

©2012

Portia Mauricio Diñoso

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE SOCIAL TIES THAT BIND: HOW FILIPINO-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES  
LEVERAGE SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR DEMOCRATIC PURPOSE

By

PORTIA MAURICIO DIÑOSO

A Dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate School-Newark  
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Public Affairs and Administration

written under the direction of

Kyle Farmbry, Ph.D.

and approved by

---

Dr. Kyle Farmbry (Chair)

---

Dr. Judith J. Kirchoff

---

Dr. Alan Sadovnik

---

Dr. Younhee Kim (outside member)

Newark, New Jersey

*May 2012*

## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

### The Social Ties that Bind: How Filipino-American Communities Leverage Social Capital for Democratic Purpose

By Portia Mauricio Diñoso

Dissertation Director:  
Kyle Farmbry, Ph.D.

The dissertation study, *The Social Ties that Bind: How Filipino-American Communities Leverage Social Capital for Democratic Purpose* draws upon literature in the field of social capital to explore how Filipino communities build social, economic, and political gains for their communities. Communities that possess a high level of social capital not only enable their members “to act collectively for achieving diverse common goals” (Krishna, 2002, p. 9) but it also leads to stronger bonds of trust that further democratization and counteracts notions that would support a nondemocratic establishment (Paxton, 2002).

The following research questions frame the dissertation: (1) What unique characteristics are evident in social capital development?; (2) How does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole?; and (3) Which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities as well as in other aspects of American society?

For this study, social capital is defined as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58). By studying the Filipino-American

communities in Tallahassee, FL, Jacksonville, FL, and Orlando, FL, a mixed methodology that included case study research, survey research, and in-depth, open-ended interviews was employed. Then the frequency distribution of the survey data, the correlations from the Mokken Scaling Procedure, the results of the OLS regression and the outcomes of the case study and interviews were analyzed.

Through a mixture of social ties, norms, and trust, it was found that Filipino-Americans use a combination of expressive and instrumental actions to access and mobilize social capital resources for democratic purpose. But the degrees of expressive and instrumental actions utilized to achieve democratic goals result from the levels of social capital present in each community.

The aim of this research is to help public administrators understand the needs of citizens, how citizens take part in developing an environment conducive to democratic participation, and how to improve democratic processes to further civic engagement.



## PREFACE

Ethnic and immigrant communities are a vital part of the American culture and economy. So often, these minority groups are overlooked and their contributions to society are not recognized. Even though much of the literature on immigrants focuses solely on their economic contributions, it cannot be denied that immigration has shaped the American landscape and it would be foolish not to recognize this fact. In his book titled *The Global Me*, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Paul Zachary argued that receptiveness to immigration is the basis for innovation and economic growth. He goes on to say that America's economic success in the past has been directly accredited "to its openness to innovative and energetic people from around the world, and attributes of once prospering countries, such as Japan and Germany, to the homogeneity of their populations" (Florida, 2002, p. 252).

Given this fact, studies on immigrant populations should not only consider their contributions but vice versa. What can government and the American people do to be more receptive to the foreign-born and minority populations? By studying the social capital of these groups and how they leverage social capital for social, economic, and political gain, we not only learn ways in which they contribute to American society but we can also seek to find creative ways in which other areas of American society can be improved, such as in lowering crime rates, in finding ways to build levels of trust between community and government, and how to build civic engagement and democratic participation.

Studying the social capital of Filipino-American communities is an initial step in this direction. Filipino-American communities were chosen as the unit of analysis for this study because the Philippines and the United States have had a long relationship that has spanned over one hundred years and Filipinos have acculturated into American society since after the Spanish-American war. And according to Putnam (1993), communities that include citizens of East Asian origins "represent a new brand of 'network capitalism'...based on the extended family or on close-knit ethnic communities...<that> foster trust, lower transaction costs, and speed information and innovation" (Putnam, 1993, p. 5). So the way that Filipinos and Filipino-Americans function in society differs from other groups and cultures. While Filipino communities on the west coast, such as in areas like California and Washington are developed and well-established, Filipino communities on the eastern U.S. coast, such as in Florida, are still developing. Hence, this provides a unique opportunity to study how social capital is leveraged for social, economic, and political gain.

In his book, *A Nation of Immigrants*, John F. Kennedy (1964) said: "Each wave of immigration left its own imprint on American society; each made its distinctive 'contribution' to the building of the nation and the evolution of American life" (p. 61). The ultimate hope of this research is to encourage similar studies of social capital in other ethnic and immigrant communities in order to progress society, improve government, and to better our roles as public servants.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing this long and arduous project could not have been possible without the support, encouragement, mentorship, and friendship of so many around me, to only some of whom it is possible to give particular mention here.

First and foremost, this dissertation study would not have been possible without the help, support, and patience of my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Kyle Farmbry. I have learned so much from his mentorship and guidance. And in times of when I doubted myself and my abilities, he encouraged me to push myself further.

This research would also not have been possible without the other members of my dissertation committee, Dr. Alan Sadovnik, Dr. Judith Kirchoff, and Dr. Younhee Kim. Learning more about qualitative research from Dr. Sadovnik has helped me to view the world in a different light and to observe things about the world that I normally would not have considered. Dr. Kirchoff reminded me of the importance of making sure that my research stays focused and that the main points of my research are always linked together. And Dr. Kim, the hardest working person that I know, not only stressed about the significance of validity and reliability in research but also that academic thought will always co-exist with practical applications and that these facets will always be a part of me as a researcher.

I would also like to give a special thanks to Dr. Dorothy Olshfski and Dr. Cathe Callahan who inspired me with the idea to do this research in the first place.

Also, I would like to specifically thank the Philippine Cultural Foundation, Inc. in Tampa, FL for use of their library and rare books on Filipino history.

I must also mention my fellow cohort, Atta Ceesay, whose strength and passion I admire. We started on the same journey together at Rutgers and finished together.

And also to my other fellow cohorts Aroon Manoharan, Fidaa Shehada, Alex Henderson, Sunjoo Kwak, Chulwoo Kim, Weerasak Krueathrap, Jonathan Woolley, Kevin Davis, and Soribel Genoa who I dearly miss—although I miss our academic discussions, being stressed out together at the Ph.D. lab, and just hanging out after class, I'm so glad that we are all embarking or are about to embark upon a new chapter in our lives. I could not have made it this far without all of you.

And it would have been impossible to finish and work on my dissertation without the support and encouragement of my friends and family.

To Madelene Perez—Thank you both for your never-ending encouragement and support. I don't know how we ever survived without text messaging!

To Sophia Johnson—You are always encouraging me and inspiring me. Thank you for making me want to do better and to be better.

To Claire Connolly-Knox—Thank you for encouraging me to pursue my Ph.D. in the first place. I can never thank you enough for that.

To Clyde Diao—Your words and advice have always stuck with me: “The best dissertation is a done dissertation! Don’t write your masterpiece now...your masterpiece will come later.”

To Vida Vongsay, Nelson Cuba, and Odette Struys—Thank you for reminding me that life exists beyond the library walls. I will always cherish our late night hangouts and conference calls, pizza and food, ballroom dancing, and, most importantly, your advice about B.E. It worked! LoL!

Christiana Shelenberger, Katarina Refuerzo, and Angelica Santos—To my goddaughters, thank you for being my inspiration.

To Van and Melva Campos; Sid, Melissa, Eden, and Isabel Campos; Matt Heath and Andrea Campos; and Tristan Campos and Parker Campos—You are all a blessing to me. Thank you for your constant encouragement and support. It means the world to me.

To Earl Campos—I’m still astonished at how this journey has led me to you. Thank you for your undying love, support, understanding, and patience. I definitely could not have accomplished this without you.

And above all, completing my dissertation study would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of my dad and mom, Luna and Elsa Diñoso—To whom I dedicate my research.

Portia Diñoso  
April 2012

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Theoretical Overview .....	3
1.3 Research Questions and Methodological Overview.....	3
1.4 Value of the Dissertation Study.....	4
 Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework .....	 9
2.1 Introduction .....	9
2.2 Why is social capital important? .....	10
2.3 The basis of social capital.....	11
2.4 Defining social capital.....	18
2.5 Characteristics of social capital .....	26
2.6 The structure of social relations or networks .....	31
2.7 How social capital functions .....	33
2.8 How the structure and function of social capital facilitates social capital networks .....	36
2.9 Strengths and weaknesses of social capital .....	39
2.10 The purpose in accessing resources.....	43
2.11 Types of purposive actions.....	44
2.12 Studying ethnic communities and social capital .....	45
 Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design.....	 48
3.1 Introduction .....	48

3.2	Defining and measuring social capital .....	49
3.3	Research questions .....	51
3.4	Hypotheses .....	53
3.5	Dimensions of social capital.....	55
3.6	Study Design .....	58
3.7	Construction of the measurement tools .....	60
3.8	How sample population was collected .....	64
3.9	Coding process .....	65
3.10	Analysis .....	67
Chapter 4:	Findings: Case Study.....	73
4.1	Introduction .....	73
4.2	The Social Capital of Filipinos.....	74
4.2.1	Groups and Networks .....	74
4.2.2	Trust and Solidarity .....	81
4.2.3	Collective Action and Cooperation .....	82
4.2.4	Information and Communication .....	83
4.2.5	Social Cohesion and Inclusion .....	85
4.2.6	Empowerment and Political Action.....	86
4.3	The Migration of Filipinos to the U.S. ....	89
4.4	A History of Discrimination.....	95
4.5	Social Capital: A solution to fighting discrimination and the formation of Filipino communities in America.....	100
4.6	The Fourth Wave: the Filipino Population today .....	103
4.7	More information about Florida and its Filipino population.....	113

4.8	Additional information about the Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL areas.....	115
Chapter 5:	Findings: Quantitative Data.....	124
5.1	Introduction .....	124
5.2	Survey study sample.....	124
5.3	Description of the sample population.....	125
5.4	Distribution of responses to items in the resource generator survey .....	130
5.5	Inspecting inter-item covariances before conducting a Mokken Scaling Procedure .....	142
5.6	Overview: Mokken Scaling Procedure.....	143
5.6.1	Inspecting the scalability of individual items under the Mokken Scaling Procedure .....	148
5.6.2	Ensuring validity and reliability of the Mokken Scaling Procedure.....	158
5.6.2.1	Validity .....	158
5.6.2.1.1	Monotone Homogeneity Model (MHM).....	158
5.6.2.1.2	Double Monotonicity Model (DMM) .....	162
5.6.2.2	Reliability .....	169
5.6.3	Further inspection of the Mokken scales and individual items .....	171
5.7	Comparison of measures (OLS Regression Models) .....	177
5.7.1	Social capital resources accessed (overall).....	178
5.7.2	Groups and networks.....	182
5.7.3	Trust and solidarity .....	184
5.7.4	Collective action and cooperation .....	186

5.7.5	Information and communication .....	188
5.7.6	Social cohesion and inclusion .....	189
5.7.7	Empowerment and political action.....	189
Chapter 6:	Findings: Qualitative Data.....	192
6.1	Introduction .....	192
6.2	Patterns found during the inductive approach .....	192
6.3	The social capital of Filipinos: An inductive approach utilizing content and narrative analysis .....	193
6.3.1	Groups and networks .....	193
6.3.2	Trust and solidarity.....	199
6.3.3	Collective action and cooperation .....	203
6.3.4	Information and communication .....	207
6.3.5	Social cohesion and inclusion .....	210
6.3.6	Empowerment and political action.....	217
Chapter 7:	Analysis .....	224
7.1	Introduction .....	224
7.2	Types of social capital resources.....	224
7.3	Types of social ties that are present in the Filipino-American community.....	225
7.4	Accessing and leveraging social capital.....	230
7.4.1	Accessing social capital: Analysis of the study.....	232
7.4.1.1	Groups and networks.....	234
7.4.1.2	Trust and solidarity.....	237

7.4.1.3	Collective action and cooperation .....	239
7.4.1.4	Information and communication .....	242
7.4.1.5	Social cohesion and inclusion .....	244
7.4.1.6	Empowerment and political action.....	247
7.4.1.7	Rare social capital resources .....	250
7.5	Improving the quality of social capital.....	252
7.5.1	Age .....	254
7.5.2	Education.....	254
7.5.3	Income .....	255
7.5.4	Membership in a volunteer or civic organization.....	256
7.6	Limitations of the study.....	257
7.7	Conclusion of Analysis .....	261
7.7.1	The greater the embeddedness (social ties) in a network then the greater an individual's accessibility to resources .....	261
7.7.2	The greater the accessibility to embedded resources (social ties) then the greater the likelihood that an individual will support democracy and democratic activities .....	263
7.7.3	The weaker the embeddedness (social ties) in a network then the greater the complementarity (reciprocal and dependent relationship between private citizens and institutional agents) aspect of social capital .....	264
Chapter 8:	Conclusion.....	266
8.1	Introduction .....	266
8.2	Research questions that frame the study .....	267
8.2.1	In addition to investigating the manifestations of social capital in the three Filipino communities that were examined in this dissertation, what makes each community	



distinctive? And what unique characteristics are evident in social capital development? .....	267
8.2.1.1 Jacksonville, FL.....	268
8.2.1.2 Orlando, FL .....	272
8.2.1.3 Tallahassee, FL.....	275
8.2.2 In regards to each of the Filipino communities in this study, how does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole? .....	279
8.2.3 In studying these target communities, which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities, particularly amongst first and second generations, as well as in other aspects of American society?.....	281
8.3 Overview of significant findings .....	282
8.4 Significance of social capital research to the field of public administration .....	284
References .....	290
Appendix 1: Conceptual Framework of Social Capital .....	300
Appendix 2: Survey Instrument .....	301
Appendix 3: Resource Generator Matrix .....	307
Appendix 4: Interview Guide .....	309
Appendix 5: Interview Questionnaire Guide Matrix.....	313
Appendix 6: Frequency Chart of Resource Generator Items by City .....	318
Appendix 7: Frequency Chart of Resource Generator Items by City (organized according to Mokken scales) .....	325
Curriculum Vitae .....	332

## LIST OF TABLES

	<u>page</u>
Table 3.1	Conceptual Framework of Social Capital .....57
Table 3.2	Filipino and Asian American events attended, 2009–2011 .....63
Table 4.1	Number of Filipinos in the U.S., 1910-2010 .....103
Table 4.2	Number of Filipinos in Florida, 1910-2010.....104
Table 4.3	Race Composition of Filipinos in the U.S., 2010 .....105
Table 4.4	Place of Birth, Citizenship Status and Year of Entry of Filipinos, 2010 .....105
Table 4.5	Educational Attainment of Filipinos (25 years and over), 2010 .....107
Table 4.6	Occupational Status of Filipinos (16 years and over), 2010 .....108
Table 4.7	Civilian Employed Population (16 years and over) of Filipinos by Industry in the U.S., 2010 .....110
Table 4.8	Employment Status of Filipinos (16 years of age and older), 2010.....111
Table 4.9	Veteran Status of Filipinos (18 years of age and older), 2010.....111
Table 4.10	Mean and Median Earnings of Filipinos, 2010.....113
Table 4.11	The Asian population in the State of Florida. 2010 .....114
Table 4.12	The Filipino population in major Florida cities by percent, 2010 .....115
Table 4.13	Armed Forces Status of Filipinos in the cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, 2000 .....118
Table 5.1	Survey: Participation Rate .....125
Table 5.2	Characteristics of Sample Population (%) by City (n=139) .....126
Table 5.3	List of Volunteer or Community Organizations where Respondents are Members .....131
Table 5.4	Responses to Resource Generator Survey Items (n=139) .....133
Table 5.5	Resource Generator Items by City (%).....135

Table 5.6	Five Most Popular Resource Generator Items by City and by Source (%) (n=139) .....	137
Table 5.7	Five Least Popular Resource Generator Items by City and by Source (%) (n=139) .....	139
Table 5.8	Indicators of Civic Engagement and Democratic Participation.....	141
Table 5.9	Covariances of Resource Generator Survey Items .....	145
Table 5.10	Summary of Covariances of Resource Generator Survey Items .....	146
Table 5.11	First cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.30$ ; n=139) .....	152
Table 5.12	Second cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.40$ ; n=139) .....	153
Table 5.13	Third cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.45$ ; n=139) .....	154
Table 5.14	Fourth cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.50$ ; n=139) .....	155
Table 5.15	Fifth cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.55$ ; n=139) .....	156
Table 5.16	Final cumulative scale search procedure with Resource Generator items (Threshold homogeneity value $H_{ij}=0.55$ ; n=139) .....	157
Table 5.17	Summary of Monotonocity .....	160
Table 5.18	Summary of Restscore .....	164
Table 5.19	Summary of the P(++)/P(--) Method .....	167
Table 5.20	Reliability Measures of Final Cumulative Scale .....	169
Table 5.21	Correlations between scale items in cumulative social capital measures from Resource Generator items (n=139) .....	173
Table 5.22	Correlations between Social Capital Measures (n=139).....	177
Table 5.23	Quality of Social Capital – Indicators.....	178
Table 5.24	Regressions of demographic subgroups on social capital measures.....	179

Table 6.1	Social Capital of Filipino Communities: Concepts, Dimensions, and Pattern .....	194
Table 6.2	List of Community Organizations Identified by Interview Participants..	196
Table 7.1	Indicators of Empowerment.....	251
Table 7.2	Quality of Social Capital – Indicators.....	253

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	<u>page</u>
Figure 3.1    Process of finding patterns in the data.....	67
Figure 4.1    Employment by Industry in the Jacksonville, FL metropolitan area (3rd quarter, 2010) .....	117
Figure 4.2    Occupations of Filipinos in the cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL, 2000 .....	119
Figure 4.3    Employment by Industry in the Orlando, FL metropolitan area (3rd quarter, 2010) .....	121
Figure 4.4    Employment by Industry in the Tallahassee, FL metropolitan area (3rd quarter, 2010) .....	122
Figure 8.1    Diagram of Social Capital .....	279

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

The dissertation study, *The Social Ties that Bind: How Filipino-American Communities Leverage Social Capital for Democratic Purpose* draws upon literature in the field of social capital to explore questions of how Filipino communities build social, economic, and political gains for their communities. More specifically, this dissertation study examines how Filipino-American communities in the cities of Tallahassee, FL, Jacksonville, FL, and Orlando, FL leverage social capital for community gain. Examining the ethnic and social ties that are inherent in these communities leads to an exploration of the socialization of foreign-born citizens into American society contributes to an environment conducive to civic participation.

Social capital is important because relationships that are fostered under democracy encourage government to maintain transparency and accountability to citizens by providing public access to government activities and political ideas. For instance, when citizens partake in groups and organizations that benefit the community it leads to stronger bonds of trust which furthers democratization and counteracts notions that would support a nondemocratic establishment (Paxton, 2002). Thus, it is the activities of social capital—which includes a combination of social ties, norms, and trust—used in various social settings that produce a benefit for the whole of society. Unlike the other forms of capital (financial, cultural, and human capital), social capital is also considered to be a “public good” (Putnam, 1993, p. 4). In other words, social capital is not private property

that only belongs to or benefits an individual or small group. According to Krishna (2002), “Possessing a high level of social capital enables members of any community to act collectively for achieving diverse common goals” (p. 9).

On the other hand, if there is a low level of social capital and if social ties are severed then other individuals may be affected. For instance, if an individual satisfies his needs through being self-sufficient or obtains assistance without incurring an obligation then he discontinues the flow of social capital in the community. This results in others not being able to reap the benefits of social capital (Coleman, 1988a).

There is much to learn from communities and groups that include a high number of foreign-born members, particularly communities that tend to have strong ethnic ties and function as a closed network where nonmembers are not highly trusted. For example, when immigrants first enter the United States, they tend to bond with groups with whom they can identify, mainly with those of the same ethnicity. So long as there is a level of trust, these groups help, support, and encourage one another—not only to survive but also to prosper. Eventually, such groups lead to high levels of success, such as home ownership and starting a business. In addition, many of these communities possess high levels of civic engagement and contribute back into the community. Such groups are not only proud of their culture but some are even delighted to share their heritage and knowledge with non-members. By exploring the quality and quantity of such networks, the ultimate goal of this dissertation is to discover what creates and contributes to strong bonds and ties between members and how networks encourage and maintain levels of civic engagement. Perhaps these groups possess possible solutions that may solve some of the problems and shortcomings inherent in American society and culture.

## 1.2 Theoretical Overview

This dissertation study draws upon the theory of social capital, defined in this study as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58). This definition includes three components of social capital: (1) resources embedded in a social structure; (2) accessibility to these resources by individuals; and (3) use or mobilization of these resources by individuals that are gained in social action. By assessing the resources embedded in a social structure, social capital can be analyzed by the amount or variety of valued resources that are inherent in many societies (or the embedded resources in a social structure). And examining the likelihood for individuals to access resources—which are possessed by others either through direct or indirect ties—provides a better understanding of how accessing these resources “can lead to better socio-economic status” (Lin 2001, p. 12). Lastly, evaluating how these resources are mobilized draws upon the nature and extent of social capital across families and communities, the levels to which bridging and bonding social capital are at play, and how social capital is leveraged for democratic purpose (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001).

## 1.3 Research Questions and Methodological Overview

Three main sets of research questions frame the proposed dissertation:

- (1) In addition to investigating the manifestations of social capital in the three Filipino communities that were examined in this dissertation, what makes each community distinctive? And what unique characteristics are evident in social capital development?



- (2) In regards to each of the Filipino communities in this study, how does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole?
- (3) In studying these target communities, which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities, particularly amongst first and second generations, as well as in other aspects of American society?

To examine these questions, Filipino-American communities in Tallahassee, FL, Jacksonville, FL, and Orlando, FL were studied. Filipino based communities are tight-knit communities that, in the past, have lacked the capacity to further their democratic participation in their native homeland, unlike in the United States. In addition, cultural and traditional forms of expression are transferred to the next generation, especially to those who are native-born citizens, thus sustaining cultural ties and norms.

#### **1.4 Value of the Dissertation Study**

Barone (2003) remarks, “We are a nation defined not by blood or soil but by ideas” (p. 34). Over two hundred years of precedent history has led to this conclusion. Innumerable amounts of laws, amendments, treaties, acts, resolutions, doctrines, etc., not only establish American ideals and traditions but also have institutionalized America’s social relationships (Dahl, 2003). But it seems that Americans’ sense of nationalism is not as strong as it once was, particularly as compared to previous generations. One key to rejuvenating democratic participation and finding ways to boost morale is to study and

learn from immigrant groups and the foreign-born population and to observe how they fare, especially in how they leverage social capital for purposes of social and civic, political, and economic gain.

In order for social capital to function, a certain type of social structure must be established. Specifically, social structure is personified within the structure of relations between and amongst actors. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is conducive to generating productive activity. And a group that has members with high levels of trust and trustworthiness is more effective than a group encompassing members that lack or are without trustworthiness and trust (Coleman, 1988a). Hence, there is a greater chance for members of these groups to act collectively in order to achieve diverse commons goals. But while specific actions may drive specific activities, some actions may be ineffective or harmful towards other activities. As a result, agency is required to help select and organize goals that are feasible and likely to be achieved, given the constraints and opportunities available within the institutional environment (Coleman, 1988a; Krishna, 2002).

Consequently, one of the purposes of this study is to understand how various groups congregate and function and their role in society. This knowledge will help public administrators to understand the needs of citizens, how citizens take part in developing an environment conducive to democratic participation, and how to improve democratic processes to assist in developing citizen participation.

Because social capital centers on the relationships among citizens rather than focusing on attitudes, such as in civic culture, a greater tie to democracy can be established. In other words, in order to account for the relationship between social capital

and democracy, other factors must be considered besides networks so as to distinguish the difference between economic ties and true community. Thus, this study attempts to place emphasis on the content of such associations and networks and the level of trust that is involved to strengthen such ties (Paxton, 2002). For instance, determining whether a group is heterogeneous may signify levels of bridging social capital and lead to assessing levels of trust amongst group members and whether it extends beyond the community (Burt, 2001; Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b). Uslander and Conley (2003) note that one of the keys is to explore “what values and social networks people bring to civic groups rather than what they take out of them” (p. 355).

Also, in their analysis of a *Los Angeles Times* survey of ethnic Chinese in Southern California in 1997, Uslander and Conley (2003) found that “the same factors that hinder participation across social spheres and in American politics also impede participation in ethnic organizations” (p 347). They concluded,

There is no single pattern of how culture shapes civic engagement. Social networks and legal status are the most important factors shaping participation in the political life of the larger society. The key dividing line in ethnic Chinese activism is participation in the larger society, so the same forces that shape engagement in American politics determine participation in both realms (p. 348).

Particularly for the field of public administration, administrators and agents have the responsibility to ensure that democratic processes are upheld. According to Roberts (2002), “Citizen participation is the cornerstone of democracy” (p. 315). Thus, citizen engagement and participation are essential for a number of reasons. First, it enhances the quality of democratic governance. Second, government is legitimate only when the people as a whole participate in their own self-rule. Third, citizen participation enhances

the quality of citizens' lives because it exercises human capabilities, such as through educating and invigorating citizens' understanding and capacities. Plus, it has been proven that higher levels of civic engagement, such "as active membership in groups and involvement in social networks, are associated with greater individual satisfaction with the quality of community life and, indeed, one's own life" (Macedo, Berry, and Alex-Assensoh, 2005, p. 5). Not only do citizens play a role throughout all levels of government, such as in many programs and policy areas like education, policing, health and social services, justice and environmental systems, and economic and community development, but they are involved throughout all stages of policymaking process—analysis, initiation, formulation, implementation, and evaluation (King, Feltey, and Susel, 1998). One of the aims of this study is to find ways to encourage citizen participation in these areas.

Through active participation in civic associations, Paxton (2002) points out that social capital helps to sustain and advance an existing democracy by "teach<ing> tolerance, promoting compromise, stimulat<ing> political participation, and train<ing> leaders—all of which contribute to a healthy democracy" (p. 257). Social capital aids democracy by providing a locus for citizens to voice and share their concerns, ideas, and criticisms of government and an outlet to express dissatisfaction with government. Furthermore, social capital leads to engaging "the attention of policy-makers seeking less costly, non-economic solutions to social problems" (Portes, 1998, pp. 2-3).

Conversely speaking, government benefits from citizen involvement that arises from "state-society synergy," where "norms of cooperation and networks of civic engagement among ordinary citizens can be promoted by public agencies and used for developmental ends" (Evans, 1996, p. 119). While the idea of synergy is used to

elaborate the relationship between public and private institution, the term is defined to encompass characteristics of complementarity and embeddedness. Complementarity expresses the mutually sustaining relationship between public and private actors by distinguishing between the divisions of labor based on the dissimilar characteristics of those in public and private institutions. Embeddedness refers to the connecting relationship between citizens and public officials traversing the public-private divide. Together, the embeddedness and complementarity aspects of synergy within social capital are complementary and help to achieve efficient and effective organizations. A combination of inputs provided by both public agents and citizens creates more efficiency than if each actor utilizes their inputs separately. While each input is unique and different they are also equally necessary and important. Evans (1996) attests, “Even in the maintenance and operation of the system, there is clear recognition of the complementarities between what public agencies can do and what self-organized citizens can do” (p. 1123). The aim of this study is to provide information and to search for ways to triangulate these efforts.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

One of the earliest concepts of social capital was recognized in 1916 by L. J. Hanifan, state supervisor of rural schools in West Virginia (Couto, 2004; Putnam, 2000). Hanifan noted that “tangible substances” (Putnam, 2000, p. 19), such as “goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse” (p. 19), are necessary to fulfill an individual’s social needs, which, in turn, would result in improving the overall living conditions of an entire community.

While Hanifan provided a notion of social capital, studying social capital is a very complex and difficult task. For one, the importance of social capital must be established. And explaining the emanation of social capital theory helps to further understand the notion of social capital, which has lead to how others in the past have defined social capital and the problems associated with these existing definitions. But the definition of social capital alone is not enough to consider. Social capital is unique according to its characteristics, structure, and function and how these components combine together to facilitate social capital networks. But while social capital has its strengths and weaknesses, social capital is important to study and interesting to observe, especially in how ethnic communities utilize it to leverage political and economic gains. Thus, it is for this reason why social capital is significant to the field of public administration.

## 2.2 Why is social capital important?

When citizens partake in groups and organizations that benefit the community it leads to stronger bonds of trust, which furthers democratization and counteracts notions that would support a nondemocratic establishment. Thus, social capital is important because such relationships that are fostered under democracy encourage government to maintain transparency and accountability to citizens by providing public access to government activities and political ideas (Paxton, 2002).

Social capital also supports and strengthens good government and promotes economic progress in a number of ways. To begin, social capital fosters civic engagement, which propels civic actions. Civic engagement embodies a slew of social activities and experiences that contributes to the advancement of public goods (Son and Lin, 2008). Thus, groups like voluntary organizations exemplify a supportive environment that fosters reinforcing relationships and motivates individual members to partake in civic duties and community affairs (Putnam, 2000; Son and Lin, 2008). Moreover, these associations also provide an arena for prospective leaders to gain political experience as well as an opportunity to bring public awareness to issues that affect society (Paxton, 2002). Putnam (2000) points out, “Civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network or reciprocal social relations” (p. 19). In order for such social relations and connectedness to ensue, there must be high levels of trust because “generalized reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society...Trust lubricates social life” (Putnam, 1993, pp. 3-4). Furthermore, when economic and political business is conducted within “dense networks of social interaction” (Putnam, 1993, p. 4), there is a lower likelihood for opportunism and a reduction of misconduct, especially by

public officials. In the end, effective uses of social capital within organizations serve as an example for future collaboration and coordination efforts.

The activities of social capital, which include a combination of social ties, norms, and trust that can be utilized in various social settings, produce a benefit for the whole of society. Unlike the other forms of capital, social capital can also be considered a “public good” (Putnam, 1993, p. 4), such as government providing a free education to children. In other words, social capital is not private property that belongs to or benefits an individual or small group. According to Krishna (2002), “Possessing a high level of social capital enables members of any community to act collectively for achieving diverse common goals” (p. 9).

But if social ties are severed then others may be affected because, through uncontrollable circumstances, they lose the benefits of social capital. Coleman (1988a) illustrates:

It is not merely voluntary associations, such as a PTA, in which underinvestment of this sort occurs. When an individual asks a favor from another, thus incurring an obligation, he does so because it brings him a needed benefit; he does not consider that it does the other a benefit as well by adding to a drawing fund of social capital in a time of need. If the first individual can satisfy his need through self-sufficiency, or through aid from some official source without incurring an obligation, he will do so—and thus fail to add to the social capital outstanding in the community (p. S116).

### **2.3 The basis of social capital**

The underpinning of social capital is unique, making it an interesting notion to study. Moreover, an exploration of the foundations of social capital leads to a fuller understanding of the theory itself and how it operates.



***The concept of capital.*** The concept of capital stems from economic theory (Bourdieu, 1985a) and can be traced to Marx and his study of the relationship between the bourgeoisie (capitalists) and laborers and how capital emerges from this relationship within the processes of commodity production and consumption (Lin, 2001b, p. 4). According to Lin (2001b), *capital* is an “investment of resources with expected returns in the marketplace” (p. 3). It is also a resource that is “twice processed” (Lin, 2001b), whereby:

In one instance, capital is the outcome of a production process (producing or adding value to a resource); in the other, it is the causal factor in a production (the resource is changed to generate a profit). These are the processes because both investment and mobilization involve time and effort (p. 3).

Essentially, the capitalist possesses the resources, such as the land and technology, to produce a product or service. But in order to produce that product or service, the capitalist must enter into an exchange relationship with the laborer, who will be responsible for supplying the labor in the production process. Thus, the central tenet of social capital theory is as follows:

Capital is captured in social relations and...its capture evokes structural constraints and opportunities as well as actions and choices on the part of the actors. Firmly anchored in the general theory of capital, this theory will, it is hoped, contribute to an understanding of capitalization processes explicitly engaging hierarchical structures, social networks, and actors. <Capital theorists> and its research enterprise, argue that social capital is best understood by examining the mechanisms and processes by which embedded resources in social networks are captured as investment (Lin, 2001b, p. 3).

***The emanation of the term “social capital.”*** Woolcock (1998) remarked that the term “social capital” originally stood for a different purpose. The term “social capital,”

which dates as far back as Alfred Marshall and John Hicks (economists of the 19th and 20th centuries, respectively), was used to classify the different kinds of reserves and stocks of physical capital. But the notion that human cooperation was needed “to guide the invisible hands of <the> market” manifested during the Scottish Enlightenment period of the 18th century (Woolcock, 1998). During this time, two opposite views were debated: (1) whether moral norms must first pre-exist to support economic activity or (2) if economic activity is driven by an ongoing, reciprocal relationship between moral norms and commerce—an issue which has heavily influenced the Durkheimian, Weberian, and Marxist traditions, hence establishing the foundation of what is now referred to as “social capital” (Swedberg, 1987; Woolcock, 1998).

In the first instance, David Hume, Scottish philosopher and economist, argued that the public’s self-interest included the need to ensure that norms and moral codes of behavior were enforced—thus leading to the establishment of justice and public security. Hume stated, “Appropriate moral behavior, or what <is> called the ‘moral sense’ or ‘sympathy,’ would emerge of its own accord to support new forms of economic activity” (Platteau, 1994b; Woolcock, 1998, p. 159). In his *Treatise of Human Nature*, Hume (1740) reasoned that while self-love is the basis of law and government, “competing and conflicting self-interested passions must ‘adjust themselves after such a manner as to concur in some system of conduct and behavior” (Hume, 1740; McNally, 1998, pp. 168-169; Platteau, 1994b, p. 778). Once individuals come to the realization that their rampant selfishness inhibits their capacity to function in society, they yearn for restraint and submit naturally and willingly to act in accordance with established rules and order. As a result, developed rules of social regulation

...become customary and are passed to future generations. Eventually people come to cherish the rules which hold society together. They develop a sense of *sympathy* for those who observe social norms. Moreover, they come to model their behavior in such a way as to be worthy of sympathy and approval of others. Through custom and education, then, individuals develop a love of praise and a fear of blame. For Hume, moral principles are not innate or providentially inspired. They are practical rules developed in the course of living in society (Hume, 1740; Platteau, 1994b, p. 778).

To further elaborate, Hume (1740) defined *morality* as prevailing norms and conventions that are present in the world that most individuals inherit. *Sympathy* is rationally distinct, emanating from a person's experience and his understanding "of the need for norms of conduct and behavior" (Hume, 1740; Platteau, 1994b, p. 778-779). Since human beings cannot change their nature, the only alternative is to change their circumstances by observing and obeying established laws of justice and equity. Therefore, moral decisions are based on public utility (McNally, 1988, p. 169; Platteau, 1994b, p. 779).

In the second case and in contrast to Hume's view, eighteenth century Irish philosopher Edmund Burke, being more cynical in his argument, held the view that markets cannot fully develop and function without the pre-existence of moral norms in society. Burke expressed, "The expansion of commerce depended itself on the *prior* existence of 'manners' and 'civilization' and... 'natural protecting principles' grounded in the 'spirit of a gentleman' and 'the spirit of religion'" (Burke, 1790, p. 115; Hirshman, 1987, p. 160; Platteau, 1994b, p. 779; Woolcock, 1998, p. 159). From this perspective, it can be interpreted that the market economy itself cannot be relied upon to produce the social conditions for which it depends upon for its existence (Platteau, 1994b; Woolcock, 1998).

Adam Smith, whose views are more closely aligned with Hume (Platteau, 1994b; Woolcock, 1998), reverts to the ideas of Montesquieu, which Hirshman (1982) refers to as “the Doux-commerce thesis” (Hirschman, 1982, p. 1464; Platteau, 1994b, p. 780). To explain the Doux-commerce thesis<sup>1</sup>, Hirschman (1982) quotes Montesquieu as follows: “It is almost a general rule that wherever manners are gentle (moeurs douces) there is commerce; and wherever there is commerce, manners are gentle” (p. 1464). In addition, “commerce...polishes and softens (adoucit) barbaric ways as we can see every day” (p. 1464). Hirschman (1982) explains that a mutually reinforcing relationship exists between “gentle manners” and commerce, which eventually leads to market growth. Moreover, the act of commerce also plays the role of a civilizing agent, leading to the restraint of “arbitrary actions and excessive power plays of the sovereign, both in domestic and in international politics” (Hirschman, 1982, p. 1464).

On the other hand, Smith took an ambivalent stance with the publications of *The Wealth of Nations* and *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. While he argued that the market required the guidance of moral and ethical sensibilities, the market lacks the capacity of self-regulation and to produce further benefits to society. This is why institutions, such as the state and the church, occupied important roles in both supplying and regulating the market (Woolcock, 1998).

But the problem with the Marxist approach is that it does not account for how disadvantaged groups rise above economic conditions. Hence, stripping away the Marxist perspective leads to a new path in understanding social capital. Most notably, Bourdieu’s (1985b) theory of social space represents a multi-dimensional social world based on a

---

<sup>1</sup> In French, “doux” means soft.

foundation built on a field of forces that are imposed on participating actors in the field. The notion of social space is an objective perspective that allows for the determination of compatibilities and incompatibilities, proximities and distances. Recognizing that multi-dimensional spaces exist brings to the forefront that those in dominated positions “are constantly engaged in struggles of different forms without necessarily constituting themselves into antagonistic groups” (p. 736). The Marxist view lacks adequacy because it limits the social space only to economic production, which is a one-dimensional social world that disregards positions occupied in different fields and subfields. Separating Marxist theory from the social capital perspective requires the setting aside of class structures; the breaking away from economism; and the disconnecting the notion of objectivism and intellectualism. In setting aside class structures, the social capital perspective considers the mobilized group without regard to class. Classes do not exist as real groups; rather, they “explain the probability of individuals constituting themselves as practical groups, such as in families (homogamy), clubs, associations, and even trade-union or political ‘movements’” (p. 725). Also, removing the notion of economism expands the social field. And disconnecting the notion of objectivism and intellectualism leads to the recognition of symbolic struggles associated with the different fields—otherwise, representation of the social world and the hierarchy within and among the different fields are at risk.

Operating within the social space, participants are considered to be “agents and groups of agents <who are> defined by their relative positions within that space” (Bourdieu, 1985b, p. 724). While each agent is allotted a certain position or neighboring regions, “one <agent> cannot...occupy two opposite regions of the space” (p. 724)—this

allows “the theoretical existence...to explain and predict the practices and properties of the things classified” (p. 725). In addition, the field of forces defines the property of the space. Agents use the field of forces as a source of power in order to impose themselves and their ideas on others who enter the field and/or “to direct *interactions* among the agents” (p. 724). Consider, for example, the use of capital as representing a type of power that is exerted on a particular field and that each type of capital is a power that defines the chances of success, such as profit. The form of capital acquired within each social field not only defines the level of power relations between social agents but it also determines how much power is inherent within the different fields and the likelihood of access to specific resources in order to achieve goals.

Moreover, political leaders must address specific group interests, which change according to demand, and other political issues within the confines of certain groups. Political stances form as a result of “an encounter between a political supply of objectified political opinions (programs, party platforms, declarations, etc.)...and a political demand” (Bourdieu, 1985b, p. 738). The full realization of political stances takes effect when voters, influenced by previous struggles, implement their choices and express their representation. Bourdieu (1985b) points out that, while the social position of agents is “the best prediction of practices and representation” (p. 739), history can change “this status and the habitus that is generated within it” (p. 739). Overall, the institution as a whole and its logic and process of delegation must be considered in order to conduct a historical analysis of representation.

But Bourdieu (1985b) does not discount the Marxist perspective altogether. Accordingly, a class exists when mandated representatives are authorized to speak on

behalf of the group. In addition, the notion of the working class exists only in thought, representation, identification, and function. Bourdieu (1985b) summarizes that the working class is:

...a “mystical body”...endlessly re-created through the countless, constantly renewed, efforts and energies that are needed to produce and reproduce belief and the institution designed to ensure the reproduction of belief. It exists in and through the corps of mandated representatives who give it material speech and visible presence, and in the belief in its existence...manages to enforce, by its sheer existence and by its representations, on the basis of the affinities objectively uniting the members of the same “class on paper” as a probable group (p. 742).

He also points out that not only does the working class face the greatest number of obstacles but they have also contributed the most to the theory of the social world.

## **2.4 Defining social capital**

### ***The widely-held view of social capital and social relationships in the past.***

Within the last fifty years, the idea and function of social relationships differed from past theoretical approaches. Many held narrow and contradictory perspectives about the role of social relationships in society. Consequently, the lack of constructive policy considerations and recommendations has led to a significant concern for modern research and policy development. For instance, social relationships were seen as hindrances to development during the era of the 1950s and 1960s. When modernization theorists tried to account for the failure and instabilities of the market, they cited social relations as the root cause. In the 1970s, world systems theorists held that the social relations between corporate and political elites were ultimately at fault for the exploitation of capitalism. There was no regard for mutually beneficial relationships between workers and owners,

successes that other nations experienced, or the role of government and its relationship with citizens. While the communitarian position advocated for the benefits of self-sufficient communities, it “underestimated the negative aspects of communal obligations, overestimated the virtues of isolationism and self-sufficiency, and neglected the importance of social relations in constructing effective and accountable formal institutions” (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, p. 228). Neoclassical and public choice theorists of the 1980s and 1990s did not recognize the beneficial aspects of social relations. Rather, they focused on rational individuals and their strategic choices especially when operating under time, budgetary, and legal constraints. These schools of thought believed that the purpose of groups and firms was for cost benefits and “to lower the transaction costs of exchange” (p. 228).

***Euphemisms for social capital.*** According to Paxton (2002), euphemisms for social capital include the following terms: civil society, pluralism, mass society, and civic culture. While there is not one clear meaning of the term *social capital*, the concept embodies many definitions, thoughts, and characteristics. For one, social capital has been defined as “features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Krishna, 2002, p. 55; Putnam, 1995, p. 67). Krishna (2002) points out that social capital is more than the mere result of networks and relationships amongst people and individuals—social capital is the product of the quality of those relationships. Moreover, communities that exhibit high levels of social capital will accomplish “superior outcomes in multiple domains” (Krishna, 2002, p. ix), such as in areas of economic development, community peace, and democratic participation. By providing assistance to communities with low levels of social capital,



they will be encouraged “to build up stocks of this resource” (p. ix) and improve performance. Social capital refers to how such “social relations can facilitate the production of economic or noneconomic goods” (Paxton, 2002, p. 256).

***Developing a theory of social capital.*** French sociologist Anthony Bourdieu and American sociologist James Coleman have been credited with developing a theory of social capital (Portes, 2000) through the examination of social capital’s two dimensions: (1) individual actors and (2) collective actors (Paxton, 2002; Portes, 2000; Son and Lin, 2008). According to Bourdieu (1985a),

Social capital is 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 and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various sense of the word. These relationships may exist only in the practical state, in material and/or symbolic exchanges which help to maintain them. They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed by the application of a common name (the name of a family, a class, or a tribe or of a school, a party, etc.) and by a whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges (pp. 248-249).

In other words, people further their relationships with others in order to reap the benefits that these individuals would eventually bring. In this case, social capital arises as individuals invest “some material resources and the possession of some cultural knowledge, enabling <them> to establish relations with others” (Bourdieu, 1985a; Portes, 2000, p. 2). For instance, Bourdieu points out that financial capital, social capital, and cultural capital<sup>2</sup> are fungible assets that can be traded. If these forms of capital are to

---

<sup>2</sup> Cultural capital is “an intangible complex of values and knowledge of cultural norms” (Bourdieu, 1983; Portes, 2000, p. 2).

develop and grow then they must depend upon such exchanges and investments. Thus, a foundation built on a participant's ability to provide some type of investment, such as material and/or financial resources, as well as the possession of some cultural knowledge is necessary in order to establish and maintain relations with other individuals. Otherwise, social capital of any significance can seldom be acquired (Portes, 2000).

On the other hand, Coleman identifies social capital as a characteristic of the community, which benefits communities and groups as a collective whole, thus playing a role in the improvement and betterment of governance (Portes, 2000). Putnam (1993) states that while physical and human capital are considered to be sources of tools and training for individual productivity, social capital aids in coordination and cooperation efforts for mutual benefit. For example, when law enforcement regulations are firmly enforced and personal safety is guaranteed, citizens in the entire community feel safer to travel within their neighborhood and to allow their children to play outside (Coleman, 1988b; Portes, 2000).

Furthermore, Putnam spoke of communities and nations possessing "stock(s)" of social capital which have a consequential and structural effect on their development (Portes, 2000; Putnam, 1993, 1995). He elaborates:

Life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust. Such networks facilitate coordination and communication, amplify reputations, and thus allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved. When economic and political negotiation is embedded in dense networks of social interaction, incentives for opportunism are reduced. At the same time, networks of civic engagement embody past success at collaboration, which can serve as a cultural template for future collaboration. Finally, dense networks of interaction probably broaden the participants' sense of self, developing the "I" into the "we," or (in the language of rational choice

theorists) enhancing the participants' "taste" for collective benefits (Putnam, 1995, p. 67).

But it is the distinct characteristics between the individual and groups that makes defining social capital a difficult task. This is because, as Portes (2000) notes, "Social capital as a property of cities or nations is qualitatively distinct from its individual version" (p. 3) and there has never been a theory to explain how individual assets transition to a community or national resource. For instance, it is difficult to distinguish whether the causes and effects of social capital are attributable to an individual's networks or to collective resources. In other words, "the presence of social capital is often inferred from the assets that an individual or group acquires" (Portes, 2000; Portes and Landolt, 1996, p. 2). On the one hand, cities and nations possess social capital, which is measurable in "stocks" and leads to improved governance and more effective policies. On the other hand, social capital is a by-product of these same outcomes (Portes, 2000). Moreover, the constant shift and variety in the definitions of social capital leave little flexibility to consider other external influences. For example, the idea that "civicness" results in better political outcomes fails to consider whether "extraneous causes account for both the altruistic behavior of the population and the effective character of its government" (Portes, 2000, p. 5). Thus, the confusion arises when these two characteristics of social capital—the individual and the group—conflict with each other. Portes (2000) reasons that while some individuals have an advantage because they possess the right "connections" (like gaining access to a public contract and/or bypassing regulations with which everyone else is expected to comply), such "individual" social capital simultaneously undermines the "collective" social capital.

There are many other reasons why it is difficult to define social capital. First, social capital's foundational underpinnings in the sociological tradition "try to explain too much with too little" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 155) through various forms and dimensions. For instance, rational choice theorists consider social capital to be an informational resource originating from the interaction between rational agents and their need to work together for the mutual benefit. But a closure of social norms occurs when two or more persons realize that they are trying to achieve the same goal and they decide to cooperate in order to benefit mutual interests (Coleman, 1988a; Woolcock, 1998). Also, those who follow the Durkheimian tradition believe that social capital is possible when individuals are not bound to "normative 'non-contractual elements of contract'" (Woolcock, 1998, p. 156) and accept the responsibility and accountability to take action in order to reach goals. Network theorists view social capital as a person's "non-rational social ties" (p. 156). Thus, expressing social capital with the character of being rational, pre-rational, or non-rational makes it difficult to classify or to categorize it.

Second, while some theorists, such as the neo-Weberians, regard social capital as the product of norms and relationships connecting individuals within the constructs of a large organization, others see social capital as a moral reasoning tool, such as addressing issues of "trust," or using it as a cultural boundary mechanism used to limit group action. As a result, Woolcock (1998) questions: Is social capital the content, message, or medium of social relations? Does it function as the infrastructure of those relations? Are both manners inherent in social capital? This is why defining the function of social capital is necessary.

And third, some definitions and studies of social capital need to be more complete or concise. For instance, Siisiäinen (2000) argues that Putnam's theory neglects to address the presence of conflict between interest groups. Siisiäinen (2000) expounds:

A severe problem with Putnam's theory is that it excludes conflicts and conflicting associations from its conceptual apparatus and from the list of preconditions of consensus...and thus ignores a central element that has to be dealt with if we want to understand the birth of a trusting society based on compromises of interest (p. 8).

On the other hand, Bourdieu recognizes that conflict is a natural part of society and arises when individuals have to adapt to a new social position, especially since "all spaces within society are contested; and actors' positions within them have to be fought continually" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 16). But the problem with Bourdieu's theory is that it ignores the necessity of trust in creating transactions and reciprocity in relationships and focuses more on the notion of conflict. While Putnam's view of social capital focuses primarily on collective values and social integration, he seems to regard trust as a way for individuals to catapult themselves above their interests. Instead, Bourdieu's perspective is based on the actors' point of view and their struggle in achieving personal interests. Here, the source of conflict emanates from universal values that are universalized and, thus, subject to suspicion. In the end, these theorists neglect the overall fact that in order for a structure or system to be stable, conflict needs trust in order for individuals and groups to reach a resolution and conflict needs to be managed by trust before it starts.

***Defining social capital by function.*** Hence, defining social capital by function makes it impossible to dichotomize its definition from its function for the following reasons: (1) social capital is a highly context-dependent concept—the definition,

function, and/or action of social capital in one setting may not apply in another scenario; and (2) defining the function of social capital according to its context leaves the concept of social capital vague. As a result, there are greater efforts to refine its major components or to find “context-independent aspects that can be operationalized and measured in any situation” (Edward and Foley, 1997, p. 670).

***Social capital as a public good.*** Moreover, another complexity arises when social capital is categorized as a public good. In this regard, social capital operates in the form of trust and is created as a result of other collective efforts, such as participation in civic associations. But while these activities, themselves, are also considered to be a public good and defined as social capital this “leave(s) us with the problematic conceptual task of distinguishing between ‘the sources of social capital [and] the benefits derived from them’” (Portes and Landolt, 1996, p. 19; Woolcock, 1998, p. 156).

***Social capital and public policy.*** Social capital has also been utilized as a justification to opposing sides of public-policy measures. The communitarian solution to fixing such problems is to “re-establish the ‘mediating structures’ of local civic associations” (Woolcock, 1998, p. 157). But Putnam states that if social capital is “path dependent”—entrenched in longstanding history and culture—then societies are able to tolerate varying degrees of state intervention. In contrast, liberal social capitalists believe that government can nurture an environment conducive to encouraging citizen participation through government transparency and by providing skills and information to empower citizens so that they can make informed choices.

***Maintaining social capital.*** Finally, the level and type of social capital utilized will depend upon what is needed to maintain efficient economic exchange. Primary

concerns should not be to “maximize” social capital but to “optimize” it (Woolcock, 1998, p. 158). Groups can either have an abundance or lack of social capital for sustenance. But sustaining an economic exchange can vary which, consequently, can affect the amount and types of sources of social capital utilized, especially if the complexity of such transactions fluctuates. According to the ethnic entrepreneur literature, for example, an immigrant who is given membership into an organization gains access to new resources, such as financial, physical, human capital, and personal support, in order to start a small business. Once the business becomes successful, there is a likelihood that the same ethnic community will no longer have the capacity or the diversity to sustain a more complex economic exchange. While the immigrant must expand his social capital, this will be difficult if the community imposes high, obligatory demands. Hence, this is the downside of social capital:

Long-standing civic groups may stifle macroeconomic growth by securing a disproportionate share of national resources or inhibiting individual economic advancement by placing heavy personal obligations on a member that prevent them from participating in broader social networks (Portes and Landolt, 1996; Woolcock, 1998, p. 158).

## **2.5 Characteristics of social capital**

Identifying whether social capital is optimized requires knowledge of key characteristics of social capital, such as: identifying what constitutes a social capital resource; what occurs in a social capital network; obligations, expectations, and reciprocity; trustworthiness; information channels; social norms and codes of behavior; and demographics.

***What constitutes a social capital resource.*** Conducting an investigation about the likelihood of individuals to access social capital requires a brief overview of social capital resources. To begin, resources are objects, possessions, or properties that are valued in society. And the ownership of these goods is what sustains and promotes an individual's self-interest for the purpose of survival and perpetuation. According to Weber (1946) and Lin (2001b), the value of these resources—which is socially, economically, and politically influenced—is consensually determined.

Lin (2001b) goes on to say that there are two kinds of resources: ascribed or acquired. Individuals are born with *ascribed resources*, like gender or race. There are also resources that are prescribed through means of inheritance or *ascription*, such as religion and parental resources. On the other hand, *acquired resources* include things like an education, earning an income, or owning a second home.

Also, there are two types of resources that individuals seek to access and use: personal resources and social resources. Personal resources include ownership of a material good or a symbolic good (such as an educational degree). Social resources are those that are accessed via an individual's social connection(s). Moreover, resources can also be “borrowed” for purposeful gain, such as borrowing a car from a friend to go to work or to transfer items from one location to another. Overall, Lin (2001b) asserts, “In both quantity and quality, social resources far outweigh personal resources in their potential usefulness to individuals” (p. 21).

***What occurs in a social capital network.*** In order to understand what is at play, Coleman (1988a) illustrates:



If *A* does something for *B* and trusts *B* to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation in *A* and an obligation on the part of *B*. This obligation can be conceived as a credit slip held by *A* for performance by *B*. If *A* holds a large number of these credit slips, for a number of persons with whom *A* has relations, then the analogy to financial capital <or social capital> is direct. These credit slips constitute a large body of credit that *A* can call in if necessary—unless, of course, the placement of trust has been unwise, and these are bad debts that will not be repaid (p. S102).

Here, this scenario shows how the interplay of obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness results in *quid pro quo*, where people do things for another with the expectation that the beneficiary will be obliged to repay the favor. Stone (2001) observes how this scenario exhibits that “norms of trust and reciprocity are themselves closely related conceptually and thus empirically” (p. 25). It can also be noted that what holds together a network and its members is more than mere cooperation—they have a commonly shared norm of trust, where each has a sense of “expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior” (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 26; Stone, 2001, p. 25).

***Obligations, expectations, and reciprocity.*** There is a certain amount of obligations for which the individual is held accountable. Hence, the act of reciprocity—where one party repays goods and services to another party who originally provided the respective goods and services—is governed by norms and varies according to the type of network in the structure (Stone, 2001). Research of reciprocal relationships has focused on: 1) the culture that is inherent in a specific network or locality; 2) the reciprocal behavior of network participants; and 3) the benefits resulting from reciprocal participation of network members. While the first case looks at the norm of reciprocity and its association to cultural norms and values, an individual’s values can also be

assessed regardless of the cultural norms inherent in the network. In the second and third cases, an investigation can be conducted by examining the behavioral outcomes of cultural norms and values. Furthermore, an investigation of sanctions that are imposed as a result of non-reciprocal behavior is another way to study the norm or lack of reciprocity in a network (Stone, 2001).

***Trustworthiness.*** A level of trustworthiness must be present amongst group members; otherwise, the organization will cease to exist because “a person who receives a payout early in the sequence of meetings could abscond and leave the others with a loss” (Coleman, 1988a, p. S103). To elaborate further, social structures exhibiting social networks with members who have high levels of obligations also have members who depend upon those with high levels of social capital, so that they can draw upon available resources when needed. But social structures can be limited in their dimensions, such as the availability of government aid and assistance; the degree of affluence available to reduce dependence on external sources of aid; cultural differences, which limits individual action to seek external sources of aid; the level of closed networks; and sources of social contacts.

But social structures that have members who are more self-sufficient will be less dependent upon each other and will have fewer obligations. As a result, social capital relies upon two elements in this scenario: trust and reciprocity (Coleman, 1988a). First, a high level of trust is present, where individuals have faith that obligations will be repaid. Trust reflects the quality of a social network and indicates if a society is well-functioning. According to Stone (2001), there are three types of trust. The first is trust of the familiars, which has also been referred to as particularized trust, personalized trust, and social trust

of the familiars. Essentially, this type of trust is present in established relationships and social networks. Next, generalized trust is a form of social trust that is extended to strangers and is built on an expected act of behavior or “a sense of shared norms” (Lin, 2001b; Stone, 2001, p. 26). Last, civic or institutional trust is a basic level of trust expressed within the boundaries of a formal institution of governance and based on fairness of rules, official procedures, dispute resolution, and resource allocation (p. 26). While civic trust results from the sense of the familiar, such as in social relationships where people can relate to one another as citizens, clients, or customers, institutional trust is trust that is placed in expert systems. Thus, different types of trust require a unique set of questions to investigate.

***Information channels.*** Information channels provide the foundation for individuals to take action. For example, when an individual lacks knowledge in a specific subject matter, such as current events, the person can seek information from another person who is well versed in that subject matter. This transaction does not involve the repayment of an obligation but requires a person’s attention, which Coleman (1988a) states is in scarce supply.

***Social norms and codes of behavior.*** Social norms or codes of behavior are inherent in culture and are produced by relationships in social networks (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Coleman, 1988a). For example, when a group has a set standard of social norms, it can prove to be effective especially when a collective group supports the behavior, such as providing welfare to low-income families. However, norms can also constrain action, such as when communities must decide how much welfare should be provided to an impoverished family (Coleman, 1988a).

