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# The effect of social inequality on civil society access and participation in communities in rural Iowa

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**The effect of social inequality on civil society access and participation in communities in rural Iowa**

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# List of Figures

# List of Tables

## Abstract

Civil society theory tends to posit that civil society is normatively positive; in its ideal form, civil society is functional in character. Additionally, civil society is assumed to have ameliorative effects on inequality and stratification, however, much of the existing civil society literature does not address the converse relationship of how social inequality might affect civil society. It was hypothesized that social inequality related to class, race, gender, and age would lead to differences in attitudes towards and structural conditions related to access to and inclusion in civil society, as well as to actual participation in civil society on the part of residents. These hypotheses were tested using cross-tabulation comparisons of data taken from a 2004 survey of residents in 99 Iowa communities, and then examined further using Lazarsfeld's elaboration model, utilizing additional test variables. Findings indicated that social class, race, and to a lesser extent, age, continue to play a significant role in actual access to and inclusion in civil society, as well as personal participation in civil society. Contrary to theoretical expectations, gender did not apparently play a significant role in civil society activity in this study. Little support was indicated for a defining role of attitudinal measures of civil society inclusion, access, and participation.

# Chapter One: Problem Statement

The intent of this work is to examine the effects of social stratification and inequality on participation by individuals in civil society, using rural communities in the state of Iowa as the frame for inquiry. While the general assumption is made that civil society ameliorates the effects of social inequality, there seems to be little research that actually examines the converse: what effect does social inequality have on civil society participation? In a sense, what is needed is an examination of social inequality in its effects on the *character* and *shape* of community participation in civil society. Such an examination would provide a better understanding of *how* and *why* the social organization of civil society operates within a community. It also would avoid social psychological explanations rooted in "social capital," which do not scale upwards well from individual and small-group levels to larger populations and communities.

## Defining Terms

An examination of specific terms may help:

*Civil society*. Civil society is that realm of social interaction that exists between the realm of private, personal interactions of home and close relationship and the realm of formal state action. From a functionalist theory perspective, "civil society" fulfills an important role as an "operating realm" within which integration takes place. Stratification is both a pre-existing condition and a potential outcome of civil society action. From a conflict theory perspective, "civil society" assumes an entirely different – and much less positive – character. Civil society is, at best, an arena for possible contention between population subsets of differing status.

- To Marx, "civil society" (*bürgerliche gesellschaft*) itself was a contradiction – it could not by its origins be anything other than a place of competition between "private individuals." (Tester 1992, Alexander 2006)

- To Hegel, "civil society" was not as problematic as Marx depicted it. For Hegel, the state was that overarching political architecture, and civil society but one means subsumed under that to create space for the realization of different interests. (Tester 1992)
- Gramsci – Gramsci (1971) largely viewed "civil society" as an agent of hegemonic control. Gramsci's conception of civil society was as part of State hegemonic superstructure, maintaining social control.[1]

If "civil society" was a concept coined at the beginning of the modernist era, and then called into question by Marx and others, where should it be theoretically located now? Rather than seeing it either as an epiphenomenon of capitalism (as the façade over private interest, supposedly in relation to the public), or as an assumed "marketplace of ideas" with equal access for all, it may be argued that *civil society* should be understood as a dynamic concept – with (in)equality as a measure of the actual role it plays in society. *e.g.* in a highly stratified society, civil society does become that instrument of hegemonic control by the dominant social class, whereas in a relatively equal society, civil society provides opportunities to resolve conflicts and achieve collective ends.

The foregoing reveals a tension between theories that attempt to locate civil society in a functional framework of social relations and theories that attempt to locate civil society within manifestations of social conflict based upon social inequality. To address this tension, three arguments may be made:

- Civil society – not being limited to "polite" conversation or logical discourse but encompassing a whole range of social relations, including passions, conflicts, and perceived and actual differences – serves as an arena for resolution of issues.
- Theories that envision civil society as part of a functional framework alone miss the potential in civil society for the expression of destabilizing perspectives, views, and actions. Conversely, theories that conceive of civil society as solely the outcome of

[1] Gramsci's view of the State is perhaps more telling than that of civil society; he viewed the latter as a direct instrument of the former. What we might consider "civil society" today, it is likely Gramsci would view it as the complementary social form to the State "as *veilleur de nuit"* or "nightwatchman" – a somewhat sarcastic reference to the State having only a guardian role in the processes of society, and representing no particular controlling interest.

inherent social conflicts rooted in inequality do not (and CAN not) acknowledge that civil society may actually be a mechanism for resolution of inequality.

- Ultimately, there are limitations in current theories that rely solely on functionalist or conflict theory alone to explain and locate civil society. It is necessary to recognize that civil society is not solely a means of regulating the latency function within a society, nor solely an epiphenomenon of capitalism, but has the potential for both roles (and more), and this potential is directly related to the character, nature, and expression of social inequality.

*Social inequality*. A general term for race, class, gender, and other forms of inequality. An open question regarding class inequality involves its rate of change over time. While the "Farm Crisis" of the 1980's restructured ownership patterns of land and wealth in Iowa communities, it is less clear what longer-term effects have taken place since that time (though there is reason to believe that class inequality has only gotten worse). This provides a rough parallel with the expected changes in the United States population over the next several decades: white or European-Americans declining as a percentage of the population, while people of color increase their numbers. In a sense, rural demographics are beginning to change in significant ways, making it easier to examine civil society participation.

*Minorities*. Again this term must be placed in context. Within the demographic profile of Iowa, people of color have always constituted a very small percentage of the overall population. Women, while slightly in the majority of the population, have made slow progress towards equal representation in civic and community leadership positions. The proportion of poor people in the overall population has varied with changing economic conditions. Structural changes in the Iowa economy that have taken place over the past half-century have led to significant demographic and population distribution changes in the state, including (but not limited to) an increase in people of color and a more elderly population than the national average.

*Community*. This draws from Wilkinson's concept of the "community field," which sees community as resulting from a variety of factors including spatial, economic, political, and social factors, and is distinct from earlier conceptions of community as a kind of normative formation related to ideas of perceived kinship, shared ethnicity, and social class position.

*Participation,* in relation to civil society. Participation can take on many forms. Among the different elements that have been used to signify participation in civil society are:

- Participation in social life within the larger community field. There is a range of more informal social interactions that might provide insight into civil society participation (and are by their nature more difficult to define and measure). Involvement in everything from sporting events (Little League) to education and social activities (Hallowe'en community activities, Boy and Girl Scouts, 4th of July parades) to ongoing activities such as park and recreation classes, book clubs, etc. all serve to reveal glimpses of the character of public life and civil society within a particular community.
- Appearance of new institutions specifically arising from disadvantaged groups. In communities with growing minority populations, one of the most commonly encountered new institutions is that of small businesses serving the specific cultural needs of that community. Such small businesses range from grocery stores to hair salons and other businesses serving personal appearance needs. Beyond small businesses, religious institutions such as churches serving specific cultural or ethnic sub-populations also provide data supporting greater community participation and involvement.[2]
- Greater participation in politics, particularly voter turnout. In areas where there has been growth in a particular subpopulation, voter turnout may provide a relative

[2] *Pace* Alejandro Portes, it is also possible that such institutions allow for the creation and maintenance of ethnic enclaves. Such enclaves signal the emergence of identifiable groups within a larger community field – a kind of subcommunity distinct from the larger cultural context within which it is embedded. This phenomenon has been observed in larger urban settings, in which questions of and forces affecting human geography often push towards more immediate cultural identification and drawing of distinctions between one's group of origin and a more generalized "other."

measure of the degree of participation taking place. Participation in political life within a community also acts as a signal of an active civil society.

This question bridges two really large bodies of work, and it is worthwhile to acknowledge them before moving on: first, the classic work done on power and community leadership (*e.g. Community Power Structure*, Hunter, 1953), and second, the growing social movements literature (McAdam, *et. al.)*. If there is a criticism to be made of the former, it is that it tends to assume that the power structure in place (or emergent) in a community exists largely *de novo*; the antecedents that led to it existing are treated as either extraneous or exogenous in character. As for the latter, social movements are the product of processes that are themselves a reaction to social inequality or perceived need. A criticism that may be made of the social movements literature then is that social inequality is treated as an antecedent, a necessary (but insufficient condition) for nascent social movements.

**Research Question**

The basic research question of this study is: *What is the effect of social inequality on participation in civil society in communities in rural Iowa?* By concentrating on the concept of "civil society," it is possible to avoid examination of the concept of "social capital." This is important, since "social capital" has at least two major limitations worth noting: first, it is inherently and essentially an individual-level characteristic, making it difficult to scale meaningfully upwards to higher levels of social organization; and second, it suffers from being conceptually difficult to define, which has led to a number of theorists treating it as normatively "good" when such a conclusion may be unwarranted. This question is important because it addresses a significant gap in civil society research. An initial examination of civil society theoretical assumptions will illustrate this *lacuna:* Civil society theory tends to posit that: (1) civil society is normatively

positive; in its ideal form, civil society is functional in character. Conversely, the lack of civil society indicates a breakdown in social norms and societal interaction; and (2) civil society has ameliorative effects on inequality and stratification (thus assuming a kind of relationship between inequality and civil society). Greater access to and participation in civil society tends to result in decreases in inequality and the negative consequences of stratification. Thus, ideally, people have relatively equal individual access to civil society; there is a relatively level playing field when civil society is functioning properly. There may be incidental difficulties, but engaging in civil society is notionally available to all without real difference.

Because of the foregoing, it is suggested that there is a discrepancy between the theorized "ideal form" of civil society participation, in which all actors have relatively equal access to modes of communication and decision-making (Cohen and Arato, 1992, Putnam, 2000, Tocqueville, 2000 [1834]), and observable empirical conditions, which in many cases are strikingly unequal in terms of civil society access and participation (McAdam, 1999). Thus pre-existing conditions are theorized to "fall short" of an ideal form of civil society access, with provision of civil society access serving an ameliorative function afterwards. Also, much of the current literature focuses on the role that civil society can play in affecting social inequality and stratification, rather than the reverse. Civil society is thus defined as serving a primarily *integrative* and *functional* role, which misses the complexity of the relationship between inequality and civil society. If civil society is merely "anything that anyone does outside of family and economic activity" then yes, *everyone* has access to civil society. Such a view cheapens the very notion of civil society; by that logic, discussions of street-corner dice games that take place between drug dealers on street corners are putatively in the same realm as CEOs discussing theater or opera over lunch, and would equally constitute "more civil society" by this characterization. While

technically true, this misses the differences in power and position between the two groups mentioned, as well as the relative ease (or lack thereof) in engaging others different from themselves in public discourse. This undifferentiated view of civil society (*e.g.* "more civil society is better") is at minimum insensitive to differences in civil society access and can become outright oblivious, depending on relative individual and collective positions in society and overall social stratification.

Thus differences in *access to* and *inclusion in* civil society are important, and it would seem that these ought to be measurable. If inequality of access to civil society is empirically observable, then quantifying it would reveal the gulf between the theoretical "equality" of individual access and actual empirical conditions. By examining the effects of social inequality on civil society access and participation, taking into account various dimensions of social stratification, it should be possible to develop a conception of civil society as an observable element of actual social interaction, rather than an abstracted and ideal notion.

It is possible to observe social inequality along a variety of dimensions, including social, economic, and political. It should be possible to observe disparities in civil society participation. By documenting these empirical differences, it can be seen that the relationship between civil society and inequality is not one-way; instead they are *interrelated* and by turns, affect each other.

In a sense, what this study argues is that civil society ought not be viewed as some kind of "Platonic ideal" of abstracted public life (a rather bloodless characterization), but as a kind of arena in which public debates and differences are resolved, not just by individual action but also by collective interaction, outside of the home and distinct from (though potentially involving) economic activity and government function (as the instrument of state function). The range of action and interaction runs from simple presence and participation (*e.g.* attending informal and

formal public gatherings), progressing through social and political action (*e,g,* attending public meetings, voting) to protest movements (*e.g.* the Civil Rights Movement). Further, the entire sphere of civil society itself becomes a "contested space" not just in terms of the conflicts therein resolved, but also in terms of who has access to it, in what ways, and how that access shapes the public debates and differences, *e.g.* Floyd Hunter's *Community Power Structure* (1963) was the outcome of a largely white, male, middle- and upper-class leadership; the community's goals and priorities might have been different had civil society participation been more diverse, particularly in terms of class, race and ethnicity, and gender.

While much existing civil society literature examines the relationship between civil society and inequality, much of it constructs that relationship as one where civil society *acts upon* inequality, or where inequality itself may simply be exogenous for the purposes of civil society functioning. A more useful view would be one in which civil society and inequality affect each other; what is missing is an examination of the effects of inequality on existing civil society participation.

I summarize the relationship between civil society and inequality in the following diagram:

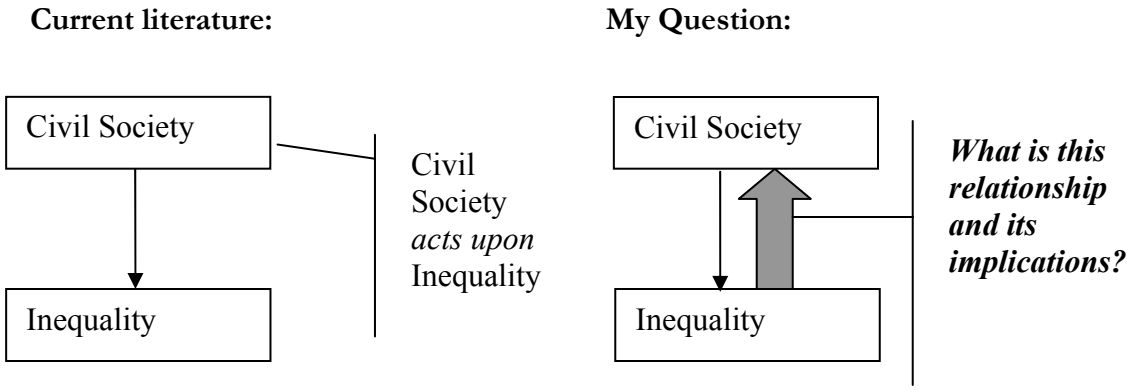


*Figure 1.1: Civil Society/Inequality Relationship*

Given the foregoing analysis, it is important to distinguish between "ideal" and "empirical" forms of civil society. This is due in part to the cross-disciplinary dialogue, particularly between philosophy, sociology, political science, and communications theory, regarding the nature and meaning of civil society. Notable contributions to philosophical conceptions of civil society, such as that of Habermas, have emphasized the "ideal" form of civil society, which has been taken up uncritically by some social observers of civil society. This is particularly fraught for sociologists, as it encourages an uncritical and somewhat simplistic approach to the empirically observable processes that give rise to – or might hinder – the formation and maintenance of civil society, substituting instead a sense of "more is better." It may be argued that this uncritical conceptualization of the ideal form of civil society is a kind of positivist, functionalist approach – with many (if not all) of the limitations of that kind of thinking, in particular a kind of teleological trap in which any sign of civil society activity is *a priori* "good." A more nuanced functionalist perspective would suggest that civil society activity is primarily – though not always – integrative and normative in character. This neglects the possibility that exclusion from civil society participation can be an intended outcome for some, specifically those with greater access, power, and/or social control (Edwards 2004, Gaventa 1982).

By distinguishing the "empirical" or "observable" form from the "ideal" notion of civil society, we may then dispassionately examine social stratification processes that affect civil society. Not all civil society processes are intended to or result in greater civil society access for all members of a society or polity. Indeed, some processes are likely to act at cross-purposes depending on the groups involved and their collectively-identified and held goals. Some civil society theorists recognize this possibility but, in most cases, such strivings are treated as

epiphenomena of the civil society milieu. It may be argued instead that the nature and amount of participation provides insight into civil society and its workings – that the "frame" of civil society is not abstracted and remote, but instead has a real and responsive character in its own right.

The theoretical discussion of "social capital" (see above) tends to privilege individual levels of analysis, locating the benefits of social capital formation within persons and only secondarily within complex organizations and societies. Social capital discussions, as a result, do not emphasize the experience of larger populations as identifiable and known social subsets. More recent attempts to remedy this by theorizing "larger" forms of social capital are likely to stray further afield from original conceptions (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1993, 1988), rendering the concept of social capital more vague and of less utility. By separating out "civil society participation" from the larger rubric of "social capital," it is possible to examine questions regarding public interaction within an empirical framework, one more amenable to group-level analysis.

Thus definitions of "successful" or "effective" civil society become contextual, instead of purely abstract. We may ask, "if more civil society is better, better for whom?" It may also be the case that civil society becomes constrained or changed in ways that an uncritical analysis would otherwise overlook, depending on a purely normative definition of civil society.

**Research Design**

The two variables central to the design of this study are *social inequality* and *civil society participation*. There is a considerable range of literature that suggests normatively (and sometimes actually demonstrates) that civil society participation *reduces* social inequalities. This is considered

to be a "social good" and therefore laudable…although the actual operation of this is left somewhat fuzzy in most cases (indeed, Putnam's *Bowling Alone* simply conflates the concepts of social capital and civil society; a mistake not shared with his earlier work *Making Democracy Work*). Because of this, a great deal of research has focused on the formation and accumulation of social capital. While relatively useful from an individual and small group perspective, critics (Blau, 2000) have noted that social capital is relatively neutral in character; it is possible for criminals to have a great deal of social capital, just as much as it is for the more law-abiding. The next step in such an analysis would note that accumulation of social capital among the wealthy and powerful is likely to be important in maintaining social inequality, just as a similar accumulation among the disadvantaged could help remedy social ills.[3] It is worth noting that Bourdieu (1983) considered his original conception of social capital to be rooted ultimately in economic capital. Coleman (1988) suggests that social capital is not only economic, but specifically related to questions of social class position and community formation. Such conclusions underscore the need to examine social class position as an antecedent condition in relation to participation in public life. Further, other conditions of social stratification, such as race, gender, and age, may also precede in time public life participation, and therefore also worthy of examination.

[3] Indeed, the entire Asset-Based Community Development program model, originally developed by John McKnight at Northwestern University, posits the idea that communities have sufficient access to assets to at least address and potentially overcome the social problems they face. This presupposes that these communities – often already noted for a *lack* of resources – have the potential for such problem-solving capacity. This is questionable, at best.

# Chapter Two: Literature Review

The concepts of "civil society" and "social capital" and "civic engagement" have drawn a great deal of attention in sociology and other fields, due to the work of Robert Putnam, Amitai Etzioni and others. Used for normative as well as descriptive purposes, the concept of "public life" – generally taken to be that range of activities and associations that exist outside of the marketplace, the state, and (for some) the family – has developed new salience in academic and public discourse. However, "civil society" conceptually has a long history going back to the Scottish Enlightenment and earlier (Ehrenberg 1999). It has thus become "contested territory" between philosophy, political science, sociology and other social sciences (Cohen and Arato 1992).[4] There are many concepts closely connected with civil society which are, however, themselves not the same *as* civil society: social capital, civility, democracy, civic engagement, and others – yet the terms themselves are inextricably interlinked (Ehrenberg 1999; Tester 1992). There is also a tendency for many of these terms to be used as if they were interchangeable, for example Putnam's conflation of social capital with civil society in *Bowling Alone* (Putnam 2000); Putnam's reviewers (Edwards and Foley 2001; Etzioni 2001; Wilson 2001) have suggested that these terms may be insufficiently grounded in sociological theory.

The range of sociological literature attempting to come to grips with these terms is vast and growing. Additionally, individualistic understandings and definitions of civil society are emphasized, while in contrast comparatively little attention is paid to the structural characteristics of civil society, making it harder to discern its relationship to inequality.

[4] There are at least three somewhat divergent threads of civil society literature: philosophy (Cohen and Arato 1992; Ehrenberg 1999), political science (Bobbio and Bellamy 1987; Hann and Dunn 1996; Rosenberg 1994; Sirianni and Friedland 2001), and the sociological literature.

**Historical Definitions of Civil Society**

"Civil society" derives from Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* (Hegel and Knox 1967).[5]

> Civil society is the [stage of] difference which intervenes between the family and the state, even if its formation follows later in time than that of the state, because, as [the stage of] difference, it presupposes the state; to subsist itself, it must have the state before its eyes as something self-subsistent. Moreover, the creation of civil society is the achievement of the modern world which has for the first time given all determinations of the Idea their due. If the state is represented as a unity of different persons, as a unity which is only a partnership, than what is really meant is only civil society… the whole sphere of civil society is the territory of mediation where there is free play for every idiosyncrasy, every talent, every accident of birth and fortune, and where waves of every passion gush forth, regulated only by reason glinting through them. Particularity, restricted by universality, is the only standard whereby each particular person promotes his welfare. (Hegel and Knox 1967)

To Hegel, civil society served a normative function, by emphasizing the universal connection of social life to individual issues. Hegel viewed civil society therefore as an instrumentality of the state, providing a means for compelling normative expectations and achieving social integration. Hegel's conception of civil society is therefore clearly a functionalist one, and has had a formative impact on later definitions.[6] (Hegel and Knox 1967)

Other classical theorists, notably Marx and Tönnies, also viewed civil society as a development of modernity (Tönnies 1957). Marx, however, rejected any ameliorative or

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[5] The Anglicized term "civil society" lacks some of the historical and political context of the original German phrasing of *bürgerliche gesellschaft* – that social grouping which inheres to and is resultant from the emergence of a middle class. Such a class is inevitably a modern creation, in the view of Hegel (and of Marx), and stands in relation to the ruling class or aristocracy as well as in relation with the peasantry and the emergent working class. (It is not surprising that Marx regarded the entire concept dubiously, at best).

[6] For more than just for sociolinguistic reasons, it is worthwhile to place Hegel in his own historical context. Writing in the 19th Century CE, his perspective is firmly in the early stages of the modern era, and arises out of his observation of relatively homogenous societies in terms of race and ethnicity, while being simultaneously heterogeneous in terms of economic and gender relations. At that time, the state was clearly the largest social institution extant, and therefore it is perhaps not surprising that Hegel located ultimate social control with the purview of the *staat* – although even then there were corporations that rivaled nation-states for sheer power and extent of political reach and control, e.g. the East India Company, the Hudson's Bay Company, and others.

transformative effect of "civil society", representing as it did the public and collective exercise of private and individual interests (Marx, Engels, and Tucker 1978).

**The American Context**

The American sociological tradition also includes de Tocqueville's assertion of associational life as an essential element of civil society. American understandings of civil society are also deeply influenced by de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (Tocqueville, Mansfield, and Winthrop 2000).

De Tocqueville's primary contribution was to contrast an aristocratic and unequal Europe with an egalitarian America, in which citizens who are individually independent, but lacking power to achieve their ends, unite together into associations of all sorts to accomplish collective goals (Tocqueville, Mansfield, and Winthrop 2000).

> In aristocratic societies men have no need to unite to act because they are kept very much together.
>
> Every wealthy and powerful citizen in them forms as it were the head of a permanent and obligatory association that is composed of all those he holds in dependence to him, whom he makes cooperate in the execution of his designs.
>
> In democratic peoples, on the contrary, all citizens are independent and weak: they can do almost nothing by themselves, and none of them can oblige those like themselves to lend them their cooperation. They therefore all fall into impotence if they do not learn to aid each other freely. (Tocqueville, Mansfield, and Winthrop 2000)

De Tocqueville's influence on American conceptions of civil society has been both *analytic* and *normative*. His appreciation for free association was positively received by Americans, leaving a legacy of individualism within American social and political thought (Ehrenberg 1999).

Current exemplars of present-day American civil society literature include *Bowling Alone* and *Making Democracy Work* by Robert Putnam (Putnam 2000; Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti 1993), and *The Spirit of Community* by Amitai Etzioni (Etzioni 1993), as well as Benjamin Barber's

*Strong Democracy* (Barber 1984). Almost all of these works proceed from a functionalist understanding of the role of civil society (as informed by de Tocqueville), which makes them vulnerable to charges of unfounded assumptions about the nature and purpose of civil society. One particularly American theme of civil society noted by de Tocqueville is a strong separation between civil society and the state, amounting to a virtual aversion to state intervention. As one contemporary puts it, civil society may be defined as "relationships and institutions that are neither created nor controlled by the state." (Elshtain 1999) This characterization stands in stark contrast to Hegel's original formulation, while still inherently referring to those activities which exist outside of the home and are distinct from purely economic activity.

**Modern definitions of civil society**

It is impossible to find a single definition, or even a single set of definitions, for civil society in modern social science literature. This lack is made more complex by the ongoing discussions of the term in philosophy, political science, sociology, and economics (Cohen and Arato 1992). This deficiency is important to note because of the range of associated terms that have been mentioned already, which co-exist and interpenetrate any definition of "civil society" cited.

In the search for an appropriate definition, attention needs to be paid to some of the more recent formulations of "civil society":

> In its broadest sense, civil society refers to the entire web of associations and public spaces in which citizens can have conversations with one another, discover common interests, act in concert, assert new rights, and try to influence public opinion and public policy. (Jacobs 2003)

> An integrated approach to civil society…increases the utility of the idea both as an explanation and as a vehicle for action. Standing alone, associational life, the public sphere, and the good society are each incomplete. Side by side, there is at least a chance that their strengths and weaknesses can be harmonized, and that all three can benefit from a positive and conscious interaction. (Edwards 2004)

> Above all, civil society denotes that sector of society in which nonpolitical institutions operate – families, houses of worship, neighborhoods, civic groups, and just about every form of voluntary association imaginable….
>
> In addition to performing many practical tasks, the institutions of civil society do three things: mediate between the individual and the large mega-structures of the market and the state, tempering the negative social tendencies associated with each; create important social capital; and impart democratic values and habits. (Eberly 2000)
>
> "…[C]ivil society should be conceived as a solidary sphere, in which a certain kind of universalizing community comes to be culturally defined and to some degree institutionally enforced. To the degree that this solidary community exists, it is exhibited and sustained by public opinion, deep cultural codes, distinctive organizations – legal, journalistic and associational – and such historically specific interactional practices as civility, criticism and mutual respect. Such a civil community can never exist as such; it can only be sustained to one degree or another. It is always limited by, and interpenetrated with, the boundary relations of other, non-civil spheres. (Alexander 2006)

Before we can choose among these definitions, or attempt to synthesize them, it is important to examine their immediate underlying antecedent theories.

Civil society also possesses a normative character; for Parsons, civil society serves as a mechanism for the regulation of the latency function in society, working to achieve an integrative social consensus (Cohen and Arato 1992). Etzioni distinguishes between "authentic" and "partial or distorted" communities, based (in part) on the values shared by all members of that community; civil society becomes the (implicit) arena where those values are imparted and disseminated (Etzioni 1996). Putnam's use of social capital is also laden with normative meaning. Putnam advances the claim that "bridging" social capital (the sort that crosses lines of difference between groups) is inherently better than "bonding" social capital (the sort that connects people of like nature); this is questionable due to a lack of contextualization (Etzioni 2001). These definitions are influenced to a greater or lesser degree or informed by the work of

Jurgen Habermas, in his influential work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Habermas 1989).

Modern definitions include both processes (social relations) and structures (institutions and associational life) as key components of civil society. Additionally, since civil society may be seen as a "third sphere" of social relations between private life, economic life, and the state (while interpenetrating all of the others), it is operational at all levels of sociological analysis; micro-, meso-, and macro-. It must also be pointed out that the terms used to describe and define civil society often seem to be assumed to be equivalent or their precise relationship left up to the reader to interpret (for example, Putnam (2001) conflates civil society and social capital). This conceptual muddle points towards a larger theoretical construction of civil society, fully realized as a social process not limited just to the interactions of individuals. Such a realization may be found in Janoski's social science definition of civil society:

> Civil society represents a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organizations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions. (Janoski 1998)

Janoski's definition recognizes a larger role for civil society as encompassing all of these spheres in formal relationships and associations (but does not immediately account for informal ties and relationships). While a step beyond the more individualistic-oriented definitions used by Putnam, Coleman, and Bourdieu, this calls for an analysis that examines larger populations as groups in relation to one another, and specifically their relationship to structures and elements of civil society.

**Social Inequality**

In relation to civil society, social inequality has not been empirically examined as fully as might otherwise have been expected. This is somewhat unusual, since a great deal of the theoretical literature acknowledges the relationship (Edwards 2004, Alexander 2006).

Attempting to discern the relationship between civil society and inequality within sociological theory is fraught with difficulty. Neither functionalist nor conflict theory perspectives fully suffice. "Absolute" interpretations of functionalist theory do not account for the process or effects of inequality on civil society: group interaction is seen as being normative and ultimately contributing to the process of social integration. This fails to recognize for the existence of competition and conflict between different groups, as well as disparities between group norms, status, etc., which have effects on the character and shape of civil society. In short, functionalist theoretical approaches have a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* character to them: whatever ends up happening must reflect some functional social process, which does not sufficiently account for processes of structural change and how they occur (Cohen and Arato 1992; Van den Berghe 1963). In contrast, Marxist theory regarding civil society is predicated on modernity's division of society into public and private spheres; civil society becomes a realm for the expression of private, individual interests in the guise of public and collective action. Thus, attempts to organize collective action outside of the (economic) interests of the working class are *a priori* reinforcement of the interests of the ruling class (Ehrenberg 1999; Marx, Engels, and Tucker 1978).

From a social organization perspective, however, functionalist and conflict perspectives are "complementary, rather than competing explanations of stratification." (Olsen 1978), since they each acknowledge that social stratification and the processes that create it are affected by

social power and by role requirements (though they would differ as to the emphasis placed on each of these characteristics).

Much of the specific literature on civil society tacitly acknowledges both functionalist and conflict interpretations. Etzioni describes the tension between societal needs for order and individual drives for autonomy as "centripetal" and "centrifugal" forces (Etzioni 1996). Implicit in Etzioni's description is the notion that differences between individuals and differences between groups are not limited to economic stratification, but include other dimensions, such as race, gender, sexual orientation, and so on. In his recent work, *The Civil Sphere*, Jeffrey Alexander details how the very foundations of the discourse that gave rise to modern notions of civil society also sustained economic stratification, as well as racial and gender discrimination – a useful theoretical critique suggesting further empirical substantiation (Alexander 2006).

*Social Class, Age, Race, and Gender as Dimensions of Inequality:* as useful as a social class-based approach is, the idea that only economic and class interests are of importance is short-sighted: clearly other dimensions of inequality, such as race and gender, have profound effects on stratification and differentiation in society (Alexander 1997; Anderson 1996). Within American civil society literature, attention paid to the different experiences of civil society based on race, age, class, and gender is somewhat uneven. Putnam examines the entry of women into the workforce, but pays little attention to race (Putnam 2000). Others have examined certain aspects of race in relation to social capital and civic engagement (Persell, Green, and Gurevich 2001; Wuthnow 2002); while not exhaustive, these examples reflect the absence of connections made between dimensions of inequality and the structural character of civil society. Recent work has begun to recognize this lack: Cleaver (2005), has shown how institutions intended to build social capital actually end up reinforcing and replicating patterns of social inequality, while

Chavez (2005) notes how different ethnic groups define "community" and how that definition shapes their participation in civic life. Regarding gender, Howell (2007) calls into question historical and contemporary theories of civil society, arguing that the household is a fourth site of political-social power discourse, along with the state, the marketplace, and civil society.

Rather than viewing each dimension of difference as separate and discrete markers of inequality, race, class and gender are best understood as *processes* that co-exist and are dynamically interrelated (Acker 2000) and are "embedded in our [social] structures." (Anderson 1996). If civil society operates as a "third sphere" distinct from the state and the marketplace, then it stands to reason that these processes are embedded in the historical, social, and spatial contexts of modern-day life. Social inequality then moves from being a theoretical consideration of the nature of civil society to one that can be observed through the shape and structure of social organization and relations. The mechanisms by which social inequality is created and maintained are therefore a part of the discourse that takes place within civil society, as it stands between private life and the state. Some examples help illustrate this.

In consideration of political activism in Chennai, Delhi, and Bangalore, Harriss (2006) notes the extreme gulf between the middle class and members of the informal working class, in terms of civil society participation. Civil society, Harriss argues, is largely a middle-class realm, with the mechanisms and institutions of civil society defining members of the informal working class in such a way as to exclude their membership and participation.

Writing about community-based development in a London borough, Perrons and Skyers caution that using civil society participation to assist in finding solutions to structural economic inequality may not work if real decision-making authority is withdrawn into the state apparatus, and participation structures favor elites (Perrons and Skyers 2003). This was complicated by the

lack of participation of people of color, despite the largely mixed ethnic and racial make-up of the community, and the perception that efforts to promote multiculturalism within civil society are only culturally sensitive and do not account for real economic differences between ethnic and racial groups.

According to Herd and Meyer, contemporary civic engagement literature fails to account for gender and, in fact, is largely gender-blind. It fails to recognize the role of care work – most of it provided by women - as another component of civil society, whether or not it takes place in the family context (Herd and Meyer 2002). This position is compatible with Hegel's positioning of the family as the basis for civil society, as well as with some of its more contemporary normative conceptions (Elshtain 1999; Putnam 2000). Herd and Meyer advocate for a direct state intervention to redistribute unpaid care work, in recognition of the inequities of the family division of labor. However, the relationship between civil society and the state is problematic, argues Anne Phillips; the potential of civil society to provide room for a plurality of perspectives is worthwhile – but the risk of reproducing patterns of inequality also exists (Phillips 1999). Both of these perspectives are rooted in an understanding that the state and civil society alone cannot solve all problems; civil society and the state exist in dynamic tension with each other – with voluntary associates, the key structural element of civil society, the least understood or examined as to their role.

Given that civil society literature does not fully take into account various dimensions of inequality, the question needs to be asked: why not? It may be argued that there are three primary reasons: 1) a pre-occupation with individually-oriented concepts and levels of analysis; 2) an unexamined acceptance of the normative prospect of civil society and its related utopian ideals; and 3) a tendency to define inequality as an exogenous or dependent variable.

*Social capital and other individual-oriented concepts related to civil society:* A considerable amount of literature has been written about civil society, often in relationship to social capital. Much of it pays only scant attention to the structural aspects of civil society (e.g. associational life and actual interaction) and more to social psychological aspects, such as the development of social capital (Putnam 2000), social tolerance (Persell, Green, and Gurevich 2001; Wuthnow 2002), and trust (Wuthnow 2002). This is in part due to the neoliberal definition of the individual as social actor, which leads to the individual as the focus of analysis. Such an analysis does not say much about the shape and structure of civil society, because of the difficulty in generalizing from the micro- to meso- and macro-levels of analysis (Mayhew 1981); this focus on micro-levels of analysis "steers away" from questions of social organization and stratification. This is unfortunate, since various contemporary theorists have identified the social organization of civil society (especially in relation to inequality and the state) as largely unexamined and needing further attention (Helly 2003; Paxton 2002; Phillips 1999; Walzer 1999).[7] One attempt to redress this lack may be found in the work of Grenier and Wright (2006), which explores the decline in social trust and its effect on social capital in Great Britain since 1990, critiquing the earlier work of Peter Hall (1999). Breaking out social capital into membership in voluntary associations, volunteering, charitable

[7] Encountered in connection to this focus on individualistic-oriented theoretical concepts is an equally strong sociological literature about social movements, which often treats social inequality as a necessary antecedent condition for their existence. While outside of the scope of this paper, theories regarding the evolution of social movements are connected with civil society theory, since social movements operate largely within the public sphere. Social movements are broadly viewed as unfolding processes that are temporally and spatially limited, usually in response to some aspect of social inequality, initiated by a group (often in a subordinate position) seeking to some form of social change. Considerable work has been done to move away from a psychologically-oriented understanding of social movements, most notably Douglas McAdam's political process model of social movement formation and evolution (McAdam, 1999.), but more work needs to be done. Stephen Buechler's call for a more structural approach to social movements theory reflects many of the same concerns expressed in this paper, but with a somewhat different focus. To the extent that there is common cause, I see this paper as largely in sympathy with the issues identified by Buechler (Buechler, 2002)

giving, Grenier and Wright explain its decline as a result of public policy choices, changes in social values, the nature of employment, and inequality.[8]

*The normative ideal of civil society and classic and modern utopian thinking:* One of the specific problems inherent in sociological examinations of civil society is its normative character, as previously mentioned. The problem lies in reconciling ideal and actual forms of civil society, as well as distinguishing between any functional role played by civil society and a more particularist set of social expectations often rooted in Western conceptions that stress neoliberal ideals of individualistic, market- and contract-based forms of associational life, which are not necessarily shared in all cultures (Hann and Dunn 1996), or may not be agreed upon by all citizens within a particular society, no matter how utopian they might be (Blau 2000). This conflation results in a pre-selection on the part of many theorists as to what constitutes "real" civil society, or community, or social capital (Barber 1984; Etzioni 1996). Some specific outcomes of this definitional problem are important to note.

One notable outcome of this conflation is the belief that there is (or ought to be) agreement about the ends and purposes of engagement in civil society activity on the part of social actors (Elshtain 1999; Etzioni, Volmert, and Rothschild 2004). In functionalist terms, the "proper" function of civil society is primarily an integrative one, with social interaction being a means of managing the latency function of social conflict. This is vulnerable to questions of who gets to decide what proper ends and purposes actually are (Blau 2000; Ivanov 2003),[9] and whether or not the measures used are indeed either accurate or appropriate (Furstenberg 1999).

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[8] In a very real way, Grenier and Wright's analysis is conceptualized in a similar manner to this study, shaped as it is by a critique of Hall's work on social capital (1999); the latter, in turn, was shaped by Putnam's precursor article in 1995.

[9] There is a need for examination of pre-1989 Communist social relations, insofar as demonstrating that complete state domination of the public sphere led to the disappearance of civil society. This is theoretically predicted by Crick in his lively discourse, *In Defence of Politics* (1992, University of Chicago Press).

More importantly from a sociological perspective, it is empirically difficult to demonstrate in an absolute sense, and particularly vulnerable to questioning as an example of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* reasoning.[10] However, it is possible to demonstrate that the *lack* of agreement can have a deep effect on social relations; *e.g.* the Greek/Turkish division of Cyprus (Bryant 2001) or the Troubles in Northern Ireland (Robson 2001), which reflect ethnic, religious, and national differences.

Another outcome is that the lack of participation in existing organizations, and in certain selected means of association, is a failure of civil society's appeal to the population at large. This is essentially Putnam's thesis in *Bowling Alone;* in particular he does not account for the growth both in number of associations and in the range of associational representation in American society (Skocpol 2004). Further, Putnam does not demonstrate any durable appeal for the organizations he cites; he makes a causal leap, suggesting that decreases in organizational membership are themselves indicative of downturns in civil society. While there is something poignant about "bowling alone," it must also be recognized that given the tremendous changes in popular culture over the past fifty years, and it is unwarranted to assume that earlier forms of associational life or even a recreational activity such as bowling maintain a durable, constant appeal throughout history.[11] Putnam's perspective can be seen as a static interpretation of the

[10] One example illustrates this point fairly well: in response to an issue of *The Economist* dealing with corporate social responsibility, one letter writer opined: "At the heart of the issue lies pressure from those NGOs to whom modern capitalism and profitmaking are anathema. They have been remarkably successful at gaining the moral high ground (they are even dubbed a "civil society") and in nurturing a distrust of business." (Letters, Monday, February 28th, 2005, *The Economist*, London)

[11] Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that the Putnam's metaphor of "bowling alone" misses some of the changes that have taken place in the social life of bowling as a recreational activity (Fine, Hallett, and Sauder 2004)

role of popular culture, as well as a choice to ignore the vast explosion of leisure activities that has taken place in contemporary society.[12]

*Inequality as an exogenous or dependent variable:* Much of the contemporary civil society literature treats inequality as either an exogenous or as a dependent variable. As an exogenous variable, inequality is treated as being largely outside the realm of civil society activity. As a dependent variable, inequality is seen as being affected by changes in civil society activity. (The second position is somewhat more defensible.) The direction of the causal arrow must be examined.

Classical and contemporary theorists generally acknowledge that inequality and civil society are interdependent, but this is not reflected in much of the current research literature. The focus tends to be on the ameliorative effects of social capital on inequality, concentrating on networks of relations (Ahrne 1998), or other related issues, such as empowerment (Sirianni and Friedland 2001). While not common, there appears to be some research that examines the organizational and structural effects of civil society on inequality; Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin have found that primarily social class-based inequality is decreased by the presence of small manufacturing firms, family farms, and civically engaged denominations in local contexts (Tolbert, Lyson, and Irwin 1998); it would be interesting to see whether the reverse holds true.

