitions have begun to make differences in building bridging for immigrants into the community. Therefore, they can help answer the question of how bridges are created between immigrant populations and other community organizations.

Implications for Integration of Immigrants

As evidenced in a historical perspective of immigration in this country, new immigrants have typically been marginalized (Fix and Passel, 1994, Carnes, 1995, MacDonald, 1998 & Lee, 2005). General fear of new immigrants continues today as evidenced by letters to the editor in local rural papers as well as the formation of such groups as FAIR (Federation of American for Immigration Reform, 2005, Background, 2002, Center for New Community, 2002, & Fennelly, 2008). An additional historical perspective reveals issues of racial discrimination that adds to concerns for immigrants who are not of the dominant race in this country.

Putnam (2007) recognizes in his latest research on diversity and community that ethnic diversity is presenting a challenge for modern societies as well as significant opportunities to address. Recognizing that diversity is a national asset he provides evidence of these benefits: creativity in general is enhanced by immigration and diversity; immigration is generally associated with more rapid economic growth; immigration in countries with aging populations helps to offset the impending fiscal effects of the retirement of the baby-boom generation; and migration from the global South to the North also enhances development in the South.

After reviewing the literature, there are still unanswered questions related to the implications of social capital for integration of immigrants. Social Capital Gateway

(2007) concurs that there is growing debate on the relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social capital. Winchester & Loehr (2005) also stated that there is little known about how communities can effectively integrate new immigrants.

Based on the philosophical understanding of social capital, it can play an integral role in the integration of immigrants into communities. There are two broad accepts that need to be considered in applying social capital theory to immigration trends.

As indicated earlier, the cultural background of the immigrants as well as the culture of the community in which they are settling needs to be considered and understood. An example of this point is seen in the different cultural attitudes toward practices like volunteerism or social networking. Because volunteerism and social networks are considered to be mainstream in U.S. culture it is important to recognize that people may be coming from countries where social networks and volunteerism is not a cultural norm. In addition, there may be societal differences on how much time and energy is expected to be devoted to family versus outside of the family. Also, if immigrants are coming from countries where patronage and networks were based on kinships, class, or the caste system it may be more difficult for them to transition and integrate into a system that professes equality (Streeten, 2002).

Familial expectations by the new immigrants may emphasize loyalty to their own family and group over connections to the new community. This closure may prevent the success of initiatives by individual group members in making new connections in the community (Portes and Landolt, 1996 & Portes, 1998). In some cultures, social capital resides largely in families and a very narrow circle of personal friends, thus making it difficult to trust those outside of the narrow circle. Strangers are different from kin and a

lower standard of moral behavior may apply. For example, in Southern Italy individuals trust members of their immediate family but may be very wary of everyone else (Fukuyama, 1999).

Many of the new immigrants coming to the United States are coming as refugees. A refugee is defined as any person who lives outside of their country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or fear of being persecuted (Ronningen, 2000). This same population is often struggling economically as well as learning a new language. Their time and energy is more likely to be spent on survival rather than community engagement thus not having the resources needed to build social capital (Streeten, 2002).

In addition to the cultural background of the new immigrants the culture of the community in which the new residents are dwelling needs to be taken into consideration. A strong anti-immigrant sentiment (Background, 2002, Center for New Community, 2002, Federation of American for Immigration Reform, 2005, & Fennelly, 2008) in the community can actually suppress the immigrants from integrating successfully (Ports & Landolt, 1996, Streeten, 2002). Tightly connected anti-immigrant groups possess solidarity and consciousness that can be and often is accompanied by hostility or exclusion to other groups (Fukuyama, 1999). A factor that will play into this is the power and privilege that such groups hold in the community. Social capital cannot be evaluated without the knowledge of the society of the immigrants as well as the community in which they have settled (Sobel, 2002).

In order for there to be integration, there will need to be weak ties (Granovetter, 1973 & 1983) within the hosting community as well as the immigrant community. The

strength of a weak tie lies in the ability to bridge people to other networks or associations. While strong ties and bonding will be an important aspect for the survival of the new immigrant community, it will be the weak ties from the host community as well as the weak ties within the immigrant populations that will serve as boundary spanning opportunities for communities with a growing immigrant population lies in learning how to create weak ties in order to develop networks for integration while still honoring the societal cultures.

A final consideration for social capital's use in the integration of immigrants within their host communities is the recognition that such work takes time and is labor intensive. In addition, communities need to recognize that social capital is only one aspect that will help create an integrated community. Issues such as power, access and privilege must be addressed along with evaluating social capital in a cultural context with economic and human capital.

Research is still needed to determine the best practices involving the theoretical frameworks of norms, trust, networks, and their subcategories that indicate what leads to successful integration of immigrants into communities.

Summary/Conclusion

Over the past few years, rural Minnesota has seen a dramatic shift its demographic makeup. The combined factors of continued out-migration (people leaving the community) of educated young adults, the in-migration (people moving into the community) of ethnic minorities for a labor force, and the growing number of retirees, has transformed rural economics and civic life. Immigrants are also likely to be young

and of child-bearing age and therefore, are likely to continue to populate these communities.

At the present time, there is a lack of research in community development and social capital that addresses best practices in dealing with immigration, particularly in rural settings (Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Most communities are struggling with the issue and expecting and hoping someone else will take care of it. Some members in communities even wish the immigrants would go away as demonstrated by the anti-immigrant activity and sentiment (Fennelly, 2006, 2007, & 2008).

Without clear direction, communities will continue to struggle, creating a crisis of unrest, misunderstandings, and divisions. If rural communities are not able to address these challenges in a positive manner, there will be on-going conflict and eventual deterioration. A healthy future depends on the development of cross-cultural relationship between the native born and new populations.

The literature is explicit in the importance of bonding and bridging to create networks and trust. What is not known is how the bridges are actually created between bonded groups.

There is also evidence that in the United States, issues of racism and prejudice play into the strength of social capital in diverse communities to the detriment of building relationships and civic engagement (Schafft & Brown, 2003 & Putnam, 2007). This adds to the complexity of the development of cross-cultural networks and trust.

Recent research by Schwei and Fennelly (2008) provide promise of the effectiveness of diversity task forces that have organized in response to the cultural shift

in communities. The work of these task forces shows positive changes in several communities in rural Minnesota.

What needs to be answered is how formal and non-formal leaders in rural communities experiencing demographic shifts with foreign born residents create bridges between the new populations and the social structure of the host community as well as their motivation for such actions.

The following chapter describes the methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was a case study using the critical incident technique to discover what formal and non-formal leaders have done to create bridging networks for foreign born residents to integrate into rural communities in Minnesota. Social capital is comprised of the norms and networks that facilitate collective action for mutual benefit (Woolcock, 1998, p. 5). It is precisely these networks that I examined to learn how leaders worked with immigrants and what motivated them to do so at a time when the idea of immigration is not popular. In rural communities, with limited resources, the social capital of leaders, both formal and nonformal, is integral to making a difference working for the collective good of the community.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to identify:

1. How have U.S. born community members helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community?
2. What are the motivations of native-born residents to promote immigrant integration?

This study sought to gain a qualitative understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders in two identified communities did to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into the communities as well as what motivates them to get involved with immigrants. I interviewed key champions to discover how they sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to

new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities identified what they did, how they did it, and their source of motivation.

This dissertation is not and was not intended to be a rigorous study of change in rural communities. However, what it does do is give the perceptions and influences of those who stepped forward to champion change.

At the present time, there is a lack of research in community development that addresses best practices in dealing with immigration, particularly in rural settings (Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Most communities struggling with this issue are perhaps expecting someone else to take care of it. Without clear direction, communities will continue to struggle, creating a crisis of unrest, misunderstandings, and division. In addition, I was not able to find literature that addresses the motivation of leaders in communities as they work with immigrants, so this study brings insight to community leadership development programs.

In order for small rural communities to thrive socially and economically, foreign-born residents and native born citizens need to figure out how to relate for the well being of their schools, businesses, and civic life. Issues of policy and immigration combined with lack of inter-cultural understanding, and fear of others can prevent communities from thriving amidst the change. Some communities may not even be aware that their situation could be better.

Research on social capital suggests that when in-group solidarity exists in a community, it is much more difficult for group members to cooperate with outsiders which often results in negative consequences for the outsiders (Fukuyama, 1999, Stone, 2001). Small rural communities may possess strong social capital for members who have

a long history and are already connected. However, the absence of what Mark Granovetter calls “weak ties” can perpetuate the marginality of immigrants (Granovetter, 1973).

The majority of the research related to immigration and social capital is presently focused on the economic gains of a community, with little focus on civic connections or weak ties. There is a need to better understand how these links can be formed to create a more inclusive and diverse integrated community. In this context, integration is defined as the process by which immigrants as individuals and groups become an integral part of the new community. In order to be successful, immigrants must be willing to connect or engage with the wider society and the host society must be willing to accept and engage with newcomers (OECD, 2003).

Methodology

A constructivist research methodology was chosen for this study. The premise of constructivism is that the human world is different from the natural, physical world and so it must be studied in a different way (Patton, 2002). A distinguished sociologist, W. I. Thomas, founded what is now known as Thomas’s theorem: “What is defined or perceived by people as real is real in its consequences” (Patton, 2002, p. 96). In other words, central to constructivism is the belief that knowledge is made up largely of social interpretation rather than full awareness of external reality (Stake, 1995). The aim of constructivism is to seek understanding and learn the unique experience of each person within the world in which they live and interact.

Specifically for this research, a collective case study method was used in order to understand the complexities of the question of how U. S. born community members are

instrumental in creating linkages for foreign born community members into the community at large. Host community members and immigrants from two rural communities were part of the study. Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) indicate that case studies should be used if the topic is of very special interest and provides opportunities to learn. Case studies help us to understand a complex social phenomenon in a holistic way. In this instance, the study was on immigration and community change, particularly: how are weak ties created between the host community members and new immigrants? By using a multiple case study in different communities, there is an increase in the confidence of the conclusions.

Conducting a qualitative case study provides the researcher with the opportunity to probe using iterative questions for deeper understanding. In this study the understandings explored were the factors that help generate weak ties between native born and immigrant residents in the communities. The need for a qualitative study is also verified by Putnam (2007). He identified that his quantitative surveys limited the opportunities to get to the personal level of understanding how people either interacts or become more insular when there is diversity. Participants were formal and nonformal United State born leaders who represented: elected officials, clergy, community college officials, school superintendents, teachers, integrative collaborative directors, community education directors, chambers of commerce presidents, and various human service agencies as well as community volunteers not connected to any specific organization.

Critical Incident Technique

Critical Incident Technique (CIT) provides the framework for conducting a case study when the goal is to understand through interpretation (McClure, 1989). By

utilizing this technique the behaviors of native community members were analyzed to gain understanding of the factors that help communities effectively integrate new immigrants.

Critical Incident Technique (CIT) is a set of procedures for collecting data about human behavior that serves to facilitate potential usefulness in solving problems (Flanagan, 1954). In this study, the technique was centered on the concern of division between long-term residents and immigrants in host communities. Patton (2002) refers to this technique as appropriate for communities to learn lessons when dealing with major events because it provides a deeper understanding of what does and does not work in the community. Explored in this study, were the critical incidents in each community that were the tipping points leading to intentional integration between the immigrants and host community on the part of the U.S. born leaders.

The development of this technique dates to World War II when John Flanagan was the Director of the Division of Aviation Psychology for the U. S. Army Air Force. His goal was to find effective and ineffective work behaviors. The methodology developed was so effective that there has been little improvement on it over the last 50 years, indicating robustness (Flanagan, 1954). CIT is essentially a procedure to gather important facts concerning behavior in a defined situation (Flanagan, 1954).

As with any technique there are advantages and disadvantages (Flanagan, 1954 & Marrelli, 2005).

Advantages

- The data is collected from respondents in their own words (many people enjoy sharing their stories, making it easy to get people to participate).

- Respondents are not forced into any given framework.
- Rare events are identified that might be missed by other methods and can measure abstract constructs such as motivation.
- It is relatively inexpensive and provides rich information.
- Can use a questionnaire or interviews but interviews and focus groups are most successful approaches.

Disadvantages

- Since the collection of data relies on events remembered by the respondents, it assumes they will be accurate and truth telling. Reports are also based on an individual's perception and memory.
- It can be time-consuming and laborious to summarize the data.
- May emphasize unusual events and more common events may be missed.
- Respondents may not be willing to recall or write complete stories .

Five Step Procedures

There is a five step procedure recommended by Flanagan (1954) when using Critical Incident Technique in case studies. Steps are as follows:

1. Determine the general aim of the study, using a brief statement from research in the field. For this study, the aim was to find the actions that formal and nonformal leaders did to try to integrate immigrants into the community and their motivations. Based on the literature review that indicates there is little known about the success of building networks across diverse cultures (Granovetter, 1973, Winchester & Loehr, 2005, Fennelly & Schwei, 2007 & Patton, 2007).

2. Develop a plan and specifications for collecting the factual information. Details on participant selection and data gathering are explained below.
3. Collection of the data. Data was collected via audio taping interviews with key champions using guided questions and probes developed in conjunction with one of dissertation committee members. In addition, I took notes during the interviews and recorded all relevant details.
4. Analysis of the data. The purpose of the data analysis was to summarize and describe the data so that it can be applied in other situations. Data analysis was done in conjunction with my advisor.
5. The final step is reporting. The reporting is very important because it points out the limitations and biases as well as recommendations that surface in the study. Results from this study are expected to be beneficial for other organizations that develop community leadership programs, such as Extension Community Development Educators, Community Development Societies, and chamber leadership programs. Results will be shared with other individuals and organizations in similar communities who are interested.