***Demographics.*** Another component of the social capital process that should be considered includes demographic characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, race, and/or ethnicity. For example, while a family's socioeconomic status would be considered as financial or human capital it can also be considered as a form of social capital. This is because socioeconomic status can link individuals to valuable networks (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Bourdieu, 1985a) and can be a source of norms and values leading to productive outputs (Bankston and Zhou, 2002). Ethnicity is also a form of social capital because it is based on systems of social relations and it encompasses "particular patterns of organization and interaction that produce social capital" (Bankston and Zhou, 2002, p. 289).

## **2.6 The structure of social relations or networks**

***Formal and informal ties.*** Networks involve formal and informal ties. Examples of formal networks include civic associations; group-based associations, such as church, voluntary, education, or childcare; colleagues and associations in the work environment; and institutional, such as local and state governments and agencies. Examples of informal ties include the family household, the family beyond the household, friends and close friends, and neighbors. Studying a particular network involves identifying and understanding characteristics that make them unique (Stone, 2001).

***Network size and capacity.*** In network analysis, data must be focused to "partial networks" by either assessing networks around an individual, also known as "ego-centered" networks; or by examining a specific area of social life, such as kinships and obligations, work relations, or political ties, and look at the substance of that social

relationship. Rather than choosing to complete one of these steps, the combination of these two aspects would lead to the mapping of an individual's network. Then, the individual's network could be added to another mapped relation. In the end, it can be assessed whether a reciprocal exchange has taken place. Assessing network size and capacity is especially beneficial in examining neighborhood and local community participation, comparing communities from different regions, investigating the level of connectedness in a community, and determining the degree to which a person is connected to a local community (Stone, 2001).

***Open and closed networks.*** According to Stone (2001), larger networks with more members and that are less geographically local are more open. To further exemplify, Kao (2004) notes that enforcing social norms is more effective in a group where there is closure, such as in immigrant groups. If an individual failed to meet an expectation, then he would be sanctioned by other group members. But Uslaner and Conley (2003) state that if a group remains closed, where individuals only associate with others who are like themselves, then there would be minimal possibility that the group would reap the benefits of social ties that “could help to resolve larger collective-action problems” (p. 355).

***Dense and sparse networks.*** The level of density or sparseness of a network, or multiplex relations, affects the reciprocity of social relations in the network and determines whether the resources of one relationship are utilized in other relationships. For instance, dense networks reflect the level to which memberships and social networks overlap and also affect the capacity to which individuals in the same context will rely upon one another (Coleman, 1988a; Stone, 2001).

***Homogenous and heterogeneous networks.*** The level of heterogeneity in a social network influences the levels of trust amongst members. Depending upon the level of homogeneity of the community being investigated, there is evidence that heterogeneity increases social capital while networks that are homogeneous are most conducive to social capital (Stone, 2001). Uslander and Conley (2003) explain that sometimes the concern is not between participation and nonparticipation but, rather, whether an individual is non-active and remains within the confines of his community or involves himself with a larger, broader community. The important aspect to consider is the “social” part of social capital, which depends upon levels of trust that exist beyond the community.

***Vertical and horizontal network relations.*** Also, the level of trust and reciprocity that is inherent within a network depends upon its power structure. For example, examining vertical or hierarchical relations, such as the relationship between citizens and authority figures, can reveal information and answer questions about the level of trust placed in authority. In another regard, studying horizontal relations (where individuals are equal and democratic) help to increase the comprehension of trust in civil society (Stone, 2001).

## **2.7 How social capital functions**

Social capital serves as three basic functions that are applicable to a variety of situations: (1) as a source of social control; (2) as a source of family support; and (3) as a source of benefit through extrafamilial networks (Portes, 1998, p. 9). First, as a source of control, social capital operates within the confines of member solidarity and enforceable

trust without the need of formal controls, such as law enforcement. In this case, social capital is central to the property of collectivities, such as with cities or nations. Second, as a source of parental and kin support, children are the primary beneficiaries especially in regards to education and personality development. However, the downside occurs when a family must leave the community—when community bonds are broken there is a deprivation of a major source of social capital. Third, as a source of network-mediated benefits that exist beyond the immediate family network, social capital is gained through membership in social networks. This function is the most characteristic of social capital and is utilized as an access to employment opportunities, job promotion, and entrepreneurial success. Also, Granovetter (1973) points out that the “strength of weak ties” is present, where, according to Portes (1998), “the power of indirect influences outside the immediate circle of family and close friends to serve as an informal employment referral system” (p. 12).

Max Gluckman illustrates the notion of *simplex and multiplex* relations as types of organizational units that function as a form of social capital to assist others. In multiplex relations, the individual outsources the resources of one relationship for use in other relationships. Thus, an individual who may have obligations in one situation might be requested to assist someone else in a different matter (Coleman, 1988a). For instance, in many Asian cultures, parents instill the importance of social capital networks within immediate families. As older siblings finish their education and become successful in their careers, there is an expectation to provide financial assistance to younger siblings so that they can also finish their education and begin their careers. In addition, these children may be depended upon to provide assistance in various other family issues.

Putnam (2000) points out that *bonding* and *bridging* are the most important forms and functions of social capital. Bonding is an exclusive form of social capital where a group is homogenous and membership is exclusive and reinforced, such as ethnic fraternal organizations and fashionable country clubs. Groups that exhibit bonding social capital mobilize solidarity and provide support for specific mutual dependence. For instance, bonding social capital can provide social and psychological support, especially to members who are less fortunate, while simultaneously supplying finance, labor, and other resources for local entrepreneurs. Moreover, Son and Lin (2008) state that expressive actions take place in closed or dense networks that operate through bonding social capital in order to preserve resources, such as values, living standard, and welfare. For instance, citizens in higher income communities may bond together to prohibit the development of neighborhoods with low income housing within their vicinity for fear that this would raise the crime rate.

Bridging, on the other hand, is an inclusive form of social capital where diverse groups reach across many spectrums of society, such as ecumenical religious organizations, the civil rights movement, and many youth organizations (Putnam, 2000). Furthermore, bridging social capital is used by groups that take instrumental actions via more open or sparse networks to increase their resources so as to improve the success rate of the individual, group, or community (Son and Lin, 2008).



## **2.8 How the structure and function of social capital facilitates social capital networks**

Granovetter (1973) suggests that interactions occur on a small scale between individuals, which results in large, complex patterns that eventually reciprocate back into small groups. These interactions are what Granovetter (1973) refers to as interpersonal ties. These ties are the product of “the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services” (p. 1361) that individuals invest. The “strength” of a social tie is determined by the amount that an individual invests in that interaction. Thus, a strong tie is one where two individuals are closely acquainted and there is greater commitment, such as in an established friendship between individuals. A weak tie is one where individuals regard the other as a mere acquaintance and there is little investment in the relationship. And an absence of interpersonal ties exists when a relationship between individuals is lacking and there is no ample significance of a tie, such as when individuals recognize that the other exists by simply nodding to one another as they pass by. For instance, people who live on the same street may acknowledge the other’s existence through a simple nod. Another example is the tie or interaction that exists between a customer who regularly buys the daily newspaper and the vendor.

The intriguing notion about the concept of social capital is that it expands the knowledge of how the use of resources and the use of different combinations of resources generate various system-levels of behavior and/or diverse outcomes for individuals (Coleman, 1988a). Defining social capital in regards to its function allows for the identification of certain characteristics of a group’s social structure. This leads to an

assessment of how the different levels of individuals achieve different kinds of outcomes and how to account for micro-to-macro transitions without explicitly detailing the structural metamorphosis. For instance, Coleman (1988a) refers to a study of how underground study groups of Korean radical students utilized their resources of social capital to transition from individual protest to an organized revolt. He states that regardless of the origin of certain resources, these study circles group together and use organizational structures that have fulfilled the same function for individuals and have been successfully utilized in other contexts in order to achieve revolutionary goals.

Hence, investigating the strength of interpersonal ties is important because such interactions not only influence an individual's networks but it affects people's behavior. In one regard, the structure of an individual's network can shape or constrain the person's behavior. On the other, an individual can manipulate these same networks in order to ascertain a specific goal(s). Overall, some areas of an individual's networks are denser (also known as strong ties) than other areas (weak ties) of that same network. While strong ties involve greater commitment and less "psychological strain" (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1362), weak ties are less reliant on such psychological consistency and well-being. The advantage of possessing weak ties is that, while there are contacts who are tied to the ego or to the person in the center of the network, there are also contacts who are tied to other individuals who do not have a relationship with the ego. Not only can the person in the center of the network manipulate these ties but also these indirect contacts are important because it lessens the social distance and acts as a bridge, expanding the number of channels in which an individual can acquire...

ideas, influences, or information... The fewer indirect contacts one has the more encapsulated he will be in terms of knowledge of the world beyond his own friendship circle; thus, bridging weak ties (and the consequent indirect contacts) are important in both ways (Granovetter, 1973, pp. 1370-1371).

Overall, weak ties should not be overlooked or disregarded. The value of weak ties is they have a greater likelihood in linking members of *different* small groups than do strong ties, which are more concentrated on specific groups.

In addition, certain types of social structures facilitate different forms of social capital. For instance, Coleman (1988a) states that closure is a property of social relations that depends upon effective norms. Norms arise either as a response against negative external effects or it increases when there is a threat to reinforce positive effects. When there is a possibility that negative external effects may threaten and infiltrate a network, the closure of a social network may take effect and lead to a collective sanction. In an intergenerational closure, “a set of effective sanctions can monitor and guide behavior” (p. S106). The benefit of establishing a closure of the social structure is not only to reinforce the existence of effective norms but also to support the levels of trust even though levels of obligations and expectations are ongoing. The downside of a closure is group isolation with no bridge to other social networks and limited social capital.

In another regard, Son and Lin (2008) point out that voluntary organizations are a formal type of social network that hold the following characteristics: (1) these organizations possess different amounts of one resource or different types of resources; (2) those in authority across the board have control and access to resources; (3) there is an established set of rules and procedures in how to use the resources; and (4) resources are entrusted to agents who act according to the established rules and procedures. Generally

speaking, voluntary organizations with a horizontal structure and greater agent autonomy are more dependent upon interconnectedness, volunteers, and volunteers' contributions of social capital resources, especially in ensuring that the organization's existence and performance are sustained. From this viewpoint, individual actors are seen as "potential laborers who can perform and fulfill an organization's obligations in the institutional field" (Lin, 2001b, p. 190; Son and Lin, 2008, p. 333).

## **2.9 Strengths and weaknesses of social capital**

In order to assess the different and various perspectives of social capital theory as a whole, Woolcock (2000) summarized the main components of social capital research into four distinct perspectives: the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional view, and the synergy view.

***Communitarian view.*** This perspective associates social capital with civic engagement, such as participation in clubs, associations, and civic groups. While communitarians see social capital as fundamentally good and having a positive effect on the welfare of the community, this perspective only considers communities as being homogenous and benefitting all members while disregarding issues of ethnic exclusion and gender discrimination. Another downside is the likelihood of *perverse* social capital where citizens of isolated communities and networks, for example, form groups such as gangs or drug cartels (Woolcock, 2000). Rosenau (2003) asserts,

For not only does pervasive passivity undermine the control ordinary people have over their own lives and open the way for authoritarian rule, but it is also viewed with concern because the more endemic passivity becomes in communities, the more it is subject to transformation into alienation (p. 159).

Then, alienation leaves the apathetic with no choice but to act and to express opposition to established norms in a legal manner (such as not voting), illegally (such as not paying taxes), or violently (such as gang violence).

***Networks view.*** The networks view stresses the importance of horizontal and vertical relationships amongst people, such as in a family setting or within an organization, thus giving members a sense of identity and purpose—also known as “bonding” social capital. The networks view also recognizes the need for weak intercommunity ties or “bridging” social capital in order to traverse across social divisions such as religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and socioeconomic status; otherwise, “strong horizontal ties can become a basis for the pursuit of narrow sectarian interests” (Woolcock, 2000, p. 230). One of the positive aspects of the networks view is that it endorses the use of empirical evidence and policy measures to justify outcomes and claims, especially for use in detailed policy discussions. It also takes into consideration that not all groups or communities are homogenous and that minorities are undermined by weak laws and discrimination.

This perspective has two main propositions. First, social capital may be seen as a benefit but members may accrue costs, such as obligations and commitments. And second, members should consider the likelihood of negative effect(s). For instance, the attainment of a desirable outcome may occur at the expense of another member or group (Woolcock, 2000).

The networks view of social capital is wrought with other weaknesses. While proponents affirm that the use of both bonding and bridging social capital accounts for a combination of various results, social capital can alter social systems and it is affected by

changes in members' welfare over time as well as changes in costs and benefits. The "public good" nature of social groups is diminished when beneficial outcomes resulting from group activities are regarded as the sole property of the particular individuals involved (Woolcock, 2000). Consequentially, this is why proponents are skeptical to measure social capital across larger, collective societies, such as a nation (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 2000). In addition, the networks view does not consider the influence of institutions at the societal level nor its ability to shape and be shaped by local communities (Woolcock, 2000).

***Institutional view.*** Proponents of the institutional view of social capital argue that the strength of social networks and society result from the efforts of the political, legal, and institutional environment. Unlike the communitarian and network perspectives, this view considers social capital as a dependent variable as opposed to an independent variable where social networks produce a variety of outcomes. This perspective argues that the quality of the formal institution or organization that represents group members is a determinant factor as to whether members can act as a collective whole for mutual benefits and interests. Conversely, institutional performance and its capacity to be accountable to civil society depend on its internal structures, such as credibility, competence, and the level to which group members work together (Woolcock, 2000).

There are two approaches to the institutional view. First, it considers that government plays a role in creating conditions conducive to the success of firms and communities. Second, greater emphasis is placed on quantitative cross-national studies that endorse "the effects of government performance and social divisions on economic performance" (Woolcock, 2000, p. 234). Past research and comparative history have

shown that the collaborate effort between government and citizens has been successful in improving the quality of life, such as lowering the crime rate and decreasing the level of poverty in certain communities. In addition, terms such as “generalized trust,” “rule of law,” “civil liberties,” and “bureaucratic quality” are positively equated with economic growth (pp. 234-235). And although the institutional view addresses macroeconomic policy concerns, it neglects the microeconomic component.

***Synergy view.*** The synergy perspective of social capital attempts to combine the notions of the network and institutional approaches. It accounts for the relationship between government and citizen action through aspects of *complementarity* and *embeddedness*. To reiterate, complementarity highlights the “mutually supportive relations between public and private actors” (Woolcock, 2000, p. 236) and embeddedness refers to “the nature and extent of the ties connecting citizens and public officials” (p. 236). This approach is effective only in areas “where the actions of public officials are simultaneously bound by performance-oriented organizational environments that are competent, coherent, and credible” (p. 236). For example, a combination of community capacity and local government support can result in diverse outcomes benefitting the mutual interests of society. The downside is that problems arise if groups are isolated and there is a competition of interests therefore resulting in the rise of dominant groups and the gratification of special interests. By extending the bridge of social capital to isolated groups, social capital will expand the availability of resources and will increase. Plus, the establishment of common forums amongst government, corporate, and community organization leaders and citizens allows individuals to act an intermediary so that actors

can leverage social capital to pursue mutual goals and interests, to support development, and to uphold democratic ideals.

The synergy view challenges researchers “to transform situations where a community’s social capital substitutes for weak, hostile, or indifferent formal institutions into ones in which both realms complement one another” (Woolcock, 2000, p. 238) by accomplishing three tasks. First is to examine the levels and nature of relationships amongst a community, group, and/or institution. Second is to develop institutional strategies that consider social networks relations, including degrees of bonding and bridging social capital. Finally, researchers can attempt to determine how social capital—through aspects such as cooperation, trust, and efficiency—can overcome sectarianism, isolationism, and corruption.

## **2.10 The purpose in accessing resources**

Individuals play different roles in accessing resources. For one, they can play the role of an *actor* who is trying to access a resource. In the role of an *intermediary*, an individual aids in the mobilization and facilitation of social capital resources. And *alters* are individuals who possess the valuable resource (Lin 2001b).

Individuals not only possess resources but they can also take action in order to access a resource in order to protect their existing resources and to gain new resources for the purpose of survival and perseverance. Lin (2001b) refers to the act of protecting existing resources as *expressive actions* while the act of gaining new resources is referred to as *instrumental actions*. An example of an expressive action is when an individual takes the necessary means to ensure that his property is protected so that others recognize



the legitimacy of property rights or when two individuals share their sentiment and communicate with one another about an issue. With expressive actions, “there is no action required beyond this public recognition and acknowledgement of others” (Lin, 2001b, p. 45). On the other hand, the goal of an instrumental action is to incite actions and reactions from others, which would lead to more allocation of resources for the individual (Lin, 2001b). For the most part, maintaining resources (expressive actions) generally takes precedence over the act of gaining resources (instrumental actions), especially since it is a greater threat that one should lose his resources or possessions. But within the context of social capital theory, the primary focus will center on purposive actions and how actors interact with one another in order to access and use each other’s resources in order to leverage civic, political, and economic gain (Lin, 2001b).

### **2.11 Types of purposive actions**

*Engaging in interactions.* Individuals engage in two kinds of interaction in order to access resources for purposeful actions: homophilous and heterophilous interactions. Homophilous interactions refer to individuals who have similar resources (such as status, class, and authority) while heterophilous interactions refer to individuals who have dissimilar resources. According to the principle of homophily, “social interactions tend to take place among individuals with similar lifestyles and socioeconomic characteristics” (Lin, 2001b, p. 39).

On the other hand, heterophilous interactions are less likely to occur and require greater effort because an inequality exists between individuals when they are trying to

command resources. Thus, participants must assess the willingness of others to engage in an exchange. Lin (2001b) illustrates what occurs:

The resource-poorer partner needs to be concerned about alter's intention or ability to appropriate resources from them. And the resource-richer partner needs to consider whether alters can reciprocate with resources meaningful to their already rich repertoire of resources. Thus, both partners in a heterophilous interaction have to make a greater effort in forging the interaction than those in a homophilous interaction (p. 47).

Accordingly, in order for individuals to be willing to engage in an exchange, an interaction, such as a social tie, must be developed. Social ties are important in that it allows individuals the opportunity to access resources possessed by those with whom individuals associate. But the likelihood for the individual to access the resource will depend on the "strength" of the social tie. And the "strength" of the tie will depend upon "the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie" (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361).

## **2.12 Studying ethnic communities and social capital**

While Putnam and other advocates of social capital contend that high levels of civic engagement is equated with happier, more trusting and more prosperous communities, Uslaner and Conley (2003) argue that a key element is overlooked: social interaction, itself, and the people with whom an individual interacts. But if immigrant groups experience higher levels of closure, what can be expected? If people only socialize with others who are like them and they only join organizations composed with members who are also like them then this limits an individual's opportunity to know different kinds of people from different backgrounds. Kao (2004) also states that people

who are isolated and lack friendships and associations “cannot exchange obligations or share expectations with others” (p. 172). Thus, if trust develops as individuals get to know one another then, in this case, trust will not develop in people who are dissimilar. As such, establishing trust is necessary if cooperation is to develop and to become widespread (Putnam, 1993; Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

In their analysis of a *Los Angeles Times* survey of ethnic Chinese in Southern California in 1997, Uslaner and Conley (2003) found that combinations of social ties and values result in different expectations. Most important to note, levels of trust, diversity, and bridging in social capital, as well as culture and citizenship, are determinant factors in the likelihood that an individual would engage in civic participation beyond ethnic and cultural boundaries. For example, while social networks can expand and broaden the scope of civic participation this does not mean that ethnic Chinese will disown their ethnic organization; rather, “social contacts and respondents’ perceptions of their in-group’s place in American society are strong determinants of participation” (p. 343).

But still, the advantages of closure cannot be overlooked. In a closed group, the enforcement of social norms is more effective and can have positive results. For instance, in her study of social capital and education amongst immigrants, Kao (2004) found that while “immigrant youths have less access to social capital...they reap greater rewards for the little they have compared to native-born youths” (p. 174). Accordingly, she cites that researchers have noted how parents place pressures of guilt and obligations on Asian American youths by telling them of their sacrifices to provide them with a better life. She also centers on the *inverse of social capital*, where norms, expectations, and obligations

can work against achieving educational outcomes and “social relations with others can reinforce norms that work against academic achievement” (p. 174).

Granovetter (1973) points out that there are reasons why some communities, more than others, are better able to organize themselves more effectively and efficiently for the purpose of achieving common goals. Although variations in culture and anomalies are an attribute, it is these aspects of structure that can either facilitate or block the ability of a group to organize itself. Trust is another important issue to consider because when people place their trust in a leader it affects individual and group behavior. In turn, leaders “have little motivation to be responsive or even trustworthy toward those to whom they have no direct or indirect connection” (p. 1374). By limiting the number of paths from the leader to followers, network fragmentation leads to hindering trust in these types of leaders. Understanding the social dynamics of a community requires an investigation of the different contexts in which people form weak ties and whether these weak ties form a bridge to other groups.

## Chapter 3

### Methodology and Research Design

#### 3.1 Introduction

One of the ways to examine how immigrant and ethnic communities leverage social capital for civic, political, and economic gain is by drawing upon literature in the field of social capital. While, social capital refers to the “features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Krishna, 2002, p. 55; Putnam, 1995, p. 67), social capital will be defined for this study as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58).

A brief explanation of what is required to measure social capital will be followed by a presentation of the methodology that was used in this dissertation study. First, the central research questions and hypotheses, including an explanation of how the hypotheses were developed and how it relates to the definition of social capital adopted for this study, will be presented. The next section elaborates on the study design, which provides details about the unit of analysis and the sampling frame and why they were chosen. It continues with a presentation of the methodology—a mixed methods approach utilizing a *resource generator survey*, qualitative case studies, and interviews of civic organizations—that was implemented during the course of the study and how the findings were quantified, coded, and analyzed. Finally, this section will conclude with a justification of why this study on social capital and immigrant communities is relevant.

### 3.2 Defining and measuring social capital

In order to measure social capital, a definition of social capital must be established. The definition, itself, establishes a conceptual framework, providing the foundation for setting up and carrying out the methodology (Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001). For this study, social capital is defined as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58). This definition includes three key ingredients: (1) resources embedded in a social structure; (2) accessibility to such resources; and (3) the use and/or mobilization of these resources by individuals for purposive actions (Lin, 2001a, 2001b).

To elaborate further, social capital is analyzed by the amount or variety of valued resources that are inherent in many societies (or the embedded resources in a social structure), which are possessed by others—either through direct or indirect ties—and “can lead to better socio-economic status” (Lin 2001, p. 12). But how do interactions within social networks enable individuals to gain access to such resources? And how can this be measured? Specifically identifying social resources as being network resources and contact resources contributes to developing a formal procedure in measuring social capital. Lin (2001b) goes on to say:

Network resources refer to those embedded in one’s ego-networks, whereas contact resources refer to those embedded in contacts used as helpers in an instrumental action, such as job searches. Thus, network resources represent accessible resources and contact resources represent mobilized resources in instrumental actions (p. 13).

Determining how these resources are mobilized requires the development of a measuring instrument that would “map” the relations within a network so as to determine the nature and extent of social capital across families and communities and the levels to which bridging and bonding social capital are at play. Hence, for this study, a survey instrument was created to collect data at the individual level and follows the model as exemplified by Stone (2001):

Although individuals might be asked questions about the community, region, or nation they are part of, the social capital of communities (or regions or areas) is then measured by collating information gathered from individuals within those communities, rather than by examining a particular community more directly. This approach provides an indication of the level and distribution of social capital within an area, as well as a detailed picture of social capital in the lives of individuals and families (p. 3)

In order to assess social capital networks and to solidify the measurement tool, two aspects of social capital were considered: (1) the structure of social relations or networks and (2) the quality of those relations or its norms. On the one side, the structure of social relations (networks) takes the following into consideration: network size and capacity; local and global networks; open and closed networks; dense and sparse networks; homogenous and heterogeneous networks; vertical and horizontal networks. On the other hand, the quality of social relations (norms) reflects the norms of trust as well as the norms of reciprocity and non-reciprocal behavior used to achieve better, highly valued social capital sources and resources in order to accomplish purposeful and more successful action (Lin, 2001b; Stone, 2001).

### 3.3 Research Questions

Most people equate the word “capital” with financial capital. But “capital” encompasses more than just financial capital. It also includes cultural, human, and social capital. So while much of the research conducted on ethnic and immigrant communities have been negative, it is because most of the attention focuses primarily on wages and gains to the U.S. economy. One of the main points of this research is to show other ways in which ethnic communities contribute to society and how these communities utilize social capital to do so.

In one regard, studying ethnic communities, particularly Filipino communities, helps to understand how social capital is initiated and how it expands and grows. By studying various locations where these groups are based, we can assess differences and similarities in the use of social capital. For instance, does a community’s location and where a community develops influence the development of social capital and how it is utilized? What role does culture play in how social capital is leveraged?

But on the other hand, many ethnic communities tend to isolate themselves from other groups. Usually, social capital begins when individuals in a network bond with one another and share resources. Sometimes, this bonding will eventually bridge to other groups and communities. This leads to questions as to how social capital is initiated in ethnic communities, how social structure can support social capital, and if group isolation limits social, economic, and political prosperity.

Overall, studying the social capital of ethnic communities can be utilized for comparative research and to provide ways to improve deficiencies in other areas of



American society. Studying social capital development can assist public administrators in deciding how they can best encourage civic engagement.

Three main sets of research questions provided a framework for this study:

- (1) In addition to investigating the manifestations of social capital in the three Filipino communities that were examined in this dissertation, what makes each community distinctive? And what unique characteristics are evident in social capital development?
- (2) In regards to each of the Filipino communities in this study, how does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole?
- (3) In studying these target communities, which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities, particularly amongst first and second generations, as well as in other aspects of American society?

Answering these questions lead to a greater understanding in how individuals can bear the costs of or be constrained by “their relative accessibility to resources embedded in the social structure” (Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 61) and how members of a network can “take actions to mobilize the embedded and accessible resources to generate returns for their own well-being” (p. 61). Furthermore, addressing the first question also lead to an examination of how social capital effects the foreign-born population in the context of the Filipino-American community. And addressing the second question also explains how

the foreign-born population influences social capital. As a result, social capital is studied as both an independent variable and as a dependent variable, thus providing a greater understanding of the role that social capital plays as well as the benefits that social capital provides. Conducting a mixed methodology leads to an assessment of how the different kinds of networks achieved different kinds of outcomes as well as a consideration of how micro-to-macro transitions occurred without explicitly detailing the structural metamorphosis (Coleman, 1988a; Woolcock, 2000).

### **3.4 Hypotheses**

Development of the hypotheses was derived from the definition of social capital adopted for this study. To reiterate, social capital for this study is defined as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58) and includes the three components of social capital: (1) resources embedded in a social structure; (2) accessibility to these resources by individuals; and (3) use or mobilization of these resources by individuals that are gained in social action.

To form the hypotheses, the components of social capital was integrated into a structural framework, as identified by Bourdieu (1985b) and Lin, Fu, and Hsung (2001). In examining social capital, a scenario must be illustrated where individuals, depending upon social, cultural, and political echelons, occupy different positions within a structure, thus affecting the strength of social ingredients and network ties. The social structure that was examined in this study is the Filipino community.

Next, further development of the hypotheses required additional considerations. First, the hypotheses explained and identified various patterns of how resources are distributed as well as the social forces that contributed to such uniqueness. This lead to:

*Hypothesis #1:* The greater the embeddedness (or social ties) in a network then the greater an individual's accessibility to resources.

Next, the second hypothesis demonstrated how social capital produced a return or gain by assessing how the varying components of social capital directly and indirectly affected a participant's well-being:

*Hypothesis #2:* The greater the accessibility to embedded resources (or social ties) then the greater the likelihood that an individual will support democracy and democratic activities.

Last, the third hypotheses exhibited how the components of social capital are interconnected and elaborated how "embedded resources constrain and enable individual choices and actions" (Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58):

*Hypothesis #3:* The weaker the embeddedness (or social ties) in a network then the greater the complementarity (reciprocal and dependent relationship between private citizens and institutional agents) aspect of social capital.

### 3.5 Dimensions of social capital

In order to measure and study social capital, the resources upon which the methodology in this study was executed was based on the dimensions and concepts of social capital as developed by Grootaert, Narayan, Jones, and Woolcock (2004), which is also utilized by The World Bank (2009) (see table 3.1). The conceptual framework of social capital in this study includes the structural, cognitive, functional, and the applications and outcomes components of social capital. The *structural* component of social capital considers memberships in associations and networks. This component addressed hypothesis #1 by explaining how resources are distributed amongst a group. The *cognitive* aspect considers the level of “trust and the adherence to norms” (Grootaert et al., 2004, p. 9) that is inherent in a particular group. Exploring the *functional* part of social capital allowed for a greater understanding of a group’s objectives and goals. Both the cognitive and functional aspects of social capital helped to explain hypothesis #2 by describing how social capital produces a return or gain. Lastly, the *major applications and outcomes component* provides information on how social capital is applied and how the structural, cognitive, and functional parts of social capital contributed to a group’s actions and efforts or lack thereof. In the end, the applications and outcomes component of social capital addressed hypothesis #3.

To elaborate further, these concepts were deconstructed into six dimensions of social capital: (1) groups and networks; (2) trust and solidarity; (3) collective action and cooperation; (4) information and communication; (5) social cohesion and inclusion; and (6) empowerment and political action. The *groups and networks* dimension focuses on the structural aspect of social capital, which is the foundation for which social capital is

based. It considers the level of formal and informal networks. For instance, it considers the extent of an individual's participation in community and society, the kinds of exchange that exists between individuals and organizations, the level of diversity within a group, and the types of assets and knowledge that one possesses and can contribute. The *trust and solidarity* dimension refers to the cognitive area of social capital that centers on the extent to which the level of trust inherent between individuals bonds them. This area of social capital helped to understand individuals' thoughts and attitudes towards one another and how this affects community interaction. Hence, higher levels of trust and solidarity can lead to greater ease in making agreements and carrying out transactions. The *collective action and cooperation* dimension and the *information and communication* dimension provided information on the functionality of social capital. The *collective action and cooperation* dimension explored the degree of participation and involvement within the community, such as the level to which members in the community work on community organized projects and activities, respond to a crisis, and/or help a fellow member of the community in time of need. The *information and communication* dimension probed the extent of individuals' access to the communications infrastructure and how individuals receive information about the political environment, economic conditions, and public services. The *social cohesion and inclusion* dimension and the *empowerment and political action* dimension represent the major applications and outcomes of social capital. The *social cohesion and inclusion* dimension allowed for the investigation of the sources and causes of differences between groups, which groups are excluded from public services, the mechanisms present to manage such disruptions, and how groups interact on a regular basis. For instance, when levels of social cohesion are

extremely high then members of a group may be less likely to extend the flow of social capital to those outside that group. Addressing and understanding conflict and the sources of conflict will lead to greater care and understanding in how trust can be rebuilt and repaired. The *empowerment and political action* dimension of social capital explored individuals' level of empowerment as well as the extent of their control and influence exerted over the institutions and processes that directly affect their well-being and how it

**Table 3.1 Conceptual Framework of Social Capital\***

Concept	Dimension	Description
Structural	Groups and Networks	Foundation of social capital; includes formal and informal networks
Cognitive	Trust and Solidarity	Centers on the level of trust inherent between individuals. Higher levels of trust and solidarity can lead to greater ease in making agreements and carrying out transactions
Functional	Collective Action and Cooperation	Focuses on the degree of participation and involvement within the community
	Information and Communication	Explores the extent to which individuals access the communications infrastructure and how they receive information
Major Applications and Outcomes	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Investigates the degrees of division and differences that lead to conflict. i.e., When levels of social cohesion are extremely high then members of a group may be less likely to extend the flow of social capital to those outside that group
	Empowerment and Political Action	Explores individuals' level of empowerment and the extent of their control and influence over the institutions and processes that directly affect their well-being, thus affecting the local environment and the broad political realm

\*adopted from Grootaert et al. (2004) and The World Bank (2009)

affects the local environment and the overall political realm (Grootaert et al., 2004; The World Bank, 2009).

### 3.6 Study Design

***Unit of analysis.*** The unit of analysis is the Filipino-American population in each of the target cities and will include both native-born Filipinos and Filipinos who were born in the United States as well as individuals who are not of Filipino descent but who play an active role in the Filipino-American community. From this point forward, the terms “Filipino” and “Filipino-American” are used interchangeably and refer to the general Filipino population in America.

This group was chosen because research has shown that communities with citizens of East Asian origins “represent a new brand of ‘network capitalism’...based on the extended family or on close-knit ethnic communities...<that> foster trust, lower transaction costs, and speed information and innovation” (Putnam, 1993, p. 5). For instance, Karnow (1989) found that Filipinos are guided by personal relationships rather than institutional relationships. The key to understanding the Filipino culture is that children grow up with the knowledge that “these ties impose reciprocal responsibilities that must be observed to avoid the worst of all fates: exclusion from the extended family” (p. 20). Thus, Filipinos are more sensitive to their real and/or ritualistic kin than societal rules. In the end, focusing specifically on this group will bring unique perspectives to bridging and bonding social capital.

***Obtaining the study sample.*** Data was obtained from a random sample of Filipino-Americans in the following three cities: Tallahassee, FL; Jacksonville, FL; and Orlando, FL. These areas were chosen because they have substantial but varied Filipino-American population sizes and a plethora of civically engaged individuals and organizations. The sampling frame was obtained from the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA)—The National Organization and Voice of Filipino Americans for Unity and Empowerment. In addition to speaking their native tongue(s), native Filipinos have been greatly influenced by the American culture. Since study of the American English language is a required course that begins in grade school, Filipinos are quite fluent in the English language.

***Testing Hypothesis #1 and Hypothesis #2.*** For this study, *survey research* was used to test hypotheses #1 and #2. For purposes of this dissertation, a type of community survey used in social capital research, known as a *resource generator survey*, was used. The resource generator “asks about access to a fixed list of resources, each representing a vivid, concrete subcollection of social capital, together covering several domains of life” (Van Der Gaag, 2005, p. 138). The availability of resources listed in the resource generator “is checked by measuring the tie strength through which the resources are accessed, indicated by the role of these ties (family members, friends, or acquaintances)” (p. 138). Furthermore, the resource generator was easy to administer and was administered quickly. The data collected from this instrument “result<ed> in valid and easily interpretable representations of social capital, with possibilities for use in goal specificity research of social capital” (p. 138). The information provided in section 3.8 provides further details about construction of the measurement tool.



**Testing Hypothesis #3.** Testing *Hypothesis #3* encompassed descriptive case study research (Berg, 2004) focusing on historical and cultural experiences of the Filipino-American population in the United States and their relationship with local government agencies and organizations (Canada Policy Research Initiative, 2003). In addition to examining historical documents, face-to-face interviews were conducted with civic leaders in the aforementioned communities. In interviewing community civic leaders, participants were identified from the community survey that was used to test hypotheses #1 and #2 in order to conduct an intrinsic case study. Not only did this help to provide a complementary link between embeddedness and complementarity of social capital networks but it provided a better understanding of the intrinsic characteristics of Filipino-American communities and organizations and showed how social capital is utilized.

### **3.7 Construction of the measurement tools**

**Survey instrument.** The survey instrument must contain diverse questions that consider the dimensions of social capital. Van Der Gaag and Snijders (2005) state that a useful measurement instrument must include “items that show a considerable diversity in their *popularity*, defined as the frequency in the population with which they are accessed” (p. 70). Thus, traits expressed in the least amount “will be measured more reliably with items that are common, and to which many respondents will give a positive answer” (p. 70), such as a respondent who indicates that he or she knows a neighbor or someone who owns a car. On the other hand, traits that are expressed in high amounts will be measured more reliably with items in which respondents have less in common and would be less

likely to give a positive answer, such as a respondent who indicates that he or she knows someone who owns a vacation home abroad or knows someone who is a member of congress.

In order to become familiar with the population sample, the first fifteen questions of the survey instrument included demographic questions (see Appendix 2). Next, participants answered questions in the *resource generator* survey, which encompassed the second half of the survey instrument (questions #16 to 57). Questions #16 to #50 of the resource generator were adopted from Van Der Gaag and Snijders's (2005) survey questionnaire on their study of the social capital networks of the Dutch population in 1999-2000. Questions #51 to #57 were added to further explore the characteristics of the Filipino-American population. For example, questions #54, 56, and 57 asked participants if they know someone who is a member of a Filipino-American organization, someone who recently emigrated from the Philippines, and/or if they know someone who is a godparent, respectively.

Also, the questions in the resource generator asked respondents to indicate if they know someone who possesses a particular item or trait by selecting one or more of the following answers next to the corresponding statement: *no*; *family*; *friend*; *colleague*; *acquaintance*; or *yourself* (see Appendix 2). If the participant selects "no" as an answer choice then this indicates that the individual does not know anyone who possesses that particular trait or item. This is the only answer response where none of the other answer choices are marked. If the participant selects "yourself" as an answer choice then this signifies that the participant, himself, possesses that particular item or trait.

Prior to administering the survey, a resource generator matrix (see Appendix 3) was composed in order to determine what dimension(s) of social capital that each item might represent. This step helped to ensure that the survey questions are diverse in popularity and to consider how results will be quantified.

***Interview guide.*** Questions used for the interview guide during phase II of this dissertation study (see Appendix 4) were adopted from The World Bank's (2009) Organizational Profile Interview Guide (Annex 1D), which is part of the Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT). Portions of this questionnaire were used and adjusted for this study in order to explore the origin and development of existing organizations that serve the Filipino-American community in each of the target cities as well as the membership, the leadership and the institutional capacity and linkage that exists. And like the survey questionnaire, the questions on the interview guide contain diverse questions that considered the dimensions of social capital defined for this study. Overall, the purpose of the interviews is to examine the link between the embeddedness and complementarity aspects of social networks and resources, whether a relationship exists between citizens, public officials and administrators, and the extent to which these connections exist. As in *Phase I* of this dissertation study, a matrix of the interview questions was composed in order to determine what dimension(s) of social capital each interview question represented and to consider how results will be quantified (see Appendix 5).

**Table 3.2 Filipino and Asian American events attended, 2009–2011**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Event</b>	<b>Hosted by</b>	<b>Location</b>
1. 2009, Oct 3	Experience Asia! (festival)	Asian Coalition of Tallahassee	Tallahassee
2. 2010, Jan 15	Asian Summit	Asian American Federation of Florida	Orlando
3. 2010, Feb 6	General Meeting	Big Bend Filipino American Association	Tallahassee
4. 2010, Feb 7	Meeting	Council of Filipino-American Organizations	Orlando
5. 2010, May 7	Celebrate Asia! (gala)	First annual event celebrating Asian-Pacific Heritage Month	Jacksonville
6. 2010, May 23	General Election Meeting	Filipino-American Council of Northeast Florida	Jacksonville
7. 2010, May 24	Reception honoring Asian-Pacific Heritage month	Florida Governor Charlie Crist (held at the Governor's mansion)	Tallahassee
8. 2010, June 6	Philippine Independence Day celebration	Council of Filipino-American Organizations	Orlando
9. 2010, Jun 7-8	Summit	Asian American Federation of Florida	Miami
10. 2010, June 12	Jose Rizal Day Celebration	Filipino-American Council of Northeast Florida	Jacksonville
11. 2010, June 19	Annual Picnic	Big Bend Filipino American Association	Tallahassee
12. 2010, July 10	Meeting re: Philippine Celebration	Filipino-American Council of Northeast Florida	Jacksonville
13. 2010, July 10	Meeting	Filipino Cultural and Civic Association	Jacksonville
14. 2010, Aug 15	Meeting for Filipino Pride Day	We Filipinos, Inc.	Jacksonville
15. 2010, Aug 29	Meeting	Philippine Civic and Cultural Center	Orange Park
16. 2010, Sept 25	Filipino Pride Day	We Filipinos, Inc.	Jacksonville
17. 2010, Oct 31	Meeting	Filipino-American Council of Northeast Florida	Jacksonville
18. 2010, Nov 6	Philippine Cultural Festival	Philippine Civic and Cultural Center	Orange Park
19. 2010, Dec 18	Christmas Party	Big Bend Filipino American Association	Tallahassee
20. 2011, Jan 30	Meeting	Filipino American Coalition of Florida	Orlando

### 3.8 How sample population was collected

*Survey instrument.* Data was collected from February 2010 to February 2011. A representative from the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA)—The National Organization and Voice of Filipino Americans for Unity and Empowerment—was contacted for information of Filipino-American organizations and their organizational leaders located in Tallahassee, FL; Jacksonville, FL; and Orlando, FL.

To reiterate, ritualistic, kinship ties are the foundation of Filipino culture and are necessary for growing levels of trust (Karnow, 1989). This is an important key characteristic in building trust within the community. Otherwise, this results in exclusion from the group. Only those who are considered to be an invested member of the group would be trusted and included (Posadas, 1999). Thus, prior to requesting permission to distribute surveys to members of respective organizations, various meetings and event functions were attended in order to build rapport and levels of trust (see table 3.2).

Once relationships were established with the particular community organization, leaders of the organizations were approached in order to request permission to distribute surveys (via U.S. Postal Service or via online link for an electronic version of the survey) amongst their members. In addition, an example of the survey and an introduction letter was provided to the head(s) of the organization to show that the study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Rutgers University, to assure that participation in the study is voluntary, and that participants would be guaranteed complete anonymity if they decide to participate.

***The in-depth, open-ended interview process.*** Face-to-face interviews were conducted from October 2010 to February 2011. Prospective interviewees were randomly chosen amongst community leaders in each of the target cities. Approximately two to three interviews were conducted in each city (a total of eight interviews were conducted) with each interview lasting between 30 minutes to an hour. Interviews were recorded and transcribed. Participants also signed an informed consent form that was approved by IRB, which informed participants of the interview procedure, risks and benefits of the study, confidentiality, and the guarantee that complete anonymity would be granted. It also allowed participants to consent to a digital recording of the interview and provided information as to how to contact the Institutional Review Board at Rutgers University for further questions or inquiries. Participants who consented to being interviewed also received a copy of the consent form.

### **3.9 Coding process**

***Descriptive case study research.*** In order to understand how the Filipino population utilized social capital in the past for social, economic, and political gain, historical data was examined through a deductive approach, which helped to link data to social capital theory. To elaborate, Lewins and Silver (2007) made note of three different types of codes: (1) descriptive codes; (2) interpretive codes; and (3) pattern codes. Descriptive codes were used at the beginning of the coding process to assist in organizing ideas and thoughts related to the theory. In other words, descriptive codes allowed “the organization of data according to what it is descriptively about” (Lewins and Silver, 2007, p. 86). Next, interpretive codes added another layer of meaning by refining existing

concepts or themes, reexamining the coded data for “meaningful concept(s) or relationship(s)” (p. 86), and linking various themes to one another. Then, pattern codes were used to consider “how the themes, concepts, behaviors or processes identified through descriptive and interpretive coding occur<ed> within or are relevant across the dataset” (Lewins and Silver, 2007, p. 86). At this point, there was an investigation of the similarities, differences, and contradictions in the data in order to identify significant patterns.

**Survey.** STATA was used to obtain frequencies on nominal data. Categorical data for variables were coded numerically. In order to categorize gender, for instance, females were coded “1” and males were coded “2”.

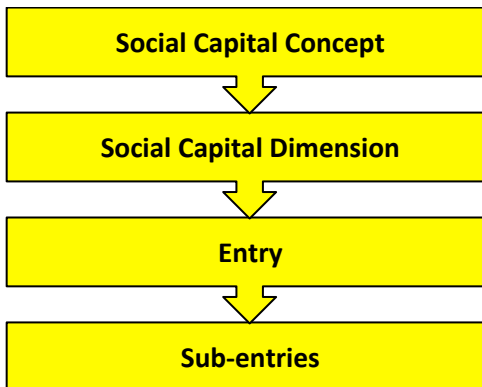
In addition to utilizing STATA to examine the distribution of responses to items in the resource generator survey (the second part of the survey that includes questions #16 to 57), data were also categorized numerically in order to conduct the Mokken Scaling Procedure (MSP) in Statistical Package R. Since participants were able to choose more than one answer to indicate whether they knew of more than one kind of individual who possessed a specific trait or characteristic, each answer was given a binary code: items coded “0” indicated that a family member, friend, colleague, acquaintance, and/or that they, themselves, *did not* possess the particular trait noted in the statement. On the other hand, positive responses were coded as “1” to indicate that participants know someone who *does possess* the specific characteristic noted.

**Interviews.** Interviewees from Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, provided additional and complementary data (Bowen, 2005). After interviews were conducted, data was transcribed via InqScribe Transcription Software and coded (via ATLAS.ti

Qualitative Analysis Software) on a broad spectrum according to the dimensions of social capital, which include: (1) groups and networks; (2) trust and solidarity; (3) collective action and cooperation; (4) information and communication; (5) social cohesion and inclusion; and (6) empowerment and political action, as exhibited in table 3.1.

Next, the data was categorized according to the concepts that defined each of the dimensions of social capital utilized for this study and entries pertaining to each of the dimensions were identified, thus revealing patterns in the data. Figure 3.1 illustrates the process entailed to organize the data and to find patterns.

**Figure 3.1 Process of finding patterns in the data**



### 3.10 Analysis

***Descriptive case study research.*** Data was organized according to the dimensions of social capital. In the case study research, the findings section also included information on the migration of Filipinos to the U.S., their experience with discrimination, and how they utilized social capital not only to persevere but also in how they leveraged it for



social, economic, and political gain. The last part of this case study provided information that focused more on the Filipino population at present. The material presented illustrates how the resources of social capital are embedded in a social structure, how individuals access these resources, and how these resources are used and/or mobilized by individuals in Filipino communities.

***Community survey/resource generator.*** In order to analyze the data collected from the resource generator survey, the Mokken Scaling Method and tabular analysis was used.

The Mokken Scaling Method is a nonparametric test that was used to “analyze data that comes in frequencies” (Salkind, 2004, p. 262) and investigates “unidirectional latent traits in sets of items...<in order to> measure latent traits in social capital studies” (Van Der Gaag, 2005, p. 70). Through the use of statistical package R, the purpose for conducting Mokken Scale Analysis was:

to find robust and unidimensional scales in sets of items, in a search procedure which starts with the initial assessment of highest associated pairs of items, and continues by subsequent gradual inclusion of well-fitting items until a scale has formed that does not improve further when other items are added (Van Der Ark, 2010b; Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005, p. 17).

The cumulative scale that formed was highly meaningful and is based on Loevinger’s *H*-coefficient, which is “defined as the observed between-item correlation compared to the maximum correlation between items defined by the marginal distribution of the answer pattern:  $H = r/r_{max}$ ” (Molenaar and Sijtsma, 2000; Van Der Ark, 2007; Van Der Gaag, 2002, p. 71). Not only did the Mokken Scaling Method show the likelihood that a resource can be accessed in a network but it is also examined *latent traits* or

characteristics that are unobservable, such as intelligence, attitude, and personality attributes. According to Sijtsma and Molenaar (2002), the use of the term *latent trait* is important because while...

it makes sense to say that one person has more of a latent property than another...it is impossible to find the position of each person on the latent trait by just one question (like asking someone's age) or one observation (like reading someone's body temperature on a thermometer). Indirectly, however, we can infer people's positions on a latent trait by combining their observable answers to a skillfully chosen set of stimuli or questions. This leaves open how we should infer, how we should combine, and what a skillfully chosen set is" (pp. 4-5).

Overall, the Mokken Scaling Procedure is based on the consideration of "specific response probabilities for each specific person-item combination" (pp. 4-5).

Prior to conducting a Mokken Scaling Analysis, it was necessary to get familiar with the dataset by first inspecting the item mean scores (distribution of the responses) and the characteristics of the demographics of the sample population. Then this was followed by an inspection of the inter-item covariances for all pairs of items, which must be nonnegative. If any of the items were negative they were removed before performing a Mokken Scaling Analysis (Molenaar and Sijtsma, 2000).

The tabular analysis used in this study includes an examination of the correlation coefficients and regression analysis. Both correlation and regression analysis was based upon the results obtained from the Mokken Scaling Procedure, which was used to organize the data according to the dimensions of social. In order to examine the relationship between variables, the correlation coefficient was calculated for each pair of items and showed how the variable of one item of social capital changes when the value of another variable (or item of social capital) changes when that particular item was

accessed (Salkind, 2004). Regression analysis was used to investigate whether an association exists between certain population characteristics (that can influence the quality of social capital) and the level to which individuals access social capital resources.

***Personal interviews.*** Personal interviews were recorded and transcribed. In order to examine the results of the interviews conducted, an interpretive approach utilizing content analysis helped to learn and understand how participants view their social worlds. Data was organized through both deductive and inductive approaches.

The use of the inductive approach allowed for the consideration of dimensions and/or themes that the interviewee deemed important, which “allow<ed> researchers to link or ‘ground’ <categorical schemes> to the data from which they derive” (Berg, 2004, p. 273). According to Lewins and Silver (2007), “The general principle underlying inductive approaches to coding is a desire to prevent existing theoretical concepts from over-defining the analysis and obscuring the possibility of identifying and developing new concepts and theories” (p. 84).

For instance, grounded theory, an inductive approach, was established by carrying out the following methodological process: (1) open coding; (2) axial coding; and (3) selective coding (Lewins and Silver, 2007). In open coding, also called unrestricted coding of the data, the researcher “carefully and minutely read(s) the document line by line and word by word to determine concepts and categories that fit the data” (Berg, 2004, p. 281), which was tallied according to themes, concepts, and items in the document. The theme is basically a simple sentence that has a subject and verb. Concepts “involve words grouped together into conceptual clusters (ideas) that

constitute...variables in a typical research hypothesis” (p. 274). Furthermore, fragments of data were examined minutely and will be compared with one another (Lewins and Silver, 2007).

After open coding, axial coding took place. This abstract process required the researcher to review the data again and to reconsider the codes that were generated during open coding. According to Lewins and Silver (2007),

Code labels and the data linked to them are rethought in terms of similarity and difference. Similar codes may be grouped together, merged into higher-level categories or subdivided into more detailed ones. Data are revisited and compared continually as the way codes represent the data is examined” (pp. 84-85).

In essence, the task of axial coding enabled the researcher to explore “the relationships identified between the codes which represent them” (p. 85).

Lastly, selective coding occurred when the data and codes were reviewed again. During this process,

Instances in the data which most pertinently illustrate themes, concepts, relationships, etc., are identified. Conclusions are validated by illustrating instances represented by and grounded in the data. Identified patterns are tested and core categories in the developing theory illustrated. This process will lead to segments of data being chosen to quote and discuss in the final written product of the research project (Lewins and Silver, 2007, p. 85).

Moreover, Berg (2004) states, “The common rule of thumb is that a minimum of three occurrences of something can be considered a pattern” (p. 287). Assessing all the data chunks and categories will lead to the identification of patterns. In the end, grounded theory and established theory will fit together like a puzzle.

Hence, establishing grounded theory for this study required the interviewer to be consistent in asking the same set of questions or to ask questions within specific limits and parameters that continuously adhere to the original focus and main intent of the study. For instance, there may be instances where a probing question is asked in order for the interviewee to understand the original question. Cultural idioms and the lack of understanding cultural idioms were also taken into account, especially in cases where an interviewee's primary language is not English. While the interviewer was culturally sensitive, great care was also taken so as to not lead the interviewee (Berg, 2004).

Initiation of the analytical process began with a broad examination of the data, which captured maximum coverage of the theoretical aspects of social capital. This included making additional observations and note taking during the process and to consider how variables prove grounded theory. As the process continued, familiarity and focus to details lead to a tight and focused conclusion of the use of social capital in ethnic communities (Berg, 2004).

Furthermore, the deductive approach was utilized in order to ensure that the qualitative data that was analyzed and the patterns that were found during the inductive approach were linked to the categorical themes as suggested by social capital theory, thus acting as a reference in order to remind the researcher to ensure that a linkage existed between the issue or data and the social capital dimension or concept (Berg, 2004; Trochim, 2001). This step helped to ensure validity and reliability of the data.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Findings: Case Study**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a case study of the Filipino-American community in the United States. First, the use of social capital amongst Filipinos within the confines of their culture is explored in order to gain a greater understanding of how this group functions and how culture affects their use of social capital on a social, economic, and political level. More specifically, this information is examined according to the dimensions of social capital: groups and networks, trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, information and communication, social cohesion and inclusion, and empowerment and political action.

Then, the migration of Filipinos into the U.S. and the key pieces of legislation that shaped their migration patterns is explored. This is followed by an explanation of the kinds of discrimination that Filipinos faced in the U.S. and how this spurred and affected the formation of Filipino communities in America. Since this information coincides more with the historical context of Filipino migration, it will precede the data detailing the present day Filipino population.

Next, the characteristics of the Filipino population today will be reviewed from a macro-micro perspective by examining the contributions of Filipinos to the U.S. and Florida economy, such as through education, labor, and income, via data from the U.S. Census.

Finally, a closer inspection of Filipino communities located in the target cities for this study (Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Orlando, FL) is presented.

## **4.2 The Social Capital of Filipinos**

Understanding the social capital of Filipinos begins with describing the formation of groups and networks at the individual level, the role of gender in Filipino society and culture, and some of the issues that affect intergenerational groups within the Filipino culture. Understanding how groups and networks form within the Filipino culture will provide a basis as to how levels of trust and solidarity are built and how collective action and cooperation are spurred, how information and communication are used and disseminated, and how all of these elements results in empowerment and political action.

### **4.2.1 Groups and Networks**

*Individual networks.* The Philippine society is “based on a complicated and often baffling web of real and ritual kinship ties—the antithesis of the American ideal of a nation of citizens united in their devotion to the welfare of all” (Karnow, 1989, p. 20). The foundation of Philippine society is the nuclear family. From thereon, “it extends to a larger group based on affinity and consanguinity and through other networks to an extended family system and larger group” (Pido, 1985, p. 18). As a result, the family and extended group form the basis of Philippine social and individual life.

For instance, the act of marriage expands the family unit. In Filipino culture, a family not only regards the fact that they are gaining a son or daughter (rather than

“losing” a son or daughter) but they are also gaining “an alliance with another group” (Pido, 1981, p. 19).

Prior to Spanish rule, Filipinos did not belong to a social group but to a village where dependence was placed upon familial ties. During Spanish rule, Catholic priests imposed Spanish influence by associating the family unit with the Holy family, which included “God the powerful father, the compassionate Virgin mother, and Christ, whose suffering and humiliation matched their own misery” (Karnow, 1989, p. 20). With this, the Catholic custom of godparenthood was introduced,

which fused with the Pre-Hispanic practice of blood covenants with tribal allies to create a network of *compadres*, or ritual relatives. The sponsors of a child’s baptism, for example, became the ceremonial kin of its parents, and the ritual family could expand to astonishing dimensions as well as through weddings, funerals and confirmations (p. 20).

This kind of ritual coparenthood or “compadrazgo” (Posadas, 1999, p. 6) results in “the ethic of reciprocity and patron-client relationships” (p. 6), which is based on the tie of fictive kinship and influences the ways that Filipinos conduct business and political activities. For example, a child may have four or five godparents. Theoretically speaking, if there were five children in a family then a structure of five hundred kin, more or less, can be interwoven into the family. While the religious nature of this custom has dissipated, this custom continues to ensue with networks extending to professional partners, influential military personnel and officers, schoolmates, etc., in hopes of “forging relationships that can later prove socially, economically, or politically useful” (p. 46). Thus, the Filipino-American identity is molded impressionistically and selectively because this life “intersects with those of family members and friends, of



classmates, townmates, and provincemates, and of other fellow Filipino Americans” (Posadas, 1999, p. 80) regardless of whether the individual is Philippine-born or American-born in the U.S. or the Philippines. Children are accustomed to such traditions and are comfortable amongst extended family members and ritual kinfolk. Unlike the American culture, Filipinos are guided by personal relationships rather than institutional relationships.

Overall, the purpose of the family or group is to provide emotional support and material help and, because this is embedded into the culture, the individual expects it. This explains why amidst a high rate of poverty among the majority of the population in the Philippines, there are very few orphanages and homes for the aged.

**Gender.** The Philippines is an egalitarian society where men and women are considered equals and women enjoy equality. Prior to the arrival of the Spaniards to the Philippine Islands, customary laws stated that women had the right to be equal to men; therefore, they had the right to own and inherit property as well as to engage in trade and industry. In addition, they were able to assume the position of chieftainship over the barangay<sup>1</sup> if there were no male heir (Pido, 1986). According to Philippine Historian Alzona Encarnacion, the high regard of Filipino women was even been depicted in myths and legends. Not only does this characteristic distinguish the Filipino culture from other Asian cultures but it also sets it apart from Western, Christian society. In her study of the migration and history of Filipino nurses, Choy (2003) observed,

The racialized evolutionary time line of progress assumed by white American women—in which primitive women could become civilized only under American

---

<sup>1</sup> A barangay is a stratified society comprised of nobles, warriors, freemen, and those considered to be part of the lower echelons of the society (Pido, 1986).

women's tutelage—did not apply to Filipino women. For Filipino women did not need to look to the present or future for civilization, but to their own civilized past (p. 37).