But it is relatively easy to demonstrate that inequality affects who participates in civil society. Some organizations have historically excluded different groups from participation,

[12] This is so evidently true, that one cannot help but be reminded of Berger and Luckmann's comment (1989) that "[I]n advanced industrialized societies, with their immense economic surplus allowing large numbers of individuals to devote themselves full-time to even the obscurest pursuits, pluralistic competition between sub-universes of meaning of every conceivable sort becomes the normal state of affairs."

largely on the basis of social class, race, and gender (Skocpol 2004).[13] Inequality and social stratification are likely to have an effect on the amount and kind of participation in civil society by members of different groups (Gaventa 1982). Single-income families with two parents may allow the parents greater access to civil society venues than two-income families (Herd and Meyer 2002). Single-parent households also face considerable barriers to civil society participation, due not only to the balancing act between work and family care activity, but also to the likelihood of lower income, which raises the opportunity costs associated with civic engagement (transportation, membership fees, etc.). Processes that favor elites who have the time to participate (usually men) raise barriers for working-class people (Perrons and Skyers 2003).

**Examples of current research**

Given the foregoing, it would be reasonable to ask if there are examples that demonstrate the interrelationship between (and the effects of) social inequality on the structural character of civil society. Fortunately, there are examples of current sociological literature that shed some light on this issue; interestingly enough, almost all of them come from outside the United States.[14]

Current examinations of the use of Empowered Deliberative Democracy in Porto Allegro, Brazil and elsewhere (Baiocchi 2001; Fung and Wright 2001) demonstrate that changes in the operation of state mechanisms to allow for much greater public participation, particularly

[13] This calls into question the utility and desirability of calls for an unexamined restoration of past civil society. A related question to this asks if assumptions of some sort of universally-held set of values – what Etzioni refers to as a "commitment to…a shared culture" – is actually true. There appears to be an underlying tension between achievability and real value in this rather utopian belief – the more normative this shared culture is, the less likely it is possible, with social inequality making it even less so. If such a truly universal culture was possible, might it lack any real relevance by being insufficiently normative – a set of truisms lacking context or meaning?

[14] It is entirely tempting to conclude that this is due to heightened levels of social stratification in other countries, in comparison to the United States, however it is outside the scope of this paper to actually answer that question.

by the poor and less-educated, can have a profound effect on civil society, increasing not only participation in formal governmental oversight but also the associational life of the community. This stands in contrast to the research of Porio, *et. al.* in which empowerment efforts were largely controlled by state political and bureaucratic decision-making (Porio 2002).

Diversity, rather than unity, within civil society discourse is increasingly recognized as crucial in avoiding dominant group hegemonic control (Ahrne 1998; Ivanov 2003; Jacobs 2003; Johnson and Wilson 2000; Robson 2001)

Empirical examples of societies undergoing great change reveal that inequality and hegemony play important roles in the development of civil society. In post-Communist Poland and Bulgaria, the change from state control of social relations has provided new opportunities for the development of civil society, but the replacement of state control with private enterprises (specifically, the shift of the mid- and upper-level Party members from positions of state authority to those of corporate authority) undermines the legitimacy of the post-Communist order (Ivanov 2003). Conversely, after decades of institutionalized inequality in South Africa, and a history of shifting interpretations of race and racial identity, the emergent civil society in South Africa has been instrumental in supporting efforts by the new government to address and reduce inequality based on race, gender, social class and other characteristics (Unterhalter 1995). (This could serve as an excellent case study for the purposes of demonstrating how institutionalized inequality shaped civil society and public discourse, as much by the absences in that discourse as by positions taken by civil society actors.) Culturally and legally enforced gender and social class inequality in Zimbabwe has led to the formation of non-governmental organizations to provide services and a civil society voice for women adversely affected (Osirim 2001).

**Rejoining civil society and inequality**

Civil society encompasses not just individual social relations within the public sphere, but also the structural realm of associational life within the larger community where people live. The current focus on individualistic-oriented characteristics such as social capital shifts the focus from issues of social organization and civil society's relation to social inequality, to a more narrow focus on how social capital affects inequality – and the results are mixed, since "social capital" is often contextually defined. This is unfortunate, since it is within civil society structures that regimes of inequality become embedded in social relations. Besides an examination of how various processes affect the structural character of civil society, a range of topics are interrelated with civil society, including democracy, citizenship, and social inclusion. Areas of particular interest in this area include boundary maintenance of civil society, *e.g.* what constitutes "uncivil" society (Alexander 1998); who is a citizen, and who is not (Shafir and Peled 1998); and/or what standards are applied and who gets to apply them (Ku 2002)? These are important questions to answer in order to move civil society from a normative and abstract concept to one that can be more readily observed and measured. It should also be noted that this suggests the need for a more empirically based definition of civil society. Rather than seeing it either as an epiphenomenon of capitalism (as the façade over private interest, supposedly in relation to the public), or as an assumed "marketplace of ideas" with equal access for all, civil society must be understood as a dynamic process emerging from the actions of people and groups, and must be located within distinct spatial, historical, and social contexts. This requires recognizing that inequality regimes are inextricably connected to civil society and its operation and removing normative assumptions that are utopian and particularist in character. By recognizing and describing how the structure, processes, and discourse of civil society are affected by social inequalities it may be possible to address those inequalities through civil

society activities, without relying on an idealized view of civil society that may be overly simplistic in character. Paradoxically, by setting aside the normative elements embedded in classical and contemporary conceptions of civil society, and focusing instead on its structural character and interaction processes, we may be able to discern what a "better" society might actually look like. Such an approach suggests that an inductive, rather than deductive, approach would be of more assistance in understanding the relationship between social stratification and civil society. This in turn depends on actual empirical data analysis and a careful approach to interpreting the relationships observed between variables before proceeding to model-building.

**Civil society and social inequality in rural Iowa**

Rural communities in Iowa provide a worthwhile testing ground for the observation of social inequality and its effects on civil society. In particular, their relatively homogenous character makes it easier to isolate the effects of other conditions such as age or time in residence, allowing for observation of specific markers of social inequality and their relationship to civil society participation and access/inclusion.

From a social class perspective, rural communities in Iowa do not show the extremes of economic stratification noticeable in some rural and urban communities elsewhere in America. However, these rural communities may be similar to many others across the country, demographically speaking, which would be of assistance when considering how applicable the conclusions of this study are to communities elsewhere in this country.

Rural communities in Iowa are overwhelmingly white, working-class and middle-class, and somewhat higher average age in comparison to the rest of the country. Paradoxically, this might be considered advantageous for the purposes of this study: if there *are* effects on civil

society participation on the basis of social inequality in such a homogenous context, then it is possible that such effects would be even more pronounced in more heterogeneous communities.

Within Iowa's rural communities, despite their relatively homogenous character, greater social inequality may be expected to lead to:

- Lessened access to civil society activities,
- Less inclusion in civil society activities,
- Lower rates of participation in voluntary organizations and other forms of civil society, and
- Differences in perceptions and attitudes regarding access, inclusion, and participation in civil society.

**Data used and sources**

The Rural Development Initiative (RDI) 2004 Community Survey served as the primary data source for this study. The RDI data set was chosen because of its focus on local social environment and community involvement, two issues closely related to the topic of civil society access and inclusion, as well as civil society participation. Demographic data collected as part of the RDI survey provided the basis for further research into conditions of social inequality.

As a program of Iowa State University, the Rural Development Initiative (RDI) conducted a stratified random sample survey of 99 Iowa towns (for geographically balance, one for each Iowa county), in 1994 and 2004. Each town surveyed possessed more than 500 but fewer than 10,000 residents, and not a part of a contiguous larger metropolitan center. A three-stage random sampling procedure was used to select towns, households, and survey respondents. Within each selected town, 150 households were then selected randomly, using the local telephone directory as the data source. Respondents included not only those within the political boundaries of the communities selected, but also included farm and non-farm residents living outside of town.

The scope of the RDI dataset provided the opportunity to observe civil society participation and inclusion within communities in Iowa. The use of secondary data analysis in this study permitted an analysis of the relationship between civil society and social stratification without immediately presupposing the form of that relationship. Such an approach avoided the deductive character of much of the prior literature examining the effects of civil society, instead it provided the basis for an inductive logical inquiry. The benefit of such an approach was that it would neither presume the effects and interactions of variables, nor directly or indirectly engage in premature model-building without reference to theory.

# Chapter Three: Methodology

## I. Main Question(s) and Hypotheses

### Hypotheses

Prior consideration of the relationship between inequality and civil society has positioned civil society markers as *independent variables* acting on inequality in various forms as *dependent variable(s)*. Thus, in *Bowling Alone* (2001), Putnam suggests that increases in volunteering and membership in voluntary associations have an ameliorative effect on inequality. Similarly, Coleman's work (1995) on school choice and parental association presupposes that networks of association form the basis for the development of social capital as a resource to be drawn upon by its holders as another means of bettering their condition. What is important to note about all of these examples is that they treat social inequality and social stratification as existing *de novo*; this misses what *prior* relationship might have existed between measures of social inequality and civil society beforehand. However, the focus on civil society measures is often left at the individual level, rather than examining the larger group-level relationships, such as social class, race, and gender stratification that may structurally affect those same civil society measures.

While a fuller critique of social capital, conceptually and operationally defined, lies outside of this study, it is worth noting that many measures of social capital, such as networks of association and membership in voluntary organizations, are also markers of civil society participation. These markers, then, are useful in examining differences at the group level between different strata in society, based on race, gender, and social class.

The framework of this study therefore designates measures of social inequality as *independent variables* which then affect markers of civil society participation as *dependent variables*.

The hypotheses are as follows:

**Hypothesis 1: Social inequality is expected to lead to differences in civil society *access and inclusion* between those in those in subordinate positions (*e.g.* the poor, people of color, women, youth), and those in dominant positions (*e.g.* upper and middle class, whites, men).**

**Hypothesis 2: Social inequality is expected to lead to differences in civil society *participation* between those in subordinate positions (*e.g.* the poor, people of color, women, youth), and those in dominant positions (*e.g.* upper and middle class, whites, men).**

**Hypothesis 3: Multiple advantages or disadvantages will have greater differences in civil society *access and inclusion*.**

3a) Persons occupying multiple dominant positions will have greater differences in civil society *access and inclusion* with those in subordinate positions, compared with those in a single dominant position.

3b) Persons occupying multiple subordinate positions will have greater differences in civil society *access and inclusion* with those in dominant positions, compared with those in a single subordinate position.

**Hypothesis 4: Multiple advantages or disadvantages will have greater differences in civil society *participation.***

4a) Persons occupying multiple dominant positions will have greater differences in civil society *participation* with those in subordinate positions, compared with those in a single dominant position.

4b) Persons occupying multiple subordinate positions will have greater differences in civil society *participation* with those in dominant positions, compared with those in a single subordinate position.

## II. Research Design

To examine the proposed relationships between inequality, social stratification, and civil society inclusion and participation, data from the 2004 RDI survey were used. The Rural Development Initiative has undertaken a series of community studies, paying close attention to social capital and community bonds. This study therefore makes use of secondary data analysis; the unit of measure was at the individual level.

### Explanation of testing conditions

*Test of hypotheses and operationalization:* The research design testing the hypotheses given earlier involved initial cross-tabulations, using the set of independent variables developed from

the conceptual framework given above: race, gender, and social class-related measures, including income, occupation, educational attainment, and present employment status. Following cross-tabulations, analysis based on the Elaboration Model was undertaken, providing a comparison of various initial relationships listed above with test variables.

## III. Operationalization of Variables

While previous research has tended to treat racial, gender, and social class-related factors as dependent variables, the intent of my research is to treat them as *antecedents* (or independent variables) to civil society activity (dependent variables). That is, phrased as a question, *how do race, social class, gender, and age affect civil society access/inclusion and civil society participation?*

The RDI survey instrument included a range of demographic questions which have served as the core elements of the independent variable set of this study. Data gathered at the individual-level from survey responses was aggregated, and analyzed within aggregated groupings to reflect social stratification, specifically by class, race, gender, and age.

### Independent variables

In this study, the operationalization of variables representing inequality focuses on social stratification. This stratification takes places within communities; it is assumed that the community field is the frame within which stratification should be observable. A number of dimensions of social stratification and inequality suggested themselves for consideration in this study, including race, social class, age, and gender. One question that might be immediately asked is how valid is the assumption that social inequality affects civil society (and not the other way around)? This may be answered fairly easily: markers of social stratification are – for the most part – structural and precede markers of civil society access and inclusion, as well as civil

society participation. This is particularly true for race, gender, age and other "in-born" characteristics, but less so for certain markers of social class, such as income, educational attainment, and other achieved statuses. Even so, such markers often involve a greater or lesser amount of prior time spent and resources invested before being achieved, and therefore likely to also precede various markers of civil society access and inclusion, as well as civil society participation. A longitudinal analysis might answer this definitely (but is outside the scope of this study).

***Race:*** Demographically, rural communities in Iowa are mostly white. In this study, racial identification was treated as a dichotomous variable, "white" and "non-white," due to the small number of people of color represented in the sample population. This latter category ("non-white") included all those who identified as "African-American," "Asian-American," "Hispanic/Latino/a," "Native American/American Indian," and "Other" in the RDI survey instrument.

***Gender:*** Gender was treated as a dichotomous variable; male and female, based on respondents' self-identification in the RDI survey instrument.

***Age:*** The RDI survey instrument provided an open-ended response option for age; the range of ages reported did not lend itself to statistical analysis. For the purposes of this study, therefore, age was divided into thirds, which were based on statistical divisions of the population's ages, and roughly correspond to early and mature adulthood, middle age, and senior citizens.

***Social class:*** It was not possible to find a single variable to use as a measure of social class stratification. However, a number of specific measures of particular kinds of social class-related difference were present in the RDI survey instrument which could be used to provide a

composite view of social class stratification. (From a conceptual and theoretical perspective, it would be difficult if not impossible to adequately assess class standing through a single measure.[15] )

a) *Income:* The RDI survey instrument provided eight different response choices for income, ranging from "$9999 and under" to "$75,000 and over." For analysis purposes, income was treated as a dichotomous variable, with "below-average and average" and "above average" income.

b) *Educational attainment:* The RDI survey instrument provided seven different response choices for educational attainment, ranging from "less than 9th grade" to "graduate or professional degree." For analysis purposes, educational attainment was treated as a dichotomous variable, with "some college or less" (below average and average educational attainment) and "batchelors degree or more" (above average educational attainment).

c) *Present employment status:* The RDI survey instrument provided six different response choices for present employment status, including full-time employment (self or by other), part-time employment (self or by other), retired, full-time homemaker, student, and unemployed. Present employment status was divided into "full-time or part-time employed," "retired," and "student/homemaker/other" comprising three categories for analysis purposes.

d) *Occupational Prestige:* The RDI survey instrument provided an open-ended response opportunity for respondents' occupation. Occupation was then coded into twelve categories, ranging from professional technical and related, to domestic workers. It

[15] Attempts to construct a scalar variable for class measurement, based on educational attainment, household income, living arrangements, employment status, and occupational category, were unsuccessful ($\alpha = .467$), indicating that the variables selected were largely independent of one another.

should be noted that the RDI occupational coding differed from the 2000 Standard Occupational Classification system used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. However, the RDI occupational codes as reported were recoded to provide an assessment of occupational prestige, accounting for how *spatially constrained* each occupation was. For analysis purposes, occupational prestige was treated as a dichotomous variable, with "below-average and average" and "above average" occupational prestige.

e) *Homeowner/Renter/Other status:* The RDI survey instrument provided three different response opportunities for measurement of housing status, "Own" [current residence], "Rent," and "Have some other arrangement." For analysis purposes, these were used unchanged.

**Dependent variables**

As noted earlier, the concept of "civil society" is difficult to define. This is made more problematic by issues of measurement, particularly differences in subjective perceptions, *e.g.* someone might feel there is a great deal of "civil society" present in their community, while the same set of conditions might be considered to be relatively lacking in "civil society" by another community member. It was therefore deemed necessary in this study to distinguish between attitudes towards civil society, and objective structural conditions related to civil society.

Because civil society involves social interaction, it was considered insufficient to account only for individual actions taken to be a part of civil society, which would omit larger conditions that gave rise to individual action. Finding measures for the provision of civil society access and inclusion was therefore also considered necessary in this study.

Conceptually, the dependent variable set was divided along two axes: structural v. attitudinal (i.e. external conditions v. individual perceptions), and access/inclusion v.

participation (i.e. availability of opportunity v. individual action). This resulted in the following four conceptual sets, and subsequent variables attached to each:

*Attitudinal Access/Inclusion:* what was the perception of individuals about their inclusion and/or access – or lack thereof – in civil society activities?

*Attitudinal Participation:* what was the perception of individuals about participation – or lack thereof – in civil society activities?

*Structural Access/Inclusion:* what actual conditions led to the inclusion of or provided access to individuals in civil society?

*Structural Participation:* what actual civil society activity was observed on the part of individuals?

In each case, a scalar variable was constructed from specific survey items taken from the RDI questionnaire (see below and Appendix A)

**Test variables**

In addition to the dependent and independent variables listed, a number of test variables were selected for additional analysis, using Lazarsfeld's Elaboration model (Lazarsfeld & Kendall, 1950).

- *Time in community:* Time in community may be related to an individual's sense of community membership. It was surmised that those who have a longer term of residence may feel a greater sense of personal bond to the community. In turn, this perception may affect civil society involvement, as those with a shorter term of residence may not feel sufficiently connected or "invested" in the community to warrant civil society involvement. Operationalized as a dichotomous variable: "less than average and average time", and "more than average time" in community.
- *Location:* Operationalized as a choice of three options: "in town", "out of town on a farm", and "out of town not on a farm".
- *Distance from town:* Location and distance from town was expected to have an effect on civil society involvement, as people living outside of town or further away may perceive higher marginal opportunity costs to civil society participation. Operationalized as a dichotomous variable: "less than average and average distance", and "more than average distance", from community.

- *Community Membership:* Did residents of a particular rural area actually identify themselves as members of a particular community? Operationalized as a dichotomous variable; respondents did or did not identify as community members.
- *Daily Shopping Needs – Where Obtained?* Where did respondents go for daily shopping needs: "in the local community", "outside the local community", or "not at all (or did not apply)".
- *Recreational Activity – Where Done?* Where did respondents go for recreational activities: "in the local community", "outside the local community", or "not at all (or did not apply)".
- *Church Attendance – Where Done?* Where did respondents go for church attendance: "in the local community", "outside the local community", or "not at all (or did not apply)".

The dependent, independent, and test variables were then examined using a series of statistical analysis methods, as detailed below.

## IV. Descriptive Statistics

The following tables provide the initial statistical examination of the variables used in this study. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 identify and annotate the independent variables, while Table 3.3 identifies and annotates the dependent variables, including an explanation of the items used to construct the indices for each of the dependent variables.

The separation of attitudinal and structural variables is indicative of a larger difference in observed results between the perceptions of survey respondents themselves and their own reporting of actual conditions. That is to say, while respondents may have felt more positively or negatively inclined towards public life in their communities, this seemed to have little to no relationship with the conditions of public life as reported by the respondents themselves. Thus we see generally positive attitudes expressed by retirees and those over 65 years of age towards civil society participation – but that may have little to do with the actual level of community involvement as reported by all ages in that community (this will be examined in great depth later).

**Table 3.1: Dependent Variables - Attitudinal**

| Variable | Mean (SD) | Range | Description of Index |
|---|---|---|---|
| Attitudinal Inclusion/Access *Alpha* = .750, N=9603 | 15.5431 (3.598) | 5-25 | Index of personal perceptions of access and/or inclusion (or lack of either) in civil society, summated scale consisting of five variables based on individual self-reporting:<br>"Clubs and organizations in [community] are [not]* interested in what is best for all residents" and<br>"Overall, people like myself have little impact on important decisions" and<br>"People in [community] look out mainly for what's best for their friends and family, and are not much concerned about the welfare of other local people" and<br>"To get ahead in [community], you have to know the right people" and<br>"People who do not attend church/synagogue, have hard time 'fitting in' in [community]"<br>1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=undecided; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree.<br>**insertion to reflect recode of original query* |
| Attitudinal Participation *Alpha* = .735, N=8059 | 19.6094 (3.833) | 8-29 | Index of personal perceptions of participation in civil society, summated scale consisting of ten variables based on individual self-reporting:<br>"Disadvantaged groups rarely get involved in community projects" and<br>"When important community issues arise, most people in [community] are [not]* willing to express their opinions publicly."<br>1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=undecided; 4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree.<br>**insertion to reflect recode of original query*<br>"Overall, how would you rate the spirit of community participation in [community]?" 1=poor; 2=fair; 3=good; 4=very good<br>"For each [of the following], [how many] [community] residents would volunteer their assistance?" 1=few, 2=about half, 3=most: tornado recovery; spring clean-up; local grocery support; canned food donation; elderly meal delivery.<br>"How would you describe your level of involvement in local community improvement activities?" 1=not at all active; 2= not very active; 3=somewhat active; 4=very active. |

The following table provides the second set of dependent variables; those based on actual structural conditions, as opposed to attitudinal impressions of survey respondents. As before, indices of conditions as reported by survey respondents were constructed to represent the variables as described earlier.

**Table 3.2: Dependent Variables - Structural**

| Variable | Mean (SD) | Range | Description of Index |
|---|---|---|---|
| Structural Inclusion/Access *Alpha* = .740, N=7582 | 9.3337 (2.336) | 4-13 | Index of actual civil society access and inclusion provided, summated scale consisting of nine variables based on individual self-reporting:<br>"During the past 12 months, have you been personally approached by someone from [community] to do the following?" 0=no; 1=yes: donate money; volunteer time; join local group; vote in local election; attend community meeting<br>"Which, if any, of the following limit your involvement as a volunteer in community improvement projects?" 1=does limit involvement; 2=does NOT limit involvement: don't really know how to become involved; tried to volunteer for comm. project but help not accepted; no one has asked me to volunteer; there are no comm. projects that need support of volunteers |
| Structural Participation *Alpha* = .765, N= 7695 | 15.1346 (7.592) | 7-46 | Index of actual participation in civil society, summated scale consisting of nine variables based on individual self-reporting:<br>"Is there general agreement on [local] issues, or are there two or more groups with different ideas" 1=general agreement; 2=2 or more groups<br>"How many times in the past 12 months have you participated in a [community] improvement project in your community such as a volunteer project or fundraising effort?"; 1= none; 2=once; 3=twice; 4=3-4 times; 5=5-9 times; 6=10 or more times<br>"How involved are you in LOCAL groups and organizations, that is, those that hold meetings and activities in [community]?" 1=do not belong; 2=never; 3=1-5 times a year; 4=6-11 times a year; 5=once a month; 6=weekly or more. Groups included: Service and fraternal organizations; Recreational groups; Political and civic groups; Job-related organizations; Church or other religious groups; All other groups and organizations<br>"How many local groups in total do you belong to?" (open-ended response option)<br>"How many organizations that hold meetings outside your community do you belong to?" (open-ended response option) |

An examination of the statistical means of various descriptive variables in the RDI 2004 dataset provides a "snapshot" of respondents. The descriptions provided are based on categorical descriptors provided in the RDI master code book (see Appendix C). At the end of each variable operational definition is a descriptive summation of the means as determined through initial statistical analysis.

**Table 3.3: Independent Variables**

| Variable [Social Stratification Category] | Mean (SD) | Range | Description of Variable and Mean |
|---|---|---|---|
| Approximate Household Income [social class]: N=8905 | 4.42 (2.106) | 1-8 | 1=under $10,000; 2=$10,000-19,999; 3=$20,000-29,999; 4=$30,000-39,000; 5=$40,000-49,999; 6=$50,000-64,999; 7=$65,000-74,999; 8=$75,000 and higher. The average respondent's annual household income was between $30,000 and $49,000. |
| Current Employment Status [social class]: N=9619 | 4.9822 (1.174) | 1-6 | 1=unemployed; 2=student; 3=fulltime homemaker; 4=retired; 5=part-time employee; 6=fulltime employee. While this average would ostensibly indicate part-time employment on average, the majority of respondents were either retired or working full-time. |
| Occupational Prestige [social class]: N=6216 | 7.9757 (3.447) | 1-12 | 1=private household workers; 2=service workers; 3=farm laborers and foremen; 4=farm managers and farmers; 5=non-farm laborers; 6=transport equipment operators; 7=operatives, except transport; 8=craftsmen and kindred workers; 9=clerical and kindred workers; 10=salespeople; 11=managers and administrators; 12=professional, technical and kindred workers The average respondent was employed as a craftsmen or kindred worker. |
| Education [social class]: N=9878 | 3.96 (1.508) | 1-7 | 1=less than 9$^{th}$ grade; 2=9$^{th}$-12$^{th}$ grade, no diploma; 3=high school graduate; 4=some college, no degree; 5=Associates degree; 6=Bachelors degree; 7=Graduate or professional degree (or better) The average respondent had some college education, but had not completed a degree. |
| Living Arrangements [social class]: N=9876 | 2.7684 (0.617) | 1-3 | 1=rent, 2=some other arrangement, 3=own one's home The average respondent was very likely to own their own home. |
| Race/Ethnicity [race]: N=9962 | 0.0277 (0.164) | 0-1 | 1=non-white; 2=white The average respondent was *very* likely to be white. |
| Age [age]: N=9849 | 56.69 (17.233) | 17-107 | Upper and lower limits correspond to highest and lowest actual ages. The average respondent was between 56 and 57 years old. |
| Gender [ gender]: N=9874 | 1.55 (0.497) | 1-2 | 1=female, 2=male The average respondent was slightly more likely to be male than female. |

## V. Analysis Procedures

The first stage in examination of data was done through cross-tabulations of independent and dependent variables. This was done to reveal any potential relationships between the variables in question; any relationships thus revealed would serve as the basis for a second stage of analysis using the elaboration model. In this second stage, a number of test variables were examined in relation to the dependent and independent variables, through an elaboration paradigm.

*Initial cross-tabulations.* Initial cross-tabulations were done between single independent variables (*e.g.* race, gender, income) and the dependent variables. A list is provided in the table given below:

**Table 3.4: Cross-tabulation variable listing**

| *Independent Variables and Categories Used* | *Dependent Variables Used* |
|---|---|
| Income:<br>Below-Average and Average Income,<br>and Above Average Income<br>Occupation Status:<br>Below-Average and Average Occupational Status, and<br>Above Average Occupational Status<br>Educational Attainment:<br>Some College or Less<br>and College Graduate<br>Present Employment Status:<br>Student/Homemaker/Other<br>Retired<br>Part Time and Full Time Employed<br>Living Arrangements:<br>Renter<br>Some other arrangement<br>Homeowner<br>Gender:<br>Male and Female<br>Race:<br>White and Non-White<br>Age<br>Ages 17-47 (Youngest Third)<br>Ages 48-65 (Middle Third)<br>Age 66+ (Oldest Third) | • Structural Participation, Below-Average and Average, and Above-Average.<br>• Structural Access/Inclusion, Below-Average and Average, and Above-Average.<br>• Attitudinal Participation, and Below-Average and Average, and Above-Average.<br>• Attitudinal Access/Inclusion, Below-Average and Average, and Above-Average. |

Given the exploratory character of this analysis, only those cross-tabulation tables that demonstrated a difference of twenty percentage points or more between subcategories were included. Selection of significant cross-tabulation relationships was based on a threshold measure of twenty percentage points or more difference in outcomes for dependent variables. This was due to the large number of potentially significant relationships indicated statistically; the most significant relationships were selected for further examination. As a result, it is quite possible that more subtle relationships between variables may have been missed using strictly statistical analyses of significance. The application of the elaboration model, using a ten percentage point difference between subcategories, allowed for a more sensitive analysis of the data.

*Elaboration Model:* The second stage in analysis in this study makes use of the elaboration model, as originally developed by Paul Lazarsfeld and Patricia Kendall (1950). Because cross-tabulations may mask or otherwise distort the actual relationship between the dependent and independent variables and because target groups within Iowa are either so few or so numerous that correlations by themselves would either not be sensitive, or (as was the case) potentially too sensitive to the differences between them, the elaboration model provides a means to consider the effects of other variables.

It is worthwhile to note that the choice of the elaboration model in preference to any other statistical analysis method (*e.g.* multivariate regression) was made for two primary reasons. The elaboration model is useful in *explaining* the relationship between variables in a way that is consistent with and informed by theory-based expectations (Aneshensel, 2002). Additionally, since the precise relationship between the variables is not fully understood, the elaboration

model allows for a more finely-grained analysis that is necessary for model-building to take place.

In the examination of the data used in this study, a large number of relationships appeared to have statistical meaning, making it difficult on that basis alone to determine the substantive significance of the relationships between variables. A threshold of 10% difference between outcomes when controlling for test variables was used to select important relationships, as indicated by the empirical data.

# Chapter Four: Findings

Consider for a moment a hypothetical community, representative of these findings:

*In the community of Ruralton, Iowa, the well-off and those with prestigious occupations are active participants in civil society, having been provided with more opportunities to be actually involved in public life. On the other hand, the poor and those in less prestigious occupations have fewer opportunities to become involved and consequently are much less active in civil society. This is likely due more to the pressures of work and family than any lack of interest; regardless of income, the citizens of Ruralton tend to be positively inclined towards civil society, especially when they believe the community is united in its views on a subject of public concern. Education also plays a role; those with college degrees, especially those who are retired or over the age of 65, are more active in public life than those residents of Ruralton who did not complete college.*

*Three groups stand out in the population of Ruralton for the consistency of their views of and involvement in civil society. Those who are retired or over the age of 65 are markedly more involved in, and have markedly more positive feelings about, public life; this may also be due, in part, to their length of residence in the community. Renters and people of color are noticeably absent from public activities and debate, even though renters themselves express similar levels of interest in civil society. And while the number of people of color in Ruralton is fairly small – no more than 4 out of every 100 residents – they appear somewhat wary of public life, and generally are not as involved as their white neighbors. An exception to this are those persons of color who have better jobs, education, and income – perhaps because they are perceived as leaders of their communities, they participate as much as white residents.*

*Some of this is expressed through the rhythms of daily life. Those who are poor or otherwise disadvantaged are more apt to shop for daily necessities and engage in recreational activities outside of the community. While there are large, well-established grocery stores and merchants on the main street and near the highway going past Ruralton, they tend to cater to the "regular" residents of the town. The population of Latinos, African-Americans and other people of color tend to patronize grocery stores on the edges of the community, nearer to where many people of color live, and rents are lower – but also further from the community centers and sidewalks of Ruralton's public discourse. And each week, when the residents of Ruralton come*

*together for religious services, the well-established churches near to downtown become centers of community life – for some of the residents of the town. Not unlike the groceries and other merchants serving residents of color, churches serving these populations are not as centrally located – indeed, there might not be a Black Pentecostal church, or a church with services in Spanish, except in a town further away.*

*The patterns and rhythms of life in Ruralton are fairly common across Iowa. Indeed, there are many "Ruraltons" in Iowa as well as elsewhere. What is important to recognize about Ruralton is that while civil society is part of the lifeblood of the community, not all of its residents have equal access to, or ability to participate in, it.*

The expectation that some forms of social stratification and inequality have an effect on civil society participation was substantiated, based on the data analyzed from the 2004 Rural Development Initiative survey. Social class differences were expected to result in low levels of civil society participation, with race and ethnic differences also reducing participation in civil society, despite generally positive perceptions of civil society and public life. Age and gender were also expected to result in differences in civil society participation, but this was not substantiated by the analysis of data.

## I. Immediate Findings

Economic and racial stratification results in *less* civil society participation by some groups in subordinate social positions; consequently, those in dominant positions have relatively greater civil society participation. Those in subordinate positions – low to moderate income persons, renters, people of color, and those in low-prestige positions – are less likely to participate in social activities, and have less access to social institutions that facilitate civil society growth. Additionally, it was discovered that in several cases the attitudes of those in subordinate

positions were not the barrier to civil society participation, rather structural conditions worked to preclude their involvement.

## II. Comparison of Independent and Dependent Variables

The following table (Table 4.1) shows areas of important statistical findings, based on cross-tabulation of data, as outlined in Chapter Three. Shaded areas indicate that the cross-tabulation showed an observed 20 point or greater difference in the dependent variable outcome, in relation to the independent variable shown on the left.

**Table 4.1: Observed 20-points differences in relationships between variables**

| **Independent Variables** | **Dependent Variables** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Attitudinal Inclusion/Access* | *Attitudinal Participation* | *Structural Inclusion/Assess* | *Structural Participation* |
| *Annual Income (social class)* | | | | Below average: 62.9% v.37.1%<br>Above average: 53.6% v.46.4% |
| *Level of Education (social class)* | | | | Below average: 63.3% v. 36.7%<br>Above average: 50.2% v. 49.8% |
| *Current Employment Status (social class)* | | Student/etc.: 50.3% v. 49.7%<br>Retired: 38.9% v. 61.1%<br>PT/FT employed: 50.3% v. 49.7% | Student/etc.: 65.3% v. 34.7%<br>Retired: 51.2% v. 48.8%<br>PT/FT employed: 51.1% v. 48.9% | Student/etc.: 64.5% v. 35.5%<br>Retired: 57.6% v. 42.4%<br>PT/FT employed: 59.3% v. 40.7% |
| *Occupational Prestige (social class)* | | | | Below average: 65.4% v. 34.6%<br>Above average: 54.1% v. 45.9% |
| *Living Arrangements* | | | Rent: 66.1% v. 33.9%<br>Other arrangement: 59.1% v. 40.9%<br>Own home: 50.1% v. 49.9% | Rent: 71.0% v. 29.0%<br>Other arrangement: 67.3% v. 32.7%<br>Own home: 57.6% v. 42.4% |
| *Race/Ethnicity* | | | People of color: 62.7% v. 37.3%<br>White: 51.8% v. 48.2% | People of color: 71.5% v. 28.5%<br>White: 59.1% v. 40.2% |
| *Gender* | | | | |
| *Age* | | Ages 17-47: 50% v. 50%<br>Ages 48-65; 52.8% v. 47.2%<br>Ages 65 and over: 36.7% v. 63.3% | | Ages 17-47: 61.1% v. 38.9%<br>Ages 48-65; 60.7% v. 38.3%<br>Ages 65 and over: 55.2% v. 44.8% |
| *Percentage comparisons are of below-average and average vs. above-average outcomes for the dependent variables* | | | | |

What is suggested by this chart is that *what people actually did* in terms of civil society participation was key to understanding the role of social stratification. Second, whether or not people were afforded real opportunities to participate in civil society activities also had a real effect, particularly in terms of employment status, housing, and racial identification. While there were differences in personal attitudes towards community participation depending on current employment status, in all other cases there was no significant relationship between people's attitudes towards either access/inclusion or participation, in relation to the social class, race, or gender variables in this study.

Put another way, this suggests that while there is variation in *attitudes* towards civil society participation in the population studied, the relationship to *actual* access, inclusion, and participation is unclear at best. What does correlate with other factors, however, are real opportunities to become involved in civil society as well as actual participation in civil society activities. Another way of looking at this suggests that while we *think* well of civil society, social stratification has a negative impact on our opportunities to be involved as well as our actual involvement.[16]

## III. Analysis of Findings

It is worth noting at the outset that this is an *exploratory* analysis; the relationships between variables are not fully known. To recapitulate:

- Attitudes towards either inclusion/access or participation did not seem to vary significantly. Only employment status and age had any significant effect, and that was on respondents' attitudes towards community participation.

[16] This suggests a potential parallel with the European concept of *social exclusion*, which is based in the idea that those in disadvantaged positions in society are excluded from full participation in that society. Consideration of this issue is outside the scope of this study, however.

- Structural inclusion/access was affected in a number of ways by social class stratification, as inferred by measures of social class variables included in this model. Structural inclusion/access was also affected by race.
- Structural participation was clearly affected by social class, judging by the effect of social class variables (which themselves may be highly intercorrelated), as well as by race.

These general conclusions are presented in the following findings. Their relationship with the hypotheses advanced earlier is summarized at the end of the chapter.

## A. Social class-related Independent Variables

### *1. Annual Income*

Only when annual income was compared with structural participation were there observed significant differences on the part of respondents. This suggests that across income categories, respondents generally held similar attitudes on expectations of accessibility of civil society and community participation, as well as regarding efforts to include respondents themselves in civil society. When it came to respondents' own efforts to participate in civil society, differences became clearer. This suggests income level plays a role in determining respondents' willingness to participate in civil society, with lower income acting as a brake on such participation.

### *2. Annual Income – Structural Participation*

Persons with below-average or average income more often had below-average civil society participation (63% vs. 37%), compared with those who participated more. By contrast those with above-average income were relatively less likely to not participate. (54% vs. 46%) (See below in Table 4.2.) Note that, as explained below the table, this is distinct from the statement that those with above-average income participate *more,* and the distinction is important in examining my hypotheses.

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. While a difference was expected, the finding indicates that lower income has the effect of decreasing participation, while higher income lessens this effect.

**Table 4.2. Crosstab - Annual Income – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Income Bivariate | Below-Average or Average | Count | 2551 | 1503 | 4054 |
| | | % within Income Bivariate | 62.9% | 37.1% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 56.9% | 47.3% | 52.9% |
| | | % of Total | 33.3% | 19.6% | 52.9% |
| | Above Average | Count | 1930 | 1674 | 3604 |
| | | % within Income Bivariate | 53.6% | 46.4% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 43.1% | 52.7% | 47.1% |
| | | % of Total | 25.2% | 21.9% | 47.1% |
| Total | | Count | 4481 | 3177 | 7658 |
| | | % within Income Bivariate | 58.5% | 41.5% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 58.5% | 41.5% | 100.0% |

What this means is not that inequality simply leads to those who are better off participating *more*, but also that the less well off participate *less*. This is supported in turn by Gaventa (1990); the concept of *quiescence* on the part of those in subordinate socio-economic positions relates to this situation. The potential reasons for this are: pressure to maintain income has a negative effect on relatively spontaneous or short-term civil society engagement, should opportunities present themselves. It may also be the case that the marginal value of time spent working as a fraction of personal income is sufficiently high to preclude *not* working, even if this might result in new or renewed social bonds being created through civil society participation.

More broadly, this relates to the increasing amount of work required to remain above the poverty line (which may suggest the utility of tracking poverty rates as well as employment rates in future research). While in the past it was possible for a single-minimum-wage-income household to remain comfortably above the poverty rate, by 2004 this had changed considerably: it is now necessary for there to be two incomes at the minimum wage per household to remain above the poverty line.

*3. Education – Structural Participation*

The role of education as correlated with social status and employment opportunity is well known. Within the context of this analysis, differences based on education paralleled findings in other social class-related variables, most notably that the less educated participate much less in civil society than those with better education, despite little difference in perceptions of community participation.

In addition, in terms of structural inclusion and access, more persons with below-average or average education experienced higher levels of below-average structural inclusion and access, while the opposite occurred for those with above-average education. Here again, as with occupational prestige, the differences in inclusion and access were determined to be too small to warrant further analysis here. Further, more significant differences were reported in relation to actual participation.

Persons with below-average or average education had below-average civil society participation (63% vs. 37%), compared with those who participated more. By contrast those with above-average education were almost even. (See Table 4.3)

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. A below-average to average education, which in this analysis is defined as "less than a 9$^{th}$ grade education" to "some time in

college (but no degree achieved)" correlates with lower levels of civil society participation, which reflects the "muffling" effect of lower socio-economic status, in terms of civil society participation.

**Table 4.3. Crosstab - Education – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Education Bivariate | Below Average or Average | Count | 3642 | 2112 | 5754 |
| | | % within Education Bivariate | 63.3% | 36.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 73.7% | 62.1% | 68.9% |
| | | % of Total | 43.6% | 25.3% | 68.9% |
| | Above Average | Count | 1303 | 1291 | 2594 |
| | | % within Education Bivariate | 50.2% | 49.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 26.3% | 37.9% | 31.1% |
| | | % of Total | 15.6% | 15.5% | 31.1% |
| Total | | Count | 4945 | 3403 | 8348 |
| | | % within Education Bivariate | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |

It is quite possible that education and occupational prestige correlate with one another, as professional, managerial, and administrative positions often require completion of a college degree. Even clerical positions frequently require some sort of college-level certification (such as an Associate's degree) for job advancement. What is perhaps more puzzling is the relative symmetry in attitudes towards inclusion, access, and participation between those with below-average educations and those with above-average educations. Therefore, despite relatively similar views of how civil society operates in their communities, there is a real disparity in participation based on education. Again, the evidence suggests that structural barriers are more

responsible for this difference than any difference in individual attitudes. It is also probable that the measure of education used here is intercorrelated with student status, although the statistical significance of this intercorrelation is unclear.