Preconceptions

When conducting qualitative research, it is important to identify any presuppositions of findings ahead of time and bracket them to prevent tainting the findings (Ray, 1994). I set aside any preconceived ideas or hypothesis of what will be found in the research thus helping to keep the research from being tainted.

Preconceptions that need to be bracketed in this study included looking for patterns of cross-cultural competence of the interviewees as well as an assumption that

the participants have had previous cross-cultural experience. I remained open to other assumptions as I was doing my interviews.

Community Selection

General agreement by a panel of experts in the area of immigration and rural studies identified two communities in Minnesota. The experts were comprised of four researchers at the University of Minnesota who have conducted in this arena as well as participated in overseeing Ph.D. dissertations around these topics. Selection criteria was based on 1) the popular perceptions on which communities in Minnesota are more successful in immigrant integration; 2) the fact that both of these communities are a great distance from a metropolitan community that offers other services and opportunities with which foreign born residence may connect; 3) and both of these communities have food-processing plants that has been an employment attraction for foreign born residence for at least twenty years; and 4) each of these communities have a population of less than 20,000 and are regional centers. These two communities are in Southwest Minnesota and Central Minnesota. Descriptions of each community can be found in Appendix 2, p. 170

The selection of these communities was also in line with what Sandelowski, M. (1995) identifies as a reasonable sample size in qualitative research. Small rural communities have fewer resources, are less likely to have had inter-cultural experiences, and need to be successful at integration in order to survive as a community.

Participant Selection

In order to get participants for this study, I began by contacting a key informant in each community whom I have worked with previously in leadership cohorts and immigration issues because of their involvement with immigrants. A letter (Appendix 3,

p. 174) containing a written description of the study was sent to these two individuals and I followed up with a phone conversation the following week. During this time, I asked if the key contact was willing to participate and if they would solicit other formal and non-formal leaders in the community. The criteria for people whom I wanted to interview were that they are recognized in the community as being significant in working with immigrants in their integration process. These two individuals began the process of getting the list of interviewees.

Other community members were identified via that primary contact through a process called chain sampling, which is getting new contacts from each person interviewed (Patton, 2002). The technique was a way of assuring that the people who are locally recognized as effective in positively working with immigrants were being interviewed in each community. These individuals were asked to contact me if they are willing to be interviewed (As required by the IRB approval). Many individuals' names were recommended from multiple sources as individuals whom I needed to interview. A table (Appendix 2, p. 170) indicates the demographics of the interviewees. People I interviewed were all U.S. born; however, they were not all white or lifelong members of the community. When I had at least 12 contacts confirmed, I traveled to the communities to conduct the interviews. Once in the community, individuals that were interviewed identified other key contacts and arranged additional interviews for me.

These individuals were interviewed to determine how they worked with immigrants, how these experiences and activities helped to build relationships between themselves, the immigrants, and the larger community and what motivated them to get

involved in this process. I used open ended questions that I designed with one of my dissertation committee members (Appendix 3, p 174).

While in each community if an individual was recommended by several people that I did not have on my list I made contact to get an interview with the individual which was very successful. I continued interviewing and seeking new contacts until redundancy was reached whereby I was not receiving any new information.

Procedures

Data collection began with individual interviews processed in a quiet location in the participant's community. Open ended, structured questions and good probes were used to obtain in-depth responses about the individual's experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge. Each interview was audio taped and last approximately one hour (See interview guide Appendix 3, p. 174).

The central question was, "What are the factors that have helped to create links between long-term residents and new immigrants within the community and what motivated them to get involved with immigrants?" Questions were asked for clarification and comprehensive details as needed. Probing questions include: What has this experience meant to you? What have been some of your frustrations? What are some cultural dimensions from the host and immigrant community that need to be kept in mind?

The interview in case studies is the main road to understanding multiple realities (Stake, 1995) because the informants share their unique experiences and have stories to tell. When conducting the interviews, it was essential to listen, take notes, and ask for clarification. According to Stake (1995) and Patton (2002), designing good questions and

probes is the most difficult task of the researcher. The questions were the bridge from what is known by the informant to creating understanding by the researcher.

Integral to getting a good interview was having identified a good question and working out potential probes in advance (Stake, 1995). My most important role as the interviewer was to listen, take notes, and ask for clarification when needed. Each interview was audio recorded for accuracy but I also took notes and wrote commentary immediately after the interview. Each interview was transcribed with identification of the informant removed to maintain confidentiality and in keeping with Internal Review Board of the University of Minnesota approval (See Appendix 3, p. 174).

Interview Questionnaire

Survey interviews were conducted around the following questions for formal and non-formal leaders in the host community.

Tell me about your experience working with immigrants in your community?

1. What types of activities did you do?
2. What motivated you to get involved with immigrants in your community? What do you think motivates others in the community to get involved?
3. Why should someone help immigrants? What are the benefits?
4. Can you give an example of negative consequences of your interaction with immigrants?
5. Tell me about a time when you felt really good working with immigrants. Can you think of a time when you were disappointed?
6. Is there anything else you want me to know that I haven't asked you?

Procedures for Analysis

The focus of the qualitative research analysis, was on pulling apart the data and then putting it back together again to make it meaningful, using an art and intuitive process when searching for meaning in the data (Stake, 1995). Case study analysis used direct interpretation of the individual instances and a thorough aggregation. Qualitative analysis is a creative process that depends on the astute insight and conceptual capabilities of the analyst (Patton, 2002 & 1999). Further explanation of this process is explained below.

Each of the audio taped interviews was transcribed as previously indicated. After all interviews were transcribed, I checked each transcription for accuracy by listening to the tapes while reading the printed transcripts. I listened again this time looking for themes and making notes of themes that were emerging. The third time through I began to highlight the printed transcripts with color coded highlighters corresponding to the themes. I listened again to be sure I heard the same themes. Following that I cut apart the transcripts and grouped the same colored highlighted sections together. I then worked with my advisor to identify the various themes and to see if she agreed. Working together we concurred on the themes found in the data. This was also a way to check for validity and reliability (Patton, 2002).

In conducting analysis of qualitative case study the search for meaning begins with looking for patterns. In keeping with the case study methodological aim of understanding, Stake (1995) says the search for meaning begins by looking for patterns of consistency, for consistency within certain conditions, which is called correspondence. Usually the important meanings are identified from reappearance over and over and are

essential to case study analysis. The patterns also were critiqued for alternative conclusions.

Confidentiality

Essential to the ethics of any study is confidentiality to the communities and participants (Patton, 2002). This study was approved by the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board for the protection of Human Subjects prior to beginning the study. All participants signed informed consents prior to the interview. Anonymity was assured for the informants and communities by removing all names and places that were in the transcripts. Once transcribed, the tapes were destroyed and the transcripts kept in a locked office.

Considerations of Rigor

Rigor or trustworthiness in interpretive research means being able to persuade the readers that good scientific evaluation techniques have been used (Bailey, 1996 and Sandelowski, 1993). It is imperative that these practices be made visible and that there is an audit trail to demonstrate that good science has been practiced. These practices are an outgrowth of earlier criteria for measuring rigor in terms of reliability and validity that were used in the traditional scientific research paradigm.

In this study, rigor was evidenced and maintained by doing the following steps. The research design was well thought out and served as a guide for completing the study as far as sample size and selection, interview, and the analysis of the data collected. It is also noted that the use of the Critical Incident Technique has been found to be a robust framework for case study research over the last 50 years (Flanagan, 1954 & Patton, 2002).

Researchers conducting case studies are cautioned against generalizing. The real purpose of a case study is particularization (Stake, 1995). In a rigorous case study, the researcher gets to know the case well, not how it is different from others but what is known. There is uniqueness in each case but the first emphasis is on understanding the case itself. In this study, the sought after understanding was how native born community members and immigrants create bridges that help to make integration into the community successful for immigrants and the host community.

There are several limitations for this study which are expanded on in Chapter VI.

The following chapter reports the findings of the study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This was a case study using the critical incident technique to discover what formal and non-formal leaders have done to create bridging networks with foreign born residents to intentionally help generate integration into rural communities in Minnesota. Two over-arching questions guided the interviews and are stated below:

1. How have U.S. born community members helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community?
2. What are the motivations of native-born residents who promote immigrant integration?

This study sought to gain a qualitative understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders in two different communities did to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into the host communities as well as what motivated them to get involved with immigrants. Analysis in this chapter is based on the transcripts and notes I made during and following the interviews of community members in rural Community A and Community B, Minnesota. I interviewed key champions to discover how they sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities identified what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation. The summary found in this chapter takes a more holistic approach rather than being organized around answers to specific questions the participants gave.

This chapter identifies the critical incidents in the previously identified communities experiencing large influxes of foreign born residents that created bridges

between the new populations and the social structure of the host communities. I chose these two communities because of their recognition by state organizations and researchers who indicated that these two communities were succeeding in adjusting to these demographic changes. These communities could act as exemplars to other communities experiencing similar changes.

With that goal in mind, I set out to find out what exactly was the tipping point or critical incident that set community leaders in motion to adjust to the ongoing demographic shifts. As indicated by Flanagan (1954) and Marrelli (2005), the purpose of the data analysis is to summarize what has happened in key communities so that these experiences can be beneficial for other communities. Patton (2002) is mindful that a few critical cases or incidents cannot be generalized broadly but a logical generalization can be made based on the evidenced provided in the analysis.

Critical Incidents

When conducting the interviews of key participants, it was easy to find evidence of what people did to build bridges between the foreign born residents and the host community as well as the motivations of the leaders who built these bridges. However, while there were a few smaller incidents that might have tipped an individual to get involved, each community as a whole can point to one significant incident that was the tipping point that served as the impetus for the leaders of the community to take action. In both communities, the initial action was taken by the formal leaders with non-formal leaders being involved later as things began to take shape. At the top, mayors took the initiative to bring the community together. On a secondary level, in Community B the person whose name came up repeatedly as being a champion of the effort is a young

woman who was born in that community but whose parents were immigrants. She had no positional leadership role, but began on a personal effort volunteering in the community. Through her volunteer efforts she was recognized as a liaison since she is bilingual and bicultural. Over the past few years her skills, talents, and passion to be a leader have been recognized within the Latino immigrant community as well as the host community. In Community A, the community education director was repeatedly named as the person who championed the efforts to help their community be successful in adapting to the changing demographics. He was recognized as a positional leader, but also a person with passion to use his power for the betterment of the entire community.

In both communities, the mayors were catalysts to addressing the changes happening in the community. They worked collaboratively with other formal leaders in the community such as chambers of commerce presidents, clergy, and the educational systems. These positional leaders had initiated community conversations about the changing demographics and had educational workshops. During that time there was significant resistance from many people who did not want their communities to change and did not want "those" people to change their community. Amidst the desire of these leaders to make a difference they also had other jobs to do and their energy waned until the following described critical incidents spurred them forward. (See Community Descriptions and Table of Interviews, pp. 171 - 174)

People repeatedly identified one key event that was the turning point in each of their communities respectively.

The Adult Education Grant

For Community A the tipping point was not dramatic. There had been some community conversations with elected officials and agency directors. However, the critical incident that pushed the community forward was when the Community Education director decided to write a grant for an Adult Education Interagency Planning grant. These dollars initially were available to communities or organizations through the Department of Education. Known for being a key champion in moving this project forward, the Community Education director was successful in receiving two grants. The Community Connectors Program was instituted with some part-time help to intentionally work with the Latino population. At that time, the Latino group was the dominant group of new comers. Community Connectors were employed by the school district as outreach workers to help create bridges and networks between the Latino Population and the school, and to connect the Latino families to other services in the community as needed. They also helped the organization and service providers understand the culture of the Latino population so they could also best serve them.

It was through those early efforts, conversations, and shared vision that both communities sought funding from the Department of Education for grant dollars to fund the Integrative Collaborative that is part of the school system. There are two focuses for the use of the money – one is cultural integration and the other is student success.

These two incidents can be called the birthing moments or critical incidents that changed how the communities dealt with their changing populations. Employers had begun keeping migrant workers for year around work, the Caucasian families were getting smaller and older, and the young people were going away to get an education and

not returning to live and raise a family. However, in Community B, it wasn't until the trailer court situation that the community noticed how many minorities were living in the community. In Community A, it took being successful at securing grant dollars that put more focus on immigrant children being successful in school.

Trailer Court Incident

Both the Mayor and the President of the Chamber of Commerce in Community B said, 'The trailer court incidence was the turning point for us – it's part of our folklore!' Following are pieces of the story as told by the mayor.

“Across the highway here, there used to be a trailer park. At that time it was 18 acres of land. It was a beautiful trailer park. It was kind of a starter home for many people here, newly married, single people who were just trying to get started; they'd buy or rent a trailer home. You know, make their kind of investment and then from there they'd move out into a bigger home... It had about, 60 trailers in there, tree lined avenues with flower boxes on the trailers and picket fences. Beautiful park. It was then bought by an accountant from the cities, who began as an absentee landlord, and within the couple first years of ownership he began to bring in more trailers and literally wedge them in between the existing trailers. He turned this beautiful trailer park into what later became a barrio. He put in a total 137 trailers in the same 18 acres of land that 60 trailers had occupied very comfortably... He began, then, to rent them out to newcomers coming into town. A lot of them were Hispanics... they might buy a trailer on a contract for deed and walk away from it. Then he would repossess it and

sell it again. Well, he kept doing that over and over and the whole atmosphere of the park began to deteriorate. Then finally in the fall of 1994 there was a murder in the park. Two men had been drinking, Hispanics, and they began fighting over a woman who lived in the park and one of them pulled out a gun and shot the other at close range in the chest. Well the newspapers in the Twin Cities had a field day. They began to talk about all the racism and bigotry and backwardness of our community indicating that it was just a stupid, you know, rural town that had no common sense... it really hurt. It hurt our image; it hurt our recruiting of businesses, our college... Well, eventually, the owner of the park got into trouble with the attorney general's office because he was buying and selling trailers without a license and he wasn't paying any sales tax... So then he gave his mandatory 90 days notice that he was closing the park. People had to get out. We had 137 trailers of people and this is again, about 1995 now. So what we tried to do was create a mechanism whereby people could leave the park and find alternative housing... We came up with about a half of a million dollars. We set it up as a revolving loan . . . open to anybody in the county because it was public money, but it was aimed at helping the people in the park... We also set up for buying trailer homes in other parks or outside of the city and to help people find apartments. The end result was that about a third of the people left the park and used this loan program and bought or rented and then began paying back the loan so that other people could use it. About a

third of the people seemed to have left town.... About a third of the people just kind of migrated into the city and set up their own living arrangements. What was so satisfying about it is that we ended up with no street people.”