Even until today, women in the Philippines experience gender equality and are placed on equal footing with their male counterparts—whether it comes to employment and occupational status or participation in economic, political, and social activities (Choy, 2003; Espiritu, 1997; Pido, 1986). During the 1970s, for example, the Philippines was one of the few countries in the world where the number of women who were enrolled in or possessed a post-secondary education equaled or exceeded that of men (Espiritu, 1997, p. 67; Pido, 1986, p. 82). More specifically, the number of women in almost all health-related fields dominated with the exception of the medical field, where the ratio between the number of male and female physicians were almost equal (Espiritu, 1997; Pido, 1986). In addition to America's need to address the nursing shortage, this explains why "women have dominated the Filipino immigrant population since 1960" (Espiritu, 1997, pp. 66-67).

This information also suggests that Filipino women influenced the migration patterns in two ways during that time period:

First, women can apply as the principal immigrants under the Third Preference, especially if their educational/occupational credentials (*i.e.*, nursing) are high on the preference list; and second, male immigrants with middle to upper SES and college or professional educational/occupational credentials would most likely have wives with similar backgrounds. Thus the 1965 Immigration Act not only precipitates, but is also selective of women either as secondary or principal immigrants (Pido, 1986, p. 82).

On the whole, Filipinas are not taught to be submissive or passive like in other Asian cultures. Rather, they are encouraged to excel in school and to be leaders in the

community. The value of gender equality also continues to be passed down to Filipino-Americans in the United States, where both men and women are encouraged to pursue political leadership, entrepreneurship, and professional occupations (Nadal, 2004).

***Intergeneration.*** The demographics of the intergenerational population of Filipinos today have been shaped by the migration policies of the past. This has created an amalgamation of first, second, third, and fourth generations of Filipinos who have acculturated into American society as well as a continuing influx of new Filipino immigrants. While elderly Filipinos are concerned about their livelihood in the U.S. and what will become of them, there are concerns as to how second, third, and fourth generations will grapple with issues about their ethnic identity. Overall, the interaction between these differing generations and cultures are important to understand “because they are a consequence of the intergenerational transmission of economic, social and cultural resources and result in specific types of values, situational perceptions and action preferences of the following generation” (Nauck, 2001, p. 466).

To illustrate, Becker, Beyene, and Canalita (2000) studied the immigration patterns of older Filipino-American veterans and their occasional migration between the U.S. and the Philippines. They note that while Filipino American veterans are worried about the uncertainty of their future they are still able to maintain their independence because, simultaneously, they “accrue power and status that ensures their continued centrality in their families” (p. 273). A primary reason why Filipino veterans come to the U.S. is “to collect the financial benefits of citizenship to which they believe they are entitled” (p. 278). Their hardship and near-death experiences as soldiers during World War II reinforces their belief that they have a right to claim their entitlements and

financial benefits of citizenship, such as Supplemental Social Security (SSI) and veterans' retirement, and a moral obligation and responsibility "to take advantage of this opportunity for the sake of their families as well as for themselves" (p. 278).

Furthermore, the entire family of the veteran not only benefits economically but it also raises their social status in Filipino society. Consequently, when elder Filipinos provide an economic contribution they enjoy a greater social status within the family.

But while Filipino veterans seek economic gain to achieve the basics of life, this is further complicated by health problems as a result of old age. In the United States, veterans and their spouses have healthcare benefits and access to healthcare while healthcare in the Philippines is not easily affordable and not always accessible. Thus, these Filipinos are faced with the dilemma of leaving behind good healthcare in the U.S. or the possibility of dying sooner in the Philippines because of a "lack of money to purchase medical care and medications that they consider necessary to control their chronic illnesses" (Becker, Beyene, and Canalita, 2000, p. 285).

Overall, Becker et al. (2000) conclude:

What is most striking about the phenomenon of late-life immigration among Filipino Americans is that the primary actors in this particular story are elderly. Not only are they manipulating power resources and collectively creating social change, but they are also doing so at a time of life that continues to be characterized in the United States as one of little personal power and decreasing agency (p. 288).

On the other hand, upcoming generations face different challenges. Given that the Philippines was once a colony of the United States and the majority of Filipinos are fluent in English and are accustomed to the American culture, it would seem that Filipinos would be able to easily integrate into society. However, the contrary notion

exists. For example, Filipinos do not tend to settle in ethnic enclaves like many other immigrant groups because they are accustomed to the American culture, they are fluent in English, and they possess high educational attainment. But since many Filipinos and Filipino Americans, especially those born in the United States, do not practice their culture on a daily basis—for instance, they “do not live in an ethnic neighborhood, attend school with other Filipino children, or belong to Filipino organizations” (Espiritu, 1994, p. 253)—they must define for themselves as well as for their children what it means to be Filipino. In addition, many Filipino American elders “caution the younger generation not to identify <themselves> as Filipino or to speak the native language but rather to strive toward Whiteness and assimilation” (Nadal, 2004; Tuason, Taylor, Rollings, Harris, and Martin, 2007, p. 362) in order to ease the transition towards integration into society. To continue, this younger generation must define their identity and decide whether they are American or Filipino or both. And they must face the reality of how others would accept them. This worry over identity also feeds into parents’ concern of the possibility that their children are “becoming too Americanized, losing some of the pre-immigration cultural traits and behavior they valued most, such as respect for elders and close social relationships and control” (Pido, 1984, p. 100). Eventually, the friction that can occur in the relationship between the immigrant parent and the “Americanized” child affects social capital. Not only does the parents’ network composition have a direct effect on their children’s socialization but there is also an indirect effect in that it influences the network composition of the child-generation via family climate and parental behavior (Nauck, 2001). In the end, while these notions contribute to the weakening of Filipino ethnic identity and group orientation” (Tuason et al., 2007, p. 362) it results in a

conundrum that questions the extent to which ethnic identity plays a role in the extent to which these individuals exercise democratic participation and how they utilize social capital for the benefit of their community.

#### 4.2.2 Trust and Solidarity

Ritualistic, kinship ties are not only the foundation of building groups and networks of the Filipino culture but it is also a basis for growing levels of trust. The key to understanding the Filipino culture is that children grow up with the knowledge that “these ties impose reciprocal responsibilities that must be observed to avoid the worst of all fates: exclusion from the extended family” (Karnow, 1989, p. 20). Overall, Filipinos are more sensitive to their real and/or ritualistic kin than societal rules.

Similar to Coleman’s (1988a) illustrations of how social capital works, Karnow (1989) describes Filipinos’ obsession with *hiya*, a Tagalog term which expresses...

the supremely important concept of “face.” To behave decorously toward family and friends, and to display respect for an elder, kindness toward an underling, deference toward a superior—all show exemplary *hiya* and are ways to gain face. Failure to exhibit these qualities is *walang hiya*, to act shamelessly and thus lose face in the eyes of others. Equally vital is *utang na loob*, the “debt of gratitude” that Filipinos are ethically expected to repay in return for favors, lest they be guilty of *walang hiya*. A Filipino who renders services piles up credit for the future, since those he has assisted become indebted to him (p. 20).

This pattern of mutual obligation serves as an ideal social security mechanism whereby Filipinos help to raise their siblings and then act as caretaker of their aging parents, to support relatives and/or find them jobs after they become successful, and/or to send remittances and financial support from abroad.

Pido (1981) points out that the concept of *hiya* or self-esteem places extreme emphasis on social acceptance as being a highly valued part of social norms and which guides the social interaction of Filipinos. In other words, this means that individuals are accepted and treated based “for what they are, for what they think they are, or for what they claim to be” (Pido, 1981, p. 24). Pido (1981) further illustrates:

In empirical terms, this means that if a person claims he/she is a professor, then that person should be treated as such, regardless of any private reservations one has about the claim. To show some doubt in a covert manner or to fail to extend to that person the treatment expected would subject the “professor” to *hiya*. On the other hand, Pilipinos want to be treated as persons rather than as adjuncts to roles. They resent interaction based purely “official” or “business” basis (p. 24).

For the most part, the idea of *hiya* functions as a verification mechanism against overstated or embellished assertions. Dishonesty, deceit, and false representations are looked down upon.

#### **4.2.3 Collective Action and Cooperation**

Filipinos place “pakikisama”—which includes social acceptance, the achievement of status and power, and the act of getting along with others in a group—on a pedestal (Nadal, 2004; Posadas, 1999). When it comes to pakikisama, Filipinos thrive on acceptance from peers and therefore yearns to be a collective member of a group or community. As a collective member, he or she will flourish through means of education, entertainment, or politics in order to gain status and power. Success in this regard also requires that the Filipino be at his or her best, mentally speaking, in order to be both socially accepted and socially celebrated (Nadal, 2004). Pakikisama is more than just having “the ability to get along with others” (Posadas, 1999); individuals are expected to

set aside personal preferences for the sake of mutual benefit by seeking consensus and complying with the wishes of the group majority. Furthermore, confrontations are avoided and opinions or information are withheld so as to not disrupt group cohesion (Posadas, 1999).

Filipinos exercise *pakikisama* by organizing together for purposes of camaraderie, encouragement and support, and commonality (such as being of the same provincial or regional origin, occupational or professional organizations, Filipino student associations, religious devotion, and charitable and fraternal associations). Collective action and cooperation also occur under the dominion of an umbrella organization. An umbrella organization is “a multi-organizational community” (Posadas, 1999, p. 85) that is developed when various Filipino organizations come together in unity in order to address the collective interests and goals of the Filipino American community as a whole.

#### **4.2.4 Information and Communication**

Immigrants, themselves, are an ultimate source of information and communication because they naturally assume the role of being a transmigrant. Transmigrants do more than develop and maintain a variety of relationships—such as familial, economic, social, organizations, religious, and political networks—that occur beyond geographical borders; they also “take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously” (Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, 2006, pp. 1-2). More specifically, Filipino immigrants are transmigrants because they continue to further and sustain



“multi-stranded” relationships between the United States and the Philippines (Becker et al., 2000, p. 275).

Even well before the advent and ubiquity of technology and electronic media, maintaining social and kinship ties via family and by being a member in a professional, recreational, and/or cultural organization continues to be a traditional source of communication and information (Espiritu, 1994). For instance, Filipino veterans have always been a key source of information in society because they would bring and deliver information about politics and news of other current events from their travels to and from their native homeland (Becker et al., 2000).

But the process of transnationalism, whereby “immigrants or transmigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Schiller et al., 2006, p. 1), has long been occurring in communities in the Philippines and amongst Filipinos and Filipino Americans in the United States. For instance, Filipino Americans were able to keep abreast of the political climate in their native homeland by reading newspapers, watching television news reports, visiting the Philippines, and receiving news via word of mouth from family and friends traveling from the Philippines, such as when President Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law in the 1970s. Eventually, a burgeoning of anti-Marcos political organizations started by Filipinos throughout the United States sprouted (Ignacio, 2005).

Communication and information, through the means of transnationalism, has also been furthered by technology, such as the internet, global communications, and text messaging. While the internet provides immediate information about news overseas and allows individuals residing in different continents to interact more often through the

means of email, video conferencing, and social media, text messaging offers communication in real time between individuals and transcends beyond geographical boundaries. For example, the resignation of Philippine President Joseph “Erap” Estrada in 2000 was “congregated and organized largely through the use of ‘texting’ through cell phones” (Fukuyama, 2000; Ignacio, 2005, p. 4) by demonstrators. On the whole, the internet and text messaging are more than vehicles of communication and information; they have impacted history in a way that no one has ever thought possible

#### **4.2.5 Social Cohesion and Inclusion**

While the notions of “compadrazgo” and “pakikisama” in the Filipino culture are meant to include others and encourage cohesiveness among Filipinos in the Philippines and the United States, they can also be utilized as a means to exclude others. Regardless of whether an individual is Filipino or Filipino American, members of a particular group—whether it be a family or an extension of a kin network, a club or volunteer organization—will usually include only those individuals who are regarded as being a part and invested member of the group. Posadas (1999) details:

Filipinos customarily hold that because family and kin groups take precedence over other loyalties and associations, the demands of anyone or anything outside should necessarily be subordinate. Loyalty to one’s own group may, in consequence, foster rivalry with other groups (p. 47).

In Filipino American associations, this is why relationships or “bonds based on kinship or on provincial origin can sometimes define preference for or opposition to candidates for office in acrimonious election contests” (Posadas, 1999, p. 47), thereby resulting in conflict and tension. Also, competition for position and power not only creates discord

among Filipinos in these organizations but it can also fragment unity. Hence, the outcome is a new cluster(s) of Filipino organizations (Posadas, 1999).

#### **4.2.6 Empowerment and Political Action**

The complexity of the kinship system not only has remained virtually unchanged since the pre-Spanish era but accounts for the social rigidity of the culture. Since childhood, Filipinos are rather passive and are taught to respect and not rebel against authority. Citizens have preconceived notions that the poor will stay poor and the rich will continue to assume their wealth. Thus, it is unusual to hear of a man from humble origins to reach the upper echelons. A Filipino journalist remarked, “It’s not what you are and what you can do but who you are, your name and your connections” (Karnow, 1989, p. 20). Filipino politicians, for example, depend on the *compadrinazgo* system to build popularity and political support. And candidates running for national office often appeal to constituents’ common provincial or regional loyalties for votes (Posadas, 1999).

On the other hand, Filipino Americans utilize politics so as to create an arena where Filipinos can unify efforts towards mutual interests and take collective action for rights and privileges like political representation, civil rights protection, and to improve well-being (Bonus, 2000). According to Posadas (1999),

While not alienating Filipino American voters who place primary value in shared ethnicity, a candidate must simultaneously convince a broader constituency that issues matter more than heritage—a task which has sometimes seemed easier for the American-born rather than the immigrant (p. 91).

But even though Filipino Americans, specifically, tend to seek broad consensus rather than to rely on the *compadrinazgo* and kinship systems, these efforts are still insufficient

in mobilizing the mass of Filipinos. As a result, Filipinos continue to be underrepresented both within and beyond the Asian community (Nadal, 2004).

Thus, the question remains of whether a political linkage exists with mainstream society and if any steps can be taken to increase political participation amongst Filipinos and Filipino-Americans, especially since it is rare for Filipinos to discuss political concerns with family, friends, and acquaintances. Few Filipinos follow political current events and immigrant Filipinos are less interested than American-born Filipinos and American-Filipino mestizos to become a member of a political party (Oades, n.d.). Filipino immigrants, for instance, do not reveal or inquire about political party preferences so as to not breach ballot secrecy. Even though Filipinos “are one of the largest groups within the Asian/Pacific Islander American category” (Nadal, 2004, p. 49), they are still underrepresented even in the Asian American community.

Since representation of the Filipino community is limited in number, many Filipinos and Filipino organizations have sought to encourage participation and representation for Filipinos by being part of the panethnic Asian American framework (Espiritu, 1992; Nadal, 2004). Coalescing with other Asian groups and organizations has brought about greater political visibility and strength, especially since other minority groups, like Hispanics and black Americans, overshadow them (Espiritu, 1992).

But in many cases, Filipinos have taken themselves out of the panethnic Asian American model (Espiritu, 1992) because their own concerns are not being recognized within the Asian American community (Nadal, 2004). Filipino groups and communities that are well established, have strength in numbers, possess human and organizational resources, and have political experience that can function independently of the Asian

American community. As a result, they have established themselves in areas where the Filipino community is highly visible, such as in areas like California and Hawaii (Espiritu, 1992; Nadal, 2004). In 1988, for example, Filipino Americans banded together in order to pass California Senate Bill 1813, “which requires state personnel surveys or statistical tabulations to classify persons of Filipino ancestry as Filipino rather than as Asian or Hispanic” (Nadal, 2004, p. 49). Achieving this type of recognition not only showed the visibility and political strength of Filipino Americans but this also means that there will be equitable consideration for them to obtain affirmative action benefits— independent of the Asian American categories—from outreach programs or funds in the State of California.

In other instances, Filipinos have joined efforts with other communities and minority groups. Nadal (2004) illustrates:

F/Pilipino Americans have established their own racial/ethnic designation to secure the appropriate representation in higher education and public health. At the same time, other major minority groups (particularly African Americans and Latinos) have also begun to recognize F/Pilipinos as unique racial/ethnic group, thus forming alliances that embrace F/Pilipino as a distinct entity. Chicano/Latinos have connected with F/Pilipinos as a result of the Chicano-F/Pilipino alliance during the United Farm Workers movement. African Americans have welcomed F/Pilipino Americans because of the allegiances forged through the urban hip/hop culture. This historically positive and embracing experience with other minority groups contributes to a unique F/Pilipino American identity” (pp. 49-50).

Consequently, seeking alternative paths of civic engagement has bridged the Filipino community to other communities. In addition to a greater acceptance of Filipinos as legitimate participants in the “system of mainstream politics” (Bonus, 2000, p. 101), Filipinos are also recognized as participating “on their own terms...<which> involve an

openness to their voices, a recognition of their needs, and the pursuit of their interests” (p. 101).

In the end, these efforts have also created an environment conducive to honing future leaders. According to Posadas (1999),

Filipino American appointees achieved their positions after years of experience in their communities or in their professions. Some share an almost life-long commitment to traditional Democratic political values and consciously aim at using their power to achieve the outcomes they have long sought (p. 92).

#### **4.3 The Migration of Filipinos to the U.S.**

The relationship between the United States and the Philippines began during the Spanish American War of 1898. During this time, Filipinos assisted American forces in fighting the Spaniards. As a result, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States under the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898 (Bonus, 2000; La Croix, 2006). For the United States, the Philippine Islands’ rich resources contributed to the growth of the U.S. economy by fusing its commerce into the Asian markets. Furthermore, it expanded America’s political reign and provided an avenue to further democracy and democratic ideals (Bonus, 2000; Brinkley, 1998).

Soon following, Filipinos were encouraged to immigrate to and settle in America (Bonus, 2000; La Croix, 2006). According to Cordova (1983), Filipinos arrived to America in four waves:

- (1) First wave: before 1906
- (2) Second wave: 1906 to 1945
- (3) Third wave: 1945 to 1965
- (4) Fourth wave: after 1965

***First wave.*** Filipino immigrants during the first and second wave of migration to America consisted of agricultural workers, students, and military personnel.

From 1906 until the 1930s, Filipino contract workers, also known as *sakadas*, were primarily recruited to work on agricultural plantations in Hawaii and the West Coast (Bonus, 2000; La Croix, 2006). By 1910, there was a growing reliance on *sakadas* by Hawaiian sugar growers, which arose from fears of U.S. anti-Asian immigration policies that soon barred entry of cheap, Japanese labor.

In 1903, the United States government established the *pensionado* program, which provided government scholarships to Filipino students nominated by their respective province in the Philippines. Although the intention of this program was to award scholarships based on merit, local prominence and connections greatly influenced the selection process; thus, scholarship recipients were predominantly the sons of elite Filipino families (Bonus, 2000; Posadas, 1999). According to Posadas (1999), “In return for each year of education in the United States, *pensionados* were required to work for the government in the Philippines for the same length of time” (p. 16). The ultimate aim of this program was to “bind current and future Filipino leaders to the American colonial administration” (p. 16). In addition, Filipino students in America supported themselves and contributed to the local economy by taking jobs as service workers in restaurants, hotels, private clubs, as personal servants, and even as factory workers for the Ford Motor Company in Detroit (Posadas, 1999).

First recruited in 1899 and organized around 1901, the Philippine Scouts were the first and last of the colonial American troops (Olson, 2007). Under the direct control of the U.S. Army, over 5,500 Filipinos (which composed about fifty companies) served as

Philippine Scouts even while the Philippine-American War was underway (Kramer, 2006; Olson, 2007; Posadas, 1999). Their main purpose was to help reestablish order, peace, and tranquility to troubled areas, such as “subduing the fierce and warlike Moro tribes” (Olson, 2007, ¶ 4) in the Mindanao islands in the southern areas of the Philippines and in the Jolo Archipelago. In addition to being part of the combat forces for the U.S. Army, they also served as guides because of their knowledge of the local geography, linguistic skills, and social knowledge (Kramer, 2006).

Furthermore, the U.S. Navy began recruiting Filipinos in 1904, beginning with just over 300 recruited that year. Between 1918 and 1933, the number of Filipinos in the U.S. Navy grew steadily and never fell below 3,900. By 1922, Filipinos comprised approximately 5.7% of the Navy’s enlisted force (Posadas, 1999).

***Second wave.*** By 1940, there were more than 45,000 Filipinos residing in the United States. It is likely that a third of this population who worked as *sakadas* in Hawaii eventually transmigrated to the mainland. Many of this population, including new immigrants, took seasonal agricultural jobs in the Pacific coast states, worked in the canneries of Alaska as *alaskeros*, or entered the service occupation field. Unlike Chinese and Japanese laborers, Filipinos were considered to be U.S. nationals and were excluded from anti-Asian immigration policies. For example, while the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reed Act) limited the number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States, it excluded Asian immigrants. But since the Philippines was a U.S. colony, Filipinos were considered to be U.S. nationals and had the freedom to travel to the United States (U.S. Department of State, n.d.).



And since U.S. military bases, such as Subic Bay, were being installed in the Philippines, the number of Filipinos recruited to the military began to increase and rose from “less than ten in 1903 to about six thousand by the 1920s and four thousand by the 1930s” (Bonus, 2000, p. 40).

Prior to World War II, the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 was passed, in which the United States promised to grant independence to the Philippines after ten years. (But this promise was not executed until 1946—after the end of WWII.) But with the passing of this bill, immigration from the Philippines was immediately restricted to a quota of fifty per year. While Filipinos were soon excluded like all other Asians, the bill continued to allow Hawaii’s sugar plantation owners to recruit Filipino laborers if they were able to demonstrate a need. As a result, Filipinos already residing and working in the U.S. were not able to visit their native land unless they were willing to relinquish their right to return to the U.S. (Posadas, 1999).

Furthermore, while the United States government tried to encourage Filipinos to return to the Philippines through the Repatriation Act of 1935 by providing federal funds to pay for travel expenses, less than 0.05% of the Filipino population in the U.S. (approximately 2,200 Filipinos) took advantage of the incentive (Bonus, 2000; La Croix, 2006; Posadas, 1999).

But the event of WWII “reversed the course of Filipino immigration, as Filipinos were actively recruited once again, this time to serve in the military mobilization efforts against the axis powers” (Bonus, 2000, p. 41) and to protect U.S. interests. But since Filipinos were U.S. nationals and not U.S. citizens, the Selective Service Act could not be enforced in the Philippines. So in order to draft a large number of Filipinos in the U.S.

army, the act was modified in order to allow for the enlistment of Filipinos—but into separate units. Overall, approximately eight thousand Filipinos contributed their efforts in the war and served as army men, seamen, radio operators, stewards, and war bond investors. And because news of Filipino's assistance in the wartime efforts helped to ease racial discrimination, this paved the way for a new wave of Filipino immigrants that included war veterans, war brides, students (which now included female students), workers, and their dependents (Bonus, 2000). For instance, the War Brides Act of 1945 and the Fiancées Act of 1946 allowed Filipina wives, children and fiancées of U.S. servicemen entry into the U.S. despite the annual quota restrictions that were in force. Also, the Filipino Naturalization Act of 1946 allowed Filipinos to apply for U.S. citizenship (Bonus, 2000). And the Luce-Celler Act of 1946 allowed remaining Filipinos who came to the U.S. before the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act access to naturalization (Posadas, 1999). Plus, with the signing of the Military Bases Agreement by the U.S. and the Philippines (after the Philippines was granted independence in 1946), the U.S Navy was allowed to continue the enlistment of Filipinos—who were now eligible to become U.S. citizens. As the Military Bases Agreement continued through the Vietnam War, the number of recruits that were accepted increased from 1,000 to 2,000 per year. Furthermore, many restrictive laws were disengaged, such as the alien land laws that disallowed Filipinos from owning or leasing land, and other opportunities continued to expand, especially for family reunification and occupation (Bonus, 2000; Posadas, 1999).

***Third wave.*** From after the end of WWII to 1965, the number of Filipinos in the U.S. more than doubled. This is mainly due to two specific pieces of legislation which are considered to be turning points in the U.S. political economy and Filipino immigration:

the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 and the Immigration Act of 1965 (Bonus, 2000). The McCarran-Walter Act made the idea of family reunification a traditional and normal circumstance rather than an extraordinary case. It allowed U.S. citizens to bring their foreign-born spouses and children outside the confines of the quota system. According to Posadas (1999), the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 replaced the national origins quotas and with “a system of family and occupational preferences and continued to permit spouses and children of U.S. citizens to enter without limitation” (p. 31). In addition to raising the quota for other Asians, the annual quota for Filipinos increased from 100 to 20,000. Originally, those who sponsored the 1965 Act thought that the potential for further immigration could be lessened through the family preferences aspect especially since there were a small number of Asian-born citizens inhabiting the U.S. in the mid-1960s. On the contrary, reestablishing family ties became even more critical for Filipino American families who initially migrated to the U.S. under the occupational or professional preference aspect, such as for Filipino physicians and nurses (Posadas, 1999).

Moreover, the State Department’s Exchange Visitor Program (EVP), which was created under the Information and Education Act of 1948, provided another source for Filipino migration to the U.S. It offered a two-year, post-graduate study and clinical experience in U.S. hospitals to foreign nursing graduates provided that they return to their native homeland to utilize and share their newly acquired knowledge and skills. However, not only did this eventually become a convenient avenue in addressing the nursing shortage in many inner-city hospitals in the U.S., but it provided labor “at a cost cheaper than hiring U.S.-trained nurses” (Posadas, 1999, p. 30). As a result, an

interdependent relationship developed between the Philippines (as being the sending country) and the U.S. (as being the receiving country) and the number of nurses who migrated from the Philippines surged from 7,000 in 1948 to 57,000 in 1953 (Posadas, 1999).

Thus, Filipinos who migrated to the U.S. between 1945 and 1965 along with “immigrants of the 1970s and 1980s who also sponsored relatives to come over” (Bonus, 2000, p. 44) comprised the “third wave” of Filipino immigrants to migrate to America.

#### **4.4 A History of Discrimination**

Like other stories and experiences of journeys to other lands, the plight of Filipino immigrants is no different. The history of Filipino migration to the U.S. may sound rather mundane but it is an important piece that cannot be ignored for the lives of a group of people and its culture were shaped, influenced, and affected under the realm of the American culture. The experiences of Filipinos to undergo naturalization, as being part of the American labor force, and the barriers they faced while serving as military personnel and healthcare professionals provides examples of their struggles against discrimination.

***Naturalization.*** During the onset of Filipino migration to the U.S. and prior to the Filipino Naturalization Act of 1946, Filipinos were denied eligibility for U.S. citizenship even though they were U.S. nationals who could migrate without restrictions. Additionally, many of them had children who were born on U.S. soil and were, hence, U.S. citizens. As a result, Filipinos in the United States not only lacked voting rights but they could not “be absolutely sure of their future stats and security” (Posadas, 1999, p. 23). Prior to the outbreak of WWII, only African Americans were eligible for

naturalization via the Fourteenth Amendment (which was ratified in 1868) and the Naturalization Act of 1870.

***Labor.*** Because Filipinos were noncitizens, “they had virtually no protection from labor exploitation because they had no official representatives from their homeland and, therefore, could be threatened with deportation” (Bonus, 2000, p. 38). They earned low wages and worked under harsh environments, which hindered social and economic mobility.

Consequently, Filipinos organized themselves into unions and became active in the labor movement. For instance, they formed the Filipino Federation of Labor in 1911. They coalesced with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which was led by African Americans, in the 1930s. And in the 1960s, they united with Cesar Chavez and the Mexican American National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), which eventually led to the formation of the AFL-CIO’s United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) (Posadas, 1999).

Unfortunately, intense nativism was the status quo of the time and Filipinos were not immune to being victims of racism. For example, it was a norm for signs to be posted outside of business establishments, such as hotels and restaurants, forbidding the entry of Filipinos. Because they were a cheaper source of labor, Filipinos were prey to violent confrontations and racial antagonism by displaced white laborers and farm workers. Also, antimiscegenation laws forbade male laborers from marrying outside their race—most particular, prohibiting them from marrying whites (Bonus, 2000). Posadas (1999) also pointed out that even those who also “successfully complete<d> their education(s)

sometimes found their entry into their chosen profession barred by discrimination” (p. 20).

And because they were U.S. nationals, Filipinos were perceived by whites as being a great threat because they were excluded from immigration restrictions, such as the anti-Asian immigration policies of the early twentieth century. Moreover, Bonus (2000) emphasized, “Filipino laborers were also viewed as ‘sexual’ threats because of their widely known enjoyment of dancing and other forms of entertainment, and their frequent companionship with white women” (p. 39). Such anti-sentiment resulted in an anti-Filipino movement that further fueled racial antagonism and eventually led to legislation that would place strict limits on Filipino immigration. Historian Lorraine Crouchett (1983) summarized it best:

This movement to prevent further Filipino immigration, like the agitation against Chinese and Japanese immigration, was rooted largely in the belief that the Filipino workers were an economic threat and complaints that Filipino immorality and unassimilability were detrimental and dangerous to the social conditions (Bonus, 2000, p. 39; Crouchett, 1983, p. 39).

**Military.** Filipinos also faced barriers in the military from the onset. During the Spanish-American War, for example, American white troops brought discrimination practices with them to the Philippines. They characterized Filipinos as being “filthy, diseased, lazy, and treacherous” (Kramer, 2006, pp. 102-103) and they also cursed them as being “damned niggers” (pp. 102). Furthermore, Filipino soldiers were segregated according to their respective “tribe.” This prevented communication and collaboration with other “tribes” within their home region. Kramer (2006) states, “For U.S. commanders, winning the <Spanish-American> war would mean fomenting and

attempting to direct race war between specific Philippine tribes” (p. 114). For the most part, U.S. officers did not fully trust the Scouts and they even blocked Filipinos from being promoted to officer positions. The general consensus amongst American officers was that all Filipinos are insurgents. Consequently, this sentiment led to “the oppression of thousands of innocent natives” (p. 114).

But racism and distrust against Filipinos extended beyond the Philippine Islands. In 1920, for instance, the Bureau of Navigation thought that it was in the best interest of policy to not rate Filipinos in positions other than messmen and musicians braces in the U.S. military (Posadas, 1999). Even after WWI, it was a continuing practice to confine Filipinos to positions as stewards and mess boys, irrespective of their educational achievement. And although Filipinos proudly served the U.S. military during WWII via the Selective Service Act, enlistment of Filipinos was allowed only if they were grouped into separate units. Bonus (2000) notes,

Many war veterans from the Philippines were promised automatic citizenship, but only four thousand could avail themselves of it before the commitment was rescinded in 1946. This issue would be debated and contested by many war veterans later, from the 1960s to the present (pp. 41-42).

Finally recognizing the role of Filipinos in the U.S. military during WWII, President Obama signed the WWII Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Fund (under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009) on February 17, 2009. It provides surviving Filipino WWII veterans with a one-time lump-sum compensation of \$9,000 for non-U.S. citizens and \$15,000 for those who are U.S. citizens. (Go, 2009). Eighty-eight year old Patrick Ganio, president of the American Coalition for Filipino Veterans, stressed:

“It does not correct the injustice and discrimination done to us 60 years ago... We were not granted school benefits. We were not granted hospital benefits... And in the 60 years, several billion dollars were saved by the U.S. government for not paying 250,000 of us... Now we are only 15,000. And the amount that they're giving us is a small amount. But we appreciate that. Because it will finally recognize our services... as active service in the armed forces of the United States” (Go, 2009, ¶ 10).

***Healthcare field.*** Health personnel from the Philippines were also afflicted by discrimination practices. In one instance, heightened feelings of xenophobia by American nurses fueled the notion that Filipino nurses were “an alleged threat to the U.S. health care system” (Choy, 2003, p. 167). Also, Philippine and U.S. recruitment agencies exploited Filipino nurse migrants in the 1970s with unethical recruitment practices that included “misleading advertisements, low wages, and poor working conditions” (Choy, 2003, p. 166). Furthermore, controversial licensing examinations were unfair to Filipino nurses. For example, each state regulated its own nursing licensure standards and requirements. As the demand for nurses increased, “individual states implemented policies to ease the licensure process for foreign-trained nurses” (Choy, 2003, p. 168). However, the upsurge in the number of foreign nurses and the expansion of cultural diversity made individual evaluations more difficult. Hence, all state boards required nurses to pass the State Board Test Pool Examination (SBTPE). Consequently, a 1976 national report stated that 77% of foreign-trained nurses who took the exam failed. Even worse, the failure rate in individual states was higher. According to Choy (2003),

In New York, the failure rates of foreign-trained nurses taking the examination from 1972 to 1974 for the first time ranged from 63.6 percent to 90.9 percent. The failure rates of repeat candidates were also high, ranging from 52.2 percent to 86.6 percent. In California... 80 to 90 percent of Filipino nurses failed... These failure rates were particularly alarming when contrasted with those of U.S.-trained



nurses, the vast majority of whom passed the SBTPE, at rates of 85 to 90 percent” (p. 169).

Overall, these cases and instances like these contributed to a hostile environment where Filipino nurses were set up to fail. Hence, Filipino nurses banded together and created organizations, such as the National Federation of Philippine Nurses Associations in the United States (now known as the Philippine Nurses Association of America), the National Alliance for Fair Licensure of Foreign Nurse Graduates, and the Foreign Nurse Defense Land, which provided an avenue of empowerment and protection (Choy, 2003).

#### **4.5 Social Capital: A solution to fighting discrimination and the formation of Filipino communities in America**

The outward discrimination of Filipinos during the early twentieth century—including the banning of Filipinos from private social clubs and gatherings and public ostracism at places of accommodation such as beaches, parks, restaurants, theaters, and nightspots—made it difficult for them to find public recreational activities and entertainment where they would be welcome, especially in a white-dominated environment (Cordova, 1983). Aside from lacking official representation from their native homeland, there were no pieces of legislation in place to protect Filipinos. Furthermore, it was seldom that “white government officials” (p. 185) recognized the needs of local Filipino Americans.

In order to fight racial injustice and discrimination and to save themselves from embarrassment and likely racial confrontations, Filipinos depended upon their peers, their involvement in groups and organizations, and the community as a source of leisure and

entertainment as well as refuge. They recognized that “numbers provide security and some measure of well-being” (Cordova, 1983, p. 185). Overall, Cordova (1983) highlights that the “Filipino community” is a phenomenon in itself. He continues to say:

It has been said that whenever two Pinoys<sup>2</sup> had gotten together, they formed a club. Further, it has been said that whenever those two Pinoys had gotten together in the past with a third, the three Pinoys immediately organized themselves into a Filipino Community” (p. 175).

Hence, Filipino communities evolved based on kinship, friendship, and mutual interests and, in order to function, Filipino community centers occupied rented space. The very first Filipino social club, known as the Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispano Filipino de Nueva Orleans or the Hispanic-Filipino Benevolent Society of New Orleans, formed in 1870 (Cordova, 1983). Prior to WWII, bachelor Filipinos found camaraderie in “Little Manilas” and in farmworker camps. Filipina brides were also able to find camaraderie by taking part in community events and to fill the void of loneliness, especially in a foreign culture. In Seattle, for example, the Philippine War Brides Association was formed in 1949 and its members did much to support the community, encourage unity, and promote the Filipino culture. According to Posadas (1999),

Under its auspices, Seattle’s war brides organized a dance troupe and a glee club to preserve and disseminate Filipino culture, studied together to facilitate passing the U.S. citizenship exam, supported cash awards to members’ children upon high school and college graduation, offered financial assistance when members’ families experienced illness or death, and raised money to help finance the 1965 acquisition of a Filipino Community Center in Seattle” (pp. 28-29).

---

<sup>2</sup> The term “Pinoy” is the slang term for Filipino.

In addition, Filipino families in these communities helped one another to care “for their purely Filipino and their racially mixed children” (Posadas, 1999, p. 24).

Filipinos also formed clubs and associations that reflected their interests. They formed religious organizations that reflected their faith, like the Protestant YMCA’s Filipino Students’ Christian Movement and the Catholic Gibbons Society, and recreational groups, like Filipino baseball leagues. American branches of fraternal organizations were also formed, like the Knights of Rizal and the Filipino Federation of America (Posadas, 1999).

Moreover, Filipinos’ “strong regional linguistic consciousness” (Pido, 1981, p. 17) also became a foundation for the many *gesellschaft*-type Filipino organizations in the United States. For example, when Filipinos first meet one another, they “identify themselves by their regional or language affinities” (p. 17). Hence the reason why many Filipino communities also include regional and provincial organizations, such as the United Ilocano Association which was created in 1935, and the Bikol National Association of America which was founded in 1983.

Overall, the Filipino community can also be viewed as a formal organization that provides an opportunity for members to share their common ancestry and a way to express provincial and regional pride. In addition, many of these communities are governed by a charter, constitution, and/or bylaw that allow leaders and officers to be elected in order to address the needs of the Filipino community. To illustrate, the Filipino Community of Seattle—which has been in existence since 1931 and abides by a charter—serves a variety of functions: promoting the Filipino culture; fostering and protecting the interests of Filipinos; nurturing the relationship between Filipinos and non-

Filipinos; sponsoring and encouraging educational, social, and cultural activities and events; supporting and inculcating civic spirit and cultural pride among Filipinos; and coordinating with local, state, and federal governments regarding issues that affect the welfare of Filipinos and Filipino Americans (Cordova, 1983). First coming into existence in 1935 as the Philippine Commonwealth Council of Seattle, the group is still alive today and is committed “to promoting cultural diversity, ethnic pride, unity, and educational and socio-economic empowerment among Filipino Americans in the Pacific Northwest” (Filipino Community of Seattle, 2011, ¶ 1).

#### 4.6 The Fourth Wave: the Filipino population today

**Population.** Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the size of the Filipino population has grown tremendously from an estimated 160 Filipinos (about zero percent of the total population) in 1910 to an estimated 2,512,686 in 2010—now encompassing about 0.81% of the total U.S. population (see table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 Number of Filipinos in the U.S., 1910-2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b># of Filipinos</b>	<b>% Filipinos</b>
1910	91,972,266	160	0.00
1920	105,710,620	5,603	0.01
1930	122,775,046	45,208	0.04
1940	131,669,275	45,253	0.03
1950	150,697,361	61,636	0.04
1960	179,323,175	176,310	0.10
1970	203,211,926	343,060	0.17
1980	226,545,805	774,652	0.34
1990	248,709,873	1,406,770	0.57
2000	281,421,906	1,850,314	0.66
2010	309,349,689	2,512,686	0.81

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 1910-2010.

**Table 4.2 Number of Filipinos in Florida, 1910-2010**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Population</b>	<b># of Filipinos</b>	<b>% Filipinos</b>
1960	4,951,560	1,361	0.03
1970	6,789,443	5,092	0.07
1980	9,746,324	15,252	0.16
1990	12,937,926	31,945	0.25
2000	15,982,824	54,310	0.34
2010	18,801,310	90,223	0.48

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 1960-2010.

Information from the 2010 U.S. Census reveals that the Filipino population, in itself, is a diverse group (see table 4.3). When examining this population more closely, the total estimated number of Filipinos in the “Filipino alone or in combination” category is just over 3.36 million or about 1.1% of the Filipino population. Of this population, about 77.4% indicated that they are “Filipino alone”; roughly 18.1% indicated that they are Filipino and another race; 3.9% stated that they are a combination of Filipino and two other races; and approximately 0.6% indicated that they are a combination of Filipino and three other races.

The Filipino population consists of both native-born and foreign-born citizens (see table 4.4). Of the total U.S. population of Filipinos, an estimated 34.1% are native-born American citizens while approximately 65.9% are foreign-born. Of the foreign-born Filipino population in the U.S., about 64.5% are naturalized U.S. citizens as opposed to the roughly 35.5% who are not naturalized. Moreover, about 43.2% of Filipino foreign-born citizens immigrated to the U.S. prior to 1990; roughly 24.9% came to the U.S. between 1990 and 1999; and approximately 31.9% arrived 2000 or later.

**Table 4.3 Race Composition of Filipinos in the U.S., 2010**

	<b>Filipino alone or in any combination</b>
<b>Total population</b>	<b>3,360,909</b>
One race	77.4%
Two races	18.1%
Three races	3.9%
Four or more races	0.6%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

**Table 4.4 Place of Birth, Citizenship Status and Year of Entry of Filipinos, 2010**

	<b>Filipino population</b>	
	<b>U.S.</b>	<b>Florida</b>
<u>Total population of Filipinos</u>	2,512,686	82,287
Native born	855,723 34.1%	24,064 29.2%
Foreign born	1,656,963 65.9%	58,223 70.8%
<u>Citizenship status of foreign born</u>	1,656,963	58,223
<i>Naturalized U.S. citizen</i>	64.5%	64.1%
<i>Not a U.S. citizen</i>	35.5%	35.9%
<u>Year of entry of foreign born</u>	1,656,963	58,223
<i>Entered before 1990</i>	43.2%	41.9%
<i>Entered 1990 to 1999</i>	24.9%	23.4%
<i>Entered 2000 or later</i>	31.9%	34.6%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

Also, the characteristics of the Filipino population in Florida are comparable to the characteristics of Filipinos nationwide. Of the total population of Filipinos in Florida, about 29.2% are born in the U.S. while 70.8% are foreign born. In regards to the citizenship status of foreign-born Filipinos in Florida, 64.1% are naturalized U.S. citizens while 35.9% are not. Additionally, 41.9% of Filipinos who are foreign-born arrived to the U.S. prior to 1990; 23.4% entered the U.S. between 1990 and 1999; and 34.6% came after 2000.

***Education.*** The Filipino population in the United States continues to be amongst the best prepared academically and amongst the most professionally trained—catapulting them into the higher echelons of the economic ladder (Posadas, 1999). According to the American Community Survey from the U.S. Census (see table 4.5), approximately 10.4% of the total U.S. population has a graduate or professional degree as compared to the nearly 8.4% of the Filipino population. In addition, about 40.1% of Filipinos in the United States (25 years and over) have a bachelor's degree as compared to 17.7% of the total U.S. population over the age of 25. The number of individuals who stated that they have some college or possess an associate's degree is comparable between the total U.S. population (at about 28.9%) and the total population of Filipinos across the nation (at around 29.1%). While roughly 28.5% of the total U.S. population are high school graduates, about 14.7% of the Filipino population are also high school graduates. These characteristics are somewhat similar within the State of Florida. For instance, the number of individuals who possess a graduate or professional degree is the same for both the total population in Florida and the total Filipino population in Florida at about 9.2%. In regards to possessing a bachelor's degree, about 42.6% of Filipinos in the State of

Florida have a bachelor's degree as compared to 16.6% of the total Florida population over the age of 25. The number of individuals who stated that they have some college or possess an associate's degree is comparable between the total Florida population (at about 29.7%) and the total population of Filipinos in Florida (at approximately 27.5%). While approximately 29.9% of the total Florida population are high school graduates, about 14.0% of the Filipino population in Florida are also high school graduates.

**Table 4.5 Educational Attainment of Filipinos (25 years and over), 2010**

	United States		Florida	
	Total Pop	Filipino Pop	Total Pop	Filipino Pop
<b>Total Population 25 years and over</b>	<b>204,288,933</b>	<b>1,798,333</b>	<b>13,077,179</b>	<b>60,803</b>
High school graduate	28.5%	14.7%	29.9%	14.0%
Some college or associate's degree	28.9%	29.1%	29.7%	27.5%
Bachelor's degree	17.7%	40.1%	16.6%	42.6%
Graduate or professional degree	10.4%	8.4%	9.2%	9.2%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

**Occupation.** When it comes to occupational status, Filipinos occupy a variety of jobs (see table 4.6). Overall, Filipinos (16 years and over) throughout the U.S. occupy more positions in management, business, science, and arts than in any other category at an estimated 42.8% (Filipino population in the U.S.) and 47.9% (Filipino population in Florida). Following, about 23.9% of Filipinos in the U.S. and about 22.0% of Filipinos in Florida occupy sales and office positions. Within the service occupations category, about 20.8% of Filipinos nationwide and about 20.6% of the Filipino population in Florida occupy positions in this area. In the production, transportation, and material moving occupations category and in the natural resources, construction, and maintenance



occupations, nearly 8.7% of Filipinos in the U.S. and about 7.6% of Filipinos in Florida occupy positions in the production, transportation, and material moving occupations category. And the number of Filipinos who occupy positions in the natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations field is significantly less with about 3.9% of Filipinos in the U.S. and approximately 1.9% of Filipinos in Florida holding positions in this field.

**Table 4.6 Occupational Status of Filipinos (16 years and over), 2010**

	<b>Filipino population</b>	
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>FL</u>
<b>Total civilian employed population (16 years and over)</b>	<b>1,363,931</b>	<b>46,529</b>
<u>Occupation</u>		
Management, business, science, and arts occupations	42.8%	47.9%
Sales and office occupations	23.9%	22.0%
Service occupations	20.8%	20.6%
Production, transportation, and material moving occupations	8.7%	7.6%
Natural resources, construction, and maintenance occupations	3.9%	1.9%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

**Industry.** Amongst the various industries (see table 4.7), more Filipinos are employed in the educational services, and health care and social assistance industries at an estimated 36.2% (Filipino population in the U.S.) and 43.0% (Filipino population in Florida) than in any other area. This is followed by the retail trade industry (10.2%, Filipino population

in the U.S.; 10.5%, Filipino population in Florida) and the arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services industry (10.1%, Filipino population in the U.S.; 12.5%, Filipino population in FL). Filipinos also make a contribution to the manufacturing industry (9.0%, Filipino population in the U.S.; 6.6%, Filipino population in FL) and the professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services (8.6%, Filipino population in the U.S.; 7.0%, Filipino population in FL). In addition, about 4.9% (U.S.) and 4.3% (FL) of Filipinos serve their communities as public administrators. At the bottom of the list, roughly 0.4% (U.S.) and zero percent (FL) of Filipinos work for the agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining industry.

***Employment Status.*** According to table 4.8, which shows the employment status of Filipinos (16 years of age and older), roughly 65.2% of Filipinos in the U.S. are employed civilians as compared to an estimated 57.0% of the total U.S. population. This characteristic is comparable to Florida, where about 64.8% of Filipinos are employed civilians as compared to approximately 52.0% of the total Florida population. In addition, about 0.7% of Filipinos in the U.S. are in the armed forces as compared to about 0.4% of the total U.S. population. In Florida, 1.0% of Filipinos are in the armed forces as compared to 0.4% of the total population. Furthermore, about 5.9% of Filipinos nationwide are unemployed as compared to 6.9% of the total U.S. population. In Florida, only about 5.2% of Filipinos are unemployed as compared to 8.0% of the total Florida population.

And of the civilian population 18 years of age or older (see table 4.9), approximately 4.8% (U.S.) and 6.1% (Florida) of Filipinos are military veterans as compared to about 9.3% (U.S.) and 10.9% (Florida) of the total population, respectively.

**Table 4.7 Civilian Employed Population (16 years and over)  
of Filipinos by Industry in the U.S., 2010**

<u>Industry</u>	<b>Filipino population</b>	
	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>FL</u>
<b>Civilian employed population 16 years and over</b>	<b>1,363,931</b>	<b>46,529</b>
Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining	0.4%	0.0%
Construction	1.8%	1.5%
Manufacturing	9.0%	6.6%
Wholesale trade	2.0%	1.6%
Retail trade	10.2%	10.5%
Transportation and warehousing, and utilities	4.6%	3.1%
Information	1.8%	1.2%
Finance and insurance, and real estate and rental and leasing	6.7%	4.7%
Professional, scientific, and management, and administrative and waste management services	8.6%	7.0%
Educational services, and health care and social assistance	36.2%	43.0%
Arts, entertainment, and recreation, and accommodation and food services	10.1%	12.5%
Other services (except public administration)	3.8%	3.9%
Public administration	4.9%	4.3%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

**Table 4.8 Employment Status of Filipinos (16 years of age and older), 2010**

	<b>United States</b>		<b>Florida</b>	
	<u>Total pop</u>	<u>Filipino pop</u>	<u>Total pop</u>	<u>Filipino pop</u>
<b>Population 16 years and over</b>	<b>243,832,923</b>	<b>2,092,757</b>	<b>15,327,982</b>	<b>71,753</b>
In labor force	64.4%	71.8%	60.4%	71.1%
<i>Employed (Civilian)</i>	57.0%	65.2%	52.0%	64.8%
<i>Unemployed (Civilian)</i>	6.9%	5.9%	8.0%	5.2%
<i>Armed Forces</i>	0.4%	0.7%	0.4%	1.0%
Not in labor force	35.6%	28.2%	39.6%	28.9%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

**Table 4.9 Veteran Status of Filipinos (18 years of age and older), 2010**

	<b>United States</b>		<b>Florida</b>	
	<u>Total pop</u>	<u>Filipino pop</u>	<u>Total pop</u>	<u>Filipino pop</u>
<b>Veteran Status, 2010</b>				
Civilian population 18 years and over	234,137,287	2,017,983	14,789,132	68,919
Civilian veteran	9.3%	4.8%	10.9%	6.1%

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

***Income.*** A professional and highly trained workforce contributes to the overall economy. Examining and comparing the mean and median earnings of the total population and the total Filipino population for the United States and the State of Florida provides additional information as to how Filipinos contribute to the economy.

For the total U.S. population (see table 4.10), the mean earning in dollars for males nationwide in 2010 is approximately \$62,407 and the median earnings in dollars is about \$46,500. In comparison, the mean earning of Filipino males nationwide is much less at an estimated \$55,429 while their median earnings in dollars is slightly less than the

median earning of the total population at about \$45,331. For females, the mean earning in dollars amongst the total U.S. population in 2010 is roughly \$45,097 and the median earnings in dollars is about \$36,551. On the other hand, the Filipina population nationwide has a much higher mean earning at an estimated \$53,256. Even their estimated median earning is much more than the total U.S. female population at approximately \$43,637.

In the State of Florida (see table 4.10), the mean and median earnings for males in Florida differ from the mean and median earnings of males at the nationwide level. For instance, the mean earning of the total population of males in Florida is about \$55,661 as compared to the mean earning of Filipino males in Florida at approximately \$56,146. However, the median earning of the total population of males in Florida is roughly \$40,731, which is higher than the median earning of Filipino males at about \$37,453. In contrast, the difference of the mean and median earnings between the total female population and the total Filipina population in Florida differ greatly from their male counterparts. For example, the mean earning of the total Filipina population, at approximately \$52,487, is about \$11,914 higher than the mean earning of \$40,573 for the total female population in Florida. And the median earning of the total Filipina population, at about \$42,335, is roughly \$9,573 higher than the median earning of \$32,762 for the total female population in Florida.

**Table 4.10 Mean and Median Earnings of Filipinos\*, 2010**

	United States		Florida	
	Total pop	Filipino pop	Total pop	Filipino pop
<b>Male</b>	<b>54,540,775</b>	<b>460,168</b>	<b>3,048,468</b>	<b>14,372</b>
Mean earning (in dollars)	62,407	55,429	55,661	56,146
Median earning (in dollars)	46,500	45,331	40,731	37,453
<b>Female</b>	<b>41,906,797</b>	<b>549,374</b>	<b>2,527,444</b>	<b>19,124</b>
Mean earning (in dollars)	45,097	53,256	40,573	52,487
Median earning (in dollars)	36,551	43,637	32,762	42,335

\*Earnings reported are for full-time, year-round workers

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey.

#### 4.7 More information about Florida and its Filipino population

With over a population of 18 million people (U.S. Census, 2010) as shown table 4.11, Florida is the fourth largest state in the United States, the largest state in the southeast region, and “one of the most urban and racially and ethnically diverse states in the nation” (Colburn and deHaven-Smith, 2010, p. 1). Economically and politically, Florida is known for its tourism industry and is idyllically renowned to retirees as a place to settle and retire. For immigrants, the state is a symbol of political freedom and opportunity. A peninsula surrounded by the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, Florida’s “geographic isolation from the rest of the nation” (p. 3) has influenced its population size and makeup. Colburn and deHaven-Smith (2010) noted:

...the involvement of the United States in World War II and national mobilization would transform Florida forever. Because Florida was sparsely populated and had an extensive coastline, it became an ideal place to train Navy and Air Force recruits and to prepare soldiers for seaborne invasions in Europe and Asia. The federal government poured men, money, and material into the state, constructing 172 training facilities as well as major shipyards and airbases. The arrival of military personnel, laborers to construct military bases, and the relatives of both groups helped energize and reinvigorate the state economically (p. 3).

Furthermore, Florida's geographic orientation has greatly influenced how its citizens view themselves and their state, especially since many Floridians live in closer proximity to the Caribbean than they do to the State of Georgia. Presently, demographers consider Florida to be "a microcosm of the nation because of its size, age, and ethnic and racial complexity" (p. 2). According to Colburn and deHaven-Smith (2010), "These developments resulted in "a political, social, cultural, and economic revolution in the state and led the *New York Times* <in 1999> to refer to Florida as one of the bellwether states of the twenty-first century" (p. 2).

In regards to the Asian community, the Filipino population is currently the second largest Asian group (at about 0.48%) after the Asian Indian population (see table 4.11) in Florida. Prior to 2000, Filipinos were "the largest single Asian group in the Sunshine State" (Mohl, 1996, p. 278; U.S. Census, 2000).

**Table 4.11 The Asian population in the State of Florida, 2010**

	<u>population</u>	<u>percent</u>
<b>Total Population in Florida</b>	<b>18,801,310</b>	<b>100.00</b>
Asian Indian	128,735	0.68
Filipino	90,223	0.48
Chinese	72,248	0.38
Vietnamese	58,470	0.31
Korean	26,205	0.14
Japanese	13,224	0.07

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

Among the cities in Florida, Jacksonville has the highest concentration of Filipinos at about 1.76% (see table 4.12) of its population. Following is Orlando, FL with approximately 0.67% of its population being Filipino. About 585 Filipinos live in Tallahassee, encompassing roughly 0.32% of its population. And although the city of Miami has a large population of about 399,457, only 0.16% of its population is Filipino.

**Table 4.12 The Filipino population in major Florida cities by percent, 2010**

<u>Cities in Florida</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u># of Filipinos</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Jacksonville	821,784	14,458	1.76
2. Orlando	238,300	1,595	0.67
3. Pensacola	51,923	250	0.48
4. St. Petersburg	244,769	1,163	0.48
5. Tampa	335,709	1,592	0.47
6. Tallahassee	181,376	585	0.32
7. Fort Lauderdale	165,521	458	0.28
8. Panama City	36,484	90	0.25
9. Boca Raton	84,392	192	0.23
10. Miami	399,457	647	0.16

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

#### **4.8 Additional information about the Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL areas**

The cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL each have Filipino populations that are unique, which is attributable to each locality's distinct characteristics thereby attracting talent analogous to the needs of each respective community.

***Jacksonville, FL.*** Jacksonville, FL is the largest city in land area (covering approximately 841 square miles) and, with a population of more than 800,000 residents

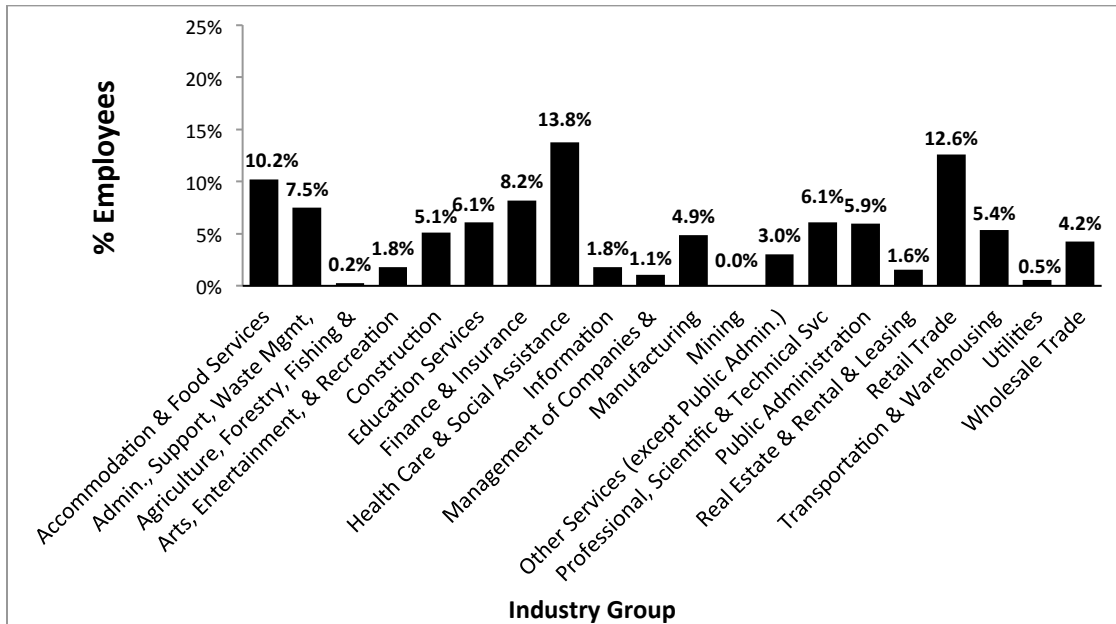


(U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), is the fourteenth largest city in the United States (City of Jacksonville, n.d.). Located in the northeast part of the state, the Jacksonville metropolitan area includes Baker, Clay, Duval, Nassau, and St. Johns counties (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 2010). As of 2010, approximately 14,458 Filipinos are from the Jacksonville area (see table 4.12) (U.S. Census, 2010).