*4. Current Employment Status – Attitudinal Inclusion/Access*

An interesting finding related to current employment status is that *only* in the comparison of current employment status to attitudinal inclusion and access is there relatively little observed difference. This suggests that across employment status categories, respondents generally agreed on perceptions of civil society accessibility.

**Table 4.4. Crosstab – Current Employment Status – Attitudinal Inclusion/Access**

| | | | Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Employment Status Trivariate | Renter, Home-maker or Other | Count | 302 | 298 | 600 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 50.3% | 49.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 7.2% | 6.2% | 6.7% |
| | | % of Total | 3.4% | 3.3% | 6.7% |
| | Retired | Count | 1090 | 1710 | 2800 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 38.9% | 61.1% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 26.0% | 35.8% | 31.2% |
| | | % of Total | 12.1% | 19.1% | 31.2% |
| | Part-time or Full-time | Count | 2803 | 2772 | 5575 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 50.3% | 49.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 66.8% | 58.0% | 62.1% |
| | | % of Total | 31.2% | 30.9% | 62.1% |
| Total | | Count | 4195 | 4780 | 8975 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 46.7% | 53.3% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 46.7% | 53.3% | 100.0% |

When it came to perceptions of community participation, as well as actual efforts by others to include respondents, or respondents' own efforts to participate in civil society, then differences began to emerge. The foregoing suggests that respondents think well of civil society in their communities, even if they notice differences in terms of structural inclusion and participation. Students, homemakers and others and FT/PT Employed had virtually even levels of attitudinal satisfaction in civil society access and inclusion efforts. By contrast, retirees were more likely to express above-average attitudinal satisfaction in civil society access and inclusion efforts (39% vs. 61%). (See in Table 4.4)

The data for retirees correlated with data for age, in terms of attitudinal participation (or so it appears). This is to be expected, as the Age category with the highest observed difference is "3" which empirically corresponds with the general age of retirement of 65 years old. What is interesting to note is that retirees, in comparison to all other categories (including students and homemakers), *perceive* relatively higher levels of civil society participation. This matches the commonplace assumption that retirees *already* participate (but which may not necessarily be the case; see below).

This finding also suggests that the greater personal time available may lead to the *expression* of higher levels of civil society access and inclusion – though this does *not* seem to lead to greater *actual* participation, at least insofar as retirees are concerned. What is perhaps *more* interesting is that students, homemakers and others have *identical* perceptions of civil society inclusion and access, compared with part-time and full-time workers. In other words, they do not perceive any greater barriers to their potential participation than part-time and full-time workers; in addition, both groups show a relatively even division between perceptions of below-

average and above-average levels of inclusion and access, which may mean that perceptions of inclusion and access are only weakly correlated with employment status.

*5. Current Employment Status – Structural Inclusion/Access*

**Table 4.5. Crosstab - Current Employment Status – Structural Inclusion/Access**

| | | | Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Employment Status Trivariate | Renter, Home-maker or Other | Count | 320 | 170 | 490 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 65.3% | 34.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 8.4% | 4.8% | 6.7% |
| | | % of Total | 4.4% | 2.3% | 6.7% |
| | Retired | Count | 927 | 885 | 1812 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 51.2% | 48.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 24.3% | 25.2% | 24.7% |
| | | % of Total | 12.6% | 12.1% | 24.7% |
| | Part-time or Full-time | Count | 2571 | 2461 | 5032 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 51.1% | 48.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 67.3% | 70.0% | 68.6% |
| | | % of Total | 35.1% | 33.6% | 68.6% |
| Total | | Count | 3818 | 3516 | 7334 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 52.1% | 47.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 52.1% | 47.9% | 100.0% |

Students, homemakers and others reported comparatively greater numbers having below-average levels of inclusion in civil society, at rates of roughly 2:1. In contrast, retirees and

FT/PT employed had virtually even numbers experiencing below- and above-average levels of structural inclusion and access. (See Table 4.5)

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #1. The picture slowly emerges of a "status quo" of relatively equal access and inclusion in civil society, along with levels of actual participation, which is largely a perception or construct of those in more privileged positions in society, notably those who are either currently employed or are now retired. Inequality acts as a "muffling" or "deadening" effect on those who are less privileged in terms of employment status. In particular, a majority of students, homemakers, and others encounter below-average efforts undertaken to encourage their civil society participation.

Despite similar perceptions of access and inclusion, actual efforts to provide access and include students, homemakers, and others are less than for retirees and part-time and full-time workers. In contrast, retirees report virtually the same levels of actual access and inclusion as those working full-time or part-time (which may also correlate with homeownership, as the latter relies upon a particular level of socioeconomic success to become a reality).

*6. Current Employment Status – Structural Participation*

Students, homemakers, and others had below-average levels of actual participation in civil society at rates of roughly 2:1, compared with those who were included more. Retirees and FT/PT employed were somewhat more likely to participate, although those with above average rates of participation were in the minority (58% vs. 42%, and 59% vs. 41%). (see Table 4.6) This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. Students, homemakers, and others are underrepresented in civil society, as a result of their lack of participation, compared with retirees and those employed either full- or part-time. This should be tempered with the following observations:

**Table 4.6. Crosstab - Current Employment Status – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Employment Status Trivariate | Renter, Home-maker or Other 1.00 | Count | 358 | 197 | 555 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 64.5% | 35.5% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 7.4% | 5.9% | 6.8% |
| | | % of Total | 4.4% | 2.4% | 6.8% |
| | Retired 2.00 | Count | 1393 | 1024 | 2417 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 57.6% | 42.4% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 28.9% | 30.8% | 29.7% |
| | | % of Total | 17.1% | 12.6% | 29.7% |
| | Part-time or Full-time 3.00 | Count | 3063 | 2100 | 5163 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 59.3% | 40.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 63.6% | 63.2% | 63.5% |
| | | % of Total | 37.7% | 25.8% | 63.5% |
| Total | | Count | 4814 | 3321 | 8135 |
| | | % within Employment Status Trivariate | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |

a) Students are traditionally thought of as a "transient" population, and are assumed to have both fewer and weaker ties within their local community.

b) Students are also frequently better off than others, both actually and potentially; Actually, they can be seen to be better off as the ability to pursue a college education is not uniformly available and in many cases is limited by financial ability, and in potential, as their education over their life-course will provide a significant boost to earnings and occupational prestige.

Despite this, it should be noted that lower levels of actual participation appear to be caused by *structural* barriers in terms of access and inclusion, more than by any significant difference on the parts of students, homemakers, and others relative to part-time and full-time workers. As a point of contrast, while a bare majority of retirees participated in civil society at below-average or average levels, the portion who participated at above-average levels was slightly higher than the portion of homemakers participating at above-average levels.

*7. Occupational Prestige*

When considering occupational prestige, previously noted patterns of subordinate groups experiencing less access and inclusion were repeated. Of passing interest is that in terms of structural inclusion and access, more persons holding job positions of below-average prestige experienced higher levels of below-average structural inclusion and access, while the opposite occurred with those holding positions of above-average prestige. The differences in inclusion and access were determined to be too small to warrant further analysis here. However, there were sufficient differences in actual participation based on occupational prestige; the results are reported below. (For the sake of clarity, respondents' reported job positions as coded were operationally used for the purposes of determining occupational prestige.)

*8. Occupational Prestige – Structural Participation*

Persons with below-average or average occupational prestige had below-average civil society participation (66% vs. 34%), compared with those who participated more. By contrast those with above-average occupational prestige were more likely to participate. (55% vs. 45%) (See Table 4.7). This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. The meaning of the cross-tabulation is to be found in the structure of the occupational prestige bivariate division itself.

**Table 4.7. Crosstab - Occupational Prestige – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Occupation Bivariate | Below Average or Average | Count | 1374 | 704 | 2078 |
| | | % within Occupation Bivariate | 66.1% | 33.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 42.1% | 31.5% | 37.8% |
| | | % of Total | 25.0% | 12.8% | 37.8% |
| | Above Average | Count | 1890 | 1529 | 3419 |
| | | % within Occupation Bivariate | 55.3% | 44.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 57.9% | 68.5% | 62.2% |
| | | % of Total | 34.4% | 27.8% | 62.2% |
| Total | | Count | 3264 | 2233 | 5497 |
| | | % within Occupation Bivariate | 59.4% | 40.6% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.4% | 40.6% | 100.0% |

Those scoring below-average or average in occupational prestige; namely private household workers, service workers, farm laborers, farmers and farm managers, nonfarm laborers, transportation workers, and machine operators; all work in occupations that come under a fair degree of external control or constraints related to effective job performance, either due to the nature of the work itself (farming) or because of the needs of the larger organization within which the work takes place (service workers). In contrast, those in occupations of above-average prestige, including those in professional, managerial, administrative, sales, and clerical positions; have fewer demands and (at least in the case of professional and managerial positions) more freedom to take time for what would be viewed as nonwork-related activity.

It may be the case that the *structure of work* for those in lower status positions may be more rigid than for people with higher status jobs, which would tend to inhibit their

participation in civil society activities. There may also simply be less time available to those in lower status positions, as they have to work more hours to maintain their economic position in society. Certainly, those in professional positions often have more flexibility and personal control over their work schedule, which would allow for greater time spent taking advantage of civil society participation opportunities (Hunter, 1953). However, even in this case, actual participation on the part of those in higher-status positions still revealed an approximately 10% difference, with the larger percentage participating less. This has some interesting implications, suggesting that, on the basis of occupational prestige, lower job prestige correlates with lower levels of civil society participation; *i.e.* people in higher status positions, while still participating less in civil society activity, are not nearly as constrained as those in lower status positions. This is supported by Hunter, in *Community Power Structure*, in that positions of high occupational prestige are better represented in community leadership (which is itself a form of civil society participation).

*9. Living Arrangements*

Homeownership is a marker of social class position (Hayden, 1984; Logan and Molotch, 1987); owning one's home is seen as membership in the middle class. Consequently, renting or in any way *not* owning one's home calls that social class status into question. The relatively high level of homeownership in Iowa, combined with a moderate cost of living relative to the national average, meant that a very large majority of respondents were indeed homeowners (a similar situation was observed in the analysis of respondents' racial and ethnic make-up; the vast majority were white, and only a small number were people of color). Even with the large number of homeowners, significant differences were noted between homeowners, renters, and those with other living arrangements, as seen below.

*10. Living Arrangements – Structural Access/Inclusion*

Renters and those with other living arrangements had significantly larger numbers reporting below-average levels of inclusion in civil society, at rates of roughly 2:1 (renters) and 3:2 (other), compared with those who were included more. Homeowners had virtually even numbers. (See below in Table 4.8)

**Table 4.8. Crosstab - Living Arrangements – Structural Access/Inclusion**

| | | | Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Living arrangements | Renter | Count | 497 | 255 | 752 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 66.1% | 33.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 12.7% | 7.0% | 10.0% |
| | | % of Total | 6.6% | 3.4% | 10.0% |
| | Other Arrangements | Count | 137 | 95 | 232 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 59.1% | 40.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 3.5% | 2.6% | 3.1% |
| | | % of Total | 1.8% | 1.3% | 3.1% |
| | Home-owner | Count | 3288 | 3278 | 6566 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 50.1% | 49.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 83.8% | 90.4% | 87.0% |
| | | % of Total | 43.5% | 43.4% | 87.0% |
| Total | | Count | 3922 | 3628 | 7550 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 51.9% | 48.1% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 51.9% | 48.1% | 100.0% |

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #1. Homeownership is a social class marker in American society – the ability to own one's home represents an accumulation of wealth that is not available to everyone in America (even accounting for homeownership programs sponsored by the Federal government).

In this analysis, homeowners' experiences of inclusion attempts were relatively evenly split between below-average and above-average inclusion, while renters and those with other living arrangements observed clear differences in efforts at inclusion and providing access to civil society activities. This is similar to experiences of structural inclusion and access based on occupational status, race, gender, and (to a lesser extent) age, where respondents in above average categories were relatively evenly split "50-50" – one potential conclusion is that the experience of these groups (i.e. white men in white-collar occupations) forms the baseline for civil society access and inclusion, and this experience is taken as the norm for American society. This is further reinforced by analysis of civil society participation by renters and those with other living arrangements.

*11. Living Arrangements – Structural Participation*

Renters and those with other living arrangements had below-average civil society participation at rates of 7:3 (renters) and 2:1 (other), compared with those who participated more. By contrast, homeowners were roughly even (58% vs. 42%). (See below in Table 4.9.)

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. Renters and those with other living arrangements are not only structurally included less than homeowners, they consequently do not participate as much as homeowners do. It is worth noting that slightly fewer homeowners tend to participate than those homeowners who do participate in civil society, but the ratio of non-

participation to participation is *much* more profound among renters and those with other living arrangements.

**Table 4.9. Crosstab – Living Arrangements – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| living arrangements | Renter | Count | 604 | 247 | 851 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 71.0% | 29.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 12.2% | 7.3% | 10.2% |
| | | % of Total | 7.2% | 3.0% | 10.2% |
| | Other Arrangements | Count | 171 | 83 | 254 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 67.3% | 32.7% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 3.5% | 2.4% | 3.0% |
| | | % of Total | 2.0% | 1.0% | 3.0% |
| | Home-owner | Count | 4169 | 3072 | 7241 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 57.6% | 42.4% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 84.3% | 90.3% | 86.8% |
| | | % of Total | 50.0% | 36.8% | 86.8% |
| Total | | Count | 4944 | 3402 | 8346 |
| | | % within living arrangements | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |

Further consideration would take into account the socially precarious position of renters, who are often seen as being "transient" and supposedly indifferent to their larger social and political contexts. It is, however, significant that attitudes towards civil society participation are very much the same between homeowners and renters and those with other living arrangements. This is at odds with general assumptions about renter disinterest, which thus warrants

comparison with actual participation as well as structural access/inclusion. One clue for the difference in participation may be found in the difference in attitudes and perception between renters and homeowners about civil society inclusion and access. Renters report a somewhat higher rate of perception of below-average inclusion and access, while homeowners report slightly higher levels of perceived inclusion and access; in other words, renters may be aware not only of having fewer opportunities to participate, but also that attitudes of others may not welcome their participation.

## B. Race/Ethnicity as an Independent Variable

The number of respondents who did not identify themselves as "white" in terms of race and ethnicity was congruent with percentages reported for the overall population of Iowa: about 2.2% of respondents, vs. 5.4% for the State of Iowa in 2006. The disparity in percentages may come from the fact that respondents, by the nature of the data set, lived in rural areas in Iowa, where there are fewer people of color. Despite this, the number of respondents of color is sufficiently large to be adequate for basic statistical analysis.

### *1. Race/Ethnicity – Structural Access/Inclusion*

*Non-whites* had below-average civil society inclusion at rates of roughly 2:1, compared with those who were included more. By contrast, there were virtually even numbers for *whites*. (See below in Table 4.10.)

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #1. People of color report below-average levels of actual inclusion and access in a much more striking ratio than that observed among white respondents, who report only slightly higher numbers experiencing below-average levels of inclusion and access than those who do not.

It is possible that whites may be relatively indifferent or insensitive to provision of access or attempts at inclusion, regarding the levels of inclusion they have experienced to be "normal" or "average."

**Table 4.10. Crosstab - Race/Ethnicity – Structural Access/Inclusion**

| | | | Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Race bivariate | People of Color | Count | 104 | 62 | 166 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 62.7% | 37.3% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 2.6% | 1.7% | 2.2% |
| | | % of Total | 1.4% | .8% | 2.2% |
| | White | Count | 3842 | 3574 | 7416 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 51.8% | 48.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 97.4% | 98.3% | 97.8% |
| | | % of Total | 50.7% | 47.1% | 97.8% |
| Total | | Count | 3946 | 3636 | 7582 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 52.0% | 48.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 52.0% | 48.0% | 100.0% |

Like students and homemakers, renters, and the poor, non-whites reported a significantly lower level of efforts for inclusion in civil society. When compared with actual participation efforts undertaken by people of color, it is possible that people of color were aware of their relative exclusion, see their unequal treatment as indicative of genuine bias or prejudice, and may not see any advantage to attempting to participate. This may also be supported by respondents' attitudes regarding inclusion and access; respondents of color were more likely to perceive inclusion and access as below average, by a ratio of nearly 3:2. In contrast, white

respondents perceived inclusion and access as slightly above average (47.6% to 52.4%). Respondents of color were also more likely to perceive community participation as below average (55.3% to 44.7%), while white respondents again saw participation as slightly above average (46.7% to 53.3%). All of this suggests real differences between white and non-white perceptions of civil society, which may in turn affect their participation.

*2. Race/Ethnicity – Structural Participation*

Non-whites had below-average civil society participation at rates of 7:3, compared with those who participated more. By contrast, whites were somewhat more likely to participate, although those with above-average rates of participation were in the minority (59% vs. 41%). (See below in Table 4.11.)

**Table 4.11. Crosstab – Race/Ethnicity – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Race bivariate | People of Color | Count | 138 | 55 | 193 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 71.5% | 28.5% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 2.8% | 1.6% | 2.3% |
| | | % of Total | 1.6% | .7% | 2.3% |
| | White | Count | 4851 | 3353 | 8204 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 59.1% | 40.9% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 97.2% | 98.4% | 97.7% |
| | | % of Total | 57.8% | 39.9% | 97.7% |
| Total | | Count | 4989 | 3408 | 8397 |
| | | % within Race bivariate | 59.4% | 40.6% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.4% | 40.6% | 100.0% |

This finding provides support for Hypothesis #2. In addition to experiencing less access provision or attempts at inclusion in civil society, people of color also participate much less in civil society. In fact, the ratio described in this finding is the most striking in the entire study. It is possible that people of color, aware of their lack of access to civil society, do not regard civil society participation as being of value to them. More precisely, it may be that the marginal returns for time and effort spent on civil society participation were simply not enough to justify overcoming the perceived indifference or negative attitudes of others. Given the historical record of nonwhite attempts to engage in civil society at the community level, this potential skepticism is understandable.

It would be extraordinarily difficult to reach any deeper conclusions about this group, given the small number of respondents of color, combined with the fact that it includes *all* non-whites: African-Americans, Native Americans, non-white Latinos, and Asian-Americans.

### C. Age as an Independent Variable

The average age of respondents was significantly higher than the national average, which may reflect Iowa's aging rural population. Given that, and considering that age is often highly correlated with retirement, it is not surprising that the only significant finding regarding age and civil society appears to be related directly to findings reported for those in retirement, specifically relating to perceptions of community participation. (See Table 4.12.)

While this might otherwise suggest support for an age-related hypothesis regarding social stratification, the close correlation between findings for those 65 years of age and older, and the findings for those who are retired, suggests greater care should be taken in interpretation of

these results. While there is no doubt that a relationship exists, the deeper underlying causes for each of these findings are less clear.

**Table 4.12. Crosstab – Age – Attitudinal Participation**

| | | | Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Age Trivariate | Ages 17-47 | Count | 1610 | 1611 | 3221 |
| | | % within Age Trivariate | 50.0% | 50.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 37.4% | 32.9% | 35.0% |
| | | % of Total | 17.5% | 17.5% | 35.0% |
| | Ages 48-65 | Count | 1651 | 1477 | 3128 |
| | | % within Age Trivariate | 52.8% | 47.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 38.3% | 30.2% | 34.0% |
| | | % of Total | 17.9% | 16.1% | 34.0% |
| | Ages 66+ | Count | 1045 | 1806 | 2851 |
| | | % within Age Trivariate | 36.7% | 63.3% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 24.3% | 36.9% | 31.0% |
| | | % of Total | 11.4% | 19.6% | 31.0% |
| Total | | Count | 4306 | 4894 | 9200 |
| | | % within Age Trivariate | 46.8% | 53.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 46.8% | 53.2% | 100.0% |

Put another way, does retirement as an economic condition create the basis for the perception of community participation, or is there a generational difference in perceptions, which may not relate directly to retirement at all? Given the support reported for other social class-related structural variables, there is a small degree of support for social class as a greater influence. However, this is the *only* finding besides occupational status that relates to attitudinal variables for civil society inclusion, access, and participation, and therefore caution is in order.

What *can* be said is that senior citizens and those in retirement perceive greater community participation in civil society (despite structural evidence to the contrary in some cases).

### D. Gender as an Independent Variable

Interestingly enough, the gender of respondents did not seem to have a great effect on any of the four dependent variables. This is in direct contrast with the social class-related variables and with race and ethnicity. There appear to be some parallels between gender and the other independent variables – most notably a noticeable decline in actual participation when compared with perceptions of inclusion, access, and participation, as well as structural efforts to be inclusive and provide civil society access.

**Table 4.13. Crosstab – Gender – Attitudinal Access/Inclusion**

| | | | Attitudinal Access/Inclusion Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Respondent Gender | Female | Count | 2544 | 2684 | 5228 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 48.7% | 51.3% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Access/Inclusion Bivariate | 55.8% | 54.0% | 54.9% |
| | | % of Total | 26.7% | 28.2% | 54.9% |
| | Male | Count | 2012 | 2288 | 4300 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 46.8% | 53.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Access/Inclusion Bivariate | 44.2% | 46.0% | 45.1% |
| | | % of Total | 21.1% | 24.0% | 45.1% |
| Total | | Count | 4556 | 4972 | 9528 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 47.8% | 52.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Access/Inclusion Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 47.8% | 52.2% | 100.0% |

Even so, it is difficult to determine if this "echo" rises to the level of significance, or if the *lack* of difference between men and women is itself the notable point. To assist in this analysis, all four cross-tabulations have been provided, with summary commentary on each. A fuller analysis ends this section, with commentary as to why gender does not seem to make a statistically significant difference to civil society activity. (See above in Table 4.13, and below in Tables 4.14 – 4.16.)

**Table 4.14. Crosstab – Gender – Attitudinal Participation**

| | | | Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Respondent Gender | Female | Count | 2230 | 2790 | 5020 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 44.4% | 55.6% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 51.7% | 56.9% | 54.5% |
| | | % of Total | 24.2% | 30.3% | 54.5% |
| | Male | Count | 2082 | 2117 | 4199 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 49.6% | 50.4% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 48.3% | 43.1% | 45.5% |
| | | % of Total | 22.6% | 23.0% | 45.5% |
| Total | | Count | 4312 | 4907 | 9219 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 46.8% | 53.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Attitudinal Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 46.8% | 53.2% | 100.0% |

The close parallel between men and women regarding attitudinal inclusion and access indicates a similarity of perceptions which may be borne of longstanding relationships. An examination of the effect of marital status might prove to be useful in teasing out this statistical relationship further. What can be said based on these data is that both men and women seem to

harbor mildly positive perceptions of their civil society inclusion and access – which may arise out of a sense of warm feeling for one's own community, despite evidence to suggest that social stratification may adversely affect people's access to and participation in civil society.

**Table 4.15. Crosstab – Gender – Structural Access/Inclusion**

| | | | Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Respondent Gender | Female | Count | 2143 | 1822 | 3965 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 54.0% | 46.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 54.7% | 50.2% | 52.5% |
| | | % of Total | 28.4% | 24.1% | 52.5% |
| | Male | Count | 1778 | 1804 | 3582 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 49.6% | 50.4% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 45.3% | 49.8% | 47.5% |
| | | % of Total | 23.6% | 23.9% | 47.5% |
| Total | | Count | 3921 | 3626 | 7547 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 52.0% | 48.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Access-Inclusion Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 52.0% | 48.0% | 100.0% |

The finding in Table 4.15 suggests that women view community participation in civil society more favorably than men. This may be due to a variety of factors, not the least of which may be that women are expected more than men to fill certain kinds of caregiver roles, which may have some congruence with civil society activity at the community level (Vidich and Bensman, 1958). It may simply be due to women having more "free time" due to the traditional

role of homemaker, and consequently less consistent full-time employment. Other reasons may suggest themselves, but a more rigorous statistical analysis would be worthwhile before speculating further on the attitudinal differences detailed in Table 4.14.

Table 4.15 shows a relatively modest difference in experiences of structural access and inclusion based on gender. The findings of Table 4.15 suggest that while women may perceive community involvement slightly more favorably than men, their reporting of actual efforts towards inclusion and civil society access suggest just the opposite: women experience slightly less actual inclusion in and access to civil society than men. This suggests a parallel with others in socially subordinate positions, but the relatively small amount of difference (8%) suggests that gender plays less of a genuinely socially stratifying role vis-à-vis civil society, or there are other factors related to gender at work besides gender itself (see above, under Table 4.14, for some speculation on this subject) – or both!

What is striking about the finding of Table 4.16 is the precise parallel between men's and women's actual participation in civil society. Generally speaking, the percentages shown are similar to those observed for subsets of the other independent variables, but the near-exact match between the two categories is itself unusual. This is somewhat curious, given the larger picture of growing involvement of women in public life over the past several decades. While minor differences do seem to exist between men and women, none seem so strong as to reveal real differences in civil society access/inclusion *or* participation.

One suggestion as to *why* there doesn't seem to be a difference in civil society participation due to gender may be that income, employment status, and other social class-related variables may play a stronger role. Another reason may be due to age: the average age of respondents to the RDI 2004 survey was approximately 56 years old. This may indicate that

men and women may have, on average, time enough for their opinions to "meld" due to longstanding marriage or cohabitation.

**Table 4.16. Crosstab – Gender – Structural Participation**

| | | | Structural Participation Bivariate | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Below Average or Average | Above Average | Total |
| Respondent Gender | Female | Count | 2667 | 1873 | 4540 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 58.7% | 41.3% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 54.0% | 55.1% | 54.4% |
| | | % of Total | 32.0% | 22.5% | 54.4% |
| | Male | Count | 2275 | 1527 | 3802 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 59.8% | 40.2% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 46.0% | 44.9% | 45.6% |
| | | % of Total | 27.3% | 18.3% | 45.6% |
| Total | | Count | 4942 | 3400 | 8342 |
| | | % within Respondent Gender | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |
| | | % within Structural Participation Bivariate | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| | | % of Total | 59.2% | 40.8% | 100.0% |

## IV. Relation to hypotheses

Generally speaking, the findings as shown in the preceding tables suggest the following in relation to the hypotheses presented above in Chapter Three:

### A. Strong support on multiple social class-related measures for Hypotheses #1 and #2

All five social class-related independent variables showed statistically significant differences in the outcomes for structural participation as a dependent variable. In two of the

five cases, current employment status and living arrangements, statistically significant differences were also observed in the outcomes for structural access/inclusion as a dependent variable. Only in one attitudinal-related independent variable, current employment status, was any difference observed, and that only in attitudinal participation. In that case, retirees were seen to have higher levels of perceived participation in civil society. Since this also correlates with age, in which a similar effect was observed, intercorrelation is an obvious possibility. This suggests that, overall, there does not seem to be a strong relationship between the independent variables and the attitude-related dependent variables. Put another way, how people *feel* about civil society seems to be generally positive – which matches the tenor of public debate and discourse about civil society. So, despite concerns about Iowans' valuing of public life, when asked about their own feelings and perceptions, Iowans generally believe that civil society is alive and well in their communities, according to the data analyzed in this study.

When it comes to actual structural conditions, Iowans *do* report differences in civil society access, inclusion, and participation. What is particularly worthwhile to note is that characteristics that are largely observable by others, such as current employment status, current living arrangements, and race (see below) are *also* categories where differences were seen in terms of structural access and inclusion. So being a renter, or not being employed part-time or full-time are very real living conditions which resulted in *less* access and inclusion *as well as* less participation. Renters, students, homemakers, and others were given fewer opportunities to be involved in or have access to the public life of their communities – and *not*, based on the lack of statistically significant difference noted regarding respondents' attitudes, because they were less interested in issues of public concern.

However, the differences in *actual participation* of respondents in civil society, based on social class-related variables, are telling. While it is generally the case that people actually participate in public life less than they might otherwise want to admit, there are real differences in that participation based on income, current employment status, education, occupational prestige and living arrangements. Those who are poor, or do not work part- or full-time, or lack a college degree, hold a low-prestige job, or do not own their own home – these people do not participate in civil society as much as others, sometimes by a highly significant margin. All of this suggests that social class continues to play a role in American society and shapes our discourse in public life on an ongoing basis. The very people who might object to stratification in American society are those whose voices are heard less (or not at all).

**B. Clear support for Hypothesis #1 and #2 in race-related measures**

Like current employment status and living arrangements, race is a visible characteristic on an individual and group level. Not too surprisingly, race as an independent variable affects structural access and inclusion as well as structural participation. While it is true that white respondents also tended to participate less rather than more, the *difference* in participation ratios between white respondents and respondents of color is striking. Judging by the cross-tabulations presented above, not only are people of color afforded relatively fewer opportunities to become involved and actually be included, but the effect of this difference seems to have a magnifying effect on their actual participation, which is less by an even larger proportion.

Drawing broader conclusions based on race would be difficult, since all other racial categories besides white were grouped into a single "people of color" category. Respondents to the RDI survey included: African-Americans, who have been predominantly urban residents in

Iowa; Hispanics, who have a long association with rural agriculture in Iowa; and Native Americans, who have been scattered in terms of population, but in Iowa have been concentrated around the Meskwaki Settlement. Such a varied distribution makes a unified analysis more difficult.

### C. Support *not* demonstrated for Hypotheses #1 or #2 based on gender

The finding that gender apparently did *not* lead to a statistically significant difference in terms of any of the dependent variables was rather surprising. This is particularly true in terms of structural access/inclusion, as well as structural participation. It was expected that some difference would be observed; however, while there are mild differences reported in two of the four dependent variables, relating to women alone, neither of these were as significant as differences observed related to social class and race. By examining *all* of the cross-tabulations for gender, it may be seen that gender largely affects neither respondents' attitudes nor their access and actual participation. This is relatively at odds with the expectations outlined in Chapters Two and Three, which would predict that gender does affect how people become involved in the public life of their communities.

## V. Cross-Tabulation Results and Interpretation of Partials

### A. Overview of partial results

Overall, the partial results revealed that, when treating other independent variables as test variables, attitudinal outcomes were significantly affected less often than structural outcomes in the dependent variables. (See Table 4.17)

**Table 4.17: Number of significant partial relationships/Test = Independent variables**

| **Independent Variables** | **Dependent Variables** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Attitudinal Inclusion/Access* | *Attitudinal Participation* | *Structural Inclusion/Assess* | *Structural Participation* |
| *Annual Income (social class) (bivariate)* | 4 | 3 | 6 | 7 |
| *Level of Education (social class) (bivariate)* | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 |
| *Current Employment Status (social class)(trivariate)* | 6 | 4 | 10 | 9 |
| *Occupation Prestige (social class) (bivariate)* | 2 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| *Living Arrangements (trivariate)* | 3 | 2 | 6 | 5 |
| *Race/Ethnicity (bivariate)* | 5* | 6* | 10* | 7* |
| *Gender (bivariate)* | 1 | 3 | 11 | 9 |
| *Age (trivariate)* | 9 | 0 | 14 | 13 |
| ***Total*** | **34** | **29** | **69** | **61** |
| ***Insufficient numbers for statistical significance* | | | | |

When accounting for eight external test variables, the partial results were more varied. (See Table 4.18)

**Table 4.18: Number of significant partial relationships/Test = External test variables**

| **Independent Variables** | **Dependent Variables** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Attitudinal Inclusion/Access* | *Attitudinal Participation* | *Structural Inclusion/Assess* | *Structural Participation* |
| *Annual Income (social class) (bivariate)* | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| *Level of Education (social class) (bivariate)* | 6 | 4 | 9 | 9 |
| *Current Employment Status (social class)(trivariate)* | 9 | 8 | 10 | 14 |
| *Occupation Prestige (social class) (bivariate)* | 5 | 4 | 10 | 8 |
| *Living Arrangements (trivariate)* | 6 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| *Race/Ethnicity (bivariate)* | 6* | 6* | 7* | 8* |
| *Gender (bivariate)* | 6 | 6 | 9 | 9 |
| *Age (trivariate)* | 8 | 7 | 12 | 13 |
| *Total* | 52 | 47 | 73 | 77 |
| ***Insufficient numbers for statistical significance* | | | | |

These general observations, however, do not reveal much of significance. In certain cases, the uniformity of outcomes revealed that the test variable had little effect on the dependent variable outcome. Such cases were more common within the attitudinal dependent variables, but also occurred within the structural dependent variable set. To fully understand the partial results requires a closer look.

A more specific listing of findings by independent variable is given below:

**1. Income: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Education.** There seems to be less effect on income inequality, when controlling for education. However, the benefits of having a college degree seem to have a significant impact for those with higher levels of income.

- For those with above-average income, people with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared to respondents with college degrees or more (41.2% vs. 53.4%).

Having completed a college degree or better, then, seems to partially ameliorate the negative effects of lower income. Lack of a college degree seems to retard participation by those with even above-average incomes, while having a college degree acts as a further assist in civil society participation by those with above-average incomes.

**B. Controlling for Employment Status.** There is clear consistency in the effect of income inequality, controlling for employment status: whether it is paired with below-average, average or above-average income, retirees have more positive attitudes, and report having greater access to and inclusion in civil society, especially when compared with students, homemakers, and others. Having greater income seems to have a tidal effect: percentages for all groups increase – but the basic relationship doesn't change.

- For those with below-average or average income, students/homemakers/others and those employed part-time or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion, compared with retirees (39.7% and 47.6% vs. 51.9%); this was also observed with attitudes about participation (50.9% and 50.7% vs. 62.2%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For those with below-average or average income, students/homemakers/others and those employed part-time or full-time were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with retirees (28.9% and 41.2% vs. 45.8%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.

- For those with above-average income, students/homemakers/others and those employed part-time or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion compared with retirees (51.1% and 56.2% vs. 62.4%) as well as attitudes towards participation (44.2% and 49.1% vs. 58.5%).
- For those with above-average income, students/homemakers/others and those employed part-time or full-time were less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with retirees (44.4% and 54.8% vs. 57.9%).

Having a "student, homemaker, or other" occupation for employment status has a negative effect on attitudes towards civil society, and adversely affects actual access and inclusion, regardless of income. Conversely, being retired affects both attitude and actual participation positively, significantly so for those with above-average incomes.

Being employed either full-time or part-time seems to approximately match the overall population results. This can be explained in that, aside from relatively high numbers in this category, those who are employed full- or part-time probably represent the "baseline" for civil society, attitudinally and structurally.

**C. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** Civil society inclusion and participation by those with above-average levels of income seem to be affected by differences in occupational prestige. Those with lower-prestige occupations (*e.g.* "blue collar" jobs) are not as involved as those with higher-prestige occupations. One potential cause for this may simply be more time spent working, resulting in higher levels of income: such people may be working too hard to get ahead to have much time or opportunity to become involved in anything else.

- For those with above-average income, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (48.9% vs. 58.9%) and also participation (38.4% vs. 49.9%).
- Differences in occupational prestige magnify income differences both in terms of structural access and inclusion and actual participation. Those with below-

average or average occupational prestige have lower levels of civil society access and participation, regardless of income, than those with above-average occupational prestige. However, those with above-average income saw an approximately 11% jump in higher levels of structural access and inclusion, and anywhere from a 6.6% to 9.7% jump in structural participation. Support is therefore indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**D. Controlling for Living Arrangements.** There are clear attitudinal and structural disparities, regardless of income level, between renters and homeowners. Renters are simply not provided the same access to civil society participation that homeowners are, and renters also participate less – yet attitudinally, there is a much smaller disparity in attitudes towards (and interest in) civil society participation between renters and homeowners. In other words, renters have similar levels of interest in civil society, but are not afforded the same chances to participate, compared to homeowners. Whether or not this was due to renters being perceived as having less of a stake in the community, and homeowners more, or possibly some other factor or factors, is less clear; this was true regardless of income level.

- For those with below-average or average income, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (31.3% and 37.8% vs. 42%) and also participation (27.7% and 31.7% vs. 37.1%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For those with above average income, renters or those with other living arrangements were still less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (38.7% and 50% vs. 54.8%) and also participation (35.5% and 39.3% vs. 46.4%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.
- Being a renter therefore acts to impede civil society access, inclusion and participation, regardless of income level.

**E. Controlling for Race:** Generally speaking, respondents' racial self-identification had a strong influence not only on their structural access and participation, but also on their

attitudes towards access and inclusion. It seems likely that respondents of color not only participated less if their income was average or below average, but their *perceptions* of civil society were also affected, as well. In a very real sense, their attitudes and behavior were self-consistent; not only were they somewhat doubtful of their welcome, but also reported less *actual* access and resulting participation. This pattern was observed in relation to other independent variables as well (see below).

- In general, the number of people of color was very small, and sometimes statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult. However, consistent patterns are worth noting.
- People of color with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (34.4% vs. 49%), as well as structural participation (28.4% vs. 37.3%).
- However, people of color with above-average income had somewhat lower reported attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (48.7% vs. 57.2%), but *identical* levels of structural participation (46.4%), which indicates that income may "trump" race, insofar as those with above-average incomes are concerned. This also provides support for the observation that greater social advantage actually translates into a kind of "level playing field" that is assumed to extend to include those in socially disadvantaged categories, which does not actually appear to be the case. This is indicative of *status crystallization* based on social class position.

**F. Controlling for Gender:** Interestingly enough, gender did not seem to have a great effect on either attitudes or actual structural conditions for either civil society access and inclusion or respondents' participation, insofar as income as an independent variable was concerned.

**G. Controlling for Age:** Put simply, positive attitudes and behavior relating to civil society increased with age. This may have been due to greater familiarity with conditions in the local community, or with the social expectations related to civil society activity, or simply with having more available time to interact with others and participate. The strong

relationship between being older and being a retiree affects these results – similar patterns are observable in both groups, which may well be an effect of intercorrelation.

- For those with below-average or average income, those between 17 and 47, and those between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average positive attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those over the age of 65 (the oldest third) (49.7% and 47.5% vs. 64.5%).
- For those with below-average or average income, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (35.8% vs. 43.6% vs. 46.8%) and also participation (32.8% vs. 33.5% vs. 43%).
- For those with above-average income, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the bottom third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (43.6% vs. 45.6% vs. 59.4%).

It is quite likely that a range of factors account for the significant differences between respondents 65 years old and younger, and those who were older than 65 years of age. However, one relatively simple fact may account for at least some of the difference: more time available for engaging in civil society activity.

**H. Controlling for Years in Community:** Iowans tend to be less transient than other populations, partially due to the strong rural agricultural character of the state. As a result, time lived in community is likely higher (and perhaps *much* higher) on average than in other parts of the country. This also means that those respondents who were relative newcomers to their community participated less than those who were long-time residents. (It is also possible that this correlates with respondents' attitudes towards community membership.).

- For those with below-average or average income, people with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above average years living in the community (36.9% vs. 47.6%) and also participation (30.3% vs. 43.9%).

- For those with above-average income, people with below-average or average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with respondents with above-average years living in the community (42.7% vs. 52.8%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership:** The consistency of results regarding personal attitudes towards community membership is *striking*. Regardless of income level, if people do not perceive themselves as members of the community, they are less likely to be involved in any way with the community in which they were surveyed. While higher levels of income still resulted in slightly higher levels of reported access and inclusion, there was still a large gap between non-members and members of a community in all four dependent variables.

- For those with below-average or average income, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (49.6% vs. 34.7%), participation (55.8% vs. 40.4%), structural access and inclusion (40.3% vs. 15.8%) and also participation (36.2% vs. 10.5%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community. It should be noted that in all cases, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100, making it difficult to generalize statistically; nonetheless, the consistent direction and strength of difference provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.
- For those with above-average income, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (56.1% vs. 34.7%), participation (50.5% vs. 39.2%), structural access and inclusion (52% vs. 21.9%) and also participation (44.9% vs. 16.1%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community. It should be noted that – as above – in all cases, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100, but the consistent direction and strength of difference nonetheless provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.
- The consistency of these results indicates that, unlike other attitudinal measures, community membership is a reliable predictor of greater or lesser civil society engagement, attitudinally as well as structurally.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived:** The differences in responses between those living outside of town not on a farm, those living outside of town on a farm, and those living in town were consistent with the results of other test variables, but were not as strongly differentiated. This was true of results for all four dependent variables, for below-average and average as well as above-average income levels as reported by respondents.