The Chamber of Commerce President concurs...”The banks came together. The agencies came together, the churches. Everybody rallied. That’s the day, that’s the year we absolutely turned the corner.”

Themes

Following are the themes that were born out of the critical incidents that set in motion an intentionality to build bridges between the host community and the foreign born residents.

Fear of Change

Adjusting to changing demographics and the fear that was generated because of the different ethnic populations, customs, and behaviors is an overarching theme in both communities. That feeling is succinctly depicted by a member of the Chamber of Commerce in Community B:

“We talked about the changes going on in the community. It was, I hate to say, an ugly time here because people weren’t afraid to say what they were thinking. It wasn’t very nice. The community was changing. – Just accepting change, what change means.”

“I think twenty years ago they didn’t know how to deal with our changing demographics and didn’t handle it very well, but they’ve

really grown to be a positive influence.” Community B YMCA
director

Importance of Collaboration

A key element in both communities was the reality that no one entity could understand and manage the integration alone. In the early stages in both communities the mayors were instrumental in bringing together other positional leaders and initiated conversations on how the community could respond in a networking and integrative effort to help the new population and the larger community get beyond what was often an open and ugly dialogue.

Community A’s community education director describes the first tentative steps,

“I remember our mayor at the time had kind of talked to some people about the possibility of maybe just trying to get a group of people to kind of talk about the issue- I remember it involved a minister, a lady who had worked with the Lutheran Social Service Refugee Office, the Community Education Director, an Extension Educator, and eight or nine other people. We had some people come in and help lead some sessions. . . . I was on the very first coalition put together back in the early 1990’s when we first started seeing the first influx of immigrants come into the community. The purpose was, “to see how we could help get the new immigrants integrated into our community.” And a lot of them came here because of local meat packing company and

through those whole very early stages of meetings, we formed community connectors.”

The Chamber of Commerce President in Community B remembers those early efforts also:

“I was part of a larger group that started to host meetings basically in church basements to allow people to talk. We talked about the changes going on in the community. It was, I hate to say, an ugly time here because people weren’t afraid to say what they were thinking. It wasn’t very nice. The community was changing. – Just accepting change, what change means. Some of them were looking out into the future about demographic shifts that were going to happen . . . the East and West Coast had seen it first, the Midwest is...but they also talked about areas in the Midwest that had already experienced it.”

A local business leader in Community B described the mayor and the role of his positional leadership:

“He had a personal passion, he had vision and foresight to see what was going to be needed, and he invested himself in making it happen. I mean he was so proactive, I think that is what made the difference. He was in a key position, and he both personally and professionally leveraged the resources needed to make things happen here. And he was a collaborator!” (Volunteer and Business person)

The director of the Integration Collaborative in Community A states:

“ We’ve been at this for a while and our school district works very effectively together, and we have are really great collaborative council which is representatives from various communities that meet together every other month to provide guidance to the work that the Integration Collaborative does. A lot of it is grass roots based...it is asking local people what is needed, and how can we meet the needs, and kind of tweaking those things as going along to make the changing needs. So I think that’s one of the things that have helped us be successful. In meeting needs means that we have found a way to get community people involved. I’m a huge proponent of collaborating, this is a place where we work together and we don’t try to duplicate efforts, if somebody else is already doing it I don’t try and start it again in my location.” (Integrative Collaborative Director, Community A)

The collaborative efforts and networking led to several significant elements that kept both of the communities moving toward integration.

Economic Necessity

Both of these communities identified that their large employers would more than likely have left the communities if they had not been able to bring in the immigrants to fill jobs when there was a labor shortage in the area. Almost half of the population in these communities is comprised of immigrants. The sheer survival and vitality of these communities is dependent on the new comers with families - they are ke0eping the

community growing, including providing more options for the native residents. “ It’s very valuable, especially when you look at our small town, I really feel like they would be tumble weed cities if we didn’t have immigrants who were willing to live there, work there, and you know, base their family there.” (Chamber of Commerce, Community A)

This is exemplified by additional funding to the school district, entrepreneurs opening restaurants; food and clothing stores have revitalized downtown vacant stores and becoming involved in the local chambers of commerce, the dollars generated by the immigrant community shopping locally.

Driving the market

“In 2004, we had 3 minority owned businesses in the city. Today, we have 44 minority owned businesses. These are generally small businesses. These small businesses hire local people, they buy their supplies locally. They shop locally. It’s wonderful in terms of having 44 businesses that are springing up amongst the minority community. . . formulas for economic development, the minority populations are contributing about 70 million dollars a year to the local economy. . . these businesses have grown, and minority members are now leasing space, sometimes they’re buying space, buying buildings, small buildings. They’re hiring. They’re paying income tax, they’re paying property tax. It’s really converted this whole attitude that minority people just come and all they do is draw off the community, they are literally and financially

contributing to the community, and we can prove it.” (Chamber of Commerce President, Community B)

New entrepreneurs have revitalized downtown as is testified,

“... I would say six, maybe more, six restaurants that are Ethiopian, Hispanic, and um, all different kinds of culture and people have really learned different foods and ethnic traditions . . . but I think the integration is occurring is driven by the entrepreneurs um which is supported by a local Foundation um, they are lots of businesses um, clothing stores, and grocery stores, and just lots of businesses by Hispanics and Ethiopian . . .”

(Provost, Community College, Community A)

Not only have they brought new businesses to the community they keep their own business local

“...and the neat thing about the minorities, they shop local. They’re not as willing to get in their cars and drive to shop . So they help our economy immensely, and it’s just fun now to see them in our different businesses working out . . . “(Chamber President, Community B)

The immigrants have meant growth in schools and businesses as well.

“Without the immigrants you don’t see any growth, you know and I think the community has realized that the community has grown, but it’s only grown because of the immigration influx into Community A. We wouldn’t have grown as a community without

that sector of the community from growing and I think that's reflective, it's reflective in the schools, we wouldn't have had some of the expansion of some of our businesses." (Community A Hospital Administrator)

Schools:

"School districts in this area, for years a lot of them have had to look at cuts and consolidations and this and that and I mean, even next year the school district is probably facing about a million dollar cuts that they have to make. It would be a lot worse if we had no immigrants in our community because they're half the school population now, at least in the elementary schools."

(Superintendent of Community A Schools)

Even business leaders who aren't directly involved with the school can identify the benefits of the immigrants to the school.

". . . and that's partly why we're seeing student growth, where many rural districts aren't. So I think that's a whole piece of that puzzle of this community has worked and continued to grow and survive and be strong and part of why you see a new YMCA being built. This community in my mind is positioned to grow drastically and the next five to ten years, because they've taken the steps to integrate, try to integrate the diverse backgrounds, and are willing to figure how to make the community strong as a whole. . .

" (Community A, hospital administrator)

“So in the school system, the population has stayed stable so that’s one motivation is keeping our schools healthy, because you get so much state aid per kid, roughly \$7,000 per kid, and if you keep your population stable, you keep your revenue up there.” (Mayor of Community B)

Critical incidents in these communities created the tipping point to do something. Both communities became intentional about finding the way to integrate their foreign born residents to not just have them living in their community, but to have them become a part of the entire community.

Three themes emerged: 1) They needed to face the fear of change that was happening because of new customs, behaviors, foods, even faith traditions and ways of doing business; 2) Collaboration was and continues to be paramount. Rural communities have fewer resources, but they also are very likely to know one another, so they drew upon the resource of relationships and networked to collaborate to make things happen for integration; 3) Communities and schools would not have survived without the immigrants; they were and are an economic necessity.

Specific Actions

Grants written and received served as the impetus that was able to put collaborative efforts into action by elected officials, agency and school personnel, and dedicated volunteers. Following are events and programs that have led to much of the success of integration in these communities.

Festivities and Celebrations

Through the diversity of community participants in the early years of the changing demographics, both communities began a variety of festivities and celebrations with a focus on the array of cultures and ethnic groups inhabiting the communities.

Integrative Collaborative director in Community B reflects....

“We wanted to give people in the community a chance to come and see who truly is here, to see how diverse we really are. That it wasn’t just Scandinavian folks that we had people from all over. It was a chance to showcase to be able to share different foods and arts..I love the cultural activities – just because it brings people from throughout the whole community togetherdifferent music, different food. I really just enjoy any of that.”

Or the non-formal opportunity to get to know neighbors

”that’s more like an evening, once a month thing where people are interested in cultural integration get together, and we’ve had pool parties or things like that to try to help build relationships between families of different cultures and trying to get more of the long time residents, the parents that get to build relationships with ethnically diverse parents, cause a lot of time our kids make friends at school where like my son most of their friends are ethnically diverse children, but I may or may not feel comfortable calling their parents because I don’t know if they speak English, I don’t know if they’re going to welcome a contact from me or not, I’m

actually bolder than a lot of parents, you know about being brave in calling people, but you know it helps for parents to actually meet the parents of their children's friends, and to kind of increase that comfort and feel like, Oh yeah I guess I would feel comfortable with my child going to their house cause I've met them and kind of know them a little bit." (Parent from Community A Community Integrative Collaborative)

Those celebrations aren't the only things that happen across ethnic populations because of the collaboration in the communities. Community members have helped to organize summer programs for families to come and talk about their cultures, and traditions, and immigration history. The participants are diverse, from immigrant families to long time residents, coming and talking about their heritage and what they have held on to from their ancestors and what traditions do they still hold or how does their heritage shape who they are today, or how does that shape their community into the way it is now. The director of the Integrative Collaborative program in Community A says, "This is very well received, in fact we have so many people signed up for that program that we can hardly handle them in the facility we have."

One person's comment on the importance of the collaborative efforts can be summed up for many of the interviewees:

"Because I could see that our community was going to change, and we'd either have to get it on board and accept it and help them integrate in our community, or I was afraid of what was going to become of our community. I wanted to make them part of our

community – make them feel welcome in our community.

Actually, I'm kind of proud of that that we're one of the first communities to embrace them, really. I mean, sure there's challenges along the way, but I think just our kids are growing up with, has been phenomenal.” mother and Community A Chamber of Commerce Director

The collaborative efforts have a whole family and community emphasis, but in both communities, there have been extensive resources put into helping the children to be successful in school and integrated into the community. When it comes to helping immigrants it is important to help the children in the school system as well as the adults in the community. It is well recognized that the children will be the generation that will determine whether the new populations are integrated, just as in the past waves of immigration.

Caring for the Kids

The Integration Collaborative is an effective force in the school system in both communities studied. The general feeling was that youth are the key to helping the families integrate – that the parents will follow. With that specific idea in mind, several programs have been put into place within the school system.

Interpreters – bilingual and bicultural individuals are hired when possible to help with interpreting for school conferences or assisting in helping families understand the educational system and how it works. It maybe that the school district needs to test a child for special concerns, or things come up when there is a need for the school district to help the communication within the family. “We work really hard helping the

communication between the school districts and family. By having the interpreters we now have conferences offered both during the day and at night, so depending on whether parents worked the day shift or night shift they can still set up a time to come to their child's school conference.” (Community B Collaborative Director)

A principal reports that their district has had interpreters for a long time. They used to have two Hispanic interpreters and one Laotian. Now they are in the third generation of Laotians and there is no longer a need for an interpreter. However, they still have Hispanic interpreters. In the past year, populations changed again and they are creating bridges with the new populations from Burma and East Africa.

School Success – Through the Integrative Collaborative a variety of programs have been started within the schools at all grade levels helping students with grades, strengthening communication between parent and teacher, helping with the language barrier, providing information about college and the process to get into college and passing their grade. Both school districts have a variety of names for these programs and have taken deliberative efforts to be mindful of the special concerns for the students. A hurdle that they are still trying to jump is attracting bilingual, bicultural minority teachers to the rural school districts. There is recognition of the hard work that the school system is doing to help the students be successful. A community member commented:

“We have a great school system, we have wonderful educators here, and they're very committed educators, they get frustrated with some of the cultural things that limit where they can go and what they can do and what I mean as it relates to the success of kids because sometimes it's a very slow process, and to meet the

needs of the kids who have those struggles, and the higher achievers sometimes is a real conflict.” (President Community College, Community B)

Community Connectors – These are individuals funded through collaborative efforts that serve as liaisons between the school district, the community, and families to help them meet their immediate needs, the educational needs, and understand the culture in which they are now living. These individuals are usually bi-lingual and bi-cultural and also help the host community understand the culture of the population with whom they are working. These efforts have helped to identify the issues in school and the community for the children as well – whether it’s home work, overall communication, help kids catch up to their grade level, or emotional and trauma issues.