Some of the city's major employers come from the following industries (see figure 4.1): accommodations and food services (10.2%); administration, support, waste management and remediation (7.5%); finance and insurance (8.2%); health care and social assistance (13.8%); and retail trade (12.6%) (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011).

Jacksonville is also a major port city with a number of military installations, such as the Naval Air Station Jacksonville, Mayport Naval Station, Marine Corps Blount Island Command, and the Naval Fleet Readiness Center Jacksonville (City of Jacksonville, n.d.). A newspaper article in the *Florida Times Union* featuring the Filipino community in Jacksonville stated that “nearly every city with a U.S. Navy base has a large Filipino population” (Halton, 1986b, p. A-1). After World War II, “Filipinos enlisted in their homeland in large numbers” (Halton, 1986b, p. A-1) and were stationed in the U.S., with many eventually settling in Jacksonville. For instance, of the Filipino population in Jacksonville between the ages of 18 to 64 years in 2000 (table 4.13), about 4.18% were active in the armed forces and 14.39% of civilians are military veterans. And amongst Filipinos over the age of 65 years, approximately 18.44% of civilians are also veterans (U.S. Census, 2000).

**Figure 4.1\* Employment by Industry in the Jacksonville, FL metropolitan area  
(3<sup>rd</sup> quarter, 2010)**



*Source:* Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, Labor Market Statistics Center – Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 2011.

\*Includes the total number of individuals employed on a full-time, part-time, or temporary basis in nonfarm establishments. This does not include business owners, self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, and household domestic workers (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011).

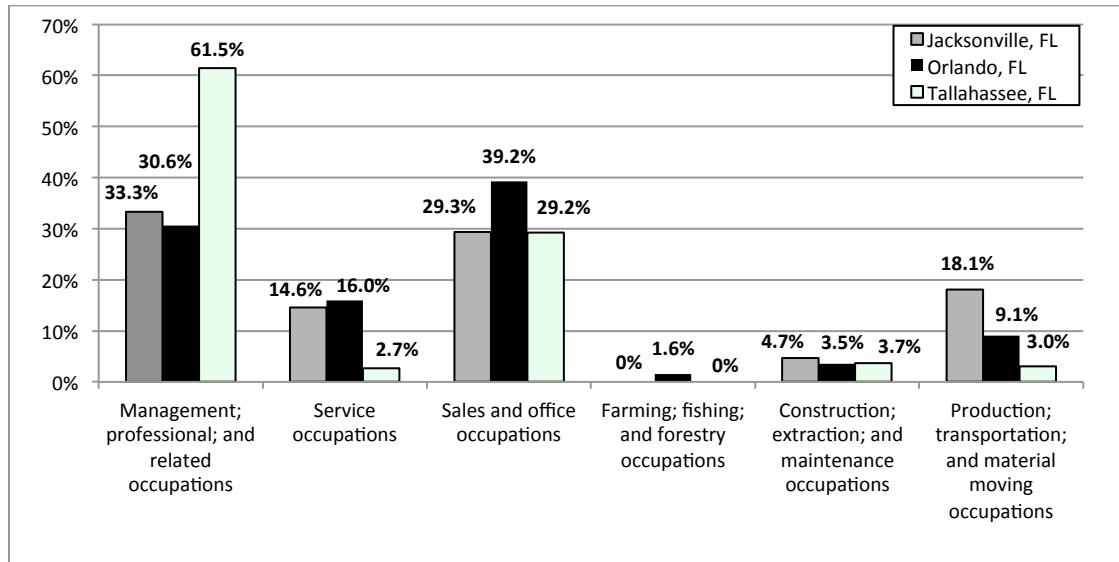
**Table 4.13 Armed Forces Status of Filipinos in the cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, 2000**

	Target cities		
	<u>Jacksonville</u>	<u>Orlando</u>	<u>Tallahassee</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,570</b>	<b>803</b>	<b>444</b>
18 to 64 years	92.22%	92.15%	90.32%
65 years and over	7.78%	7.85%	9.68%
<b>18 to 64 years</b>	<b>7,903</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>401</b>
In Armed Forces	4.18%	0%	2.49%
Civilian	95.82%	100.00%	97.51%
<b>Civilian</b>	<b>7,573</b>	<b>740</b>	<b>391</b>
• <i>Veteran</i>	14.39%	8.38%	0%
• <i>Nonveteran</i>	85.61%	91.62%	100.00%
<b>65 years and over</b>	<b>667</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>43</b>
In Armed Forces	0%	0%	0%
Civilian	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<b>Civilian</b>	<b>667</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>43</b>
• <i>Veteran</i>	18.44%	0%	0%
• <i>Nonveteran</i>	81.56%	100.00%	100.00%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4, Matrix PCT67.

While some Filipinos continued their active duty status, eventually retiring from their careers in the U.S. military, others have pursued other professions in civilian life. For instance, figure 4.2 shows that about 33.3% of Filipinos in Jacksonville occupy management or professional-related positions; roughly 14.6% have service occupations; about 29.3% hold sales and office positions; approximately 4.7% have jobs related to construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations; and about 18.1% hold production, transportation, and material moving occupations (U.S. Census, 2000).

**Figure 4.2\* Occupations of Filipinos in the cities of Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL, 2000**



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Summary File 4, Matrix PCT86.

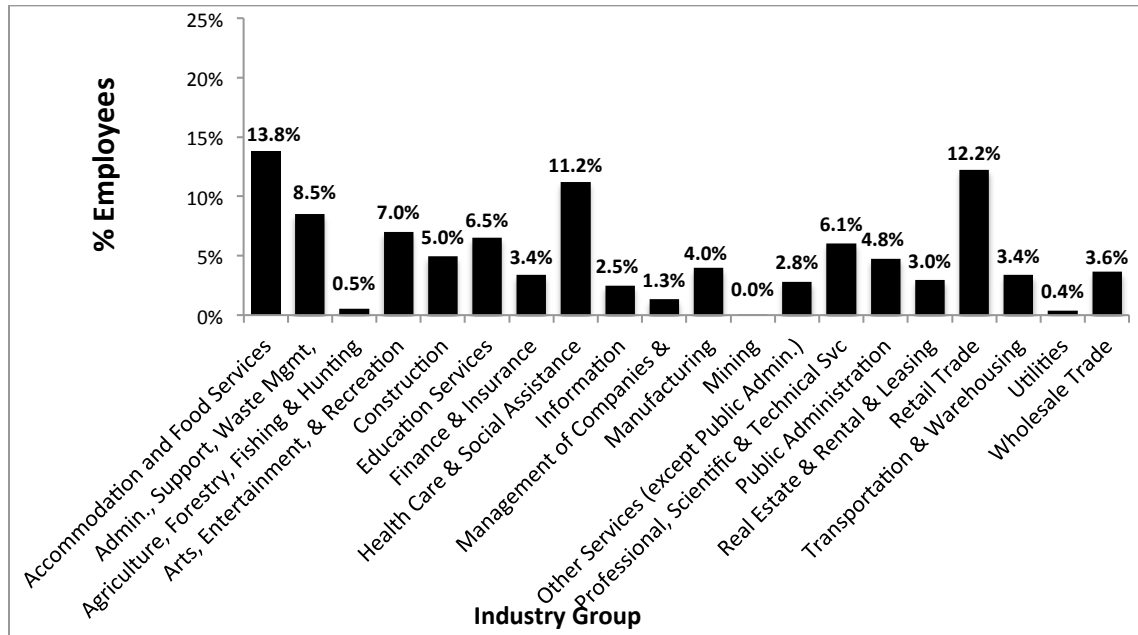
\*Description of occupations as defined by the U.S. Census:

- Examples of *Management, professional, and related occupations* include: top executives, financial managers, farmers and farm managers, financial specialists, architects, engineers, scientists, entertainers, and healthcare practitioners (i.e. registered nurses).
- Examples of *Service occupations* include: healthcare support occupations (i.e. nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides), protective service occupations (i.e. firefighters and law enforcement), food preparation and serving related occupations, and personal care and service occupations
- Examples of *Sales and office occupations* include: sales and related occupations, and office and administrative support occupations
- Examples of *Farming, fishing and forestry occupations* include: agricultural workers, including supervisors, and fishing, hunting, and forestry occupations
- Examples of *Construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations* include: construction and extraction occupations (i.e. carpenters, electricians, etc.) and installation, maintenance, and repair occupations (i.e. vehicle and mobile equipment mechanics, installers, and repairers, and electrical equipment mechanics and other installation, maintenance, and repair workers)
- Examples of *Production, transportation, and material moving occupations* include: assemblers and fabricators, food processing workers, metal workers and plastic workers, aircraft and traffic control occupations, rail and water transportation workers, motor vehicle operators, etc.

**Orlando, FL.** Centrally located in the middle of Florida, the City of Orlando is the fourth largest metropolis in the southeastern part of the United States (City of Orlando, 2011) and has a population of over 200,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The Orlando-Kissimmee metropolitan area includes Lake County, Orange County, Osceola County, and Seminole County, FL (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 2010). The greater Orlando area is known for its tourist industry and the mega-corporation of the Walt Disney company. In addition, the region has had a burgeoning technology industry since the 1980s (Colburn and deHaven-Smith, 2010). Overall, major employers in the Orlando area come from the following industries (see figure 4.3): accommodations and food services (13.8%), administration, support, waste management and remediation (8.5%), arts, entertainment, and recreation (7.0%), health care and social assistance (11.2%), retail trade (12.2%) (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011). Today, about 1,595 Filipinos reside in the Orlando area (see table 4.12) (U.S. Census, 2010).

Like the City of Jacksonville, Filipino communities in Orlando were started by naval servicemen who were stationed in the area (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011)—which was once the location of the Orlando Naval Training Center and “home to 650,000 Navy recruits” (City of Orlando, 2005, ¶ 1) before being closed by the federal government. In 2000 (see table 4.13), approximately 8.38% of Filipino civilians between the ages of 18 and 64 in Orlando are military veterans (U.S. Census, 2000).

**Figure 4.3\* Employment by Industry in the Orlando, FL metropolitan area (3rd quarter, 2010)**



Source: Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, Labor Market Statistics Center – Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 2011.

\*Includes the total number of individuals employed on a full-time, part-time, or temporary basis in nonfarm establishments. This does not include business owners, self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, and household domestic workers (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011).

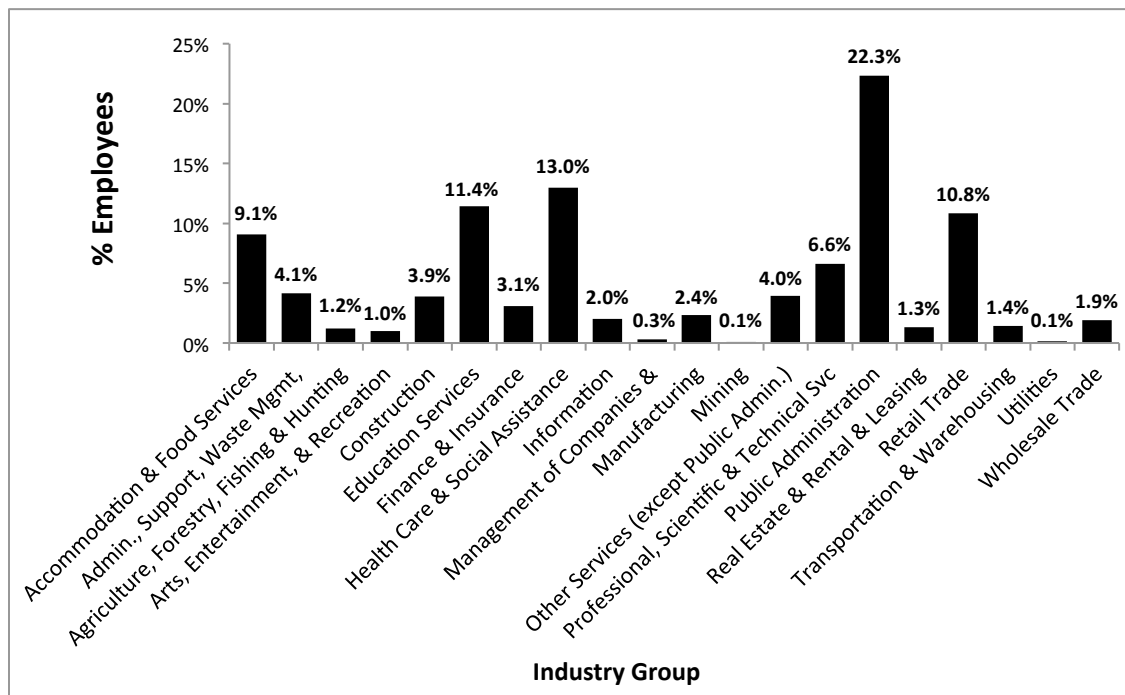
In addition, Filipinos take part in other facets of the economy. For instance, figure 4.2 shows that about 30.6% of Filipinos in Orlando occupy management or professional-related positions; roughly 16.0% have service occupations; about 39.2% hold sales and office positions; about 1.6% have farming, fishing, and forestry occupations; approximately 3.5% have jobs related to construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations; and about 9.1% hold production, transportation, and material moving occupations (U.S. Census, 2000).

**Tallahassee, FL.** With more than 180,000 residents (U.S. Census, 2010),

Tallahassee is the capital of the State of Florida. It is located in the panhandle of Florida

and sits midway between the cities of St. Augustine and Pensacola (Visit Tallahassee, 2010). The Tallahassee metropolitan area includes Gadsden County, Jefferson County, Leon County, and Wakulla County, FL (Bureau of Economic and Business Research, 2010). Major employers in the Tallahassee area come from the following industries (see figure 4.4): accommodation and food services (9.1%), education services (11.4%), health care and social assistance (13.0%), public administration (22.3%), and retail trade (10.8%) (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011).

**Figure 4.4\* Employment by Industry in the Tallahassee, FL metropolitan area (3rd quarter, 2010)**



*Source:* Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, Labor Market Statistics Center – Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 2011.

\*Includes the total number of individuals employed on a full-time, part-time, or temporary basis in nonfarm establishments. This does not include business owners, self-employed persons, unpaid family workers, and household domestic workers (Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011).

The Tallahassee community includes about 585 Filipino residents (see table 4.12) (U.S. Census, 2010). According to the website of the Big Bend Filipino American Association, Inc. (2011), medical professionals, university students, and military personnel and their spouses were among the first Filipinos to reside in Tallahassee. Until today, Filipinos continue to migrate to Tallahassee in order to assume professional positions, such as teachers, nurses, doctors (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010). For instance, figure 4.2 shows that about 61.5% of Filipinos in Tallahassee occupy management or professional-related positions; roughly 2.7% have service occupations; about 29.2% hold sales and office positions; approximately 3.7% have jobs related to construction, extraction, and maintenance occupations; and about 3.0% hold production, transportation, and material moving occupations (U.S. Census, 2000).



## **Chapter 5**

### **Findings: Quantitative Data**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter will elaborate the findings of the quantitative data obtained through survey research. It begins with a description of the sample population, an explanation of the distribution of the responses to items in the resource generator survey, inspection of the inter-item covariances, and how the Mokken Scaling Procedure (MSP) was conducted for this study. Then, the correlations of the Mokken scales and individual items were further inspected to ensure validity and reliability. Finally, OLS regression was conducted in order to provide additional information as to what may influence the quality of social capital.

#### **5.2 Survey study sample**

Table 5.1 notes how surveys were distributed and the response rate in each of the target cities in the study. Of the 78 surveys that were distributed amongst members of the Filipino-American community in Jacksonville, FL, 53.8% responded. In Orlando, FL, of the 570 surveys distributed 9.1% responded. And of the 150 surveys distributed in Tallahassee, FL, 30.0% responded. Overall, 798 surveys were distributed and a total of 17.4% participated in the study, thus establishing the sample size for this study at  $n=139$ .

While the response rate in Orlando was low at about 9.1% as compared to the response rates in Jacksonville and Tallahassee, this is due to the fact that the number of surveys that was distributed in Orlando was very high at 570 as compared to the

**Table 5.1 Participation Rate**

<b>City</b>	<b># of surveys distributed</b>	<b># of surveys returned</b>	<b>% participation</b>
Jacksonville	78	42	53.8%
Orlando	570	52	9.1%
Tallahassee	150	45	30.0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>798</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>17.4%</b>

78 surveys that were distributed in Jacksonville and the 150 surveys that were distributed and in Orlando. Rather than to exclude the sample population from Orlando due to the low response rate, the data collected from this area was included because this group reveals interesting characteristics that contribute to understanding the nature of social capital and studying social capital theory.

### **5.3 Description of the sample population**

Table 5.2 shows the characteristics of the sample population. In addition to showing the characteristics of the Filipino population from the entire sample population in the final column (“percent total”), data is also detailed by city.

Overall, the participants in this study were almost evenly distributed amongst the target cities (30% reside in Jacksonville, FL; 32% in Orlando, FL; and 37% in Tallahassee, FL). Amongst the total sample population, approximately 55% of participants are female and 45% are male. The majority of participants ranged between the ages of 40 and 69. More specifically, approximately 21% are between 40 and 49 years of age; about 24% are between 50 and 59 years; and roughly 26% are between the ages of 60 and 69 years.

**Table 5.2 Characteristics of Sample Population (%) by City  
(n=139)**

<b>variable</b>	<b>Jacksonville</b>	<b>Orlando</b>	<b>Tallahassee</b>	<b>Percent Total</b>
<i>city of residence</i>	30	32	37	<b>100</b>
<i><u>Gender (1 = female)</u></i>				
female	51	56	58	<b>55</b>
male	49	44	42	<b>45</b>
<i><u>age</u></i>				
18-29	13	6	9	<b>9</b>
30-39	13	17	7	<b>12</b>
40-49	10	19	34	<b>21</b>
50-59	15	25	29	<b>24</b>
60-69	41	25	14	<b>26</b>
over 70	8	8	7	<b>8</b>
<i><u>marital status</u></i>				
single	10	13	16	<b>13</b>
separated	0	2	0	<b>1</b>
cohabitating	2	0	0	<b>1</b>
married	76	71	78	<b>75</b>
divorced	10	8	7	<b>8</b>
widowed	2	6	0	<b>3</b>
<i><u>race</u></i>				
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0	2	0	<b>1</b>
Black/African American	0	2	0	<b>1</b>
White	0	18	7	<b>8</b>
Hispanic/Latino(a)	0	4	0	<b>1</b>
Asian or Pacific Islander	95	68	87	<b>83</b>
Other	5	6	6	<b>6</b>
<i><u>citizenship</u></i>				
US	83	88	62	<b>78</b>
Philippines	10	8	13	<b>10</b>
Canada	5	0	22	<b>9</b>
China	0	0	3	<b>1</b>
Dual	2	4	0	<b>2</b>
<i><u>country of birth</u></i>				
US	7	31	9	<b>17</b>
Philippines	90	57	89	<b>77</b>
Canada	3	0	0	<b>1</b>
Spain	0	2	0	<b>1</b>
China	0	0	2	<b>1</b>
Other	0	10	0	<b>4</b>
<i><u>education</u></i>				
some high school	2	4	0	<b>3</b>
high school diploma	3	2	5	<b>3</b>
GED	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
some college	23	19	7	<b>16</b>
bachelor's	55	58	37	<b>50</b>
master's	12	8	19	<b>13</b>
doctorate	5	8	33	<b>15</b>

<b>variable</b>	<b>Jacksonville</b>	<b>Orlando</b>	<b>Tallahassee</b>	<b>Percent Total</b>
<b><i>annual income</i></b>				
less than 20,000	3	9	7	6
\$20,000 - 34,999	15	16	11	14
\$35,000 - 49,999	20	13	18	17
\$50,000 - 69,999	30	18	13	20
\$70,000 - 89,999	17	20	20	19
\$90,000 or more	15	24	31	23
<b><i>member of volunteer or community organization (1 = yes)</i></b>				
yes	57	48	78	61
no	43	52	22	39
<b><i>Households that include...</i></b>				
Children (1 = yes)	36	42	49	42
Roommates (1 = yes)	2	10	2	5
Elderly (1 = yes)	17	14	4	12
Individuals with special needs (1 = yes)	2	0	0	1
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of school system in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of public transportation in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of parking in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of safety in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of friendliness in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47
<b><i>Respondent's opinion of local government in their community</i></b>				
low	7	15	5	9
average	52	44	36	44
high	41	41	59	47

Furthermore, about 21% are between the ages of 18 and 29 and approximately 8% are over 70 years old. When asked about their marital status, 75% of respondents from the total sample stated that they are married while 13% are single and 8% are divorced. In regards to household composition, about 42% of respondents stated that they have children; 5% indicated that they have a roommate; 12% indicated that they have elderly individual(s) residing in their household; and about 1% of participants indicated that their household includes individuals with special needs.

When it comes to race, citizenship, and country of birth, approximately 83% of the total sample population stated that they are Asian or Pacific Islander, 78% stated that they are U.S. citizens, and about 77% indicated that they were born in the Philippines while approximately 17% indicated that they were born in the U.S.

The participants in this survey are highly educated. Overall, about 50% of participants stated that they have a bachelor's degree, 13% have a master's degree, and 15% have a doctorate degree. Furthermore, the data reveals that more Filipinos in Tallahassee have a higher educational attainment as compared to Filipinos in Jacksonville and Orlando. For instance, about 19% of Filipinos in Tallahassee have a master's degree as compared to those in Jacksonville (12%) and Orlando (8%). Approximately 33% of Filipinos in Tallahassee have a doctorate degree as compared to those in Jacksonville (5%) and Orlando (8%).

In regards to income, about 20% of participants have an annual income of less than \$35,000. Approximately 17% earn between \$35,000 and \$49,999 annually. Roughly 20% indicated that they make between \$50,000 and \$69,999 annually and nearly 42% indicated that their annual income is at least \$70,000 or more.

Participants were also asked to indicate their opinion about certain characteristics of their respective community, such as school system, public transportation, parking, safety, the level of friendliness, and local government. Across the board, respondents' opinion of each of these categories received the same score: 9% of respondents rated each category (school system, public transportation, parking, safety, friendliness, and local government) as being "low"; 44% rated each category as being "average"; and 46% gave each area a "high" rating. However, the data reveals more specific information: approximately 52% of participants in Jacksonville, 44% of those in Orlando, and 36% of participants in Tallahassee rated their community in all aspects as "average" whilst about 59% of participants from Tallahassee gave their community a "high" rating as compared to 41% of participants in Jacksonville and 41% of participants in Orlando.

And approximately 61% of study participants, overall, stated that they, themselves, are a member of a volunteer or community organization. Furthermore, respondents were asked to list the name(s) of the organization(s) where they maintain membership, which is listed according to city in table 5.3. Each numbered item refers to an anonymous response of a survey participant and is listed in random order.

Further examination of the data reveals unique differences between the Filipino-American populations in each of the target cities—Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL—in this study. In comparison to participants in Jacksonville and Orlando, it seems that participants in Tallahassee have a much higher educational attainment level (about 33% of participants have a doctorate degree while only about 5% in Jacksonville and 8% in Orlando have a doctorate degree) and slightly more individuals enjoy a higher level of income (approximately 51% earn \$70,000 or more annually as

compared to about 32% in Jacksonville and 44% in Orlando). And when it comes to quality of life indicators, such as the quality of the school system, public transportation, parking, safety, friendliness, and local government in their community, participants in Jacksonville (52%) and Tallahassee (44%) rated their community as “average” and 41% (respectively in both Jacksonville and Orlando) rated their community as “high” while 59% of respondents who are from Tallahassee gave their community a “high” rating. In addition, Tallahassee has an overwhelmingly higher number of individuals who are a member of a volunteer or civic organization. For instance, 58% of respondents who are from Jacksonville and 48% of respondents who are from Orlando indicated that are a member of a volunteer or civic organization as compared to 78% of respondents who are from Tallahassee.

#### **5.4 Distribution of responses to items in the resource generator survey**

The purpose of the resource generator survey is to measure the strength of ties “through which the resources are accessed” (Van Der Gaag, 2005, p. 138). Table 5.4 shows the strength of each tie for each resource item. The strength of all ties is summarized according to the percent of respondents (“% yes”) who indicated that they know someone who possesses the trait or resource item listed. Furthermore, table 5.4 shows where participants can access resource items: family member, friend, colleague, or acquaintance and/or whether the respondent, himself, possesses the trait or resource item. Also, table 5.5 provides a summary of the strength of all ties (“% yes”) according to the cities examined in this study. Of all of the items listed, with the exception of item #38, more than 50% of participants indicated that they know someone—whether it be through

**Table 5.3 List of Volunteer or Community Organizations  
where Respondents are Members**

Jacksonville	Orlando	Tallahassee
1. Legacy of Care, Filipino International Bible Church	1. Christmas Connection of Catholic Charities; Big Bend Filipino American Association	1. Big Bend Filipino American Association; Woodland Drives Neighborhood Association
2. Only church membership	2. Big Bend Filipino American Association	2. BBFAA and Thomas More Catholic Church
3. FICCA	3. Bayanihan International Ladies Association; St. Andrews Presbyterian Church	3. Big Bend Filipino American Association
4. American Heart Association; Girl Scouts	4. St. Mary Magdalen School Volunteers; Cast Ministry	4. BBFAA; ACT, Sickie Cell Foundation; FSU-FSA Indak Dance (Liaison); TCC Dance Comp
5. Filipino International Baptist Church	5. Bayanihan International Ladies Association; Council of Filipino-American Organization	5. Big Bend Filipino American Association
6. FICCA	6. Bataan-Corregidor Memorial Foundation; Philippine American Chamber of Commerce	6. Big Bend Filipino American Assoc.
7. Filipino Civic and Cultural Association; Philippine Cultural Foundation, Inc.	7. Bayanihan International Ladies Association; St. Stephens Catholic Community	7. BBFAA
8. Visayas and Mindanao Assoc; Keep Jax Beautiful; Rotary	8. Orlando Museum of Art	8. Big Bend Filipino American Association; U.S. Tennis Association
9. Asian American Chamber; Jacksonville Asian American Alliance; Jacksonville Chamber	9. Bayanihan International Ladies Association	9. BBFAA
10. Ilocano Association Of N/E Fla.	10. Bayanihan International Ladies Association	10. Big Bend Filipino American Association; Liberty Ridge Homeowners Association
11. Philippine Nurses Association of Northeast FL (PNANEF); Eye Care We Care Foundation; Fil-Am Golfer Club of Jacksonville (FAGCJ); Filipino-American Veteran's Society (FAVS); Ilocano Association of NE FL	11. St. Luke's United Methodist Church Hospice of the Comforter	11. Big Bend Filipino American Association; Florida PTA; Panama Canal Society of Florida
12. United Way	12. St. Luke's United Methodist Church	12. Big Bend Filipino American Association
13. ASIA; Cursillo Movement	13. UCUMC Mission Trip to Costa Rica (2006); Lifesong Church Covenant House, FL, for homeless youth; Advisory Board, Father Obrien Angels Home, Philippines; The Salvation Army, Philippines; Win Earth! Foundation; Foundation for the Blind	13. BBFAA
14. FICCA		14. Big Bend Filipino American Association
15. Fil-Am Fil-Vets		15. Big Bend Filipino-American Association
16. American Cancer Society; JDRF PGA Tournament, FICCA		16. Big Bend Filipino-American Association; Knights of Columbus
17. Fil-Am Philippine Nurses Association		17. Big Bend Filipino American Association
18. Filipino Civic and Cultural Association		18. Big Bend Filipino American Association



Jacksonville	Orlando	Tallahassee
19. Asian American Advisory Board	14. Bayanihan at Wedgefield; Orange County Sheriff's Office; Asian American Chamber of Commerce	19. Blessed Sacrament Catholic Church
20. Filipino Civic and Cultural Association	15. PACIA	20. BBFAA; Girl Scouts; Boy Scouts
21. readpilipinas.org; getrealphilippines.net; antipinoy.com (virtual community/blog-centric)	16. Council for the Filipino-American Association of Central FL; Asian American Federation	21. Big Bend Filipino-American Association
22. Filipino Civic Cultural Assoc.	17. Give Kids the World; Order of the Knights of Rizal; Abused Women Organization; Retired Police Officer Counselor	22. Big Bend Filipino American Association
23. First Filipino Baptist Church Council	18. Central Florida Council of Asian American youth	23. Big Bend Filipino-American Association
24. Filipino Civic and Cultural Association; Legacy of Care Health Center, Inc.	19. Give Kids the World; Reading Tutor; Knights of Columbus; Knights of Rizal	24. Church-related
25. FICCA	20. Volunteer at school	25. Big Bend Filipino American Association (BBFAA)
	21. Basilica of the National Shrine of Mary Queen of the Universe; Santo Nino Group; La Pieta International Gospel, Florida	26. BBFAA
	22. Knights of Rizal, Central FL Chapter; Phil-Am of Osceola; VisMindaLuz of Central FL	27. Big Bend Filipino American Association
	23. Orange County Bar Association	28. Big Bend Filipino American Association
	24. Celebration Health/Florida Hospital	29. Big Bend Filipino American Association
	25. Mark Street Senior Citizens Association	30. Big Bend Filipino American Association
		31. Big Bend Filipino American Association; Asian Coalition of Tallahassee; March of Dimes
		32. Big Bend Filipino American Association
		33. Big Bend Filipino American Association
		34. Tallahassee Ballet; Florida Center for Fiscal and Economic Policy
		35. BBFAA Big Bend Filipino American Association

**Table 5.4 Responses to Resource Generator Survey Items (n=139)**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>% yes</b>	<b>if yes, accessed through:</b>				
			<b>family member</b>	<b>friend</b>	<b>colleague</b>	<b>acquaintance</b>	<b>you/ yourself</b>
1	can repair a car, bike, etc.	<b>80</b>	32	46	12	23	17
2	owns a car	<b>99</b>	73	71	64	54	83
3	is handy repairing household equipment	<b>82</b>	45	45	17	18	29
4	can speak and write a foreign language	<b>91</b>	55	59	40	32	53
5	knows how to surf the internet	<b>98</b>	78	71	62	57	80
6	can play an instrument	<b>94</b>	65	56	30	32	40
7	has knowledge of literature	<b>89</b>	60	51	38	29	49
8	has graduated from senior high school	<b>96</b>	73	63	53	47	72
9	has a higher vocational education	<b>79</b>	43	45	31	33	28
10	reads a professional journal	<b>83</b>	54	46	45	29	56
11	is active in a political party	<b>67</b>	17	41	17	23	13
12	owns shares of at least \$5,000	<b>76</b>	42	40	31	24	40
13	works at city hall	<b>54</b>	4	30	7	23	1
14	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	<b>88</b>	52	53	47	35	50
15	owns a holiday home abroad	<b>65</b>	24	33	15	19	9
16	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	<b>71</b>	27	40	19	19	27
17	knows a lot about governmental regulations	<b>78</b>	24	43	27	25	26
18	has good contacts with media	<b>59</b>	13	36	17	18	11
19	knows about football	<b>90</b>	56	61	42	35	45
20	has knowledge about financial matters	<b>88</b>	46	50	36	30	44
21	can find a holiday job for a family member	<b>53</b>	17	28	14	18	9
22	can give advice on conflicts at work	<b>74</b>	35	40	34	23	40
23	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	<b>84</b>	51	59	19	22	50
24	can help with small jobs around the house	<b>90</b>	58	47	19	24	56
25	can do your shopping when you are ill	<b>88</b>	65	53	16	9	24
26	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	<b>82</b>	49	54	26	15	18
27	can borrow for you a large sum of money	<b>56</b>	28	27	12	8	16

Item	Do you know anyone who...	% yes	if yes, accessed through:				
			family member	friend	colleague	acquaintance	you/yourself
28	can accommodate you (for a week)	88	64	54	15	7	22
29	can give advice about conflicts with family	86	50	52	17	11	37
30	can discuss with you what political party to vote	79	46	47	32	20	22
31	can give advice on matters of law	74	29	45	26	20	17
32	can give a good reference when applying for a job	88	40	59	53	19	40
33	can babysit for your children	78	41	42	7	6	22
34	can be talked to regarding important matters	92	63	59	27	12	43
35	can be visited socially	90	55	63	34	19	42
36	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	90	68	71	52	44	50
37	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	63	14	38	22	22	19
38	<i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?	37	10	19	6	7	10
39	is a member of a Filipino-American association	86	42	58	32	35	58
40	has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	57	17	23	9	16	13
41	recently immigrated from the Philippines	55	18	27	8	22	4
42	is a godparent	87	57	54	21	17	57

a family member, friend, colleague, acquaintance, or they, themselves—who can access that particular resource (“% yes”). But item #38 is a negatively tagged question.

Although approximately 37% of respondents indicated that they know someone who “*did not* vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote,” this also indicates that about 63% of respondents know someone who voted in the last presidential election.

**Table 5.5 Resource Generator Items by City (%)**

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
1	can repair a car, bike, etc.	76	77	87	80
2	owns a car	100	96	100	99
3	is handy repairing household equipment	86	83	78	82
4	can speak and write a foreign language	95	90	89	91
5	knows how to surf the internet	100	94	100	98
6	can play an instrument	98	89	98	94
7	has knowledge of literature	91	92	84	89
8	has graduated from senior high school	100	98	91	96
9	has a higher vocational education	79	81	78	79
10	reads a professional journal	93	79	80	83
11	is active in a political party	57	64	80	67
12	owns shares of at least \$5,000	79	79	69	76
13	works at city hall	50	37	37	54
14	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	86	88	89	88
15	owns a holiday home abroad	71	60	64	65
16	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	74	71	67	71
17	knows a lot about governmental regulations	76	81	78	78
18	has good contacts with media	57	60	60	59
19	knows about football	88	89	93	90
20	has knowledge about financial matters	93	90	80	88
21	can find a holiday job for a family member	50	56	53	53
22	can give advice on conflicts at work	76	67	79	74
23	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	83	87	82	84
24	can help with small jobs around the house	95	88	87	90
25	can do your shopping when you are ill	90	85	89	88
26	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	90	75	82	82
27	can borrow for you a large sum of money	60	54	56	56
28	can accommodate you (for a week)	93	81	91	88
29	can give advice about conflicts with family	93	87	78	86
30	can discuss with you what political party to vote	71	81	84	79
31	can give advice on matters of law	71	73	78	74
32	can give a good reference when applying for a job	88	85	91	88
33	can babysit for your children	79	71	84	78
34	can be talked to regarding important matters	95	90	91	92
35	can be visited socially	98	87	87	90
36	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	93	83	96	90
37	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	50	65	71	63
38	<i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?	43	40	29	37
39	is a member of a Filipino-American association	98	65	98	86
40	has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	50	56	64	57
41	recently immigrated from the Philippines	55	44	69	55
42	is a godparent	93	83	87	87

***Most popular resource items.*** Table 5.6 lists the five most popular items that can easily be accessed from most popular to least popular amongst all participants. Overall, about 99% stated that they “know someone who owns a car” (item #2); 98% stated that they “know someone who knows how to surf the internet (item #5); 96% indicated that they “know someone who has graduated from senior high school (Item #8); 94% noted that they “know someone who can play an instrument (item #6); and approximately 92% stated that they “know someone who can be talked to regarding important matters” (item #34). Of these resources listed, item #2 and item #5 are common in everyday life.

Further inspection shows that, in most instances, the most popular resource items tend to be associated more with family members and friends than with colleagues and acquaintances. According to table 5.7, for instance, about 92% of participants stated that they “know someone who can be talked to regarding important matters” (item #34). Moreover, about 63% of participants indicated that they know a family member, approximately 59% know a friend, 27% know a colleague, and about 12% know an acquaintance with whom they can “talk to regarding important matters.” Moreover, participants in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee exhibit similar outcomes, where ties with a family member or friend are stronger than with the ties with a colleague or acquaintance in the same category.

***Least popular resource items.*** Table 5.7 lists the resource items that are the least popular amongst participants. Amongst all the cities, participants are least likely to know someone who possesses the following items or qualities: about 56% stated that they “know someone who can borrow for you a large sum of money” (item #27); 55% indicated that they “know someone who recently immigrated from the Philippines (item

**Table 5.6 Five Most Popular Resource Generator Items by City and by Source (%)**  
(n=139)

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>owns a car</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	62	69	73
	<i>Friend</i>	79	76	60	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	76	64
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	69	39	58	54
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	90	79	82	83
<b>5</b>	<b>knows how to surf the internet</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	67	80	78
	<i>Friend</i>	76	58	80	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	69	62
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	74	40	60	57
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	83	71	87	80
<b>8</b>	<b>has graduated from senior high school</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>96</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	67	64	73
	<i>Friend</i>	79	54	58	63
	<i>Colleague</i>	64	44	53	53
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	57	37	49	47
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	88	67	62	72
<b>6</b>	<b>can play an instrument</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>94</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	81	60	56	65
	<i>Friend</i>	69	38	64	56
	<i>Colleague</i>	41	23	29	30
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	21	36	32
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	35	40	44	40
<b>34</b>	<b>can be talked to regarding important matters</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	74	50	69	63
	<i>Friend</i>	67	48	64	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	21	29	31	27
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	7	13	13	12
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	45	52	31	43

#41); 54% said that they “know someone who works at city hall” (item #13); 53%

indicated that they “know someone who can find a holiday job for a family member”

(item #21); and about 37% stated that they “know someone who did not vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote” (item #38).

The results for these particular resource items differ from the resource items in which individuals indicated to be the most popular. For instance, 54% of respondents stated that they know someone who “works at city hall” (item #13). Amongst the different types of individuals who may possess this resource, about 4% of respondents know a family member, 30% stated that they know a friend, 7% indicated that they know a colleague, and approximately 23% stated that they know an acquaintance who “works at city hall.” In this case, the likelihood that a respondent knows a friend or acquaintance who “works at city hall” is much higher than knowing a family member or colleague who “works at city hall.”

It is also interesting to note in table 5.7 that about 45% of respondents in Jacksonville indicated that they know a family member who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (item #27). This could indicate that many Filipinos in Jacksonville have very strong family ties and/or that members in this community have strong ties with individuals who have access to high valued resources.

Table 5.7 also exhibits other unique findings worth noting. For example, about 38% of participants specified that they know someone “who did not vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote” (item #38). But when examining this information more closely, about 29% of respondents who are from Tallahassee signified that they know someone “who did not vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote” as compared to 43% who indicated that they are from Jacksonville and 40% who indicate that they are from

**Table 5.7 Five Least Popular Resource Generator Items by City and by Source (%)**  
(n=139)

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>27</b>	<b>can borrow for you a large sum of money</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	45	17	24	28
	<i>Friend</i>	29	21	33	27
	<i>Colleague</i>	10	7	20	12
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	7	10	7	8
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	14	17	16	16
<b>41</b>	<b>recently immigrated from the Philippines</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>55</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	28	13	13	18
	<i>Friend</i>	36	31	31	27
	<i>Colleague</i>	7	8	9	8
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	13	38	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	4	5	4
<b>13</b>	<b>works at city hall</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	7	2	4	4
	<i>Friend</i>	33	12	49	30
	<i>Colleague</i>	12	2	9	7
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	5	38	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	2	0	0	1
<b>21</b>	<b>can find a holiday job for a family member</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>53</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	21	15	16	17
	<i>Friend</i>	31	27	27	28
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	15	11	14
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	21	15	18	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	12	11	9
<b>38</b>	<b><i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	12	13	4	10
	<i>Friend</i>	24	17	16	19
	<i>Colleague</i>	2	10	4	6
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	12	6	4	7
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	7	16	7	10



Orlando. Since Tallahassee is the capital of Florida, it may be that citizens in this locality are more attuned to the political environment.

Also, table 5.7 shows that 55% of respondents denoted that they know someone “who recently immigrated from the Philippines” (item #41). Amongst participants in Jacksonville, the most popular responses included knowing a family member (about 28%) or a friend (about 36%) “who recently immigrated from the Philippines.” Amongst participants in Orlando, the most popular response was knowing a friend (about 31%) “who recently immigrated...” And in Tallahassee, the most popular response was knowing a friend (approximately 31%) or knowing an acquaintance (about 38%) “who recently immigrated...”

When it comes to knowing someone “who works at city hall” (see table 5.7), participants, themselves, and family members were noted to be least likely to work at city hall. Rather, about 30% of participants indicated that they know a friend and approximately 23% of participants indicated that they know an acquaintance who works at city hall.

On the whole, it seems that weak ties with colleagues and acquaintances begin to be almost as strong as the strong ties associated with family members and friends amongst the least popular resource generator items.

***Other findings.*** Table 5.8 lists resource items that can be considered as indicators of civic engagement and democratic participation. For instance, about 80% of participants from the Tallahassee indicated that they know someone “who is active in a political party” (item #11) as compared to 57% of participants in Jacksonville and 64% of participants in Tallahassee who also know someone who possesses this trait. When asked

**Table 5.8 Indicators of Civic Engagement and Democratic Participation**

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>is active in a political party</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>67</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>41</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>23</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>13</i>
<b>37</b>	<b>serves on the board of a nonprofit organization</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>63</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>14</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>38</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>22</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>22</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>19</i>
<b>39</b>	<b>is a member of a Filipino-American association</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>86</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>42</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>58</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>32</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>35</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>87</i>	<i>58</i>

if participants know someone “who serves on the board of a nonprofit organization” (item #37), approximately 63% of participants know someone who has this characteristic. While the source of this characteristic varies across the board, it is interesting to note that nearly 53% of respondents in the Orlando area signified that they know a friend “who serves on the board of a nonprofit organization.” And when it comes to knowing someone “who is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39), roughly 86% of respondents, overall, indicated that they know someone who has this attribute. But when looking at this information more closely, nearly 98% of participants in Jacksonville and about 98% in Tallahassee signified that they know someone “who is a member of a Filipino-American association” as compared to 65% of participants in Orlando. And for

each type of individual, more than 50% of participants in Tallahassee indicated that—in addition to they, themselves, being a member of a Filipino-American association—they also know a family member, friend, colleague, and/or acquaintance “who is a member of a Filipino-American association.”

### **5.5 Inspecting inter-item covariance before conducting a Mokken Scaling Procedure**

Before conducting a Mokken Scaling Procedure, the signs of the inter-item covariances was inspected for all pairs of items in order to measure how much two variables change together and to ensure the reliability of the scales (see table 5.9 and table 5.10) that formed in the Mokken Scaling Procedure in Statistical Package R. The item-test correlation signifies the extent of an item’s correlation in regards to the overall scale and is also known as “the Pearson correlation coefficient calculated for pairs of scores” (Salkind, 2010, p. 651). For instance, in table 5.9, the item-test correlation for items #2, #4, #6, #8, #33, #38, and #39 have a value that is less than 0.40, which indicates that they have a weak association with the overall scale. On the other hand, items #11, #15, #16, #17, #18, #21, #22, #28, #29, #30, #31, and #32 have values that are greater than 0.60, which shows that they have a strong association. The remaining items have values between 0.40 to 0.60, which indicate that they have a moderate association with the overall scale.

Again referring to tables 5.9 and 5.10, the item-rest correlation refers to the correlation between a specific item and all the remaining other items (Salkind, 2010). For example, items #1, #2, #4, #6, #8, #23, #33, #38, and #39 have a value at 0.40 or less, indicating that they each have a weak association with the other items listed in the scale.

Items #18, #21, #31, and #32, in contrast, have a value that is greater than 0.60 and shows that each item has a strong association with the other items. Each of the remaining items has a value between 0.40 to 0.60, indicating that they have a moderate association with all the other items in the scale.

The last column (“alpha”) in table 5.9 shows what Cronbach’s alpha would be for the overall scale if the respective item were eliminated. The purpose of Cronbach’s alpha is to check if the internal consistency of the items is valid and to measure the level of association among the collection of items when they are examined as a group.

Accordingly, there would be barely a change in the alpha if any of the items were removed. Whether or not an item is removed, the scale reliability coefficient would remain at approximately 0.93, which signifies that the overall scale is acceptable<sup>1</sup> (Nunnally, 1978). Inclusively, since all the items in the scale are nonnegative, a Mokken Scaling Procedure was conducted (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002).

## **5.6 Overview: Mokken Scaling Procedure (MSP)**

Mokken Scaling Procedure (MSP) is a scaling technique used for examining ordinal data and is associated with nonparametric item response (IRT) models (Van Der Ark, 2007). Primarily used for scaling data from tests and questionnaires (Van Der Ark, 2007), this procedure tests whether there is a weak or strong association between each of the latent traits  $\theta$  (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002). To reiterate, latent traits are unobservable mental properties, such as personality characteristics, abilities, and attitude,

---

<sup>1</sup> According to Nunnally (1978), items must have an alpha greater than 0.70 in order for them to be used together as a scale.

of which individuals possess either *more of* or *less of*. By combining the observable answers from questions and examining the data, indirect inferences can be made about “people’s positions on a latent trait” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 4) and how an individual’s answer on all items in terms of its score “varies with changes in the latent trait being measured by the overall scale” (Dreary, Wilson, Carding, MacKensie, and Watson, 2010, p. 68).

There are two parts in conducting a Mokken scaling analysis. First, the scalability of individual items is inspected by performing an automated item selection algorithm<sup>2</sup>, which excludes individual items if they are unscalable and then separates remaining items into sets of ordinal variables—otherwise known as Mokken scales. This was executed in Statistical Package R by computing scalability coefficients per item pair ( $H_{ij}$ ), item ( $H_i$ ), and for whole scales ( $H$ ) (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002; Van Der Ark, 2010). Specifically, the Loevinger’s  $H$  coefficient is examined and inspected in order to understand each item’s characteristics and the structure of the data as a whole. It is used as the basis of measure for either selecting or rejecting an item and to determine “whether the items have enough in common for the data to be explained by one underlying latent trait...in such a way that ordering the subjects by total score is meaningful” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 60). Furthermore, the  $H_i$  coefficient is closely examined because it “indicates how well item  $i$  fits with the other items for the purpose of ordering respondents” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 36) and it is used “to identify the strongest

---

<sup>2</sup> The automated item selection algorithm “is based on a sequential cluster analysis” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 86).

**Table 5.9 Covariances of Resource Generator Survey Items**

Item #	Do you know someone who...	Sign	item-test	item-rest	average inter-	alpha
			correlation	correlation	item covariance	
1	can repair a car, bike, etc.	+	0.40	0.36	0.04	0.93
2	owns a car	+	0.39	0.38	0.04	0.93
3	is handy repairing household equipment	+	0.44	0.41	0.04	0.93
4	can speak and write a foreign language	+	0.33	0.30	0.04	0.93
5	knows how to surf the internet	+	0.49	0.48	0.04	0.93
6	can play an instrument	+	0.36	0.34	0.04	0.93
7	has knowledge of literature	+	0.50	0.47	0.04	0.93
8	has graduated from senior high school	+	0.34	0.32	0.04	0.93
9	has a higher vocational education	+	0.53	0.50	0.04	0.93
10	reads a professional journal	+	0.60	0.57	0.04	0.93
11	is active in a political party	+	0.63	0.59	0.04	0.93
12	owns shares of at least \$5,000	+	0.60	0.57	0.04	0.93
13	works at city hall	+	0.56	0.52	0.04	0.93
14	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	+	0.56	0.53	0.04	0.93
15	owns a holiday home abroad	+	0.61	0.57	0.04	0.93
16	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	+	0.61	0.57	0.04	0.93
17	knows a lot about governmental regulations	+	0.61	0.57	0.04	0.93
18	has good contacts with media	+	0.70	0.66	0.04	0.93
19	knows about football	+	0.57	0.54	0.04	0.93
20	has knowledge about financial matters	+	0.50	0.47	0.04	0.93
21	can find a holiday job for a family member	+	0.65	0.61	0.04	0.93
22	can give advice on conflicts at work	+	0.61	0.57	0.04	0.93
23	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	+	0.43	0.40	0.04	0.93
24	can help with small jobs around the house	+	0.49	0.46	0.04	0.93
25	can do your shopping when you are ill	+	0.53	0.50	0.04	0.93
26	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	+	0.54	0.51	0.04	0.93
27	can borrow for you a large sum of money	+	0.59	0.55	0.04	0.93
28	can accommodate you (for a week)	+	0.62	0.59	0.04	0.93
29	can give advice about conflicts with family	+	0.61	0.58	0.04	0.93
30	can discuss with you what political party to vote	+	0.63	0.60	0.04	0.93
31	can give advice on matters of law	+	0.68	0.65	0.04	0.93

Item #	Do you know someone who...	Sign	item-test	item-rest	average inter-	alpha
			correlation	correlation	item covariance	
32	can give a good reference when applying for job	+	0.70	0.68	0.04	0.93
33	can babysit for your children	+	0.36	0.32	0.04	0.93
34	can be talked to regarding important matters	+	0.60	0.58	0.04	0.93
35	can be visited socially	+	0.57	0.55	0.04	0.93
36	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	+	0.48	0.45	0.04	0.93
37	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	+	0.59	0.55	0.04	0.93
38	<i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?	+	0.35	0.29	0.04	0.94
39	is a member of a Filipino-American association	+	0.33	0.29	0.04	0.93
40	has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	+	0.49	0.45	0.04	0.93
41	recently immigrated from the Philippines	+	0.49	0.44	0.04	0.93
42	is a godparent	+	0.51	0.48	0.04	0.93
TEST SCALE					0.04	0.93

Table 5.10 Summary of Covariances of Resource Generator Survey Items

Average inter-item covariance	0.04
Scale reliability coefficient	0.93
Number of items in the scale	42
Number of observations for each item in the scale	139

and weakest items in each scale” (Van Der Gaag, 2002, p. 71). In order to attain a measurement scale that is both reliable and homogenous, an adjustment is made to the search procedure by increasing the threshold value for item inclusion  $H_{ij}$  in which scales are formed based on higher association values between items. As a result, although measurement scales will contain a fewer number of items they will be more homogeneous and more unidimensional in meaning (Van Der Gaag, 2002).

Secondly, additional methods are used to investigate the assumptions that define the nonparametric item response theory (IRT) models and are used to establish validity and reliability. These methods include the investigation of latent monotonicity through the monotone homogeneity model and investigation of nonintersection through the double monotonicity model (Dreary et al., 2010; Van Der Ark, 2007). The monotone homogeneity model (MHM) is defined by the following assumptions: (1) the *unidimensionality* of latent trait  $\theta$  by means of the Loevinger H coefficient, which will ensure that “all items in the test measure the same latent trait” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 18); (2) *local independence*, where “an individual’s response to item  $i$  is not influenced by his or her response to the other items to the same test” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 19) and “implies that  $\theta$  remains the same” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 20; Van Der Ark, 2007); and (3) *latent monotonicity*, where “the item step response functions are nondecreasing functions of  $\theta$ ” (Van Der Ark, 2007, p. 2). The MHM reflects the value of the underlying latent trait and the likelihood that its value will increase as the score of the item increases (Dreary et al., 2010).

On the other hand, the double monotonicity model (DMM) is based on the same assumptions as the MHM but it includes one more assumption: that of *nonintersection*,



where “the item step response functions do not intersect” (Van Der Ark, 2007, p. 2).

Furthermore, Sijtsma and Molenaar (2002) state that even if the expected conditional item scores cannot be observed (because  $\theta$  is a latent trait) the items ordered by means scores of popularity imply that item ordering is based on expected conditional means.

Hence, the DMM defines an event in which the difficulty of an item’s level is different from another item’s level and the slopes of their respective monotone homogeneity model do not intersect. According to Dreary et al. (2010), “Mokken scales demonstrate, for the measurement of a latent trait, how the performance of an item, in terms of its score, varies with changes in the latent trait being measured by the overall scale” (p. 68). A good Mokken scale should satisfy both the monotone homogeneity model and the double monotonicity model.

### **5.6.1 Inspecting the Scalability of Individual Items under the Mokken Scaling**

#### **Procedure**

In performing Mokken’s automated item selection algorithm, the goal of this procedure is to identify items that do not fit well into the scale and to observe how minimal levels of latent traits of the social resources can be measured with other commonly related items by examining the scalability coefficients. This is done by adjusting the lowerbound  $c$ . Sijtsma and Molenaar (2002) point out,

Mokken (1971, p. 185) proposed that a scale is useful only if  $H_i \geq c$  for all items, where the lowerbound  $c$  must be specified by the user but should be at least 0.3. A scale is considered weak when  $0.3 \leq H < 0.4$  for the total item set, medium when  $0.4 \leq H < 0.5$ , and strong when  $H \geq 0.5$  ... The choice of the lowerbound  $c$  reflects how much cohesion between items is required... If most  $H_i$  values were to lie between 0 and 0.3... then the items would not have enough in common to trust

the ordering of persons by total score to accurately reflect an ordering on a meaningful unidimensional latent trait (p. 60).

Once ill-fitting items are identified, these items are eliminated and another analysis is conducted in order to identify other nonfitting items. In order to conduct the next analysis, the lowerbound  $c$  is readjusted and this process is repeated until a satisfactory result is reached.

In this study, the entire group of 42 resource generator items resulted in a cumulative scale with a homogeneity value of  $H = 0.42$ . Although this resulted in a medium scale, it was necessary to continue raising the threshold in small increments in order to find a stronger, more meaningful, and more cohesive scale. When items were originally entered using Mokken's automated item selection algorithm (aisp) in Statistical Package R with the default settings of 0.3 for the lowerbound and the nominal type I error rate at  $\alpha = 0.05$ , it eliminated items #33, 38, and 39 and resulted in two cumulative scales of 37 items and 2 items, respectively. Table 5.11 exhibits the results, which is listed according to item  $H_i$ . Scale 1 is a moderate scale at  $H = 0.46$  and contains too many items. Scale 2 formed a weak scale at  $H = 0.37$  and only has two items, which is not enough to show consistency. Overall, the scale is still very broad and unmeaningful.

Even when the threshold was increased to  $H_{ij} = 0.40$  (see table 5.12) there was not much change in the scale. In this case, more items (items #1, 20, 23, 33, 38, and 39) were excluded to improve scalability. Like in table 5.11, two scales were formed. Each scale increased in strength but not by much. For instance, scale 1 is moderate at  $H = 0.48$  and still contains too many items; although scale 2 became a moderate scale at  $H = 0.41$ , it

still contains only two items. There are still dimensions of the scale that have yet to be uncovered.

The threshold was raised again to  $H_{ij} = 0.45$  (see table 5.13). Items #1, #4, #20, #23, #33, #38, and #40 were excluded and three scales formed. Scale 1 is moderate at  $H = 0.42$ , scale 2 formed a strong scale at  $H = 0.53$ , and scale 3 also formed a strong scale at  $H = 0.73$ . But upon inspection of the  $H_i$  for all individual items, it was found that item #3 (in Scale 1) is unacceptable at  $H_i = 0.28$ . According to Mokken, when  $H < 0.3$  “then the items would not have enough in common to trust the ordering of persons by total score to accurately reflect an ordering on a meaningful unidimensional latent trait” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 60). Even though item #3 must be excluded to improve scalability, meaningful scales are starting to form. For instance, scale 3 represents the social capital dimension of social cohesion and inclusion and it is also characteristic of the structural aspect (or groups and networks dimension) of social capital. Scale 1 and 2 are still broad and lack meaning.

In putting together a fourth cumulative scale (table 5.14), item #3 was removed manually and the threshold was increased to  $H_{ij} = 0.50$ . With items #1, #3, #4, #23, #33, #38, and #40 excluded, five scales formed. Scale 1 is moderate ( $H = 0.44$ ) and scale 2 ( $H = 0.57$ ), scale 3 ( $H = 0.77$ ), scale 4 ( $H = 0.62$ ), and scale 5 ( $H = 0.63$ ) formed strong scales. Scale 1 continues to exhibit the structural aspect (the groups and networks dimension) of social capital. Scale 2 includes items that characterize the trust and solidarity component of social capital. Scale 3 includes items #11, 6 and 13, which exhibit the social capital dimension of information and communication. Scale 4 includes items that are part of the social capital dimension of social cohesion and inclusion. And

the items in scale 5 are characteristic of the social capital dimension of empowerment and political action.

Again, the threshold was raised to  $H_{ij} = 0.55$  in order to achieve satisfactory scales. Items #1, #3, #33, #38, and #40 were excluded (see table 5.15). Scale 1 is moderate ( $H = 0.44$ ) while scale 2 ( $H = 0.61$ ), scale 3 ( $H = 0.62$ ), scale 4 ( $H = 0.64$ ), scale 5 ( $H = 0.73$ ) and scale 6 ( $H = 0.62$ ) formed strong scales. Scale 1 includes items that are characteristic of the groups and networks of social capital. Most of the items in scale 2, such as items #29, #30, #22, #31, and #34, represent the dimension of trust and solidarity. With the exception of item #4, scale 3 represents collective action and solidarity. All of the items, with the exclusion of item #6, in scale 4 exhibit information and communication. Scale 5 is characteristic of social cohesion and inclusion. And scale 6 includes items that are characteristic of empowerment and political action.