**K. Controlling for Distance:** As noted earlier, the strongly rural agricultural character of the state of Iowa creates conditions not always consistent with other regions of the country. One such condition is the relatively large numbers of small communities, ensuring that Iowans may travel considerable distances as circumstances warrant. This was shown in the partial results for distance traveled to communities as reported by respondents. There was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community and those with above-average distances to their community, for both below-average or average incomes as well as above-average incomes.

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs, Recreational Activity, and Church Attendance.** Insofar as all three of these test variables represent regular patterns of respondents' behavior, they are likely to precede or be simultaneous with respondents' reported levels of attitudinal access, inclusion, and participation, as well as structural access, inclusion, and participation.

**M. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs:** Where people go for their daily shopping needs reflects structural aspects of community life. In particular, businesses that are oriented towards lower-income populations may not be found in prime retail locations,

or may be outside the community altogether. Support is indicated, however, for Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- For those with below-average or average income, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (50% vs. 61.4%), structural access and inclusion (37.1% vs. 48.5%) and also participation (31% vs. 44.9%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<30$).
- For those with above-average income, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (47.4% vs. 66.1%) and also participation (37.2% vs. 61.2%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<30$).

**N. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location:** Just as for daily shopping needs, regardless of income, those who did not engage in recreational activities in the community in which they were surveyed lagged significantly in their attitudes toward and participation in civil society behind those who did engage in such activities. This suggests again this is a structural (and not just attitudinal) condition – such activities are informal and allow for social interaction with others; if one is not present *in* the community, one does not *have the chance to participate in the life of* that community. Support is indicated, therefore, for Hypothesis #3.

- For those with below-average or average income, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (44.1% and 45.4% vs. 68.6%), participation (55.3% and 50% vs. 67.9%), structural access and inclusion (27.2% and 39.8% vs. 52%) and also structural participation (23.3% and 33% vs. 52.2%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.
- For those with above-average income, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (45.6% and 54.4% vs. 68.6%), participation (43.1% and

47.9% vs. 60.4%), structural access and inclusion (39.3% and 51.4% vs. 68.9%) and also structural participation (19.7% and 41.4% vs. 68.4%), compared with those who sought recreational activity mostly in their own community. However, it should be noted that the number of cases of those who did not engage in recreational activity was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

**O. Controlling for Church Attendance:** Churches are part of the bedrock of public life in American society, and serve as a common venue for social interaction for community members. Since churches themselves are a physical part of any community, where one attends church has a real effect on where one participates in civil society. Regardless of income, attending religious services *in* the community acted as a powerful boost for civil society inclusion and participation. Conversely, poor respondents who did not attend church had about a 9-in-10 chance of participating less in civil society than others in their community.

- For those with below-average or average income, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (32.8% and 45% vs. 53.3%), participation (40.4% and 50.8% vs. 60.3%), structural access and inclusion (24.8% and 32.6% vs. 49.7%) and also structural participation (11.4% and 23.2% vs. 48.4%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- For those with above-average income, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (40.7% and 52.2% vs. 62.7%), participation (38.6% and 47% vs. 54.1%), structural access and inclusion (36.7% and 42.2% vs. 64.2%) and also structural participation (17.9% and 27.8% vs. 61.4%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- It is clear that church attendance is a powerful indicator of civil society engagement, particularly since church attendance itself is a kind of civil society participation.

**2. Education: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income:** The effect of educational differences, controlled for income, was noteworthy: having a college degree and above-average income ensured a higher level of civil society involvement than might have been expected for either one alone.

- For respondents with college degrees or more, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural participation, compared with respondents with above-average income (41.2% vs. 53.4%).

**B. Controlling for Employment Status:** Regardless of education level, retirees end up having more positive attitudes towards and actual involvement in civil society, compared with others, formally employed or no. Those with some college education or less and who were students, homemakers, or others – in other words, those with multiple social disadvantages – were less likely to be fully involved in the public life of their community. The implication of these two observations is that education is likely to play a greater role in civil society in the future as the perceived need for college education increases.

- For those respondents with some college education or less, students/ homemakers/others and respondents employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding participation in civil society, when compared with retirees (51.9% and 49.7% vs. 61.3%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents with some college education or less, students/ homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with retirees and respondents employed part- or full-time (32.9% vs. 45.6% and 44.9% respectively). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion, compared with respondents who were employed part- or full-time, and retirees (41.1% vs. 56.1% and 61.2% respectively); this was observed as well with attitudes towards participation (42.3% vs. 49.7% and 60.3%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents who were employed part- or full-time, and retirees (40% vs.

54.9% and 64.2% respectively); this was observed as well with structural participation (40.6% vs. 48.8% and 61.7%).

**C. Controlling for Occupational Prestige:** The effect of occupational prestige on education is rather particular; holders of college degrees who were in less prestigious occupations were less likely to be as involved as those in more prestigious jobs. This may be due to a sense of dedication to work, possibly due to embarrassment, or equally possibly to some other factor entirely.

- For respondents with college degrees or more, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation (40.2% vs. 50.9%).

**D. Controlling for Living Arrangements:** While the difference in outcomes between renters and homeowners was expected, what is notable is that differences in education had a real effect on actual levels of inclusion and participation. Those with only some college education or less, and who were renters, had lower levels of structural inclusion and participation, compared with renters with college degrees. Support is indicated for Hypothesis #3.

- For those people with some college education or less, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (31.3% and 36.4% vs. 46.1%) and also participation (27.2% and 24.7% vs. 48.3%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b
- For respondents with college degrees or more, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (46.4% and 54.1% vs. 57.3%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, renters or homeowners were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward participation, compared with those with other living arrangements (56.8% and 50.2% vs. 61.2%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.

- For respondents with college degrees or more, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (39.5% and 48.3% vs. 57.4%) and also participation (33.5% and 46.7% vs. 51.7%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**E. Controlling for Race:** It is difficult to reach firm conclusions about the effect of race on civil society when controlling for education (or any other variable) in the data set, simply due to the small number of people of color in the survey sample. However, the evidence suggests that, regardless of education level, people of color were less likely to feel included in public life – and that a college degree did not result in higher levels of actual participation, *unlike* the effect on whites, for whom a college degree conferred a significant increase in levels of participation.

- As already mentioned, the number of respondents of color was very small, sometimes statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult. However, consistent patterns may be observed and are worth noting.
- For respondents with some college education or less, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (39.3% vs. 50.7%), but reported very similar levels of structural participation compared with whites (35.7% vs. 36.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and *not* for Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, however, people of color had lower reported attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion than whites (43.2% vs. 56.4%), as well as being less likely to report above average instances of structural participation (31.6% vs. 50%). However, the number of respondents was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

**F. Controlling for Gender:** As with income, gender did not seem to have a great effect on either attitudes or actual structural conditions for either civil society access and inclusion or respondents' participation, insofar as education as an independent variable was concerned.

**G. Controlling for Age:** The effect of age on civil society inclusion and participation, controlling for education, has apparently two distinct results. Those with or without college degrees who were middle-aged – *i.e.* at a more developed stage of family life and employment – were least likely to participate or have above-average attitudes towards participation. At a guess, they were simply *too busy* to be as involved as those younger or older. The second result was also intriguing: for those with college degrees or better, the youngest third of respondents were the least involved of all. The simplest explanation is that the pressures of education trump the call of public life, but that is simply a speculative answer.

- For respondents with some college education or less, those between the ages of 48 and 65 (the middle third) were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those between 17 and 47, and particularly those respondents over 65 years of age (46.7% vs. 50.5% vs. 63.2%).
- For respondents with college degrees or more, those between the ages of 48 and 65 (the middle third) were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those between 17 and 47, as well as those over the age of 65 (47.9% vs. 49.4% vs. 64.3%).
- For respondents with college degrees or more, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (49.6% vs. 60.2% vs. 67.1%).
- For respondents with college degrees or more, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (44.5% vs. 52.5% vs. 62.5%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community:** Regardless of education level, when controlling for years lived in their community, those with below-average or average time lived in their community participate less, and are also afforded fewer opportunities to become involved. This suggests that time lived in community has a strong effect,

particularly when it comes to networks of association among residents. Support is indicated, therefore, for Hypotheses #3 and #4.

- For respondents with some college education or less, people with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (38.8% vs. 49.6%) and also structural participation (29.6% vs. 43.2%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, people with a below-average or an average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (52.4% vs. 63.3%) and also structural participation (46.2% vs. 58.8%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**I. Controlling for Community Membership:** As with income, how survey respondents identified with the community had a strong effect on their involvement in public life of that community, regardless of income level. The small number of cases, however, makes firm generalizations more difficult. Support is provisionally indicated, however, for Hypothesis #3.

- For respondents with some college education or less, people identifying as members of a different community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (32.3% vs. 51.1%), participation (41.7% vs. 54.1%), structural access and inclusion (14.7% vs. 43.2%) and also structural participation (13.6% vs. 37.4%), compared to those who identified as community members.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, people identifying as members of a different community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (34.5% vs. 56.7%), structural access and inclusion (28.6% vs. 53.9%), and structural participation (13.7% vs. 46.6%), compared to those who identified as community members. It should be noted that in all four cases, less than 100 respondents identified as members of other communities; the consistent direction and strength of difference, nonetheless provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived:** The differences in responses between those living outside of town not on a farm, those living outside of town on a farm,

and those living in town were consistent with the results of other test variables, but were not as strongly differentiated. This was true of results for all four dependent variables, for below-average and average as well as above-average education levels as reported by respondents.

**K. Controlling for Distance:** As with income, there was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those with above-average distances to their community, for both respondents with some college education or less as well as for respondents with college degrees or more.

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs:** As with income, regardless of education level, those who obtained their daily shopping needs outside of the community reported lower levels of inclusion and participation, attitudinally and structurally. However, there was a marked difference in percentages based on education – higher levels of education saw higher levels of inclusion and participation. Support is indicated for Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- For respondents with some college education or less, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (49.5% vs. 59.8%), structural access and inclusion (39.3% vs. 51.5%) and also structural participation (30.6% vs. 45.3%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<35$).
- For respondents with college degrees or more, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (47% vs. 57%), structural access and inclusion (47.9% vs. 66.5%) and also structural participation (39.8% vs. 64.8%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<16$).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location:** As with income, the effect of engaging in recreational activity elsewhere was strong, regardless of educational level. But the effect of having a below-average or average education resulted in *much* lower levels of inclusion and participation. Support is indicated for Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- For respondents with some college education or less, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (43.5% and 47.7% vs. 60.7%), participation (52% and 49.8% vs. 66.6%), structural access and inclusion (24.5% and 42.1% vs. 55.9%) and also structural participation (18.3% and 33% vs. 53.4%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.
- For respondents with college degrees or more, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (40.3% and 53.8% vs. 66.4%), participation (48.3% and 48.1% vs. 63%), structural access and inclusion (48.9% and 52.3% vs. 67.4%) and also structural participation (41.4% and 44.3% vs. 70.4%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community. However, it should be noted that the numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<62$).

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance:** Once again, the location of religious observance had a strong effect on public life access and activity, regardless of educational level. What is particularly clear is just how much effect is observed when multiple disadvantages are in play: those with only some college education or less, and who attended church outside of their community were *half* as likely to actually participate in civil society activities as those with a college degree who also attended church outside of their community. Support is indicated for Hypotheses #3 and #4.

- For respondents with some college education or less, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (35.5% and 47.3% vs. 54.8%), participation (40.4% and 50.2% vs. 58.6%), structural access and inclusion (25.6% and 34.1% vs. 52.8%) and also

structural participation (10.6% and 22.5% vs. 48.6%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

- For respondents with college degrees or more, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (35.8% and 51.8% vs. 62%), participation (37.4% and 46.6% vs. 55.8%), structural access and inclusion (39.4% and 44.6% vs. 63.5%) and also structural participation (23.3% and 29.8% vs. 64.9%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

**3. Employment Status: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income.** What is interesting to note here is that while differences were observed for students, homemakers, and others, as well as for retirees, while controlling for income, actual structural differences in access and participation were observed for *all three* groups, based on employment status. In addition, students, homemakers, and others were least likely to be included or become involved at a significant level; a variety of reasons may account for this, such as uncertain hours of availability and relatively low (or non-existent) pay.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with those with above-average incomes (39.7% vs. 51.1%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For student/homemaker/other respondents, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average incomes (28.9% vs. 42.2%); this was observed as well with structural participation (32% vs. 45.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For retired respondents, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion, compared with respondents who had above-average incomes (51.9% vs. 62.4%).
- For retired respondents, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average incomes (45.8% vs. 57.9%); this was observed as well with structural participation (40.4% vs. 54.4%).

- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average incomes (41.2% vs. 54.8%) Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**B. Controlling for Education.** As with income, education acts as an "accelerant" to differences based on employment status. It is particularly striking, given the observed gaps – over 20% in some cases – and also given its specific relationship to actual access and participation. In a real sense, having a college degree confers a measurable amount of confidence on an individual, as well as affecting their awareness of civil society access and measures taken to include them.

- For retired respondents, those respondents with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with college degrees or more (45.6% vs. 64.1%); this was observed as well with structural participation (38.9% vs. 61.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, those respondents with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with college degrees or more (44.9% vs. 54.9%); this was observed as well with structural participation (35.8% vs. 48.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**C. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** Like education and living arrangements, controlling for occupational prestige reveals a wide gap for retirees and those employed part-time or full-time. Occupational prestige seems to confer a sense of confidence about civil society access and participation for retirees, suggesting that those who once held better jobs retain positive attitudes about public life activity, despite having exited the work force. Similar to other cases, those retirees and part-time or full-time employees with more prestigious jobs end up having relatively even levels of access and participation

(which might contribute to an assumption that their conditions are "normal" or "ordinary" – despite fewer people in lower-prestige occupations).

- For retired respondents, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward access and inclusion (43.1% vs. 63.2%) and also participation (58.8% vs. 70.7%).
- For retired respondents, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion (45.6% vs. 58.2%) and also structural participation (33.5% vs. 53.3%).
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, those with below average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (42.8% vs. 54.5%) and also structural participation (34.2% vs. 46%).

**D. Controlling for Living Arrangements.** As with income, controlling for living arrangements revealed a sharp gap between renters and homeowners, attitudinally and structurally, in two of three cases. Retirees and those people who are employed part-time or full-time are likely to be older, suggesting that the gap between renters and homeowners widens over time.

- For retired respondents, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (43.1% and 45.8% vs. 54.7%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- For retired respondents, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (37.1% and 40% vs. 50.1%) and also structural participation (28.6% and 28.9% vs. 44.3%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (35.3% and 44.4% vs. 50.7%) and also participation (30.7% and 35.9% vs. 42%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.

**E. Controlling for Race.** In relation to employment status, controlling for race reveals relatively little effect, and that effect is attitudinal in character. This suggests that attitudinal differences between different employment statuses stay mostly the same, regardless of race, which in turn suggests that social class may, at least in some cases, have more impact than race on public life participation.

- In general, the number of people of color is very small, and sometimes statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult. This is true in this case.
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, people of color were less likely to report above average attitudes towards access and inclusion (41.2% vs. 52.5%), than whites.

**F. Controlling for Gender.** As above, gender did not seem to have a great effect on either attitudes or actual structural conditions for either civil society access and inclusion or respondents' participation, insofar as education as an independent variable was concerned.

**G. Controlling for Age.** Clearly, age and employment status are correlated, with retirees and those over 65 years of age sharing a clear overlap within the RDI sample. What is interesting to note is that those working part-time or full-time *and* who are between 17 and 47 years of age are less inclined to involvement and report less access than those who are older, which suggests that being employed – particularly as one is entering adult life and establishing oneself – may temper interest in public life participation.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding access and inclusion, compared with those between 48 and 65, and those over 65 years old (37% vs. 49% vs. 51.9%).
- For student/homemaker/other respondents, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between the ages of 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding participation, compared with those over 65 years old (44.7% and 44.6% vs. 64.5%)

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those between 47 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (29% vs. 33.5% vs. 50%).
- For retired respondents, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding participation, compared with those between 48 and 65, and those over 65 years old (33.3% vs. 47.2% vs. 64.1%), although the number of retirees between the ages of 17 and 47 was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between the ages of 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding participation, compared with those over 65 years old (50.6% and 47.2% vs. 58.7%)
- For respondents employed either part-time or full-time, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those between 47 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (46.4% vs. 51% vs. 57.3%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** The relationship between employment status and civil society participation, controlling for years lived in one's community, was particularly strong for students, homemakers, others, and retirees, but apparently less so for those employed part-time and full-time. This suggests that the former groups are less "settled" or "anchored" in their communities, resulting in less inclusion and participation, whereas employment seems to act as an *entrée* to public life (at least establishing a more-or-less equal threshold for people regardless of time in community).

- For those student/homemaker/other respondents, those with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with those with above-average years living in community (40.1% vs. 51.6%).
- For student/homemaker/other respondents, people with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to respondents with above-average years living in the community (29.8% vs. 43.3%) and also participation (28% vs. 47.6%).
- For retired respondents, people with below-average or average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation (33.2% vs. 46.9%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership.** As with previous independent variables, the relationship between employment status and public life involvement, while controlling for community membership, reveals a strong difference – particularly for those who were employed part-time or full-time. This begins to establish a pattern for community membership that seems almost *gemeinschaftlich* in character – if people *feel* themselves to be a member of a community, they will involve themselves far more readily than if they do not.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents and for retired respondents, less than 100 respondents identified as members of other communities, making it difficult to generalize statistically; nonetheless, the consistent direction and strength of difference provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.
- For respondents employed part-time or full-time, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (53.8% vs. 32.9%), participation (50.8% vs. 37%), structural access and inclusion (48.7% vs. 19.1%) and also structural participation (41.1% vs. 13%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived.** The relationships revealed here were more complex and less amenable to ready explanation. What does emerge, however, is a sense that those who are retired living outside of their communities have a different experience of inclusion and participation, compared with the retirees living in a community. This may reflect a certain amount of social isolation that is situational in character for these populations.

- For those student/homemaker/other respondents, those living outside of town but not on a farm were less likely to report above-average structural participation in civil society, when compared with those living outside of town on a farm, but then a relative decrease was observed for respondents living in the community (32.3% vs. 45% vs. 33.7%), although the numbers of those living outside of town but not on a farm were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

- For retired respondents, those living outside of town but not on a farm were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with those living outside of town on a farm or respondents living in the community. (51.4% vs. 63.6% and 61.3%).
- For retired respondents, those living outside of town on a farm were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion when compared with both those living outside of town but not on a farm and respondents living in the community (39.9% vs. 47.5% and 50.8%).
- For retired respondents, those living outside of town not on a farm were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation when compared with both those living outside of town on a farm and respondents living in the community (33.3% vs. 37.7% and 44.6%).

**K. Controlling for Distance:** There was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those with above-average distances to their community, for those living outside of town not on a farm, those living outside of town on a farm, and respondents living in the community

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs.** For all three employment statuses, controlling for daily shopping needs shows that actual levels of participation differ from group to group, with students, homemakers, and others most apt to participate less, with those employed part-time or full-time participating more, and retirees following in a close second. The broader pattern – as observed elsewhere – reveals that if daily shopping needs are met outside of the community, both inclusion and participation are lessened.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation (31.2% vs. 43.1%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<4$).
- For retired respondents, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (53.3% vs. 67.6%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<20$).

- For retired respondents, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (43% vs. 54.4%) and also participation (35.6% vs. 49.1%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<22$).
- For respondents employed part-time or full-time, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (43% vs. 58.4%) and also participation (33.1% vs. 53.1%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<22$).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location.** The pattern revealed for all three employment statuses when controlling for recreational activity location, was much the same as for income and education: those engaging in recreation outside their community were less likely to have access or be involved. In addition, their reported attitudes also reflect this.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, respondents whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (39.4% vs. 58.3%), participation (45.9% vs. 60.5%), and structural participation (32.6% vs. 50%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community. The numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<34$).
- For retired respondents, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (43.7% and 50.3% vs. 62.6%), participation (56.6% and 54% vs. 74.7%), structural access and inclusion (28.2% and 46.2% vs. 59.6%) and also structural participation (23% and 37.2% vs. 58.9%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.
- For respondents employed part-time or full-time, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (42.8% and 50.1% vs. 62.5%), participation (43.8% and 47.9% vs. 58.1%), structural access and inclusion (30.7% and 46.5% vs. 61.1%) and also structural participation (20.3% and 36.9% vs. 58.9%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance**. Interestingly, those employed part-time or full-time were *not* affected as much by controlling for church attendance, compared to students, homemakers, others, and retirees. This suggests that while there is clear support for Hypotheses #3 and #4, employment may act as a leveling influence.

- For student/homemaker/other respondents, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (28% and 44.1% vs. 50.1%), participation (36.2% and 42.2% vs. 57.8%), structural access and inclusion (19.1% and 31.4% vs. 42%) and also structural participation (11.2% and 23.4% vs. 50.5%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- For retired respondents, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (37.8% and 49.7% vs. 55.9%), participation (43.2% and 55.6% vs. 65%), structural access and inclusion (25.9% and 36.6% vs. 55.4%) and also structural participation (10.1% and 26.2% vs. 52.3%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- For those employed part-time or full-time respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (36.1% and 48.9% vs. 58.1%), participation (39.5% and 47.2% vs. 53.4%), structural access and inclusion (31.7% and 38.8% vs. 57.9%) and also structural participation (15.5% and 24.9% vs. 54.6%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

**4. Occupational Prestige: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income**. The neatness of the relationship revealed by this elaboration is striking: roughly 11% difference based on income in each pairwise comparison, and a 10% difference between below- and above-average occupations in terms of prestige (all of which supports both Hypotheses #3 and #4).

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (37.3% vs. 48.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, those with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (47.4% vs. 58.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**B. Controlling for Education.** A clear effect resulted from controlling for education. Put simply, having a college degree *and* a prestigious job is more advantageous than having some college education or less. As for income and employment status, education acts as a magnifier of difference (which incidentally supports Hypotheses #3 and #4).

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, those respondents with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those with college degrees or more (40.2% vs. 50.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.

**C. Controlling for Employment Status.** The influence of control variables is less clear in this case, having a definite effect in only one specific case. However, the specific finding that retirees were much more interested in becoming involved, compared with those employed part-time or full-time, for all those in relatively prestigious positions, reflects attitudinal differences. This also matches patterns of actual behavior.

- For respondents with above average occupational prestige, students/ homemakers/others and respondents who were employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards participation, compared with retirees (46.2% and 50.9% vs. 70.7% respectively). The numbers of respondents who were students/homemakers/others were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<14$). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.

**D. Controlling for Living Arrangements**. Living arrangement differences tends to broaden attitudinal and structural outcomes for all levels of occupational prestige. This is particularly true for actual access and inclusion.

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (31.1% and 38.2% vs. 44.8%), although the numbers of people with other living arrangements were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, renters were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward access and inclusion, compared with those with other living arrangements and homeowners (47.4% vs. 60.8% and 57.1%), although the numbers of people with other living arrangements were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (39.8% and 46.8% vs. 56.3%) and also participation (30.8% and 40.2% vs. 47.6%), although the numbers of people with other living arrangements were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**E. Controlling for Race.** In this situation, being of color and having a below-average or average job in terms of prestige acts as a double disadvantage. Already low levels of attitudinal and structural support for access and participation drop even lower.

- In general, the number of people of color was very small, and statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult. Nonetheless, consistent patterns may be observed and are worth noting.
- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (33.8% vs. 48.8%), as well as participation (39.1% vs. 49.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, people of color were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion (26.4% vs. 43.3%), as well as participation (21.4% vs. 34.9%). Support is again indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.

**F. Controlling for Gender**. Departing from other variable relationships, the effect of occupational prestige when controlling for gender indicates that for those with better jobs, women are included less than men. This seems to suggest the possibility that either

there are social networks that remain gendered, or that women continue to face "second shift" pressures even if their jobs are relatively prestigious.

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, women were less likely to report above average structural access and inclusion, compared to men (50.6% vs. 61%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.

**G. Controlling for Age**. As found elsewhere, the effect of occupational prestige, controlling for age, shows that attitudes towards civil society participation were affected regardless of occupational prestige. Actual access and participation differences were less pronounced, but were noted for those with above-average occupational prestige, suggesting that pressures of such employment were felt more strongly by those who were younger (and consistent with observations of retirees).

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those over 65 years old (48.3% and 48.1% vs. 58.4%).
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those over 65 years old (52.6% and 47.5% vs. 67.5%).
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with those over 65 years old (50.9% and 57.8% vs. 65.7%); as well as participation (44.1% and 46.6% vs. 54.1%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** The effect of occupational prestige, controlling for time in community, suggests that those with higher-prestige jobs were more sought after the longer they had lived in their community, and also participate more in civil society. Almost 2/3rds of those who had both higher-prestige jobs and had lived a longer-

than-average time in community suggested that such people were often quite involved in the public life of their communities.

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, people with below-average or average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (51% vs. 63.6%), as well as participation (42.8% vs. 53.4%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership.** Just as in previous cases, controlling for community membership reveals similar patterns regardless of occupational prestige. Support for Hypotheses #3 and #4 comes from the percentage differences between below-average and average occupational prestige, and above-average occupational prestige.

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (31.7% vs. 51.9%), participation (37.2% vs. 50.7%), structural access and inclusion (13.7% vs. 45.5%) and also structural participation (11.5% vs. 38.3%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community.
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (37.3% vs. 56.1%), participation (40.3% vs. 52.8%), structural access and inclusion (26.5% vs. 52.8%) and also structural participation (16.7% vs. 44.5%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community.
- As before, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100 cases, making it difficult to generalize statistically; the consistent direction and strength of difference nonetheless provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived.** The implications of controlling for where respondents lived were unclear, insofar as occupational prestige were concerned. What may be suggested is that fewer efforts were made to include people with more

prestigious jobs who live outside their communities, or that they were simply not reached by general outreach efforts.

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, people living outside of town not on a farm were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those living outside of town on a farm or those living in town(35.9% vs. 45.9% and 43.3%).

**K. Controlling for Distance:** There was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those with above-average distances to their community, for both respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige as well as above-average educations.

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs.** The effect of occupational prestige, controlled for daily shopping needs, reveals similar patterns regardless of occupational standing, but those with higher-prestige positions end up having distinctly higher outcomes across the board, when compared with those in below-average or average occupations.

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (45.7% vs. 55.9%), structural access and inclusion (38.7% vs. 50.3%) and also structural participation (28.1% vs. 45.6%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<15$).
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (47.4% vs. 65.5%) and also participation (37.9% vs. 58.3%). The numbers of those respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<13$).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location.** Similar results were noted for controlling for recreational activity location as for daily shopping needs, as well as for the effect of recreational activity location on previous variables.

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (39.4% and 46% vs. 59.7%), participation (44.3% and 47.2% vs. 59.8%), structural access and inclusion (26.3% and 40.8% vs. 55%) and also structural participation (18.6% and 31.7% vs. 49.5%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.
- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (47.5% and 49.9% vs. 60.1%), structural access and inclusion (37.5% and 51.7% vs. 67.4%) and also structural participation (27.9% and 41.4% vs. 65.7%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community. However, it should be noted that the numbers of people who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance.** Here, as well, similar patterns were noted for the effect of church attendance, regardless of occupational prestige. However, there is also a pronounced difference in actual percentages, between below-average and average, and above-average occupational prestige positions. The difference is particularly notable for actual participation, when considering occupational prestige and church location. For below-average and average occupational prestige, the spread between those who do not attend and those who attend in their community was 32% (12.4% vs. 46.4%), but for those with above-average occupational prestige, the spread was 43% (18.2% vs. 61.2%). The widening gap suggests that churches are an integral part of public life in rural communities.

- For respondents with below-average or average occupational prestige, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards

civil society access and inclusion (31.6% and 43.7% vs. 55.3%), participation (37.8% and 45.2% vs. 54.6%), structural access and inclusion (25.2% and 36% vs. 51.1%) and also structural participation (12.4% and 23.1% vs. 46.4%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

- For respondents with above-average occupational prestige, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (42.1% and 54.5% vs. 60.6%), participation (43% and 50.1% vs. 54.4%), structural access and inclusion (38.3% and 41.5% vs. 64%) and also participation (18.2% and 26.7% vs. 61.2%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

**5. Living Arrangements: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income.** Here, a relationship similar to that for occupational prestige while controlling for education may be observed. Homeowners with above-average incomes were more likely to be included in public life than homeowners with below-average or average income, indicating clear support for Hypothesis #3.

- For homeowners, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (44% vs. 55.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**B. Controlling for Education.** This shows a similar relationship for homeowners to controlling for income, indicating support for Hypothesis #4. For those with other living arrangements, controlling for education reveals a strong difference between those with college degrees or more, and those with some college education or less, showing support for both Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- For those with other living arrangements, respondents with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to respondents with college degrees or more (36.4% vs. 48.3%) and also participation (24.7% vs. 46.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- For homeowners, respondents with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared

with compared to respondents with college degrees or more (38.3% vs. 51.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.

**C. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** Again, just as for education or income, homeowners report differences when controlling for occupational prestige. This relationship is notable for affecting structural variables, as opposed to attitudes towards access, inclusion and participation.

- For respondents with some other living arrangement, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (28.9% vs. 40.2%), although the numbers in both cases were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing. Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4b.
- For homeowners, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (44.8% vs. 56.3%) and also participation (35.3% vs. 47.6%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**D. Controlling for Employment Status.** While relatively modest, the effect of living arrangements, controlling for employment status, stay consistent with previous findings. Namely, homeowners, students, homemakers, and others were less inclined towards participation, and experienced less access and inclusion, compared to those employed or retired.

- Renters, students/homemakers/others and respondents employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion, compared with retirees (47.2% vs. 53% and 60.8% respectively); it should be noted that the numbers of renters were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For homeowners, students/homemakers/others and respondents who were employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards participation, compared with retirees (50.3% vs. 49.1% and 61.1% respectively).
- For homeowners, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents who were

employed part- or full-time and retirees (39.3% vs. 50.7% and 50.1% respectively).

**E. Controlling for Race.** Homeowners of color report lower levels of both attitudinal and structural inclusion, compared with white homeowners. Put another way, they are not included as much, and they may have learned to expect not to be included as much.

- The small number of people of color represented among renters and those with other living arrangements made statistical generalization difficult.
- For homeowners, however, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared with white people (41.1% vs. 53.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.
- For homeowners, however, people of color were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with white people (39.3% vs. 50.1%). Support is again indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**F. Controlling for Gender.** Here the effects of living arrangements controlled for gender resemble those for occupational prestige controlled for gender, except for the relatively small number of people with some living arrangement other than renting or owning a home.

- For respondents with some other living arrangement, women were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with men (34.7% vs. 48.6%).

**G. Controlling for Age.** What is interesting to note about the effect of living arrangements, controlling for age, is that *all* age groups of renters report percentages over 50% for above-average attitudes towards civil society participation, suggesting that renters see public life participation positively. Homeowners over 65 years of age, however, report higher levels of participation, compared with younger homeowners.

- For renters, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those over the age of 65 (53.4% vs. 46.2% vs. 64.3%).
- For respondents with some other living arrangement, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (52.7% vs. 55.2% vs. 69.5%), although the numbers of respondents between 48 and 65, and over 65 years of age were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For homeowners, those between the ages of 17 and 47 (the bottom third), and those between 48 and 65, were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those over the age of 65 (50% vs. 47.1% vs. 63.1%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** Despite holding attitudes favoring involvement in civil society, when controlling for years lived in community, renters are stratified in access and actual participation by their time lived in that community. Since renters report fewer efforts made to provide access and inclusion, their lower levels of participation are not likely just an individual choice on their part; they are apparently invited less than homeowners and others.

- For renters, people with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to respondents with above-average years living in the community (30.2% vs. 42.9%); this was also observed with participation (25.8% vs. 36.3%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership.** While consistent with previous findings about community membership, the lack of significant effect for renters or those with other living arrangements suggests a gradient of community ownership, with homeowners more "committed" than others. Even so, the smaller gap in percentages between those who consider themselves community members, and those who are members

of other communities implies that real differences between renters and homeowners may not be as large as sometimes expected.

- For homeowners, people identifying as members of another community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (34.3% vs. 53.3%), structural access and inclusion (20.2% vs. 48.4%) and also participation (13.8% vs. 41.6%), compared to those who identified as community members.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived**. The attitudinal difference reported for renters suggests that attitudes about renters are mediated by *how* they live, not just by *where* they live. That is to say, renters living on a farm may have developed more community ties through farm life than renters living under other circumstances.

- For renters, people living outside of town not on a farm and those living in town were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion, compared with those living outside of town on a farm (35.9% vs. 43.7% and 51.7%).

**K. Controlling for Distance.** While seemingly counter to patterns observed elsewhere, the effect noted actually supports the possibility that renters living further away perceive a higher opportunity cost to civil society involvement.

- For renters, those respondents with a below-average or average distance to town were more likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion, compared with those with an above-average distance to town (53% vs. 42.1%).

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships controlling for daily shopping needs. Those in socially disadvantaged positions (*e.g.* renters) report the lowest levels of access and participation, while those in socially advantaged positions (*e.g.* homeowners) have much higher levels (which provides support for Hypotheses #3 and #4).

- For renters, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (28.5% vs. 40.8%) and also participation (23.7% vs. 36.2%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<6).
- For homeowners, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (48.1% vs. 58.9%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<38).
- For homeowners, respondents whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (43.7% vs. 58.8%) and also participation (34.8% vs. 53.4%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<39).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships controlling for recreational activity location. What is striking is the gap between renters seeking recreational activity outside the community (8.8%) and homeowners whose recreational activity is in their community (60.7%) – a more than 50% point gap!

- For renters, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (45.6% and 52.3% vs. 65.9%), structural access and inclusion (23.1% and 31.7% vs. 43.8%) and also participation (8.8% and 26.2% vs. 45.4%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community. The numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activities were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<58).
- For homeowners, respondents who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (43.4% and 50.3% vs. 64%), participation (51.9% and 48.7% vs. 65.8%), structural access and inclusion (29.2% and 47.4% vs. 62.1%) and also structural participation (24.1% and 38.1% vs. 60.7%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for church attendance. What is notable is the gap between renters attending church outside the community (9.1%) and homeowners whose church attendance is in their own community (54.9%) – a gap of 45 points.

- For renters, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (28.8% and 43.2% vs. 49.7%), participation (46.9% and 53.3% vs. 58.8%), structural access and inclusion (18.8% and 26.5% vs. 42.8%) and also structural participation (9.1% and 16.9% vs. 42%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- For homeowners, respondents who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (36.5% and 49.2% vs. 57.8%), participation (38% and 48.1% vs. 57.6%), structural access and inclusion (31.7% and 39.7% vs. 57.9%) and also participation (15.1% and 26.4% vs. 54.9%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

**6. Race: The results were as follows when:**

In general, the number of people of color was very small (statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult). However, consistent patterns may be observed and are worth noting.

**A. Controlling for Income.** The effect of race, controlling for income, suggests that people of color with below-average or average incomes had lower attitudinal and structural levels of access and inclusion, as well as lower levels of actual participation. Lower levels of structural access and inclusion were also noted with whites with below-average or average incomes; the gap in percentages was relatively small (<10%), providing only mild support for Hypothesis #3.

- People of color with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion in civil society,

when compared with people of color with above average income (34.4% vs. 48.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.

- People of color with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with people of color with above-average income (35.1% vs. 50%); this was observed as well with participation (28.4% vs. 46.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- Whites with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with whites with above-average income (42.1% vs. 54.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**B. Controlling for Education.** In contrast to previous findings, the effect of race while controlling for education seems to suggest that those with college degrees had about the same amount of actual access and inclusion in civil society, regardless of race. However, people of color with some college education or less had *less* access and inclusion than whites with similar educational backgrounds. This provides support for Hypothesis #3.

- People of color with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with people of color with college degrees or more (36% vs. 53.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- White people with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with white people with college degrees or more (44.5% vs. 55.4%); this was observed as well with structural participation (36.7% vs. 50%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**C. Controlling for Employment Status.** Generally, the effect of race, controlling for employment status, shows that people of color have lower levels of positive attitudes towards civil society access and participation, compared with white people, regardless of employment status. What is suggested (but not statistically confirmed) by the data is that people of color who are students, homemakers and others end up having *much* less access to or inclusion in civil society.

- People of color who were students/homemakers/others and respondents employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society access and inclusion, when compared with those who were retirees (30% vs. 41.2% and 45.8%); this was also observed in attitudes regarding civil society participation (30% vs. 46.8% vs. 54.9%). (The number of student/homemaker/other and retired respondents was less than 52 in both cases.) Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- People of color who were students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those who were retirees and employed part- or full-time (11.8% vs. 34.8% and 46.5% respectively). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- People of color who were students/homemakers/others were more likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those who were retirees and employed part- or full-time (38.5% vs. 38.1% and 32.7% respectively); this is undoubtedly due to the very small number of student/homemaker/other and retired respondents of color ($n<43$).
- White students/homemakers/others and white people who were employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation, compared with white retirees (50.3% and 49.8% vs. 61.2% respectively). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 4a.
- White students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above average structural access and inclusion, compared with white respondents who were employed part- or full-time and retirees (35.5% vs. 49% and 49% respectively). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**D. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** The findings related to race, controlling for occupational prestige, were in line with previous observations. Interestingly, there was a significant gap between people of color and whites in both structural access and actual participation, suggesting some support for both Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- People of color with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared with people of color with above-average occupational prestige (33.8% vs. 49.1%); this was also observed with participation (39.1% vs. 56.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- People of color with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (26.4% vs. 63.3%); this was also observed with participation (21.4% vs. 41.7%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- White people with below average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above average instances of structural access and inclusion (43.3% vs.

54.4%) and also participation (34.9% vs. 46%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**E. Controlling for Living Arrangements.** The effect of race, controlling for living arrangements, tends to confirm that being a white homeowner is the most advantageous social position for both structural access and participation (thus providing support for Hypotheses #3 and #4).

- White renters or homeowners were *more* likely to report above-average attitudes toward civil society participation, compared with white people with other living arrangements (55.1% and 53% vs. 45%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.
- White renters or with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with white homeowners (33.7% and 40.2% vs. 50.1%); this was also observed with participation (29.1% and 32.5% vs. 42.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.

**F. Controlling for Gender.** Attitudinally, women of color were less likely to have more positive attitudes towards civil society access than men of color. This may be due to an awareness of social disadvantage, but other factors may be at work, as well.

- Women of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, when compared with men of color (34.9% vs. 44.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.

**G. Controlling for Age.** The effect of race, controlling for age, confirms two things: that those over 65, regardless of race, had the highest attitudinal levels of participation, and also that people of color's attitudes towards and actual experience of civil society access and participation were largely in harmony with one another.

- People of color between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and between 48 and 65 were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared with people of color over the age of 65 (36.6% vs. 34% vs. 49%) and also participation (42.5% vs. 45.7% vs. 52.7%).

- People of color between the ages of 48 and 65 (the middle third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with people of color between 17 and 47, as well as those over the age of 65 (31.7% vs. 42.7% vs. 52%) and also participation (24.3% vs. 36.5% vs. 44.7%).
- White people between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and those between 48 and 65, were less likely to report above average attitudes towards civil society participation, compared with white people over the age of 65 (50.2% vs. 47.2% vs. 63.6%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** What is interesting here is that people of color reported different levels of civil society *access,* controlling for years in community, while white people reported different levels of civil society *participation*.

- People of color with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to people of color with above-average years living in the community (33% vs. 45.6%).
- White people with below-average or average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation (36.3% vs. 46.5%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership**. It seems tempting to conclude that, since the only significant finding for race controlling for community membership is for whites, people of color do not have a sense of community membership. No matter how tempting, this conclusion must be weighed against the small number of people of color in the sample set, which make it very difficult to be sure such a conclusion was true. What is clear, however, is that for whites, community membership functions in much the same way as has been observed in previous variables.