English Language Learners – while this effort is focused on the adults, it is an effort to help the parents learn the language and culture in order for them to effectively work with their children. Schools have offered other ways to help the parents engage in their children’s school success by developing programs specifically for the parents to experience school where they attend classes, go through a graduation and gain an understanding and appreciation of what their children need to be successful. Efforts are also made for the students to learn about the community, about people in the community, and a variety of topics that are of interest so they have the opportunity to dialogue around different topics and build relationships across cultures. This has proven to be a great collaborative effort and two-way learning process about culture and people.

Community Efforts – One of the communities developed a volunteer driven summer time day camp program that brought together about 40 children – half were local kids and half were new minority kids.

“We used the city bus to pick them up. We had chaperones and volunteers and a few interns with the city who we assigned to this program. They were on the bus, they were loud and friendly and they’d be singing and they’d teach the kids how to sing as they were picking up the rest of the kids. We’d have a day camp at our crown jewel city park. It’d go from 9 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon. We got churches to help us with volunteers and brown bag lunch or picnics. So every week a different church group would be responsible for the lunches. Then these young adults, some of them were youth ministers and some were college kids and city interns. They would set up a program for the day – from sports, crafts, music, games, whatever it was, but it would be a day camp. The intent was to help these kids build friendships with each other so that when school started in the fall and the minority kids went to school, they knew somebody or better yet somebody knew them, and they weren’t alone and they had a friend in a new school or a big school, a friend who they could have lunch with or they could talk to in the hallway.” (Community B Mayor)

Other efforts in the community geared to youth include expansion of the traditional memberships in organizations like scouts or 4-H. In addition, collaboration

efforts were made to design activities that specifically meet the needs of the immigrant youth. This is depicted by this volunteer:

“working with the young girls, one of the projects I took on was to work with the Latino youth who either are immigrants themselves or come from families of immigrants, and just kind of giving them some confidence and helping them feel good about themselves, just a lot of times, if they were like me when they were young, you feel kind of stuck because you don’t want your parents, your parents are struggling to survive as it is, the last thing you’re going to do is add a burden to them with wanting to be in sports, wanting to be in social clubs and belong, because now they have to pick you up, drop you off, pay money for this, pay money for that, and those are some of the things that I always avoided doing to my parents and I know that that still goes on, so I was able to collaborate and find different organizations in the community that worked, that had funding to work with youth in that matter”

(mother and community B volunteer)

Soccer/sports – it didn’t take either community long to discover that a common denominator with the youth new to the community is soccer. In addition, it was also an activity that the local youth took a great interest in as well as the entire community. They discovered it has rejuvenated both communities and is playing a role in the local community colleges.

“Athletics, I mean, soccer has become absolutely huge in this town and of course that hardly existed before the immigrated populations – I mean, you go to a soccer game now and it’s just packed with people and there’s a very strong integration – many of the soccer players are Latino or now, there’s become more and more Anglo people playing soccer. Those are just, I think we were division champs this past year. See, that’s just huge, that’s just come about in four years and the college is considering starting a soccer program here, but because that is, plus, it’s demanded.’

(Diane, Provost Community A College)

And from Community B, Mayor:

“2005 and 2006, we had cross country teams that won back to back state championships. The teams were about half Somali and half Caucasian kids, with a couple ringers thrown in, somebody from Korea or something, you know? Anyway, these Somali runners brought prestige and honor to themselves, to the school. It gave the city a lot to talk about because we never win state championships. Here, we won two in a row in cross-country, primarily through the help of the Somali runners. So suddenly the Somali runners, and they were good kids, popular kids, everybody knew them on sight. They really said, we’re here and we’re contributing. They don’t brag at all, but as a community, I can say look, they’re contributing to the city and to the high school. And at the soccer games, they

are the most integrated event in the community. It was good effort to help get that going.”

Community Colleges – The community colleges work with both school districts to provide an opportunity to all youth who would not otherwise have the chance to learn about or think about going to college by holding a summer “kid’s college” program. Both of the community colleges also have diversity connectors at the colleges for their minority students as well as to help educate the entire population - making it a two way learning opportunity. They also have culture corners on campus that display services and resources for all students as they strive to bring a global perspective and education to the campus and communities.

I also wanted to know the motivations of the leaders who have worked over the years to intentionally work with immigrants to work together for integration into the communities. Each interviewee was asked what motivates them to work with immigrants and also what they think motivates others to work with immigrants.

Factors Influencing Motivations

Understanding of immigration history

Several people commented on recollections of their own immigration stories that have been handed down to them through the generations. Knowing their own story helps them be empathetic to the new immigrants and accepting of the process for the new community members because they recognize it is a journey of at least two to three generations. Also, there is a strong recognition that integration is a two-way street. The community also needs to be cognizant of the gifts and abilities that the new immigrants

bring to the community and be ready to transform the host community as well just as previous generations of immigrants did.

“They deserve to be here just like everybody else, just like our ancestors came here.” (Teacher in Community A Middle Schools)

“Yes. So those are all motivations, I think, and recognition of our own heritage, our own legacy, from the need to be cognizant of the fact that there are new immigrants moving in and there might be accommodations that would be appropriate, and then just the value of that immigrant, you know, for the workforce, and again, some of the richness of our local lives is, you know, attitude immeasurably, I think.” (Community Health Outreach Worker and mother, Community B).

There is also a sense of welcoming immigrants and sharing present and past stories:

“I think it’s a recognition that, on the part of many people that our community was founded by immigrants. That you know, really, the entire United States is made up of immigrants, and that, you know, we need to be, to continue to be accommodating for those immigrants. I mean, some of it might be economic, even, I would argue, and this actually comes from the researchers Because we want to get them to where, to where we all are. We want to be able to, immigrants, we’re here to stay. We migrated here, we all migrated here at some point in our lives, our ancestors, to create a better life. I always give that line where the United States, you

know, is made up of the bravest people in the world. It's not very easy to leave your country, pick up, take your entire family to a different location you have no clue what you're going to see. And that's why immigrants are here, and that's my answer to a lot of that, because you know, you face that." (Community B Community Volunteer).

Finding the commonality for reasons between past immigrants and current immigrants that made them leave their home country to come to the United States and these individual communities is also recognized.

"Right, because they were here just like my family and everyone else. They wanted to make a good home for their family, and you know, they wanted to educate their children. They wanted to make a good living. They wanted to own their houses, the American Dream. "(Police Chief, Community A)

The immigrants also want to learn about the people in the host community as testified by Sister in Community A:

"The immigrants say to me, we don't want to just share our stories, we want to hear the stories of the local people as well."

The personal relationship with an immigrant drives home the need to help the community understand immigration in the present day.

"My husband's an immigrant. Knowing, meeting him and hearing all the stuff that he's been through, and everything that my family, now, on the other side went through, and myself I just...you know,

again, want to give them all the resources I have. I can't do it for them, but I can tell them where it's at or I can start it." (Youth Chemical Counselor in Community B)

The documentation of the immigrant doesn't matter...

"... getting to know people that are undocumented. It's a real frustrating thing for me when I hear that all undocumented people are bad. They have no idea what the stories are of what these people have gone through." (Nutrition Coordinator, Community B)

In addition to an understanding of immigration history, there is also, a strong recognition that it is a two-way street. Community members recognize the need to be cognizant of the gifts and abilities that the new immigrants bring to the community and be ready to transform the host community as well just as previous generations of immigrants did. Several people summed up that open-minded thought process in the following ways:

"I don't know, just it's a two-way street, it's not just about, there's sort of the dominant community has to transform itself, but that it goes back and forth, it's a two way street. . . . I think transformation is sometimes a better word, because then we're all being transformed. It's still this they're going to become more like us and we need to also change in the process. And that's for a lot of people that's really scary, but there's a lot of stuff that people don't see and don't realize. And so they have a responsibility, but we have a responsibility too to continue to help integrate. I do not

want assimilation, I would like an integration, how can we inter, go back and forth, you know.” (Pastor Community B)

Integration means finding ways to develop relationships by recognizing the skills, talents, and leadership perspectives that the immigrants bring with them from their culture and life experiences.

“Where I think it needs to be an equal partnership that they bring gifts to the community that we need to be aware of, that they bring leadership, they bring ways of looking at the world that is different. They bring creativity and entrepreneurship. They bring passion, they bring family values. They bring a lot of host of good things. We need to see it as a two-way street, it’s too often seen as a one-way street, or when we see it as a two-way street it’s still because it’s for my benefit, you know, I get real cynical, but you know, okay, I know I need to reach out because I want my business to grow or that sort of thing. . . “(Pastor Community A)

Being welcoming and finding a place at the table where decisions are made and dreams for the community are dreamt needs to happen so that immigrants are seen as a resource, a part of the solution for community issues, and where they too can be civically engaged.

“I mean, we have people, new immigrants do not just hold the title of new immigrant. You are part of what we are doing, part of the solution, part of the, at the table, and where we’re asking them to

be present and making it easy for them to be, to be there.”

(Community B Chamber of Commerce)

Respecting the immigration stories of ancestors as well as new community members is a powerful force in working with immigrants to transform the entire population to create an integrated community. But understanding shared immigration stories isn't enough to lead to integration. Leaders' attitudes recognized the talents, skills, passions, dreams, and perspectives that the foreign born residents bring to the community. Leaders know that the immigrants are more than economic benefits, but are part of the greater community and there needs to be opportunity to learn and share with each other for integration to happen.

Previous experience of caring for other – The awareness of the historical immigration process is also complimented by the valuing of caring for the “other.” Overwhelmingly people identified their own life experiences of being taught by their faith to care for others. They may have been an outsider themselves in their life, and many had a mission attitude that played out through being a past member in the Peace Corps or working in helping agencies.

A key element for these folks is authentically caring and serving as an advocate with the immigrants. They have no intention of converting the immigrants or expecting them to lose their own culture; rather, their motivation is to build relationships and serve as advocates or bridge builders between the immigrants and the larger community.

Some people have had life experiences that took them out of their home country or community that influenced their attitudes for reaching out.

“we have a couple of families that did Peace Core, World Core, you know, did mission work in another country or you know they’re kind of on the edge you might say in that way” (teacher in Community A)

“We’ve been overseas for about the last 25 years. So we are somewhat immigrants ourselves. And so sort of sensitive and aware of what new people, and sometimes we find ourselves feeling rather strange here. .. we’ve been having some overseas experiences for many years and we’re sort of aware of being an outsider. Wherever we’ve lived we’ve always been a minority or an outsider, and I think that awareness and sensitivity makes it easier for us to go and meet people..” (volunteer in Community B)

The attitude of the immigrants being our neighbor combined with the lived experience of being in another country and feeling like the outsider plays a significant role.

“They’re our neighbors, they’re our friends, and they’re part of us. We’re all one family in a way, I think. We’re all one family and we need to help one another and support one another and moving to different place than your home is so challenging. I’ve experienced it just living in Mexico for awhile, so I have that perspective of living in a different country and adjusting to a different culture.” (Community Health Outreach Worker and mother in Community B)

For several people it was because they have lived the experience of being marginalized or needing help from someone else. Having had personal disadvantages in their own life or family motivates them to reach out to the immigrants.

“I think because we received help, I feel like we should give it back too, so it was nice. I don’t have any bad experiences to share. Our experiences were always good. People were always nice and people were always friendly and helpful so I feel like maybe I can do that for somebody else now. It made such a...like I look back now and I’m very grateful for the people who helped us.” (Workforce Center, Community A)

People also identified their personal faith as a motivation. The faith that they saw lived out in their families of origin as well as what they have internalized for themselves makes reaching out to the immigrants a natural reaction.

“... my own family upbringing and probably my Christian faith. You know I was raised in a Christian family that truly were about do unto others as they would do unto you. And when I was growing up that was actually lived out more probably as far as in our family reaching out to and caring for adult with disabilities that was something I saw my parents live out. But also just, I don’t know, seeing my parents like be involved in helping people that are less fortunate. . . .” (Integration Collaborative Director, Community A)

People also recognize that many people respond because of their faith even if they don't specifically say that. They possess a genuine attitude about their work and motivation.

“They are naturally good. Like they're good for on the inside and you know she never talks about her church. But you see the way she wants to help people and how she wants to give everything she can for somebody and believe in people and you can't help but think. . . That must be where it comes from because it's just so genuine and . . . it's not new, it just comes from . . . just the way they grew up and the things they always heard.” (Outreach and Communications, Community A Hospital)

Individuals also express that their faith is their motivator and how they have chosen to live their lives.

“ . . . really, the mission of Jesus is to make one. I find that I want to be a person that will help bring about greater communication, collaboration, respect for one another. So I think my religious commitment, my relationship with God, and then that experience of having that in Guatemala and Mexico. And you know, I had an experience in Japan, did not speak Japanese, but oh my goodness gracious, the wonderful spirit and gratefulness that we came to see them. The summer I taught in Hungary and to a group of high school students that you know, I couldn't speak one word of Hungarian, and yet the reception and the, they I fell in love with

them, and they fell in love with me, and we're just fine." (Sister Community A)

The religious culture in the community and the positional power of the clergy motivated some people as well to get involved in helping work with the immigrants.

"This is a very religious community and when the pastor preaches from the pulpit that we are to be welcoming the stranger, the immigrant, and people take notice." (parishioner in Community A)

One pastor also knows his job may be on the line for his efforts in opening the church building to be available for immigrants to worship in their own language and worship practice.

"I have two years maybe three before I want to retire. However, I'm not sure that all of my parishioners will let me stay that long. Some people do not want us to pen our doors to the immigrants. But, I firmly believe, as do other church members that our job is to welcome the stranger among us. I'm willing to put my job on the line to do what is the moral thing." (Pastor Community A)

In both communities, positional and non-formal leaders have worked hard to intentionally integrate immigrants into their communities. They have seen the fruits of their labors with expanded businesses and economic development, children learning the English language and being successful in school, and people have built relationships and learned about other cultures. They also acknowledge that the journey continues and that while they are proud of what they have done, they know they need to continue to work at building an inclusive community.