Upon further examination of table 5.15, a compromise was made between scale homogeneity and reliability values in order to form more satisfactory, cohesive scales. Thus, more changes were made and the final cumulative scale is exhibited in table 5.16. (From this point forward, the final scales will be referred to as scale I, scale II, scale III, scale IV, scale V, and scale VI. The items in each scale are organized according to popularity, which is signified by the column labeled “% yes”). For instance, item #17 was removed from scale 1 (groups and networks) as shown in table 5.15 and added to scale IV (information and communication), which is shown in table 5.16; item #15 was removed from scale 2 (trust and solidarity) in 5.16 and was added to scale I (groups and networks) in 5.17; item #18 was removed from scale 2 (trust and solidarity) in table 5.15 and then added to scale VI (empowerment and political action) in table 5.16; and item #4

**Table 5.11 First cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>3</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.30$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale 1 ( $H = 0.46$ )			
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.31
3	82	is handy repairing household equipment	0.32
6	94	can play an instrument	0.39
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.39
42	87	is a godparent	0.39
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.39
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.40
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.40
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.40
24	90	can help with small jobs around the house	0.41
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.41
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.41
40	57	has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	0.42
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.46
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.46
17	78	knows a lot about governmental regulations	0.46
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.46
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.47
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.47
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.47
19	90	knows about football	0.48
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.48
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.48
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.48
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.48
35	90	can be visited socially	0.49
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.49
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.49
11	67	is active in a political party	0.50
13	54	works at city hall	0.50
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.53
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.57
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.57
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.59
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.61
2	99	owns a car	0.84
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	0.88
Scale 2 ( $H = 0.37$ )			
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.37
1	80	can repair a car, bike, etc.	0.37

<sup>3</sup> Items #33, 38, 39 were excluded.

**Table 5.12 Second cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>4</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.40$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale 1 ( $H = 0.48$ )			
3	82	is handy repairing household equipment	0.32
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.40
6	94	can play an instrument	0.40
24	90	can help with small jobs around the house	0.41
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.41
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.41
42	87	is a godparent	0.41
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.42
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.42
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.42
40	57	has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	0.43
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.46
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.47
17	78	knows a lot about governmental regulations	0.47
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.48
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.48
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.48
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.48
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.48
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.48
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.49
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.49
19	90	knows about football	0.49
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.49
11	67	is active in a political party	0.50
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.50
13	54	works at city hall	0.50
35	90	can be visited socially	0.50
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.55
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.58
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.59
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.59
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.61
2	99	owns a car	0.87
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	0.90
Scale 2 ( $H = 0.41$ )			
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.41
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.41

<sup>4</sup> Items #1, 20, 33, 38, and 39 were excluded.

**Table 5.13 Third cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>5</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.45$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale 1 ( $H = 0.42$ )			
3	82	is handy repairing household equipment	0.28
42	87	is a godparent	0.32
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.38
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.39
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.39
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.39
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.40
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.41
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.41
17	78	knows a lot about governmental regulations	0.43
19	90	knows about football	0.44
35	90	can be visited socially	0.45
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.47
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.48
2	99	owns a car	1.00
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00
Scale 2 ( $H = 0.53$ )			
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.46
6	94	can play an instrument	0.47
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.48
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.48
13	54	works at city hall	0.49
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.49
24	90	can help with small jobs around the house	0.50
11	83	is active in a political party	0.51
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.52
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.52
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.52
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.55
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.56
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.57
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.58
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.59
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.64
Scale 3 ( $H = 0.73$ )			
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73

<sup>5</sup> Items #1, 4, 20, 23, 33, 38, and 40 were excluded.

**Table 5.14 Fourth cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>6</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.50$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale 1 ( $H = 0.44$ )			
42	87	is a godparent	0.33
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.39
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.39
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.39
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.39
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.41
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.42
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.43
19	90	knows about football	0.44
17	78	knows a lot about governmental regulations	0.46
35	90	can be visited socially	0.47
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.49
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.50
2	99	owns a car	1.00
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00
Scale 2 ( $H = 0.57$ )			
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.51
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.52
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.53
24	90	can help with small jobs around the house	0.53
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.56
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.56
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.57
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.57
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.59
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.62
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.62
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.64
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.66
Scale 3 ( $H = 0.77$ )			
11	67	is active in a political party	0.73
6	94	can play an instrument	0.79
13	54	works at city hall	0.79
Scale 4 ( $H = 0.62$ )			
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73
Scale 5 ( $H = 0.63$ )			
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.62
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.62

<sup>6</sup> Items #1, 3, 4, 23, 33, 38, and 40 were excluded.



**Table 5.15 Fifth cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>7</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.55$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale 1 ( $H = 0.44$ )			
42	87	is a godparent	0.33
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.39
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.39
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.39
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.39
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.41
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.42
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.43
19	90	knows about football	0.44
17	78	knows a lot about governmental regulations	0.46
35	90	can be visited socially	0.47
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.49
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.50
2	99	owns a car	1.00
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00
Scale 2 ( $H = 0.61$ )			
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.52
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.57
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.55
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.57
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.67
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.60
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.60
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.67
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.69
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.69
Scale 3 ( $H = 0.62$ )			
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.55
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.58
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.74
Scale 4 ( $H = 0.64$ )			
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.57
11	67	is active in a political party	0.60
13	54	works at city hall	0.73
6	94	can play an instrument	0.80
Scale 5 ( $H = 0.73$ )			
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73
Scale 6 ( $H = 0.62$ )			
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.62
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.62

<sup>7</sup> Items #1, 3, 33, 38, and 40 were excluded.

**Table 5.16 Final cumulative scale search procedure with  
Resource Generator items<sup>8</sup>**  
(Threshold homogeneity value  $H_{ij}=0.55$ ;  $n=139$ )

item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	$H_i$
Scale I: Groups and Networks ( $H = 0.45$ )			
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.55
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.49
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.41
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.41
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.45
42	87	is a godparent	0.34
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.39
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.40
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.43
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.51
19	90	knows about football	0.43
35	90	can be visited socially	0.45
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.41
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00
2	99	owns a car	1.00
Scale II: Trust and Solidarity ( $H = 0.61$ )			
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.69
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.54
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.56
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.51
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.54
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.52
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.69
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.53
Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation ( $H = 0.62$ )			
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.68
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.68
Scale IV: Information and Communication ( $H = 0.64$ )			
13	54	works at city hall	0.66
11	67	is active in a political party	0.59
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.53
17	78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.54
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.54
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion ( $H = 0.73$ )			
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action ( $H = 0.62$ )			
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.53
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.52
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.66

<sup>8</sup> Items #1, 3, 6, 33, 38, and 40 were excluded.

was removed from scale 3 (collective action and cooperation) in table 5.15 and added to scale IV (information and communication) in table 5.16. These changes were made in order to better reflect the dimension of social capital that each group represents. Scale V (social cohesion and inclusion) is the only scale that remains unchanged. Also, items #1, #3, #6, #33, #38, and #40 were omitted. Scale I is moderate ( $H = 0.45$ ), while scale II ( $H = 0.61$ ), scale III ( $H = 0.62$ ), scale IV ( $H = 0.64$ ), scale V ( $H = 0.73$ ) and scale VI ( $H = 0.62$ ) formed strong scales, even though scales II, IV, and VI decreased in strength by a few points. To reiterate, each scale of the final cumulative scale search procedure represents a dimension of social capital as follows: Scale I: Groups and Networks; Scale II: Trust and Solidarity; Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation; Scale IV: Information and Communication; Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion; and Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action.

### **5.6.2 Ensuring Validity and Reliability of the Mokken Scaling Procedure**

The monotone homogeneity model (MHM) and the double monotonicity model (DMM) were examined to ensure that validity was established for each cluster of the final Mokken scale. In addition, the Cronbach alpha and Guttman's lambda 2 were inspected to ensure reliability.

#### **5.6.2.1 Validity**

##### **5.6.2.1.1 Monotone Homogeneity Model (MHM)**

As mentioned previously, the monotone homogeneity model is based on the following three assumptions: unidimensionality, local independence, and monotonicity.

The purpose of the MHM is to measure individuals on an ordinal scale by explaining the “item response data that were generated by a set of *homogeneous* (unidimensionality) items having IRFs <item response functions> that are *monotonically* (monotonicity) related to the latent trait” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 22). While the strength of the Loevinger H coefficient for each cluster was evaluated in the previous section, homogeneity or unidimensionality of each cluster via the Loevinger H coefficient will be assessed alongside monotonicity. Evaluating the monotonicity will help to ensure that “the regression of the score on item  $i$  on the rest score is nondecreasing” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 41) in the item response function, which expresses the extent to which an underlying trait value increases. With respect to the MHM, as the value of the IRF increases so, too, does the item score also increase (Dreary et al., 2010; Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002).

In this study, monotonicity was investigated in Statistical Package R and a summary of monotonicity was produced for each scale (see table 5.17). Items in each scale are listed according to its item mean score ( $P_i$ ) from the least popular to the most popular item. For each item, the following information is provided: the scalability of coefficient  $H_j$  (*Item H*)<sup>9</sup>; the number of active pairs ( $\#ac$ ); the number of violations of manifest monotonicity greater than the minimum violation of 0.03 ( $\#vi$ ); the average number of violations of manifest monotonicity per active pair ( $\#vi/\#ac$ ); the largest violation of manifest monotonicity ( $maxvi$ ); the sum of violations of manifest monotonicity ( $sum$ ); the average violation per active pair ( $sum/\#ac$ ); the maximum test statistic ( $zmax$ ); and the number of violations that are significantly greater than zero ( $\#zsig$ ). If a violation occurs and it is greater than 0.03 at level  $\alpha = 0.05$  then it is reported. (Van Der Ark, 2007, pp. 5, 11). In table 5.18, no violation of monotonicity was

---

<sup>9</sup> According to Van Der Ark (2010), “For each pair of items, there is an item-pair scalability coefficient  $H_{ij}$ ;  $i, j = 1, \dots, J$ ” (p. 3).

Table 5.17 Summary of Monotonocity

item #	P <sub>i</sub>	Do you know anyone who...	Item H	#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	zmax	#zsig
Scale I: Groups and Networks											
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.49	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	87	is a godparent	0.34	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.40	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.51	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	90	knows about football	0.43	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	90	can be visited socially	0.45	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.41	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	99	owns a car	1.00	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale II: Trust and Solidarity											
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.69	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.56	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.51	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.69	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation											
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.68	0	0	NaN	0	0	NaN	0	0
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.68	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 5.17 Summary of Monotonicity**  
*continued*

item #	P <sub>i</sub>	Do you know anyone who...	Item H	#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	zmax	#zsig
Scale IV: Information and Communication											
13	54	works at city hall	0.66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	67	is active in a political party	0.59	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.54	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion											
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73	0	0	NaN	0	0	NaN	0	0
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action											
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

reported for scales I – VI. Almost all items listed belong to one active pair, with the exception of item #27 in scale III and item #41 in scale V. Since there are only two items in each scale, it was impossible for Statistical Package R to generate a value because there is only one pair in each scale. This was noted by the acronym *NaN*, which means *not a number*. Overall, table 5.17 shows that resource items are monotonically related to each of the latent traits.

#### **5.6.2.1.2 Double Monotonicity Model (DMM)**

The double monotonicity model is based on the same assumptions (unidimensionality, local independence, and monotonicity) as the MHM but it is also based on a fourth assumption: nonintersection<sup>10</sup>. The DMM assumes that the item response functions do not intersect and implies that, in considering the entire population of interest, the proportion of individuals who positively answered a questionnaire item has the same ordering as the conditional expectation—depending on how the latent trait  $\theta$  is distributed across different subgroups. An IRF that includes points of intersection signifies that “the ordering of the IRF(s) reverses each time an intersection point is passed” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 97). In addition, Mokken (1971) stated that there is another property of double monotony: “The probability of a scale response or positive response would decrease when the difficulty of the items presented to a subject increases” (p. 273). Dreary et al. (2010) summarized, “Double monotonicity is a situation where an item’s level of difficulty differs from another item and the slopes describing their monotone

---

<sup>10</sup> Nonintersection is also known as invariant item ordering (IIO) (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 91).

homogeneity do not intersect” (p. 68). In this study, the restscore method and the  $P(++)/P(--)$  method were used to investigate intersection.

**Restscore method.** The restscore method is a way to investigate whether invariant item ordering (IIO) exists between two items by estimating the IRF’s of two items via the item-rest regression and then comparing whether these estimates intersect. Once this task is completed independently for all item pairs then “the results of these comparisons are combined into one final conclusion about IIO for a set of  $k$  items” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 98). The ultimate goal is to check that no violations exist or, if there are a small number of violations, that they are of moderate size—indicating that monotonicity exists for the item step response function (ISRF). If there are a large number of violations or if the violation is large in size, then the respective item(s) may have to be removed from the scale so as to not interrupt the ordering of the respondents by mean score and to also improve scalability (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002).

For each item in table 5.18, the following information is provided: the scalability of coefficient  $H_j$  (*Item H*); the total number of active pairs ( $\#ac$ ); the total number of violations ( $\#vi$ ); the average number of violations per active pair ( $\#vi/\#ac$ ); the maximum violation ( $maxvi$ ); the sum of all violations ( $sum$ ); the average violation per active pair ( $sum/\#ac$ ); the maximum test statistic ( $zmax$ ); and the number of violations ( $\#zsig$ ) (Van Der Ark, 2007, p. 15). Also, items in each scale are listed according to its item mean score ( $P_i$ ) from least popular to most popular.

For scales III and V in table 5.18, the restscore could not be computed because each scale contains less than 3 items. With the exception of items #14, #25, #32, #35, and #36 in scale I and items #22 and #31 in scale II, the remaining items contain no violations. However, in scale I, items #14, #25, #35, and #36 contain one violation and



### Table 5.18 Summary of Restscore

[illegible]

**Table 5.18 Summary of Restscore**  
*continued*

item #	P <sub>i</sub>	Do you know anyone who...	Item H	#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	zmax	#zsig
Scale IV: Information and Communication											
13	0.54	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.66	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	0.67	knows a lot about government regulations	0.59	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16	0.71	is active in a political party	0.53	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0.78	works at city hall	0.54	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0.91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.54	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion											
41	0.55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
39	0.86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action											
18	0.59	has good contacts with media	0.52	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0.63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.66	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
20	0.88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.53	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

item #32 contains two violations of manifest monotonicity. In scale II, items #22 and #31 also contains one violation of manifest monotonicity. Since each of these violations have a maximum violation ( $maxvi$ ) of 0.03 and it is not significantly greater than zero ( $\#zsig$ ) then there is no need to remove these items to improve scalability.

***P(++)/P(--)* method.** Also known as the item splitting method, the P(++)/P(--) method is a variation of the restscore method and provides further investigation of nonintersection via the invariant item-step ordering for different scale values (Molenaar and Sijtsma, 2000; Verweij, Sijtsma, and Koops, 1996).

A summary of the P(++)/P(--) method is provided in table 5.19. One set of columns summarizes the P(++ ) method and the other set of columns summarizes the P(--) method. For both the P(++ ) and P(--) method, the following information is provided for each item in the table: the scalability of coefficient  $H_j$  (*Item H*); the number of active pairs ( $\#ac$ ); the number of violations greater than the minimum violation of 0.03 ( $\#vi$ ); the average number of violations per active pair ( $\#vi/\#ac$ ); the maximum violation ( $maxvi$ ); the sum of the violations greater than the minimum violation of 0.03 ( $sum$ ); and the average sum of the violations greater than the minimum violation of 0.03 per active pair ( $sum/\#ac$ ) (Van Der Ark, 2007). Again, items in each scale are listed according to its item mean score ( $P_i$ ) from least popular to most popular.

According to table 5.19, the P(++ ) table contains items with no violations. However, there are some violations that occur in the portion of the table where the P(--) method was applied. Violations revealed in the P(--) means that “the intersections occurred at the lower end of the scale” (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002, p. 106). With the exception of items #9, #36, and #19 in scale I and item #30 in scale II, the remaining items contain no violation. However, items #9, #36, and #19 in scale I and item #30 in scale II were found to have a maximum violation of 0.04. According to Mokken (1971), “If we accept ‘small’ deviations of 0.03 or less as more or less compatible with sampling

Table 5.19 Summary of the P(++)/P(--) Method

item #	P <sub>i</sub>	Do you know anyone who...	Item H	P(++)					P(--)							
				#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	
Scale I: Groups and Networks																
15	0.65	owns a holiday home abroad	0.55	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	0.76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.49	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	0.79	has a higher vocational education	0.41	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	0.003	0.040	0.040	0.003	0.003
26	0.82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.41	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	0.83	reads a professional journal	0.45	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0.87	is a godparent	0.34	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0.88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.39	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	0.88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.40	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	0.88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.43	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	0.88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.51	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
36	0.90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.43	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	0.003	0.040	0.040	0.003	0.003
35	0.90	can be visited socially	0.45	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	0.90	knows about football	0.41	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	1	0.003	0.040	0.040	0.003	0.003
5	0.98	knows how to surf the internet	1.00	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	0.99	owns a car	1.00	14	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale II: Trust and Solidarity																
21	0.53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.69	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	0.74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.54	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
31	0.74	can give advice on matters of law	0.56	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
30	0.79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.51	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	1	0.006	0.040	0.040	0.006	0.006
29	0.86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.54	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	0.89	has knowledge of literature	0.52	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0.92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.69	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	0.96	has graduated from senior high school	0.53	7	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation																
27	0.56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.68	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	0.84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.68	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

**Table 5.19 Summary of the P(++)/P(--)** Method  
*continued*

item #	P <sub>i</sub>	Do you know anyone who...	Item H	P(++)					P(--)					
				#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum	sum/#ac	#ac	#vi	#vi/#ac	maxvi	sum
Scale IV: Information and Communication														
13	0.54	works at city hall	0.66	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
11	0.67	is active in a political party	0.59	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
16	0.71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.53	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
17	0.78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.54	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
4	0.91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.54	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion														
41	0.55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.73	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
39	0.86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.73	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action														
18	0.59	has good contacts with media	0.52	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
37	0.63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.66	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
20	0.88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.53	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0

variation, we cannot find fault with the matrix” (p. 277). But since these violations are still relatively small, these resource items will still be included as part of the scale.

Furthermore, Sijtsma and Molenaar (2002) point out,

If the sole purpose of a test application is the ordinal measurement of persons...the monotone homogeneity model suffices. This model allows IRFs of all forms as long as they are monotonely nondecreasing. This means that the IRFs are allowed to intersect” (p. 111).

### 5.6.2.2 Reliability

Reliability was established by examining two reliability measures for each cluster:

(1) the Cronbach alpha and (2) Guttman’s lambda 2. Cronbach alpha is a measure of internal consistency (Gliem and Gliem, 2003) and Guttman’s Lambda-2 is a measure of association (Champion, 1970). Table 5.20 not only includes the Cronbach alpha and Guttman’s Lambda-2 for each scale but it also shows each scale’s unidimensionality (as noted by its Loevinger H), mean, and standard deviation for further comparison and analysis.

**Table 5.20 Reliability Measures of Final Cumulative Scale**

	H*	alpha	Lambda-2	mean	std. dev.
Scale I: Groups and Networks	0.45	0.87	0.87	0.14	0.20
Scale II: Trust and Solidarity	0.61	0.79	0.81	0.20	0.24
Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation	0.62	0.48	0.48	0.30	0.35
Scale IV: Information and Communication	0.64	0.74	0.76	0.24	0.27
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion	0.73	0.48	0.48	0.29	0.35
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action	0.62	0.62	0.63	0.30	0.33

\*Loevinger’s H

**Cronbach alpha.** According to table 5.20, scale I has a good internal consistency ( $\alpha = 0.87$ ) while scale II ( $\alpha = 0.79$ ) and scale IV ( $\alpha = 0.74$ ) have an internal consistency that is acceptable. On the other hand, the internal consistency for scale VI is questionable ( $\alpha = 0.62$ ) while scale III ( $\alpha = 0.48$ ) and scale V ( $\alpha = 0.48$ ) are unacceptable. The results for scale III, scale V, and scale VI are due to the fact that these scales contain three items or less and the calculation of Cronbach alpha depends on “both the number of items in the scale and the mean inter-item correlations” (Gliem and Gliem, 2003, p. 87).

**Guttman’s Lambda-2.** Guttman’s Lambda-2 is also significant because it has been shown to be a more accurate measure of the lowerbound than Cronbach alpha (Egerbink, 2010). And as a coefficient of predictability, it “measures the degree to which one variable may be accurately predicted with the knowledge of the other” (Champion, 1970, p. 210). Upon further analysis, table 5.20 shows that the measure of association for scale I ( $\lambda^2 = 0.87$ ) and scale II ( $\lambda^2 = 0.81$ ) is very strong; scale IV ( $\lambda^2 = 0.76$ ), and scale VI ( $\lambda^2 = 0.63$ ) exhibit a strong association; and scale III ( $\lambda^2 = 0.48$ ) and scale V ( $\lambda^2 = 0.48$ ) each have a moderate association.

**Conclusion.** Overall, while it is just as important that the scales exhibit unidimensionality (Gliem and Gliem, 2003) it is “not realistic to expect perfectly homogenous groups” (Mokken, 1971, p. 269). Because changes were made to the final cumulative scale (as shown in table 5.16) and a compromise was made between homogeneity and reliability, each cluster was assessed (Van Der Gaag, 2005). In referring to table 5.20, the unidimensionality of scale I is moderate ( $H = 0.45$ ) while the unidimensionality of each of the remaining scales—including scales III, V, and VI—is strong. By utilizing valid and reliable results from a Mokken Scaling Procedure, “we can

expect to detect effects of local independence of this type when we investigate populations which are more or less homogeneous on the variable measured by a scale” (Mokken, 1971, p. 269).

### 5.6.3 Further inspection of the Mokken scales and individual items

***Correlations table of individual items.*** Further inspection of the scales show that they possess cumulative properties (Van Der Gaag, 2005). Shown in table 5.21, items in each scale are listed in order of popularity (“% yes”) from least popular to most popular. For example, *scale I (groups and networks)* indicates that an individual who “knows someone that owns a holiday home abroad” is rare (item #15); but when that resource is accessed, it is likely that the person who happens to “own a holiday home abroad” (item #15) also “owns shares of at least \$5,000” (item #12), “has a higher vocational education” (item #9), “can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied” (item #26), “reads a professional journal” (item #10), “is a godparent” (item #42), and has access to the other remaining items included in the scale.

Similarly, when it comes to *trust and solidarity (scale II)*, an individual who knows someone who “can find a holiday job for a family member” (item #21) and accesses that resource is also likely to know someone who “can give advice on conflicts at work” (item #22), “can give advice on matters of law” (item #31), “can discuss what political party to vote” (item #30), “can give advice about conflicts with family” (item #29), “has knowledge of literature” (item #7), and has access to the other remaining items in scale II.



In the *collective action and cooperation (scale III) cluster*, when an individual who happens to know someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (item #27) decides to access that resource then he or she is likely to know someone who “can help when moving house” (such as packing and lifting) (item #23).

In regards to *information and communication (scale IV)*, while it is rare that an individual knows someone “who works at city hall” (item #13), when that resource is accessed then it is likely that this person also knows someone who “is active in a political party” (item #11), knows someone who “is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people” (item #16), knows someone who “knows a lot about government regulations” (item #17), and knows someone who “can speak and write a foreign language” (item #4).

In looking at *social cohesion and inclusion (scale V)*, when an individual knows someone who has “recently immigrated from the Philippines” (item #41) then it is likely that this individual also knows someone who “is a member of a Filipino American association” (item #39).

And while *scale VI (empowerment and political action)* indicates that an individual who “has good contacts with the media” (item #18) is rare, when that resource is accessed then it is likely that this individual also knows someone who “serves on the board of a nonprofit organization” (item #37) and knows someone who “has knowledge about financial matters” (item #20).

Furthermore, the correlations matrix in table 5.21 provides additional information about how social capital is distributed over the population. Overall, it contains 35 individual variables and 595 pairs of variables. Correlation numbers listed in bold are significant at  $p \leq 0.05$ . The matrix shows, for example, that there is a very strong,

Table 5.21 Correlations between scale items in cumulative social capital measures from Resource Generator items (n=139)

Item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	15	12	9	26	10	42	32	28	25	14	36	35	19	5	2
I. Groups and Networks																	
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad	1.00														
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000	0.35	1.00													
9	79	has a higher vocational education	0.33	0.28	1.00												
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0.24	0.47	0.27	1.00											
10	83	reads a professional journal	0.40	0.38	0.30	0.35	1.00										
42	87	is a godparent	0.34	0.38	0.12	0.27	0.23	1.00									
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0.32	0.30	0.46	0.28	0.42	0.25	1.00								
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill	0.37	0.30	0.29	0.34	0.42	0.38	0.46	1.00							
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)	0.28	0.25	0.35	0.40	0.37	0.31	0.40	0.40	1.00						
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job	0.38	0.45	0.29	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.46	0.26	0.20	1.00					
19	90	knows about football	0.30	0.25	0.30	0.34	0.24	0.16	0.53	0.24	0.24	0.39	1.00				
35	90	can be visited socially	0.20	0.31	0.42	0.28	0.49	0.23	0.53	0.39	0.46	0.24	0.29	1.00			
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0.20	0.31	0.24	0.34	0.30	0.30	0.60	0.31	0.24	0.46	0.36	0.29	1.00		
5	98	knows how to surf the internet	0.20	0.26	0.29	0.32	0.33	0.39	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.40	0.44	0.44	0.44	1.00	
2	99	owns a car	0.16	0.21	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.31	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.81	1.00
II. Trust and Solidarity																	
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	0.49	0.34	0.33	0.20	0.28	0.37	0.40	0.27	0.22	0.35	0.26	0.21	0.31	0.16	0.13
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.42	0.43	0.26	0.36	0.53	0.36	0.53	0.38	0.33	0.43	0.40	0.35	0.29	0.25	0.20
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.42	0.27	0.42	0.24	0.40	0.21	0.58	0.33	0.23	0.38	0.29	0.35	0.35	0.25	0.20
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.47	0.45	0.22	0.45	0.39	0.22	0.40	0.35	0.46	0.29	0.24	0.30	0.30	0.17	0.09
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.38	0.29	0.24	0.40	0.37	0.33	0.41	0.60	0.28	0.28	0.20	0.34	0.34	0.22	0.12
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.33	0.23	0.34	0.26	0.34	0.21	0.37	0.37	0.22	0.22	0.19	0.35	0.19	0.27	0.15
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.23	0.33	0.37	0.35	0.44	0.28	0.62	0.38	0.38	0.30	0.43	0.61	0.34	0.32	0.19
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.10	0.25	0.28	0.11	0.23	0.16	0.28	0.16	0.28	0.28	0.19	0.45	0.06	0.24	0.30
III. Collective Action and Cooperation																	
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.35	0.31	0.30	0.19	0.35	0.26	0.38	0.42	0.29	0.29	0.14	0.33	0.28	0.17	0.14
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.09	0.21	0.21	0.10	0.18	0.13	0.26	0.38	0.44	0.02	0.05	0.38	0.18	0.21	0.11
IV. Information and Communication																	
13	54	works at city hall	0.35	0.28	0.20	0.28	0.25	0.20	0.27	0.23	0.23	0.36	0.22	0.22	0.31	0.16	0.13
11	67	is active in a political party	0.31	0.38	0.24	0.23	0.39	0.23	0.44	0.30	0.30	0.44	0.22	0.32	0.37	0.21	0.17
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.45	0.37	0.25	0.27	0.35	0.31	0.34	0.34	0.24	0.24	0.10	0.36	0.31	0.23	0.19
17	78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.20	0.43	0.25	0.39	0.43	0.32	0.39	0.28	0.23	0.39	0.29	0.41	0.35	0.28	0.23
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.15	0.18	0.09	0.26	0.28	0.19	0.12	0.20	0.20	0.04	0.07	0.24	0.15	0.31	0.18
V. Social Cohesion and Inclusion																	
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.40	0.20	0.29	0.18	0.18	0.34	0.28	0.20	0.11	0.24	0.23	0.13	0.18	0.17	0.13
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.21	0.10	-0.01	0.13	0.20	0.39	0.16	0.28	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.20	0.14	0.22	0.12
VI. Empowerment and Political Action																	
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.55	0.44	0.26	0.37	0.42	0.33	0.40	0.31	0.22	0.40	0.30	0.26	0.35	0.18	0.14
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.36	0.39	0.30	0.22	0.30	0.32	0.30	0.35	0.21	0.35	0.19	0.24	0.33	0.19	0.16
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.14	0.40	0.24	0.34	0.19	0.25	0.40	0.26	0.13	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.46	0.25	0.14

Pearson's correlation in bold  $p \leq 0.05$

Table 5.21 *continued*

Item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	21	31	22	30	29	7	34	8	27	23
II. Trust and Solidarity												
I. Groups and Networks												
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad										
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000										
9	79	has a higher vocational education										
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied										
10	83	reads a professional journal										
42	87	is a godparent										
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly										
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill										
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)										
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job										
19	90	knows about football										
35	90	can be visited socially										
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account										
5	98	knows how to surf the internet										
2	99	owns a car										
II. Trust and Solidarity												
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member	1.00									
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work	0.33	1.00								
31	74	can give advice on matters of law	0.47	0.40	1.00							
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote	0.33	0.55	0.34	1.00						
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family	0.36	0.37	0.37	0.39	1.00					
7	89	has knowledge of literature	0.32	0.38	0.32	0.28	0.32	1.00				
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters	0.26	0.44	0.50	0.37	0.41	0.33	1.00			
8	96	has graduated from senior high school	0.13	0.24	0.15	0.09	0.25	0.31	0.37	1.00		
III. Collective Action and Cooperation												
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money	0.42	0.40	0.30	0.37	0.38	0.25	0.22	0.14	1.00	
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0.27	0.10	0.24	0.36	0.33	0.17	0.31	0.02	0.33	1.00
IV. Information and Communication												
13	54	works at city hall	0.35	0.34	0.28	0.38	0.24	0.05	0.21	0.05	0.32	0.27
11	67	is active in a political party	0.35	0.49	0.25	0.43	0.19	0.25	0.36	0.19	0.39	0.28
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.47	0.34	0.34	0.41	0.36	0.28	0.28	0.21	0.38	0.32
17	78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.35	0.49	0.37	0.42	0.38	0.27	0.43	0.27	0.28	0.25
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.17	-0.01	0.17	0.16	0.24	0.14	0.19	0.08	0.30	0.29
V. Social Cohesion and Inclusion												
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.44	0.36	0.23	0.18	0.25	0.15	0.11	0.14	0.29	0.05
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.11	0.27	0.04	0.04	0.24	0.06	0.18	0.03	0.17	0.10
VI. Empowerment and Political Action												
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.57	0.61	0.44	0.44	0.33	0.32	0.30	0.15	0.32	0.20
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.38	0.43	0.29	0.37	0.32	0.26	0.21	0.09	0.31	0.28
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.31	0.28	0.33	0.24	0.41	0.44	0.22	0.16	0.25	0.20

Pearson's correlation in bold  $p \leq 0.05$

Table 5.21 *continued*

Item #	% yes	Do you know anyone who...	IV. Information and Communication				V. Social Cohesion and Inclusion			VI. Empowerment and Political Action		
			13	11	16	17	4	41	39	18	37	20
I. Groups and Networks												
15	65	owns a holiday home abroad										
12	76	owns shares of at least \$5,000										
9	79	has a higher vocational education										
26	82	can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied										
10	83	reads a professional journal										
42	87	is a godparent										
14	88	earns more than \$3,000 monthly										
25	88	can do your shopping when you are ill										
28	88	can accommodate you (for a week)										
32	88	can give a good reference when applying for job										
19	90	knows about football										
35	90	can be visited socially										
36	90	has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account										
5	98	knows how to surf the internet										
2	99	owns a car										
II. Trust and Solidarity												
21	53	can find a holiday job for a family member										
22	74	can give advice on conflicts at work										
31	74	can give advice on matters of law										
30	79	can discuss with you what political party to vote										
29	86	can give advice about conflicts with family										
7	89	has knowledge of literature										
34	92	can be talked to regarding important matters										
8	96	has graduated from senior high school										
III. Collective Action and Cooperation												
27	56	can borrow for you a large sum of money										
23	84	can help when moving house (packing, lifting)										
IV. Information and Communication												
13	54	works at city hall	1.00									
11	67	is active in a political party	0.58	1.00								
16	71	is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0.45	0.42	1.00							
17	78	knows a lot about government regulations	0.32	0.45	0.39	1.00						
4	91	can speak and write a foreign language	0.18	0.22	0.31	0.27	1.00					
V. Social Cohesion and Inclusion												
41	55	recently immigrated from the Philippines	0.33	0.23	0.24	0.16	0.03	1.00				
39	86	is a member of a Filipino-American association	0.28	0.23	0.14	0.13	0.02	0.33	1.00			
VI. Empowerment and Political Action												
18	59	has good contacts with media	0.46	0.50	0.46	0.56	0.16	0.40	0.24	1.00		
37	63	serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0.39	0.44	0.41	0.35	0.08	0.26	0.23	0.44	1.00	
20	88	has knowledge about financial matters	0.14	0.16	0.19	0.34	0.28	0.15	0.03	0.31	0.30	1.00

Pearson's correlation in bold  $p \leq 0.05$

positive correlation of 0.81 between knowing someone who “owns a car” (scale I, item #2) and knowing someone who “knows how to surf the internet” (scale I, item #5).

Hence, in our sample of 139 respondents, approximately 66% of the variance<sup>11</sup> between these two variables is in common (or about 34% is not in common). More specifically, approximately 66% of the variance in knowing someone who “knows how to surf the internet” can be explained by the variance in knowing someone “who owns a car.”

In another instance, there is a weak, positive correlation of 0.17 between knowing someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (scale V, item #39) and knowing someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (scale III, item #27). Again in our sample of 139 respondents, approximately 3% of the variance on these two variables is in common (or about 97% is not in common). In other words, approximately 3% of the variance of knowing someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” can be explained by the variance of knowing someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association.”

***Correlations table of Mokken scales.*** Overall, the formation of multiple scales is evidence of the fact that social capital is multidimensional (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002; Van Der Gaag, 2005). In examining the internal correlation pattern of the scales, it was found that almost all of the items have positive associations, which resulted in positive correlations between each of the Mokken scales (see Table 5.22). For instance, we found that there is a very strong, positive correlation of 0.82 between *scale II (trust and solidarity)* and *scale I (groups and networks)*. Approximately 67% of the variance of these two variables share a commonality (or about 33% is not in common). In another

---

<sup>11</sup> The variance between two items is calculated by squaring the correlation.

**Table 5.22 Correlations between Social Capital Measures (n=139)**

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Scale I: Groups and Networks	1.00					
Scale II: Trust and Solidarity	<b>0.82</b>	1.00				
Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.54</b>	1.00			
Scale IV: Information and Communication	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>0.54</b>	1.00		
Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.35</b>	1.00	
Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action	<b>0.68</b>	<b>0.71</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>0.64</b>	<b>0.39</b>	1.00

Pearson's correlation in bold  $p \leq 0.05$

case, it was found that there is a moderate, positive correlation of 0.25 between *scale V* (*social cohesion and inclusion*) and *scale III* (*collective action and cooperation*). About 6% of the variance of these two scales share a commonality (or about 94% is not in common).

### 5.7 Comparison of Measures (OLS Regression Models)

In order to examine how quality influences social capital, OLS regressions<sup>12</sup> were performed (see table 5.24). Indicators that influence the quality of social capital include the following independent variables: age, education, annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization. The variables age and education represent the social dimension; income represents the economic dimension; and membership in a volunteer or civic association represents the political dimension (see table 5.23) (Lin, 2001b; Weber, 1946).

<sup>12</sup> Pair-wise correlations of each of the dependent variables were used to conduct OLS regressions.

**Table 5.23 Quality of Social Capital – Indicators**

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Indicator</b>
Social	Status	Age, Education
Economic	Class	Income
Political	Authority	Membership in a volunteer or civic association

\*adopted from Lin (2001b) and Weber (1946)

In order to test whether age, education, annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization had a combined effect on the likelihood of an individual to access social capital resources, the following linear regression model was analyzed:

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \beta_4 x_4 + u$$

where

y = likelihood of individuals accessing social capital resources

x<sub>1</sub> = age

x<sub>2</sub> = education

x<sub>3</sub> = annual income

x<sub>4</sub> = membership in a volunteer or civic organization

u = error

### **5.7.1 The likelihood to access social capital resources (overall)**

According to table 5.24, it seems that there is a weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources an individual accesses. In our sample of 116 respondents<sup>13</sup>, about 19% of the variation in

<sup>13</sup> Missing values were excluded. As a result, sample size for regression models is 116 respondents.

Table 5.24 Regressions of demographic subgroups on social capital measures\*

	<i>All SC Resources</i>				<i>I. Groups and Networks SC</i>			
	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>
constant	0.10	0.20		-0.04 0.44	0.52	0.07		-0.15 0.30
<i>Independent Variables</i>								
Age	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.00 0.05</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.00 0.04</b>
Education	<b>0.02</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>-0.24</b>	<b>-0.06 -0.01</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>-0.03</b>	<b>-0.20</b>	<b>-0.05 0.00</b>
Annual Income	0.28	-0.01	-0.10	-0.03 0.01	0.60	-0.01	-0.05	-0.03 0.01
Membership in a Volunteer or Civic Organization	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.28</b>	<b>0.03 0.18</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.28</b>	<b>0.03 0.16</b>
R2			0.19				0.16	
R2 adjusted			0.16				0.13	
d.f.			115				115	
F			6.67				5.25	
p			0.00				0.00	
	<i>II. Trust and Solidarity SC</i>				<i>III. Collective Action and Cooperation SC</i>			
	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>
constant	0.40	0.13		-0.17 0.43	0.75	-0.08		-0.57 0.41
<i>Independent Variables</i>								
Age	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.01 0.07</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.01 0.10</b>
Education	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.04</b>	<b>-0.21</b>	<b>-0.07 0.00</b>	0.99	0.00	0.00	-0.05 0.05
Annual Income	0.30	-0.01	-0.10	-0.04 0.01	0.19	-0.03	-0.13	-0.07 0.01
Membership in a Volunteer or Civic Organization	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>0.04 0.22</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.24</b>	<b>0.03 0.32</b>
R2			0.18				0.09	
R2 adjusted			0.15				0.06	
d.f.			115				115	
F			6.05				2.86	
p			0.00				0.03	

\*missing values excluded; items in bold are significant at  $p \leq 0.05$



Table 5.24 continued

<i>IV. Information and Communication SC</i>					<i>V. Social Cohesion and Inclusion SC</i>				
	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>
constant	0.00	0.49		0.16 0.82		0.26	0.29		-0.22 0.80
<i>Independent Variables</i>									
Age	0.75	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04 0.03		0.39	0.02	0.08	-0.03 0.07
Education	<b>0.01</b>	<b>-0.05</b>	<b>-0.25</b>	<b>-0.08</b> <b>-0.01</b>		0.32	-0.03	-0.11	-0.09 0.03
Annual Income	0.21	-0.02	-0.12	-0.05 0.01		0.60	-0.01	-0.05	-0.06 0.03
Membership in a Volunteer or Civic Organization	0.07	0.09	0.18	-0.01 0.19		0.20	0.10	0.13	-0.05 0.25
R2			0.18					0.04	
R2 adjusted			0.15					0.01	
d.f.			115					115	
F			5.90					1.24	
p			0.00					0.30	
<i>VI. Empowerment and Political Action SC</i>									
	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>Confidence Interval</i>					
constant	0.11	0.36		-0.08 0.79					
<i>Independent Variables</i>									
Age	0.23	0.03	0.11	-0.02 0.07					
Education	<b>0.03</b>	<b>-0.06</b>	<b>-0.22</b>	<b>-0.10</b> <b>-0.01</b>					
Annual Income	0.26	-0.02	-0.11	-0.06 0.02					
Membership in a Volunteer or Civic Organization	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>0.05</b> <b>0.31</b>					
R2			0.18						
R2 adjusted			0.15						
d.f.			115						
F			6.08						
p			0.00						

\*missing values excluded; items in bold are significant at  $p \leq 0.05$

the number of social capital resources accessed can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, age (in years), education level, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization are significant; age and membership have positive relationships while education level (in years) has a negative relationship with the number of social capital resources accessed. For example, participants who are older in age and are a member of a volunteer or civic organization are more likely to access social capital resources. On the other hand, individuals who possess a higher level of education are less likely to access social capital resources. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

Because it appears that there is a positive relationship between age (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed, we can predict that in our sample of 116 respondents that the number of social capital resources accessed is about 0.02 more for every additional year in age that an individual possesses. Furthermore, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed is between about 0.00 and 0.05 more for every additional year older in age that an individual possesses. There is a 5% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

Moreover, the evidence of there being a positive relationship between membership in a volunteer or civic organization and the number of social capital resources accessed allows for the prediction that the number of social capital resources accessed is about 0.11 more for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization in our study sample. There is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed is between about 0.03 and 0.18 higher for every additional

membership in a volunteer or civic organization. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

With the appearance of a negative relationship between education level (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed, we can predict that the number of social capital resources accessed is about 0.03 lower for every additional year of education that an individual possesses. There is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed is between about 0.01 and 0.06 lower for every additional level of education (in years) that an individual possesses. There is a 2% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

### **5.7.2 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the groups and networks cluster**

It seems that there is a weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources from the groups and networks dimension that an individual accesses (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents about 16% of the variation in the number of social capital resources from the groups and networks cluster that an individual accesses can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, age (in years), education level, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization are significant; age and possessing a membership in a volunteer or civic organization have positive relationships while education level has a negative relationship with the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses in the groups and networks cluster. For example, participants

who are older in age (by years) and are a member of a volunteer or civic organization are associated with accessing a greater number of social capital resources in the groups and networks cluster. On the other hand, individuals who possess a higher level of education (in years) are associated with accessing a lower number of social capital resources in the groups and networks cluster. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

While there appears to be a positive relationship between age (in years) and the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses in the groups and networks cluster, we can predict that the number of social capital resources in the groups and networks cluster that an individual accesses is about 0.02 higher for every additional year in age that an individual possesses in our sample of 116 respondents. There is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses is between about 0.00 and 0.04 more for every additional year in age. There is a 5% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

Also, with the appearance of a positive relationship between membership in a volunteer or civic organization and the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from the groups and networks cluster, we can predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from this cluster is about 0.10 higher for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization that an individual possesses in our study sample. Also, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from the groups and networks cluster is between about 0.03 and 0.16 higher for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization.

There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

On the other hand, the appearance of a negative relationship between education level (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the groups and networks cluster allows for the prediction that the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from the groups and networks cluster is about 0.03 lower for every additional year of education. Furthermore, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the groups and networks cluster is between about 0.00 and 0.05 lower for every additional level of education (in years). There is a 4% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

### **5.7.3 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the trust and solidarity cluster**

It seems that there is a weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents, about 18% of the variation in the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, age (in years), education level, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization are significant; age (in years) and membership in a volunteer or civic organization have positive relationships while education level (in years) has a negative relationship with the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from

the trust and solidarity cluster. For example, participants who are older in age (by years) and who are a member of a volunteer or civic organization are associated with a higher number of social capital resources that are accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster. On the other hand, individuals who possess a higher level of education (in years) are associated with a lower number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

With the appearance of a positive relationship between age (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster in our sample of 116 respondents, we can predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster is about 0.04 higher for every additional year in age that a person possesses. Also, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster is between about 0.01 and 0.07 higher for every additional year in age. There is a 2% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

In addition, the manifestation of a positive relationship between membership in a volunteer or civic organization and number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster allows us to predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster is about 0.13 higher for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization in our sample study. Furthermore, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity dimension is between about 0.04 and 0.22 higher for every additional

membership in a volunteer or civic organization. There is a 1% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

On the other hand, the appearance of a negative relationship between education level (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster allows us to predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster is about 0.04 lower for every additional year of education that a person possesses in our sample of 116 respondents. In addition, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the trust and solidarity cluster is between about 0.00 and 0.07 lower for every additional level of education (in years) that a person possesses. There is a 3% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

#### **5.7.4 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the collective action and cooperation cluster**

It seems that there is a very weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents, about 9% of the variation in the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, age (in years) and membership in a volunteer or civic organization are significant and have positive relationships. For example, participants who are older in age (by years) and have a member of a volunteer

or civic organization are associated with accessing a greater number of social capital resources from the collective action and cooperation dimension. There is a 3% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

With the appearance of a positive relationship between age (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster, we can predict in our sample of 116 respondents that the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation dimension is about 0.05 higher for every additional year (in age) that a person possesses. Also, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster is between about 0.01 and 0.10 higher for every additional year (in age) that a person possesses. There is a 3% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

In addition, the appearance of a positive relationship between membership in a volunteer or civic organization and the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster allows for the prediction that the number of social capital resources accessed from this cluster is about 0.18 higher for every additional individual who has a membership in a volunteer or civic organization in our sample study of 116 respondents. Moreover, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the collective action and cooperation cluster is between about 0.03 and 0.32 higher for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization. There is a 2% chance that we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.



### **5.7.5 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the information and communication cluster**

It seems that there is a weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and the number of individuals who have a membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents, about 18% of the variation in the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, education level (in years) is significant and has a negative association with the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster. For instance, a higher level of education (in years) is associated with a lower number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from the information and communication cluster. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

With the manifestation of a negative relationship between education level (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster, we can predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster is about 0.05 lower for every additional year of education that an individual possesses in our study sample of 116 respondents. Also, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the information and communication cluster is between about 0.01 and 0.08 lower for every additional level of education (in years) that an individual possesses.

There is a 1% chance that we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

#### **5.7.6 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the social cohesion and inclusion cluster**

There is not enough evidence to conclude that there is a relationship between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses in the social cohesion and inclusion dimension (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents, we did find some evidence of a weak relationship. However, there is a 30% chance that this much of an association is due to normal sampling error.

#### **5.7.7 The likelihood to access social capital resources in the empowerment and political action cluster**

It seems that there is a weak association between the combined influence of age (in years), education level (in years), annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic organization to the number of social capital resources that an individual accesses from the empowerment and political action cluster (see table 5.24). In our sample of 116 respondents, about 18% of the variation in the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster can be accounted for by the combined influence of these variables. However, of these variables, education level (in years) and membership in a volunteer or civic organization are significant; education

level (in years) has a negative relationship while membership in a volunteer or civic organization has a positive relationship with the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster. For example, individuals who have a higher education level (in years) are associated with accessing a lower number of social capital resources from the empowerment and political action cluster. Also, individuals who have a membership in a volunteer or civic organization is associated with a higher number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster. There is virtually no chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal study error.

With the manifestation of a negative relationship between education level (in years) and the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster in our sample of 116 respondents, we can predict that the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster is about 0.06 lower for every additional year of education that a person possesses. In addition, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster is between about 0.01 and 0.10 lower for every additional level of education (in years) that a person possesses. There is a 3% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

The emergence of a positive relationship between membership in a volunteer or civic organization and the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster allows for the prediction that the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster in our study sample of 116 respondents is about 0.18 higher for every membership in a

volunteer or civic organization. Furthermore, there is a 95% chance that the number of social capital resources accessed from the empowerment and political action cluster is between about 0.05 and 0.31 higher for every additional membership in a volunteer or civic organization. There is a 1% chance we could have found this much of a relationship due to normal sampling error.

## Chapter 6

### Findings: Qualitative Data

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the findings of the second phase of the methodology—the qualitative data collection—carried out for this study. The qualitative data collection process included in-depth, open-ended interviews conducted with key civic and community leaders identified during the survey research process. The contents of this chapter include results of the inductive approach utilizing content and narrative analysis, which are organized according to the dimensions of social capital. In addition, a deductive approach based on the theory was utilized to review the information found as a result of the inductive approach in order to ensure validity and reliability. This chapter begins with a table exhibiting the patterns found during examination of the data and is followed by a narrative analysis of the interviews.

#### 6.2 Patterns found during the inductive approach

The result is exhibited in table 6.1 shows the patterns that were found during the data analysis stage. Similar to figure 3.1, the top of table 6.1 shows the broad concepts of social capital<sup>1</sup>: (1) structural, (2) cognitive, (3) functional, and (4) major applications/outcomes. Each concept is then dichotomized into the dimensions of social capital. Then listed below each social capital dimension are the entries that were found in

---

<sup>1</sup> Further information on the concepts and dimensions of social capital can also be found in Appendix 1: Conceptual Framework of Social Capital.

the interview transcripts with respect to each dimension. Further review resulted in patterns that were found in correlation to each entry (the number of instances or patterns found for each entry is signified in parentheses beside each entry). For instance, the first column in table 6.1 shows that the social capital dimension of groups and networks is part of the structural concept of social capital. Below the dimension of groups and networks, four broad entries were found: individuals, organizations, community and culture, and leadership. Thus, the entry for individuals can be defined by age, gender, race, financial status, and intergeneration and the entry for organizations can be defined by organization structure, membership, and budget, etc. And the number of instances or patterns found in the data pertaining to the respective subject matter is noted in parentheses beside the entry. The patterns that were found helped to construct the narrative analysis that is presented in the proceeding section.

### **6.3 The Social Capital of Filipinos: An Inductive Approach Utilizing Content and Narrative Analysis**

#### **6.3.1 Groups and Networks**

The groups and networks dimension of social capital is the basis of social capital where social ties are built and reinforced and includes both formal and informal networks (Grootaert et al., 2004; Putnam, 1993; The World Bank, 2009). These networks are defined by the individuals who are members of the group; the organizations to which individuals belong; and the community and culture that provide a setting for the environment. Overall, the interviews revealed that Filipinos come from diverse

Table 6.1 Social Capital of Filipino Communities: Concepts, Dimensions, and Patterns

STRUCTURAL	COGNITIVE	FUNCTIONAL		MAJOR APPLICATIONS/OUTCOMES	
<b>Groups and Networks</b> ♦ <b>Individuals (34)</b> - <i>Age (6)</i> - <i>Gender (4)</i> - <i>Race (7)</i> - <i>Intergeneration (16)</i>  ♦ <b>Organizations (180)</b> - <i>Organization structure (56)</i> - <i>Membership (121)</i> - <i>Budget (3)</i>	<b>Trust and Solidarity</b> ♦ <b>Government Support (6)</b>  ♦ <b>Community Support (24)</b>  ♦ <b>Image and Reputation (37)</b>	<b>Collective Action and Cooperation</b> ♦ <b>Indirect Participation (30)</b> - <i>Contributions/Donations (24)</i> - <i>Government grants (6)</i>  ♦ <b>Direct Participation (226)</b> - <i>Group activities (116)</i> - <i>Volunteering (38)</i> - <i>Fundraising (29)</i> - <i>Group cooperation (43)</i>	<b>Information and Communication</b> ♦ <b>Communication (72)</b> - <i>U.S. mail (9)</i> - <i>Telephone (12)</i> - <i>Email (22)</i> - <i>Internet and Social Media (20)</i> - <i>Publications (9)</i>	<b>Social Cohesion and Inclusion</b> ♦ <b>Culture (22)</b>  ♦ <b>Lack of Participation (44)</b> - <i>Lack of Interest (19)</i> - <i>Lack of Time (6)</i> - <i>Lack of Trust (13)</i> - <i>Lack of Money (6)</i>  ♦ <b>Conflict (28)</b> - <i>Exclusion of Members (24)</i> - <i>Formation of other groups (4)</i>  ♦ <b>Conflict Resolution Mechanisms (38)</b>	<b>Empowerment and Political Action</b> ♦ <b>Empowerment (59)</b> - <i>Meetings (30)</i> - <i>Knowledge of Organization's Policies and Procedures (29)</i>  ♦ <b>Leaders and Leadership (77)</b>  ♦ <b>Creating external relationships (31)</b> - <i>Nongovernment organizations (3)</i> - <i>Political Organizations (4)</i>

backgrounds, that Filipino communities are very diverse, and that Filipino communities in each of the cities in this study are distinct.

To begin, interviewees were asked to describe the types of people who get involved in their respective Filipino organizations and how these organizations got started. Interviewees indicated that many members of their respective organizations are also members of other organizations, such as a professional organization or an organization that represents personal interests, political or religious affiliations, and/or personal causes. Table 6.2 shows a list of the various groups, organizations, and communities that interview participants mentioned during their respective interview. The Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL are each unique. For instance, the Big Bend Filipino American Association (BBFAA) is the only Filipino organization in Tallahassee, FL. Originally, the purpose of the organization was to provide social activities and camaraderie. But over time, the purpose of the organization grew from organizing social activities and events for their members as well as members of the Filipino community to taking on a role of civic engagement in the community. One interviewee recalled:

Before, it <the BBFAA> was basically a social organization where everyone else got together, <they> had parties, they sang, and you know. When I came in...we all started trying to make it formal as an organization and that's when they started doing activities. And then, it came from <being> a social organization, they kept the social part--because that's always, you know, Filipino--and then we started moving on what is our significance in the community. So we started doing events. So we started participating in the celebration of lights just to start making our presence known in the community, because you know, they didn't have that—they didn't have that presence. And then they started working on the 501(c)3 organization. There were a lot of things that were happening, you know, soul searching. What, exactly, is our purpose and stuff like that. You know, so, to me,



**Table 6.2 List of Community Organizations Identified by Interview Participants**

• Dance troupe	• Philippine Consul in Miami
• Anklung group	• Sulzbacher organization
• Youth Group	• WeCare program
• Asian Coalition of Tallahassee (ACT)	• Filipino Legal Assistance
• Nurses Association	• Knights of Rizal
• Valdosta	• Philippine American Chamber of Commerce (PACC)
• Senior Center	• Bayanihan International Ladies Association (BILA)
• Non-Filipino groups	• Filipino Veterans Association
• Holocaust Movement	• Bataan Corregidor Memorial Foundation
• Hispanic Community	• Gawad Kalinga
• Sister City	• VizMindaLuz
• Chamber of Commerce	• Illongo Association of Central Florida
• 10,000 Villages	• Ladies for Rizal
• Asian American Federation of Florida (AAFF)	• Osceola
• Experience Asia	• Lion's Club
• City Government Leaders	• National Federation of Filipino Americans (NaFFA)
• Local community center	• Catholic charities
• Filipino-American Political Action (FAPA)	• Asian Heritage Council
• Nanay, Inc.	• Florida Minority Community Reinvestment Coalition (FMCRC)
• World of Nations	• Census 2010
• The Human Relations Council	
• The Coalition	

it was a lot of soul searching. And then on top of that, during that time, we started working with the Filipino students at Florida State, and TCC <Tallahassee Community College>, and FAMU <Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University> — started incorporating them too, you know ...the little dance group of students from FSU and TCC and FAMU. They would all get together because when every time we'd have Christmas programs they were the people that would do the dancing activities. So, it started out with the Filipino Student Association and then that kept going and then we had finally formalized the name of the Filipino Student Association to INDAK (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

Members of the BBFAA include individuals; families, including their dependent children; students; and friends. Filipino events in Tallahassee are often attended by a

variety of ages, with many of the entertainment numbers performed by children, adolescents, and adult members.

On the other hand, the Filipino communities in Jacksonville and Orlando are much larger, with each city having about twenty or more separate Filipino organizations in the area. Although not an easy task to undertake, leaders in the Filipino communities make continuous efforts to find ways to unite the Filipino population in their communities. For instance, the Filipino-American Community Council of Northeast Florida (also known as the Fil-Am Council) in Jacksonville operates as an “umbrella” organization. Created in 1984, the Fil-Am Council serves

...to better the unity, commitment, and dedication of the community...<and> to promote our culture and the social culture of the Filipinos (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).

The Fil-Am Council is composed of member organizations, including regional organizations like the Ilocano Association, the Visayas and Mindanao Association; cultural organizations, such as The Bayanihan (dance group), the Filipino Civic and Cultural Association (FICCA), and the Knights of Rizal; and includes an academic organization, the University of the Philippines Alumni Association (UPAA) (Filipino-American Community Council of Northeast Florida, n.d.). Attendees during meetings usually include designated representatives (normally the president of respective organizations) from each of the organizations.