- White people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (33.5% vs. 53%), participation (41.5% vs. 52.7%), structural access and inclusion (20.6% vs. 46.7%) and also participation (14% vs. 40.3%), compared to white people who identified as members of a different community.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived:** No significant effect was noticed.

**K. Controlling for Distance:** There was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those with above-average distances to their community, for both people of color and whites.

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for daily shopping needs. The gap between structural participation between people of color and whites is sufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #4.

- People of color whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (34% vs. 52.1%), participation (32.6% vs. 62.6%), structural access and inclusion (27.2% vs. 50.8%) and also participation (24.4% vs. 35.7%), compared to respondents whose daily shopping needs were met in the community. The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<2$).
- White people whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation (33.6% vs. 51.2%), compared to white people whose daily shopping needs were met in the community. The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<12$).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location:** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for recreational activity location. The gap between structural participation between people of color and whites is sufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #4.

- People of color whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (36.2% vs. 54.5%), participation (38.5% vs. 58.8%), structural access and inclusion (30.6% vs. 59.4%) and also structural participation (27.1% vs. 38.2%), compared with people of color whose recreational activity was sought

mostly in their own community. The numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<13).

- White people who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (43.1% and 49.9% vs. 62.5%), participation (51.2% and 49.4% vs. 65.6%), structural access and inclusion (28.4% and 45.9% vs. 59.5%) and also structural participation (21.8% and 36.8% vs. 58.4%), compared with white people whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for church attendance. The gap between structural participation between people of color and whites is sufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #4.

- People of color who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (30% and 29.6% vs. 50.4%), participation (34.5% and 37.7% vs. 52%), structural access and inclusion (24.1% and 26.9% vs. 48.1%) and also structural participation (7.7% and 22.2% vs. 39.4%), compared with people of color whose church attendance was in their own community.
- White people who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (35.7% and 49.2% vs. 57%), participation (39.6% and 49.1% vs. 57.9%), structural access and inclusion (29.6% and 38.3% vs. 56.4%) and also structural participation (14.2% and 25.1% vs. 53.6%), compared with white people whose church attendance was in their own community.

**7. Gender: The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income.** Further mild support for Hypothesis #3 was provided, as women with lower incomes report lower levels of access and inclusion, though the gap between men and women is not large.

- Women with below-average or average income were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion in civil society, when

compared with women with above-average income (41.3% vs. 52.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.

- Men with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with men with above-average income (42.9% vs. 56.7%); this was observed as well with structural participation (33.9% vs. 47%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a.

**B. Controlling for Education:** Mild support for both Hypothesis #3 and Hypothesis #4 was provided, as women with some college education or less report lower levels of access, inclusion, and participation, though (again) the gap between men and women is not large.

- Women with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with women with college degrees or more (42.1% vs. 52.8%); this was observed as well with structural participation (37.5% vs. 49.1%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- Men with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with men with college degrees or more (46.7% vs. 58.7%); this was observed as well with structural participation (35.8% vs. 50.9%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**C. Controlling for Employment Status.** For women, controlling for employment status revealed support for both Hypotheses #3 and #4 insofar as actual inclusion and participation were concerned. Attitudinal differences were mixed, though employment continued to have a strong effect (in this case, suppressing attitudinal differences with renters).

- Women employed part- or full-time were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation, when compared with students/homemakers/others and retirees (51.1% vs. 52.5% and 64%).
- Women, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above- average instances of structural access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with women employed part- or full-time and retirees (36.3% vs. 46.1% and 48.9%); this was observed as well with structural participation (37.4% vs. 39.4% and 46.6%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.

**D. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** These results are similar to findings for gender controlling for living arrangements, save that here there is a mild difference between percentages reported for men and women (<10% in all cases).

- Women with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (38.6% vs. 50.6%) and also participation (32.6% vs. 43.3%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- Men with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (45.3% vs. 61%) and also participation (35.5% vs. 50.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**E. Controlling for Living Arrangements.** What is interesting to note is that while the effect of gender, controlling for living arrangements, is largely supportive of Hypotheses #1 and #2, the lack of difference between women and men across living arrangements suggests a lack of support for Hypotheses #3 and #4 (which is in accord with earlier findings that gender does not have as great an effect as other dimensions of social stratification).

- Women who were renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with female homeowners (30.1% and 34.7% vs. 48.4%) and also participation (28.7% and 30% vs. 43.4%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b and Hypothesis 4b.
- Men, who were renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with male homeowners (39% and 48.6% vs. 51.5%) and also participation (29.4% and 36.6% vs. 41.3%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 4a.

**F. Controlling for Race**. While largely attitudinal, differences between men and women, controlling for race, were consistent –in keeping with other findings regarding

gender, race seemed to play a larger role than gender, as attitudinal differences between men and women of color compared to white men and women were almost exactly the same.

- Women of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared to white women (40.5% vs. 51.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- Women of color were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to white women (34.9% vs. 46.1%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.
- Men of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared to white men (39.2% vs 53.5%). Support is indicated for Hypothesis 3b.

**G. Controlling for Age.** While mixed, the effect of gender, controlling for age, provides some support for Hypothesis #4, due to the percentage differences in civil society participation.

- Women between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) and between 48 and 65, were less likely to report above-average instances of attitudes regarding civil society participation, compared with those over the age of 65 (51.2% vs. 49% vs. 66.8%).
- Women between the ages of 17 and 47 (the youngest third) were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with those between 48 and 65, as well as those over the age of 65 (37.2% vs. 39.2% vs. 48.5%).
- Men between the ages of 48 and 65 (the middle third) were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation, compared with those between 17 and 47, as well as those over the age of 65 (45.5% vs. 54.7% vs. 58.8%).

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** The effect of gender, controlling for time lived in the community, reveals less participation for those already in socially disadvantaged or subordinate positions.

- For women, those with below-average or average years living in the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation, compared with respondents with above-average years living in the community (35.6% vs. 49.3%).

**I. Controlling for Community Membership.** The similarity in results in three of four comparisons suggests that community membership had a strong effect, regardless of the gender of respondents. This is consistent with previous observations about this variable.

- Women identifying as members of different communities were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (31.9% vs. 52.9%), participation (41.3% vs. 56%), structural access and inclusion (16.5% vs. 47.2%) and also structural participation (9.7% vs. 42.1%), compared to those who identified as members of the community. It should be noted that in the case of structural access and inclusion, less than 87 respondents were women, and thus the data are insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- Men identifying as members of a different community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (33.8% vs. 52.5%), structural access and inclusion (23% vs. 46.3%) and also structural participation (16.8% vs. 38.2%), compared to men who identified as members of the community.

**J. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived.** A relatively mild effect was found for men, controlling for where respondent lived. Abstractly, this suggests that living in a community provides more opportunities for involvement, as opposed to living in a rural area outside of town.

- Men living outside of town not on a farm and living outside of town on a farm were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with men living in town (43.2% vs. 43.7% and 53.7%).

**K. Controlling for Distance:** Both women and men reported little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those with above-average distances to their community.

**L. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs:** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for daily shopping needs. However, gender

itself did not seem to make a significant difference in the structural access or participation experienced by male and female respondents.

- Women whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (50.4% vs. 62.3%), structural access and inclusion (40.7% vs. 54%) and also participation (34.4% vs. 51.4%). The numbers in these three cases of women who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<21$).
- Men whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (44.2% vs. 58.6%) and also participation (32.7% vs. 50.5%). The numbers of men who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<26$).

**M. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for recreational activity location. However, gender itself did not seem to make a significant difference in the attitudes towards, or structural access to, or participation in civil society, as experienced by men and women.

- Women who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (42.1% and 49.1% vs. 60.9%), participation (56.7% and 51.4% vs. 67.9%), structural access and inclusion (26.7% and 44.1% vs. 56.3%) and also structural participation (23.2% and 37% vs. 60.2%), compared with women whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.
- Men who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (44.3% and 50.3% vs. 64.1%), participation (43.9% and 46.8% vs. 62.8%), structural access and inclusion (30.3% and 47.4% vs. 62.8%) and also structural participation (19.7% and 36.4% vs. 56.1%), compared with men whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.

**N. Controlling for Church Attendance.** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for church attendance. However, gender

itself did not seem to make a significant difference in either the attitudes towards, or structural access to, or participation in civil society, as experienced by men and women..

- Women who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (31.5% and 47.9% vs. 56.1%), participation (39.1% and 51.2% vs. 60.1%), structural access and inclusion (26% and 35.4% vs. 54.4%) and also structural participation (11.7% and 23% vs. 54.5%), compared with women whose church attendance was in their own community.
- Men who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (39.4% and 49.9% vs. 58%), participation (40% and 46.1% vs. 54.8%), structural access and inclusion (32.7% and 41.2% vs. 58.6%) and also structural participation (16.2% and 27.6% vs. 52.3%), compared with men whose church attendance was in their own community.

**8. Age. The results were as follows when:**

**A. Controlling for Income.** The effect of age, controlling for income, showed differences in actual structural conditions for access and participation in all three age groups. For the youngest and oldest thirds, attitudinal differences were also present. The percentage gap between different age groups for structural participation provides support for Hypothesis #3 and #4.

- For respondents aged 17 to 47, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (43% vs. 54.4%).
- For respondents aged 17 to 47, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (35.8% vs. 52.2%); this was also observed with structural participation (32.8% vs. 43.6%)
- For respondents aged 48 to 65, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (43.6% vs. 56%); this was also observed with structural participation (33.5% vs. 45.6%)
- For respondents over the age of 65, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society

access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (52.6% vs. 63.1%)

- For respondents over the age of 65, respondents with below-average or average incomes were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents with above-average income (46.8% vs. 61.8%); this was also observed with structural participation (43% vs. 59.4%)

**B. Controlling for Education**. Interestingly, the effect of age, controlling for education, underscores the importance of education. For those over the age of 65, a college degree affected both attitudes regarding civil society access, and structural access and inclusion, providing clear support for Hypothesis #3.

- For respondents aged 48 to 65, those with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with college degrees or more (44.7% vs. 60.2%); this was observed as well with structural participation (33.1% vs. 52.5%).
- For respondents over the age of 65, those with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared with those with college degrees or more (52.8% vs. 63%).
- For respondents over the age of 65, those with some college education or less were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with college degrees or more (46.9% vs. 67.1%); this was observed as well with structural participation (41.9% vs. 62.5%).

**C. Controlling for Employment Status.** The effect of age, controlling for employment status, simply underscores that those over 65 and retirees were largely one and the same (or at the very least, the overlap is very large). In addition, the amount of actual civil society access seemed to grow with age (and actual employment or retirement from employment).

- For respondents aged 17-47, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding access and inclusion in civil society, when compared with respondents employed part- or full-time (37% vs. 50.8%). The numbers of retirees were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<10$).

- For respondents aged 17-47, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents employed part- or full-time (30.3% vs. 46.4%); this was also observed with structural participation (29% vs. 40%). The numbers of retirees were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing (n<10).
- For respondents aged 48 to 65, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards access and inclusion, compared with respondents who were employed part- or full-time and retirees (37.9% vs. 51% and 47.5% respectively).
- For respondents aged over 65 years of age, students/homemakers/others were less likely to report above-average structural access and inclusion, compared with respondents who were employed part- or full-time and retirees (29.8% vs. 57.3% and 49.5% respectively).

**D. Controlling for Occupational Prestige.** The effect of age, controlling for occupational prestige, shows that structural access and inclusion (as in so many other cases) is different for different age groups. In addition, the gap between results for the youngest third and the oldest third revealed that, as respondents grew older, their access and participation increased (thus providing support for both Hypotheses #3 and #4)

- For respondents aged 17-47, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (40.3% vs. 50.9%) and also participation (33.9% vs. 44.1%).
- For respondents aged 48-65, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (45.1% vs. 57.8%) and also participation (33.5% vs. 46.6%).
- For respondents aged over 65 years of age, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (48.7% vs. 65.2%).
- For respondents aged over 65 years of age, those with below-average or average occupational prestige were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with above-average occupational prestige (46.5% vs. 65.7%) and also participation (40.4% vs. 54.1%).

**E. Controlling for Living Arrangements.** The variety of results for age, controlling for living arrangements, show that structural access and inclusion varies in a similar fashion for all age groups; the lack of any large gap between different age groups shows that the effect of living arrangements stays relatively constant. A similar, but somewhat less pronounced, result is visible with structural participation.

- For respondents aged 17 to 47, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (31.5% and 39% vs. 47.8%) and also participation (29% and 33.1% vs. 40.8%).
- For respondents aged 48 to 65, renters were less likely to report above-average attitudes toward access and inclusion, compared with those with other living arrangements and homeowners (42.5% vs. 56.1% and 55.3%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For respondents aged 48 to 65, renters were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with those with other living arrangements and homeowners (32.8% vs. 43.3% and 51.3%), this was also observed with structural participation (26.5% vs. 33.8% vs. 40.4%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For respondents aged over 65 years of age, renters or those with other living arrangements were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared with homeowners (41.1% and 45.2% vs. 51.2%) and also participation (30.9% and 30.6% vs. 46.8%), although the number of people with other living arrangements was insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

**F. Controlling for Race.** In general, the number of people of color is very small, sometimes statistically small enough to make firm conclusions difficult. However, consistent patterns may be observed and are worth noting.

- For respondents aged 17-47, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared to whites (36.6% vs. 50%), although the numbers of people of color were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For respondents aged 48-65, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion, compared to whites

(34% vs. 53%), although the numbers of people of color were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

- For respondents aged 48-65, people of color were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion, compared to whites (31.7% vs. 50.1%), although the numbers of people of color were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- For respondents aged over 65 years of age, however, people of color were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society access and inclusion, compared to whites (52.7% vs. 63.6%), although the numbers of people of color were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

**G. Controlling for Gender:** Interestingly enough, gender did not seem to have a great effect on either attitudes or actual structural conditions for either civil society access and inclusion or respondents' participation, insofar as age as an independent variable was concerned. What is remarkable is that there was very little change in this result over the life course, as indicated by the division of respondents into three age groupings, i.e. there were few differences based on gender for those aged 17-47, *and* those aged 48-65, *and* those aged over 65 years old.

**H. Controlling for Years in Community.** Age, controlling for time in the community, shows that how much respondents aged 65 or older actually engaged in civil society activity was affected by how long they had lived in that community (incidentally providing support for Hypothesis #4).

- Respondents aged over 65 years of age with below-average or average number of years living in the community were less likely to report above average instances of structural participation, compared to those over 65 with above average number of years living in the community (33.9% vs. 49.1%).

**J. Controlling for Community Membership.** The relative constancy of results for age, controlling for community membership, suggest that community membership as a marker of identity has a durable effect over time, both attitudinally and structurally.

- For respondents aged 17-47, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (33.7% vs. 51.8%), participation (38.4% vs. 52.8%), structural access and inclusion (19.8% vs. 44.3%) and also structural participation (11.4% vs. 40.6%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community. It should be noted that in all cases, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100, making it difficult to generalize statistically; nonetheless, the consistent direction and strength of difference provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.
- For respondents aged 48-65, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (31.6% vs. 53.9%), participation (35.2% vs. 48.2%), structural access and inclusion (23.7% vs. 49.4%) and also structural participation (14.4% vs. 39.2%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community. It should be noted that in all cases, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100, making it difficult to generalize statistically; nonetheless, the consistent direction and strength of difference provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.
- For respondents aged older than 65 years old, people identifying as community members were more likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (33.9% vs. 52.3%), structural access and inclusion (10.7% vs. 47.6%) and also structural participation (16% vs. 41.3%), compared to those who identified as members of a different community. It should be noted that – as above – in all cases, the number of respondents who identified as members of other communities was less than 100; nonetheless the consistent direction and strength of difference provides some confirmation of the possible validity of the percentages as reported.

**K. Controlling for Where Respondent Lived.** Age, controlling for where respondents actually lived, suggests that as people grow older, the possibility of social isolation grows.

- For those over the age of 65, those living outside of town not on a farm were less likely to report above-average instances of structural participation in civil society, when compared with those living outside of town on a farm and respondents living in town (31.7% vs. 42.5% and 46.9%).

**L. Controlling for Distance:** There was little difference in civil society engagement between respondents with below-average or average distances to their community, and those

with above-average distances to their community, both for people with some college education or less as well as for those with above-average educations.

**M. Controlling for Daily Shopping Needs:** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for daily shopping needs. The gap between structural participation between different age groups, however, was insufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #3 or #4.

- Respondents aged 17-47 whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (40.4% vs. 54.9%) and also participation (32.4% vs. 52.5%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<13$).
- Respondents aged 48-65 whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (43.5% vs. 59.1%) and also participation (31.8% vs. 50.8%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<13$).
- Respondents aged over 65 years of age whose daily shopping needs were met outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society participation (55.9% vs. 68.8%), as well as instances of structural access and inclusion (44.5% vs. 54.7%) and participation (38.5% vs. 50.2%). The numbers of respondents who did not make purchases for daily shopping needs were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing ($n<23$).

**N. Controlling for Recreational Activity Location:** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for recreational activity location. The gap between structural participation between different age groups, however, was insufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #3 or #4.

- Respondents aged 17-47 who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average instances of structural access and inclusion (27.9% and 43% vs. 57.2%) and also structural participation (13.6% and 35.5% vs. 57.9%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community, although the numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.

- Respondents aged 48-65 who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes regarding civil society access and inclusion (43.6% and 50.4% vs. 64%), participation (39.8% and 45.3% vs. 55.7%), as well as instances of structural access and inclusion (28.7% and 48% vs. 60.5%) and also structural participation (17.4% and 36.2% vs. 56%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community, although the numbers of respondents who did not engage in recreational activity were insufficient to allow for definite correlational testing.
- Respondents aged over 65 years of age who did not engage in recreational activity or whose recreational activity was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (44.3% and 50.9% vs. 63.3%), participation (57.9% and 56.7% vs. 75.5%), structural access and inclusion (28.5% and 47.7% vs. 60.8%) and also structural participation (25% and 40.1% vs. 60.1%), compared with those whose recreational activity was sought mostly in their own community.

**O. Controlling for Church Attendance:** The pattern observed was consistent with previous variable relationships, controlling for church attendance. The gap between structural participation between different age groups, however, was insufficiently significant to provide support for Hypothesis #3 or #4.

- Respondents aged 17-47 who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (35.1% and 48.4% vs. 55.2%), participation (44.5% and 47.8% vs. 52.9%), structural access and inclusion (30.3% and 37.4% vs. 54.1%) and also structural participation (14.5% and 24.6% vs. 54.3%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- Respondents aged 48-65 who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (36% and 48.1% vs. 58.9%), participation (31.7% and 45% vs. 51.9%), structural access and inclusion (30.6% and 39.9% vs. 58.6%) and also structural participation (15.1% and 25.1% vs. 52.1%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.
- Respondents aged over 65 years of age who did not attend church or whose church attendance was done outside the community were less likely to report above-average attitudes towards civil society access and inclusion (35.8% and 50.3% vs. 56.7%), participation (43.5% and 56.5% vs. 67.1%), structural access and inclusion (23% and 36.3% vs. 56.5%) and also structural participation (9.9%

and 26.1% vs. 54.3%), compared with those whose church attendance was in their own community.

### D. Evaluation of Partials

**Structural access, inclusion, and participation were the most consistent in outcomes, as opposed to attitudinal variables.** The most visible finding from an examination of the partial results of test variables is that despite the *belief* on the part of respondents that they were provided access to and included civil in society, along with positive attitudes towards participation, those in disadvantaged or subordinate positions in society still reported lower levels of *actual* inclusion, access and participation in civil society, relative to those in advantaged or dominant positions. The partial results of test variables largely confirmed this, by showing that those in advantaged or dominant positions in society generally had higher levels of actual access and inclusion and participation in civil society. In fact, this pattern was repeated again and again in the partial results, revealing a deeper pattern that confirms theoretical expectations that social advantage is positively correlated with civil society access and participation.

**Multiple disadvantages resulted in much lower levels of access and participation; multiple advantages resulted in much higher levels. This confirms Hypotheses #3 and #4, and was more the result of differences in actual amounts of access, inclusion, and participation, rather than on people's attitudes towards these issues.** A more subtle observation is that in some cases a majority of those in advantaged or dominant positions reported either minorities or scant majorities having participation in or access to civil society, while those in disadvantaged or subordinate positions often revealed proportionately greater numbers who had very *low* levels of civil society access, inclusion, or participation. An early

expectation of this study was that those in disadvantaged or subordinate positions in society would have relatively "even" levels of access, inclusion, and/or participation, while those who possessed social advantage would report majorities having high levels of access, inclusion, and participation. Put a bit more simply, a majority of those with social advantage were expected to have *greater* access and participate *more* in civil society. And while this was *comparatively* true, relative to those who were socially disadvantaged, in several cases it was a more complicated relationship. The actual relationship was more as follows: in several cases, a majority of those in socially disadvantaged positions participated much *less* in civil society – i.e. social *disadvantage* translated into *less* access to and *less* participation in civil society. Those with social advantage had *relatively* greater levels of access, inclusion, and participation, but were actually the ones with relatively "even" levels of access, inclusion and/or participation, i.e. roughly "50/50" distributions, as revealed by partial results of various test variables.

**Structural conditions of daily life mediated social inequalities.** A third observation was that the actual patterns of social interaction, such as where respondents went for daily shopping needs, or recreation, and particularly church attendance, had a powerful effect on civil society participation and inclusion. This was reflected not only in respondents' actual access, inclusion, and participation, but also in their attitudes towards these issues, in relation to church attendance and recreational activities (but less so for daily shopping activity). It could be argued that these factors (shopping needs, recreation, church, etc.) were *epiphenomenal* in character, *i.e.* the result of ongoing patterns of inequality that existed before respondents were present in the community, and were themselves acting to replicate those patterns of inequality among the respondents themselves.

Lastly, the only consistent attitudinal predictor of access, inclusion, and participation was whether or not respondents felt themselves to be members of the community as identified in the original survey instrument. If respondents did *not* consider themselves community members, they almost uniformly reported far lower levels of civil society access, inclusion and participation, as well as attitudes towards these issues. This may also be confirmed by the relative lack of effect due to distance from community; there was little evidence that respondents were *un*willing to travel some distance to be involved in the life of their communities.

The overall conclusion that may be reached is relatively straightforward: social class, race, and to a lesser extent, age, continue to play a *significant* role in *actual* access to, inclusion, and participation in civil society. Although there were multiple measures of social class and only one of race and of age, the striking differences between whites and non-whites in that single measure reveal that even in such a homogenous population as is found in Iowa, race is a factor in public life. The differences between those 65 years of age and under, and those over 65 years old, also point towards real differences in participation in civil society. Some further research indicated by this finding is the need for a comparison between a relatively homogenous population and a more heterogeneous one (see Chapter Five).

A second conclusion based on this research is that gender does not apparently play a significant role in civil society activity – which is somewhat odd, as that does not comport with historical or contemporary observations about gender in society. Further investigation of this might prove useful as an extension of this research.

A third conclusion is that there is little support for a defining role of *attitudinal* measures of civil society inclusion, access, and participation. Put another way, the perceptions and beliefs of respondents to the RDI survey are challenged by their own responses about actual

experiences of inclusion, access, and their own participation. People may believe one thing, but what they experience and what they actually do are sometimes quite different from the beliefs they may hold.

# Chapter Five: Conclusions

The importance of this research lies in a better appreciation of the actual (as opposed to ideal) role of civil society, and the effects on it that social inequality brings to bear, having both theoretical and empirical implications. Theoretically, including the effects of inequality on civil society would help distinguish between the normative and idealistic conception of civil society, and a more empirical conception of civil society as an observable arena for social discourse and interaction. Empirically, demonstrating the effect of inequality on civil society would help in better understanding the creation and maintenance of social stratification. This research will therefore be of use hopefully to not only other sociologists, but to policy-makers and citizens, as well.

**Analysis of findings**

The most notable conclusion reached was that social class was the most influential factor in social inequality, as far as civil society access and participation were concerned. In particular, income level and education had profound effects on how respondents engaged in public life, followed in importance by living arrangements and occupational prestige.

Gender was not as much of an issue as was expected. Race appeared to be a highly significant issue, even though the small sample size of people of color the effects in evaluations of single variables difficult to determine. Nonetheless, the consistency in results across the variables examined provided a consistent pattern of racial inequality – and awareness of that inequality on the part of people of color. The small number of people of color in this data set ($N<350$ out of nearly 10,000) suggests that further research with a more heterogeneous data set may be warranted to substantiate these conclusions.

Age as a variable was correlated with employment status. This was particularly true for retirees and those over 65 years in age. Relatively greater average age may also have an effect (which probably differs from one dependent variable to another). The higher average also may make efforts to generalize from this data to a larger, younger population more problematic. It almost goes without saying, however, that this analysis would have benefited from in general from an examination of a more heterogeneous population sample, such as may be found in many urban areas, with greater diversity in terms of social class, race, and other dimensions of social stratification. The compensating advantage of the dataset used was that the differences observed in a relatively homogenous population, strongly support the original thesis that social inequality *does* have an effect on civil society participation.

The attitudinal variables themselves are subject to further interpretation. While every effort was made to develop coherent measures from the questions as presented on the RDI survey, it was tricky to determine the deeper underlying meaning of the constructed variables (*i.e.* do they actually measure what is supposedly being measured?). While the variables themselves have statistical reliability, their face validity may need further substantiation.

**Directions for Future Research**

Initial attempts to develop a multivariate regression did not succeed in demonstrating any statistical relationship between the dependent and independent variables. It seems clear in retrospect that the lack of statistical differences in variables related to attitudes suggests that inclusion of these variables would add "noise" to the multivariate regression, and likely suppress any real relationship between dependent and independent variables where cross-tabulation suggests statistical difference. This should not be construed as a rejection of multivariate regression, but *does* suggest that there is a need to further refine the model presented here, and

*then* see what a multivariate regression would demonstrate between variables. One of the difficulties of using a linear regression is the implied assumption that the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is relatively constant in character. This assumption may not be true, especially as one considers the deeper implications of Hypotheses #3; ($H_O$3: multiple advantages or disadvantages will have greater differences in civil society access and inclusion), and Hypothesis #4 ($H_O$4: multiple advantages or disadvantages will have greater differences in civil society participation); there may be a heightened effect of multiple dimensions of social inequality, so that those in multiple subordinate positions (poor women of color, for example) may be disproportionately affected in their civil society participation and inclusion. The relatively widespread belief that renters, people of color, and other groups in subordinate positions in society participate less in civil society activities has historically been perceived to be due to a lack of motivation. However, this is called into question by the finding that those in subordinate positions are often *as interested* as homeowners, white people, and those in dominant social positions in having access to civil society, as well as actually participating. This suggests that the structural – *not* attitudinal – conditions reported by subordinate groups, particularly related to access and inclusion, are potentially more likely to be the reason for their lack of actual participation.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Race* | *Race* | *Race* | *Race* | *Race* |
| *Income* | *Income* | *Income* | *Income* | *Income* |
| | *Education* | *Education* | *Education* | *Education* |
| | | *Emplmt Status* | *Emplmt Status* | *Emplmt Status* |
| | | | *Occ. Prestige* | *Occ. Prestige* |
| | | | | *Liv. Arrangemnts* |
| *Gender* | *Gender* | *Gender* | *Gender* | *Gender* |

*Figure 5.1 Stepwise Regression Model*

What might help would be to run a series of stepwise regressions, particularly relating to the different measures of social class, and their effects, specifically on variables and outcomes related to structural access and participation. This would potentially reveal relative effect and thus importance of the different social class variables, along with race and gender.

**Other possible tests**

(a) *Comparison of 1994 and 2004 survey data.* Another question that immediately arises is "which variable is the antecedent – the independent or dependent?" Which one comes first? Were it possible to get longitudinal data, it might be possible to demonstrate that changes in the independent variables – particularly those of a structural character – preceded changes in the dependent variables, which would go some distance towards demonstrating the causal relationships largely assumed here. Such a longitudinal examination might be possible, through a comparison of data from the earlier survey done in 1994 to the data derived from the 2004 survey.

(b) *Hierarchical linear modeling.* Hierarchical linear modeling, as a more sophisticated statistical test, may very well provide a more nuanced view of the effects of inequality than a relatively straightforward multiple regression model. In particular, it would allow for grouping of data at the community level, and thus allow for communities to be compared against each other as actual aggregates of population, instead of through a single statewide data set.

All of these options are, however, outside the scope of this study. A longitudinal examination of data might reveal more about the causal relationship between variables. Hierarchical linear modeling might allow for higher levels of social organization than just individuals to be included in the research design, particularly those social institutions related to public life and community.

## Significance of this study

Social inequality – particularly social class-based inequality – had the most noticeable effect in this study on the access to and inclusion of residents of rural communities in civil society in Iowa, and their participation in it. Racial inequality had a similar effect, which appeared to be moderated by social class differences, particularly income and education. The role of age and gender inequality was more mixed. The effect of age was that senior citizens were more apt to be involved in civil society, which was correlated with employment status as retirees, while gender inequality did not seem play a very significant role. In almost all cases, the test variable results acted to confirm the results of the independent variables. This provides further support for the conclusion that social inequality has a real and measurable effect on the shape and nature of civil society. However, the singular character of rural life in Iowa, where there appears to be a relatively little difference between genders in civil society access/inclusion, as well as civil society participation, means that it may prove difficult to find similar outcomes elsewhere.

The larger meaning of this study is clear, in relation to the existing literature on civil society. The lack of attention paid to the effect of inequality on the expression and shape of civil society in comparison to the ongoing focus on the effects of civil society involvement in reducing social stratification and inequality, has left a gap in our understanding of the relationship between social inequality and civil society. This lack of attention underscores the need to examine the social conditions that structure public life before efforts to bolster civil society are undertaken. This study may therefore be seen as an attempt to address that issue – in a very real sense, it must be concluded that there is a two-way relationship between civil society and inequality; social inequality affects civil society and not just the other way around.

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# Appendix A: Variable Construction

The scalar variables were labeled as follows:

- *Attitudinal Access/Inclusion* (*i.e.* what was the perception of individuals about their inclusion and/or access – or lack thereof – in civil society activities?)
- *Attitudinal Participation* (*i.e.* what was the perception of individuals about participation – or lack thereof – in civil society activities?)
- *Structural Access/Inclusion* (*i.e.* what actual conditions led to the inclusion of or provided access to individuals in civil society?)
- *Structural Participation* (*i.e.* what actual civil society activity was observed on the part of individuals?)

Each variable was assembled from variables taken from the RDI Codebook; the statistical results of testing reliability using Cronbach's *alpha* are listed for each variable below. Where necessary, recoded variables are identified.

### Attitudinal Access/Inclusion/Reliability

**Notes**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Output Created | | 22-JAN-2007 14:37:38 |
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| Input | Data | C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data - Individual - VJR.sav |
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| | Weight | <none> |
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| Missing Value Handling | Definition of Missing | User-defined missing values are treated as missing. |
| | Cases Used | Statistics are based on all cases with valid data for all variables in the procedure. |
| Syntax | | RELIABILITY<br>/VARIABLES=RC051 var052 var058 var061 var062<br>/SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL/MODEL=ALPHA<br>/STATISTICS=ANOVA<br>/SUMMARY=TOTAL . |
| Resources | Elapsed Time | 0:00:00.35 |
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| | Largest Contiguous Area | 786944 bytes |
| | Workspace Required | 272 bytes |

[DataSet1] C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data -- Individual Level n=99.sav

Scale: ALL VARIABLES

**Case Processing Summary**

| | | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cases | Valid | 9603 | 96.4 |
| | Excluded(a) | 359 | 3.6 |
| | Total | 9962 | 100.0 |

a Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

**Reliability Statistics**

| Cronbach's Alpha | N of Items |
|---|---|
| .750 | 5 |

**Item-Total Statistics**

| | Scale Mean if Item Deleted | Scale Variance if Item Deleted | Corrected Item-Total Correlation | Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| RC051* | 12.0018 | 9.534 | .465 | .723 |
| Overall, people have little impact on important decisions | 12.7593 | 8.620 | .491 | .715 |
| People look out mainly for what's best for their friends | 12.4371 | 8.416 | .593 | .676 |
| To get ahead in community, you have to know the right people | 12.8639 | 7.942 | .610 | .667 |
| If don't attend church/synagogue, have hard time fitting in | 12.1102 | 9.498 | .422 | .737 |

*Recode of var051: *Clubs and organizations in «Community» are interested in what is best for all residents*

**ANOVA**

| | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between People | | 24855.789 | 9602 | 2.589 | | |
| Within People | Between Items | 5592.359 | 4 | 1398.090 | 2157.541 | .000 |
| | Residual | 24888.441 | 38408 | .648 | | |
| | Total | 30480.800 | 38412 | .794 | | |
| Total | | 55336.589 | 48014 | 1.153 | | |

Grand Mean = 3.1086

## Attitudinal Participation/Reliability

**Notes**

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| | Split File | <none> |
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| Missing Value Handling | Definition of Missing | User-defined missing values are treated as missing. |
| | Cases Used | Statistics are based on all cases with valid data for all variables in the procedure. |
| Syntax | | RELIABILITY /VARIABLES=var053 RC057 RC095 RC096 RC097 RC098 RC099 RC100 RC109 var111 /SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL/MODEL=ALPHA /STATISTICS=ANOVA /SUMMARY=TOTAL . |
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Scale: ALL VARIABLES

**Case Processing Summary**

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| Cases | Valid | 8059 | 80.9 |
| | Excluded(a) | 1903 | 19.1 |
| | Total | 9962 | 100.0 |

a Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

**Reliability Statistics**

| Cronbach's Alpha | N of Items |
|---|---|
| .735 | 10 |

**Item-Total Statistics**

| | Scale Mean if Item Deleted | Scale Variance if Item Deleted | Corrected Item-Total Correlation | Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Disadvantaged groups rarely get involved in comm. projects | 20.9144 | 13.741 | .319 | .731 |
| Expressed opinions | 20.0686 | 13.527 | .372 | .720 |
| Community participation spirit | 20.6704 | 13.244 | .542 | .689 |
| Tornado recovery | 20.9273 | 14.457 | .486 | .704 |
| Spring clean-up | 21.5910 | 13.686 | .556 | .691 |
| local grocery support | 21.6550 | 13.776 | .477 | .701 |
| Canned food donation | 21.1880 | 14.129 | .493 | .701 |
| Elderly meal delivery | 21.7492 | 13.756 | .493 | .698 |
| Local comm improve involvement | 21.3066 | 14.642 | .245 | .739 |
| I do not have the skills to contribute to comm. projects | 21.7650 | 16.806 | .005 | .751 |

**ANOVA**

| | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between People | | 13698.955 | 8058 | 1.700 | | |
| Within People | Between Items | 21807.957 | 9 | 2423.106 | 5370.620 | .000 |
| | Residual | 32720.343 | 72522 | .451 | | |
| | Total | 54528.300 | 72531 | .752 | | |
| Total | | 68227.255 | 80589 | .847 | | |

Grand Mean = 2.3537

## Structural Access/Inclusion / Reliability

**Notes**

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| | Weight | <none> |
| | Split File | <none> |
| | N of Rows in Working Data File | 9962 |
| | Matrix Input | C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data - Individual - VJR.sav |
| Missing Value Handling | Definition of Missing | User-defined missing values are treated as missing. |
| | Cases Used | Statistics are based on all cases with valid data for all variables in the procedure. |
| Syntax | | RELIABILITY<br>/VARIABLES=RC103 RC104 RC105 RC106 RC107 var112 var113 var115 var116<br>/SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL/MODEL=ALPHA<br>/STATISTICS=ANOVA<br>/SUMMARY=TOTAL . |
| Resources | Elapsed Time | 0:00:00.78 |
| | Memory Available | 786944 bytes |
| | Largest Contiguous Area | 786944 bytes |
| | Workspace Required | 464 bytes |

[DataSet1] C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data - Individual - VJR.sav

## Scale: ALL VARIABLES

**Case Processing Summary**

| | | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cases | Valid | 7582 | 76.1 |
| | Excluded(a) | 2380 | 23.9 |
| | Total | 9962 | 100.0 |

a Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

**Reliability Statistics**

| Cronbach's Alpha | N of Items |
|---|---|
| .740 | 9 |

**Item-Total Statistics**

| | Scale Mean if Item Deleted | Scale Variance if Item Deleted | Corrected Item-Total Correlation | Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Donate money | 8.7267 | 4.381 | .409 | .718 |
| Volunteer time | 9.0245 | 4.253 | .519 | .698 |
| Join local group | 8.9587 | 4.267 | .477 | .705 |
| Vote in local election | 8.6976 | 4.443 | .385 | .722 |
| Attend community meeting | 8.9441 | 4.257 | .478 | .705 |
| I don't really know how to become involved | 7.6038 | 4.532 | .384 | .721 |
| Tried to volunteer for comm. proj. but help not accepted | 7.4885 | 4.919 | .253 | .739 |
| No one has asked me to volunteer | 7.7056 | 4.271 | .476 | .705 |
| There are no comm. projects that need support of volunteers | 7.5199 | 4.739 | .334 | .729 |

**ANOVA**

| | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between People | | 4595.975 | 7581 | .606 | | |
| Within People | Between Items | 28953.783 | 8 | 3619.223 | 22925.482 | .000 |
| | Residual | 9574.439 | 60648 | .158 | | |
| | Total | 38528.222 | 60656 | .635 | | |
| Total | | 43124.197 | 68237 | .632 | | |

Grand Mean = 1.0371

## Structural Participation / Reliability

**Notes**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Output Created | | 29-JAN-2007 11:48:48 |
| Comments | | |
| Input | Data | C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data - Individual - VJR.sav |
| | Filter | <none> |
| | Weight | <none> |
| | Split File | <none> |
| | N of Rows in Working Data File | 9962 |
| Missing Value Handling | Definition of Missing | User-defined missing values are treated as missing. |
| | Cases Used | Statistics are based on all cases with valid data for all variables in the procedure. |
| Syntax | | RELIABILITY /VARIABLES=var084 var108 var117 var118 var119 var120 var121 var122 var123 var138 /SCALE('ALL VARIABLES') ALL/MODEL=ALPHA /STATISTICS=ANOVA /SUMMARY=TOTAL . |
| Resources | Elapsed Time | 0:00:00.25 |
| | Memory Available | 786944 bytes |
| | Largest Contiguous Area | 786944 bytes |
| | Workspace Required | 512 bytes |

```
[DataSet1] C:\Documents and Settings\Victor J Raymond\My Documents\Iowa
State University\Dissertation\Dissertation\Dissertation Data\2004 NRI Data
- Individual - VJR.sav
```

## Scale: ALL VARIABLES

**Case Processing Summary**

| | | N | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cases | Valid | 7695 | 77.2 |
| | Excluded(a) | 2267 | 22.8 |
| | Total | 9962 | 100.0 |

a Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

**Reliability Statistics**

| Cronbach's Alpha | N of Items |
|---|---|
| .765 | 10 |

**Item-Total Statistics**

| | Scale Mean if Item Deleted | Scale Variance if Item Deleted | Corrected Item-Total Correlation | Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| People attend to agree on local politics | 16.15 | 63.235 | .000 | .777 |
| Times participated in improvement project in your community | 15.58 | 49.016 | .579 | .723 |
| Service and fraternal organizations | 16.50 | 56.138 | .359 | .754 |
| Recreational groups | 16.00 | 51.576 | .388 | .753 |
| Political and civic groups | 16.28 | 52.528 | .530 | .734 |
| Job-related organizations | 16.53 | 57.772 | .326 | .758 |
| Church or other religious groups | 14.84 | 47.004 | .430 | .754 |
| All other groups and organizations | 15.71 | 48.252 | .573 | .723 |
| How many local groups in total do you belong to? | 16.37 | 43.129 | .802 | .682 |
| Organizations outside your community you belong to | 17.19 | 58.495 | .195 | .772 |

**ANOVA**

| | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between People | | 48798.707 | 7694 | 6.342 | | |
| Within People | Between Items | 28019.588 | 9 | 3113.288 | 2089.775 | .000 |
| | Residual | 103160.712 | 69246 | 1.490 | | |
| | Total | 131180.300 | 69255 | 1.894 | | |
| Total | | 179979.007 | 76949 | 2.339 | | |