Summary

This chapter has identified the critical incident in each of the communities that served as the tipping point for formal and non-formal U.S. born leaders to begin the journey of intentionally working with foreign born residents to begin the integration process. Each of the two communities had different critical incidents: however there are consistent themes for specific actions that leaders took as well as the attitudes or personal motivations the leaders possessed.

Three themes emerged that impacted both communities: fear of change, the importance of collaboration, and economic necessity for community survival. In addition, both communities have Integration Collaborative funding through the State of Minnesota Department of Education. Their focus has been to focus on the success of children in school, weaving in parent and community programming along with an emphasis on the children's academic success.

Motivations of leaders who have worked with immigrants include recognition of immigration history in general as well as of their own family and the similarities with present waves of immigrant families. A key characteristic is also sensitivity to caring for those who are marginalized. That desire may have come from the lived experience of being cared for by others, a value instilled by their family or faith tradition, or all of these. Chapter V will examine the findings in this chapter in relation to social capital theory and immigration history.

The following chapter is a discussion of the formal and nonformal leader actions and motivations on Communities A& B.

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION OF FORMAL AND NONFORMAL LEADER ACTIONS AND MOTIVATIONS

This study sought to gain an understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders in two different rural communities did to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into the host communities. I used a variation of critical incidents technique in two communities experiencing large influxes of foreign born residents to discover how these leaders created bridges between the new populations and the social structure of the host communities. While a few critical cases or incidents cannot be generalized broadly there can be a logical generalization made based on the evidenced provided in the analysis (Patton, 2002).

Chapter V will be structured according to the themes identified from the critical incidents outlined in Chapter IV. Woven throughout these themes will be the relationship to the existing data in Chapter II that focused specifically on social capital as well as immigration history and theory. The motivations and actions of the formal and non formal leaders are key to creating bridging and linking networks between the host community and the immigrants. Their attitudes also serve as the impetus to creating an atmosphere of intentional integration into the community while recognizing that all cultures are valued and bring “something to the table” /strengths and insights that will help strengthen the community.

Immigration and Integration

Fear

Both communities identified that even though the demographics in their community changed from predominantly white Northern Europeans to an influx of ethnic

populations from other parts of the world over twenty years ago, as a community it was not very welcoming to the new immigrants. Leaders talked about those early years as very hate filled and people weren't afraid to speak in a derogatory way about minority populations. Early efforts to bring the community together for conversation about the new populations surfaced feelings of hate. A common thread of "it was an ugly time here" was iterated by the formal leaders in both communities as they reflected on those early years. People were afraid that their community was changing and they feared what they would lose influence and power. The new comers were not English speaking and had very different customs. Many of the residents romanticized their grandparents' immigrant stories and did not recognize how history was repeating itself.

Anderson (2007 & 2008) identified this fear of change and anti-immigrant sentiment that is sweeping the nation as the United States populations shift from predominantly Caucasian. There is a heightened nativistic rhetoric, especially for people who have not been exposed to other cultures or ways of life. Anti-immigrant sentiment is part of the United States history and still exists. This is especially true in the communities with a segment of the population who are afraid of people coming with darker skin, different religions, different foods, and different styles of dress. The immigrants who are living and working in these two communities in the study come from the southern part of the globe. Research indicates that immigrants with darker skin still have the most difficulty integrating into their host communities, ethnicity, and skin color is a concern for this new wave of immigrants (Hirschman, 1983, Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2008, Zhou, 1997, Anderson, 2007 & 2008).

A national survey of rural residents also found that rural respondents perceive immigrants more negatively than urban or suburban counterparts and are more concerned about the impact of immigration on American jobs and economy (Fennelly & Frederico, 2005). In addition, further research by Fennelly (2009) on prejudice towards immigrants in the Midwest found that the level of education, particularly college level, is a key factor in predicting attitudes towards immigrants. Those with higher levels of education and income are more accepting. I did not directly ask the interviewees their educational level, however, based on their job positions and what they shared with me about their background, they all had some education past high school. It may be that being more highly educated and being more secure in their jobs that their identity and even economic security is less threatened by diversity. They also may have encountered different cultures when they went to school beyond high school.

It was these leaders who kept striving to make a difference – particularly after the critical incidents or turning points as interviewees referred to them, identified in Chapter IV. They recognized what community sociologist Cornelia Flora (2005) has stated, that resilient communities have to draw on the diversity and resources within their community when they are going through a tough time. Both communities are experiencing the influx of immigrants who fill jobs that the declining and aging Caucasian, non-Hispanic white population will not take. Young people are moving to more metropolitan areas, leaving behind a rural, aging population. In addition, food processing plants have moved to rural communities seeking a labor force which is primarily immigrant and willing to accept lower wages. This population is not readily available in urban areas. Consequently, food processing businesses have come to rely on and recruit immigrants as their primary labor

source. Immigrants not only are willing to work for lower wages but most are more able to afford living in rural communities. They also have skill and language limitations which may not impede their employment in food processing plants.

Economics

Cornelia Butler Flora and Jan Flora (Flora, 1997 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005) developed a concept of *entrepreneurial social infrastructure* (ESI), with the belief that communities need to be able to change their infrastructure in order to engage in collective action for the community betterment. Immigrants in both communities in this study are credited with revitalizing the downtown corridor by opening stores that meet the needs of the newcomers while also adding to the economic vitality of each community. One community is able to identify that the immigrant entrepreneurs contribute about 70 million dollars a year. In addition, the immigrants who are not shop owners make their own purchases locally rather than travel to a different community. Both communities have Chamber Presidents using their social capital power to create linkages with immigrant entrepreneurs and business owners. They are actively making adaptations to help these businesses become successful and host community leaders have been deliberate in working with minority business owners to become part of their local chambers of commerce and integrate into the business community.

The Integration Process

Respondents expressed a negative perception of the term “assimilation,” believing it means immigrants would be absorbed into the mores of the dominant culture, in these communities comprised of German and Scandinavians. (Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003 & Merriam-Webster, 2008). In doing so they may be felt that they did not want to have

what happened to European immigrants where immigrants were expected to become “Anglo-Saxon” thus discriminating against those who were not considered “white” (Alba & Nee, 2003). Interviewees did not believe immigrants integrating into a community was a one-way process but that the new immigrants have gifts, talents, skills, and knowledge that can benefit their community as well. The vision can be characterized as having a sense of partnership for all people in the community as indicated in the following quotes from each community:

From a pastor in Community A: “Where I think it needs to be an equal partnership, that they bring gifts to the community that we need to be aware of, that they bring leadership, they bring ways of looking at the world that is different. They bring creativity and entrepreneurship. They bring passion, they bring family values. They bring a host of good things. We need to see it as a two-way street, it’s too often seen as a one-way street, or when we see it as a two-way street it’s still because it’s for my benefit, you know, I get real cynical, but you know, okay, I know I need to reach out because I want my business to grow or that sort of thing.”

The early definition of assimilation was defined as the “interpenetration and fusion where people and groups acquire memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other people or groups and through sharing experiences and history are then incorporated into cultural life” (Park, R. E. & Burgess, E. 1969:735). It did not require erasing immigrant’s entire ethnic origins, rather it involves the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life (Park, 1930:2811).

Researchers on the issue of immigrant assimilation or integration, (whatever term is used) believe that assimilation is a process that takes times time for immigrants and the host community, but is inevitable in modern society (Hirschman, 1983, Zhou, 1997 & Alba & Nee, 2003). For example, in Community A, they no longer have a need for Laotian interpreters as they are in the third generation of immigrants and new immigrants are not arriving. The immigrant cultures change in response to the condition and the culture of the host society at different amounts of time and in different ways and with each generation of American-born children they are more likely to be mainstream than their parents (Gordon, 1964, Zhou, 1997, Brubaker, 2001). Observations of local respondents indicate that it is easier for the next generation because they know the language and understand the local customs better than their parents.

There are various frameworks on assimilation as discussed in Chapter 2. The two communities studied are early in the process of immigrants becoming woven into the community since assimilation or acculturation is a long process and they have only been at it for twenty to twenty-five years. There is evidence of *spatial assimilation* that occurs with some residents of each host society serving as a connection to building new networks between their own dominant community the new immigrant community. The new immigrants are not confined to dense residential communities comprised of only immigrants like themselves like previous immigrants in rural communities (Anderson, 2007 & 2008, Alba and Nee, 1997 & 2003). These new members of the community are interacting with their new community via their neighbors, through the schools, interpreters in health care, agencies, banks, and interaction with faith communities, each

of these opportunities creating more connections. These connections have created the weak linkages or bridges between across the cultures.

Social capital bridging network connections and *spatial assimilation* demonstrate themselves predominantly via soccer in both communities. Community leaders indicate that if a person wants to see the racial/ethnic diversity in the community they should watch a soccer game because the players as well as spectators are very diverse. Increased interest in soccer is just one example of what the immigrants have brought to each community. Prior to the immigrant influx, each community had one soccer field. Now, they have a soccer complex and soccer is a growing sport at the community college.

Cultural celebrations also demonstrate *spatial assimilation* in an effort to bring together long-term residents along with the immigrant residents to create opportunities to learn with each other and about each other's cultures. Crafting a space where people can come together in the public square has helped people find commonality as the stepping stone to building connections. Cultural celebrations and sharing immigration stories have also been instrumental for bonded social capital groups to create bridges and networks between unlike groups. In so doing, they have found commonalities as well as recognize that cultural differences exist without an expectation that people lose their cultural practices.

Gordon also believed that *structural assimilation* is paramount for subsequent generations to be successful; there is integration of minorities into existing structures (Gordon, 1964, Alba & Nee, 1997 & 2003, Brown & Bean, 2006). This is evidenced with the Chambers of Commerce working with immigrant entrepreneurs to be full contributing members of the Chambers of Commerce; the Integration Collaborative is

developing leadership skills and teaching the United States democratic process having immigrants and other local volunteers on their advisory council. These again are examples of bridging social capital networks.

Early social capital theory recognized the importance of the school to build social capital and democracy. This theory can be seen through other indicators of integration with agencies and businesses hiring bilingual and bicultural staff to work with immigrants as well as to examine best practices that will be culturally appropriate. Church and schools serve as a foundation in the host community and churches have found ways to share structural space for immigrants to use and opportunities for worshipping together; and efforts within the school has resulted in having community connectors who serve as liaisons between the school district, the community, and families to help the immigrant families meet their immediate needs, the educational needs, and understand the culture in which they are now living and the host society to learn about the new immigrants.

Immigration and Social Capital

This study set out to find out how U.S. born community members helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community and what were the motivations of native-born residents who promote immigrant integration. A review of social capital theory sheds some light on this non-tangible capital that is credited for being the glue that holds a community together (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008). As contributors to social capital theory believe, these two communities demonstrate that people working together are a powerful way to make communities better and to build democracy for the good of all.

However, as is also noted in social capital theory that strong ties can unintentionally or maybe even intentionally result in exclusion of others who are not in the network. These strong networks that bring benefits to members of one group can just as easily bar another group access to benefits (Portes, 1998). Both communities experienced groups of people who wanted to keep the ties tight, including only those who were the same as themselves. That played out early in the influx of immigrants but is still at play as respondents testified that they do get derogatory remarks made for trying to help “those” people. The pastor wonders if he will lose his job for what he is doing working with immigrants to make the church building available for worship and social functions for Guatemalan immigrants who are of the same denomination.

It is important to note that the immigrant population also has tight bonded social networks within their individual country of origin. These networks help them to survive in their new homes. It is not easy for them to create the networks into the new culture due to language and cultural barriers, a desire to maintain their culture, as well as a fear of the unknown. Community leaders I interviewed recognized that they need to be intentional about creating the linking and bridging networks because of their position of power. They have chosen to use this power to try to create an inclusive and inviting community.

Schools

John Dewey, emphasized that school is a central point for the community to assemble, to learn, share talents, and engage in democracy and that these connections strengthen a community as well as lead to true democracy (Putnam, 2000 & Farr, 2004). Hanifan urged community involvement to improve rural schools. He spoke of social

capital as the “good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse” that came from contact with neighbors and networks of neighbors (Putnam, 2000 p. 19 & Farr, 2004 p.11). Hanifan pointed to social capital as a means to improve the living conditions in the whole community (Putnam, 2000).

Immigrants are credited with the survival of schools in both of these rural communities. Shifting demographics in the host community meant that they did not have enough school aged children to sustain having their own schools without consolidation. Communities and schools would not have survived without the immigrants and the creation of the Integrative Collaborative within the schools has been central to the life flow of the school and community in general. It was through this organization that efforts were also made to reach out to the immigrants.

Immigrant children in the school system have provided the opportunity for local children to experience other cultures to which they would not have been exposed previously. Parents commented that interaction with children from other cultures has had a positive impact on their children and they are less likely to be prejudiced. I cannot say that is true across the board for all children, but there did seem to be a perception that integration of diverse students is changing attitudes. “Our kids are fortunate to have this experience with other populations. They have friends across cultures and that is changing attitudes of parents because they are getting to know the children and parents.” (Parent in Community A). Gordon (1964) believed that prejudice and discrimination would decline and even disappear if there is integration of minorities into existing structures.