On the other hand, the Council of Filipino American Organizations (CFAO) in Orlando functions as an administrative body as opposed to an umbrella organization. Its

purpose is to serve both the Filipino and American communities. A representative elaborated:

There's more that we can do together rather than separately. If you are in one organization having a network opportunity as CFAO provides, you can get a lot of things done. For example, when the Rizal monument was built in downtown Orlando, same thing, one organization was going to do that but, again, organizations came together to join in. And also, with the Philippine Independence Day celebration, having only one...you would rather have several Filipino organizations showing Filipino pride and unity rather than just one, which, you know...you can meet more people that way (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

According to Interviewee #6, members of CFAO include the president, vice president, or appointed representative from each member organization. And officers of the organization are elected amongst this group of individuals. Currently, CFAO is comprised of the following member organizations: the Bayanihan International Ladies Association (BILA), the Filipino American Veterans Association (FAVA), the Bataan Corregidor Memorial Foundation (BCMF), the Filipino American Organization of Osceola, Gawad Kalinga, the Philippine American Chamber of Commerce (PACC), VisMindaLuz, Illongo Association of Central Florida, the Knights of Rizal (KOR), and the Ladies for Rizal.

***Diversity.*** Filipino-American communities in the United States are diverse on many levels. For one, the general Filipino community and Filipino organizations encourage participation and membership by non-Filipinos, especially since many spouses, children, and other family members are of different or mixed origins in addition to or aside from being Filipino. Moreover, office positions of many Filipino organizations are not specifically reserved for Filipinos. Non-Filipinos who also yearn to promote the

Filipino culture are encouraged to participate as both members and officers. For instance, an interview participant from Tallahassee stated,

It's amazing that among the officers—that there are as many non-Filipinos as there are. At one point, a black man <who> is married to a Filipina was a member of the council. Me and <a few others> are all white...<and> are officers in the organization—which is a lot of diversity, given that this is a Filipino-American association (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

In regards to gender issues, all interview participants provided little comment or reaction. Based on the comments made, it seems that gender diversity within the Filipino community is positive, with equal participation between both genders. It seems that differences lie in how each gender expresses him or herself. Interviewee #2 observed:

...the three people most outspoken that I've seen and the kind most conspicuous as leaders in the organization since I've been a member were men; but, in terms of women having a voice...I've watched at council meetings, for example, in cases where some of the women raised issues and they'll stick to their guns (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

### **6.3.2 Trust and Solidarity**

In order to establish and maintain relationships, it is essential that there be positive levels of trust and solidarity between individuals so that there is a mobilization and exchange of resources amongst members in a group. In order to assess levels of trust in the Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, interviewees were asked about the extent of participation in the group and why members of their community are involved or not involved in their respective Filipino-American organization(s) and/or community.

***Community support.*** In the Filipino community, the relationship between the Filipino organization and the Filipino community can be reciprocal. In Tallahassee's Filipino community, for instance,

If someone needs money that, say, lost his house or you want to donate to this person—his sister dies or his sister got sick, needs medication or needs some hospitalization expense—we can't put the money there. It's against the rules. That's the limitation. We have to solicit from our own members and tell them, ok. This is not part of our 501c(3) we're just using the BBFAA <Big Bend Filipino American Association> as an avenue that one of our's <our own> needs money, ok? It's not like we're going to fundraise for the BBFAA and then this money is going to be contributed by BBFAA to this person. No, not like that at all. This is contribution by the members directly. Not by BBFAA (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

Many Filipino communities and organizations not only provide assistance for members of the community here in the U.S. but they also provide assistance for those in the Philippines, especially when there is a real need, such as disaster relief. Interviewee #5 commented about a Filipino organization in Jacksonville, FL:

See, we organize this health program providing assistance in the Philippines, you know, especially in the mission where they provide surgery for harleq babies (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

The interviewee goes on to say:

And then eyeglasses, eye examinations. We do that every year. We're going there <to the Philippines> all the time...Next year, there'll be two groups going to Luzon. And these are professionals, doctors and nurses...they are mainly there to provide medical assistance (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

In addition, many members of the Filipino community or organization participate indirectly, such as by providing private donations, paying membership dues, and/or volunteering in events that help to raise funds for a charity or community project. A few noted:

- Those who don't get involved <directly>, they contribute (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).
- I have to say that most of the nongovernment sources that we drawn on are simply the membership for contributions, memberships, and the like (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).
- I haven't run into people who are not involved, physically. But they give you their support. Encouraging you and contributing (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

But this is not to say that people always provide their support. One interviewee commented,

There are some who totally don't give a damn. You know, I mean, they don't care. For some reason, I don't know (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

***Image and Reputation.*** The aforementioned comments provide reasons why the image and reputation of the community organization are important. One way in which Filipino communities contribute to an overall positive image and reputation is by being a source of family support and extra familial networks. One individual illustrated:

It's a good investment to also be involved because we can create an environment for our kids to grow up and learn about this culture. And you can't just do this at your home. You need to see other people...As a kid, people need to see kids of the same color and parents of the same color as they are...If you see a community of people doing exactly the same thing that you do <then> you feel more comfortable. You say, 'Ah! I'm not an outcast. I'm in the community.' And one

of the things that I also want to emphasize is that as a kid, they look up to a model—what they want to be when they grow up. They tend to look at the person that they want to emulate, right. Of course, there's a lot of heroes in American history... At least if they see people in their community, that's prominent that, you know, speak the same language as my parents, it's easier to associate <with> this person (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

Another way for a community to emulate a positive image is to genuinely express a sense of unity, community, and belongingness. Filipinos, as part of their culture, practice this by extending a feeling of warmth and hospitality to members, visitors, and attendees to both Filipinos and non-Filipinos alike. One interviewee had the following experience:

People would turn to us and, suddenly, were talking English and were welcoming and were telling us about the organization, telling us about the Philippines, and it was like “do come back, do come back” and they meant it. They were serious. And I did come back and once I showed that interest then they started. People in the leadership of the organization encouraged me here, take a role. Why don't you join the Sister City Committee? Why don't you work on this? Help us to select the scholarship people? Help us do this, help us do that... And so for anybody that shows an inkling to, you know, have any energy to help out or any knowledge or something that they can give I think the organization actively reaches out to them. I see it. And it's not just me. I'm a bit of an oddity in the organization. It's not just me. Somebody will show up in the meeting for the first time and, they're like a new Filipino nurse at the hospital or something like that. Somebody's told them about the BBFAA and they show up and there's people immediately inviting them in. “Come join, come get on some committee. Come and do something” (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

***Government support.*** To illustrate, the Filipino organization in Tallahassee was entrusted, at one time, with a tobacco grant for the purpose of educating the general community about the harmful effects of tobacco use. Interviewee #3 explained,

The biggest chunk of money came under when I did that tobacco <grant>. For a long time, that was the biggest amount of money that <the Filipino organization> had gotten for a long time. But it didn't go to people's pockets. It went to activities. And I was running around every weekend doing events in the rural

communities...And the thing is, we applied for the grant. We didn't have to work very hard <to obtain the grant> because <the agency> saw how strong the passion was and they saw how strong, how excited the people were....they were very happy with the first grant <they awarded us>...we were frugal and we did a lot of stuff <for the community> (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

Interviewee #3 further explained,

We had a lot of activities on anti-tobacco and then we put a planner <together>...it was like a student planner with pictures and stuff like that (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

The interviewee elaborated that the calendar not only provided messages discouraging the use of tobacco but it also promoted the Filipino culture community in Tallahassee by including photographs of Filipinos volunteering in the community.

### **6.3.3 Collective Action and Cooperation**

The social capital dimension of collective action and cooperation centers upon the extent to which individuals participate in the community and get involved in community projects (Grootaert et al., 2004; The World Bank, 2009). Direct and indirect forms of collective action and cooperation provide an outlet where community and ethnic organizations can visibly express their yearning to make a positive contribution to society. Overall, the interviews revealed that Filipinos and Filipino-Americans participate in the community directly or indirectly or through a combination of direct and indirect forms of participation.

***Indirect participation.*** Indirect forms of participation are ways in which individuals can spend the least amount of time, emotional intensity, and intimacy on an



activity. This is where interpersonal ties (Granovetter, 1973) would be the least developed. Examples of indirect forms of participation include the giving of contributions and donations by private individuals and the awarding of government grants used towards specific projects. One interviewee from Jacksonville stated:

Those who don't get involved, they contribute. They contribute to the mission" (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

Also, when the Mount Pinatubo volcano erupted in the Philippines in 1991, many Filipinos in the Jacksonville, FL community donated their time by directly participating in fundraising efforts to encourage individuals to help communities back in the Philippines through indirect forms of participation, such as in the form of monetary donations. Interviewee #5 illustrated,

We mobilized the entire Filipino community. We got permit from the city to solicit from major intersections, collecting money, you know, with baskets, boots, and all that, you know. We just hung around at major intersections...right there by the mall. And we held a fundraising <event> and used the Wyndham Hotel and we had about 5,000 Filipinos there. It was the first time I saw so many Filipinos, which are \$15 per head and we raised almost \$20,000 altogether, including the one collecting on the intersections (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

Also, these indirect forms of participation can be used to fuel direct forms of participation, such as volunteer and community projects, which would benefit the community. For instance, the Filipino community in Tallahassee partakes in community projects that encourage charitable contributions. Interviewee #3 expressed,

We're really not from Tallahassee so we owe the community something. I've always lived up to that thing. So, we got them <the members> involved in different things and our meetings were always held at Palmer Monroe Community

Center on Jackson Bluff. You know, that a lot of things evolved from being over there. Then they started doing caroling. They were caroling for charity... And then after awhile, we started getting into working on getting some grants. That's when we got, during my term, that's when we got the tobacco grants. The entire tobacco grants we got. First run was \$50,000 and the second run was \$30,000 (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

***Direct participation.*** Examples of direct forms of participation include individuals having a direct, personal involvement in a project that benefits the community. By investing more time on such activities, there is a greater emotional intensity on the part of the participant, which results in individuals creating a personal, intimate connection to the project and its purpose. Hence, interpersonal ties are created (Granovetter, 1973).

In this study, it was found that some Filipino organizations enjoy higher levels of direct participation as compared to other Filipino organizations. For instance, one interviewee observed:

This organization has two or three candidates for each office in the board? That is so unusual in the nonprofit community. Most nonprofits—all they can do is to get one person for each board position in the nonprofit. And this is an organization that, I mean this is an organization that is an all-volunteer organization, right? And then turning out three candidates for the position of president--are you kidding me? This is unheard of. And so the typical response was...this organization has a luxury to have this level of civic...this flies in the face of everything that Robert Putnam argues, right? —About the loss of civic engagement. Here is a Filipino-American association and there's all kind of engagement—so much so, that people are angry that their person didn't get elected president. You know, it's an anomaly to have that level of civic engagement--that energy, that many people to run for these offices” (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

Another interviewee expressed how he and his wife get involved in the community:

My <spouse> and I have just been so dedicated...we get involved with a lot of things, you know. We get involved in politics, and helping candidates for mayor, especially for mayor and councilman. We concentrate on those. And up to now,

we're still doing that. The Fil-Am Council has been involved in disaster relief to the Philippines. That's one of our major projects (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

But other Filipino organizations are not always fortunate in having a plethora of willing participants. One interviewee noted:

It's always the same numbers of people who wants to take the responsibility. Ok, I want to be doing this. And then the following year, it's the same person again, you know, but the others are just watching on the side. Nothing, you know (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).

***Combining indirect and direct forms of participation.*** Collective action and cooperation efforts also rely on both indirect and direct forms of participation. For instance, an interviewee from Orlando commented,

We partnered with the U.S. Census. We donated items during last year's typhoon to the Philippines. Plus, also to this year's typhoon to the Philippines, because we just had a recent concert. Um, we do the embassy outreach, where the organization helps out with, um, dual citizenships with paperwork with regards to notarizing things. Um, let's see, what else...we had the Filipino Day celebration that CFAO always handles every single year..." (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

Not only does this require volunteers to organize and man the event and for leaders to facilitate a relationship with the government but there is also a reliance upon citizens to take advantage of the opportunities that will help their needs for government to recognize the needs of the people.

#### 6.3.4 Information and Communication

The social capital dimension of information and communication examines the extent to which individuals access the communications infrastructure, how individuals receive information, and the level to which communication is reciprocated (Grootaert et al., 2004; The World Bank, 2009). Utilizing the means to exchange information and communication are important in that it provides a way to access social capital. Asking interviewees how information is disseminated and received, the extent to which communication plays a part in developing a supportive environment that, in turn, would reinforce relationships helped to explore how the dissemination of information and open communication maintains trust and support. In this study, while interviewees cited the use of a variety of communication mediums, such as U.S. mail, telephone, meetings, email, and social media and the Internet, to ensure the distribution of information and to inform the public the extent to which these mediums are utilized are addressed.

***Traditional means of communication.*** Before electronic means of communication, such as email and social media, correspondence sent via U.S. Postal Service and telephone calls were the primary forms of communication. Even until today, communication via telephone continues to be a primary way to reinforce obligations, expectations, and reciprocity. Interviewee #1 stated,

People want to make themselves feel important. By having a personal call, it's pretty important. But that's you know, Filipino. I would be the same way. I'm not saying it negatively. It's a saying. There's a culture and the culture has to be lived. But, in you, in the U.S., in America, it's different (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

***Modern means of communication.*** On the other hand, electronic forms of communication, such as email and the Internet, help to bring attention of an issue to the forefront. For instance, one interviewee noted,

There's always current information, current immigration issues being announced out to the members...And also there's sometimes, you know, political initiatives. You need to know that so and so is acting on this bill or that Congress is working on this. Please write a letter of support to Congress about this (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

In addition, electronic forms of communication are ubiquitous:

<It's> too expensive to mail out information. But most of the people now have Internet. We get instant communication. And the website helps out a lot, too (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

But older methods of communication, such as the dissemination of information via word-of-mouth, and relying on traditional means cannot be overlooked. For example, Interviewee #5 pointed out,

People don't advertise it, you know. We just hear somebody is being discriminated about, getting fired from her job and some Filipino nurses are being discriminated upon because of their way of speaking—the accent. And I get involved in a few of those because when I worked for the city I was an equal opportunity officer so I learned quite a bit of how to get things done and to work up to the chain of the command and, like, filing complaints, writing letters of complaints and I ended up doing all those (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

And according to Interviewee #5, the Filipino community in the area had its own Filipino newspaper, which was produced and printed locally and was a source of information to the public:

When we used to have the newspaper, you know, it's always submitted in the newspaper, but the newspaper died because due to lack of funding. And, uh, now, we go by email, Facebook, and then, uh, website. That's how we disseminate information now (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

Furthermore, groups and organizations produce other kinds of publications in order to document history or to provide additional information to the public and to future generations. For instance, Interviewee #1 stated that the Filipino community in Tallahassee published a book around 1995 entitled *Pakakaisa*, which chronicles the history of the Filipino community in the Tallahassee area.

***Multiple forms of communication used.*** Overall, multiple forms of communication are used simultaneously to ensure that the message or information has effectively been communicated in order to facilitate social capital. To illustrate, a few interviewee participants stated the following:

- You cannot just send mass emails and expect people to sign up. You have to call them (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).
- But there are a couple of members that don't have email. So I do it <send out information> first by email and then by telephone. In this day and age, I can't understand why they don't know about the electronic world (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

In addition, individuals cannot just wait for information to come them. It is also important for individuals to play a part in obtaining and seeking information. If the public does not show the want or need then the issue will not be addressed. An interviewee from Orlando described how and where they obtain information that would benefit the community:

<We use the> Internet. And, uh, the FMCRC <Florida Minority Community Reinvestment Coalition>, also. And, uh, the Asian Federation and the Fil-Am Coalition. We exchange information in the email. But our duties are the grants.

Sometimes we attend seminars, like the one sponsored by Congressman Alan Grayson, who has still fed a lot of the information given to the community, though (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

### **6.3.5 Social Cohesion and Inclusion**

The social cohesion and inclusion dimension of social capital investigates the degrees of division and difference inherent in a group that lead to conflict (Grootaert et al., 2004; The World Bank, 2009). If the conflict is not addressed, then this could lead to the severing of social ties and individuals can lose the benefits of social capital (Coleman, 1988a). Investigating social cohesion and inclusion in the Filipino community requires learning why some members may feel excluded and other reasons that may also lead people to be excluded, such as cultural clashes and misunderstandings. Exclusion can also occur when individuals lack interest, time, trust, and/or money.

**Cultural gap.** For instance, when asked about whether any groups within respective Filipino organizations feel excluded, interviewee #6 mentioned that most Filipinos identify more with the region that they are from more so than the Philippines as a whole:

A lot of Filipinos are more apt to joining a group if it's in their specific regions in the Philippines. Um, I guess being raised there and in the United States, ok, my thinking is that's one part of the region. Why don't you think of the country as a whole or the people as a whole and, you know, not ostracizing any other groups (Interviewee #6 personal communication, November 5, 2010).

As a result, many Filipinos form ethnic and cultural organizations based on regional or provincial affinity, which can be very exclusive. This happens to be more evident in cities

with larger Filipino populations, such as Jacksonville and Orlando, which are more likely to have numerous Filipino associations and organizations.

The cultural gap between the American culture and the Filipino culture is another problem that can lead to conflict. Interviewee #3 stated,

When Filipinos get together they forget the people who are married to Americans. And that's my husband's thing. He's American. He goes, "When you guys get together you forget that there are people who don't understand your language and you just yab, yab, yab, talk, talk, talk..." And he goes, "It's very disconcerting because sometimes I'm not sure if you're talking about me or making fun of me." And that's always the thinking of people (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

In addition, such cultural differences can result in misgivings and misunderstandings—not only between spouses of different cultures but also between Filipinos who were born in the Philippines and those who were born in the United States.

***Lack of interest, time, trust, and/or money.*** Other reasons that lead some individuals to be excluded are due to a lack of interest, time, trust, and/or money to participate in community events and projects. For one, it seems that some Filipino communities lack participation and interest from younger members and leaders. One interviewee from Orlando expressed:

We need more qualified leaders and more younger leaders to step up to the plate. And I haven't been seeing that at all... What I've seen from other organizations, especially our member organizations, <is that members are> aging and not grooming the next generations of leaders (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).



In addition, Interviewee #6 goes on to say:

I'm the youngest. It's mostly the adults, age 50 and older, that are currently running the show (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

When asked what could be a reason for the lack of interest amongst the younger generation(s), an interview participant from Jacksonville pointed out:

They're not Filipinos. That's what they claim. They're not Filipinos. They were born here. They're Americans. And they are exposed to the American culture and that feeling of apathy, you know, but...we encourage them, we encourage them. They can dance the Tinikling. They can dance the Pandango, all that. They participated in all those things (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

However, an interview participant from Orlando noted how their community addresses the issue:

Yeah, <the leadership> are generally older here. But ethnically, by ethnic origin, we're fine because of the organizations. It's just the lack of the young. Yeah, that's where the handicap really is. That is why when we see <young> people...being there as much as possible, we go up and support and encourage...Yeah, we try to bring <one of the younger officers> here, in spite of the fact that he has some little family situation but he puts <in> time. We just try to mold him in a way that he can be an effective community organizer, leader (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

Also, some individuals do not have enough time to volunteer and work on community projects, as an interviewee from Tallahassee illustrated:

I would say that the main reason is some are struggling, especially the newcomers so they are really busy with work and family, and especially if you have growing children and children's school. You know, that's really hard. And, you know, I've done my share on that and even doing that now. In the Philippines, you know that you have maids or helpers who cook for you, do your laundry, clean your house, everything... Here, you have to do everything. So time-wise, it is really hard to do something outside <the home> (Interviewee #1, personal interview, October 6, 2010).

Also, another interviewee stressed:

Again, this is volunteer work, ok. And people have their own lives. And I understand that, you know, they have other things to do besides coming to a meeting (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

Lacking trust in others and not providing them with moral support is another way to exclude others. One interviewee commented:

Even my kids, they were involved. My son... was the chairperson of the youth group... But the kids decided they were going to give it up because there... were a couple of people who were always meddling... They never gave the kids enough credit that they can do it. And those people never realizing that those kids, because they were born here, had enough training in their schools because they were student leaders (Interviewee #3, personal interview, October 15, 2010).

In another instance, another interview participant stated:

It's almost like you still have to prove yourself, you know. They're trying to see who this leader is. If you're not one of those who have not been a friend of those in the past, I think that's what I'm seeing even in my position right now. Ok. Do you feel <that you> are you welcome as the president? I would probably say, if I put it in as president, then I am only welcome <by> about 70%. Because when I ran for president, ok, I was even told not to run. I was told why don't I run just being a vice president? ... And I said, "I don't want to run for vice president. I wasn't to be the president because I know that I can make a different." In fact, I was pulled in one of the parties, "We need to talk..." It's almost like a political thing that's taking place right now. "I want you to quit the party so we can have somebody who we feel like is stronger" (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).

Sometimes people are excluded because they lack the financial resources to participate. For instance, the Jacksonville, FL area has a presence of more than twenty Filipino organizations and each organization holds their annual events and fundraising efforts throughout the year. Sometimes these functions occur at approximately the same time during the calendar year with members of differing organizations selling tickets for their respective event. As a result, not everyone can attend all of these events and purchasing tickets to each separate event can be costly. Interviewee #5 commented,

You know, if you are not there, they always ask... “How come you were not there last night?”...Sometimes I just tell them that I’m tired of buying tickets. It used to be that tickets were just, what...\$15, \$20. Now it’s \$40, \$45, \$50, \$55, \$70. Oh my God (Interviewee #5, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

In another instance, logistical costs can be another factor in whether someone can participate in an event or project. For example, an interviewee pointed out,

I suspect that when this <event> costs money—like the picnic is not an issue if you can get wheels, if you can get transportation. And the leaders try to find ways to get the Gadsden county people to these gatherings, if it means somebody with a van driving to Quincy to go get them or something...I don’t even know. Maybe they’re not hurting for money at all. I would think that if there were lower income people in the community they would have trouble participating in some of the events, particularly the Christmas party...’cause it’s \$25 a head (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

And in other situations, people want to be purposely excluded. For instance, one particular Filipino organization has

...an open door policy. If you want to join, you can join. If you want to leave then you can leave. There have been organizations that have left and, you know, because they do not share the vision that <we> wanted to do. So, you know, um, we don't hold anybody to stay. If they don't want to stay then they don't have to (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

A representative from another Filipino organization stated,

...once again, there's a latency of the die hard members and to say, "You know what, we are the one who made this council run. We are one that put this council on the map. We are the one who put this council on the eye of the city government." What about the other organizations? They know that the by-laws say that they can apply for membership but nobody...those people...the organization doesn't want to be a member. And I think that's costing them...not only for the people, not only because of their national organization...I still think it boils down to the leadership (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).

***Conflict and formation of other groups.*** Overall, if conflicts are not resolved, if needs are not met, and/or feelings of exclusion are not addressed then this can lead to more conflict and, eventually, the formation of separate groups. The following comment illustrates the kind of tension and conflict that can build:

The former president of Ilocano <association> became to be a...president <of the association>. It feels like, as what I'm seeing here, those two organizations are very close knit to each other. They are. In fact, every time there's an activity, these two are always together. And they're very well attended. They're a powerful group. The only thing that I'm seeing is...I don't know whether they feel like that they are above the leadership...of the other organizations. They feel like they are a lot more of the higher standard because one of them can be the oldest organization...They feel like, hey, we have this. Nobody needs to tell us what to do (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).

On the other hand, small groups can encourage other groups of individuals to participate, as one interviewee exhibited:

I think that there are some naturally occurring networks that exist among Fil-Am's in the community that don't necessarily coincide with the outer boundaries of the membership of BBFAA. For example, I know that some of the Visayans kind of hang together a little apart from the people of Luzon, particularly Manila and north. Now, they do come together at gatherings. They know each other. They all end up being able to communicate either English or probably Tagalog

but left to their own devices, I sense that they sometimes kind of cluster together in those ways (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

***Conflict resolution mechanisms.*** In order to address conflict, many Filipino organizations have conflict resolution mechanisms in place that, in many instances, are outlined in their by-laws. During the interview, interviewees discussed the level of openness that must be available to allow for understanding and to allow for the democratization process to take place. For example, the following comments were made:

- There's always conflict in policies and procedures and we always try and encounter some meeting that's going to be happening this Sunday, discussing policies and procedures—election, policies, and procedures. So people are astute enough to, if there are issues they ask to be heard or they ask to come to a meeting, you know. They're, at least they're open to discussing issues. They might not be friends after that <but> they're open to discussing issues (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).
- In an organization, there's always opposing positions and then we discuss it and, as I said, we go with the best solution or best opinion that we can get. It's not that because you say something we will not discuss it but, whatever the opinion of everybody, it's always open (Interviewee #8, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

And in order for conflict resolution mechanisms to be effective, the organizations must have good leadership in place and charismatic leaders who can help ease tension in uneasy situations. One interviewee made the following remarks:

- One of the most salient features of leaders is actually influence. The leader, the leader would have the charisma, the capability to influence by clearly articulating stand and then letting them see, letting other people see what he sees—what he or she sees. If you do not have that kind of skills or skill of influencing people, your leader fails. Your leader fails because it's actually articulation of what you see...the leader must have the initiative really and must have to exert influence in order for the other members to see how what is his vision or how it is done (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).
- In the organization we have a, I have to say, a good conflict resolution community. I would just say <it's> fair 'cause we still have—we have not really resolved so much in terms of bringing them <member organizations> back

because, you know, they have developed new leaders again, you know. I'm just waiting for the right time that they will be led by someone who understands (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

### 6.3.6 Empowerment and Political Action

Investigating the empowerment and political action dimension of social capital reveals the degree to which individuals empower themselves and the level to which they control and exert influence over the institutions and processes that directly affect their well-being—elements which also impact the local environment and the broad political realm (Grootaert et al., 2004; The World Bank, 2009). As a result, social capital helps to shape and provide an environment where prospective leaders can hone their skills and political experience in order to bring public awareness to issues that affect society (Paxton, 2002).

***Empowerment.*** One way that individuals can empower themselves is by attending community and organizational meetings, learning how the structure and environment conducts itself, and by becoming active participants through leadership in the organization and/or community.

Meetings not only provide an avenue to discuss and disseminate information but it is also an event where relationships can be reinforced. It also provides a venue where individuals can exercise democracy by participating discussions and voicing their opinion. For instance, an interviewee stated,

I disseminate all the information prior to any of the meetings. If, you know, there's an important thing that needs to be done, we research it first before really doing it. And again, that's the key role. We are always prepared because there is a process that we follow in order for a decision to be properly made (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

But at times, it can be difficult for people to attend an organization or group meeting.

Interviewee #7 notes,

There are organizations that sometimes fail to meet. And even if, though, we have to, we notify them. Again, this is volunteer work, ok. And people have their own lives. And I understand that, you know, they have other things to do besides coming to a meeting. But...if you're working for a cause, you really need to be there. And sometimes people think of what's good for them rather than what's good for the whole. (Interviewee #7, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

Another way for individuals to empower themselves is by learning how the structure and environment conducts itself. This requires knowledge and familiarization of an organization's or community's policies and procedures. When asked about the level of knowledge of the policies and procedures in place in their respective organizations, most of the interviewee participants in the study stated that many members of their respective Filipino organizations are not knowledgeable about the policies and procedures in place.

One person commented,

Sometimes there'll be a battle over how we're supposed to do something. And there's one or two officials—they try to be attentive to the bylaws. And they will refer to them. They'll say, "All right, let's see what the bylaws say." You know, they'll try to refer back to what is there. But in general, most of the organization does not know those things (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

Sometimes, one of the problems lies in the fact that:

Filipinos want to always deviate from procedures and policies and say, 'Hey, let's forget the rules.' I don't buy that. Being ex-military, you know, I stick with the rules (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 1, 2010).

Also, some of the interviewees expressed the need to revise current policies and procedures of their organization. One commented:

I have found that people don't know a lot of the stuff that's outlined in the bylaws and the bylaws are a bit of a mess. There's inconsistencies. Some of the stuff, to me, is excessively rigorous, rigid. Other pieces aren't defined at all. It's a bit of a mess (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

Furthermore, Interviewee #7 stated that the officers are

...gonna see to it that the discussion will provide a rational basis for decision-making. Because sometimes people apply procedures technically and it stunts the participation of the members because not all are conversant about parliamentary procedures (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

***Leadership and the role of leaders.*** Civic organizations provide an environment conducive to producing leaders. But much of this depends upon whether individuals have the initiative and drive to make greater contributions to the community. Most interview participants cited the importance of parents and family as being an example and playing an active role in the civic or cultural organization and encouraging their children to be involved in the community. One interviewee commented about the role of his or her family in their Filipino organization:

...one time during the term of my aunt...there were people who said that this looks really bad because my cousin—their son—was also the vice president and then he was on the board. I mean, you know, because we were active and, I'm sorry, you know, that's just how the ball bounces. But to some people they didn't like that. They thought, oh why, you know. I mean like, c'mon, you don't want to do it. Somebody's gotta step up. Actually, one year, our whole family was in it. One or two years, our whole family was very involved in it...We were running around. Even my kids, they were very involved. My son, the youngest one...was the president, the chairperson of the youth group (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).



In another instance, an interviewee observed how one member learned how to use and manage social capital resources in order to start a Filipino organization at the campus of his college or university:

I know that, for example, the mayor's son...was actually (I heard from people here) that he was studying somewhere in the north...and that he was heading a Filipino organization there because his grandmother was a member of this organization. Like I said before, when the kid gets exposed they see themselves in it and they, you know, it's like a role model for them and they want to be something like that, too. There's many instances of that I've seen (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

In addition, members who are very active participants and who show promise are encouraged and even mentored by other members within the organization, as one interviewee commented:

Yeah, we're trying to mentor him to assume the positions later on. In fact, we try to identify people, you know (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

This interviewee also stated:

We just try to mold him in a way that he can be an effective community organizer, leader (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

In addition, leaders tend to be active participants in various other organizations and other aspects of the community. The Knights of Rizal, for instance, is an organization dedicated to exemplifying the teachings and beliefs of Filipino martyr José Rizal. The organization conducts leadership seminars for its members and participants learn basic parliamentary procedures and Phillipps 66 type of discussion. In turn, leaders share these leadership skills by conducting such seminars and sharing information with other rising

leaders, either with colleagues in their respective organization(s) or colleagues affiliated with other organizations (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

Another reason why leaders are important is because they act as change agents by helping to navigate and lead an organization and/or the community. For instance, one interviewee expressed:

I am a change agent. There are things that you have to let go for a while and then bring them back later on when the need comes (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011)

Furthermore, sharing this kind of knowledge with other organizations is a way to bridge and bond with other individuals and organizations. One interviewee commented that leaders should also have charisma and defined charisma as:

the capability to influence by clearly articulating their stand and then letting them see, letting other people see what he she sees (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

***Creating external relationships.*** Creating relationships with external groups and organizations increases the number of resources available for a community, especially for groups to further instrumental actions (Son and Lin, 2008). For instance, when interviewees were asked if they feel sufficiently informed about other organizations' and/or communities' programs and activities and their sources of information, the answers were not highly confident. For instance, one interviewee replied:

This is one thing that I feel that I'm not sufficient with. Um, unless I'm informed by friends or by random email that came to my desk. However, recently, when we became part of this Asian American Federation, which is based in Orlando, then I got more information because they send emails even from the White House press releases and stuff like that. And so in that way I feel more in tune with what's

going on. You know, related to the community—Asians and Filipinos alike, like immigration issues, things like that or somebody had been abused because of their ethnicity and things like that. They inform you of that. Then we pass it on to our community (Interviewee #1, personal communication, October 6, 2010).

But in hindsight, interviewees are more informed than they realized. It seems that information is mostly acquired by networking with other leaders and other organizations and maintaining relationships with member organizations (especially in the case of umbrella organizations or member council organizations). The following comments illustrate the scenario:

- Well, I'm only formed about our member organizations, ok? Um, I wish that every Filipino organization in Orlando would be part of CFAO because then that would be magical. But the unfortunate part is, again, because of past transgressions, some of these Filipino organizations doesn't even want to come close to CFAO at all (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).
- There's ongoing contact with the nearest Consulate, which is in Miami. And there's always current information, current immigration issues being announced out to the members (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).
- It's the website. It's through the networking that we've done. For example, there's the Mayor's Asian Advisory. And also, what we call the Asian American Federation—the AAFF (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010).
- I have print, media, and personal relationship. And there's one thing good—networking of leaders because you know people. And probably our, my advantage is that I am backed by the Knights of Rizal organization, ok. So, um, the Tampa group cannot participate in the Coalition but there are, there are Knights of Rizal that we can talk to (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).
- We always inform on our member organization. Because we have an interactive calendar in our meeting. Now, the other organization, we are being fed by our member organization that they have something like this, they have something like that...we know that by hearing from others (Interviewee #8, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

Once trust is built and positive relationships are maintained with other organizations and communities then citizens benefit. For instance, organizations like the Filipino American Political Action Alliance (FAPA), the Asian Coalition of Tallahassee (ACT), and the Asian American Federation of Florida (AAFF) were formed in order to unite the Filipino American and Asian American populations. And more recently, these and other organizations partnered with the 2010 U.S. Census order to increase participation by the Asian population in the Census and to educate citizens about the importance of the Census and political representation. The following comments provide other examples where social capital was utilized to increase citizen participation and empowerment.

- “Most of the members are politically active. That’s why we got involved also with the U.S. Census” (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).
- “So as far as political affiliations, there’s pretty strong, you know. Like my son’s very strong in the Democratic party. You know, and he, uh, is thinking about running for office eventually” (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).
- “People from this organization that were initially the driving force for the Asian Coalition of Tallahassee (ACT)...and, um, they did get help from the city for doing that. But the city saw it as a plus for the city so it was a collaboration. It wasn't so much the city giving...did the city/city parks and recreation contribute to that?? --Absolutely. So in some of those activities there's been a real effort to try to, you know, get support from the city and that sort of thing but not so much give us money--so much as help us to be able to do this. Give us the facilities to be able to do this” (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

## **Chapter 7**

### **Analysis**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores how Filipino-American communities leverage social capital for democratic purpose by analyzing the data and findings in this study. This chapter begins by defining and providing examples as to what constitutes a social capital resource, the types of social ties that are present in the Filipino-American community, and how social capital is accessed and leveraged. Then, the findings from the Mokken Scaling Procedure, correlations, and frequency charts as well as from the case study and interviews will be analyzed according to the dimensions of social capital. Furthermore, a discussion will ensue as to how the quality of social capital can be improved. This will be following by a brief discussion of the limitations of this study. Finally, addressing the hypotheses of this study will provide a summary of the analysis and findings of this dissertation study.

#### **7.2 Types of social capital resources**

Resources become social capital when they are invested in the marketplace for expected returns (Lin, 2001b). Consequently, social capital theory draws attention to the resources that are embedded in an individual's social network and how access to and the use of these resources benefit individuals and groups, especially for civic, political, and economic gain (Lin, 2001b).

***Acquired and personal resources.*** The frequency charts in the quantitative portion of this study (see table 5.5) encompass a variety of ascribed and acquired resources as well as personal and social resources. For instance, table 5.5 shows that approximately 87% of respondents in this study indicated that they know someone “who is a godparent” (item #42), which is an ascriptive resource that reflects the ritualistic kinship ties—such as those established through coparenthood or compadrinazgo—practiced in the Filipino culture. Also, nearly 65% of respondents indicated that they know someone who “owns a holiday home abroad” (item #15), about 88% signified that they know someone who “earns an income of more than \$3,000 monthly” (item #14), and roughly 76% of respondents indicated that they know someone who “owns shares of at least \$5,000” (item #12)—all of which are examples of an acquired resource as well as a personal resource.

***Social resources.*** Table 5.5 also includes examples of social resources. For instance, about 53% of respondents indicated that they know someone who “can find a holiday job for a family member” (item #21); roughly 56% indicated that they know someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (item #27); and nearly 88% signified that they know someone who “can give a good reference when applying for a job” (item #32).

### **7.3 Types of social ties that are present in the Filipino-American community**

***Strong ties.*** Allusions have been made to the notion that social capital is culturally dependent (Putnam, 1993; Van Der Gaag, 2005). This is partially the case for Filipinos, where social capital begins at birth with kinship ties established through the ritual of

coparenthood (Posadas, 1999), such as an individual being assigned to the role of godparent<sup>1</sup>. Not only are children accustomed to having such social ties but they are obligated to the reciprocal responsibilities that are associated with those ties. Otherwise, a conflict arises which can lead to exclusion from the group. These ritualistic kinship ties are also an example of “bonding” social capital, which are the foundation of relationships. These strong ties will lead to the expansion of a broader realm through the development of additional strong social ties as well as the development of weak social ties (Granovetter, 1973; Sabitini, 2008). But for Filipino Americans who are acculturated into society, such as third and fourth generation Filipinos, this ritual may or may not be practiced.

Moreover, it is the search for commonality through cultural means that instigated the growth of Filipino communities in America via the development of strong ties beyond the realm of ritualistic kinships. During the early twentieth century, for example, bonding social capital was a source in finding commonality, solace, and support amongst Filipinos, especially in the fight against racial injustice and discrimination.

For example, interview participants were asked about how Filipino communities developed in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee. The first group of Filipinos to reside in Tallahassee were medical professionals, university students, and military personnel and their spouses. In the beginning, Filipinos in Tallahassee would meet socially in a party-like atmosphere. Eventually, they...

---

<sup>1</sup> In the survey conducted (see table 5.4) for this study, it was found that roughly 87% of those surveyed indicated that they “know someone who is a godparent” (item #42).

started trying to make it formal as an organization and that's when they started doing activities. And then, it came from <being> a social organization (they kept the social part because that's always, you know, Filipino) and then we started moving on what is our significance in the community" (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

In Jacksonville and Orlando, while Filipinos also migrated to these respective areas for professional and economic reasons the first Filipinos to settle in these areas were military servicemen who were stationed in these localities. An article in the *Florida Times Union* pointed out that large Filipino communities are situated in areas where there is a U.S. Navy base in the vicinity (Halton, 1986b).

Once Filipinos recognized the need to serve their communities beyond their personal need for cultural commonality and to find solace with others, the mission of many Filipino organizations and associations soon included acts of civic participation and performing public goods—which is based upon the creation of weak ties and the already existing social structure of strong social and kinship ties and where expressive and instrumental actions maintain mutual and reciprocal relationships (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Son and Lin, 2008). Examples of these kinds of organizations include the Filipino American Community Council of Northeast Florida (also known as the Fil-Am Council) in Jacksonville, the Council of Filipino American Organizations (CFAO) in Orlando, and the Big Bend Filipino American Association (BBFAA) in Tallahassee.

**Weak ties.** To recall, weak social ties include individuals who are classified outside of the realm of family members and close friends, such as acquaintances and colleagues (Portes, 1998; Van Der Gaag, 2005; Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005). While strong ties rely upon greater investments of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity, weak ties require less psychological strain (Granovetter, 1973). Weak ties



also function as bridging social capital, allowing social ties and networks to “bridge” to other segments of society that would not normally conjoin. Bridging social capital requires heterogeneous groups with members who have diverse backgrounds.

For example, respondents and interview participants in this study were asked to identify individuals who possessed the resource item(s) listed in the resource generator survey. Analysis of the findings show that when participants identified an acquaintance or colleague as someone who possesses the respective resource item then this also indicates that weak ties are present. Also, participants who identified the volunteer organization(s) and association(s) in which they maintain membership (see table 5.4) also provide another indication that weak ties are present. For instance, a participant from Orlando indicated that they have membership in the Big Bend Filipino American Association (BBFAA) and the Christmas Connection of Catholic Charities, both of which are located in Tallahassee<sup>2</sup>. And while some of the organizations on the list maintain local roots to serve the local community—such as the Asian American Chamber in Jacksonville, the Central Florida Council of Asian American youth in the Orlando area, the Woodland Drives Neighborhood Association in Tallahassee, and the Orange County Bar Association in Orlando—there are organizations that are part of a larger role. Many organizations in the locality are local chapters that are connected to a national organization, such as the American Heart Association, the Knights of Rizal, the Girls Scouts of America, the March of Dimes, and the Sickle Cell Foundation. And some individuals maintain international ties, especially with the Philippines. For example, a

---

<sup>2</sup> see item #1 under “Tallahassee” in table 5.4

survey participant from Orlando<sup>3</sup> indicated being a member of the following: UCUMC Mission Trip to Costa Rica (2006); Lifesong Church Covenant House, FL, for homeless youth; advisory board, Father Obrien Angels Home, Philippines; The Salvation Army, Philippines; Win Earth! Foundation; and Foundation for the Blind. And a participant in Jacksonville signified being a member of a few virtual communities and blogs on the internet about the Philippines. Hence, individuals not only maintain social ties within the network of a respective organization but he or she has the ability to move his network of ties to any other organization or network—creating numerous weak ties and bridges (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b).

Participation and membership in the organizations identified in this study illustrate how weak ties act as bridges to other groups, occurring without the psychological strain that strong ties require. An insufficient amount of weak ties would deprive individuals “of information from distant parts of the social system, confining them to the provincial news and views of their close friends” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 202). Furthermore, the positive aspect of bridging social capital is that it functions as a way to distribute information and encourage trust which goes on to foster the transaction and mobilization of social capital resources, boost democratic participation, and increase economic growth (Sabitini, 2008, p. 2).

***Choosing where to access resources.*** The frequency charts in the quantitative portion of this study (see tables 5.4, 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9) exhibit whether individuals know someone who possesses the resource item indicated. If the actor, himself, does not possess a particular resource then he or she can seek to access the resource from another

---

<sup>3</sup> see item #13 under “Orlando” in table 5.4

source, such as a family member, friend, colleague, and acquaintance. But the action of whether the actor would be more likely to access the resource item from a family member or friend rather than from a colleague or acquaintance cannot be assumed or predicted. This is because, in addition to ascertaining the “strength” of the tie and “the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361), the individual’s choice in deciding where to access the resource would also “depend on who *their* contacts are” (p. 1370), their position in the network, and the strength of the social ties inherent in the individual’s network (Son and Lin, 2008).

#### **7.4 Accessing and leveraging social capital**

Accessing social capital resources depends upon four main factors: (1) an actor’s position in hierarchical structures, (2) the nature of social ties between the actor and alters, (3) the strength of the social ties, and (4) the location of the social ties in the networks (Lin, 2001b, p. 63). As a result, having more social ties in a network leads to more resources to access.

***Position in the hierarchical structure.*** As previously mentioned, the homophily principle states that social interactions occur amongst individuals who share similar characteristics on a social and economic level. For one, social interactions occur either through instrumental or expressive actions or both. To reiterate, expressive actions are taken to protect existing resources (such as members providing personal support of a common characteristic like knowing someone who “can give advice about conflicts with family”) while instrumental actions are used to gain new resources (such as accessing a

resource from someone who “has good contacts with the media”). When this principle is applied, Lin (2001b) asserts that those who maintain a high position in the social structure (or, in this case, in the Filipino community) are likely to be more advantageous in accessing better social capital resources.

***Nature of the social tie.*** Consequently, an actor’s position in the community will lead him or her to access, utilize, and mobilize better social capital resources through a social tie with an alter who maintains a different or higher position in the community that extends beyond the homophily principle (Lin, 2001b).

***Strength of the social tie.*** Although the scope of resources for the actor is broadened when social ties are made with alters who have a different or higher position in the community, the likelihood to access social capital resources depends upon the strength of strong ties and the strength of weak ties.

In regards to strong ties, simply knowing someone who can provide access to a resource does not guarantee that a transfer or exchange will occur. There must be an investment of trust, reciprocity, and mutual obligations in strengthening strong social ties so that sharing and exchange of resources occur while existing resources are maintained (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b).

Strong social ties also play a role in encouraging social cohesion where the facilitation and mobilization of resources only occurs within a group. For example, an individual who is embedded in a social circle expresses homophilous affinities with others in that same circle; but if the individual requires different information then he or she may be required to seek the knowledge and information possessed by another individual who is from a different social circle (Lin, 2001b). If the members of the group

do not attempt to create weak ties to obtain the resource then this results in social cohesion. According to Granovetter (1973), “The fewer indirect contacts one has <then> the more encapsulated he will be in terms of knowledge of the world beyond his own friendship circle; thus, bridging weak ties (and the consequent indirect contacts) are important in both ways” (p. 1371).

***Location of the social tie.*** When social capital is accessed through weak ties then this increases the likelihood for access to better social capital resources for instrumental actions. In order for this to occur, an actor should be positioned close to a bridge or weak tie in order to increase the likelihood in accessing better social capital resources from a cluster in a higher hierarchical position. But this is not to deny the notion that an advantage still exists with maintaining a link to clusters that are in parallel or lower positions. Resources that are available from heterogeneous sources will not only expand the number of resources available to an actor but it will further expressive actions, which can also lead to instrumental actions that will benefit the group as a whole (Lin, 2001b).

#### **7.4.1 Accessing social capital: Analysis of the study**

The Mokken scales (see table 5.17), the correlations table (see table 5.22), and frequency charts of the resources generator items (see appendix 6 and appendix 7) in addition to the case study and along with the information provided by interviewees in this study illustrate how resources are accessed and distributed through examination of an individuals’ position on a resource item or latent trait and how that position can change, especially since individuals can possess varying levels of a certain latent trait (Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002; Dreary et al., 2010; Van Der Ark, 2010). This information helps to

assess the four main factors in accessing social capital resources, as noted in the previous section.

***Mokken scales.*** Based on the responses provided in the resource generator survey, the Mokken scales (see table 5.17) that formed as a result of the Mokken Scaling Procedure allow indirect inferences to be made regarding an individual's position on a latent trait and how the position of that latent trait changes in the overall scale (Dreary et al., 2010, Sijtsma and Molenaar, 2002). In this study, six scales formed (see table 5.17) which reflect the dimensions of social capital identified for this study (see appendix 1): I) Groups and Networks, II) Trust and Solidarity, III) Collective Action and Communication, IV) Information and Communication, V) Social Cohesion and Inclusion, and VI) Empowerment and Political Action.

***Correlations.*** The information provided by the Mokken scales allowed for the exploration of its cumulative properties through examination of its correlations (see table 5.17) (Van Der Gaag, 2005). The information in the correlations table (see table 5.22) shows that when an actor accesses a social capital resource that is rare<sup>4</sup> or least popular then the actor who possesses that rare trait or item is likely to possess the remaining items within that particular cluster (Van Der Gaag, 2005).

***Frequency charts of resource generator items.*** Appendices 6 and 7 show the frequency of respondents' answers when asked if they knew someone who possessed the specific characteristic or trait listed. The frequency of responses is dissected according to the cities examined in this study (Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL) as well as

---

<sup>4</sup> Each cluster on the correlations table is organized from the least popular item to the most popular item.

according to the social tie indicated (i.e. family member, friend, colleague, acquaintance, and “you/yourself”). In addition, the resource items listed in appendix 7 are categorized according to the Mokken scales.

***Case study and qualitative research.*** The case study and qualitative research that was conducted in this dissertation study provide additional information that cannot be explained by the quantitative research. This information helps to illustrate a more complete picture as to how social capital transitions from mere interactions to being mobilized and exchanged for democratic purpose.

***What to expect in following sections.*** The following sections will provide an analysis of the results from this study by examining how an actor’s position in the hierarchical structure, the nature of the social ties, the strength of those ties, and the location of the social ties in the network contributes to addressing what motivates individuals in accessing social capital.

#### **7.4.1.1 Groups and Networks cluster**

***Position in hierarchical structure.*** Social capital sources and resources can accumulate in a variety of ways, contributing to and building the social structure. To illustrate, Filipino communities in Jacksonville and Orlando began when Filipino U.S. navy servicemen and their families were stationed in the area—areas where U.S. military bases are or were once located. The Filipino community in Tallahassee began in much the same way, but with medical professionals, university students, and military personnel and their spouses as being the foundation of the group. In order to find commonality and to find an arena in which to socialize and congregate, members of these Filipino

communities eventually organized themselves into organizations and associations—much in the same way that early Filipino communities developed, such as in California, during the early twentieth century. The development of these associations provided a social structure in which Filipinos could share basic resources, such as asking someone to help “do your shopping when you are ill” (item #25) or asking if someone who “owns a car” can drive you to the grocery store (item #2) (see table 5.22).

In addition, the demographics of these communities are dynamic—with members reflecting the characteristics analogous to each city. For instance, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, a higher percentage of the Filipino population in Jacksonville have served in the U.S. armed forces as compared to Orlando and Tallahassee (see table 4.13).

Furthermore, Filipinos contribute to the economy, such as by occupying positions in the management and professional fields, service field, and in the sales and office fields (see figure 4.2) and serving various major industries in each city (see figures 4.1, 4.3, and 4.4). For instance, as of 2010, Jacksonville’s and Orlando’s major industries include accommodations and food services, health care and social assistance, and retail trade. On the other hand, Tallahassee’s major industries include education services, health and social assistance, and public administration.

Moreover, the survey conducted in this study reveal that Filipinos are highly educated and possess high income levels (see table 5.3). But the Filipino community in Tallahassee, as compared to Jacksonville and Orlando, has a higher education level (more individuals possess graduate level degrees) and possess higher levels of income.

*Nature of the social tie.* Hence, members of the Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee possess the resource items listed in the groups and



networks cluster which contribute to the structure and foundation of social capital (see table 5.22). Since the resources in this cluster are common and have high popularities, they are not very usable in trying to leverage social capital for political, economic, and democratic gain. While the items in this scale are useful to individuals who lack basic, common social capital resources, there are items included in this cluster that, when accessed, results in actors taking instrumental actions indicative of social mobility (Lin, 2001b; Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005). For instance, knowing someone who “owns a holiday home abroad” (item #15) or knowing someone who “owns shares of at least \$5,000” (item #12) exemplify resources that, when accessed, may leverage actors towards a higher level of social mobility.

***Strength of social ties.*** While resources are available from a mixture of strong ties (i.e., family members and friends) and weak ties (i.e., colleagues and acquaintances) in this cluster, respondents from Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee indicated that these resources are more associated with family members and friends in almost all instances.

***Location of the tie.*** For this cluster, there is probably a greater likelihood for individuals to access resources from strong social ties, such as with family members and friends, especially since these ties are established and strong ties are already built with a level of trust. However, just knowing someone who possesses one or more of these resources does not always result in an actor being able to access the resource. For instance, the correlations between individual resource items are low, with the exception of knowing someone who “owns a car” (scale I, item #2) and knowing someone who “knows how to surf the internet” (scale I, item #5) (see table 5.21). In other words, there is little commonality between the resource items listed.

#### 7.4.1.2 Trust and Solidarity cluster

***Position in hierarchical structure.*** Trust is important because it “lubricates social life” (Putnam, 1993, p. 4) and it “pervade(s) everyday economic life and <is> crucial to its smooth functioning” (Fukuyama, 1995, p. 152). Hence, generalized trust is necessary, especially in uniting groups for collective action and cooperation efforts and in trying to leverage social capital to achieve a democratic purpose (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Stone, 2001; Uslaner and Conley, 2003).

Generally, Filipinos are particularized trusters, where more faith and energy is placed in strong ties, such as with family, close friends, and members of their own groups, rather than in weak ties, such as with people outside of their group or with outsiders who do not share the same or similar values or viewpoints (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Stone, 2001; Uslaner and Conley, 2003). From birth, Filipinos place great emphasis on relying on kinship ties with family members and close friends as well as developing strong ties with other Filipinos who are members of their own group (Karnow, 1989).

***Nature of the social tie.*** In this study, it was found that when resource items in the trust and solidarity cluster are accessed (see table 5.22), expressive actions ensue in order to maintain levels of personal support, which also strengthens trust (Lin, 2001b).

In Jacksonville, trust amongst Filipinos within the Filipino community is broken. As a result, twenty or so separate Filipino-American organizations in Jacksonville formed. Even leaders in the Filipino community continue to stress the need to unite Filipinos in the city (Anderson, 2000; Halton, 1986a, 1996). According to interviewees, it

seemed that higher levels of trust might exist in the past. Unfortunately, it is not evident or obvious today.

In Orlando, there are also some levels of distrust in the Filipino community. But the way that Filipino leaders in this community handle this issue is to continue building relationships with the community by building heterogeneous networks.

In Tallahassee, the Filipino community exhibits high levels of trust. As a result, only one Filipino American organization exists in the city. Filipino leaders work hard to maintain projects and events that allow members to exercise expressive actions.

***Strength of the social tie.*** The frequency chart in appendix 7 shows that the expressive actions in the trust and solidarity cluster occur most often with family members and friends. Even when examining the chart according to city, the same holds true for Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee.

***Location of the tie.*** The development of trust as well as the development of relationships built on trust is also influenced by the structure of the group (Lin, 2001b). According to the correlation between the trust and solidarity cluster and the groups and networks cluster (see table 5.23), about 67% of the variance of these two variables are in common.

In addition, while Filipinos are generally particularized trusters, those who are generalized trusters will likely be located next to a bridge in order to access resources from weak ties. As a result, maintaining heterogeneous networks and weak social ties not only extends to resources and sources to resources beyond homophilous groups but levels of trust that is shared and strengthened amongst weak social ties are absent of the psychological strain associated with strong ties (Lin, 2001b; Uslander and Conley, 2003).

#### 7.4.1.3 Collective Action and Cooperation cluster

***Position in hierarchical structure.*** When a community or organization provides the social space to exercise expressive and instrumental actions, this leads to opportunities for individuals to take part in collective action and cooperation efforts. In this case, bonding and expressive actions strengthens trust thereby encouraging actors to utilize instrumental actions. This is also an opportunity where Filipinos can achieve pakikisama<sup>5</sup>, thriving on being accepted by peers and being a collective member of a group or community and setting aside personal preferences in order to achieve a mutual benefit.

***Nature of the social tie.*** The correlations table (see table 5.22) shows that, in the collective action and cooperation cluster, when an individual who knows someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (item #27), and he or she decides to access that resource, then it is likely that this person also knows someone who “can help when moving house (packing and lifting)” (item #23). Hence, accessing the resource items in the collective action and cooperation cluster (see table 5.22) requires a high level of trust maintained through expressive actions (as in the trust and solidarity cluster) in order to enact instrumental actions.

***Strength of the social tie.*** Collective action and cooperation efforts are contingent upon strong social ties which require reciprocity and the recognition of mutual obligations in order to optimize the sharing and exchange of resources (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b). In addition, these strong social ties express mutual tolerance and

---

<sup>5</sup> Pakikisama embodies notions of social acceptance and the achievement of status and power as well as getting along with others (Nadal, 2004; Posadas, 1999). Also, refer to section 4.5 Collective Action and Cooperation in this study.

“even encourages social debts and credits, as well as forgiveness of debt” (Lin, 2001b). If social ties (whether they are weak or strong ties) are not strong or strong enough and if they do not reflect a level of reciprocity, trust, and mutual obligations then individuals who possess high-valued resources will not be responsive to others’ desires to access these resources, halting the exchange of resources.

***Location of the tie.*** In this study we found that amongst the survey participants who are from Jacksonville, about 57% indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) while approximately 98% of these participants indicated that they know someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see table 5.5). Because of the anomaly between these variables, there needs to be further investigation. While a variety of social ties exist in knowing someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association,” individuals may not associate a Filipino-American association as also being a civic or volunteer organization. Or individuals may not trust that the local Fil-Am association could achieve a public good. Even interviewees from Jacksonville pointed out that only a few or a handful of members of the Fil-Am organization actively participate in community projects. For instance, one interviewee mentioned that their respective Filipino-American association has been criticized as being primarily a social organization (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010). All of these are factors not only inhibit expressive and instrumental actions but even weak ties between the various local Filipino organizations are fragile.

Amongst the survey participants who are from Orlando, about 48% indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) while

approximately 65% of these participants indicated that they know someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see table 5.5). Unlike the participants who are from Jacksonville, there is not an extremely large difference between these characteristics. While the Filipino community in Orlando also includes around twenty or so separate Filipino organizations, the Council of Filipino American Organizations is able to effectively coordinate cooperative efforts amongst participating organizations.

On the other hand, amongst the survey participants who are from Tallahassee, about 78% indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) while approximately 98% of these participants indicated that they know someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see table 5.5). In Tallahassee, interviewees indicated that there is an unusually high level of participation amidst members when it comes to carrying out community projects. Unlike Jacksonville and Orlando, there is only one Filipino organization in the community.

According to table 5.23, the collective action and cooperation cluster has a weak positive relationship with the groups and networks cluster and with the trust and solidarity cluster. Approximately 23% of the variance between the collective action and cooperation cluster and the groups and networks cluster are in common. And about 29% of the variance between the collective action and cooperation cluster and the trust and solidarity cluster are in common. Hence, the structure of the group as well as the level of trust that is inherent in the group can influence individuals to be part of collective action and cooperation efforts.

#### 7.4.1.4 Information and Communication cluster

***Position in hierarchical structure.*** Individual Filipinos, themselves, are sources of information and communication. In the role of transmigrant, they help to develop and maintain familial and other network relationships that influence the social, economic, and political spheres on a local and international level.

***Nature of the social tie.*** When items in the information and communication cluster (see table 5.22) resources are accessed, this reflects instrumental actions that are accessed through a mixture of strong and weak ties (see appendix 7).

***Strength of the social tie.*** For instance, appendix 7 shows that, in this cluster, participants indicated that social ties with friends are the strongest, overall. But accessing any of these resources through a weak tie, such as from someone who “works at city hall” (item #13) or from someone who “is active in a political party” (item #11), will benefit the actor as well as the group who he or she represents. As a result, weak ties in this cluster accentuate existing strong ties by providing access to better information and bridging to other social circles (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Van Der Gaag, 2005).