Grand Mean = 1.79

# Appendix B: Statistical Results: Crosstabs

| Initial Cross-tabulation | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Income** | *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| | *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| **above average** | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| **Education** | *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| **below average or average** | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| | *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| **above average** | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| **Student/Homemaker/Other** | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| **Retired** | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| | *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| **PT/FT Employed** | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| **Occupational Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **people of color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **white** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| **Respondent Gender** | *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| **female** | % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| **male** | % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| **Respondent Age** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| **youngest third: 17-47** | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| **middle third: 48-65** | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| **oldest third: 66-107** | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |

*AAI – Attitudinal Access & Inclusion, AP – Attitudinal Participation, SAI – Structural Access & Inclusion, SP – Structural Participation*

| Test: Income-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Education | *n* | 1905 | 1740 | 1550 | 1960 | 1597 | 1066 | 2037 | 1099 |
| below average or average | % | 52.30% | 47.70% | 44.20% | 55.80% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 65.00% | 35.00% |
| | *n* | 496 | 536 | 465 | 536 | 449 | 414 | 511 | 404 |
| above average | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 46.50% | 53.50% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 55.80% | 44.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Education | *n* | 1008 | 1249 | 1087 | 1121 | 949 | 984 | 1206 | 844 |
| below average or average | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 58.80% | 41.20% |
| | *n* | 691 | 1003 | 840 | 831 | 631 | 931 | 723 | 829 |
| above average | % | 40.80% | 59.20% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 40.40% | 59.60% | 46.60% | 53.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Employment | *n* | 219 | 144 | 171 | 177 | 199 | 81 | 217 | 102 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 60.30% | 39.70% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 71.10% | 28.90% | 68.00% | 32.00% |
| | *n* | 923 | 994 | 685 | 1127 | 631 | 534 | 934 | 633 |
| Retired | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 37.80% | 62.20% | 54.20% | 45.80% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | *n* | 1213 | 1100 | 1118 | 1152 | 1179 | 827 | 1351 | 743 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 52.40% | 47.60% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 58.80% | 41.20% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Employment | *n* | 92 | 96 | 101 | 80 | 90 | 72 | 96 | 80 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 48.90% | 51.10% | 55.80% | 44.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 54.50% | 45.50% |
| | *n* | 216 | 358 | 231 | 326 | 183 | 252 | 229 | 273 |
| Retired | % | 37.60% | 62.40% | 41.50% | 58.50% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 45.60% | 54.40% |
| | *n* | 1334 | 1711 | 1527 | 1472 | 1253 | 1522 | 1534 | 1266 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 54.80% | 45.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 790 | 622 | 698 | 685 | 752 | 447 | 861 | 401 |
| below average or average | % | 55.90% | 44.10% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 68.20% | 31.80% |
| | *n* | 546 | 599 | 503 | 604 | 497 | 448 | 613 | 412 |
| above average | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 589 | 666 | 624 | 609 | 559 | 534 | 708 | 441 |
| below average or average | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 61.60% | 38.40% |
| | *n* | 791 | 1158 | 956 | 966 | 738 | 1059 | 893 | 891 |
| above average | % | 40.60% | 59.40% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 41.10% | 58.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% |

*AAI – Attitudinal Access & Inclusion, AP – Attitudinal Participation, SAI – Structural Access & Inclusion, SP – Structural Participation*

| Test: Income-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 371 | 267 | 263 | 349 | 342 | 156 | 418 | 160 |
| rent | % | 58.20% | 41.80% | 43.00% | 57.00% | 68.70% | 31.30% | 72.30% | 27.70% |
| | *n* | 99 | 98 | 86 | 111 | 102 | 62 | 123 | 57 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 62.20% | 37.80% | 68.30% | 31.70% |
| | *n* | 1930 | 1911 | 1666 | 2035 | 1602 | 1261 | 2008 | 1284 |
| Own current residence | % | 50.20% | 49.80% | 45.00% | 55.00% | 56.00% | 44.00% | 61.00% | 39.00% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 110 | 111 | 106 | 108 | 125 | 79 | 131 | 72 |
| rent | % | 49.80% | 50.20% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 61.30% | 38.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | *n* | 26 | 37 | 23 | 38 | 29 | 29 | 37 | 24 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 37.70% | 62.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| | *n* | 1562 | 2104 | 1798 | 1805 | 1425 | 1807 | 1761 | 1577 |
| Own current residence | % | 42.60% | 52.40% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 52.80% | 47.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 61 | 32 | 45 | 45 | 48 | 26 | 58 | 23 |
| People of Color | % | 65.60% | 34.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 64.90% | 35.10% | 71.60% | 28.40% |
| | *n* | 2343 | 2247 | 1972 | 2453 | 2000 | 1454 | 2493 | 1480 |
| White | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 57.90% | 42.10% | 62.70% | 37.30% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 35 | 33 | 39 | 32 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 26 |
| People of Color | % | 51.50% | 48.50% | 54.90% | 45.10% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| | *n* | 1664 | 2221 | 1889 | 1921 | 1553 | 1888 | 1900 | 1648 |
| White | % | 42.80% | 57.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 1452 | 1395 | 1147 | 1577 | 1212 | 851 | 1487 | 957 |
| Female | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 60.80% | 39.20% |
| | *n* | 948 | 881 | 866 | 918 | 833 | 627 | 1062 | 544 |
| Male | % | 51.80% | 48.20% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 57.10% | 42.90% | 58.10% | 41.90% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 807 | 1020 | 863 | 920 | 764 | 845 | 904 | 765 |
| Female | % | 44.20% | 55.80% | 48.40% | 51.60% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 54.20% | 45.80% |
| | *n* | 890 | 1229 | 1063 | 1029 | 816 | 1067 | 1021 | 907 |
| Male | % | 42.00% | 58.00% | 50.80% | 49.20% | 43.30% | 56.70% | 53.00% | 47.00% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |

| Test: Income-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 771 | 581 | 666 | 659 | 794 | 443 | 833 | 407 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 57.00% | 43.00% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 64.20% | 35.80% | 67.20% | 32.80% |
| | *n* | 683 | 639 | 684 | 620 | 619 | 478 | 793 | 400 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 51.70% | 48.30% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 56.40% | 43.60% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 948 | 1051 | 666 | 1212 | 632 | 557 | 921 | 694 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 35.50% | 64.50% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 57.00% | 43.00% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 824 | 983 | 887 | 887 | 813 | 889 | 948 | 733 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 47.80% | 52.20% | 56.40% | 43.60% |
| | *n* | 671 | 924 | 820 | 754 | 615 | 782 | 791 | 664 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 42.10% | 57.90% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 44.00% | 56.00% | 54.40% | 45.60% |
| | *n* | 201 | 343 | 217 | 309 | 150 | 243 | 187 | 274 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 36.90% | 63.10% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 38.20% | 61.80% | 40.60% | 59.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1252 | 1021 | 1041 | 1148 | 1158 | 676 | 1418 | 617 |
| below average or average | % | 55.10% | 44.90% | 47.60% | 52.40% | 63.10% | 36.90% | 69.70% | 30.30% |
| | *n* | 1152 | 1258 | 976 | 1350 | 890 | 804 | 1133 | 886 |
| above average | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 42.00% | 58.00% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 56.10% | 43.90% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1108 | 1345 | 1236 | 1163 | 1070 | 1149 | 1300 | 970 |
| below average or average | % | 45.20% | 54.80% | 51.50% | 48.50% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 57.30% | 42.70% |
| | *n* | 591 | 909 | 692 | 790 | 511 | 767 | 630 | 704 |
| above average | % | 39.40% | 60.60% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 40.00% | 60.00% | 47.20% | 52.80% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Community Member | *n* | 66 | 35 | 59 | 40 | 64 | 12 | 85 | 10 |
| Different Community | % | 65.30% | 34.70% | 59.60% | 40.40% | 84.20% | 15.80% | 89.50% | 10.50% |
| | *n* | 524 | 515 | 446 | 564 | 485 | 327 | 581 | 330 |
| Community of residence | % | 50.40% | 49.60% | 44.20% | 55.80% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 63.80% | 36.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Community Member | *n* | 77 | 41 | 62 | 40 | 75 | 21 | 94 | 16 |
| Different Community | % | 65.30% | 34.70% | 60.80% | 39.20% | 78.10% | 21.90% | 83.90% | 16.10% |
| | *n* | 562 | 717 | 626 | 639 | 550 | 596 | 643 | 525 |

| Test: Income-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Community of residence | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 55.10% | 44.90% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 173 | 140 | 139 | 162 | 158 | 85 | 196 | 87 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 55.30% | 44.70% | 46.20% | 53.80% | 65.00% | 35.00% | 69.30% | 30.70% |
| | *n* | 342 | 343 | 308 | 360 | 323 | 215 | 386 | 217 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 49.90% | 50.10% | 46.10% | 53.90% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 64.00% | 36.00% |
| | *n* | 1789 | 1707 | 1491 | 1872 | 1475 | 1132 | 1854 | 1156 |
| Within town | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 44.30% | 55.70% | 56.60% | 43.40% | 61.60% | 38.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 221 | 242 | 248 | 212 | 214 | 201 | 261 | 170 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| | *n* | 339 | 425 | 360 | 384 | 337 | 338 | 401 | 299 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 44.40% | 55.60% | 48.40% | 51.60% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 57.30% | 42.70% |
| | *n* | 1035 | 1469 | 1213 | 1248 | 934 | 1276 | 1162 | 1114 |
| Within town | % | 41.30% | 58.70% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.30% | 57.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Distance | *n* | 413 | 415 | 358 | 445 | 395 | 255 | 478 | 256 |
| below average or average | % | 49.90% | 50.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 60.80% | 39.20% | 65.10% | 34.90% |
| | *n* | 1991 | 1864 | 1659 | 2053 | 1653 | 1225 | 2073 | 1247 |
| above average | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 57.40% | 42.60% | 62.40% | 37.60% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Distance | *n* | 482 | 588 | 539 | 508 | 470 | 478 | 545 | 429 |
| below average or average | % | 45.00% | 55.00% | 51.50% | 48.50% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 56.00% | 44.00% |
| | *n* | 1217 | 1666 | 1389 | 1445 | 1111 | 1438 | 1385 | 1245 |
| above average | % | 42.20% | 57.80% | 49.00% | 51.00% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 52.70% | 47.30% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 16 | 9 | 11 | 12 | 12 | 3 | 19 | 5 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.00% | 36.00% | 47.80% | 52.20% | 80.00% | 20.00% | 79.20% | 20.80% |
| | *n* | 1337 | 1175 | 1199 | 1199 | 1237 | 730 | 1525 | 685 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 53.20% | 46.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% | 69.00% | 31.00% |
| | *n* | 1034 | 1070 | 795 | 1262 | 789 | 743 | 987 | 805 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 38.60% | 61.40% | 51.50% | 48.50% | 55.10% | 44.90% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 4 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 4 | 9 | 10 | 4 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 30.80% | 69.20% | 41.70% | 58.30% | 30.60% | 69.40% | 71.40% | 28.60% |

| Test: Income-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 1099 | 1255 | 1212 | 1083 | 1103 | 992 | 1353 | 802 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 46.70% | 53.30% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 62.80% | 37.20% |
| | *n* | 581 | 978 | 698 | 848 | 463 | 901 | 547 | 862 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 37.30% | 62.70% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 33.90% | 66.10% | 38.80% | 61.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 162 | 128 | 123 | 152 | 134 | 50 | 191 | 58 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 55.90% | 44.10% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 72.80% | 27.20% | 76.70% | 23.30% |
| | *n* | 1689 | 1406 | 1484 | 1509 | 1494 | 989 | 1832 | 903 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 54.60% | 45.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 67.00% | 33.00% |
| | *n* | 480 | 681 | 361 | 762 | 391 | 423 | 469 | 512 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 31.40% | 68.60% | 32.10% | 67.90% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 47.80% | 52.20% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 37 | 31 | 37 | 28 | 34 | 22 | 53 | 13 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 54.40% | 45.60% | 56.90% | 43.10% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 80.30% | 19.70% |
| | *n* | 1391 | 1658 | 1558 | 1435 | 1322 | 1397 | 1629 | 1153 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 58.60% | 41.40% |
| | *n* | 247 | 539 | 307 | 468 | 212 | 470 | 226 | 490 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 31.40% | 68.60% | 39.60% | 60.40% | 31.10% | 68.90% | 31.60% | 68.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 2404 | 2279 | 2017 | 2498 | 2048 | 1480 | 2551 | 1503 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 44.70% | 55.30% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 431 | 210 | 369 | 250 | 410 | 135 | 535 | 69 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 67.20% | 32.80% | 59.60% | 40.40% | 75.20% | 24.80% | 88.60% | 11.40% |
| | *n* | 547 | 448 | 468 | 484 | 519 | 251 | 672 | 203 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 55.00% | 45.00% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 67.40% | 32.60% | 76.80% | 23.20% |
| | *n* | 1391 | 1588 | 1145 | 1739 | 1098 | 1087 | 1300 | 1221 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 46.70% | 53.30% | 39.70% | 60.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.60% | 48.40% |
| | **Income** *n* | 1699 | 2254 | 1928 | 1953 | 1581 | 1916 | 1930 | 1674 |
| | **above average** % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 265 | 182 | 267 | 168 | 253 | 147 | 344 | 75 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 59.30% | 40.70% | 61.40% | 38.60% | 63.30% | 36.70% | 82.10% | 17.90% |
| | *n* | 532 | 581 | 574 | 509 | 566 | 413 | 741 | 286 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 47.80% | 52.20% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 57.80% | 42.20% | 72.20% | 27.80% |
| | *n* | 878 | 1475 | 1067 | 1259 | 747 | 1337 | 820 | 1304 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 37.30% | 62.70% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 35.80% | 64.20% | 38.60% | 61.40% |

| Test: Education-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Income | *n* | 1905 | 1740 | 1550 | 1960 | 1597 | 1066 | 2037 | 1099 |
| below average or average | % | 52.30% | 47.70% | 44.20% | 55.80% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 65.00% | 35.00% |
| | *n* | 1008 | 1249 | 1087 | 1121 | 949 | 984 | 1206 | 844 |
| above average | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 55.80% | 44.20% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Income | *n* | 496 | 536 | 465 | 536 | 449 | 414 | 511 | 404 |
| below average or average | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 46.50% | 53.50% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 58.80% | 41.20% |
| | *n* | 691 | 1003 | 840 | 831 | 631 | 931 | 723 | 829 |
| above average | % | 40.80% | 59.20% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 40.40% | 59.60% | 46.60% | 53.40% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Employment | *n* | 262 | 221 | 220 | 237 | 241 | 118 | 275 | 141 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 67.10% | 32.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 1194 | 1295 | 911 | 1444 | 811 | 679 | 1242 | 790 |
| Retired | % | 48.00% | 52.00% | 38.70% | 61.30% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| | *n* | 1754 | 1747 | 1725 | 1705 | 1662 | 1357 | 2032 | 1131 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 50.10% | 49.90% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 55.10% | 44.90% | 64.20% | 35.80% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Employment | *n* | 86 | 60 | 82 | 60 | 78 | 52 | 82 | 56 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 58.90% | 41.10% | 57.70% | 42.30% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 59.40% | 40.60% |
| | *n* | 181 | 286 | 174 | 264 | 115 | 205 | 145 | 234 |
| Retired | % | 38.80% | 61.20% | 39.70% | 60.30% | 35.90% | 64.10% | 38.30% | 61.70% |
| | *n* | 955 | 1218 | 1076 | 1064 | 907 | 1102 | 1029 | 967 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 51.60% | 48.40% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 1196 | 1100 | 1122 | 1120 | 1125 | 797 | 1370 | 680 |
| below average or average | % | 52.10% | 47.90% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 58.50% | 41.50% | 66.80% | 33.20% |
| | *n* | 697 | 817 | 710 | 761 | 622 | 658 | 811 | 545 |
| above average | % | 46.00% | 54.00% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 276 | 284 | 285 | 265 | 260 | 246 | 308 | 207 |
| below average or average | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | *n* | 718 | 1010 | 819 | 879 | 675 | 900 | 773 | 800 |

| Test: Education-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| above average | % | 41.60% | 58.40% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 49.10% | 50.90% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 381 | 292 | 295 | 350 | 349 | 159 | 438 | 164 |
| rent | % | 56.60% | 43.40% | 45.70% | 54.30% | 68.70% | 31.30% | 72.80% | 27.20% |
| | *n* | 92 | 89 | 80 | 96 | 91 | 52 | 122 | 40 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 50.80% | 49.20% | 45.50% | 54.50% | 63.60% | 36.40% | 75.30% | 24.70% |
| | *n* | 2813 | 2967 | 2557 | 3017 | 2345 | 2009 | 3074 | 1905 |
| Own current residence | % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 61.70% | 48.30% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 142 | 123 | 111 | 146 | 147 | 96 | 165 | 83 |
| rent | % | 53.60% | 46.40% | 43.20% | 56.80% | 60.50% | 39.50% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 45 | 53 | 38 | 60 | 46 | 43 | 49 | 43 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 45.90% | 54.10% | 38.80% | 61.20% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 53.30% | 46.70% |
| | *n* | 1074 | 1440 | 1224 | 1232 | 939 | 1266 | 1087 | 1164 |
| Own current residence | % | 42.70% | 57.30% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 42.60% | 57.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 85 | 55 | 73 | 67 | 64 | 36 | 74 | 41 |
| People of Color | % | 60.70% | 39.30% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 64.00% | 36.00% | 64.30% | 35.70% |
| | *n* | 3209 | 3300 | 2865 | 3403 | 2724 | 2187 | 3568 | 2071 |
| White | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 45.70% | 54.30% | 55.50% | 44.50% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 25 | 19 | 24 | 20 | 19 | 22 | 26 | 12 |
| People of Color | % | 56.80% | 43.20% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 46.30% | 53.70% | 68.40% | 31.60% |
| | *n* | 1238 | 1599 | 1352 | 1419 | 1115 | 1384 | 1277 | 1279 |
| White | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 1800 | 1753 | 1459 | 1937 | 1459 | 1059 | 1903 | 1140 |
| Female | % | 50.70% | 49.30% | 43.00% | 57.00% | 57.90% | 42.10% | 62.50% | 37.50% |
| | *n* | 1486 | 1598 | 1472 | 1528 | 1324 | 1160 | 1733 | 967 |
| Male | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 64.20% | 35.80% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 741 | 928 | 768 | 850 | 681 | 761 | 760 | 732 |
| Female | % | 44.40% | 55.60% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 50.90% | 49.10% |
| | *n* | 520 | 688 | 606 | 587 | 453 | 643 | 539 | 559 |
| Male | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 50.80% | 49.20% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 49.10% | 50.90% |

| Test: Education-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Education below average or average** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 984 | 861 | 893 | 911 | 988 | 708 | 1117 | 591 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 53.30% | 46.70% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 58.30% | 41.70% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| | *n* | 1075 | 1116 | 1139 | 1008 | 1000 | 808 | 1311 | 650 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 53.10% | 46.70% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 1219 | 1363 | 893 | 1535 | 793 | 700 | 1200 | 864 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 47.20% | 52.80% | 36.80% | 63.20% | 53.10% | 46.90% | 58.10% | 41.90% |
| | **Education above average** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 667 | 771 | 715 | 699 | 680 | 670 | 736 | 590 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 46.40% | 53.80% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 55.50% | 44.50% |
| | *n* | 426 | 561 | 510 | 469 | 353 | 535 | 429 | 475 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 43.20% | 56.80% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 39.80% | 60.20% | 47.50% | 52.50% |
| | *n* | 166 | 283 | 148 | 267 | 98 | 200 | 134 | 223 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 37.00% | 63.00% | 35.70% | 64.30% | 32.90% | 67.10% | 37.50% | 62.50% |
| | **Education below average or average** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1619 | 1418 | 1434 | 1491 | 1490 | 948 | 1929 | 811 |
| below average or average | % | 53.30% | 46.70% | 49.00% | 51.00% | 61.10% | 38.90% | 70.40% | 29.60% |
| | *n* | 1675 | 1937 | 1504 | 1979 | 1298 | 1275 | 1713 | 1301 |
| above average | % | 46.40% | 53.60% | 43.20% | 56.80% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 56.80% | 43.20% |
| | **Education above average** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 927 | 1103 | 989 | 989 | 878 | 965 | 999 | 858 |
| below average or average | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 47.60% | 52.40% | 53.80% | 46.20% |
| | *n* | 336 | 515 | 387 | 450 | 256 | 441 | 304 | 433 |
| above average | % | 39.50% | 60.50% | 46.20% | 53.80% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 41.20% | 58.80% |
| | **Education below average or average** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Community Member | *n* | 107 | 51 | 86 | 61 | 99 | 17 | 127 | 20 |
| Different Community | % | 67.70% | 32.30% | 58.30% | 41.70% | 85.30% | 14.70% | 86.40% | 13.60% |
| | *n* | 876 | 914 | 796 | 940 | 801 | 609 | 986 | 588 |
| Community of residence | % | 48.90% | 51.10% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 56.80% | 43.20% | 62.60% | 37.40% |
| | **Education above average** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Community Member | *n* | 57 | 30 | 45 | 30 | 50 | 20 | 69 | 11 |
| Different Community | % | 65.50% | 34.50% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 71.40% | 28.60% | 86.30% | 13.70% |

| Test: Education-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 347 | 454 | 400 | 393 | 333 | 389 | 390 | 340 |
| Community of residence | % | 43.30% | 56.70% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 46.10% | 53.90% | 53.40% | 46.60% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 291 | 252 | 264 | 268 | 272 | 165 | 349 | 155 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 53.60% | 46.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 62.20% | 37.80% | 69.20% | 30.80% |
| | *n* | 564 | 594 | 510 | 598 | 512 | 386 | 641 | 373 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 63.20% | 36.80% |
| | *n* | 2261 | 2350 | 2016 | 2428 | 1847 | 1575 | 2473 | 1488 |
| Within town | % | 49.00% | 51.00% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 62.40% | 37.60% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 144 | 153 | 149 | 140 | 126 | 139 | 153 | 118 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 48.50% | 51.50% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 56.50% | 43.50% |
| | *n* | 210 | 278 | 246 | 235 | 218 | 219 | 254 | 193 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 56.80% | 43.20% |
| | *n* | 847 | 1120 | 916 | 1003 | 741 | 985 | 829 | 930 |
| Within town | % | 43.10% | 56.90% | 47.70% | 52.30% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Distance | *n* | 710 | 724 | 654 | 730 | 657 | 481 | 801 | 464 |
| below average or average | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 57.70% | 42.30% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| | *n* | 2584 | 2631 | 2284 | 2740 | 2131 | 1742 | 2841 | 1648 |
| above average | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.50% | 54.50% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Distance | *n* | 297 | 383 | 344 | 323 | 288 | 312 | 339 | 281 |
| below average or average | % | 43.70% | 56.30% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 54.70% | 45.30% |
| | *n* | 966 | 1235 | 1032 | 1116 | 846 | 1094 | 964 | 1010 |
| above average | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.80% | 51.20% |
| | **Education** *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | **below average or average** % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 18 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 18 | 5 | 25 | 5 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 54.50% | 45.50% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 78.30% | 21.70% | 83.30% | 16.70% |
| | *n* | 1892 | 1775 | 1770 | 1732 | 1734 | 1121 | 2243 | 988 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 69.40% | 30.60% |
| | *n* | 1349 | 1530 | 1131 | 1683 | 1020 | 1082 | 1335 | 1597 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 40.20% | 59.80% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 54.70% | 45.30% |
| | **Education** *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | **above average** % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 8 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 9 | 6 |

| Test: Education-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do not use/purchase | % | 53.30% | 46.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 18.20% | 81.80% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | *n* | 803 | 884 | 867 | 770 | 788 | 724 | 920 | 609 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 60.20% | 39.80% |
| | *n* | 443 | 718 | 494 | 654 | 336 | 668 | 365 | 672 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 38.20% | 61.80% | 43.00% | 57.00% | 33.50% | 66.50% | 35.20% | 64.80% |
| **Education below average or average** | *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 212 | 163 | 169 | 183 | 179 | 58 | 264 | 59 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 56.50% | 43.50% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 75.50% | 24.50% | 81.70% | 18.30% |
| | *n* | 2368 | 2157 | 2194 | 2178 | 2091 | 1520 | 2677 | 1319 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 52.30% | 47.70% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 57.90% | 42.10% | 67.00% | 33.00% |
| | *n* | 609 | 942 | 503 | 1004 | 482 | 612 | 609 | 697 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 39.30% | 60.70% | 33.40% | 66.60% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 46.60% | 53.40% |
| **Education above average** | *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 37 | 25 | 31 | 29 | 23 | 22 | 34 | 24 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 59.70% | 40.30% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 58.60% | 41.40% |
| | *n* | 1001 | 1165 | 1099 | 1017 | 932 | 1022 | 1096 | 872 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 47.70% | 52.30% | 55.70% | 44.30% |
| | *n* | 206 | 407 | 223 | 379 | 168 | 347 | 160 | 380 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 33.60% | 66.40% | 37.00% | 63.00% | 32.60% | 67.40% | 29.60% | 70.40% |
| **Education below average or average** | *n* | 3294 | 3355 | 2938 | 3470 | 2788 | 2223 | 3642 | 2112 |
| | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 557 | 306 | 494 | 335 | 538 | 185 | 718 | 85 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.50% | 35.50% | 59.60% | 40.40% | 74.40% | 25.60% | 89.40% | 10.60% |
| | *n* | 797 | 714 | 723 | 728 | 761 | 393 | 1041 | 303 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 65.90% | 34.10% | 77.50% | 22.50% |
| | *n* | 1882 | 2284 | 1666 | 2363 | 1451 | 1626 | 1810 | 1708 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 45.20% | 54.80% | 41.40% | 58.60% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 51.40% | 48.60% |
| **Education above average** | *n* | 1263 | 1618 | 1376 | 1439 | 1134 | 1406 | 1303 | 1291 |
| | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 199 | 111 | 189 | 113 | 172 | 112 | 227 | 69 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.20% | 35.80% | 62.60% | 37.40% | 60.60% | 39.40% | 76.70% | 23.30% |
| | *n* | 398 | 428 | 426 | 372 | 406 | 327 | 528 | 224 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 53.40% | 46.60% | 55.40% | 44.60% | 70.20% | 29.80% |
| | *n* | 655 | 1068 | 750 | 945 | 549 | 957 | 536 | 993 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 38.00% | 62.00% | 44.20% | 55.80% | 36.50% | 63.50% | 35.10% | 64.90% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Income | *n* | 219 | 144 | 171 | 177 | 199 | 81 | 217 | 102 |
| below average or average | % | 60.30% | 39.70% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 71.10% | 28.90% | 68.00% | 32.00% |
| | *n* | 92 | 96 | 101 | 80 | 90 | 72 | 96 | 80 |
| above average | % | 48.80% | 51.10% | 55.80% | 44.20% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 54.50% | 45.50% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Income | *n* | 923 | 994 | 685 | 1127 | 631 | 534 | 934 | 633 |
| below average or average | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 37.80% | 62.20% | 54.20% | 45.80% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | *n* | 216 | 358 | 231 | 326 | 183 | 252 | 229 | 273 |
| above average | % | 37.60% | 62.40% | 41.50% | 58.50% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 45.60% | 54.40% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Income | *n* | 1213 | 1100 | 1118 | 1152 | 1179 | 827 | 1351 | 743 |
| below average or average | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 58.80% | 41.20% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | *n* | 1334 | 1711 | 1527 | 1472 | 1253 | 1522 | 1534 | 1619 |
| above average | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 54.80% | 45.20% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Education | *n* | 262 | 221 | 220 | 237 | 241 | 118 | 275 | 141 |
| below average or average | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 67.10% | 32.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 86 | 60 | 82 | 60 | 78 | 52 | 82 | 56 |
| above average | % | 58.90% | 41.10% | 57.70% | 42.30% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 59.40% | 40.60% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Education | *n* | 1194 | 1295 | 911 | 1444 | 811 | 679 | 1242 | 790 |
| below average or average | % | 48.00% | 52.00% | 38.70% | 61.30% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| | *n* | 181 | 286 | 174 | 264 | 115 | 205 | 145 | 234 |
| above average | % | 38.80% | 61.20% | 39.70% | 60.30% | 35.90% | 64.10% | 38.30% | 61.70% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Education | *n* | 1754 | 1747 | 1725 | 1705 | 1662 | 1357 | 2032 | 1131 |
| below average or average | % | 50.10% | 49.90% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 55.10% | 44.90% | 64.20% | 35.80% |
| | *n* | 955 | 1218 | 1076 | 1388 | 907 | 1102 | 1029 | 967 |
| above average | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 51.60% | 48.40% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 18 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 21 | 7 | 17 | 14 |
| below average or average | % | 51.40% | 48.60% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 75.00% | 25.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% |
| | *n* | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| above average | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 116 | 88 | 77 | 110 | 62 | 52 | 107 | 54 |
| below average or average | % | 56.90% | 43.10% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 49 | 84 | 36 | 87 | 28 | 39 | 50 | 57 |
| above average | % | 36.80% | 63.20% | 29.30% | 70.70% | 41.80% | 58.20% | 46.70% | 53.30% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 1287 | 1217 | 1259 | 1207 | 1334 | 996 | 1498 | 780 |
| below average or average | % | 51.40% | 48.60% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 57.20% | 42.80% | 65.80% | 34.20% |
| | *n* | 1304 | 1668 | 1429 | 1575 | 1216 | 1454 | 1461 | 1245 |
| above average | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 45.50% | 54.50% | 54.00% | 46.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 65 | 28 | 47 | 42 | 67 | 14 | 69 | 15 |
| rent | % | 69.90% | 30.10% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 82.70% | 17.30% | 82.10% | 17.90% |
| | *n* | 14 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 17 | 4 | 21 | 5 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 56.00% | 44.00% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 81.00% | 19.00% | 80.80% | 19.20% |
| | *n* | 269 | 241 | 241 | 244 | 235 | 152 | 267 | 176 |
| Own current residence | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 60.30% | 39.70% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 160 | 121 | 102 | 158 | 95 | 56 | 172 | 69 |
| rent | % | 56.90% | 43.10% | 39.20% | 60.80% | 62.90% | 37.10% | 71.40% | 28.60% |
| | *n* | 32 | 27 | 20 | 34 | 18 | 12 | 32 | 13 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 37.00% | 63.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 71.10% | 28.90% |
| | *n* | 1185 | 1433 | 965 | 1516 | 814 | 817 | 1185 | 941 |
| Own current residence | % | 45.30% | 54.70% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 55.70% | 44.30% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 285 | 254 | 249 | 281 | 323 | 176 | 350 | 155 |
| rent | % | 52.90% | 47.10% | 47.00% | 53.00% | 64.70% | 35.30% | 69.30% | 30.70% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 90 | 103 | 82 | 111 | 99 | 79 | 116 | 65 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 42.50% | 57.50% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 64.10% | 35.90% |
| | *n* | 2333 | 2610 | 2470 | 2378 | 2146 | 2205 | 2595 | 1879 |
| Own current residence | % | 47.20% | 52.80% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 14 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 2 | 8 | 5 |
| People of Color | % | 70.00% | 30.00% | 70.00% | 30.00% | 88.20% | 11.80% | 61.50% | 38.50% |
| | *n* | 334 | 276 | 288 | 292 | 305 | 168 | 350 | 192 |
| White | % | 54.80% | 45.20% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 64.50% | 35.50% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 26 | 22 | 23 | 28 | 15 | 8 | 26 | 16 |
| People of Color | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 65.20% | 34.80% | 61.90% | 38.10% |
| | *n* | 1356 | 1562 | 1067 | 1682 | 912 | 877 | 1367 | 1008 |
| White | % | 46.50% | 53.50% | 38.80% | 61.20% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 67 | 47 | 59 | 52 | 53 | 46 | 66 | 32 |
| People of Color | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| | *n* | 2644 | 2921 | 2744 | 4694 | 2518 | 2415 | 2997 | 2068 |
| White | % | 47.50% | 52.50% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 291 | 242 | 240 | 265 | 261 | 149 | 294 | 176 |
| Female | % | 54.60% | 45.40% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 63.70% | 36.30% | 62.60% | 37.40% |
| | *n* | 57 | 40 | 62 | 33 | 58 | 21 | 64 | 21 |
| Male | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 73.40% | 26.60% | 75.30% | 24.70% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 777 | 904 | 566 | 1006 | 475 | 455 | 718 | 627 |
| Female | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 36.00% | 64.00% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 53.40% | 46.60% |
| | *n* | 601 | 678 | 523 | 700 | 452 | 429 | 670 | 396 |
| Male | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 42.80% | 57.20% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 1424 | 1466 | 1380 | 1444 | 1361 | 1164 | 1589 | 1032 |
| Female | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 60.60% | 39.40% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 1281 | 1496 | 1415 | 1324 | 1205 | 1292 | 1468 | 1064 |
| Male | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 165 | 97 | 140 | 113 | 161 | 70 | 174 | 71 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 63.00% | 37.00% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 69.70% | 30.30% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| | *n* | 103 | 99 | 108 | 87 | 100 | 61 | 117 | 59 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 55.40% | 44.60% | 62.10% | 37.90% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 80 | 86 | 54 | 98 | 59 | 39 | 67 | 67 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 35.50% | 64.50% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 7 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 77.80% | 22.20% | 66.70% | 33.30% | 77.80% | 22.20% | 62.50% | 37.50% |
| | *n* | 239 | 258 | 262 | 234 | 214 | 194 | 294 | 161 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 1125 | 1317 | 817 | 1461 | 702 | 687 | 1086 | 856 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 35.90% | 64.10% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 55.90% | 44.10% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 1430 | 1479 | 1412 | 1445 | 1452 | 1258 | 1615 | 1077 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 49.40% | 50.60% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | *n* | 1099 | 1250 | 1218 | 1090 | 990 | 1032 | 1265 | 861 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 49.00% | 51.00% | 59.50% | 40.50% |
| | *n* | 173 | 228 | 162 | 230 | 123 | 165 | 172 | 156 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 43.10% | 56.90% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 42.70% | 57.30% | 52.40% | 47.60% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 224 | 150 | 190 | 167 | 219 | 93 | 247 | 96 |
| below average or average | % | 59.90% | 40.10% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 70.20% | 29.80% | 72.00% | 28.00% |
| | *n* | 124 | 132 | 112 | 131 | 101 | 77 | 111 | 101 |
| above average | % | 48.40% | 51.60% | 46.10% | 53.90% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 52.40% | 47.60% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 478 | 455 | 379 | 491 | 334 | 257 | 533 | 265 |
| below average or average | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 56.50% | 43.50% | 66.80% | 33.20% |

*AAI – Attitudinal Access & Inclusion, AP – Attitudinal Participation, SAI – Structural Access & Inclusion, SP – Structural Participation*