Integrative Collaborative

Improving the lives of the immigrants in the community is at the core of the Integrative Collaborative mission which works to create integrated activities with members of the host community and immigrants to create awareness and understanding across cultures. Funding for these programs comes from the Minnesota Department of Education with the collaborative being embedded into the schools. There are two foci for the use of the grant dollars – one is cultural integration and the other is student success. This involves working with the students and parents so the children can be successful in school. In addition, there are educational opportunities for the parents and other adults as they transition to their new homes. The collaborative helps create opportunities for understanding life in the United State democracy by creating opportunities for civic engagement that include a sense of identity shared by the community and expressed through its character, cultural life and politics. It also serves as the medium to help the host community members understand the culture and world view of the immigrants living and working in their midst.

Specific actions generated by the integrative collaborative to improve community life and collaboration in schools were outlined in Chapter IV including: festivities and celebrations of all cultures; a focus on the children with bilingual and bicultural interpreters in the school system; focusing on school success; community connectors that serve as liaisons between the school district, the community and families; offering English Language instruction for adults to help them learn the language and culture in order to effectively work with their children and understand community life; and creating civic engagement and democracy experience via immigrants and host community

volunteers working together on the Integrative Collaborative advisory council as well as creating bridging network in the community to agencies, churches, and business.

Community Colleges

Examples of linking networks are exemplified by intentional educational efforts to work with immigrant populations was also undertaken with the community colleges who have worked with the public school system to offer exploratory college experiences for all youth in the community with extra measures taken for immigrant youth who may have limited understanding of what is available at the post-secondary level. They work with both school districts to provide an opportunity to all youth who would not otherwise have the chance to learn about or think about going to college by holding a summer “kids’ college” program. Both local colleges also have diversity connectors for their minority students as who help educate the entire population - making it a two way learning opportunity. Culture corners on campus display services and resources for all students as they strive to bring a global perspective and education to the campus and communities. Cultural liaisons are available on campus as well as an array of resources to help students be successful.

A focus on education in helping immigrants be successful is also stressed by researchers who study the socio-economic progress of immigrants (Hirschman 1983 & Alba & Nee, 2003, Brown and Bean, 2006, & Putnam, 2008). The immigrants who are in these communities are predominantly labor migrants who make slower progress assimilating into the larger community perhaps due to lower educational attainment, hence having less human and economic capital. This group of laborers will be competing for jobs on the bottom rung in the labor market and will have a harder time assimilating.

Research indicates the next generation of migrants may graduate from high school, however they are not as likely to go on to college compared to children of professionals and entrepreneurs. These communities are making strides to provide opportunities for these youth to at least consider college.

Intentionality within the educational systems in each community the integration of immigrants is leading to growth in the community not just in numbers but in keeping the schools open and in the expansion of businesses. This is also a reflection on socio-economic progress in assimilation theory and the importance of education. Education is a key indicator of socio economic success and for immigrants school is a primary step toward full participation in the United States society. (Hirschman 1983 & Alba & Nee, 2003).

“Without the immigrants you don’t see any growth, you know and I think the community has realized that, the community has grown, but it’s only grown because of the immigration, influx into Community B. We wouldn’t have grown as a community without that sector of the community from growing and I think that’s reflective, it’s reflective in the schools, we wouldn’t have had some of the expansion of some of our businesses.” (Community B Hospital Administrator)

Why the communities are succeeding

Mark Granovetter (1973 & 1983) emphasized the need for weak ties – individuals who are able to move between groups and in so doing bring back new ideas and information. The aspects of networking that include diversity and sameness, inclusion

and exclusion, and bridging and bonding are essential in these communities to be as successful as they are. At the very core of what has helped create success according to the informants for this study are relationships. Social capital networks across bonded groups need to be made to create connections for all citizens, resulting in an inclusive community. This concept is at the heart of what leaders in these communities have been able to do to help their communities work to be successful in the integration journey.

Leaders were all part of bonded relationships. Bonded relationships or networks are strong within like groups of people (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008). These close ties help people get by and can be identified within individual immigrant populations, organizations like schools, businesses, churches, and government as well as families, friends, and neighborhoods. The solidarity allows these groups to function and provide support to each other and fulfill their mission.

Formal and non formal leaders possess the ability to create bridging networks that connect folks who are diverse – or outside one’s own group. These networks helped generate conversation, ideas, and ways of creating a more inclusive community. Motivations of leaders who were able to create these networks corresponds with the nine subcategories identified by Granovetter (1973), Fuykuyama (1999), Putnam (2000), and Woolcock & Narayn (1999) which include norms of behavior, personal civic engagement, safety, trust-efficacy, trust-general, networks, diversity and sameness, inclusion and exclusion, and bridging and bonding.

I have already discussed the bonding and bridging networks and the role they played in the communities. Each subcategory will now be explored more in relation to the motivations of the leaders I interviewed.

Norms of behavior refers to the way things get done and how people really treat each other. Collaboration was already the norm used in these communities to meet their populations' needs. Thus, when the community was faced with the influx of immigrants and a state of transition, the norm they relied on was collaboration. People were not worried about personal power as much as using their positional power for the betterment of the community. A local business leader in Community B described the mayor and the role of his positional leadership:

“He had a personal passion, he had vision and foresight to see what was going to be needed, and he invested himself in making it happen. I mean he was so proactive, I think that is what made the difference. He was in a key position, and he both personally and professionally leveraged the resources needed to make things happen here. And he was a collaborator!” (Volunteer and Business person)

Initially in both communities elected officials took the incentive to begin community dialogue on understanding the new populations. However, no one expected just one person to be instrumental in addressing the shifting community. They worked together across sectors and positions of power. The University of Minnesota Extension (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008) identified linking networks as critical in building social capital. Linking networks are the connections to organizations and systems that can help people gain resources and bring about change. They are usually with organizations that have resources, both within and outside of the communities.

Positional leaders in each community in this study, such as mayors, school superintendents, college provosts and presidents, community education directors, clergy, and chambers of commerce were integral in garnering resources and momentum to make needed changes and have deliberate conversations around integration concerns. The collaborative efforts and networking led to several significant elements that kept both of the communities moving toward integration.

Personal civic engagement is the extent to which one participates in the civic culture of a community. All respondents were actively engaged in their community, sometimes because of their position in an organization or as a volunteer in the community. The social organizations and citizens participated with each other to address best ways to work with immigrants. Civic engagement is the way citizens and social organizations participate in relation to one another (Putnam, 2000 & National Civic League, 2005). In these communities, civic engagement by the participants has led to collaboration and working together for the integration of immigrants.

Community A's community education director describes the first tentative steps, "I remember our mayor at the time had kind of talked to some people about the possibility of maybe just trying to get a group of people to kind of talk about the issue- I remember it involved a minister, a lady who had worked with the Lutheran Social Service Refugee Office, the Community Education Director, an Extension Educator, and eight or nine other people. We had some people come in and help lead some sessions. . . I was on the very first coalition put together back in the early 1990's when we first

started seeing the first influx of immigrants come into the community. The purpose was, “to see how we could help get the new immigrants integrated into our community.” And a lot of them came here because of local meat packing company and through that whole very early stages of meetings, we formed a community connectors.”

Safety refers to the actual or perceived risk of harm which may include a sense of who is welcome or not into a particular neighborhood. These leaders all felt strong that they wanted their community to remain a safe place for all the residents. Community A police department specifically worked with immigrants to have a police academy so they could understand the laws of the community, build relationships with the police department and the new neighbors, and officers took Spanish classes. The community colleges offer conversational Spanish for different industries so that Spanish speaking customers would feel welcome. Signs of welcome were made in various languages and distributed in local businesses and interpreters helped immigrants get their needs met at school and in the health care arena.

Trust is a key and difficult concept but one that the leaders all took seriously. Trust is a key but also the most difficult concept. Streeten (2002) states that sociologists have tried to explain trust in terms of social capital but they also recognize that trust is something that waxes and wanes and it is not clear why some societies have more trust than others. Trust arises from norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement according to Putnam (2000).

Leaders knew that trust gets built over time and that they needed to build relationships in order to build trust. Leaders at all levels whether formal elected officials or being a neighbor or volunteer in the community, the respondents I interviewed talked about how important it was to recognize that it takes time to get to know people and that you have to build trust. Trust was also apparent in the ability to trust not just the immigrants or vice versa, but trust is essential among agencies and organizations to work in a respectful manner to make collaboration work. Resources are scarce in rural communities with the most important commodity being the people who work together so trust needs to exist (Flora, C.B. 2005).

Diversity and sameness refers to ways in which people are different and ways in which people are alike. Understanding how individual interests, experiences, and motivations connect as well as separate people is valuable. In addition, appreciating this diversity and recognizing commonality is critical to resilient communities (Granovetter 1973, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999, Putnam, 2000 & Flora, 2005).

Leaders were willing to understand how their individual interests, experiences, and characteristics connect as well as separate them as people in the community. There is a sincere appreciation of the diversity and also recognition there is some commonality in immigration stories and the desire for families to have an improved quality of life. People celebrate those differences and similarities through festivities and intentional dialogue and events to create understanding.

Understanding begins with the leaders knowing some of their own immigration story as well as having experienced being sensitive to the disenfranchised either through personal experience or being taught by their faith and or parents to care for those who are

marginalized. Caring, sensitivity, faith, and empathy threads run through the leader's personal characters to appreciate difference without feeling the need to invalidate their own or others' cultures. Appreciating this diversity and recognizing commonality is critical to resilient communities (Granovetter 1973, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999, Putnam, 2000 & Flora, 2005). People spoke with passion about these topics:

“... recognition of our own heritage, our own legacy, from the need to be cognizant of the fact that there are new immigrants moving in and there might be accommodations that would be appropriate, and then just the value of that immigrant, you know, for the workforce, and again, some of the richness of our local lives is, you know, altered immeasurably, I think.” (Community Health Outreach Worker and mother, Community B)

Others talked about their experiences of being the outsider as well as caring for others.

“we have a couple of families that did Peace Corps, World Corp, you know, did mission work in another country or you know they're kind of on the edge you might say in that way” (teacher in Community A)

“We've been overseas for about the last 25 years. So we are somewhat immigrants ourselves. And so sort of sensitive and aware of what new people, and sometimes we find ourselves feeling rather strange here. ... we've been having some overseas experiences for many years and we're sort of aware of being an

outsider. Wherever we've lived we've always been a minority or an outsider, and I think that awareness and sensitivity makes it easier for us to go and meet people.” (Volunteer in Community B)

Inclusion and exclusion are similar but refer primarily to who is invited and accepted into a family, team, or community. Exclusion refers to who is not invited, accepted or treated fairly in these environments. Inclusion, on the other hand, brings the talent of citizens and stakeholders into communication and cooperation. Exclusion purposely foregoes the talents of some citizens or stakeholders (Fukuyama, 1999, Woolcock & Narayn, 1999 & Winchester & Loehr, 2005). As written above, leaders interviewed are desirous to have immigrants' talents, skills, and world perspectives shared and interwoven into their communities so that they can build an inclusive, welcoming community. With a desire to create an inclusive community the goal is that the entire community will benefit with better schools, less crime and violence, better health, and greater affluence and equal access to power and privilege (Harvard University and Streeten 2002)

Both communities recognize that it is a process and that not everyone wants to be inclusive. However, the leaders have a shared inclusivity value that gives them a vision for their community.

Linking Networks

Links to organizations and systems that can help people gain resources and bring about change were absolutely essential to the success of each community in this journey of integration transition. Linking networks are usually with organizations that have

resources, both within and outside of the communities (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008).

In these communities those linking networks included mayors in both communities who initiated community conversations when they first began to see the influx and change of the community composition; Chambers of Commerce leaders have worked with immigrant entrepreneurs to help them work within state business organizations in order to open local businesses; local school administrators such as the director of community education and the superintendents have been instrumental in getting grant dollars for the Integration Collaborative and community connectors; bankers have responded by being culturally sensitive to practices that vary across cultures; several church leaders have engaged their congregations to create building space for immigrant worship opportunities, sometimes at the risk of their own jobs.

One pastor also knows his job may be on the line for his efforts in opening the church building to be available for immigrants to worship in their own language and worship practice.

“I have two years maybe three before I want to retire. However, I’m not sure that all of my parishioners will let me stay that long. Some people do not want us to open our doors to the immigrants. But, I firmly believe, as do other church members, that our job is to welcome the stranger among us. I’m willing to put my job on the line to do what is the moral thing.” (Pastor Community A)

A consistent theme for positional leaders who have created linkages is that they recognized their power and how they could use it to improve the lives of immigrants as

well as the community at large, making it more inclusive and inviting. They also knew they need to invest time and energy to build relationships and trust and that challenging the norms within and across organizations is imperative for them.

Contributions to Community Development Education

As identified earlier in this paper, there is a void in the literature on social capital and immigrants, particularly as it relates to civic and social connections as well as what motivates leaders to get involved in working with immigrants. This research will make a contribution to community development work by gaining an insight into how key people in a community experiencing an influx of immigrants help to create linkages or weak ties. This is imperative to a healthy, integrated community.

In addition, discoveries in this study will augment diversity education workshops and programs that are offered throughout communities. Individuals will not only gain greater understanding about other cultures, but they will also be able to learn how they can be instrumental in creating connections for immigrants. It is more than just learning about the culture, it is also connecting new cultures into existing civic opportunities.

Basic to democracy in the United States is residents being involved in their government. Again, this study will aid in leadership development educational opportunities for citizens and elected officials. Learning what it takes to be a weak link between U.S. born community members and new immigrants can make these opportunities more beneficial for all concerned.

Ultimately, I hope that this work will help to build better communities where people of all backgrounds are welcomed and encouraged to contribute according to their talents and interests. The next chapter will provide an analysis of the findings from the

qualitative analysis providing insight into recommendations for community and leadership development programs.