***Location of the tie.*** One of the ways to improve collective action and cooperation efforts, especially with the Filipino community in Jacksonville and Orlando, is to use social media and the internet as a way of providing information to the masses so that people can access informational resources. For example, it was found in this study, that approximately 90% of all respondents indicated that they know someone who “has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account” (item #36) and about 50% indicated that they, themselves, have at least one of these social media accounts (see appendix 6). Furthermore, roughly 98% of participants, overall, signified that they know someone who

“knows how to surf the internet” and nearly 80% of participants indicated that they, themselves, possess this trait.

While all interviewees indicated that the primary means of communication include a combined use of telephone, emails, and sending correspondence via the U.S. Postal Service, utilizing the internet and social media to also distribute information is the most effective way to reach citizens in the community. Social media can be extremely powerful because information that is diffused through strong social ties, such as with family members and friends, is much more effective and is taken more seriously (Granovetter, 1973). According to a study conducted by Ellison, Steinfeld, and Lampe (2007) on social media and college students, researchers found that “Facebook members report spending between 10 and 30 minutes on average using Facebook each day and report having between 150 and 200 friends listed on their Profile” (p. 1153).

Ironically, Filipino communities and associations in Jacksonville and Orlando do not have an active website or social media page for onlookers to access. As a result, it is difficult to find where Filipino communities and groups are located, when organizations are meeting so that citizens can access information, and when public and community events will occur.

On the other hand, the Filipino organization in Tallahassee has an active email group and information about ongoings in the Filipino community are disseminated regularly. Also, their website is filled with information on the history of the Filipino community in Tallahassee, the history of the Philippines, and current information of regular and annual events. This means that almost anyone from any region of the world can access and receive information.



Overall, the structural composition as well as the degree of trust and solidarity and the level of collective action and cooperation inherent in the Filipino group or association influences the level of information and communication that is distributed amongst the community.

#### **7.4.1.5 Social Cohesion and Inclusion cluster**

*Position in hierarchical structure.* While ritual kinship ties and the yearning for social acceptance are ways to increase expressive actions and levels of bonding social capital, the ideas of compadrazgo and pakikisama can also result in social cohesion and inclusion, that not only exclude others but increases level of conflict in the Filipino community.

*Nature of the social tie.* Accessing the resource items in the social cohesion and inclusion cluster (see table 5.22) fits the principle of homophily, in which persons interact with others who are like themselves and employ expressive actions.

*Strength of the social tie.* Particularize trusters who put place too much emphasis in strong ties, such as family, close friends, and members of their own groups, rather than in weak ties or people outside of their group, such as those with whom they do not share similar values or viewpoints, can lead to a situation where “strong identities work against commonality” (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Uslaner and Conley, 2003, p. 335). This can inhibit the flow of social capital. According to Uslaner and Conley (2003), strong ethnic ties to a community can deter individuals from civic engagement beyond their group. In addition, people who strongly identify and express their ethnicity and who gravitate towards others who share the same ethnicity and culture will primarily

participate in organizations composed of members of the same nationality or they will disengage from civic participation (Lin, 2001b).

***Location of the tie.*** Overall, it was found that about 55% of participants in this study indicated that they know someone who “recently immigrated from the Philippines” (item #41) and roughly 86% of participants indicated that they know someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see appendix 7). While this information reveals that participants are more likely to know a family member (18%), friend (27%), and/or an acquaintance (22%) who “recently immigrated from the Philippines” and that both weak and strong ties exist in knowing someone who “is a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39), this information does not reveal the kinds of interaction expressed within these groups. However, information from the qualitative research provides clues as to the level and kind of interactions that occur in the Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee.

While it seems that the Filipino-American community in Jacksonville leans more towards the use of particularized trust rather than on generalized trust, the interviews also reveal that conflict, tension, and a lack of trust are inherent in this community—which is a reason why members of the Filipino community lack interest in participating in community events. For instance, the Jose Rizal Day celebration is an annual event recognized by the City of Jacksonville and attended by local government officials. When this event was held on Saturday, June 12, 2010, only about one hundred Filipino-Americans attended while Jacksonville is home to approximately 14,458 Filipinos (U.S. Census, 2010). On the other hand, the annual Filipino Pride Day celebration attracts more than 14,000 Filipinos and non-Filipinos each year (Filipino Pride Day, n.d.; Hannan,

2011). Although this community has always lacked cohesiveness and struggles to maintain unity, leaders are trying to find ways to overcome this setback (Halton, 1986a, 1996).

The Filipino-American community in Orlando also experiences some degree of division. And like Jacksonville, there are about eighteen or so different Filipino organizations in the area. But while leaders in this community are also aware that divisions exist, their approach is to not close the access to weak ties and bridges but to keep open the opportunity to rebuild trust. For instance, one interviewee expressed:

There are things that you have to let go for a while and then bring them back later on when the need comes (Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011).

And another stated,

There's more that we can do together rather than separately. If you are in one organization having a network opportunity as CFAO provides, you can get a lot of things done. For example, when the Rizal monument was built in downtown Orlando, same thing, one organization was going to do that but, again, organizations came together to join in. And also, with the Philippine Independence Day celebration, having only one...you would rather have several Filipino organizations showing Filipino pride and unity rather than just one, which, you know...you can meet more people that way (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

While there is only one Filipino organization in Tallahassee, leaders work to keep people united. People naturally gravitate towards those with whom they have something in common. Even if no other separate Filipino group besides the Big Bend Filipino American Association exists in Tallahassee it is natural for cliques to form within the association. For instance, one interviewee observed:

I think that there are some naturally occurring networks that exist among Fil-Am's in the community that don't necessarily coincide with the outer boundaries of the membership of BBFAA. For example, I know that some of the Visayans kind of hang together a little apart from the people of Luzon, particularly Manila and north. Now, they do come together at gatherings. They know each other. They all end up being able to communicate either English or probably Tagalog but left to their own devices, I sense that they sometimes kind of cluster together in those ways (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010).

And some identify more with being American than Filipino. For instance, an interviewee mentioned:

When Filipinos get together they forget the people who are married to Americans. And that's my husband's thing. He's American. He goes, "When you guys get together you forget that there are people who don't understand your language and you just yab, yab, yab, talk, talk, talk..." And he goes, "It's very disconcerting because sometimes I'm not sure if you're talking about me or making fun of me." And that's always the thinking of people (Interviewee #3, personal communication, October 15, 2010).

One of the reasons why the Filipino organization in Tallahassee has been able to maintain unity and cohesiveness is because they emphasize democratic participation and accountability as well as upholding a level of transparency for its members.

#### **7.4.1.6 Empowerment and Political Action cluster**

***Position in hierarchical structure.*** Traditionally and in the past, Filipinos leveraged social capital for empowerment and political action through the use of the kinship system. In the United States, mobilizing empowerment and political action has moved beyond the kinship system by becoming part of the panethnic Asian American framework and creating weak ties and bridges to other Asian groups and organizations as well as working with other minority groups in the community.

***Nature of the social tie.*** When these resource items are accessed (see table 5.22), it is for the purpose of enacting instrumental actions to leverage social capital for democratic purposes for the group, such as empowerment and political action.

***Strength of the social tie.*** Having a social tie directly to government not only improves the kind of information that is exchanged and mobilized through the Filipino community but it involves citizens in the democratic process. While it was found in this study that a mixture of strong and weak social ties are present and social ties are strongest with friends (see appendix 7), accessing resources that would empower a group to take political action requires that actors possess heterogeneous weak ties that bridge to other networks so that different social capital resources can be leveraged to achieve empowerment and political action. An actor's likelihood in choosing to access a resource from a weak tie or strong tie will depend on the types and kinds of contacts he or she has and their position in the social structure as well as the strength of that particular tie. Moreover, actors who occupy high levels in the organization or community have a greater advantage; since they begin from a higher position they are more likely to have access to highly-valued resources (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Son and Lin, 2008).

***Location of the tie.*** In order to understand how social capital is leveraged for political action, individuals' sense of empowerment needs to be further explored. For instance, the following resource generator items can be considered as indicators of empowerment when they are accessed (see table 7.1): knowing someone who is "active in a political party" (item #11); knowing someone who "works at city hall" (item #13); knowing someone who "knows a lot about government regulations" (item #17); knowing someone who "can discuss with you what political party to vote" (item #30); knowing

someone who “*did not* vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote” (item #38); and knowing someone who “has contacted a local Congressman for help with a govern-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)” (item #40). Most notably, it seems that Filipino-Americans in Tallahassee have a higher level of political empowerment as compared to Filipino-Americans in Jacksonville and Orlando—about 80% of Filipino-Americans in Tallahassee indicated that they know someone who is “active in a political party” (item #11); nearly 29% signified that they know someone who “*did not* vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote” (item #38); about 64% of participants indicated that they know someone who “has contacted a local Congressman for help with a government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)” (item #40); and approximately 84% indicated that they know someone who “can discuss with you what political party to vote” (item #84). One of the main reasons for these high points is that Tallahassee has an advantage of being the capitol of Florida and has advantages that other Filipino-American communities do not have in being able to access the unique resources, such as in knowing someone who “has contacted a local Congressman for help with a government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)” (item #40).

In Jacksonville, approximately 50% of participants indicated that they know someone who “works at city hall” (item #13) as compared to Orlando (37%) and Tallahassee (37%). Interviewees from Jacksonville pointed out that members of their community have ties to other politically empowered organizations, such as the Mayor’s Asian Advisory Board. But while being involved in an organization like this provides a close bridge to local government and is a way to leverage social capital resources, it is

difficult to achieve democratic and political gain for Filipino-Americans in Jacksonville when levels of social cohesion and inclusion halt the flow of social capital.

In Orlando, approximately 81% of participants indicated that they know someone who “knows a lot about government regulations” (item #17), about 81% indicated that they know someone who “can discuss with you what political party to vote” (item #30), and about 56% signified that they know someone who “has contacted local Congressman for help with a government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)” (item #40). One of the reasons for these results might be due to the fact that, as one interviewee pointed out:

We’re always being asked by the, you know, the Mayor and the Governor and the County Mayor, whatever for anything that, you know, that they need from the Filipino community. As a matter of fact, on the Census...they invited us for a caucus for the, uh, Census 2010. And that’s through the governor and county mayor (Interviewee #8, personal communication, February 2, 2011).

Overall, the level of information and communication in the group as well as the structural and cognitive concepts of social capital have the greatest influence on whether individuals will engage in group empowerment and political action efforts that will benefit the Filipino community as a whole.

#### **7.4.1.7 Rare social capital resources**

The resource items that are amongst the most rare to access amongst the social resources in the resource generator survey are the first item of each scale (see table 5.17): knowing someone who “owns a holiday home abroad” (scale I, item #15), knowing someone who “can find a holiday job for a family member” (scale II, item #21), knowing

**Table 7.1 Indicators of Empowerment**

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>is active in a political party</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>67</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>41</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>23</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>13</i>
<b>13</b>	<b>works at city hall</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>30</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>23</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>
<b>17</b>	<b>knows a lot about governmental regulations</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>78</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>24</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>43</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>27</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>25</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>26</i>
<b>30</b>	<b>can discuss with you what political party to vote</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>79</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>46</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>47</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>32</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>38</b>	<b><i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>10</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>19</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>6</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>
<b>40</b>	<b>has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>57</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>23</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>9</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>16</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>



someone who “can borrow for you a large sum of money” (scale III, item #27), knowing someone who “works at city hall” (scale IV, item #13), knowing someone who “recently immigrated from the Philippines” (scale V, item #41), and knowing someone who “has good contacts with the media” (scale VI, item #18).

It is assumed that when any of these resources are accessed then this can result in accessing other resources “because of inherent qualities of alters, resources, or ego” (Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005, p. 163). With the exception of knowing someone who recently immigrated from the Philippines (item #41), these rare items are key resources because once an alter has been identified to provide access to at least one of these resource then it is likely that he or she will also provide access to less rare items. But other factors must be taken into consideration before this assumption can be verified. This requires further investigation of the density level of a social capital network as well as an assessment of the actor’s or ego’s personality. Such an investigation would include assessing how...

accessing rich domain-specific social capital can either be facilitated by accessing the right multiplex relationships (one right alter helps accessing many resources), having the right personality characteristics (making effort to invest in the right relationships, and applying the right social skills at the right time), or a combination of these factors (Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005, p. 163).

### **7.5 Improving the quality of social capital**

Research has shown that a positive association exists between social capital and when an individual takes action. Lin (2001b) also says that “access to and use of better social capital leads to more successful action” (p. 60). Hence, purposive actions are

accomplished when social capital networks include actors who possess and/or have the ability to access highly valued resources.

Social, economic, and political dimensions influence the quality of social capital by affecting the kinds of sources and resources that are available in a network. Based on this notion, regression analysis was conducted in order to assess the effects of age, education, annual income, and membership in a volunteer or civic association on social capital. Age and education represent the social dimension of social capital and are connected to defining status groups. Income is an indicator for the economic dimension of social capital and defines class positions. Weber (1946) also points out that this is a “basis for communal action” (p. 181). And having membership in a volunteer or civic association is an indicator for the political dimension, where actors have some level of authority in controlling alternative resources as well as the sources of those resources (Lin, 2001b; Weber, 1946). Table 7.1 summarizes the relationship between the indicators and dimensions of social capital.

**Table 7.2 Quality of Social Capital – Indicators**

<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Indicator</b>
Social	Status	Age, Education
Economic	Class	Income
Political	Authority	Membership in a volunteer or civic association

\*adopted from Lin (2001b) and Weber (1946)

After performing regression analysis (see table 7.1), it was found that age, education, and membership in a volunteer or civic association influenced an individuals' likelihood to access any of the social capital resources while there was not enough evidence to conclude that income had an affect.

### **7.5.1 Age**

Age plays a role in influencing the likelihood of an individual's to access resources from the groups and networks cluster, the trust and solidarity cluster, and the collective action and cooperation cluster. It was found that the older the individual (in years) then the more likely that he or she would access social capital resources.

An individual's age is a characteristic that plays a role in the structural foundation (the groups and networks dimension) of social capital and satisfies the principle of homophily (Lin, 2001b). Age is a characteristic that defines people and is a basis through which individuals find commonality and take expressive actions in order to build and reinforce trust. Hence, expressive actions can lead individuals to take instrumental actions to help achieve collective action and cooperation efforts.

### **7.5.2 Education**

Educational status was found to influence the likelihood of an individual to access resources from the groups and network cluster, trust and solidarity cluster, information and communication cluster, empowerment and political action cluster. It was found that individuals who possess more education were less likely to access resources.

Individuals with a higher educational status help to improve the structure of the group because they tend to have access to high valued resources. While these individuals might be less likely to access social capital (because he or she already possesses common resources) within the Filipino community, these individuals would be the ones who would be more likely to play the role of an intermediary to help to facilitate the exchange of resources between an actor and alter. Thus, both instrumental actions and expressive actions are at play. For one, the intermediary can utilize his or her influence on behalf of the actor and can even provide the actor with better information. And if the intermediary has a better position—both within and outside the Filipino community—then he or she will be able to provide the actor with better social ties and resources. To illustrate, if the intermediary provides access to highly valued resources (instrumental action) then this provides the actor with an elevated status and increases the actor's confidence level to accomplish his or her goals (expressive action). This results in purposive action (Lin, 2001b).

### **7.5.3 Income**

The regression analysis showed that there is not enough evidence to show whether a person's income level influences the likelihood of him or her accessing resources from any of the social capital dimensions.

While the economic dimension (income) is a “basis for communal action” (Weber, 1946, p. 181) and a fundamental part of life—where individuals are swayed by economic interests for the sake of obtaining goods, opportunities, and income—it is not necessarily connected with the social dimension (age and education) of social capital. In

other words, status does not necessarily influence class and class does not necessarily influence status. And according to Bourdieu (1985b), classes are not real groups but, rather, function as practical groups, such as a club, association, or union. For instance, individuals who have a high income level might be in a position to indirectly participate in an organization (such as providing a charitable contribution or donation) but there is no guarantee that it facilitates purposive action. Also, it does not help individuals achieve high valued resources or play a part in elevating an individual's status in trying to access high valued resources (Lin, 2001b; Weber, 1946).

#### **7.5.4 Membership in a volunteer or civic association**

It was found that having membership in a volunteer or civic association influences an individual's likelihood of accessing resources from the groups and network cluster, trust and solidarity cluster, collective action and cooperation cluster, and empowerment and political action cluster and that individuals who are members of a volunteer or civic organization are more likely to access resources.

For one, individuals contribute to the structure of the group because they possess their own resources and social ties and can assume the role of actor (to access resources), intermediary (to facilitate the exchange of resources), or alter (who possesses a resource) (Lin, 2001b). Active participation in a group helps to build trust. According to Fukuyama (2000), "Since community depends on trust, and trust in turn is culturally determined, it follows that spontaneous community will emerge in different degrees in different cultures" (p. 259). Hence, higher levels of trust leads to a greater likelihood that

individuals will participate in collective action and cooperation efforts. Furthermore, instrumental and expressive actions and the ongoing mobilization and exchange of resources that occur within the setting of volunteer and civic associations provide an environment conducive to honing members into leaders. In the end, members who practice active participation in a volunteer or civic association have the authority or power “to influence the existing dominion” (Weber, 1946, p. 195) by leveraging social capital for civic, political, and economic gain for the community.

## **7.6 Limitations of the study**

*Sample size.* Although the response rate in Orlando is low (of the 570 surveys that were distributed, only 52 surveys or 9.1% were returned; see table 5.1) as compared to the participation rate in Jacksonville (53.8%) and Tallahassee (30.0%), the sample population in Orlando was included (rather than excluded) in the study because this group provided additional information about the social capital of Filipinos as well as the limitations associated with studying social capital in general. For one, a long rapport had already been established with the Filipino communities in Jacksonville and Tallahassee, which allowed for greater access to members of the respective Filipino community. On the other hand, the relationship that was built with the Filipino community in Orlando occurred over a much smaller span of time, which was not enough to build levels of trust. Consequently, a lack of trust resulted in having less access to members of the Filipino community. According to Portes (1998) and Fukuyama (2000), trust is an important facet of social capital because these communities depend on trust and trust is necessary to build

reciprocity. Plus, Filipinos exhibit traits of being particularized trusters rather than generalized trusters (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 2001b; Stone, 2001; Uslander and Conley, 2003). In order to overcome these challenges, a number of community events and meetings were attended (see table 3.2) in order to increase opportunities to access the Filipino community in Orlando as well as in Jacksonville and Tallahassee.

In addition, being Filipino-American and also playing the role of researcher both has its advantages and disadvantages. For one, being a Filipino-American allowed for easier access to these communities and more opportunities to build rapport. Also, growing up in a traditional Filipino household in the U.S. provided familiarity with the culture, behavior, and social cues. In another respect, Filipino-born citizens or Filipinos whose upbringing primarily took place in the Philippines as well as Filipino Americans who grew up in any of the respective Filipino communities in this study would have even greater ease in accessing these communities, even more opportunities to build rapport, and also greater familiarity with the culture. On the other hand, non-Filipinos would have more difficulty in grasping cultural notions and in understanding how Filipinos utilize social capital. Members of the Filipino community tend to view non-Filipinos as being an outside and would be on guard and on their best behavior.

The disadvantage of being Filipino-American and also playing the role of researcher lies in the fact that the researcher would be seen as a member of the community rather than being a researcher (Nurani, 2008; Semel, 1994).

Essentially, the response rate in Orlando is indicative of the fact that leveraging social capital in order to conduct this study also depended upon the researcher's position

in the hierarchical structure, the nature of the social ties that the researcher possesses, the strength of the social tie(s) possessed, and the location of that tie (Lin, 2001).

**Logistics.** Time constraints, geographical distance, and lack of information lent to the inability in attending all of the events, functions, and meetings hosted by the Filipino community and/or organizations in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL. These logistical constraints blocked opportunities to access resources in order to conduct this study.

**Resource generator survey.** When it comes to the items in the resource generator portion of the survey, it must be noted that questions might be too verbose or broad, which may lead respondents to overestimate the presence of the resources. For instance, respondents may consider different types of social capital resources as acceptable and, hence, may provide a positive response to certain items (Van Der Gaag, 2005; Van Der Gaag and Snijders, 2005). To illustrate, a person identified as someone “who has knowledge about financial matters” (item #20) may possess varying degrees of this type of skill. Or individuals identified as being someone “who is active in a political party” (item #11) may possess varying degrees of participation. In addition, highly popular items may be overestimated. In Van Der Gaag and Snijders’ (2005) study, they found that:

A norm of universalism tempts to show one “knows the way” in society, and can cause overoptimistic reports on the availability of social resources. Even when the identification of network members with specific resources is correct, the estimation whether the resources could also be accessed when ego asks for it may not be (p. 22).



Moreover, the presence of resources could be underestimated or overestimated. For one, respondents may be sluggish in answering all of the questions. Second, social capital resources that may be accessible through weak ties, such as with acquaintances and colleagues and other infrequent levels of contact, could be overestimated. Last, the lines of distinction between social capital and cultural capital could be blurred since cultural capital can also be classified as being a part of social resources. Lin (2001b) points out,

Social capital is resources captured through social networks and social connections, whereas cultural capital is resources captured through social identification and reciprocal recognition. It is conceivable that some social resources, for certain actors, are captured through both identification (being a member of an ethnic group) and social networks (with ties to other members of the ethnic group), whereas other social resources for other actors are captured through either identification or social networks...The focus here is on social resources captured through social relations—social capital (p. 43).

***Interview bias.*** In coding qualitative data, such as transcripts, a level of coding error exists. For instance, if the material is complex then coding manuals must be developed and data must be reviewed frequently to ensure reliability. According to Bradburn, Sudman, and Wansink (2004), “Often, valuable information is overlooked in answers to open-ended questions...Researchers may pay attention only to the most commonly mentioned open-ended answers and not to the unique ones (p. 155).

In addition, basic response errors on the part of the interviewee should be expected. For instance, interviewees may forget the answer to a question or they might be unable to recall details of an event. Other basic response errors include lack of motivation, difficulties in communication (such as interviewing individuals whose primary language is not English), or respondents not understanding what they are being

asked or the context of the question. Furthermore, respondents might be more inclined to present information in a more favorable light. Overall, respondents provide answers in terms of their own understanding or they simply may not know the answer to the question (Bradburn, Sudman, and Wansink, 2004).

***Validity and reliability of in-depth research.*** While “it is difficult not to have an effect on the situation under observation” (Nurani, 2008, p.443; Semel, 1994), the advantage of being in the role of participant-observer on the part of the researcher is that a level of personal experience can be combined with a level of objectivity. Because ethnographic research occurs in a natural setting that cannot be reproduced, reliability could be in question. However, validity was established in this study by assessing data obtained from the case study, observations, and interview data according to the dimensions of social capital (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982).

## **7.7 Conclusion**

### **7.7.1 The greater the embeddedness (social ties) in a network then the greater an individual’s accessibility to resources**

Social capital occurs within the confines of a social structure, where the strength of ties or relationships determines whether social capital resources are exchanged and mobilized between actors, intermediaries and alters. The social structure is important in that it places stress and constraints on social ties and influences actors’ choices and actions when it comes to accessing resources that are embedded in social networks (Lin, 2001b). For this reason, studying the Filipino-American communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL provided an ideal setting for this study.

It was found that the social structure of Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee played a role in individuals' participation in social networks. For one, culture, itself, shapes civic engagement. Culture produces social norms and codes of behavior, which are produced by relationships in social networks in the culture. The main characteristic of the Filipino culture is that children grow up with the knowledge that with kinship and social ties come reciprocal responsibilities that otherwise would result in "exclusion from the extended family" (Karnow, 1989, p. 20).

Moreover, the social structure in each of the respective Filipino communities in this study provided a unique circumstance in which obtaining and accessing social capital was necessary in order to carry out this study. For instance, the small number of survey responses from the Orlando, FL area represents the fact that an individual who lacks social ties will also have less accessibility to resources.

In the U.S., the influence of the American culture on Filipinos has, hence, produced varying degrees of social norms and codes of behavior that has shaped the availability and accessibility of social capital resources in Filipino-American communities and formal associations. Variations and incongruencies in culture provide a social structure that can either facilitate and/or block the ability of a group to organize itself (Bankston and Zhou, 2002; Coleman, 1988a; Granovetter, 1973; Uslaner and Conley, 2003). For example, it was found in this study that issues related to social cohesion and inclusion, such as groups that exhibit high levels of conflict or individuals who lack interest, time, trust, or money to participate in projects or events, can block the development of more social ties—whether they are weak or strong social ties. Not only

are opportunities in accessing high-valued resources lost but issues related to social cohesion and inclusion can impede individuals from accessing social capital resources.

From a public administration perspective, the ultimate aim for these communities and organizations is to build more social ties (both weak and strong ties) in their network in order to have more opportunity to leverage social capital resources for democratic purpose.

**7.7.2 The greater the accessibility to embedded resources (social ties) then the greater the likelihood that an individual will support democracy and democratic activities**

Simply having more social capital resources available in a network is not enough. It was found in this study that fostering levels of trust and solidarity in a social network encourages expressive actions, leading to greater ease in the mobilization and exchange of resources between actors, intermediaries, and alters. Not only does this result in a greater chance of achieving levels of collective action and cooperation but the reciprocal exchange of information and communication provides individuals with an opportunity to access social capital (Grootaert et al., 2004; Lin, 2001b; The World Bank, 2009).

Communities that lack the exchange of information and communication amongst members halt access to social capital. But communities that exhibit high levels of trust and solidarity, collective action and cooperation, and the reciprocity of information and communication provide a supportive and nurturing environment that, in turn, lessens opportunism and misconduct and encourages individuals to partake in civic engagement and leverage social capital for democratic purposes (Putnam, 1993).

Furthermore, social capital networks that are of higher quality provide actors with greater accessibility to high-valued resources (Lin, 2001b). For instance, age, education, and membership in a volunteer or civic association were found in this study to have an influence on social capital resources. Individuals who have these traits tend to have a better position in a social network. Therefore, they have the ability to provide actors with better social ties and resources by elevating the actor's status, boosting the actor's confidence level thereby encouraging the actor to accomplish his or her goals, especially in achieving a democratic purpose (Lin, 2001b).

### **7.7.3 The weaker the embeddedness (social ties) in a network then the greater the complementarity (reciprocal and dependent relationship between private citizens and institutional agents) aspect of social capital**

When trust between the Filipino community and the general community is established this can lead to greater public visibility and transparency, increased community support and trust, and a favorable image and reputation of the Filipino community (Espiritu, 1992; Nadal, 2004; Paxton, 2002; Putnam, 1993; Woolcock, 1998). In addition to increasing morale and levels of confidence within and outside of the group, there is a greater chance of receiving government support of programs (such as through grants) and/or positive recognition by government officials, which would benefit the Filipino-American community as well as the entire community as a whole. This requires members of a social network to be positioned near a weak tie or bridge.

When an actor or intermediary is positioned near a weak tie or bridge to another group, especially with alters who are in a higher hierarchical position, this expands

opportunities to leverage resources from heterogeneous sources (in addition to homophilic sources) and furthers expressive and instrumental actions for democratic purpose (Lin, 2001b). For instance, interviewees mentioned how development of weak ties with government affiliated organizations and agencies, such as the White House Press, the U.S. Census, the U.S. Consulate, the Asian American Federation of Florida, and Mayor's Asian Advisory Board (in Jacksonville), not only provides ongoing and direct access to government information but also encourages complementarity by providing Filipino-Americans with an avenue in which to engage and address issues that affect them.

## **Chapter 8**

### **Conclusion**

#### **8.1 Introduction**

To recap, social capital is defined in this study as “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive action” (Lin, 2001a, p. 12; Lin, 2001b, p. 29; Lin, Fu, and Hsung, 2001, p. 58). Studying social capital within the context of the Filipino community made it possible to understand the type of structure necessary to maintain social capital networks, how social capital functions, and how these communities leverage social capital for democratic purpose.

This chapter summarizes the findings of this dissertation study by addressing the research questions that framed the study. First, the following research question is addressed:

- (1) In addition to investigating the manifestations of social capital in the three Filipino communities that were examined in this dissertation, what makes each community distinctive? And what unique characteristics are evident in social capital development?

The answer provided for this question elaborates how social capital effects the foreign-born population by examining social capital in the context of Filipino-American communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL through the concepts of social capital (as identified in appendix 1). Next, the following research question is addressed:

- (2) In regards to each of the Filipino communities in this study, how does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole?

The information that is provided for this question not only summarizes how social capital is mobilized and exchanged but it also explains how the foreign-born population influences social capital. Then, addressing the final research question that frames this study provides suggestions for future research:

- (3) In studying these target communities, which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities, particularly amongst first and second generations, as well as in other aspects of American society?

Finally, this chapter will conclude with an overview of significant findings in this research and a discussion of the significance of social capital research to the field of public administration.

## **8.2 Research questions that frame the study**

**8.2.1 In addition to investigating the manifestations of social capital in the three Filipino communities that were examined in this dissertation, what makes each community distinctive? And what unique characteristics are evident in social capital development?**



Social capital can influence how individuals behave in a group or community. Expressive and instrumental actions depend upon individuals to leverage social capital resources in order to achieve collective action and cooperation efforts and to access information and to be part of the communication loop in order to achieve empowerment and political action. As a result, communities and organizations provide a structure in which to access social capital resources. According to Lin (2001b),

Institutions and networks constitute the infrastructure of society. The framework conceives institutions and networks as the two main social forces guiding the interactions between actors and hierarchical structures and the flows of capital. Purposive actions based on two motivational principles, minimization of loss and maximization of gain, lead to the formation of social networks (first the primary group and then secondary ties) for both sentimental and instrumental purposes.” (p. 184).

This section will further elaborate the effect of social capital on the Filipino-American population by comparing and contrasting the findings from each of the target cities in this study. Information provided for each target city is organized according to the concepts of social capital: structural, cognitive, functional, and major applications and outcomes aspects (see appendix 1).

#### **8.2.1.1 Jacksonville, FL**

***Structural.*** Jacksonville has the largest Filipino population in Florida. With approximately 14,458 Filipinos residing in the area, they encompass about 1.76% of its population (see table 4.11) (U.S. Census, 2010). The Filipino-American community in Jacksonville, FL started with the migration of military servicemen who were stationed at one of the military bases in the area (Halton, 1986b). Eventually, Filipino associations

formed, such as the Filipino-American Community Council of Northeast Florida (Fil-Am Council) in Jacksonville, to unite Filipino-Americans. Members of the Fil-Am Council include regional organizations like the Ilocano Association, the Visayas and Mindanao Association; cultural organizations, such as the Bayanihan (dance troupe), the Filipino Civic and Cultural Association (FICCA), and the Knights of Rizal; and includes the University of the Philippines Alumni Association (UPAA) (Filipino-American Community Council of Northeast Florida, n.d.).

The Filipino American community in Jacksonville is no longer primarily comprised of individuals who serve or have served the military. According to the 2000 U.S. Census data (see figure 4.4), Filipinos occupy various types of positions across different industries beyond military service. Primarily, about 33.3% of Filipinos in Jacksonville held a management, professional, or related occupation and roughly 29.3% held a sales and office position.

In addition, this study revealed that approximately 90% of respondents from Jacksonville were born in the Philippines and about 83% are U.S. citizens (see table 5.3). Filipinos in Jacksonville are educated and contribute to the economy— about 55% of Filipino participants from Jacksonville hold a bachelor's degree and approximately 30% earn between \$50,000 to \$70,000 annually while 32% have an income of about \$70,000 or more (see table 5.3). It was also revealed that Filipinos in the Jacksonville community express a level of civic engagement— nearly 57% of respondents from Jacksonville indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) and roughly 98% indicated that they know someone who is “a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see appendix 6).

**Cognitive.** Further examination of the social capital of Filipinos in Jacksonville reveal that rifts exist amongst the Filipino community in this area, especially with the existence of the approximately twenty or so separate Filipino organizations in the locality—evidence that this community has a low level of *trust and solidarity*. As a result, this has not helped the Fil-Am Council in trying to unite the Filipino community. On the other hand, the Fil-Am Council's role as being an umbrella organization where member organizations must accept and abide by the Fil-Am's constitution and by-laws does not help to create unity amongst Filipinos (Interviewee #4, personal communication, November 4, 2010; Posadas, 1999, p. 85). Rather, this adds to the existing conflict, especially for many Filipino-American organizations that are obligated to uphold the constitution and by-laws of their parent organizations instead of the constitution and by-laws of the Fil-Am Council.

**Functional.** As a result, *collective action and cooperation* efforts in this community occur on a small scale within small groups, where bonding social capital between Filipino organizations is strengthened and bridging social capital is not given high regard. Also, levels of *communication and information* are also low. For instance, the Fil-Am Council lacks a website and social media page (such as on Facebook) for the public to access. Thus, obtaining information about meetings and events in the Filipino community requires knowing someone who is a member of a Filipino-American association.

**Major applications and outcomes.** Because levels of bonding within these separate groups are high while levels of bridging to other groups are low, levels of *social cohesion and inclusion* resonate throughout the Filipino-American community in

Jacksonville. Furthermore, the structural holes that exist amongst this community results in information only being circulating within groups rather than dispersing between or bridging to other groups—blocking access to information. Even if high quality information reaches others beyond the boundaries of a group then “the fact that diffusion occurs over an interval of time means that individuals informed early or more broadly have an advantage” (Burt, 2001, p. 34), thereby “creat<ing> a competitive advantage for an individual whose relationships span the holes” (p. 34). Hence, individuals who have a rich source of contacts that span the structural holes not only have access to high-valued information but they have the authority to “exercise control over more rewarding opportunities” (Burt, 2001, p. 36). For instance, some leaders in the Filipino community have created weak ties with members of state level organizations, such as the Asian American Federation of Florida and the Filipino American Political Alliance, as well as with local officials, such as maintaining membership on the Mayor’s Asian American Advisory Board in Jacksonville. But since the layer underneath the leadership is hollow and social capital is not being distributed or accessed by others who occupy lower echelons in related social capital networks, this not only takes away opportunities of *empowerment and political action* for the Filipino-American community but it inhibits the development of an environment conducive to molding future leaders. When structural holes of this kind of magnitude exist, it is difficult to mitigate conflict. In this case, any conflict resolution policy in place primarily benefits members within the respective group or organization. As a result, efforts to unite all Filipinos throughout Jacksonville as one voice ensue (Anderson, 2000; Halton, 1986a, 1996).

### 8.2.1.2 Orlando, FL

**Structural.** Orlando has the second largest population of Filipinos in Florida, with approximately 1,595 Filipino residents comprising about 0.67% of its population (see table 4.11) (U.S. Census, 2010). The Filipino-American community in Orlando, FL started much in the same way as in Jacksonville. As being the former location of the Orlando Naval Training Center, Orlando was once home to about 650,000 Navy recruits (City of Orlando, 2005; Interviewee #7, personal communication, February 1, 2011). And like the Filipino community in Jacksonville, Filipino organizations and associations soon formed, such as the Council of Filipino American Organizations (CFAO). CFAO is the main Filipino organization in the area and is composed of six member organizations: the Bayanihan International Ladies Association (BILA), the Filipino American Veterans Association (FAVA), the Bataan Corregidor Memorial Foundation (BCMF), the Filipino American Organization of Osceola, Gawad Kalinga, the Philippine American Chamber of Commerce (PACC), VisMindaLuz, Illongo Association of Central Florida, the Knights of Rizal (KOR), and the Ladies for Rizal.

Nowadays, Filipino Americans in Orlando hold positions in a variety of industries outside of the military. According to the 2000 U.S. Census data (see figure 4.4), about 39.2% of Filipinos in Orlando occupy sales and office positions and nearly 30.6% hold a management, professional, or related occupation.

Amongst participants in this study, approximately 57% of respondents from Orlando were born in the Philippines and about 88% are U.S. citizens (see table 5.3). Filipinos in Orlando are educated and contribute to the economy—about 58% hold a bachelor's degree and approximately 18% of respondents from Orlando earn between

\$50,000 to \$70,000 annually while about 44% have an annual income of at least \$70,000 or more (see table 5.3). It was also revealed that a level of civic engagement exists amongst Filipinos in the Orlando area—nearly 48% of respondents from Orlando indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) and roughly 65% indicated that they know someone who is “a member of a Filipino-American association” (item #39) (see appendix 6).

***Cognitive.*** Upon further examination of the social capital inherent in the Filipino-American community in Orlando, it was found that, similar to Jacksonville, rifts also exist amongst the local Filipino community which is evidenced by the fact that approximately eighteen or so separate Filipino organizations exist in the locality. But compared to the Filipino community in Jacksonville, there are higher levels of *trust and solidarity*. While the Fil-Am Council in Jacksonville functions as an umbrella organization, CFAO in Orlando functions primarily as an administrative organization that works to organize the activities of member organizations and to keep a calendar of events. Rather than having several separate Philippine Independence Day celebrations, for instance, CFAO encourages organizations to unite their efforts towards one celebration that the Filipino community as well as the general community can recognize and attend. In addition, the use of vertical as well as horizontal network relations across all member organizations helps to increase levels of trust in Orlando’s Filipino community (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010; Stone, 2001).

***Functional.*** As a result, *collective action and cooperation* efforts in this community occur on both a small scale within small groups through bonding social capital as well as on a larger, united community front through bridging social capital.

While levels of *communication and information* are also low, information is exchanged with member representatives of the group in CFAO via email and telephone. CFAO lacks a website and social media page for the public to access. Thus, obtaining information requires knowing someone who is a member of a Filipino-American association and/or community in Orlando.

***Major applications and outcomes.*** Although levels of *social cohesion and inclusion* are present in Orlando's Filipino-American community, CFAO maintains an open door policy where, for example, a member organization that no longer shares the vision of the main organization is free to end its membership with CFAO. At the same time, this open door policy helps to address issues of *social cohesion and inclusion* by allowing other organizations that share CFAO's vision the opportunity to join so that its respective members can benefit in the process of social capital. In addition, they have conflict resolutions in place to address conflicting issues that affect members of their group (Interviewee #6, personal communication, November 5, 2010).

Groups and well as individuals in the Filipino-American community in Orlando have opportunities for *empowerment and political action*. For instance, leaders have created weak ties with state level organizations, such as the U.S. Census, the Asian American Federation of Florida, and the Filipino American Political Alliance, as well as with local government officials. Because CFAO practices a horizontal as well as a top-down model and they try to ensure that information is distributed to other Filipino organizations and throughout the local Filipino community, they have created an environment conducive to producing leaders. And although much still needs to be done to

strengthen intergenerational exchange, Filipino leaders in this community continue to take the role of intermediary in order to hone these future leaders.

### **8.2.1.3 Tallahassee, FL**

***Structural.*** The Filipino-American community in Tallahassee, FL differs greatly from the Filipino-American communities in Jacksonville and Florida. For one, Tallahassee is the capital of Florida and is rich in government sources and resources. The Filipino population in Tallahassee is much smaller, with the nearly 585 Filipinos in the area comprising about 0.32% of Tallahassee's population (see table 4.11) (U.S. Census, 2010; Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, 2011). Unlike Jacksonville or Orlando, Tallahassee does not have a large military community. The first Filipinos to reside in the area primarily include medical professionals (such as doctors and nurses) and university students as well as some military personnel and their spouses and families (Big Bend Filipino American Association, Inc., 2011). While the Filipino communities in Jacksonville and Orlando have a multitude of Filipino organizations present in their respective areas there is only one Filipino organization in the area and, until now, it continues to be the main and only Filipino organization present in Tallahassee. Known as the Big Bend Filipino American Association (BBFAA), BBFAA started as a social organization that eventually burgeoned into a cultural and civic organization that works to serve the general community.

Amongst participants in this study, it was found that approximately 89% of respondents from Tallahassee were born in the Philippines and about 62% are U.S. citizens (see table 5.3). Also, the data revealed that the Filipino population in Tallahassee



is a highly educated and highly professional population. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, about 61.5% of Filipinos hold a management, professional, or related occupation (see figure 4.4). In this study, about 37% of respondents from Tallahassee have a bachelor's degree as compared to the nearly 19% of respondents who have a master's degree and the roughly 33% who have a doctorate degree. Furthermore, about 13% of respondents from Tallahassee earn between \$50,000 to \$70,000 while about 51% of these respondents have an annual income of at least \$70,000 or more (see table 5.3). Furthermore, nearly 78% of respondents from Tallahassee indicated that they are a member of a volunteer or community organization (see table 5.3) and roughly 98% indicated that they know someone who is "a member of a Filipino-American association" (item #39) (see appendix 6).

***Cognitive.*** Upon further examination of the social capital inherent in the Filipino-American community in Tallahassee, it was found that this community has high levels of *trust and solidarity*—so much so that the BBFAA has a plethora of social capital in which there are two or three candidates running for each seat on the board of directors each election year (Interviewee #2, personal communication, October 8, 2010). Unlike the Filipino communities in Jacksonville and Orlando, only one Filipino organization exists in the locality and membership is comprised of individuals (such as students) and families (including children and young adults) rather than member organizations, thus allowing for bonding social capital and expressive actions to occur.

***Functional.*** With a high level of trust also comes a high level of *collective action and cooperation* where members of this group actively participate in community projects and events on a regular basis, such the monthly Adopt-A-Street program, various

fundraising and charitable events, and annual community wide celebrations (like Springtime Tallahassee, Experience Asia, and Filipino-American History Month). In addition, levels of *information and communication* are much higher as compared to the Filipino-American communities in Jacksonville and Orlando, FL. For one, the BBFAA has a comprehensive website that provides onlookers with information on how the local Filipino community started, the history of the Philippines, calendar of events, copies of current and past newsletters online, contact information, and more. Information is also distributed on a weekly basis via Yahoo! Groups to members and anyone else who is interested in learning about BBFAA's meetings and upcoming events. Furthermore, the BBFAA has a social media site on Facebook. And their annual general meetings are always well attended. These mediums not only provide information but they are also interactive, thus keeping the lines of communication open with members of both the Filipino and general community (Big Bend Filipino American Association, Inc., 2011).

***Major applications and outcomes.*** By constantly building and maintaining strong ties and bonds through expressive and instrumental actions, this community has low levels of *social cohesion and inclusion*. This is not to say that issues of social cohesion and inclusion are nonexistent. Leaders in this Filipino community devote a lot of time and effort in ensuring that members not only have a variety of opportunities to participate but that they also have an opportunity to get involved in the democratic process, to voice their opinions, and to be represented.

Furthermore, by eliminating a layer of formality and red tape as associated with an umbrella organization, people have a direct relationship to the leaders in the community and have a greater opportunity to exercise *empowerment and political action*.

As a result, the BBFAA provides an environment where people have an opportunity to participate in the democratic process beyond the confines of the organization, such as informing members of issues that affect them—like the Alien Land Law and the Filipino Veterans Equity Compensation Fund. In addition, leaders in this community are active in building weak ties that bridge to other organizations locally, state-wide, and nationally, such as the U.S. Census, Tallahassee Memorial Healthcare Foundation, the Damayan Garden Project, the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NaFFAA), and the American Red Cross (Big Bend Filipino American Association, Inc., 2011). The BBFAA was also one of the main groups instrumental in uniting the diverse Asian groups and cultures by helping to form the Asian Coalition of Tallahassee (ACT) (Asian Coalition of Tallahassee, 2007).

Overall, horizontal and vertical integration as well as a mixture of homogeneous and heterogeneous distribution of social capital has also contributed to an environment dedicated to honing future leaders in the community. Leaders not only act as mentors and intermediaries but BBFAA has also created opportunities and events that encourage intergenerational exchange, such as the BBFAA Folk Dance Troupe and the BBFAA Scholarship Fund. Each time there is a meeting or event, there is a large presence of children and young adults participating and representing the Filipino-American community.

**8.2.2 In regards to each of the Filipino communities in this study, how does social capital transition from mere interactions between members to actions that will benefit the community as a whole?**

To begin, individuals can affect the quality of social capital. They can influence the structure that contains the sources and resources and they can decide whom to trust and with whom to share resources (cognitive aspect). Ultimately, this affects whether resources are exchanged and mobilized (functional concept) and how it is leveraged to achieve empowerment and political action (major applications and outcomes).

**Figure 8.1 Diagram of Social Capital**

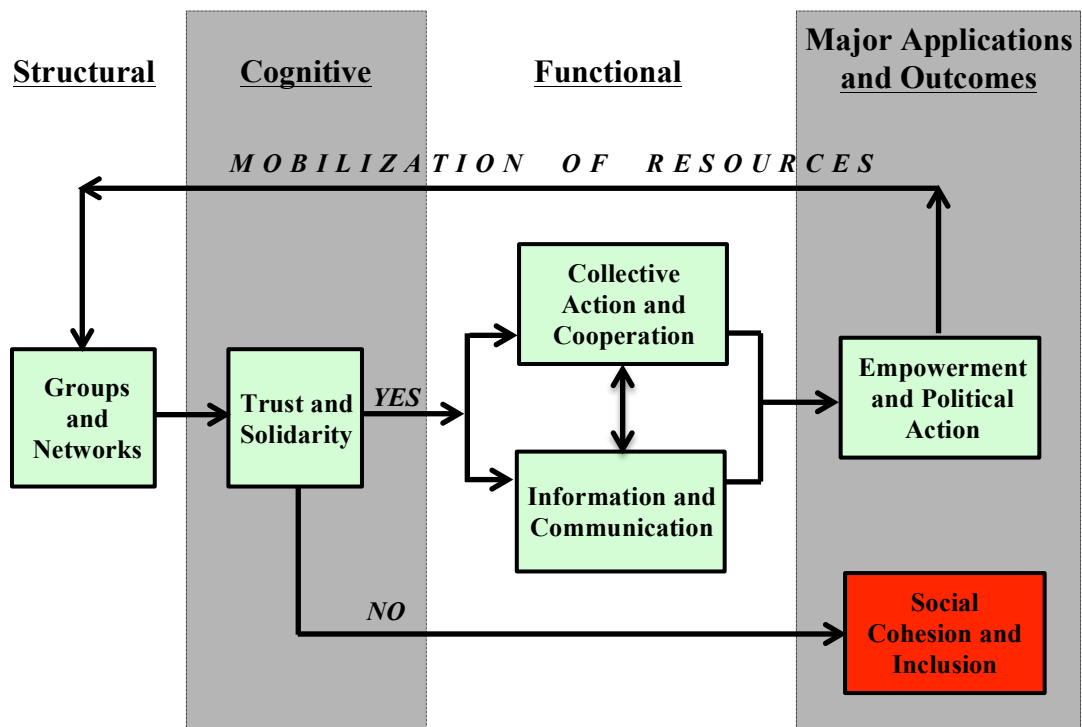


Figure 8.1 summarizes how social capital is mobilized and exchanged. The structural aspect is the foundation of social capital and the groups and networks dimension provides the social space in which social capital sources and resources accumulate. Through bonding social capital and expressive actions, levels of trust are generated and maintained. By observing the Filipino communities in Jacksonville, Orlando, and Tallahassee, FL, it was found that once members of this community placed their trust in the community and/or organization (the social space) and they make a conscientious decision to commit to collective action and cooperation efforts then this sparks ongoing, reciprocal exchange. Hence, the constant flow of information and open lines of communication facilitates this ongoing, reciprocal exchange and mobilization of resources. Hence, reciprocity fueled by expressive and instrumental actions lead to members leveraging social capital for democratic purposes, such as through group empowerment and political action endeavors. By permitting and encouraging members to take part in the democratic process, members not only have the opportunity to leverage social capital for democratic action but this kind of environment is also conducive to honing future leaders. In addition, leaders and members also form weak ties that bridge to other communities and groups that can benefit the group as a whole. Hence, resources are invested and mobilized back into the community or group. If trust is not generated or maintained and/or if members do not create weak ties that bridge to other groups then this results in social cohesion and inclusion, where conflict can lead to division and separation.

**8.2.3 In studying these target communities, which factors of social capital development might be useful in conducting similar studies in other immigrant or ethnic communities, particularly amongst first and second generations, as well as in other aspects of American society?**

One area of social capital research that can be further developed would be to provide further study as to how trust transitions from basic interactions to playing a role in the mobilization of resources. While this study has found the point at which trust plays a role in mobilizing social capital resources, future research should investigate what motivates individuals to share social capital resources, especially in achieving a mutual benefit or public good and mobilizing collective action and cooperation efforts.

Another facet that deserves further investigation is to understand how conflict leads to gaps in social capital networks, such as with structural holes and issues of social cohesion and inclusion, and its impact on democratic participation, civic engagement, and empowerment and political action. A social capital framework could lead to finding solutions that could be utilized in repairing disengaged communities and vulnerable areas of American society, especially in relation to leveraging social capital for democratic gain.

Social capital studies on the social ties of the general American population would yield information as to the kinds of resources and sources that citizens depend upon as well as levels of bonding and bridging that bind communities. As a result, this information would be useful in examining areas of social, economic, and political well-being by providing information as to how public administrators and government officials can play a more active role in attending to the needs of the community.

Studies on the intergenerational exchange of social capital, especially amongst first and second generations of an ethnic or immigrant community, can provide information as to how information and communication is mobilized and how it can result in social cohesion and inclusion as well as increasing levels of empowerment and political action.

Also, more study and research about the social capital of Filipino-Americans needs to be conducted in Jacksonville and Orlando, especially since there are multitudes of Filipino American organizations in these areas. This research only begins to understand the social capital of these Filipino-American communities and how they leverage social capital for democratic gain. There needs to be a better understanding of the relationship between multiple organizations in the larger environment as well as the impact of social cohesion and inclusion on social capital and democracy.

Overall, more research should be conducted on how other ethnic groups and minorities, such as Black American communities and Hispanic communities, utilize social capital to achieve democratic gain in the United States. Currently, research in this area is almost nonexistent.

### **8.3 Overview of significant findings**

Studies on social capital and ethnic communities should be brought to the attention of public administrators. In the field of public administration, there is always a discussion about the problems with red tape and bureaucracy. Making an effort to understand the citizens we serve, regardless but mindful of ethnicity and culture, would

help to alleviate citizen frustration as well as to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of government.

It was also found that in order for social capital to be effective in achieving social, economic, and democratic gain for a community, social capital must be densely distributed throughout the population, regardless of socio-economic standing. For example, the Filipino community in Tallahassee, FL has done much to ensure that everyone benefits and has an opportunity to take part in projects that benefit the local communities. In turn, responsibilities of civic engagement are passed down to their children and society benefits as a whole.

On the other hand, when there are communities that are broken and social capital is sparsely distributed, stewards of government have a responsibility to assist and guide citizens, thereby making their local communities stronger and more robust. Filipino citizens as well as government representatives in Jacksonville, FL are well aware that this community is civically disengaged. Identifying trusted leaders and stakeholders in the Filipino community who could also work with local government representatives could make an improved difference in creating unity, such as through the mobilization of information and communication. One way to achieve this goal is to look at other communities as a model, such as the Filipino community in Tallahassee, and to observe how they have achieved success. Perhaps, considering ways, such as through education or possessing membership in a volunteer or civic association, in which the quality of social capital could be improved might render a solution. In retrospect, these factors could help to increase levels of trust and the quality of social capital for these communities. If these communities bridge to other groups and communities outside of the



Filipino enclave then other communities will also benefit and levels of trust can also be strengthened in other facets of American society. After all, Roberts (2002) states:

“Citizen participation is the cornerstone of democracy” (p. 315). And Putnam (2000) points out: “Civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network or reciprocal social relations” (p. 19). Hence, creating reciprocity between community and government leads to higher levels of trust, which “lubricates social life” (Putnam, 1993, pp. 3-4).

#### **8.4 Significance of social capital research to the field of public administration**

Barone (2003) remarks, “We are a nation defined not by blood or soil but by ideas” (p. 34). Over two hundred years of precedent history has led to this conclusion. Innumerable amounts of laws, amendments, treaties, acts, resolutions, doctrines, etc., not only establish American ideals and traditions but also have institutionalized America’s social relationships (Dahl, 2003). But it seems that Americans’ sense of nationalism is not as strong as it once was, particularly as compared to previous generations. One key to rejuvenating democratic participation and finding ways to boost morale is to study and learn from minority and immigrant groups and the foreign-born population and to observe how they fare, especially in how they leverage social capital for democratic purposes, such as for social, economic, and political gain.

In order for social capital to function, a certain type of social structure must be established. Specifically, social structure is personified within the structure of relations between and amongst actors. Like physical capital and human capital, social capital is conducive to generating productive activity. And a group that has members with high

levels of trust and trustworthiness is more effective than a group encompassing members that lack or are without trustworthiness and trust (Coleman, 1988a). Hence, there is a greater chance for members of these groups to act collectively in order to achieve diverse commons goals. But while specific actions may drive specific activities, some actions may be ineffective or harmful towards other activities. As a result, agency is required to help select and organize goals that are feasible and likely to be achieved, given the constraints and opportunities available within the institutional environment (Coleman, 1988a; Krishna, 2002). In Krishna's (2002) field investigation of social capital in a village in India, he found that agency played a vital role in helping to establish feasible goals, which were constrained within the institutional environment. He expresses:

Agents who have regular contact with state officials and market operators and who are familiar with their procedures and practices can help villagers organize themselves in ways that are more likely to succeed. Collective action can occur even in the absence of informed and effective agents, but it is not likely to be as productive or as sustainable (p. 9).

Consequently, one of the purposes of this study is to understand how various groups congregate and function and their role in society. This knowledge will help public administrators to understand the needs of citizens, how citizens take part in developing an environment conducive to democratic participation, and how to improve democratic processes to assist in developing citizen participation.

Because social capital centers on the relationships among citizens rather than focusing on attitudes, such as in civic culture, there is a greater tie to democracy. In order to account for the relationship between social capital and democracy, other factors must be considered besides networks so as to distinguish the difference between economic ties

and true community. Thus, this study attempts to place emphasis on the content of such associations and networks and the level of trust that is involved to strengthen such ties (Paxton, 2002). For instance, determining whether a group has heterogeneous ties may signify that levels of bridging social capital exist, which can provide a clue as to the level of trust that is inherent amongst members and beyond the community. Uslander and Conley (2003) note that one of the keys is to explore “what values and social networks people bring to civic groups rather than what they take out of them” (p. 355).

Also, Uslander and Conley (2003) found that “the same factors that hinder participation across social spheres and in American politics also impede participation in ethnic organizations” (p 347). While there is not one set or one type of pattern as to how culture influences and molds civic engagement, they found that social networks and legal statuses are key factors that shape democratic participation. The forces that influence civic engagement in general American society also resonate in its smaller, diverse communities.

Particularly for the field of public administration, administrators and agents have the responsibility to ensure that democratic processes are upheld. According to Roberts (2002), “Citizen participation is the cornerstone of democracy” (p. 315). Thus, citizen engagement and participation are essential for a number of reasons. First, it enhances the quality of democratic governance. Second, government is legitimate only when the people as a whole participate in their own self-rule. Third, citizen participation enhances the quality of citizens’ lives because it exercises human capabilities, such as through educating and invigorating citizens’ understanding and capacities. Plus, it has been proven that higher levels of civic engagement, such “as active membership in groups and

involvement in social networks, are associated with greater individual satisfaction with the quality of community life and, indeed, one's own life" (Macedo et al., 2005, p. 5).

Not only do citizens play a role throughout all levels of government, such as in many programs and policy areas like education, policing, health and social services, justice and environmental systems, and economic and community development, but they are involved throughout all stages of policymaking process—analysis, initiation, formulation, implementation, and evaluation (King, Feltey, and Susel, 1998). One of the aims of this study is to find ways to encourage citizen participation in these areas.

Through active participation in civic associations, Paxton (2002) points out that social capital helps to sustain and advance an existing democracy by "teach<ing> tolerance, promoting compromise, stimulat<ing> political participation, and train<ing> leaders—all of which contribute to a healthy democracy" (p. 257). Social capital aids democracy by providing a locus for citizens to voice and share their concerns, ideas, and criticisms of government and an outlet to express dissatisfaction with government. Furthermore, social capital leads to engaging "the attention of policy-makers seeking less costly, non-economic solutions to social problems" (Portes, 1998, pp. 2-3).

Conversely speaking, government benefits from the citizen involvement that arises from "state-society synergy," where "norms of cooperation and networks of civic engagement among ordinary citizens can be promoted by public agencies and used for developmental ends" (Evans, 1996, p. 119). While the idea of synergy is used to elaborate the relationship between public and private institution, the term is defined to encompass characteristics of complementarity and embeddedness. To reiterate, complementarity expresses the mutually sustaining relationship between public and

private actors by distinguishing between the divisions of labor based on the dissimilar characteristics of those public and private institutions. According to Evans (1996):

Governments are suited to delivering certain kinds of collective goods which complement inputs more efficiently delivered by private actors. Putting the two kinds of inputs together results in greater output than either public or private sectors could deliver on their own. The idea of complementarity fits nicely with existing paradigms in institutional economics and public administration and forces no rethinking of the public-private divide (p. 1120).