Summary

It should be of no surprise that social capital plays a key role in successful integration of immigrants into communities. Results of this study confirm the importance of bridging networks or weak ties that Mark Granovetter (1973 & 1983) identified as well as the importance of linking networks identified by University of Minnesota Extension researchers (Scheffert, Horntvedt, and Chazdon, 2008). Communities that are in the midst of transition with an influx of immigrants amidst an aging, less educated population will need to be cognizant of how to create those bridging/weak ties networks as well as positional leaders serving in a linking network capacity in order to create healthy, thriving communities.

This dissertation is not and was not intended to be a rigorous study of change in rural communities. However, what it does do is give the perceptions and influences of those who stepped forward to champion change.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARIES, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter starts with a brief overview of the research conducted to gain an understanding of how formal and non-formal leaders have created networks with foreign born residents in two host communities in rural Minnesota and what motivated them. Previous research indicated a need for research on the network ties for immigrants. Wierzbicki (2003) argues for the need for strong social networks to act as the linchpin enabling immigrants being able to develop primary relations with members of other racial and ethnic groups in their host community. In addition, the literature that exists on immigrant assimilation is focused on urban communities. There is a lack of research on how networks are created between immigrants and host community members in rural areas. In particular, since many rural communities have community leadership programs I wanted to know what formal and non-formal leaders do to help immigrants integrate. In addition I desired to know more about the personal motivations of these leaders that caused their motivation to be instrumental in creating the links between the immigrants and the host community. Ultimately, my hope is that this work will help to build better communities where people of all backgrounds are welcomed and encouraged to contribute according to their talents and interests.

Research Summary

Over the past few years, rural Minnesota has seen a dramatic shift in its demographic makeup. The combined factors of continued out-migration (people leaving the community) of educated young adults, the in-migration (people moving into the community) of ethnic minorities for a labor force, and the growing number of retirees,

has transformed rural economics and civic life. Immigrants are also likely to be young and of child-bearing age and therefore, are likely to continue to populate these communities.

The lack of research in community development and social capital that addresses best practices in dealing with immigration, particularly in rural settings served as the impetus for this study (Winchester & Loehr, 2005). Most communities are struggling with the issue and expecting and hoping someone else will take care of it. Some members in communities even wish the immigrants would go away as demonstrated by the anti-immigrant activity and sentiment (Fennelly, 2006, 2007, & 2008).

Without clear direction, communities struggle, creating a crisis of unrest, misunderstandings and divisions. If rural communities are not able to address these challenges in a positive manner, there will be on-going conflict and eventual deterioration. A healthy future depends on the development of cross-cultural relationship between the native born and new populations.

The literature is explicit in the importance of bonding and bridging to create networks and trust. What is not known is how the bridges are actually created between bonded groups and how positional leaders create linkages with immigrant populations to work together in creating an integrated community

There is also evidence that in the United States, issues of racism and prejudice play into the strength of social capital in diverse communities to the detriment of building relationships and civic engagement (Schafft & Brown, 2003 & Putnam, 2007). This adds to the complexity of the development of cross-cultural networks and trust.

The complexity is emphasized in research on social capital that suggests that when in-group solidarity exists in a community, it is much more difficult for group members to cooperate with outsiders which often results in negative consequences for the outsiders (Fukuyama, 1999, Stone, 2001). Small rural communities may possess strong social capital for members who have a long history and are already connected. However, the absence of what Mark Granovetter calls “weak ties” can perpetuate the marginality of immigrants (Granovetter, 1973).

The majority of the research related to immigration and social capital is presently focused on the economic gains of a community, with little focus on civic connections or weak ties and leader motivation. There is a need to better understand how these links can be formed to create a more inclusive and diverse integrated community. In this context, integration is defined as the process by which immigrants as individuals and groups become an integral part of the new community. In order to be successful, immigrants must be willing to connect or engage with the wider society and the host society must be willing to accept and engage with newcomers (OECD, 2003).

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to identify:

1. How have U.S. born formal and non-formal leaders helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community?
2. What are the motivations of native-born residents to promote immigrant integration?

This study was a qualitative study to gain understanding of what formal and non-formal leaders in two identified communities did to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into the communities as well as what motivated them. I interviewed key champions to discover how they have sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities identified what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation.

Summary of Research Findings

I interviewed individuals identified as key champions in two rural Minnesota communities to discover how formal and non-formal leaders sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities identified what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation.

After analyzing the data from the interviews, three themes emerged: 1) They needed to face the fear of change that was happening because of new customs, behaviors, foods, even faith traditions and ways of doing business; 2) Collaboration was and continues to be paramount. Rural communities have fewer resources, but they also are very likely to know one another, so they drew upon the resource of relationships and networked to collaborate to make things happen for integration; in social capital terms they were able to create bridging networks using their connections; 3) Communities and schools would not have survived without the immigrants; they were and are an economic necessity.

All these things being said, I believe the factors that influenced motivation from the leaders is what made the difference. After the critical incidence or turning point in each community, the leaders surfaced with an authentic desire to help integrate the immigrants. Proximity in the community or simply cross-cultural contact was not enough; Putnam (2007 & 2008) found in his studies that it takes more than being neighbors. Bennett (2001) concurs that proximity is not enough to motivate people to be intentional at getting to know people who are from a different cultural and ethnic background. One of the questions I posed to the leaders centered on what motivated them to work with immigrants. Their responses revealed factors that influenced their attitudes and motivations that are worth studying and developing experiential activities that would replicate those experiences for community leadership programs in other communities.

Understanding of immigration history

Several people commented on recollections of their own immigration stories that have been handed down to them through the generations. These stories were not romanticized, but depicted the reality of immigration being difficult and the struggle to get acculturated to a new society and language. Knowing their own story helped them be empathetic to the new immigrants and accepting of the process for the new community members because they recognize it is a journey of at least two to three generations. Also, there is a strong recognition that integration is a two-way street. The community also needs to be cognizant of the gifts and abilities that the new immigrants bring to the community and be ready to transform the host community as well just as previous generations of immigrants did.

Previous experience of caring for other

The awareness of the historical immigration process is also complimented by the valuing of caring for the “other.” Overwhelmingly people identified their own life experiences of being taught by their faith to care for others. They may have been an outsider themselves at some point in their life. Many also possess a mission attitude that played out through being a past member in the Peace Corps or working in helping agencies. There were others who recognized the fact that while they had never been marginalized because of their dominant culture status, they were not afraid to be honest about that and ask for a coach to help them learn ways to be most effective across cultures.

A key element for these folks is authentically caring and serving as an advocate with the immigrants. They have no intention of converting the immigrants to their own religious or social practices or expecting them to lose their own culture; rather, their motivation is to build relationships and serve as advocates or bridge builders between the immigrants and the larger community.

In order to serve as a bridge for immigrants to the host community, these individuals knew some of their own cultural patterns and behaviors and recognize that there are cultural differences. They did not make judgment that one was better than the other, rather which they were different and they needed to learn skills and be sensitive to cultural differences in order to effectively work across cultures.

While just two motivations may seem simple, they are key components to why the leaders were able to intentionally work with immigrant integration in their communities.

It is their factors for motivation they have helped them create the *linking networks* or *weak ties* between the host community and the immigrant communities.

They have seen the fruits of their labors with expanded businesses and economic development, children learning the English language and being successful in school, and people have built relationships and learned about other cultures. They also acknowledge that the journey continues and that while they are proud of what they have done, they know they need to continue to work at building an inclusive community.

Design Strategies for Integration.

Literature review identified several design strategies that will foster social capital within and across diverse groups. Chang (1997), Neuliep and McCrosky (1997), and Dalla, Ellis and Cramer (2005) provide the following compilation of ideas into the need of creating an integrated community that has high social capital. I believe these communities are making strides in each of these criteria and will identify how I believe they are doing this, recognizing that it is an on-going process and in the scheme of immigrant integration, they are still early in the process.

1. Communities need to recognize and support the variety of ways to generate social capital. The ethnicity of the groups may affect how, where, and when it is formed. Social capital also depends on the economics, racial experience, linguistic background, and cultural practices and beliefs. Being open to the experience of people from different backgrounds will provide understanding as to how social capital can be sustained and impacts the development of public policy.

Neither of these communities talked specifically about social capital. However, several leaders were cognizant of the fact that even if immigrants were of Hispanic

background as an example, it does not mean they are all the same –noting that there are even ethnic differences within countries of origin. Many mentioned the fact that it is important to consider the ethnic group’s education and experiences in their home country and considerations for working across culture.

For example, in Community B, which has a Muslim Somali population, the banks and Chamber of Commerce recognize the importance of working with the elders for business transactions and that they cannot be charged interest. They have worked with the elders and entrepreneurs to create other means of getting the fees involved in borrowing money.

2. By identifying the common values that bind all people together two myths can be dispelled. First, everyone is the same and second, people are so different they have nothing in common. There is a need to establish universal values that encompass differences for individual and collective success. By working together, people can learn about each other’s strengths and gain a deeper understanding of the beliefs people hold in common.

The festivities and celebrations created through the Integrative Collaboratives have been instrumental in helping people find their commonality as well as celebrating their differences. Also, several churches and the schools have been intentional in working to create cross-cultural understanding. With diverse Chamber of Commerce members that also creates the opportunity to create understanding. These opportunities have helped foster understanding as well as provide a means to create shared understanding. As people expressed in their interviews, the hope is to have a welcoming

community where the new population can share their talents, their perspectives, and their skills to create a better community for all.

3. Communities also need to create an increased awareness of the interdependency that exists across race, language, and culture. People need to understand their individual well-being is dependent on the well-being of the greater society. People need to see themselves as a member of a larger, multi-ethnic community. However, Schwei and Fennelly (2007) identify that it is a challenge to know how to engage native-born residents in discussions of privilege and discrimination.

I do not have easy answers to this – however, I think the communities are working to address this and comments on the importance of the immigrants for the survival and thriving of the schools and commerce say there is an awareness of the interdependency. A few of the people I interviewed who have had other cultural experiences spoke of privilege and discrimination. I did not incorporate intercultural education in my research, but there are solid researched models that address ways to create discussions of privilege and discrimination, but there is no evidence of that having happened in these communities, at least not through my interviews.

4. Communities must invest in leadership development that will involve cultivating people who have the skills and capacity to promote and support the previous strategies. As evidenced in the Hungary case studies, deliberate interaction with the Roma population was the impetus for leadership development and cross-cultural understanding that created cross-cultural bridging networking (Schafft & Brown, 2003).

Community A was just beginning to invest in an intercultural leadership development program when I was there gathering data. I do believe that the research

from these communities can augment any community leadership program. While I was not investigating leadership programs, it is apparent that the leaders I interviewed want to help cultivate the leadership skills and find avenues for immigrants to become more involved in the community. That is evident in the Integrative Collaborative advisory council which is comprised of immigrant parents as well as host community members.

5. At the local level, as new industries come to town, they must be prepared by establishing planning committees and public meetings to inform all citizenry of potential changes such as housing, education, religious, and other cultural consideration.

Both communities made attempts to hold town hall meetings as the population began changing. They also both indicated that these meetings were ugly and that there was a lot of hate and intolerance exhibited at these meetings. However, in each community, the positional leaders kept working at it and did not give in to the negative pressure.

6. Local schools need to embrace diversity throughout their entire system and recruit English Language Learner (ELL) teachers.

The integrative collaborative in both communities are key to bringing and embracing diversity into the school system. Both schools have sought out ELL teachers and not been successful, however, they have hired bi-lingual and bi-cultural Success Coaches to work with immigrant students and their families that have been successful. This also is a means to creating and opportunity for immigrants to become familiar with our educational system and the success coaches may someday decide to become a teacher.

7. Adult ELL needs to be offered at the worksite and if possible, in tandem with the work schedule.

In both communities this is being offered through the Adult Basic Education programs of the school district along with the Integrative Collaborative.

8. Businesses have to address ways to provide goods and services that meet the needs of the array of cultures in their community.

Grocery stores in both communities have expanded their offering of a variety of ethnic foods along with entrepreneurs opening ethnic grocery stores. In addition, by working with the local colleges they have offered Spanish classes for bankers, for police officers, agencies, medical facilities, and other businesses so when Spanish speakers arrive they can at least meet their immediate needs. The schools and medical facilities have multi-language interpreters available as well.

These strategies all require being deliberate in the efforts and not leaving the future of the community to chance by taking a wait and see attitude. As evidenced in the case study in Hungary, marginalizing a population did not serve anyone well.

Limitations of the Study

In hindsight, this study has limitations that ought to be avoided in future studies of this type. I know there are limitations and some things that I would have done differently. It is also important to note that this study is not a rigorous research survey of all aspects of immigrant life. My purpose was to look at the perceptions of those identified as champions of change through the reports these individuals gave me, as such it is limited. Motivations and deeper meanings cannot be fully explored, however, the hope is this study points the way to positive indicators of change.

- This study is based on two communities in Minnesota; therefore this study cannot be generalized to all rural communities experiencing demographic shifts with an influx of immigrants. There are some characteristics of these communities that have may have made it possible for them to be as progressive as they have been. Namely the educational opportunities that are available through the funding of the Integrative Collaborative in each of the school districts and also, both communities have community colleges. People who work in the educational system are more apt to have experienced living in different places, even if just going to college; therefore, they have been exposed to other thoughts and peoples. A higher educational institute means that there are several people in the community that hold advanced degrees in education, also a general indicator of more willingness of learn about something unfamiliar.
- I interviewed key champions from the host communities who are recognized as being instrumental in their community for being intentional at working with immigrants to help them settle into the community and integrate into the community. Some of these champions have a previous history of success and a positive reputation in the community. For those who already have a degree of community respect, being a champion for immigrants may not have been as difficult. However, for some of the positional leaders, it could have cost them an election such as the mayors, or even the Presidents of the Chambers could have been afraid of a loss of their job.

However, not all of the champions were well known in the community. Many of the people were also common community members who held no positional role, but rather dared to lead on this issue of immigrant inclusion. Despite not holding a powerful title or being in a particular job, they still stepped out to work with immigrants. Some of these people faced derogatory comments from co-workers, family, and friends or letters to the editor.

- I did not interview any immigrants to get their perspective on what has been successful for them. The fact that I only interviewed U.S. born community members limits my understanding of what has been effective from the immigrant's stand point. With the right researcher (bi-lingual and bi-cultural) asking the questions, immigrants would shed further insight on what actions have been effective by the host community leaders to help the immigrants integrate into the community.
- In both communities, it has been over twenty years since the first immigrants began settling in these established host communities. This creates challenges because not all of the people who were involved in the process 20+ years ago are still around or they just may not be identified as key champions to lend insight. The people I interviewed are still very involved in various degrees in working with immigrants. There are limitations of memory and those limitations could have limited the quality of my results. Also, there are people involved now that did not live in those communities 20+ years ago.
- The questions I asked ran the scope of what began twenty years ago to what has happened recently. However, not all the people who were involved in the

process who were champions over the past twenty years are still living in these communities so I was not able to interview them. Plus, there are limitations of memory and changes in memory that occur over time and can limit the quality of the results in such a study.

- In retrospect, doing more than one interview may have been beneficial as well.

Implications for Community Leadership Programs

Community leadership programs need to be intentional at providing cross-cultural education for their participants. It needs to be woven into the fabric of the curriculum with participants deliberating getting to know their own cultural values, communication patterns, immigration history, and ways of looking at the world. They need to learn where there is misunderstanding and what skills are needed to be more culturally respectful. As community leadership programs are developed particularly in communities that are experiencing an immigration influx, it would be paramount for the developers to consider the design strategies for integration that foster social capital within and across diverse groups as identified by Chang (1997), Neuliep and McCrosky (1997), and Dalla, Ellis and Cramer (2005) . As indicated in the previous chapter, these two communities are making progress towards integration that is in line with these stated strategies. It is important to recognize that both of these communities have Integrative Collaborative programs that have been instrumental in several of these endeavors. However, even if there is not an integrative collaborative, the research on social capital and immigration point to the importance of working with the educational systems in the community as well as with the economic entities.

In addition, leadership participants need opportunities to learn what it means to be the outsider. That could be accomplished through an immersion experience or several experiential activities that raise the awareness of what it means to be the outsider and learning a new way of life and language. It can also include a deeper understanding of their own immigration story as well as the history of immigration in this country and how that impacts immigration today. Providing a mindset and skill set for leaders to work together with new emerging immigrant leaders will build a stronger community for all.

Recommendations for Future Research

Further research that would be beneficial is to conduct a qualitative study asking immigrants what they have found to be beneficial for them from the host leaders as well as what was not beneficial. The researcher would need to be bi-lingual and bi-cultural in order to have the trust and insight with the members of the various immigrant communities.

I also would recommend further long-term study of cultural shifts in these respective communities. What are the leadership cultural shifts and how do relationships change between the host community and the immigrants over time, especially given that new immigrants are of different races and the fact that our country has and continues to struggle with racial bigotry.

I will be visit each of these communities, sharing my results and asking for feedback. Also, if they agree with my findings and are willing to have their communities identified, I will ask that I be able to share contact information in each community, along with my contact information in an effort to help other communities in the midst of transition.

Conclusions

Rural communities are facing huge shifts in demographics with an aging population of the dominant culture and an influx of immigrants who come with young families. It is these new populations that will help rural communities survive and thrive through economic development, keeping schools open, participating in community democracy, and taking on leadership. What needs to happen is that everyone needs to attempt to adapt to everyone else. It is not chaos, but a new culture where all can be valued and productive with shared community values.

Historically immigrants have drawn upon the social capital of each other's support through bonded networks of family and friends with similar values, language, and background. Those networks will continue to be important for them as well as for bonded networks in the host community. However, in order to build a strong and inclusive community, there needs to be intentional bridging networks creating relationships across cultural groups and organizations in the community. It is through these relationships that people break down biases, myths and build a sense of trust. Together these networks will work with the linking networks that are in power positions that can change policy to create a democratic community where all can celebrate who they are as well as work to create a community where all members have the potential to reach their dreams and aspirations.

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APPENDIX 1

Letter of interest

Dear _____,

As you know from our previous connections, I am a Ph.D. Candidate with the University of Minnesota in the College of Education and Human Development. I am now at the point of doing the research for my dissertation. My interest in leadership in rural communities coupled with my interest in immigration has led to me to my topic to research.

I will be researching what formal and nonformal leaders in your community have done to help immigrant residents begin to be integrated into the community. Your community has been chosen because it has a popular reputation for being one of the more progressive communities in the state with integrating immigrants over twenty years, your population is over 10,000, and you are at 100 miles away from a metropolitan community. The study will benefit research for community development and leadership studies in rural communities that are experiencing dramatic demographic shifts and facing cross-cultural struggles

I need to interview key formal and nonformal leaders to discover how they have sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities will identify what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation. Data will be conducted via my visit to your community and spending an hour interviewing 10 – 15 individuals who have been instrumental in working with immigrants. The interview will be audio-taped but participants can be assured of anonymity. I would like to ask you to be my first participant and also to supply me with the names and contact information of other key leaders in your community.

I will call you to answer any of your questions and determine whether you are interested in being part of this study. At that point, if you are committed, we can set up a time for me to come to your community.

I look forward to talking to you soon and learning from you and your community.

Thank you very much,

Mary Laeger-Hagemeister
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Minnesota

APPENDIX 2

Community A Description

The regional economic hub of Southwestern Minnesota, Community A is nestled in the Southwest corner of Minnesota, about 180 miles from Minneapolis, at the intersection of Interstate 90 and Minnesota State Highway 60. Having a strong agricultural presence from row crops to various kinds of livestock, Worthington has attracted large corporations involved in processing, research, and shipping to locate to the community. Worthington is home to research companies that are actively discovering new technologies in the bio-science field, as well as several manufacturing companies that are involved in building homes, commercial buildings and plastic products. The City has 130 acres of land available along Interstate 90 for the addition of any bio-science, commercial, or industrial businesses.

Population in July 2009: 11,125 and is comprised of: White alone - 7,934 (70.3%); Hispanic - 2,175 (19.3%); Asian alone - 783 (6.9%); Black alone - 205 (1.8%); Two or more races - 144 (1.3%); American alone - 33 (0.3%); Other race alone - 9 (0.08%).

The first European to set eyes on southwestern Minnesota was French explorer Joseph Nicollet. In 1871, the St. Paul & Sioux City Railway Company decided to connect those two cities with a ribbon of steel. Soon settlers poured into the region. It was the age of the Homestead Act when 160 acres of government land could be claimed for free. All one had to do was live on the land and “improve” it. Scandinavian, German, and Irish immigrants were among those who came.

On December 12, 2006 the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (I.C.E) staged a coordinated predawn raid at the Swift & Company meat packing plant in Worthington and at five other Swift plants in western states, interviewing workers and hauling hundreds off in buses.

Sources: <http://www.worthingtonmnchamber.com/>
<http://www.city-data.com/city/Worthington-Minnesota.html>

Community B Description

Community B is a regional center for West Central Minnesota, is located 100 miles west of the Twin Cities with a population of 19,000. It is surrounded by lakes, rolling hills, and rich farmland. Minnesota demographer forecasts continued growth because of the diverse economy, growth in the number of smaller industries, and the lakes and other recreational attractions in the area.

Population in July 2009 was comprised as follows: 17,907. White alone - 14,990 (81.7%); Hispanic - 2,911 (15.9%); Black alone - 131 (0.7%); Two or more races - 133 (0.7%); Asian alone - 92 (0.5%); American alone - 66 (0.4%); Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone - 18 (0.10%); Other race alone - 10 (0.05%).

The community provides medical services, educational opportunities, industrial firms, commercial establishments and recreation facilities are continually expanding. The community has 32 churches, and seven public and two Christian schools which are located in residential areas. Senior citizen housing, nursing homes and group homes have been integrated successfully into neighborhoods. A transit system has regularly scheduled bus service between residential and commercial areas.

Agricultural expansion and the establishment of Community B as a division point on the Great Northern Railway determined the growth of the community. The Lakotah Indians were indigenous to the area. The first European settlers arrived during the 1850's attracted to the fertile land and an abundance of timber and game. The Great Sioux Uprising of 1862 left the township abandoned for several years. The advent of the railroad in Kandiyohi County in 1869 brought new settlers. Many were of Swedish and Norwegian origins; hence the predominance today of residents of Scandinavian heritage. In 1870, Leon Willmar – a Belgian acting as a European bondholder of St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company – purchased the title to Section 1 of Willmar Township. Willmar was established as the county seat in 1871 and was incorporated as a village in 1874 and as a city in 1901.

Since 1989, the rural city has experienced a large influx of immigrants from Latin America and Northeast Africa, mostly due to the demand for labor at the Jennie-O poultry plant. In 2005, the city was recognized as an "All America City" by the National Civic League, in part for its success as growing numbers of immigrants became part of the community.

Also in 2005, the city received attention from national media after several Somali high school students gave Willmar High School its first Cross-Country State championship in twenty years. The team won the state tournament and attended the Nike Nationals consecutively in 2005 and 2006. Following the success of the team, the city gained attention from Sports Illustrated. Subsequently, NBC Nightly News conducted a story documenting the changing face of the rural city and its relative acceptance of the new makeup of its citizens.

Source: <http://www.ci.willmar.mn.us>
“<http://www.city-data.com/city/Willmar-Minnesota.html#ixzz179hU4jBt>”

APPENDIX – 3

Interview Question Guide

**Questions for
A study of social capital networking and immigration populations in Rural
Minnesota**

Mary Laeger-Hagemeister, Ph.D. Candidate

For formal and non-formal leaders

1. Tell me about your experience helping immigrants in your community?

Probes:

a. How do you know when an immigrant comes into the community?

b. What happens in the first week or so after the immigrant arrives?

c. What happens later?

d. What kinds of help do immigrants need? How do you find out about this need?

Do they ask for help or does someone tell you about it?

2. What types of activities did you do?

Ask about specific things they did, ask for examples. Some things might be seen as minor but they could be important. Such as being friendly, saying hello to them in the morning, chatting with them occasionally, inviting them to local events, etc. I will ask about the formal and non-formal things. And ask about the things done in groups and the things done individually.

3. What motivated you to get involved with immigrants in your community?

Some of the long-time residents get more involved than others. What do you think motivates others in the community to get involved?

4. Why should someone help immigrants? What are the benefits?

5. Can you give me an example of the consequences of your interaction with immigrants?

6. Sometimes people feel good when they help immigrants. Can you think of a time when you felt really good about helping immigrants? Tell me about it.

Have you had any disappointments in working with immigrants? Tell me about it.

APPENDIX 4
IRB FORM

CONSENT FORM

Social Capital Networking and Immigration Populations in Rural Minnesota

You are invited to be in a research study to discover what formal and non-formal leaders have done to create networks for foreign born residents to integrate into rural communities. You were selected as a possible participant because of your leadership with immigrant residents in your community. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Mary Laeger-Hagemeister, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Minnesota, College of Education.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to identify:

3. How have U.S. born formal and non-formal leaders helped to create weak ties or linkages between immigrant populations and the established community.
4. Specifically, the question to be explored is “what are the motivations of native-born residents who promote immigrant integration?”

I will interview key "champions" to discover how they have sanctioned, promoted, supported, and encouraged others to engage in healthy behaviors relating to new immigrants. The study of these champions in rural communities will identify what they did, how they did it, and their sources of motivation.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things: I will set up a time to come to your community and interview you using audio taping for an hour. At the end of that interview, I will ask you to provide a name and contact information for another person whom you identify as instrumental in your community to helping immigrants begin to integrate into your community. Your time commitment will be about one hour.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

There are no risks or direct benefits to you for participating in this study. Your participation will be beneficial to my study and research for community development and leadership studies in rural communities that are experiencing dramatic demographic shifts and facing cross-cultural struggles.

Compensation:

There is no compensation for being a part of this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we might publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Tapes and physical copies of the transcripts will be locked in researcher’s desk drawer. Electronic copies of the transcripts will be stored on the investigator's computer and back up on an external drive.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Mary Laeger-Hagemeister. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact her at, 507-402-0356, laege001@umn.edu. Her advisory is Dr. Rosemarie Park, phone number 612-625-6267 and email parkx002@umn.edu

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects’ Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Before signing, tell me what you understand the risks and benefits of your participation in this study are to you.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____

Date: _____

TABLES

Table of Interviews

Community A

Females	Males	Latino/a	White	Role	Referenced
	1		1	Hospital administrator	2
1			1	Administrator Community College	4
1			1	Catholic Nun	5
	1		1	Clergy	2
1			1	Teacher	2
1			1	Chamber President	4
	1		1	Superintendent	4
1		1		Extension Nutrition Educator	3
1			1	Integrative Collaboration Director	6
	1		1	Police Chief	4
1			1	Workforce Center	1
	1		1	Community Education Director	6

**Community B
Table of Interviews**

Females	Males	Latino/a	White	Role	Referenced
	1		1	MCA Director	2
	1		1	Community College President	4
1			1	Former Chamber Member	5
1			1	Community Member	5
1			1	Community Member	4
1		1		Agency staff/ community member	3
1			1	School District Staff and parent	6
1		1		Integrative Collaborative Director	2