Embeddedness refers to the relationship that connects citizens and public officials, traversing the public-private divide. Evans (1996) points out:

The social capital that is most critical to the outcome is formed once again in networks that are neither public nor private but fill the gap between the two spheres. Far from being a pattern that emerges only when the state develops ties to the less privileged or during the transition from nonmarket to market-based economic relations, synergy based on embeddedness is the essence of the most important contemporary instances of market success (p. 1122).

Together, the embeddedness and complementarity aspects of synergy within social capital are complementary and help to achieve efficient and effective organizations. A combination of inputs provided by both public agents and citizens creates more efficiency than if each actor utilizes their inputs separately. While each input is unique and different they are also equally necessary and important. Evans (1996) attests, “Even in the maintenance and operation of the system, there is clear recognition of the complementarities between what public agencies can do and what self-organized citizens can do” (p. 1123).

And most importantly, while social capital has roots in economic theory, it must be pointed out that public administration is not economics. For one, the aim of public

administration is to identify “normative rules for decision makers that would lead them to make decisions that are optimal from the standpoint of the citizenry as a whole” (Thompson, 1998, p. 997) and to ensure that morality—values of right and wrong—are observed. Second, the field of public administration is concerned with “pragmatic reform” (p. 997) and public administrators must find solutions to realistic, complex problems. Leveraging social capital for democratic purpose does not occur spontaneously. Studying social capital allows public administrators to identify opportunities for collective action and ways in which individuals can contribute through civic engagement. Last, the field of “public administration is preoccupied with identifying decision rules that citizens would unanimously support” (p. 999) in order to ensure that government is effective and accountable.

## References

- Anderson, R. M. (2000, July 5). Filipino-Americans edge toward community center construction. *Florida Times Union*, p. M-3.
- Asian Coalition of Tallahassee. (2007). Retrieved October, 28, 2011, from <http://asiantlh.org/aboutus.php>
- Bankston, C. L. III and Zhou, M. (2002). Social capital as process: The meanings and problems of a theoretical metaphor. *Sociological Inquiry*, 72(2), 285-317.
- Becker, B., Beyene, Y., and Canalita, L. C. (2000). "Immigrating for status in late life: Effects of Globalization on Filipino American Veterans," *Journal of Aging Studies*, 14(3), 273-279.
- Berg, B. L. (2004). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (5th ed). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Big Bend Filipino American Association, Inc. (2011). Retrieved October 28, 2011, from <http://bbfaa.org/bbfaa/page.html>
- Bradburn, N., Seymour, S. and Wansink, B. (2004). *Asking Questions. The Definitive Guide to Questionnaire Design – For Market Research, Political Polls, and Social and Health Questionnaires*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Bonus, R. (2000). *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the cultural politics of space*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985a). *The Forms of Capital*. In Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, John G. Richardson, Ed. Greenwood Press. New York.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985b). The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and Society*, 14(6), 723-744.
- Bowen, G. A. (2005). "Preparing a Qualitative Research-Based Dissertation: Lessons Learned," *The Qualitative Report*, 10(2), 208-222.
- Brewer, G. A. (2003). Building Social Capital: Civic Attitudes and Behavior of Public Servants. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 12(1), 5-26.
- Bureau of Economic and Business Research. (2010). *Florida Statistical Abstract 2010*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Burke, E. (1790). *Reflections on the Revolutions in France*. Chicago, IL: Regnery, 1955.

- Burt, R. S. (2001). Structural Holes versus Network Closure as Social Capital. In N. Lin, K. Cook, and R. S. Burt (Eds.), *Social Capital: Theory and Research* (pp. 31-56). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Canada Policy Research Initiative. (2003). *Social Capital Workshop—Report of Findings, June 2003*. Retrieved May 4, 2009 from <http://www.policyresearch.gc.ca/page.asp?pagenm=socap>
- Champion, D J. (1970). *Basic Statistics for Social Research*. Scranton, PA: Chandler.
- Choy, C. C. (2003). *Empire of care: Nursing and migration in Filipino American history*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- City of Jacksonville. (n.d.). *Geography and Demography*. Retrieved October 26, 2011 at <http://www.coj.net/About-Jacksonville/Geography-and-Demography.aspx>
- City of Orlando. (2005). *Orlando Naval Training Center Redevelopment*. Retrieved October 10, 2011 at <http://www.cityoforlando.net/planning/ntc/ntchome.htm>
- City of Orlando. (2011). *About Orlando*. Retrieved November 19, 2011, from [http://www.ci.orlando.fl.us/about\\_orlando.htm#cityfacts](http://www.ci.orlando.fl.us/about_orlando.htm#cityfacts)
- Colburn, D. R. and DeHaven-Smith, L. (2010). *Florida's megatrends: Critical issues in Florida*. (2nd ed.). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988a). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94(Suppl.1), S95-S120.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988b). The creation and destruction of social capital: implications for the law. *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics, Public Policy*, 3(4), 374-404.
- Cordova, F. (1983). *Filipinos, forgotten Asian Americans: A pictorial essay, 1763-circa 1963*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co.
- Couto, R. A. (2004). Social Capital Theories. *Encyclopedia of Leadership*. Retrieved March 28, 2009, from [http://sage-ereference.com/leadership/Article\\_n330.html](http://sage-ereference.com/leadership/Article_n330.html)
- Cravey, B. R. (2007, October 18). Barrio Fiesta helps in the effort for Fil-American Cultural Center. *Florida Times Union*, p. M-7.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design. Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Crouchett, L. J. (1983). *Filipinos in California. From the days of the galleons to the present*. El Cerrito, CA: Downey Place Publishing House.



- Dahl, R. A. (2003). *How Democratic is the American Constitution?* (2nd ed.). United States: Yale University Press.
- Dreary, I. J., Wilson, J. A., Carding, P. N., MacKensie, K., and Watson, R. (2010). From dysphonia to dysphoria: Mokken scaling shows a strong, reliable hierarchy of voice symptoms in the Voice Symptom Scale questionnaire. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 68, 67-71.
- Edwards, B. and Foley, M. W. (1997). Social capital and the political economy of our discontent. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(5), 669-678.
- Egberink, I. J. L. (2010). *Applications of Item Response Theory to Non Cognitive Data*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Groningen, Groningen, The Netherlands, 2010). Retrieved from <http://dissertations.ub.rug.nl/FILES/faculties/gmw/2010/i.j.l.egberink/thesis.pdf>
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfeld, C. and Lampe, C. (2007). The Benefits of Facebook “Friends:” Social Capital and College Students’ Use of Online Social Network Sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12, 1143-1168.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1992). *Asian American Panethnicity. Bridging Institutions and Identities*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1994). The intersection of race, ethnicity, and class: the multiple identities of second-generation Filipinos. *Identities*, 1, 249-273.
- Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). *Asian American Women and Men*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Evans, P. (1996). Government action, social capital and development: Reviewing the evidence on synergy. *World Development*, 24(6), 1119-1132.
- Filipino-American Community Council of Northeast Florida. (n.d.). Retrieved January 1, 2011, from <http://facej.weebly.com/>
- Filipino Community of Seattle. (2011). Retrieved July 30, 2011, from <http://fcseattle.org/>
- Florida Department of Economic Opportunity, Labor Market Statistics Center. (2011). *Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages, 3rd quarter, 2010* [Industry figures]. Available from Florida Research and Economic Database site, <http://fred.labormarketinfo.com/>
- Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

- Filipino Pride Day. (n.d.). *Blogs*. Retrieved February 17, 2012, from <http://fpdjax.com/2011/blog>
- Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. New York: Free Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (2000). Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity. In D. E. Eberly (Ed.), *The Essential Civil Society Reader* (pp. 257-266). New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Gliem, J. A. and Gliem, R. R. (2003). *Calculating, Interpreting, and Reporting Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficient for Likert-Type Scales*. Paper presented at the Midwest Research to Practice Conference in Adult, Continuing, and Community Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH.
- Go, I. C. (2009). "World War II Filipino Veterans Compensation Fund: February 16, 2010 Deadline to File a Claim." *Fil-Am Bulletin*. *The official newsletter of the Filipino-American Association of Greater Columbia, S.C.* Retrieved August 1, 2011, from <http://www.filamsc.org/FilVets>.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Grootaert, C. and van Bastelaer, T. (2001), *Understanding and Measuring Social Capital: A Synthesis of Findings from the Social Capital Initiative* (Working Paper No. 24). Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Grootaert, C., Narayan, D., Jones, V. N., and Woolcock, M. (2004). *Measuring Social Capital. An Integrated Questionnaire* (Working Paper No. 18). Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank.
- Halton, B. (1986a, February 27). North Florida Filipinos feel lack of unity. *Florida Times Union*, pp. A-1, A-10.
- Halton, B. (1986b, February 28). Filipinos find opportunities in Duval, Navy. *Florida Times Union*, pp. A-1, A-16.
- Halton, B. (1996, June 9). Filipino history celebrated. *Florida Times Union*, p. B-1.
- Hannan, L. (2011, October 2). In celebration of Filipino pride Festival seems to be growing year by year. *Florida Times Union*, p. B-1.

- Hedberg, E. C. (2005). The Social Production of Intergenerational Exchange: The Value of Social Capital. Paper presented at the 2005 Annual American Sociological Association (ASA) Meeting's Section on Economic Sociology / Exchange, Interaction, and Interpretation in Economic Transactions. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Helliwell, J. F. and Putnam, R. D. (2007). Education and Social Capital. *Eastern Economic Journal*, 33(1), 1-19.
- Hirshman, A. O. (1982). Rival Interpretation of Market Society: Civilizing, Destructive, or Feeble? *Journal of Economic Literature*, 20(4), 1463-1484.
- Hirshman, A. O. (1987). *Interests*. In The Invisible Hand, J. Eatwell, M. Milgate, and P. Newman Eds. London: Macmillan.
- Hsieh, H. and Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.
- Hume, D. (1740). *A Treatise of Human Nature*. (L. A. Selby-Bigge, Ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ignacio, E. (2005). *Building diaspora: Filipino community formation on the Internet*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press.
- Jarrett, R. L., Sullivan, P. J., and Watkins, N. D. (2005). Developing Social Capital through Participation in Organized Youth Programs: Qualitative Insights from Three Programs. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 33(1), 41-55.
- Kao, G. (2004). Social Capital and Its Relevance to Minority and Immigrant Populations. *Sociology of Education*, 77, 172-183.
- Karnow, S. (1989). *In our image: America's empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House.
- Kennedy, J. F. (1964). *A Nation of Immigrants*. New York: Popular Library.
- King, C. S., Feltey, K. M., and Susel, B. O. (1998). The question of participation: Toward authentic public participation in public administration. *Public Administration Review*, 58(4), 317-326.
- King, N. K. (2004). Social Capital and Nonprofit Leaders. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 14(4), 471-486.
- Knights of Rizal. (2012). In *Facebook*. [Nonprofit Organization]. Retrieved February 16, 2012, from <http://www.facebook.com/korjax>

- Kramer, P. A. (2006). *The Blood of Government*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Krishna, A. (2002). *Active social capital: Tracing the roots of development and democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- La Croix, S. J. (2006). Outlying Areas. In S. B. Carter, S. S. Gartner, M. Haines, A. L. Olmstead, R. Sutch, and G. Wright, (Eds.), *Historical Statistics of the United States: From Earliest Times to the Present: Part E. Governance and International Relations* (Millennial Ed., pp. 5-587–5-593). New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006.
- LeCompte, M. D. and Goetz, J. P. (1982). Problems of reliability and validity in ethnographic research. *Review of Educational Research*, 52(1), 31-60.
- Lewins, A. and Silver, C. (2007). *Using Software in Qualitative Research. A Step-by-Step Guide*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lin, N. (2001a). Building a network theory of social capital. In N. Lin, K. Cook, and R. S. Burt (Eds.), *Social Capital: Theory and Research* (pp. 3-29). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Lin, N. (2001b). *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*. Structural analysis in the social sciences, 19. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lin, N., Fu, Y., and Hsung, R. (2001). The position generator: Measurement techniques for investigations of social capital. In N. Lin, K. Cook, and R. S. Burt (Eds.), *Social Capital: Theory and Research* (pp. 57-81). New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Macedo, S., Berry, J. M., and Alex-Assensoh, Y. (2005). *Democracy at risk: How political choices undermine citizen participation and what we can do about it*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- McNally, D. (1988). *Political economy and the rise of capitalism: A reinterpretation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Metro Orlando Economic Development Commission. (2010). *Putting Imagination to Work*. Retrieved October 28, 2011, from <http://www.orlandoedc.com/>
- Mohl, R. A. (1996). Asian Immigration to Florida. *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, 74(3), 261-286.
- Mokken, R. J. (1971). *A Theory and Procedure of Scale Analysis with Applications in Political Research*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Moya, T. R. (2008). A Goodness-of-Fit Measure for the Mokken Double Monotonicity Model that Takes into Account the Size of Deviations. *Methods of Psychological Research Online*, 8(1), 81-101.
- Nadal, K. L. (2004). Pilipino American Identity Development Model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, 32, 45-62.
- National Federation of Filipino American Associations. (2011). U.S. 2010 Census: Filipinos in the U.S. Increased by 38%; Nevada has fastest growing population [Press release]. Retrieved March 8, 2012, from <http://naffaausa.org/us-2010-census-filipinos-in-the-u-s-increased-by-38-nevada-has-fastest-growing-population/>
- Nauck, B. (2001). Social Capital, Intergenerational Transmission and Intercultural Contact in Immigrant Families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 32(4), 467-488.
- Nunnally, J. C. (1978). *Psychometric theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Nurani, L. M. (2008). Critical review of ethnographic approach. *Jurnal Sosioteknologi Edisi*, 14(7), 441-447.
- Oades, R. A. (n.d.). Filipino-American voters coalition: The action group that best promises political influence. *Asian Journal*. Retrieved May 2, 2009, from <http://www.asianjournalusa.com/default.asp?sourceid=&smenu=80&twindow=&mad=&sdetail=6033&wpage=1&skeyword=&sidate=&ccat=&ccatm=&restate=&restatus=&reoption=&retype=&repmin=&repmax=&rebed=&rebath=&subname=&pform=&sc=1028&hn=asianjournalusa&he=.com>
- Olson, J. E. (2007). The History of the Philippine Scouts. *Philippine Scouts Heritage Society*. Retrieved August 4, 2011, from <http://www.philippine-scouts.org/history/history-of-the-scouts.html>
- Paxton, P. (2002). Social Capital and Democracy: An Interdependent Relationship. *American Sociological Review*, 67(2), 254-277.
- Phelps, B. (1998, November 9). Sense of community Filipino-American families in Jacksonville are working hard to preserve their culture. *Florida Times Union*, p. C-1.
- Pido, A. J. A. (1986). The Pilipinos in America: Macro/micro dimensions of immigration and integration. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Platteau, J. P. (1994b). Behind the Market Stage Where Real Societies Exist—Part II: The Role of Moral Norms. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 30(4), 753-817.

- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1-24.
- Portes, A. (2000). The Two Meanings of Social Capital. *Sociological Forum*, 15(1), 1-12.
- Posadas, B. M. (1999). *The Filipino Americans*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press.
- Putnam, R.D. (1993). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*, 4(13), 35-42.
- Putnam, R.D. (1995). Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), 65-78.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Roberts, N. (2002). Public deliberation in an age of direct citizen participation. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 34(4), 315-353.
- Rosenau, J. N. (2003). *Distant proximities: Dynamics beyond globalization*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Salkind, N. J. (2010). *Encyclopedia of Research Design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Salkind, N. J. (2004). *Statistics for People Who (Think They) Hate Statistics*, 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., and Blanc-Szanton, C. (2006). Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals of New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1-24.
- Semel, S. F. (1994). Writing school history as a former participant: problems in writing the history of an elite school. In G. Walford (ed.), *Researching the powerful in education* (pp. 204-220). University College London Press.
- Siisiäinen, M. (2000, July). *Two concepts of social capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam*. Paper presented at the ISTR 4th International Conference "The Third Sector: For What and For Whom?", Dublin, Ireland.
- Sijtsma, K. and Molenaar, I. W. (2002). *Introduction to Nonparametric Item Response Theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Son, J. and Lin, N. (2008). Social capital and civic action: A network-based approach. *Social Science Research*, 37(1), 330-349.

- Stone, W. (2001, February). *Measuring social capital: Towards a theoretically informed measurement framework for researching social capital in family and community life*. (Research Paper No. 24). Melbourne, Australia: Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- Thompson, F. (1998). Public Economics and Public Administration. In J. Rabin, W. B. Hildreth, and G. J. Miller (Eds.), *Handbook of Public Administration*, 2nd ed. (pp. 995-1063). New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc.
- Trochim, W. M. K. (2001). *The Research Methods Knowledge Base* (2nd ed). U.S.: Cornell University.
- Tuason, T. G., Taylor, A. R., Rollings, L., Harris, T., Martin, C. (2007). "On Both Sides of the Hyphen: Exploring the Filipino-American Identity," *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 54(4), 362-372.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2000). *Summary File 4* [Data file]. Washington, D.C. Available from U.S. Census Bureau Web site, [http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?\\_program=DEC&\\_submenuId=&\\_lang=en&\\_ts=](http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=DEC&_submenuId=&_lang=en&_ts=)
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *American Community Survey* [Data file]. Washington, D.C. Available from U.S. Census Bureau Web site, [http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS\\_10\\_1YR\\_S0201&prodType=table](http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_10_1YR_S0201&prodType=table)
- U.S. Department of State. (n.d.). *The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)*. Retrieved August 1, 2011, from <http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/ImmigrationAct>
- Uslaner, E. M. and Conley, R. S. (2003). Civic engagement and particularized trust: The ties that bind people to their ethnic communities. *American Politics Research*, 31(4), 331-360.
- Van Der Ark, A. (2007). Getting Started with Mokken Scale Analysis in R. *Journal of Statistical Software*, 20(11), 1-19. Retrieved January 1, 2011 from <http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/mokken/vignettes/mokken.pdf>
- Van Der Ark, A. (2010a). Computation of the Molenaar Sijtsma Statistic. In A. Fink, B. Lausen, W. Seidel, and A. Ultsch (Eds.), *Advances in data analysis, data handling and business intelligence* (pp. 775-784). Berlin: Springer.
- Van Der Ark, A. (2010b). *Getting Started with Mokken Scale Analysis in R*. Unpublished manuscript. Retrieved January 1, 2011 from <http://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/mokken/vignettes/mokken.pdf>

- Van Der Gaag, M. (2005). *Measurement of Individual Social Capital*. Amsterdam: F&N Boekservices.
- Van Der Gaag, M. and Snijders, T. A. B. (2005). The Resource Generator: Social capital quantification with concrete items, *Social Networks*, 27(1), 1-29.
- Van Duijn, M., Van Busschbach, J., and Snijders, T. (1999). Multilevel analysis of personal networks as dependent variables. *Social networks*, 21(2), 187-209.
- Visit Tallahassee. (2010). *About Tallahassee*. Retrieved October 28, 2011, from <http://www.visittallahassee.com/about-tallahassee/government/>
- Weber, M. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (H. H. Gerth and W. Mills, trans). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wellman, B. and Frank, K. A. (2001). Network Capital in a Multi-Level World: Getting Support from Personal Communities. In N. Lin, K. Cook, and R. S. Burt (Eds.), *Social Capital: Theory and Research* (pp. 233-273).
- Woolcock, M. (1998). Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework. *Theory and Society*, 27, 151-208.
- Woolcock, M. (2000). Social capital: implications for development theory, research, and policy. *The World Bank Observer*, 15(2), 225-249.
- The World Bank. (1998, April). *The Initiative of Defining, Monitoring and Measuring Social Capital: Over and program description* (Social Capital Initiative Working Paper No. 1). Washington, DC: Author.
- The World Bank. (2009). *Measurement Tools*. Retrieved May 7, 2009 at <http://go.worldbank.org/KO0QFVW770>
- The World Bank. (2011). *Measuring the Dimensions of Social Capital*. Retrieved February 10, 2012 at <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTTSOCIALCAPITAL/0,,contentMDK:20305939~menuPK:418220~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:401015~isCURL:Y,00.html>
- World Values Survey. (2009). *World Values Survey – Organization*. Retrieved May 7, 2009 at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>



### Appendix 1

#### Conceptual Framework of Social Capital\*

Concept	Dimension	Description
Structural	Groups and Networks	Foundation of social capital; includes formal and informal networks
Cognitive	Trust and Solidarity	Centers on the level of trust inherent between individuals. Higher levels of trust and solidarity can lead to greater ease in making agreements and carrying out transactions
Functional	Collective Action and Cooperation	Focuses on the degree of participation and involvement within the community
	Information and Communication	Explores the extent to which individuals access the communications infrastructure and how they receive information
Major Applications and Outcomes	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Investigates the degrees of division and differences that lead to conflict. i.e. When levels of social cohesion are extremely high then members of a group may be less likely to extend the flow of social capital to those outside that group
	Empowerment and Political Action	Explores individuals' level of empowerment and the extent of their control and influence over the institutions and processes that directly affect their well-being, thus affecting the local environment and the broad political realm

\*adopted from Grootaert et al. (2004) and The World Bank (2009)

## Appendix 2

### Survey Instrument<sup>1</sup>

#### **INSTRUCTIONS TO PARTICIPANT**

*When you have chosen an answer,  
please circle the number according to your response unless otherwise specified.*

1. What city do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What county do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What zip code do you live in? \_\_\_\_\_

4. On a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest score and 10 being the highest score, how do you rate the following areas of your community? *(Please circle one)*

	<i>Lowest</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>Highest</i></span>									
a. School system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b. Public transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
c. Parking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
d. Safety	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
e. Friendliness of the people in your neighborhood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f. Local government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5. What is your country of birth?

U.S. ....1  
 Philippines .....2  
 Canada .....3  
 Spain .....4  
 China .....5  
 Other *(please specify)* .....6 \_\_\_\_\_

**6. What is your marital status?**

Single .....	1
Separated.....	2
Cohabiting.....	3
Married.....	4
Divorced.....	5
Widowed.....	6

**7. What is your country of citizenship?**

U.S. ....	1
Philippines .....	2
Canada .....	3
Spain .....	4
China.....	5
Dual citizenship ( <i>please specify</i> ) .....	6
Other ( <i>please specify</i> ) .....	7

**8. Does your household include...(circle all that apply)**

Children .....	1
Roommates .....	2
Elderly.....	3
Individuals with special needs .....	4
None of the above .....	5

**9. What is your age group? (Please circle one answer)**

Under 18 .....	1
18 - 29 .....	2
30 - 39 .....	3
40 - 49.....	4
50 - 59 .....	5
60 - 69 .....	6
Over 70 .....	7

**10. What is your gender? (Please circle one answer)**

Female.....	1
Male .....	2

**11. What is your income bracket? (Please circle one answer)**

Less than \$20,000/year .....	1
Between \$20,000 - \$34,999/year .....	2
Between \$35,000 - \$49,999/year .....	3
Between \$50,000 - \$69,999/year .....	4
Between \$70,000 - \$89,999/year .....	5
\$90,000/year .....	6
Decline to answer .....	7

**12. What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (Please circle one answer)**

Some high school .....	1
High school diploma .....	2
G.E.D. ....	3
Some college .....	4
Technical or Vocational Certificate .....	5
Bachelor's degree .....	6
Master's degree .....	7
Doctorate degree .....	8

**13. What racial/ethnic background do you consider yourself? (Please circle one answer)**

American Indian or Alaskan Native .....	1
Black/African American, not of Hispanic origin .....	2
White, not of Hispanic origin .....	3
Hispanic/Latino(a) .....	4
Asian or Pacific Islander .....	5
Other (please specify) .....	6 _____

**14. Are you a member of a volunteer or community organization? (Please circle one answer)**

Yes .....	1
No .....	2

**15. If yes, what is the name(s) of the organization(s)?**

---



---



---



---

The following is a list identifying a number of skills and resources. Does anyone in your family have those skills or resources? And how about your friends? Are there any colleagues or acquaintances mastering these skills? With “acquaintance,” I don’t mean the salespersons you meet when you go out shopping but somebody you would have a small conversation with, should you happen to meet him or her on the street, and whose name you know. I would also like to know if you, yourself, have any of the skills or own any of the resources listed below. *(Please circle all that apply.)*

<b>I. Do you know anyone who...</b> <i>(please refer to statements below)</i>		<b>family member</b>				<b>acquaintance</b>	
<b>II. ...and are you someone who...</b> <i>(please refer to statements below)</i>		<b>no</b>	<b>friend</b>	<b>colleague</b>			<b>yourself?</b>
1.	...can repair a car, bike, etc.	0	1	2	3	4	5
2.	...owns a car	0	1	2	3	4	5
3.	...is handy repairing household equipment	0	1	2	3	4	5
4.	...can speak and write a foreign language	0	1	2	3	4	5
5.	...knows how to surf the internet	0	1	2	3	4	5
6.	...can play an instrument	0	1	2	3	4	5
7.	...has knowledge of literature	0	1	2	3	4	5
8.	...has graduated from senior high school	0	1	2	3	4	5
9.	...has a higher vocational education	0	1	2	3	4	5
10.	...reads a professional journal	0	1	2	3	4	5
11.	...is active in a political party	0	1	2	3	4	5
12.	...owns shares of at least \$5,000	0	1	2	3	4	5
13.	...works at city hall	0	1	2	3	4	5
14.	...earns more than \$3,000 monthly	0	1	2	3	4	5
15.	...owns a holiday home abroad	0	1	2	3	4	5
16.	...is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	0	1	2	3	4	5
17.	...knows a lot about governmental regulations	0	1	2	3	4	5
18.	...has good contacts with the media	0	1	2	3	4	5
19.	...knows about football	0	1	2	3	4	5
20.	...has knowledge about financial matters	0	1	2	3	4	5

<b>I. Do you know anyone who...</b> (please refer to statements below)		<b>family</b> <b>no member friend colleague</b>				<b>acquain-</b> <b>tance</b>	
<b>II.</b>	<b>...and are you someone who...</b> (please refer to statements below)						<b>yourself?</b>
21.	...can find a holiday job for a family member	0	1	2	3	4	5
22.	...can give advice on conflicts at work	0	1	2	3	4	5
23.	...can help when moving house (packing, lifting)	0	1	2	3	4	5
24.	...can help with small jobs around the house	0	1	2	3	4	5
25.	...can do your shopping when you are ill	0	1	2	3	4	5
26.	...can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	0	1	2	3	4	5
27.	...can borrow a large sum of money	0	1	2	3	4	5
28.	...can accommodate you (for a week)	0	1	2	3	4	5
29.	...can give advice about conflicts with family	0	1	2	3	4	5
30.	...can discuss with you what political party to vote	0	1	2	3	4	5
31.	...can give advice on matters of law	0	1	2	3	4	5
32.	...can give a good reference when applying for a job	0	1	2	3	4	5
33.	...can babysit for your children	0	1	2	3	4	5
34.	...can be talked to regarding important matters	0	1	2	3	4	5
35.	...can be visited socially	0	1	2	3	4	5
36.	...has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	0	1	2	3	4	5
37.	...serves on the board of a nonprofit organization	0	1	2	3	4	5
38.	... <i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?	0	1	2	3	4	5
39.	...is a member of a Filipino-American association	0	1	2	3	4	5

<b>I. Do you know anyone who...</b> <i>(please refer to statements below)</i>		<b>family</b> <b>no   member   friend   colleague</b>				<b>acquain- tance</b>	
<b>II.</b>	<b>...and are you someone who...</b> <i>(please refer to statements below)</i>						<b>yourself?</b>
40.	... has contacted a local Congressman for help with a government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)	0	1	2	3	4	5
41.	...recently immigrated from the Philippines	0	1	2	3	4	5
42.	...is a godparent	0	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much for your assistance and your time!  
We greatly value your participation.

Please return your completed questionnaire in the self-addressed postage-paid envelope.

Please be assured that your answers will remain completely anonymous.

<sup>1</sup>**NOTE:** Questions #16 to #50 of the Resource Generator Survey were adopted from Van Der Gaag and Snijders's (2005) study of social capital networks of the Dutch population in 1999-2000.

**Appendix 3**  
**Resource Generator Matrix**

RESOURCE GENERATOR	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL						
	Structural Groups and Networks	Cognitive Trust and Solidarity	Functional		Major application/outcomes		
			Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action	
1. can repair a car, bike, etc.			*				
2. owns a car			*				
3. is handy repairing household equipment			*				
4. can speak and write a foreign language			*				
5. knows how to surf the internet				*		*	
6. can play an instrument			*		*		
7. has knowledge of literature			*	*		*	
8. has graduated from senior high school			*	*	*	*	
9. has a higher vocational education			*	*	*		
10. reads a professional journal			*	*		*	
11. is active in a political party	*	*	*			*	
12. owns shares of at least \$10,000	*	*	*				
13. works at the town hall	*		*			*	
14. earns more than \$5,000 monthly	*	*	*		*		
15. owns a holiday home abroad	*		*				
16. is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people	*		*			*	
17. knows a lot about governmental regulations	*		*	*		*	
18. has good contacts with media	*		*				
19. knows about football			*	*	*		
20. has knowledge about financial matters		*	*	*		*	
21. can find a holiday job for a family member	*		*	*		*	
22. can give advice on conflicts at work		*	*	*		*	
23. can help when moving house (packing, lifting)		*	*				
24. can help with small jobs around the house		*	*				



RESOURCE GENERATOR	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL						
	Structural Groups and Networks	Cognitive Trust and Solidarity	Functional			Major application/outcomes	
			Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action	
25. can do your shopping when you are ill		*	*				*
26. can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied	*	*	*	*			*
27. can borrow for you a large sum of money	*	*	*				*
28. can accommodate you (for a week)	*	*	*			*	
29. can give advice about conflicts with family		*	*	*	*	*	*
30. can discuss with you what political party to vote	*	*	*	*	*		*
31. can give advice on matters of law		*	*	*	*		*
32. can give a good reference when applying for job	*	*	*	*			*
33. can babysit for your children	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
34. can be talked to regarding important matters	*	*	*			*	*
35. can be visited socially	*	*	*			*	*
36. has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account	*	*	*		*	*	
37. serves on the board of a nonprofit organization			*	*	*	*	*
38. <i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?				*	*		*
39. is a member of a Filipino-American association	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
40. has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)		*		*	*		*
41. recently immigrated from the Philippines	*					*	
42. is a godparent	*	*	*	*	*	*	

**Appendix 4**  
**Interview Guide**

1. Organizational Identity

1.1 Name of organization \_\_\_\_\_

1.2 Type of organization \_\_\_\_\_

1.3 Membership \_\_\_\_\_

1.4 Location (City, State, County) \_\_\_\_\_

1.5 Names of leaders \_\_\_\_\_

1.6 Website \_\_\_\_\_

**A. *Origins and Development***

A.1 How was your organization/community created? Who was most responsible for its creation (e.g., government mandate, community decision, suggestion from outside the nonprofit)?

A.2 What kinds of activities has the organization/community been involved in?

A.3 What is the main purpose of your organization today?

A.4 As the organization/community developed, what sort of help has it received from outside? Has it received advice and/or funding or other support from the government? What about from nongovernment sources? How did you get this support? Who initiated it? How was the support given? What benefits and limitations has the organization derived from this support?

**B. *Membership***

B.1 Can you tell us about the people involved in your organization? How do they become involved? Are all people in the community involved? If not, why are some members of the community not involved?

B.2 Why do people join or are willing to serve (as officers/leaders/board members) in the organization? Is it hard to convince people to continue being active in the organization? What kinds of requests/demands do they make on the leadership and organization?

B.3 Are active members in this organization also members of other organizations in the community/region? Do people tend to be members of just one organization or join many simultaneously? Can you explain why?

**C. *Institutional Capacity***

C.1 On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the lowest and 10 being the highest, how would you characterize the quality of **leadership** of this organization, in terms of...

- stability? ..... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10
- number of leaders/availability?..... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10
- diversity/heterogeneity of leadership? 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10
- quality and skills of leaders?..... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10
- relationship of leaders to staff and to the community?..... 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6 - 7 - 8 - 9 - 10

C.2 How would you characterize the quality of **participation** in this organization, in terms of...

- attendance at meetings, both internal to the organization and externally with other organizations?
- participation in decisionmaking within the organization?
- dissemination of relevant information prior to the decision?
- broad debate, including opposition positions, and honesty?
- dissemination of the results of the decisionmaking process?
- the number of women, young people, and financially disadvantaged people who work in the organization and who occupy positions of responsibility in the organization?
- whether any groups within the community feel excluded from the organization? What groups are they?

C.3 How would you characterize the *organizational culture* of this organization, in terms of...

- the existence and level of knowledge of the procedures and policies?
- whether the procedures and policies are carried out? Whether there are problems with nonattendance at meetings?
- conflict resolution mechanisms, both within the community and within the organization?
- the nature of conflicts between the organization and community members?

**D. *Institutional Linkages***

- D.1 How would you characterize your organization's/community's relationship with other communities or community organizations? When do you feel the need to establish collaboration/links with them?
- D.2 Does this organization/community have relationships with other organizations/communities in the area? Which ones? What is the nature of those links?
- D.3 Do you feel sufficiently informed about other organizations'/communities' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?
- D.4 Have you attempted to organize or work with other organizations/communities to achieve a mutually beneficial goal? (*Ask for which activities.*) Is this a common strategy among organizations in this community? (*Probe as to reasons why or why not.*)
- D.5 Could you describe your (or the organization's or community's) relationship with the government? Have you had experience in trying to get government assistance? What was your experience? Which level of government do you find most cooperative (local, district, national)? Has the government made particular requests of your organization or community?
- D.6 Is your organization or community linked to any government program? Which government program(s) is your organization or community involved with? Why those particular programs? What sort of role does your organization or community play in the program? Are there certain characteristics of these programs that make it easier for your organization or community to work with the programs?
- D.7 Do you feel sufficiently informed about government programs and activities? What are your sources of information?

- D.8 Have you, your organization, or community attempted to give inputs to the government? What were the circumstances? What have been the results? What kinds of challenges did you have to deal with? (*Probe for any role in planning, operation, and maintenance of government-sponsored services.*)
- D.9 Has your organization or community been invited to participate in any of the various government development planning processes? What do you think about these planning mechanisms?
- D.10 In general, how do you assess your organization's or community's actual influence on government decision-making at the local or county level?

---

NOTE: Adopted from The World Bank's (2009) Organizational Profile Interview Guide (Annex 1D), which is part of the Social Capital Assessment Tool (SOCAT).

**Appendix 5**  
**Interview Questionnaire Guide Matrix (for organization)**

	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL					
	Structural	Cognitive	Functional		Major application/outcomes	
	Groups and Networks	Trust and Solidarity	Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action
<b>ORGANIZATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE</b>						
<b>A. ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT</b>						
A.1 How was your organization/community created? Who was most responsible for its creation (e.g., government mandate, community decision, and suggestion from outside the nonprofit)?	*	*				
A.2 What kinds of activities has the organization organization/community been involved in?			*		*	*
A.3 What is the main purpose of your organization today?	*		*			
A.4 As the organization/community developed, what sort of help has it received from outside?			*	*		*
• Has it received advice and/or funding or other support from the government?				*		
• What about from nongovernment sources? How did you get this support? Who initiated it?				*		
• How was the support given? What benefits and limitations has the organization derived from this support?		*		*	*	*
<b>B. MEMBERSHIP</b>						
B.1 Can you tell us about the people involved in your organization? How do they become involved? Are all people in the community involved? If not, why are some members of the community not involved?	*	*	*	*	*	

ORGANIZATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL					
	Structural	Cognitive	Functional		Major application/ outcomes	
	Groups and Networks	Trust and Solidarity	Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action
B.2 Why do people join or are willing to serve (as officers/leaders/board members) in the organization? Is it hard to convince people to continue being active in the organization? What kinds of requests/demands do they make on the leadership and organization?	*	*	*	*	*	
B.3 Are active members in this organization also members of other organizations in the community/region? Do people tend to be members of just one organization or join many simultaneously? Can you explain why?			*	*	*	
<b>C. INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY</b>						
C.1 How would you characterize the quality of <i>leadership</i> of this organization, in terms of...						
• stability?	*					
• number of leaders/availability?	*					
• diversity/heterogeneity of leadership?	*					
• quality and skills of leaders?	*					
• relationship of leaders to staff and to the community?	*	*				
C.2 How would you characterize the quality of <i>participation</i> in this organization, in terms of...						
• attendance at meetings, both internal to the organization and externally with other organizations?	*	*				
• participation in decisionmaking within the organization?		*	*	*		

ORGANIZATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL					
	Structural	Cognitive	Functional		Major application/ outcomes	
	Groups and Networks	Trust and Solidarity	Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action
• dissemination of relevant information prior to the decision?				*		
• broad debate, including opposition positions, and honesty?				*	*	
• dissemination of the results of the decisionmaking process?				*		
• the number of women, young people, financially disadvantaged people who work in the organization and who occupy positions of responsibility in the organization?	*	*				
• whether any groups within the community feel excluded from the organization? What groups are they?					*	
• the extent to which specialized activities are carried out (e.g., community projects)?						
C.3 How would you characterize the <i>organizational culture</i> of this organization, in terms of...						
• the existence and level of knowledge of the procedures and policies?				*		
• whether the procedures and policies are carried out? Whether there are problems with nonattendance at meetings, theft of property or supplies?			*	*	*	
• conflict resolution mechanisms, both within the community and within the organization?			*		*	



ORGANIZATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL					
	Structural	Cognitive	Functional		Major application/ outcomes	
	Groups and Networks	Trust and Solidarity	Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>the nature of conflicts between the organization and community members?</li> </ul>			*		*	
<b>D. INSTITUTIONAL LINKAGES</b>						
D.1 How would you characterize your organization's relationship with other community organizations? When do you feel the need to establish collaboration/links with them?			*			*
D.2 Does this organization/community have links or relationships with other organizations in the community? With which ones? What is the nature of those links?		*	*			
D.3 Do you feel sufficiently informed about other organizations'/communities' programs and activities? What are your sources of information?		*	*	*		
D.4 Have you attempted to organize or work with other organizations/communities to achieve a mutually beneficial goal? ( <i>Ask for which activities.</i> ) Is this a common strategy among organizations in this community? ( <i>Probe as to reasons why or why not.</i> )		*	*			
D.5 Could you describe your (or the organization's or community's) relationship with the government? Have you had experience in trying to get government assistance? What was your experience? Which level of government do you find most cooperative (local, district, national)? Has the government made particular requests of your organization or community?			*	*		*

ORGANIZATION INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE	DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL					
	Structural	Cognitive	Functional		Major application/ outcomes	
	Groups and Networks	Trust and Solidarity	Collective Action and Cooperation	Information and Communication	Social Cohesion and Inclusion	Empowerment and Political Action
D.6 Is your organization or community linked to any government program? Which government program(s) is your organization or community involved with? Why those particular programs? What sort of role does your organization or community play in the program? Are there certain characteristics of these programs that make it easier for your organization or community to work with the programs?			*	*		*
D.7 Do you feel sufficiently informed about government programs and activities? What are your sources of information?				*		
D.8 Have you, your organization, or community attempted to give inputs to the government? What were the circumstances? What have been the results? What kinds of challenges did you have to deal with? ( <i>Probe for any role in planning, operation, and maintenance of government-sponsored services.</i> )						*
D.9 Has your organization or community been invited to participate in any of the various government development planning processes? What do you think about these planning mechanisms?		*	*			*
D.10 In general, how do you assess your organization's or community's actual influence on government decisionmaking at the local or county level?			*			*

### Appendix 6

#### Frequency Chart of Resource Generator Items by City

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>can repair a car, bike, etc.</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>80</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	48	29	22	32
	<i>Friend</i>	52	37	51	46
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	10	11	12
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	26	15	29	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	19	17	13	17
<b>2</b>	<b>owns a car</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	62	69	73
	<i>Friend</i>	79	76	60	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	76	64
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	69	39	58	54
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	90	79	82	83
<b>3</b>	<b>is handy repairing household equipment</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>82</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	60	42	33	45
	<i>Friend</i>	57	44	36	45
	<i>Colleague</i>	24	14	13	17
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	24	17	13	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	29	27	31	29
<b>4</b>	<b>can speak and write a foreign language</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>91</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	71	48	47	55
	<i>Friend</i>	74	56	49	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	55	33	36	40
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	27	29	32
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	64	44	53	53
<b>5</b>	<b>knows how to surf the internet</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	67	80	78
	<i>Friend</i>	76	58	80	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	69	62
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	74	40	60	57
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	83	71	87	80
<b>6</b>	<b>can play an instrument</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>94</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	81	60	56	65
	<i>Friend</i>	69	38	64	56
	<i>Colleague</i>	41	23	29	30
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	21	36	32
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	35	40	44	40

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>has knowledge of literature</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>89</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	76	52	53	60
	<i>Friend</i>	57	44	53	51
	<i>Colleague</i>	43	27	47	38
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	33	23	31	29
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	50	50	47	49
<b>8</b>	<b>has graduated from senior high school</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>96</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	67	64	73
	<i>Friend</i>	79	54	58	63
	<i>Colleague</i>	64	44	53	53
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	57	37	49	47
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	88	67	62	72
<b>9</b>	<b>has a higher vocational education</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	57	42	31	43
	<i>Friend</i>	55	42	40	45
	<i>Colleague</i>	41	27	27	31
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	36	23	42	33
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	31	27	27	28
<b>10</b>	<b>reads a professional journal</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>83</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	69	44	51	54
	<i>Friend</i>	55	33	53	46
	<i>Colleague</i>	43	39	53	45
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	27	31	29
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	52	46	71	56
<b>11</b>	<b>is active in a political party</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>67</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	12	21	18	17
	<i>Friend</i>	45	25	56	41
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	14	22	17
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	26	12	33	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	12	16	13
<b>12</b>	<b>owns shares of at least \$5,000</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>76</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	52	40	36	42
	<i>Friend</i>	45	35	40	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	36	23	36	31
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	26	21	27	24
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	45	40	36	40

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>13</b>	<b>works at city hall</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	7	2	4	4
	<i>Friend</i>	33	12	49	30
	<i>Colleague</i>	12	2	9	7
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	5	38	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	2	0	0	1
<b>14</b>	<b>earns more than \$3,000 monthly</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	62	48	47	52
	<i>Friend</i>	57	44	60	53
	<i>Colleague</i>	50	40	53	47
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	36	31	40	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	48	52	49	50
<b>15</b>	<b>owns a holiday home abroad</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>65</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	38	15	20	24
	<i>Friend</i>	45	21	36	33
	<i>Colleague</i>	14	15	16	15
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	15	22	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	6	11	9
<b>16</b>	<b>is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>71</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	33	29	18	27
	<i>Friend</i>	40	37	42	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	24	17	16	19
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	19	20	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	29	27	24	27
<b>17</b>	<b>knows a lot about governmental regulations</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>78</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	26	29	18	24
	<i>Friend</i>	45	37	49	43
	<i>Colleague</i>	33	19	31	27
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	19	31	25
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	19	35	22	26
<b>18</b>	<b>has good contacts with media</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>59</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	19	10	11	13
	<i>Friend</i>	40	29	40	36
	<i>Colleague</i>	21	12	18	17
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	14	15	24	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	10	12	11	11

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>19</b>	<b>knows about football</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	62	56	51	56
	<i>Friend</i>	64	50	71	61
	<i>Colleague</i>	45	33	51	42
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	40	27	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	57	42	38	45
<b>20</b>	<b>has knowledge about financial matters</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	50	46	42	46
	<i>Friend</i>	55	44	53	50
	<i>Colleague</i>	31	33	44	36
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	33	27	31	30
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	48	46	38	44
<b>21</b>	<b>can find a holiday job for a family member</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>53</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	21	15	16	17
	<i>Friend</i>	31	27	27	28
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	15	11	14
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	21	15	18	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	12	11	9
<b>22</b>	<b>can give advice on conflicts at work</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>74</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	41	39	24	35
	<i>Friend</i>	45	46	27	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	40	29	33	34
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	21	29	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	45	46	29	40
<b>23</b>	<b>can help when moving house (packing, lifting)</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>84</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	69	52	33	51
	<i>Friend</i>	57	54	67	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	19	21	18	19
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	21	27	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	50	56	42	50
<b>24</b>	<b>can help with small jobs around the house</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	76	54	47	58
	<i>Friend</i>	67	42	36	47
	<i>Colleague</i>	24	17	16	19
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	21	25	27	24
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	62	60	47	56

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>25</b>	<b>can do your shopping when you are ill</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>65</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>53</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>16</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>9</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>24</i>
<b>26</b>	<b>can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>82</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>49</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>54</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>26</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>15</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>18</i>
<b>27</b>	<b>can borrow for you a large sum of money</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>28</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>27</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>12</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>16</i>
<b>28</b>	<b>can accommodate you (for a week)</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>64</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>54</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>15</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>29</b>	<b>can give advice about conflicts with family</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>86</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>50</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>52</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>37</i>
<b>30</b>	<b>can discuss with you what political party to vote</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>79</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>46</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>47</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>32</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>22</i>

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>31</b>	<b>can give advice on matters of law</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>74</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>29</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>45</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>26</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>32</b>	<b>can give a good reference when applying for a job</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>40</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>73</i>	<i>59</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>53</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>19</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>40</i>
<b>33</b>	<b>can babysit for your children</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>78</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>41</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>42</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>6</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>34</b>	<b>can be talked to regarding important matters</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>63</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>59</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>27</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>43</i>
<b>35</b>	<b>can be visited socially</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>55</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>63</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>34</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>19</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>42</i>
<b>36</b>	<b>has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>68</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>71</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>52</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>44</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>50</i>



Item #	Do you know anyone who...	Jacksonville (n = 42)	Orlando (n = 45)	Tallahassee (n = 52)	Total % (n = 139)
37	<b>serves on the board of a nonprofit organization</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>63</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	7	15	18	14
	<i>Friend</i>	33	53	29	38
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	17	31	22
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	21	27	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	21	17	17	19
38	<b><i>did not</i> vote in the last U.S. presidential election even though they were able to vote?</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	12	13	4	10
	<i>Friend</i>	24	17	16	19
	<i>Colleague</i>	2	10	4	6
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	12	6	4	7
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	7	16	7	10
39	<b>is a member of a Filipino-American association</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>86</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	41	31	58	42
	<i>Friend</i>	69	27	82	58
	<i>Colleague</i>	29	15	53	32
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	38	19	51	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	57	33	87	58
40	<b>has contacted local Congressman for help with government-related issue (i.e. visa, passport, greencard, etc)</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>57</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	14	19	18	17
	<i>Friend</i>	21	17	31	23
	<i>Colleague</i>	5	6	18	9
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	12	6	31	16
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	13	13	13
41	<b>recently immigrated from the Philippines</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>55</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	28	13	13	18
	<i>Friend</i>	36	31	31	27
	<i>Colleague</i>	7	8	9	8
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	13	38	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	4	5	4
42	<b>is a godparent</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>87</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	74	55	56	57
	<i>Friend</i>	67	40	58	54
	<i>Colleague</i>	21	17	24	21
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	13	20	17
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	64	52	56	57

**Appendix 7**  
**Frequency Chart of Resource Generator Items by City**  
**(organized according to Mokken scales)**

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<i><b>Scale I: Groups and Networks</b></i>					
<b>15</b>	<b>owns a holiday home abroad</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>65</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	38	15	20	24
	<i>Friend</i>	45	21	36	33
	<i>Colleague</i>	14	15	16	15
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	15	22	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	6	11	9
<b>12</b>	<b>owns shares of at least \$5,000</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>76</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	52	40	36	42
	<i>Friend</i>	45	35	40	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	36	23	36	31
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	26	21	27	24
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	45	40	36	40
<b>9</b>	<b>has a higher vocational education</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	57	42	31	43
	<i>Friend</i>	55	42	40	45
	<i>Colleague</i>	41	27	27	31
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	36	23	42	33
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	31	27	27	28
<b>26</b>	<b>can give medical advice when you are dissatisfied</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>82</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	69	40	40	49
	<i>Friend</i>	69	40	56	54
	<i>Colleague</i>	26	17	36	26
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	12	18	15
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	19	19	16	18
<b>10</b>	<b>reads a professional journal</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>83</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	69	44	51	54
	<i>Friend</i>	55	33	53	46
	<i>Colleague</i>	43	39	53	45
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	27	31	29
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	52	46	71	56

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>42</b>	<b>is a godparent</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>87</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	74	55	56	57
	<i>Friend</i>	67	40	58	54
	<i>Colleague</i>	21	17	24	21
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	13	20	17
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	64	52	56	57
<b>14</b>	<b>earns more than \$3,000 monthly</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	62	48	47	52
	<i>Friend</i>	57	44	60	53
	<i>Colleague</i>	50	40	53	47
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	36	31	40	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	48	52	49	50
<b>25</b>	<b>can do your shopping when you are ill</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	81	54	64	65
	<i>Friend</i>	67	40	53	53
	<i>Colleague</i>	10	19	18	16
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	7	12	9	9
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	17	33	20	24
<b>28</b>	<b>can accommodate you (for a week)</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	81	52	62	64
	<i>Friend</i>	52	48	62	54
	<i>Colleague</i>	5	20	19	15
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	2	8	11	7
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	35	16	22
<b>32</b>	<b>can give a good reference when applying for job</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	50	33	38	40
	<i>Friend</i>	64	42	73	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	52	69	40	53
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	21	13	24	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	40	39	42	40
<b>19</b>	<b>knows about football</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	62	56	51	56
	<i>Friend</i>	64	50	71	61
	<i>Colleague</i>	45	33	51	42
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	40	27	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	57	42	38	45

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>35</b>	<b>can be visited socially</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	71	42	56	55
	<i>Friend</i>	71	50	71	63
	<i>Colleague</i>	26	29	47	34
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	21	20	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	36	48	42	42
<b>36</b>	<b>has a Facebook, MySpace, or Friendster account</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>90</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	88	50	69	68
	<i>Friend</i>	76	56	82	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	52	40	64	52
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	52	31	51	44
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	52	42	56	50
<b>5</b>	<b>knows how to surf the internet</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	67	80	78
	<i>Friend</i>	76	58	80	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	69	62
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	74	40	60	57
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	83	71	87	80
<b>2</b>	<b>owns a car</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>99</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	90	62	69	73
	<i>Friend</i>	79	76	60	71
	<i>Colleague</i>	72	48	76	64
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	69	39	58	54
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	90	79	82	83
<b>Scale II: Trust and Solidarity</b>					
<b>21</b>	<b>can find a holiday job for a family member</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>53</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	21	15	16	17
	<i>Friend</i>	31	27	27	28
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	15	11	14
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	21	15	18	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	12	11	9
<b>22</b>	<b>can give advice on conflicts at work</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>74</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	41	39	24	35
	<i>Friend</i>	45	46	27	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	40	29	33	34
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	21	29	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	45	46	29	40

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>31</b>	<b>can give advice on matters of law</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>74</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>29</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>45</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>26</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>30</b>	<b>can discuss with you what political party to vote</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>79</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>46</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>47</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>32</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>20</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>22</i>
<b>29</b>	<b>can give advice about conflicts with family</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>86</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>50</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>52</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>17</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>11</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>37</i>
<b>7</b>	<b>has knowledge of literature</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>89</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>60</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>51</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>38</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>29</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>49</i>
<b>34</b>	<b>can be talked to regarding important matters</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>92</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>63</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>59</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>27</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>12</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>43</i>
<b>8</b>	<b>has graduated from senior high school</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>96</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>90</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>73</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>63</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>53</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>47</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>72</i>

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b><i>Scale III: Collective Action and Cooperation</i></b>					
<b>27</b>	<b>can borrow for you a large sum of money</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	45	17	24	28
	<i>Friend</i>	29	21	33	27
	<i>Colleague</i>	10	7	20	12
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	7	10	7	8
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	14	17	16	16
<b>23</b>	<b>can help when moving house (packing, lifting)</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>84</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	69	52	33	51
	<i>Friend</i>	57	54	67	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	19	21	18	19
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	21	27	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	50	56	42	50
<b><i>Scale IV: Information and Communication</i></b>					
<b>13</b>	<b>works at city hall</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	7	2	4	4
	<i>Friend</i>	33	12	49	30
	<i>Colleague</i>	12	2	9	7
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	5	38	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	2	0	0	1
<b>11</b>	<b>is active in a political party</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>67</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	12	21	18	17
	<i>Friend</i>	45	25	56	41
	<i>Colleague</i>	17	14	22	17
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	26	12	33	23
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	12	12	16	13
<b>16</b>	<b>is sometimes in the opportunity to contract people</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>71</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	33	29	18	27
	<i>Friend</i>	40	37	42	40
	<i>Colleague</i>	24	17	16	19
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	19	19	20	19
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	29	27	24	27

<b>Item #</b>	<b>Do you know anyone who...</b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>17</b>	<b>knows a lot about governmental regulations</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>78</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	26	29	18	24
	<i>Friend</i>	45	37	49	43
	<i>Colleague</i>	33	19	31	27
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	29	19	31	25
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	19	35	22	26
<b>4</b>	<b>can speak and write a foreign language</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>91</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	71	48	47	55
	<i>Friend</i>	74	56	49	59
	<i>Colleague</i>	55	33	36	40
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	40	27	29	32
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	64	44	53	53

**Scale V: Social Cohesion and Inclusion**

<b>41</b>	<b>recently immigrated from the Philippines</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>55</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	28	13	13	18
	<i>Friend</i>	36	31	31	27
	<i>Colleague</i>	7	8	9	8
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	17	13	38	22
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	5	4	5	4
<b>39</b>	<b>is a member of a Filipino-American association</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>86</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	41	31	58	42
	<i>Friend</i>	69	27	82	58
	<i>Colleague</i>	29	15	53	32
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	38	19	51	35
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	57	33	87	58

**Scale VI: Empowerment and Political Action**

<b>18</b>	<b>has good contacts with media</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>59</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	19	10	11	13
	<i>Friend</i>	40	29	40	36
	<i>Colleague</i>	21	12	18	17
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	14	15	24	18
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	10	12	11	11

<b>Item #</b>	<b><u>Do you know anyone who...</u></b>	<b>Jacksonville (n = 42)</b>	<b>Orlando (n = 45)</b>	<b>Tallahassee (n = 52)</b>	<b>Total % (n = 139)</b>
<b>37</b>	<b>serves on the board of a nonprofit organization</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>63</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>14</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>38</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>22</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>22</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>19</i>
<b>20</b>	<b>has knowledge about financial matters</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>88</b>
	<i>Family member</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>46</i>
	<i>Friend</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>50</i>
	<i>Colleague</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>36</i>
	<i>Acquaintance</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>30</i>
	<i>You/Yourself</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>44</i>



**Portia Mauricio Diñoso**

8540 Trambley Dr S, Jacksonville, FL 32221  
Phone: (904) 945-6042 • Email: pmdinoso@aol.com

---

**EDUCATION**

---

**Ph.D. Doctor of Philosophy, Public Administration, Rutgers University-Newark**

Public Administration, expected dissertation defense October 2010

Dissertation: *The Social Ties that Bind: How Filipino-American Communities Leverage Social Capital for Democratic Purpose*

**MA Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL**

Public Administration, 2005

Action Report: *The Effectiveness and Evaluation of the Learning for Life Character Education Program in Leon and Gadsden Counties, FL*

**BA Temple University, Philadelphia, PA**

Journalism, 1995

Major: Public Relations

---

**PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

---

**Teaching Assistantship, 2005-2007**

Rutgers University-School of Public Affairs and Administration

- Public Performance Measurement and Reporting Network, Research Associate;
- Associate Editor, Journal of Public Management and Social Policy
- Associate Editor, Public Voices Journal
- Associate Editor, Chinese Public Administration Review

**Program Specialist, 2004-2005**

Learning for Life (Subsidiary of the Boy Scouts of America), Tallahassee, FL

- Facilitated optimum collaboration with participating schools and ensured that the Learning for Life character education program is being serviced in local elementary educational institutions. Ensured that the program's annual objectives and goals were met. Performed annual outcomes measurement.

**OPS Executive Secretary/Session Intern, 2004**

The Florida Senate, Tallahassee, FL

- Assistant to Senator Rudolfo "Rudy" Garcia of District 40 during annual session. Gatekeeper between Senator and public. Field routine telephone calls. Handled all administrative tasks.

---

**PUBLICATIONS**

---

Holzer, Marc (Editor) and Diñoso, Portia. (Associate Editor). (2007). *Teaching Resources Guide for Public Affairs and Administration*. Washington, DC: National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration.

Holzer, Marc, Zhang, Mengzhong, and Dong, Keyong (Editors in Chief). Ansah, Esi, Diñoso, Portia, and Lin, Weiwei (Associate Editors). (2004-2006). *Frontiers of Public Administration. Proceedings of the Second Sino-U.S. International Conference: "Public Administration in the Changing World"*. New York: The United Nations Public Administration Network; Washington, DC: The American Society for Public Administration.