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 904 | 1129 | 711 | 1419 | 593 | 628 | 860 | 759 |
| above average | % | 44.50% | 55.50% | 36.80% | 63.20% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 53.10% | 46.90% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1771 | 1833 | 1785 | 1741 | 1747 | 1502 | 2055 | 1266 |
| below average or average | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 61.90% | 38.10% |
| | *n* | 940 | 1135 | 1018 | 1031 | 824 | 959 | 1008 | 834 |
| above average | % | 45.30% | 54.70% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 46.20% | 53.80% | 54.70% | 45.30% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Community Member | *n* | 11 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 13 | 2 |
| Different Community | % | 64.70% | 35.30% | 58.80% | 41.20% | 71.40% | 28.60% | 86.70% | 13.30% |
| | *n* | 113 | 88 | 101 | 86 | 101 | 49 | 111 | 75 |
| Community of residence | % | 56.20% | 43.80% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 67.30% | 32.70% | 59.70% | 40.30% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Community Member | *n* | 36 | 18 | 23 | 24 | 24 | 4 | 39 | 6 |
| Different Community | % | 66.70% | 33.30% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 85.70% | 14.30% | 86.70% | 13.30% |
| | *n* | 259 | 284 | 202 | 313 | 186 | 145 | 285 | 170 |
| Community of residence | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 39.20% | 60.80% | 56.20% | 43.80% | 62.60% | 37.40% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Community Member | *n* | 114 | 56 | 97 | 57 | 114 | 27 | 141 | 21 |
| Different Community | % | 67.10% | 32.90% | 63.00% | 37.00% | 80.90% | 19.10% | 87.00% | 13.00% |
| | *n* | 815 | 949 | 859 | 886 | 186 | 145 | 939 | 654 |
| Community of residence | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 58.90% | 41.10% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 45 | 24 | 38 | 29 | 42 | 16 | 44 | 21 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 65.20% | 34.80% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 72.40% | 27.60% | 67.70% | 32.30% |
| | *n* | 65 | 58 | 60 | 50 | 54 | 31 | 61 | 50 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 52.80% | 47.20% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 63.50% | 36.50% | 55.00% | 45.00% |
| | *n* | 221 | 186 | 189 | 203 | 207 | 116 | 232 | 118 |
| Within town | % | 54.30% | 45.70% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 64.10% | 35.90% | 66.30% | 33.70% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 85 | 72 | 71 | 75 | 53 | 48 | 94 | 47 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 54.10% | 45.90% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 66.70% | 33.30% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 165 | 194 | 124 | 217 | 131 | 87 | 187 | 113 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 46.00% | 54.00% | 36.40% | 63.60% | 60.10% | 39.90% | 62.30% | 37.70% |
| | *n* | 1072 | 1259 | 852 | 1349 | 703 | 725 | 1046 | 841 |
| Within town | % | 46.00% | 54.00% | 38.70% | 61.30% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 55.40% | 44.60% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| **PT/FT Employed** | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 303 | 301 | 301 | 297 | 301 | 236 | 356 | 203 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 50.20% | 49.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 56.10% | 43.90% | 63.70% | 36.30% |
| | *n* | 519 | 600 | 554 | 541 | 526 | 465 | 625 | 387 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 46.40% | 53.60% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 53.10% | 46.90% | 61.80% | 38.20% |
| | *n* | 1746 | 1937 | 1816 | 1801 | 1617 | 1645 | 1944 | 1410 |
| Within town | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Distance | *n* | 86 | 76 | 82 | 67 | 79 | 45 | 91 | 61 |
| below average or average | % | 53.10% | 46.90% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 63.70% | 36.30% | 59.90% | 40.10% |
| | *n* | 262 | 206 | 220 | 231 | 241 | 145 | 267 | 136 |
| above average | % | 56.00% | 44.00% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 65.80% | 34.20% | 66.30% | 33.70% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| **Retired** | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Distance | *n* | 202 | 214 | 167 | 230 | 147 | 106 | 221 | 126 |
| below average or average | % | 48.60% | 51.40% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 58.10% | 41.90% | 63.70% | 36.30% |
| | *n* | 1180 | 1370 | 923 | 1480 | 780 | 779 | 1172 | 898 |
| above average | % | 46.30% | 53.70% | 38.40% | 61.60% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 56.60% | 43.40% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| **PT/FT Employed** | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Distance | *n* | 686 | 778 | 715 | 719 | 687 | 613 | 790 | 531 |
| below average or average | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | *n* | 2025 | 2190 | 2088 | 2053 | 1884 | 1848 | 2273 | 1569 |
| above average | % | 48.00% | 52.00% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| **Employment Status** | *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 2 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 66.70% | 33.30% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% |
| | *n* | 218 | 172 | 196 | 168 | 211 | 96 | 236 | 107 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 55.90% | 44.10% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 68.70% | 31.30% | 68.80% | 31.20% |
| | *n* | 125 | 105 | 103 | 125 | 107 | 73 | 116 | 88 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 59.40% | 40.60% | 56.90% | 43.10% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 15 | 8 | 7 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 15 | 6 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 65.20% | 34.80% | 36.80% | 63.20% | 63.60% | 36.40% | 71.40% | 28.60% |
| | *n* | 668 | 690 | 587 | 670 | 486 | 366 | 726 | 401 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 64.40% | 35.60% |
| | *n* | 684 | 860 | 481 | 1005 | 797 | 1119 | 632 | 609 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.30% | 55.70% | 32.40% | 67.60% | 45.60% | 54.40% | 50.90% | 49.10% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 9 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 11 | 10 | 16 | 5 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 40.90% | 59.10% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 52.40% | 47.60% | 76.20% | 23.80% |
| | *n* | 1735 | 1713 | 1770 | 1593 | 1751 | 1319 | 2108 | 1045 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 947 | 1229 | 1010 | 1150 | 797 | 1119 | 920 | 1042 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.50% | 56.50% | 46.80% | 53.20% | 41.60% | 58.40% | 46.90% | 53.10% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 20 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 19 | 4 | 25 | 7 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.60% | 39.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 82.60% | 17.40% | 78.10% | 21.90% |
| | *n* | 268 | 188 | 237 | 201 | 245 | 124 | 271 | 131 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 54.10% | 45.90% | 66.40% | 33.60% | 67.40% | 32.60% |
| | *n* | 53 | 74 | 49 | 75 | 54 | 38 | 56 | 56 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 41.70% | 58.30% | 39.50% | 60.50% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 147 | 114 | 105 | 137 | 102 | 40 | 167 | 50 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 56.30% | 43.70% | 43.40% | 56.60% | 71.80% | 28.20% | 77.00% | 23.00% |
| | *n* | 796 | 807 | 695 | 817 | 578 | 496 | 846 | 502 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.70% | 50.30% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 62.80% | 37.20% |
| | *n* | 353 | 590 | 227 | 672 | 224 | 331 | 310 | 445 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 37.40% | 62.60% | 25.30% | 74.70% | 40.40% | 59.60% | 41.10% | 58.90% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 79 | 59 | 77 | 60 | 79 | 35 | 102 | 26 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 57.20% | 42.80% | 56.20% | 43.80% | 69.30% | 30.70% | 79.70% | 20.30% |
| | *n* | 2208 | 2217 | 2258 | 2076 | 2111 | 1832 | 2546 | 1492 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.90% | 50.10% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 63.10% | 36.90% |
| | *n* | 396 | 660 | 440 | 609 | 362 | 568 | 391 | 560 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 37.50% | 62.50% | 41.90% | 58.10% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 41.10% | 58.90% |

| Test: Employment-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 348 | 282 | 302 | 298 | 320 | 170 | 358 | 197 |
| | **Student/ Homemaker/ Other** % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 77 | 30 | 67 | 38 | 76 | 18 | 87 | 11 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 72.00% | 28.00% | 63.80% | 36.20% | 80.90% | 19.10% | 88.80% | 11.20% |
| | *n* | 100 | 79 | 93 | 68 | 94 | 43 | 121 | 37 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 55.90% | 44.10% | 57.80% | 42.20% | 68.60% | 31.40% | 76.60% | 23.40% |
| | *n* | 169 | 170 | 139 | 190 | 149 | 106 | 145 | 148 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 49.90% | 50.10% | 42.20% | 57.80% | 58.00% | 42.00% | 49.50% | 50.50% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 1382 | 1584 | 1090 | 1710 | 927 | 885 | 1393 | 1024 |
| | **Retired** % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 51.20% | 48.80% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 143 | 87 | 121 | 92 | 120 | 42 | 196 | 22 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 62.20% | 37.80% | 56.80% | 43.20% | 74.10% | 25.90% | 89.90% | 10.10% |
| | *n* | 296 | 293 | 248 | 310 | 234 | 135 | 369 | 131 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 63.40% | 36.60% | 73.80% | 26.20% |
| | *n* | 921 | 1166 | 692 | 1283 | 561 | 698 | 789 | 865 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.10% | 55.90% | 35.00% | 65.00% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 47.70% | 52.30% |
| | **Employment Status** *n* | 2711 | 2968 | 2803 | 2772 | 2571 | 2461 | 3063 | 2100 |
| | **PT/FT Employed** % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 59.30% | 40.70% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 521 | 294 | 480 | 314 | 500 | 232 | 645 | 118 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 63.90% | 36.10% | 60.50% | 39.50% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 84.50% | 15.50% |
| | *n* | 763 | 731 | 769 | 687 | 805 | 510 | 1032 | 342 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 51.10% | 48.90% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 61.20% | 38.80% | 75.10% | 24.90% |
| | *n* | 1387 | 1925 | 1526 | 1746 | 1239 | 1702 | 1352 | 1626 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 41.90% | 58.10% | 46.60% | 53.40% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 45.40% | 54.60% |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Income | *n* | 790 | 622 | 698 | 685 | 752 | 447 | 861 | 401 |
| below average or average | % | 55.90% | 44.10% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 68.20% | 31.80% |
| | *n* | 589 | 666 | 624 | 609 | 559 | 534 | 708 | 441 |
| above average | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 61.60% | 38.40% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Income | *n* | 546 | 599 | 503 | 604 | 497 | 448 | 613 | 412 |
| below average or average | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | *n* | 791 | 1158 | 956 | 966 | 738 | 1059 | 893 | 891 |
| above average | % | 40.60% | 59.40% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 41.10% | 58.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Education | *n* | 1196 | 1100 | 1122 | 1120 | 1125 | 797 | 1370 | 680 |
| below average or average | % | 52.10% | 47.90% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 58.50% | 41.50% | 66.80% | 33.20% |
| | *n* | 276 | 284 | 285 | 265 | 260 | 246 | 308 | 207 |
| above average | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Education | *n* | 697 | 817 | 710 | 761 | 622 | 658 | 811 | 545 |
| below average or average | % | 46.00% | 54.00% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | *n* | 718 | 1010 | 819 | 879 | 675 | 900 | 773 | 800 |
| above average | % | 41.60% | 58.40% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 49.10% | 50.90% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Employment | *n* | 18 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 21 | 7 | 17 | 14 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 51.40% | 48.60% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 75.00% | 25.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% |
| | *n* | 116 | 88 | 77 | 110 | 62 | 52 | 107 | 54 |
| Retired | % | 56.90% | 43.10% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 1287 | 1217 | 1259 | 1207 | 1251 | 937 | 1498 | 1245 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 51.40% | 48.60% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 57.20% | 42.80% | 65.80% | 34.20% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Employment | *n* | 6 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | *n* | 49 | 84 | 36 | 87 | 28 | 39 | 50 | 57 |
| Retired | % | 36.80% | 63.20% | 29.30% | 70.70% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 46.70% | 53.30% |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 1304 | 1668 | 1429 | 1482 | 1216 | 1454 | 1461 | 1245 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 45.50% | 54.50% | 54.00% | 46.00% |
| **Occupation Prestige below average or average** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 159 | 137 | 138 | 156 | 188 | 85 | 189 | 86 |
| rent | % | 53.70% | 46.30% | 46.90% | 53.10% | 68.90% | 31.10% | 68.70% | 31.30% |
| | *n* | 53 | 47 | 47 | 52 | 55 | 34 | 64 | 26 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 53.20% | 46.80% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 61.80% | 38.20% | 71.10% | 28.90% |
| | *n* | 1260 | 1201 | 1223 | 1177 | 1141 | 925 | 1425 | 776 |
| Own current residence | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 55.20% | 44.80% | 64.70% | 35.30% |
| **Occupation Prestige above average** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 143 | 129 | 120 | 141 | 145 | 96 | 175 | 78 |
| rent | % | 52.60% | 47.40% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 69.20% | 30.80% |
| | *n* | 40 | 62 | 42 | 60 | 50 | 44 | 58 | 39 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 39.20% | 60.80% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| | *n* | 1231 | 1636 | 1366 | 1439 | 1102 | 1417 | 1351 | 1227 |
| Own current residence | % | 42.90% | 57.10% | 48.70% | 51.30% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 52.40% | 47.60% |
| **Occupation Prestige below average or average** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 45 | 23 | 39 | 25 | 39 | 14 | 44 | 12 |
| People of Color | % | 66.20% | 33.80% | 60.90% | 39.10% | 73.60% | 26.40% | 78.60% | 21.40% |
| | *n* | 1429 | 1362 | 1369 | 1362 | 1347 | 1030 | 1635 | 876 |
| White | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 65.10% | 34.90% |
| **Occupation Prestige above average** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 28 | 27 | 24 | 31 | 18 | 31 | 28 | 20 |
| People of Color | % | 50.90% | 49.10% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 58.30% | 41.70% |
| | *n* | 1387 | 1801 | 1506 | 1609 | 1280 | 1527 | 1557 | 1325 |
| White | % | 43.50% | 56.50% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.60% | 54.40% | 54.00% | 46.00% |
| **Occupation Prestige below average or average** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 555 | 451 | 463 | 515 | 513 | 322 | 609 | 297 |
| Female | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 61.40% | 38.60% | 67.20% | 32.80% |
| | *n* | 915 | 931 | 940 | 870 | 869 | 719 | 1067 | 588 |
| Male | % | 49.60% | 50.40% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 54.70% | 45.30% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| **Occupation Prestige above average** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 936 | 1118 | 945 | 1055 | 878 | 901 | 1048 | 801 |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 49.40% | 50.60% | 56.70% | 43.30% |
| | *n* | 477 | 707 | 582 | 583 | 418 | 655 | 534 | 543 |
| Male | % | 40.30% | 59.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 39.00% | 61.00% | 49.60% | 50.40% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 695 | 581 | 647 | 605 | 703 | 475 | 784 | 402 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 54.50% | 45.50% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 558 | 595 | 588 | 544 | 527 | 442 | 686 | 346 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 48.40% | 51.60% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 54.90% | 45.10% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 216 | 205 | 168 | 236 | 144 | 125 | 204 | 138 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 41.60% | 58.40% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 742 | 917 | 772 | 855 | 766 | 795 | 852 | 673 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 47.40% | 52.60% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 55.90% | 44.10% |
| | *n* | 575 | 727 | 672 | 607 | 473 | 649 | 630 | 550 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 44.20% | 55.80% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 42.20% | 57.80% | 53.40% | 46.60% |
| | *n* | 95 | 178 | 83 | 172 | 57 | 109 | 100 | 118 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 34.80% | 65.20% | 32.50% | 67.50% | 34.30% | 65.70% | 45.90% | 54.10% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 834 | 664 | 766 | 700 | 799 | 519 | 963 | 418 |
| below average or average | % | 55.70% | 44.30% | 52.30% | 47.70% | 60.60% | 39.40% | 69.70% | 30.30% |
| | *n* | 640 | 721 | 642 | 687 | 587 | 525 | 716 | 470 |
| above average | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 60.40% | 39.60% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1007 | 1254 | 1077 | 1126 | 1002 | 1041 | 1184 | 885 |
| below average or average | % | 44.50% | 55.50% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 49.00% | 51.00% | 57.20% | 42.80% |
| | *n* | 408 | 574 | 453 | 514 | 296 | 517 | 401 | 460 |
| above average | % | 41.50% | 58.50% | 46.80% | 53.20% | 36.40% | 63.60% | 46.60% | 53.40% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Community Member | *n* | 69 | 32 | 59 | 35 | 69 | 11 | 85 | 11 |
| Different Community | % | 68.30% | 31.70% | 62.80% | 37.20% | 86.30% | 13.70% | 88.50% | 11.50% |
| | *n* | 504 | 543 | 509 | 523 | 488 | 407 | 579 | 360 |
| Community of residence | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 61.70% | 38.30% |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | **above average** % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Community Member | *n* | 52 | 31 | 43 | 29 | 50 | 18 | 65 | 13 |
| Different Community | % | 62.70% | 37.30% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 73.50% | 26.50% | 83.30% | 16.70% |
| | *n* | 369 | 472 | 393 | 439 | 362 | 405 | 425 | 341 |
| Community of residence | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 55.50% | 44.50% |
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 145 | 114 | 130 | 129 | 143 | 80 | 172 | 76 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 56.00% | 44.00% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 64.10% | 35.90% | 69.40% | 30.60% |
| | *n* | 355 | 398 | 369 | 365 | 346 | 294 | 429 | 244 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 54.10% | 45.90% | 63.70% | 36.30% |
| | *n* | 881 | 793 | 822 | 814 | 809 | 619 | 990 | 508 |
| Within town | % | 52.60% | 47.40% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | **above average** % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 167 | 193 | 177 | 177 | 161 | 160 | 196 | 135 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 46.40% | 53.60% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| | *n* | 202 | 248 | 211 | 228 | 206 | 204 | 239 | 171 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 44.90% | 55.10% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 58.30% | 41.70% |
| | *n* | 968 | 1312 | 1070 | 1156 | 870 | 1119 | 1070 | 982 |
| Within town | % | 42.50% | 57.50% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 52.10% | 47.90% |
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Distance | *n* | 412 | 433 | 419 | 404 | 403 | 318 | 474 | 286 |
| below average or average | % | 48.80% | 51.20% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 55.90% | 44.10% | 62.40% | 37.60% |
| | *n* | 1062 | 952 | 989 | 983 | 983 | 726 | 1205 | 602 |
| above average | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 57.50% | 42.50% | 66.70% | 33.30% |
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| | **above average** % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Distance | *n* | 323 | 401 | 339 | 373 | 320 | 330 | 372 | 289 |
| below average or average | % | 44.60% | 55.40% | 47.60% | 52.40% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 56.30% | 43.70% |
| | *n* | 1092 | 1427 | 1191 | 1267 | 978 | 1228 | 1213 | 1056 |
| above average | % | 43.40% | 56.60% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 44.30% | 55.70% | 53.50% | 46.50% |
| | **Occupation Prestige** *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| | **below average or average** % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 7 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 8 | 4 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 64.30% | 35.70% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 66.70% | 33.30% |
| | *n* | 950 | 801 | 923 | 776 | 921 | 581 | 1136 | 444 |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 54.30% | 45.70% | 54.30% | 45.70% | 61.30% | 38.70% | 71.90% | 28.10% |
| | *n* | 504 | 569 | 469 | 594 | 450 | 455 | 521 | 437 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 54.40% | 45.60% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 3 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 3 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 27.30% | 72.70% | 27.30% | 72.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 75.00% | 25.00% |
| | *n* | 869 | 1040 | 928 | 924 | 897 | 807 | 1081 | 661 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 45.50% | 54.50% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 62.10% | 37.90% |
| | *n* | 532 | 770 | 591 | 696 | 389 | 737 | 483 | 676 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 40.90% | 59.10% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 34.50% | 65.50% | 41.70% | 58.30% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 60 | 39 | 54 | 43 | 56 | 20 | 70 | 16 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.60% | 39.40% | 55.70% | 44.30% | 73.70% | 26.30% | 81.40% | 18.60% |
| | *n* | 1176 | 1003 | 1121 | 1002 | 1112 | 765 | 1341 | 622 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 54.00% | 46.00% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 59.20% | 40.80% | 68.30% | 31.70% |
| | *n* | 217 | 321 | 216 | 321 | 204 | 249 | 245 | 240 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 40.30% | 59.70% | 40.20% | 59.80% | 45.00% | 55.00% | 50.50% | 49.50% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 37 | 25 | 32 | 29 | 30 | 18 | 44 | 17 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 59.70% | 40.30% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 62.50% | 37.50% | 72.10% | 27.90% |
| | *n* | 1129 | 1366 | 1223 | 1216 | 1082 | 1159 | 1333 | 940 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 45.30% | 54.70% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 58.60% | 41.40% |
| | *n* | 232 | 418 | 254 | 382 | 177 | 366 | 196 | 375 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 35.70% | 64.30% | 39.90% | 60.10% | 32.60% | 67.40% | 34.30% | 65.70% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1474 | 1385 | 1408 | 1387 | 1386 | 1044 | 1679 | 888 |
| **below average or average** | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 296 | 137 | 262 | 159 | 288 | 97 | 354 | 50 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 68.40% | 31.60% | 62.20% | 37.80% | 74.80% | 25.20% | 87.60% | 12.40% |
| | *n* | 419 | 325 | 394 | 325 | 394 | 222 | 520 | 156 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 56.30% | 43.70% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 64.00% | 36.00% | 76.90% | 23.10% |
| | *n* | 735 | 908 | 736 | 885 | 687 | 719 | 780 | 676 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| **Occupation Prestige** | *n* | 1415 | 1828 | 1530 | 1640 | 1298 | 1558 | 1585 | 1345 |
| **above average** | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 235 | 171 | 225 | 170 | 222 | 138 | 310 | 69 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 57.90% | 42.10% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 61.70% | 38.30% | 81.80% | 18.20% |
| | *n* | 393 | 470 | 418 | 420 | 449 | 319 | 584 | 213 |

| Test: Occ. Prestige-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 45.50% | 54.50% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 58.50% | 41.50% | 73.30% | 26.70% |
| | *n* | 765 | 1175 | 867 | 1036 | 612 | 1089 | 669 | 1055 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 39.40% | 60.60% | 45.60% | 54.40% | 36.00% | 64.00% | 38.80% | 61.20% |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Income | *n* | 371 | 267 | 263 | 349 | 342 | 156 | 418 | 160 |
| below average or average | % | 58.20% | 41.80% | 43.00% | 57.00% | 68.70% | 31.30% | 72.30% | 27.70% |
| | *n* | 110 | 111 | 106 | 108 | 125 | 79 | 131 | 72 |
| above average | % | 49.80% | 50.20% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 61.30% | 38.70% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **have some other arrangement** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Income | *n* | 99 | 98 | 86 | 111 | 102 | 62 | 123 | 57 |
| below average or average | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 62.20% | 37.80% | 68.30% | 31.70% |
| | *n* | 26 | 37 | 23 | 38 | 29 | 29 | 37 | 24 |
| above average | % | 41.30% | 58.70% | 37.70% | 62.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | **Own current residence** % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Income | *n* | 1930 | 1911 | 1666 | 2035 | 1602 | 1261 | 2008 | 1284 |
| below average or average | % | 50.20% | 49.80% | 45.00% | 55.00% | 56.00% | 44.00% | 61.00% | 39.00% |
| | *n* | 1562 | 2104 | 1978 | 1805 | 1425 | 1807 | 1761 | 1577 |
| above average | % | 42.60% | 57.40% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 52.80% | 47.20% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Education | *n* | 381 | 292 | 295 | 350 | 349 | 159 | 438 | 164 |
| below average or average | % | 56.60% | 43.40% | 45.70% | 54.30% | 68.70% | 31.30% | 72.80% | 27.20% |
| | *n* | 142 | 123 | 111 | 146 | 147 | 96 | 165 | 83 |
| above average | % | 53.60% | 46.40% | 43.20% | 56.80% | 60.50% | 39.50% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **have some other arrangement** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Education | *n* | 92 | 89 | 80 | 96 | 91 | 52 | 122 | 40 |
| below average or average | % | 50.80% | 49.20% | 45.50% | 54.50% | 63.60% | 36.40% | 75.30% | 24.70% |
| | *n* | 45 | 53 | 38 | 60 | 46 | 43 | 49 | 43 |
| above average | % | 45.90% | 54.10% | 38.80% | 61.20% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 53.30% | 46.70% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | **Own current residence** % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Education | *n* | 2813 | 2967 | 2557 | 3017 | 2345 | 2009 | 3074 | 1905 |
| below average or average | % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 61.70% | 38.30% |
| | *n* | 1074 | 1440 | 1224 | 1232 | 939 | 1266 | 1087 | 1290 |
| above average | % | 42.70% | 57.30% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 42.60% | 57.40% | 48.30% | 51.70% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Employment Status | *n* | 65 | 28 | 47 | 42 | 67 | 14 | 69 | 15 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 69.90% | 30.10% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 82.70% | 17.30% | 82.10% | 17.90% |
| | *n* | 160 | 121 | 102 | 158 | 95 | 56 | 172 | 69 |
| Retired | % | 56.90% | 43.10% | 39.20% | 60.80% | 62.90% | 37.10% | 71.40% | 28.60% |
| | *n* | 285 | 254 | 249 | 281 | 323 | 176 | 350 | 155 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 52.90% | 47.10% | 47.00% | 53.00% | 64.70% | 35.30% | 69.30% | 30.70% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Employment Status | *n* | 14 | 11 | 13 | 12 | 17 | 4 | 21 | 5 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 56.00% | 44.00% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 81.00% | 19.00% | 80.80% | 19.20% |
| | *n* | 32 | 27 | 20 | 34 | 18 | 12 | 32 | 13 |
| Retired | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 37.00% | 63.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 71.10% | 28.90% |
| | *n* | 90 | 103 | 82 | 111 | 99 | 79 | 116 | 65 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 42.50% | 57.50% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 64.10% | 35.90% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Employment Status | *n* | 269 | 241 | 241 | 244 | 235 | 152 | 267 | 176 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 60.30% | 39.70% |
| | *n* | 1185 | 1433 | 965 | 1516 | 814 | 817 | 1185 | 941 |
| Retired | % | 45.30% | 54.70% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 55.70% | 44.30% |
| | *n* | 2333 | 2610 | 2470 | 2378 | 2146 | 2205 | 2595 | 1879 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 47.20% | 52.80% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 159 | 137 | 138 | 156 | 188 | 85 | 189 | 86 |
| below average or average | % | 53.70% | 46.30% | 46.90% | 53.10% | 68.90% | 31.10% | 68.70% | 31.30% |
| | *n* | 143 | 129 | 120 | 141 | 145 | 96 | 175 | 78 |
| above average | % | 52.60% | 47.40% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 69.20% | 30.80% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 53 | 47 | 47 | 52 | 55 | 34 | 64 | 26 |
| below average or average | % | 53.00% | 47.00% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 61.80% | 38.20% | 71.10% | 28.90% |
| | *n* | 40 | 62 | 42 | 60 | 50 | 44 | 58 | 39 |
| above average | % | 39.20% | 60.80% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 1260 | 1201 | 1223 | 1177 | 1141 | 925 | 1425 | 776 |
| below average or average | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 55.20% | 44.80% | 64.70% | 35.30% |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 1231 | 1636 | 1366 | 1439 | 1102 | 1417 | 1351 | 1227 |
| above average | % | 42.90% | 57.10% | 48.70% | 51.30% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 52.40% | 47.60% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 16 | 10 | 14 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 16 | 6 |
| People of Color | % | 61.50% | 38.50% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 59.30% | 40.70% | 72.70% | 27.30% |
| | *n* | 508 | 405 | 393 | 483 | 481 | 244 | 588 | 241 |
| White | % | 55.60% | 44.40% | 44.90% | 55.10% | 66.30% | 33.70% | 70.90% | 29.10% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 4 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| People of Color | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 14.30% | 85.70% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | *n* | 134 | 138 | 117 | 151 | 137 | 92 | 168 | 81 |
| White | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 59.80% | 40.20% | 67.50% | 32.50% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 89 | 62 | 83 | 68 | 68 | 44 | 82 | 45 |
| People of Color | % | 58.90% | 41.10% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 3805 | 4583 | 3706 | 4186 | 3220 | 3234 | 4087 | 3349 |
| White | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 47.00% | 53.00% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 57.50% | 42.50% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 336 | 245 | 237 | 317 | 309 | 133 | 375 | 151 |
| Female | % | 57.80% | 42.20% | 42.80% | 57.20% | 69.90% | 30.10% | 71.30% | 28.70% |
| | *n* | 187 | 168 | 170 | 176 | 188 | 120 | 228 | 95 |
| Male | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 61.00% | 39.00% | 70.60% | 29.40% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 80 | 75 | 61 | 90 | 81 | 43 | 98 | 42 |
| Female | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 40.40% | 59.60% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 70.00% | 30.00% |
| | *n* | 57 | 66 | 56 | 66 | 55 | 52 | 71 | 41 |
| Male | % | 46.30% | 53.70% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 63.40% | 36.60% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 2121 | 2356 | 1926 | 2376 | 1749 | 1643 | 2186 | 1677 |
| Female | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 56.60% | 43.40% |
| | *n* | 1767 | 2053 | 1855 | 1874 | 1534 | 1631 | 1976 | 1526 |
| Male | % | 46.30% | 53.70% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 58.70% | 41.30% |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 237 | 183 | 191 | 219 | 272 | 135 | 276 | 113 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 56.40% | 43.60% | 46.60% | 53.40% | 68.50% | 31.50% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| | *n* | 127 | 94 | 119 | 102 | 131 | 64 | 155 | 56 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 57.50% | 42.50% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 67.20% | 32.80% | 73.50% | 26.50% |
| | *n* | 159 | 136 | 96 | 173 | 93 | 65 | 172 | 77 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 53.90% | 46.10% | 35.70% | 64.30% | 58.90% | 41.10% | 69.10% | 30.90% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **have some other arrangement** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 75 | 74 | 70 | 78 | 86 | 55 | 93 | 46 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 61.00% | 39.00% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 29 | 37 | 30 | 37 | 34 | 26 | 43 | 22 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 66.20% | 33.80% |
| | *n* | 34 | 30 | 18 | 41 | 17 | 14 | 34 | 15 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 53.10% | 46.90% | 30.50% | 69.50% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 69.40% | 30.60% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | **Own current residence** % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 1340 | 1374 | 1347 | 1313 | 1310 | 1198 | 1485 | 1022 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 49.40% | 50.60% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 52.20% | 47.80% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| | *n* | 1343 | 1543 | 1499 | 1334 | 1186 | 1251 | 1539 | 1045 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 52.90% | 47.10% | 48.70% | 51.30% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | *n* | 1194 | 1480 | 928 | 1589 | 782 | 901 | 1129 | 995 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 36.90% | 63.10% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 53.20% | 46.80% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 359 | 273 | 280 | 332 | 372 | 161 | 437 | 152 |
| below average or average | % | 56.80% | 43.20% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 69.80% | 30.20% | 74.20% | 25.80% |
| | *n* | 165 | 142 | 127 | 164 | 125 | 94 | 167 | 95 |
| above average | % | 53.70% | 46.30% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 57.10% | 42.90% | 63.70% | 36.30% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **other arrangements** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 89 | 92 | 75 | 102 | 91 | 64 | 111 | 55 |
| below average or average | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 42.40% | 57.60% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 49 | 50 | 43 | 55 | 46 | 31 | 60 | 28 |
| above average | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 43.90% | 56.10% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 68.20% | 31.80% |

*AAI – Attitudinal Access & Inclusion, AP – Attitudinal Participation, SAI – Structural Access & Inclusion, SP – Structural Participation*

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | **own** % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 2099 | 2154 | 2067 | 2047 | 1907 | 1688 | 2379 | 1461 |
| below average or average | % | 49.40% | 50.60% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 62.00% | 38.00% |
| | *n* | 1795 | 2261 | 1722 | 2207 | 1381 | 1590 | 1790 | 1611 |
| above average | % | 44.30% | 55.70% | 43.80% | 56.20% | 46.50% | 53.50% | 52.60% | 47.40% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Community Member | *n* | 21 | 5 | 19 | 5 | 15 | 4 | 23 | 4 |
| Different Community | % | 80.80% | 19.20% | 79.20% | 20.80% | 78.90% | 21.10% | 85.20% | 14.80% |
| | *n* | 118 | 113 | 95 | 134 | 130 | 79 | 149 | 65 |
| Community of residence | % | 51.10% | 48.90% | 41.50% | 58.50% | 62.20% | 37.80% | 69.60% | 30.40% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **have some other arrangement** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Community Member | *n* | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Different Community | % | 57.10% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 42.90% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% |
| | *n* | 60 | 57 | 51 | 66 | 63 | 37 | 72 | 36 |
| Community of residence | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 63.00% | 37.00% | 66.70% | 33.30% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | **Own current residence** % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Community Member | *n* | 140 | 73 | 109 | 83 | 130 | 33 | 169 | 27 |
| Different Community | % | 65.70% | 34.30% | 56.80% | 43.20% | 79.80% | 20.20% | 86.20% | 13.80% |
| | *n* | 1047 | 1195 | 1053 | 1129 | 940 | 881 | 1156 | 825 |
| Community of residence | % | 46.70% | 53.30% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 58.40% | 41.60% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| | **rent** % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 24 | 15 | 15 | 24 | 23 | 8 | 37 | 3 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 61.50% | 38.50% | 38.50% | 61.50% | 74.20% | 25.80% | 92.50% | 7.50% |
| | *n* | 85 | 91 | 81 | 92 | 96 | 64 | 107 | 54 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 48.30% | 51.70% | 46.80% | 53.20% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 377 | 293 | 286 | 353 | 344 | 169 | 424 | 175 |
| Within town | % | 56.30% | 43.70% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 67.10% | 32.90% | 70.80% | 29.20% |
| | **Living Arrangements** *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | **have some other arrangement** % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 11 | 10 | 8 | 13 | 15 | 2 | 9 | 9 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 52.40% | 47.60% | 38.10% | 61.90% | 88.20% | 11.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| | *n* | 44 | 44 | 36 | 52 | 44 | 30 | 57 | 25 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 40.90% | 59.10% | 59.50% | 40.50% | 69.50% | 30.50% |
| | *n* | 72 | 80 | 62 | 86 | 69 | 55 | 92 | 46 |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Within town | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 41.90% | 58.10% | 55.60% | 44.40% | 66.70% | 33.30% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 401 | 380 | 392 | 370 | 360 | 294 | 456 | 261 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 63.60% | 36.40% |
| | *n* | 646 | 734 | 640 | 687 | 589 | 510 | 732 | 485 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 60.10% | 39.90% |
| | *n* | 2656 | 3098 | 2581 | 2993 | 2177 | 2336 | 2783 | 2198 |
| Within town | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 46.30% | 53.70% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 55.90% | 44.10% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Distance | *n* | 86 | 97 | 86 | 95 | 100 | 80 | 118 | 52 |
| below average or average | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 62.50% | 37.50% | 69.00% | 31.00% |
| | *n* | 438 | 318 | 321 | 401 | 397 | 195 | 488 | 195 |
| above average | % | 57.90% | 42.10% | 44.50% | 55.50% | 67.10% | 32.90% | 71.40% | 28.60% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Distance | *n* | 41 | 42 | 34 | 49 | 46 | 25 | 46 | 30 |
| below average or average | % | 49.40% | 50.60% | 41.00% | 59.00% | 64.80% | 35.20% | 60.50% | 39.50% |
| | *n* | 97 | 100 | 84 | 108 | 91 | 70 | 125 | 53 |
| above average | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 43.80% | 56.20% | 56.50% | 43.50% | 70.20% | 29.80% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Distance | *n* | 880 | 965 | 879 | 907 | 797 | 707 | 977 | 661 |
| below average or average | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | *n* | 3014 | 3450 | 2910 | 3347 | 2491 | 2571 | 3192 | 2411 |
| above average | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 46.50% | 53.50% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 57.00% | 43.00% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.00% | 40.00% | 40.00% | 60.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% |
| | *n* | 280 | 213 | 226 | 244 | 293 | 117 | 350 | 109 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 56.60% | 43.40% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 71.50% | 28.50% | 76.30% | 23.70% |
| | *n* | 236 | 195 | 175 | 247 | 199 | 137 | 243 | 138 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 54.80% | 45.20% | 41.50% | 58.50% | 59.20% | 40.80% | 63.80% | 36.20% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 66.70% | 33.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 81 | 88 | 74 | 91 | 85 | 65 | 107 | 48 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 47.90% | 52.10% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 76.30% | 23.70% |
| | *n* | 54 | 53 | 42 | 65 | 50 | 30 | 62 | 35 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 50.50% | 49.50% | 39.30% | 60.70% | 62.50% | 37.50% | 63.80% | 36.20% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 21 | 19 | 19 | 18 | 16 | 14 | 27 | 11 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 52.50% | 47.50% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 71.10% | 28.90% |
| | *n* | 2333 | 2356 | 2334 | 2167 | 2143 | 1663 | 2702 | 1441 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.80% | 50.20% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 56.30% | 43.70% | 65.20% | 34.80% |
| | *n* | 1503 | 2001 | 1411 | 2023 | 1108 | 1582 | 1399 | 1602 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 42.90% | 57.10% | 41.10% | 58.90% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 46.60% | 53.40% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 37 | 24 | 31 | 26 | 30 | 9 | 52 | 5 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.70% | 39.30% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 76.90% | 23.10% | 91.20% | 8.80% |
| | *n* | 358 | 270 | 291 | 212 | 371 | 172 | 432 | 153 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 57.00% | 43.00% | 47.70% | 52.30% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 73.80% | 26.20% |
| | *n* | 113 | 113 | 74 | 143 | 91 | 71 | 106 | 88 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 34.10% | 65.90% | 56.20% | 43.80% | 54.60% | 45.40% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| **have some other arrangement** | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 7 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 2 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 53.80% | 46.20% | 30.00% | 70.00% | 71.40% | 28.60% | 80.00% | 20.00% |
| | *n* | 103 | 102 | 90 | 114 | 106 | 74 | 127 | 64 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.20% | 49.80% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 58.90% | 41.10% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 26 | 34 | 24 | 35 | 26 | 19 | 35 | 17 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.30% | 56.70% | 40.70% | 59.30% | 57.60% | 42.40% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| **Own current residence** | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 206 | 158 | 166 | 179 | 167 | 69 | 239 | 76 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 56.60% | 43.40% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 70.80% | 29.20% | 75.90% | 24.10% |
| | *n* | 2908 | 2948 | 2912 | 2760 | 2547 | 2294 | 3211 | 1974 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.70% | 50.30% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 61.90% | 38.10% |
| | *n* | 675 | 1202 | 627 | 1205 | 532 | 870 | 629 | 971 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 36.00% | 64.00% | 34.20% | 65.80% | 37.90% | 62.10% | 39.30% | 60.70% |
| **Living Arrangements** | *n* | 524 | 415 | 407 | 496 | 497 | 255 | 604 | 247 |
| **rent** | % | 55.80% | 44.20% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 121 | 49 | 85 | 75 | 121 | 28 | 150 | 15 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 71.20% | 28.80% | 53.10% | 46.90% | 81.20% | 18.80% | 90.90% | 9.10% |

| Test: Living Arrangements-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 126 | 96 | 100 | 114 | 133 | 48 | 172 | 35 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 56.80% | 43.20% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 73.50% | 26.50% | 83.10% | 16.90% |
| | *n* | 267 | 264 | 213 | 304 | 239 | 179 | 271 | 196 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 57.20% | 42.80% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| **Living Arrangements have some other arrangement** | *n* | 138 | 142 | 118 | 157 | 137 | 95 | 171 | 83 |
| | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 42.90% | 57.10% | 59.10% | 40.90% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 30 | 20 | 28 | 22 | 34 | 11 | 42 | 6 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.00% | 40.00% | 56.00% | 44.00% | 75.60% | 24.40% | 87.50% | 12.50% |
| | *n* | 34 | 36 | 28 | 39 | 41 | 17 | 54 | 9 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 48.60% | 51.40% | 41.80% | 58.20% | 70.70% | 29.30% | 85.70% | 14.30% |
| | *n* | 73 | 86 | 60 | 96 | 62 | 66 | 73 | 68 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 45.90% | 54.10% | 38.50% | 61.50% | 48.40% | 51.60% | 51.80% | 48.20% |
| **Living Arrangements Own current residence** | *n* | 3894 | 4415 | 3789 | 4254 | 3288 | 3278 | 4169 | 3072 |
| | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 605 | 348 | 572 | 350 | 555 | 258 | 753 | 134 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 63.50% | 36.50% | 62.00% | 38.00% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 84.90% | 15.10% |
| | *n* | 1038 | 1006 | 1020 | 946 | 992 | 654 | 1343 | 481 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.80% | 49.20% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 60.30% | 39.70% | 73.60% | 26.40% |
| | *n* | 2194 | 3004 | 2142 | 2908 | 1700 | 2338 | 2002 | 2437 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 42.20% | 57.80% | 42.40% | 57.60% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 45.10% | 54.90% |

| Test: Race-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Income | *n* | 61 | 32 | 45 | 45 | 48 | 26 | 58 | 23 |
| below average or average | % | 65.60% | 34.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 64.90% | 35.10% | 71.60% | 28.40% |
| | *n* | 35 | 33 | 39 | 32 | 28 | 28 | 30 | 26 |
| above average | % | 51.50% | 48.50% | 54.90% | 45.10% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Income | *n* | 2343 | 2247 | 1972 | 2453 | 2000 | 1454 | 2493 | 1480 |
| below average or average | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 57.90% | 42.10% | 62.70% | 37.30% |
| | *n* | 1664 | 2221 | 1889 | 1921 | 1553 | 1888 | 1900 | 1648 |
| above average | % | 42.80% | 57.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 53.60% | 46.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Education | *n* | 85 | 55 | 73 | 67 | 64 | 36 | 74 | 41 |
| below average or average | % | 60.70% | 39.30% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 64.00% | 36.00% | 64.30% | 35.70% |
| | *n* | 25 | 19 | 24 | 20 | 19 | 22 | 26 | 12 |
| above average | % | 56.80% | 43.20% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 46.30% | 53.70% | 68.40% | 31.60% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Education | *n* | 3209 | 3300 | 2865 | 3403 | 2724 | 2187 | 3568 | 2071 |
| below average or average | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 45.70% | 54.30% | 55.50% | 44.50% | 63.30% | 36.70% |
| | *n* | 1238 | 1599 | 1352 | 1419 | 1115 | 1384 | 1277 | 1279 |
| above average | % | 43.60% | 56.40% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 44.60% | 55.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Employment | *n* | 14 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 15 | 2 | 8 | 5 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 70.00% | 30.00% | 70.00% | 30.00% | 88.20% | 11.80% | 61.50% | 38.50% |
| | *n* | 26 | 22 | 23 | 28 | 15 | 8 | 26 | 16 |
| Retired | % | 54.20% | 45.80% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 65.20% | 34.80% | 61.90% | 38.10% |
| | *n* | 67 | 47 | 59 | 52 | 53 | 46 | 66 | 32 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Employment | *n* | 334 | 276 | 288 | 292 | 305 | 168 | 350 | 192 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 54.80% | 45.20% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 64.50% | 35.50% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 1356 | 1562 | 1067 | 1682 | 912 | 877 | 1367 | 1008 |
| Retired | % | 46.50% | 53.50% | 38.80% | 61.20% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| | *n* | 2644 | 2921 | 2744 | 2720 | 2518 | 2415 | 2997 | 2068 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 47.50% | 52.50% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |

*AAI – Attitudinal Access & Inclusion, AP – Attitudinal Participation, SAI – Structural Access & Inclusion, SP – Structural Participation*

| Test: Race-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 45 | 23 | 39 | 25 | 39 | 14 | 44 | 12 |
| below average or average | % | 66.20% | 33.80% | 60.90% | 39.10% | 73.60% | 26.40% | 78.60% | 21.40% |
| | *n* | 28 | 27 | 24 | 31 | 18 | 31 | 28 | 20 |
| above average | % | 50.90% | 49.10% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 58.30% | 41.70% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 1429 | 1362 | 1369 | 1362 | 1347 | 1030 | 1635 | 876 |
| below average or average | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 65.10% | 34.90% |
| | *n* | 1387 | 1801 | 1506 | 1609 | 1280 | 1527 | 1557 | 1325 |
| above average | % | 43.50% | 56.50% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 45.60% | 54.40% | 54.00% | 46.00% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 16 | 10 | 14 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 16 | 6 |
| rent | % | 61.50% | 38.50% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 59.30% | 40.70% | 72.70% | 27.30% |
| | *n* | 4 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 14.30% | 85.70% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| | *n* | 89 | 62 | 83 | 68 | 68 | 44 | 82 | 45 |
| Own current residence | % | 58.90% | 41.10% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 60.70% | 39.30% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 508 | 405 | 393 | 483 | 481 | 244 | 588 | 241 |
| rent | % | 55.60% | 44.40% | 44.90% | 55.10% | 66.30% | 33.70% | 70.90% | 29.10% |
| | *n* | 134 | 138 | 117 | 151 | 137 | 92 | 168 | 81 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 59.80% | 40.20% | 67.50% | 32.50% |
| | *n* | 3805 | 4353 | 3706 | 4186 | 3220 | 3234 | 4087 | 3027 |
| Own current residence | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 47.00% | 53.00% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 57.50% | 42.50% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 50 | 34 | 44 | 40 | 41 | 22 | 44 | 26 |
| Female | % | 59.50% | 40.50% | 52.40% | 47.60% | 65.10% | 34.90% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| | *n* | 59 | 38 | 53 | 43 | 43 | 35 | 53 | 27 |
| Male | % | 60.80% | 39.20% | 55.20% | 44.80% | 55.10% | 44.90% | 66.30% | 33.70% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 2494 | 2650 | 2186 | 2750 | 2102 | 1800 | 2623 | 1847 |
| Female | % | 48.50% | 51.50% | 44.30% | 55.70% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | *n* | 1953 | 2250 | 2029 | 2074 | 1735 | 1769 | 2222 | 1500 |
| Male | % | 46.50% | 53.50% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 59.70% | 40.30% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 52 | 30 | 46 | 34 | 43 | 32 | 47 | 27 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 63.40% | 36.60% | 57.50% | 42.50% | 57.30% | 42.70% | 63.50% | 36.50% |

| Test: Race-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 31 | 16 | 25 | 21 | 28 | 13 | 28 | 9 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 66.00% | 34.00% | 54.30% | 45.70% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 75.70% | 24.30% |
| | *n* | 26 | 25 | 26 | 29 | 12 | 13 | 21 | 17 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 55.30% | 44.70% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 1601 | 1603 | 1564 | 1577 | 1627 | 1347 | 1808 | 1155 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 54.70% | 45.30% | 61.00% | 39.00% |
| | *n* | 1472 | 1661 | 1626 | 1456 | 1326 | 1330 | 1713 | 1116 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| | *n* | 1365 | 1625 | 1019 | 1777 | 880 | 889 | 1317 | 1071 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.40% | 63.60% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 82 | 51 | 76 | 54 | 73 | 36 | 78 | 34 |
| below average or average | % | 61.70% | 38.30% | 58.50% | 41.50% | 67.00% | 33.00% | 69.60% | 30.40% |
| | *n* | 61 | 49 | 54 | 51 | 31 | 26 | 60 | 21 |
| above average | % | 55.50% | 44.50% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 54.40% | 45.60% | 74.10% | 25.90% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 2484 | 2482 | 2365 | 2434 | 2308 | 1881 | 2873 | 1671 |
| below average or average | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 55.10% | 44.90% | 63.70% | 36.30% |
| | *n* | 1971 | 2423 | 1859 | 2393 | 1534 | 1693 | 1978 | 1716 |
| above average | % | 44.90% | 55.10% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 53.50% | 46.50% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Community Member | *n* | 8 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 7 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| Different Community | % | 88.90% | 11.10% | 87.50% | 12.50% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% |
| | *n* | 39 | 23 | 36 | 27 | 23 | 22 | 32 | 14 |
| Community of residence | % | 62.90% | 37.10% | 57.10% | 42.90% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 69.60% | 30.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Community Member | *n* | 159 | 80 | 127 | 90 | 143 | 37 | 190 | 31 |
| Different Community | % | 66.50% | 33.50% | 58.50% | 41.50% | 79.40% | 20.60% | 86.00% | 14.00% |
| | *n* | 1198 | 1352 | 1175 | 1310 | 1118 | 978 | 1355 | 914 |
| Community of residence | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 59.70% | 40.30% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 19 | 4 | 13 | 7 | 14 | 5 | 14 | 5 |

| Test: Race-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 82.60% | 17.40% | 65.00% | 35.00% | 73.70% | 26.30% | 73.70% | 26.30% |
| | *n* | 22 | 19 | 25 | 16 | 13 | 12 | 22 | 7 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 53.70% | 46.30% | 61.00% | 39.00% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 75.90% | 24.10% |
| | *n* | 90 | 73 | 81 | 75 | 71 | 38 | 92 | 38 |
| Within town | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 65.10% | 34.90% | 70.80% | 29.20% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 419 | 401 | 402 | 401 | 385 | 299 | 489 | 268 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 51.10% | 48.90% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 56.30% | 43.70% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 762 | 860 | 743 | 821 | 722 | 595 | 883 | 559 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.20% | 38.80% |
| | *n* | 3039 | 3419 | 2869 | 3373 | 2532 | 2525 | 3237 | 2384 |
| Within town | % | 47.10% | 52.90% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 50.10% | 49.90% | 57.60% | 42.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Distance | *n* | 33 | 21 | 33 | 21 | 20 | 18 | 29 | 13 |
| below average or average | % | 61.10% | 38.90% | 61.10% | 38.90% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 69.00% | 31.00% |
| | *n* | 110 | 79 | 97 | 84 | 84 | 44 | 109 | 42 |
| above average | % | 58.20% | 41.80% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 65.60% | 34.40% | 72.20% | 27.80% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Distance | *n* | 983 | 1092 | 977 | 1035 | 929 | 776 | 1118 | 732 |
| below average or average | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 60.40% | 39.60% |
| | *n* | 3472 | 3813 | 3247 | 3792 | 2913 | 2798 | 3733 | 2621 |
| above average | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 46.10% | 53.90% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 58.80% | 41.20% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 100.00% | 0.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% | 0.00% | 100.00% |
| | *n* | 93 | 48 | 93 | 45 | 75 | 28 | 90 | 29 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 66.00% | 34.00% | 67.40% | 32.60% | 72.80% | 27.20% | 75.60% | 24.40% |
| | *n* | 45 | 49 | 34 | 57 | 29 | 30 | 45 | 25 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 47.90% | 52.10% | 37.40% | 62.60% | 49.20% | 50.80% | 64.30% | 35.70% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 25 | 22 | 22 | 22 | 20 | 14 | 34 | 11 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 53.20% | 46.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 58.80% | 41.20% | 75.60% | 24.40% |
| | *n* | 2625 | 2625 | 2568 | 2468 | 2462 | 1819 | 3098 | 1570 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 57.50% | 42.50% | 66.40% | 33.60% |
| | *n* | 1763 | 2215 | 1604 | 2290 | 1336 | 1722 | 1673 | 1754 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.30% | 55.70% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 48.80% | 51.20% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |

| Test: Race-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 9 | 1 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 58.30% | 41.70% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 83.30% | 16.70% | 90.00% | 10.00% |
| | *n* | 104 | 59 | 99 | 62 | 84 | 37 | 102 | 38 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 63.80% | 36.20% | 61.50% | 38.50% | 69.40% | 30.60% | 72.90% | 27.10% |
| | *n* | 25 | 30 | 21 | 30 | 13 | 19 | 21 | 13 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 45.50% | 54.50% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 40.60% | 59.40% | 61.80% | 38.20% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 244 | 185 | 197 | 207 | 199 | 79 | 295 | 82 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 56.90% | 43.10% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 71.60% | 28.40% | 78.20% | 21.80% |
| | *n* | 3291 | 3280 | 3220 | 3145 | 2956 | 2508 | 3697 | 2157 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.10% | 49.90% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 54.10% | 45.90% | 63.20% | 36.80% |
| | *n* | 798 | 1329 | 713 | 1359 | 641 | 941 | 757 | 1064 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 37.50% | 62.50% | 34.40% | 65.60% | 40.50% | 59.50% | 41.60% | 58.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 143 | 100 | 130 | 105 | 104 | 62 | 138 | 55 |
| **People of Color** | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% | 71.50% | 28.50% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 21 | 9 | 19 | 10 | 22 | 7 | 24 | 2 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 70.00% | 30.00% | 65.50% | 34.50% | 75.90% | 24.10% | 92.30% | 7.70% |
| | *n* | 50 | 21 | 43 | 26 | 38 | 14 | 49 | 14 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 70.40% | 29.60% | 62.30% | 37.70% | 73.10% | 26.90% | 77.80% | 22.20% |
| | *n* | 64 | 65 | 61 | 66 | 41 | 38 | 57 | 37 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 49.60% | 50.40% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| **Respondent Race** | *n* | 4455 | 4905 | 4224 | 4827 | 3842 | 3574 | 4851 | 3353 |
| **White** | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 46.70% | 53.30% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 740 | 411 | 670 | 439 | 691 | 291 | 926 | 153 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.30% | 35.70% | 60.40% | 39.60% | 70.40% | 29.60% | 85.80% | 14.20% |
| | *n* | 1161 | 1125 | 1119 | 1078 | 1139 | 706 | 1537 | 514 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.80% | 49.20% | 50.90% | 49.10% | 61.70% | 38.30% | 74.90% | 25.10% |
| | *n* | 2491 | 3308 | 2372 | 3259 | 1970 | 2549 | 2309 | 2666 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 43.60% | 56.40% | 46.40% | 53.60% |

| Test: Gender-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Income | *n* | 1452 | 1395 | 1147 | 1577 | 1212 | 851 | 1487 | 957 |
| below average or average | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 60.80% | 39.20% |
| | *n* | 807 | 1020 | 863 | 920 | 764 | 845 | 904 | 765 |
| above average | % | 44.20% | 55.80% | 48.40% | 51.60% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 54.20% | 45.80% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Income | *n* | 948 | 881 | 866 | 918 | 833 | 627 | 1062 | 544 |
| below average or average | % | 51.80% | 48.20% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 57.10% | 42.90% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 890 | 1229 | 1063 | 1029 | 816 | 1067 | 1021 | 907 |
| above average | % | 42.00% | 58.00% | 50.80% | 49.20% | 43.30% | 56.70% | 53.00% | 47.00% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Education | *n* | 1800 | 1753 | 1459 | 1937 | 1459 | 1059 | 1903 | 1140 |
| below average or average | % | 50.70% | 49.30% | 43.00% | 57.00% | 57.90% | 42.10% | 62.50% | 37.50% |
| | *n* | 741 | 928 | 768 | 850 | 681 | 761 | 760 | 732 |
| above average | % | 44.40% | 55.60% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 50.90% | 49.10% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Education | *n* | 1486 | 1598 | 1472 | 1528 | 1324 | 1160 | 1733 | 967 |
| below average or average | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 53.30% | 46.70% | 64.20% | 35.80% |
| | *n* | 520 | 688 | 606 | 587 | 453 | 643 | 539 | 559 |
| above average | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 50.80% | 49.20% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 49.10% | 50.90% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Employment | *n* | 291 | 242 | 240 | 265 | 261 | 149 | 294 | 176 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 54.60% | 45.40% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 63.70% | 36.30% | 62.60% | 37.40% |
| | *n* | 777 | 904 | 566 | 1006 | 475 | 455 | 718 | 627 |
| Retired | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 36.00% | 64.00% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 53.40% | 46.60% |
| | *n* | 1424 | 1466 | 1380 | 1444 | 1361 | 1164 | 1589 | 1032 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 49.30% | 50.70% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Employment | *n* | 57 | 40 | 62 | 33 | 58 | 21 | 64 | 21 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 58.80% | 41.20% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 73.40% | 26.60% | 75.30% | 24.70% |
| | *n* | 601 | 678 | 523 | 700 | 452 | 429 | 670 | 396 |
| Retired | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 42.80% | 57.20% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| | *n* | 1281 | 1496 | 1415 | 1324 | 1205 | 1292 | 1468 | 1064 |

| Test: Gender-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PT/FT Employed | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 48.30% | 51.70% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 555 | 451 | 463 | 515 | 513 | 322 | 609 | 297 |
| below average or average | % | 55.20% | 44.80% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 61.40% | 38.60% | 67.20% | 32.80% |
| | *n* | 936 | 1118 | 945 | 1055 | 878 | 901 | 1048 | 801 |
| above average | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 49.40% | 50.60% | 56.70% | 43.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 915 | 931 | 940 | 870 | 869 | 719 | 1067 | 588 |
| below average or average | % | 49.60% | 50.40% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 54.70% | 45.30% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | *n* | 477 | 707 | 582 | 583 | 418 | 655 | 534 | 543 |
| above average | % | 40.30% | 59.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 39.00% | 61.00% | 49.60% | 50.40% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 336 | 245 | 237 | 317 | 309 | 133 | 375 | 151 |
| rent | % | 57.80% | 42.20% | 42.80% | 57.20% | 69.90% | 30.10% | 71.30% | 28.70% |
| | *n* | 80 | 75 | 61 | 90 | 81 | 43 | 98 | 42 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 40.40% | 59.60% | 65.30% | 34.70% | 70.00% | 30.00% |
| | *n* | 2121 | 2356 | 1926 | 2376 | 1749 | 1643 | 2186 | 1677 |
| Own current residence | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 51.60% | 48.40% | 56.60% | 43.40% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 187 | 168 | 170 | 176 | 188 | 120 | 228 | 95 |
| rent | % | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 61.00% | 39.00% | 70.60% | 29.40% |
| | *n* | 57 | 66 | 56 | 66 | 55 | 52 | 71 | 41 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 46.30% | 53.70% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 63.40% | 36.60% |
| | *n* | 1767 | 2053 | 1855 | 1874 | 1534 | 1631 | 1976 | 3067 |
| Own current residence | % | 46.30% | 53.70% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 50 | 34 | 44 | 40 | 41 | 22 | 44 | 26 |
| People of Color | % | 59.50% | 40.50% | 52.40% | 47.60% | 65.10% | 34.90% | 62.90% | 37.10% |
| | *n* | 2494 | 2650 | 2186 | 2750 | 2102 | 1800 | 2623 | 1847 |
| White | % | 48.50% | 51.50% | 44.30% | 55.70% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 59 | 38 | 53 | 43 | 43 | 35 | 53 | 27 |
| People of Color | % | 60.80% | 39.20% | 55.20% | 44.80% | 55.10% | 44.90% | 66.30% | 33.70% |
| | *n* | 1953 | 2250 | 2029 | 2074 | 1735 | 1769 | 2222 | 1500 |

| Test: Gender-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | % | 46.50% | 53.50% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 59.70% | 40.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 946 | 900 | 879 | 921 | 980 | 717 | 1075 | 636 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 57.70% | 42.30% | 62.80% | 37.20% |
| | *n* | 787 | 815 | 802 | 770 | 690 | 638 | 877 | 565 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 60.80% | 39.20% |
| | *n* | 798 | 959 | 540 | 1087 | 467 | 463 | 707 | 666 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 45.40% | 54.60% | 33.20% | 66.80% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 51.50% | 48.50% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Respondent Age | *n* | 705 | 731 | 729 | 688 | 689 | 659 | 777 | 545 |
| youngest third: 17-47 | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 45.30% | 54.70% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 58.80% | 41.20% |
| | *n* | 714 | 860 | 846 | 707 | 662 | 703 | 863 | 558 |
| middle third: 48-65 | % | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| | *n* | 590 | 691 | 503 | 718 | 424 | 439 | 630 | 422 |
| oldest third: 66-107 | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 59.90% | 40.10% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1482 | 1442 | 1338 | 1477 | 1395 | 1027 | 1711 | 945 |
| below average or average | % | 50.70% | 49.30% | 47.50% | 52.50% | 57.60% | 42.40% | 64.40% | 35.60% |
| | *n* | 1062 | 1242 | 892 | 1313 | 748 | 795 | 956 | 928 |
| above average | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 40.50% | 59.50% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 50.70% | 49.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1062 | 1080 | 1083 | 1002 | 971 | 887 | 1214 | 725 |
| below average or average | % | 49.60% | 50.40% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 52.30% | 47.70% | 62.60% | 37.40% |
| | *n* | 950 | 1208 | 999 | 1115 | 807 | 917 | 1061 | 802 |
| above average | % | 44.00% | 56.00% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 46.80% | 53.20% | 57.00% | 43.00% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Community Member | *n* | 77 | 36 | 61 | 43 | 72 | 14 | 93 | 10 |
| Different Community | % | 68.10% | 31.90% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 83.50% | 16.50% | 90.30% | 9.70% |
| | *n* | 623 | 700 | 560 | 712 | 560 | 500 | 681 | 496 |
| Community of residence | % | 47.10% | 52.90% | 44.00% | 56.00% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 57.90% | 42.10% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |

| Test: Gender-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Community Member | *n* | 88 | 45 | 71 | 48 | 77 | 23 | 104 | 21 |
| Different Community | % | 66.20% | 33.80% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 77.00% | 23.00% | 83.20% | 16.80% |
| | *n* | 604 | 667 | 640 | 619 | 576 | 497 | 697 | 431 |
| Community of residence | % | 47.50% | 52.50% | 50.80% | 49.20% | 53.70% | 46.30% | 61.80% | 38.20% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 241 | 203 | 203 | 228 | 206 | 158 | 258 | 148 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 54.30% | 45.70% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 56.60% | 43.40% | 63.50% | 36.50% |
| | *n* | 380 | 443 | 352 | 431 | 342 | 303 | 422 | 306 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 46.20% | 53.80% | 45.00% | 55.00% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 58.00% | 42.00% |
| | *n* | 1809 | 1930 | 1585 | 2010 | 1493 | 1292 | 1858 | 1360 |
| Within town | % | 48.40% | 51.60% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 57.70% | 42.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 196 | 202 | 212 | 180 | 192 | 146 | 245 | 125 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 54.10% | 45.90% | 56.80% | 43.20% | 66.20% | 33.80% |
| | *n* | 396 | 429 | 406 | 402 | 389 | 302 | 475 | 260 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 48.00% | 52.00% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 56.30% | 43.70% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 1293 | 1540 | 1340 | 1421 | 1093 | 1266 | 1438 | 1056 |
| Within town | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 46.30% | 53.70% | 57.70% | 42.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Distance | *n* | 505 | 560 | 468 | 553 | 463 | 389 | 559 | 390 |
| below average or average | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 45.80% | 54.20% | 54.30% | 45.70% | 58.90% | 41.10% |
| | *n* | 2039 | 2124 | 1762 | 2237 | 1680 | 1433 | 2108 | 1483 |
| above average | % | 49.00% | 51.00% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Distance | *n* | 504 | 546 | 533 | 498 | 483 | 403 | 581 | 354 |
| below average or average | % | 48.00% | 52.00% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 62.10% | 37.90% |
| | *n* | 1508 | 1742 | 1549 | 1619 | 1295 | 1401 | 1694 | 1173 |
| above average | % | 46.40% | 53.60% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 59.10% | 40.90% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 10 | 11 | 4 | 14 | 6 | 6 | 14 | 6 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 47.60% | 52.40% | 22.20% | 77.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 70.00% | 30.00% |
| | *n* | 1509 | 1466 | 1406 | 1430 | 1406 | 963 | 1730 | 907 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.70% | 49.30% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.30% | 40.70% | 65.60% | 34.40% |
| | *n* | 995 | 1187 | 801 | 1323 | 719 | 844 | 989 | 950 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 37.70% | 62.30% | 46.00% | 54.00% | 48.60% | 51.40% |

| Test: Gender-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 16 | 11 | 18 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 20 | 5 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 59.30% | 40.70% | 69.20% | 30.80% | 63.60% | 36.40% | 80.00% | 20.00% |
| | *n* | 1185 | 1195 | 1230 | 1071 | 1115 | 882 | 1427 | 692 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.80% | 50.20% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 55.80% | 44.20% | 67.30% | 32.70% |
| | *n* | 798 | 2246 | 823 | 1013 | 637 | 903 | 806 | 822 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.00% | 57.00% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 41.40% | 58.60% | 49.50% | 50.50% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 151 | 110 | 104 | 136 | 110 | 40 | 172 | 52 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 57.90% | 42.10% | 43.30% | 56.70% | 73.30% | 26.70% | 76.80% | 23.20% |
| | *n* | 1844 | 1779 | 1700 | 1798 | 1653 | 1304 | 2038 | 1198 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.90% | 49.10% | 48.60% | 51.40% | 55.90% | 44.10% | 63.00% | 37.00% |
| | *n* | 464 | 722 | 367 | 775 | 349 | 450 | 390 | 590 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 39.10% | 60.90% | 32.10% | 67.90% | 43.70% | 56.30% | 39.80% | 60.20% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 98 | 78 | 98 | 75 | 92 | 40 | 126 | 31 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 55.70% | 44.30% | 56.10% | 43.90% | 69.70% | 30.30% | 80.30% | 19.70% |
| | *n* | 1525 | 1543 | 1590 | 1398 | 1369 | 1236 | 1733 | 992 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.70% | 50.30% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 63.60% | 36.40% |
| | *n* | 350 | 626 | 359 | 606 | 301 | 508 | 380 | 485 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 35.90% | 64.10% | 37.20% | 62.80% | 37.20% | 62.80% | 43.90% | 56.10% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2544 | 2684 | 2230 | 2790 | 2143 | 1822 | 2667 | 1873 |
| | **Female** % | 48.70% | 51.30% | 44.40% | 55.60% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 394 | 181 | 332 | 213 | 365 | 128 | 483 | 64 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 68.50% | 31.50% | 60.90% | 39.10% | 74.00% | 26.00% | 88.30% | 11.70% |
| | *n* | 652 | 600 | 587 | 616 | 647 | 354 | 858 | 256 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 52.10% | 47.90% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 64.60% | 35.40% | 77.00% | 23.00% |
| | *n* | 1467 | 1874 | 1282 | 1934 | 1114 | 1328 | 1288 | 1540 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 39.90% | 60.10% | 45.60% | 54.40% | 45.50% | 54.50% |
| | **Respondent Gender** *n* | 2012 | 2288 | 2082 | 2117 | 1778 | 1804 | 2275 | 1527 |
| | **Male** % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.40% | 59.80% | 40.20% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 362 | 235 | 351 | 234 | 345 | 168 | 462 | 89 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 60.60% | 39.40% | 60.00% | 40.00% | 67.30% | 32.70% | 83.80% | 16.20% |
| | *n* | 544 | 541 | 562 | 481 | 519 | 364 | 710 | 271 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.10% | 49.90% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 58.80% | 41.20% | 72.40% | 27.60% |
| | *n* | 1070 | 1478 | 1133 | 1376 | 887 | 1255 | 1058 | 1159 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 42.00% | 58.00% | 45.20% | 54.80% | 41.40% | 58.60% | 47.70% | 52.30% |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Income | *n* | 771 | 581 | 666 | 659 | 794 | 443 | 833 | 407 |
| below average or average | % | 57.00% | 43.00% | 50.30% | 49.70% | 64.20% | 35.80% | 67.20% | 32.80% |
| | *n* | 824 | 983 | 887 | 887 | 813 | 889 | 948 | 733 |
| above average | % | 45.60% | 54.40% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 47.80% | 52.20% | 56.40% | 43.60% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Income | *n* | 683 | 639 | 684 | 620 | 619 | 478 | 793 | 400 |
| below average or average | % | 51.70% | 48.30% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 56.40% | 43.60% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 671 | 924 | 820 | 754 | 615 | 782 | 791 | 664 |
| above average | % | 42.10% | 57.90% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 44.00% | 56.00% | 54.40% | 45.60% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Income | *n* | 948 | 1051 | 666 | 1212 | 632 | 557 | 921 | 694 |
| below average or average | % | 47.40% | 52.60% | 35.50% | 64.50% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 57.00% | 43.00% |
| | *n* | 201 | 343 | 217 | 309 | 150 | 243 | 187 | 274 |
| above average | % | 36.90% | 63.10% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 38.20% | 61.80% | 40.60% | 59.40% |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Education | *n* | 984 | 861 | 893 | 911 | 988 | 708 | 1117 | 591 |
| below average or average | % | 53.30% | 46.70% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 58.30% | 41.70% | 65.40% | 34.60% |
| | *n* | 667 | 771 | 715 | 699 | 680 | 670 | 736 | 590 |
| above average | % | 46.40% | 53.60% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 50.40% | 49.60% | 55.50% | 44.50% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Education | *n* | 1075 | 1116 | 1139 | 1008 | 1000 | 808 | 1311 | 650 |
| below average or average | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 53.10% | 46.90% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 426 | 561 | 510 | 469 | 353 | 535 | 429 | 475 |
| above average | % | 43.20% | 56.80% | 52.10% | 47.90% | 39.80% | 60.20% | 47.50% | 52.50% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Education | *n* | 1219 | 1363 | 893 | 1535 | 793 | 700 | 1200 | 864 |
| below average or average | % | 47.20% | 52.80% | 36.80% | 63.20% | 53.10% | 46.90% | 58.10% | 41.90% |
| | *n* | 166 | 283 | 148 | 267 | 98 | 200 | 134 | 223 |
| above average | % | 37.00% | 63.00% | 35.70% | 64.30% | 32.90% | 67.10% | 37.50% | 62.50% |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment | *n* | 165 | 97 | 140 | 113 | 161 | 70 | 174 | 71 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 63.00% | 37.00% | 55.30% | 44.70% | 69.70% | 30.30% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| | *n* | 7 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Retired | % | 77.80% | 22.20% | 66.70% | 33.30% | 77.80% | 22.20% | 62.50% | 37.50% |
| | *n* | 1430 | 1479 | 1412 | 1445 | 1452 | 1258 | 1615 | 1077 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 49.20% | 50.80% | 49.40% | 50.60% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 60.00% | 40.00% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Employment | *n* | 103 | 99 | 108 | 87 | 100 | 61 | 117 | 59 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 55.40% | 44.60% | 62.10% | 37.90% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 239 | 258 | 262 | 234 | 214 | 194 | 294 | 161 |
| Retired | % | 48.10% | 51.90% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 64.60% | 35.40% |
| | *n* | 1099 | 1250 | 1218 | 1090 | 990 | 1032 | 1265 | 861 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 46.80% | 53.20% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 49.00% | 51.00% | 59.50% | 40.50% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Employment | *n* | 80 | 86 | 54 | 98 | 59 | 39 | 67 | 67 |
| Student/Homemaker/Other | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 35.50% | 64.50% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 50.00% | 50.00% |
| | *n* | 1125 | 1317 | 817 | 1461 | 702 | 687 | 1086 | 856 |
| Retired | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 35.90% | 64.10% | 50.50% | 49.50% | 55.90% | 44.10% |
| | *n* | 173 | 228 | 162 | 230 | 123 | 165 | 172 | 156 |
| PT/FT Employed | % | 43.10% | 56.90% | 41.30% | 58.70% | 42.70% | 57.30% | 52.40% | 47.60% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 695 | 581 | 647 | 605 | 703 | 475 | 784 | 402 |
| below average or average | % | 54.50% | 45.50% | 51.70% | 48.30% | 59.70% | 40.30% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 742 | 917 | 772 | 855 | 766 | 795 | 852 | 673 |
| above average | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 47.40% | 52.60% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 55.90% | 44.10% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 558 | 595 | 588 | 544 | 537 | 442 | 686 | 346 |
| below average or average | % | 48.40% | 51.60% | 51.90% | 48.10% | 54.90% | 45.10% | 66.50% | 33.50% |
| | *n* | 575 | 727 | 672 | 607 | 473 | 649 | 630 | 550 |
| above average | % | 44.20% | 55.80% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 42.20% | 57.80% | 53.40% | 46.60% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Occupation Prestige | *n* | 216 | 205 | 168 | 544 | 144 | 125 | 204 | 138 |
| below average or average | % | 51.30% | 48.70% | 41.60% | 58.40% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | *n* | 95 | 178 | 83 | 172 | 57 | 109 | 100 | 118 |
| above average | % | 34.80% | 65.20% | 32.50% | 67.50% | 34.30% | 65.70% | 45.90% | 54.10% |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 237 | 183 | 191 | 219 | 272 | 125 | 276 | 113 |
| rent | % | 56.40% | 43.60% | 46.60% | 53.40% | 68.50% | 31.50% | 71.00% | 29.00% |
| | *n* | 75 | 74 | 70 | 78 | 86 | 55 | 93 | 46 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 61.00% | 39.00% | 66.90% | 33.10% |
| | *n* | 1340 | 1379 | 1347 | 1313 | 1310 | 1198 | 1485 | 1022 |
| Own current residence | % | 49.40% | 50.60% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 52.20% | 47.80% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 127 | 94 | 119 | 102 | 131 | 64 | 155 | 56 |
| rent | % | 57.50% | 42.50% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 67.20% | 32.80% | 73.50% | 26.50% |
| | *n* | 29 | 37 | 30 | 37 | 34 | 26 | 43 | 22 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 43.90% | 56.10% | 44.80% | 55.20% | 56.70% | 43.30% | 66.20% | 33.80% |
| | *n* | 1343 | 1543 | 1499 | 1334 | 1186 | 1251 | 1539 | 1045 |
| Own current residence | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 52.90% | 47.10% | 48.70% | 51.30% | 59.60% | 40.40% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Living Arrangements | *n* | 159 | 136 | 96 | 173 | 93 | 65 | 172 | 77 |
| rent | % | 53.90% | 46.10% | 35.70% | 64.30% | 58.90% | 41.10% | 69.10% | 30.90% |
| | *n* | 34 | 30 | 18 | 41 | 17 | 14 | 34 | 15 |
| have some other arrangement | % | 53.10% | 46.90% | 30.50% | 69.50% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 69.40% | 30.60% |
| | *n* | 1194 | 1480 | 928 | 1589 | 782 | 822 | 1129 | 995 |
| Own current residence | % | 44.70% | 55.30% | 36.90% | 63.10% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 53.20% | 46.80% |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 52 | 30 | 46 | 34 | 43 | 32 | 47 | 27 |
| People of Color | % | 63.40% | 36.60% | 57.50% | 42.50% | 57.30% | 42.70% | 51.20% | 48.80% |
| | *n* | 1601 | 1603 | 1564 | 1577 | 1627 | 1347 | 1808 | 1155 |
| White | % | 50.00% | 50.00% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 54.70% | 45.30% | 49.10% | 50.90% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 31 | 16 | 25 | 21 | 28 | 13 | 28 | 9 |
| People of Color | % | 66.00% | 34.00% | 54.30% | 45.70% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 49.10% | 50.90% |
| | *n* | 1472 | 1661 | 1626 | 1456 | 1326 | 1330 | 1713 | 1116 |
| White | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 49.90% | 50.10% | 45.40% | 54.60% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Respondent Race | *n* | 26 | 25 | 26 | 29 | 12 | 13 | 21 | 17 |
| People of Color | % | 51.00% | 49.00% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 45.40% | 54.60% |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 1365 | 1625 | 1019 | 1777 | 880 | 889 | 1317 | 1071 |
| White | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.40% | 63.60% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 46.10% | 53.90% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 946 | 900 | 879 | 921 | 980 | 717 | 1075 | 636 |
| Female | % | 51.20% | 48.80% | 48.80% | 51.20% | 57.70% | 42.30% | 62.80% | 37.20% |
| | *n* | 705 | 731 | 729 | 688 | 689 | 659 | 777 | 545 |
| Male | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 51.10% | 48.90% | 58.80% | 41.20% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 787 | 815 | 802 | 770 | 690 | 638 | 877 | 565 |
| Female | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 51.00% | 49.00% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 60.80% | 39.20% |
| | *n* | 714 | 860 | 846 | 708 | 662 | 703 | 863 | 558 |
| Male | % | 45.40% | 54.60% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Respondent Gender | *n* | 798 | 959 | 540 | 1087 | 467 | 463 | 707 | 666 |
| Female | % | 45.40% | 54.60% | 33.20% | 66.80% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 51.50% | 48.50% |
| | *n* | 590 | 691 | 503 | 718 | 424 | 439 | 630 | 422 |
| Male | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 41.20% | 58.80% | 49.10% | 50.90% | 59.90% | 40.10% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 1302 | 1274 | 1236 | 1272 | 1340 | 1042 | 1492 | 887 |
| below average or average | % | 50.50% | 49.50% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 56.30% | 43.70% | 62.70% | 37.30% |
| | *n* | 351 | 359 | 374 | 339 | 330 | 337 | 363 | 295 |
| above average | % | 49.40% | 50.60% | 52.50% | 47.50% | 49.50% | 50.50% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 826 | 843 | 896 | 744 | 766 | 662 | 982 | 549 |
| below average or average | % | 49.50% | 50.50% | 54.60% | 45.40% | 53.60% | 46.40% | 64.10% | 35.90% |
| | *n* | 677 | 834 | 755 | 733 | 588 | 681 | 759 | 576 |
| above average | % | 44.80% | 55.20% | 50.70% | 49.30% | 46.30% | 53.70% | 56.90% | 43.10% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Years in Community | *n* | 414 | 396 | 287 | 456 | 236 | 1912 | 448 | 230 |
| below average or average | % | 51.10% | 48.90% | 38.60% | 61.40% | 55.50% | 44.50% | 66.10% | 33.90% |
| | *n* | 977 | 1254 | 758 | 1350 | 633 | 694 | 890 | 858 |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| above average | % | 43.80% | 56.20% | 36.00% | 64.00% | 47.70% | 52.30% | 50.90% | 49.10% |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Community Member | *n* | 61 | 31 | 53 | 33 | 66 | 16 | 78 | 10 |
| Different Community | % | 66.30% | 33.70% | 61.60% | 38.40% | 80.50% | 19.50% | 88.60% | 11.40% |
| | *n* | 472 | 507 | 457 | 512 | 514 | 408 | 545 | 373 |
| Community of residence | % | 48.20% | 51.80% | 47.20% | 52.80% | 55.70% | 44.30% | 59.40% | 40.60% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Community Member | *n* | 67 | 31 | 57 | 31 | 58 | 18 | 77 | 13 |
| Different Community | % | 68.40% | 31.60% | 64.80% | 35.20% | 76.30% | 23.70% | 85.60% | 14.40% |
| | *n* | 452 | 528 | 500 | 466 | 423 | 409 | 528 | 340 |
| Community of residence | % | 46.10% | 53.90% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 50.60% | 49.40% | 60.80% | 39.20% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Community Member | *n* | 37 | 19 | 22 | 27 | 25 | 3 | 42 | 8 |
| Different Community | % | 66.10% | 33.90% | 44.90% | 55.10% | 89.30% | 10.70% | 84.00% | 16.00% |
| | *n* | 301 | 330 | 240 | 352 | 197 | 179 | 303 | 213 |
| Community of residence | % | 47.70% | 52.30% | 40.50% | 59.50% | 52.40% | 47.60% | 58.70% | 41.30% |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 190 | 165 | 165 | 184 | 195 | 131 | 212 | 127 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 53.50% | 46.50% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 59.80% | 40.20% | 62.50% | 37.50% |
| | *n* | 284 | 318 | 292 | 300 | 318 | 247 | 351 | 212 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 47.20% | 52.80% | 49.30% | 50.70% | 56.30% | 43.70% | 62.30% | 37.70% |
| | *n* | 1100 | 1082 | 1083 | 1051 | 1073 | 943 | 1212 | 789 |
| Within town | % | 50.40% | 49.60% | 50.70% | 49.30% | 53.20% | 46.80% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 173 | 171 | 197 | 145 | 159 | 136 | 207 | 105 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 57.60% | 42.40% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 66.30% | 33.70% |
| | *n* | 275 | 311 | 293 | 273 | 262 | 228 | 330 | 196 |
| Outside town on farm | % | 46.90% | 53.10% | 51.80% | 48.20% | 53.50% | 46.50% | 62.70% | 37.30% |
| | *n* | 961 | 1100 | 1071 | 964 | 853 | 907 | 1105 | 763 |
| Within town | % | 46.60% | 53.40% | 52.60% | 47.40% | 48.50% | 51.50% | 59.20% | 40.80% |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Where Do You Live? | *n* | 73 | 67 | 52 | 77 | 44 | 36 | 84 | 39 |
| Outside town not on a farm | % | 52.10% | 47.90% | 40.30% | 59.70% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 68.30% | 31.70% |
| | *n* | 215 | 242 | 170 | 260 | 150 | 129 | 214 | 158 |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outside town on farm | % | 47.00% | 53.00% | 39.50% | 60.50% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 57.50% | 42.50% |
| | *n* | 1036 | 1278 | 768 | 1405 | 656 | 707 | 973 | 860 |
| Within town | % | 44.80% | 55.20% | 35.30% | 64.70% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 53.10% | 46.90% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Distance | *n* | 402 | 421 | 388 | 421 | 441 | 329 | 463 | 313 |
| below average or average | % | 48.80% | 51.20% | 48.00% | 52.00% | 57.30% | 42.70% | 59.70% | 40.30% |
| | *n* | 1251 | 1212 | 1222 | 1190 | 1229 | 1050 | 1392 | 869 |
| above average | % | 50.80% | 49.20% | 50.70% | 49.30% | 53.90% | 46.10% | 61.60% | 38.40% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Distance | *n* | 384 | 442 | 427 | 378 | 353 | 334 | 443 | 279 |
| below average or average | % | 46.50% | 53.50% | 53.00% | 47.00% | 51.40% | 48.60% | 61.40% | 38.60% |
| | *n* | 1119 | 1235 | 1224 | 1099 | 1001 | 1009 | 1298 | 846 |
| above average | % | 47.50% | 52.50% | 52.70% | 47.30% | 49.80% | 50.20% | 60.50% | 39.50% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Distance | *n* | 222 | 242 | 184 | 252 | 150 | 128 | 232 | 151 |
| below average or average | % | 47.80% | 52.20% | 42.20% | 57.80% | 54.00% | 46.00% | 60.60% | 39.40% |
| | *n* | 1169 | 1408 | 861 | 1554 | 742 | 2833 | 1106 | 937 |
| above average | % | 45.40% | 54.60% | 35.70% | 64.30% | 48.90% | 51.10% | 54.10% | 45.90% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 2 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 10 | 2 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 16.70% | 83.30% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.50% | 45.50% | 83.30% | 16.70% |
| | *n* | 1129 | 1047 | 1087 | 1031 | 1202 | 816 | 1360 | 653 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 51.90% | 48.10% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 59.60% | 40.40% | 67.60% | 32.40% |
| | *n* | 510 | 573 | 508 | 567 | 453 | 552 | 475 | 524 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 47.10% | 52.90% | 47.30% | 52.70% | 45.10% | 54.90% | 47.50% | 52.50% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 8 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 15 | 7 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 80.00% | 20.00% | 70.00% | 30.00% | 70.00% | 30.00% | 81.80% | 18.20% |
| | *n* | 944 | 928 | 1024 | 801 | 887 | 683 | 1147 | 536 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 50.40% | 49.60% | 56.10% | 43.90% | 56.50% | 43.50% | 68.20% | 31.80% |
| | *n* | 539 | 735 | 612 | 658 | 450 | 651 | 565 | 584 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 42.30% | 57.70% | 48.20% | 51.80% | 40.90% | 59.10% | 49.20% | 50.80% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Daily Shopping Needs | *n* | 16 | 10 | 9 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 15 | 7 |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Do not use/purchase | % | 61.50% | 38.50% | 40.90% | 59.10% | 53.80% | 46.20% | 68.20% | 31.80% |
| | *n* | 620 | 677 | 523 | 2494 | 430 | 345 | 649 | 406 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 47.80% | 52.20% | 44.10% | 55.90% | 55.50% | 44.50% | 61.50% | 38.50% |
| | *n* | 737 | 934 | 500 | 1105 | 450 | 543 | 657 | 663 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.10% | 55.90% | 31.20% | 68.80% | 45.30% | 54.70% | 49.80% | 50.20% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 31 | 15 | 27 | 19 | 31 | 12 | 38 | 6 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 67.40% | 32.60% | 58.70% | 41.30% | 72.10% | 27.90% | 86.40% | 13.60% |
| | *n* | 1384 | 1288 | 1343 | 1273 | 1418 | 1068 | 1598 | 881 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 41.10% | 58.90% | 51.30% | 48.70% | 57.00% | 43.00% | 64.50% | 35.50% |
| | *n* | 226 | 320 | 225 | 313 | 214 | 286 | 209 | 287 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 41.40% | 58.60% | 41.80% | 58.20% | 42.80% | 57.20% | 42.10% | 57.90% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 57 | 44 | 59 | 39 | 57 | 23 | 76 | 16 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 56.40% | 43.60% | 60.20% | 39.80% | 71.30% | 28.70% | 82.60% | 17.40% |
| | *n* | 1218 | 1238 | 1317 | 1091 | 1083 | 998 | 1413 | 800 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.60% | 50.40% | 54.70% | 45.30% | 52.00% | 48.00% | 63.80% | 36.20% |
| | *n* | 212 | 377 | 261 | 326 | 201 | 308 | 233 | 297 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 36.00% | 64.00% | 44.30% | 55.70% | 39.50% | 60.50% | 44.00% | 56.00% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Recreational Activity | *n* | 161 | 128 | 112 | 154 | 113 | 45 | 183 | 61 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 55.70% | 44.30% | 42.10% | 57.90% | 71.50% | 28.50% | 75.00% | 25.00% |
| | *n* | 762 | 789 | 628 | 821 | 520 | 474 | 756 | 506 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.10% | 50.90% | 43.30% | 56.70% | 52.30% | 47.70% | 59.90% | 40.10% |
| | *n* | 375 | 648 | 239 | 738 | 233 | 362 | 325 | 489 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 36.70% | 63.30% | 24.50% | 75.50% | 39.20% | 60.80% | 39.90% | 60.10% |
| **Respondent Age youngest third: 17-47** | *n* | 1653 | 1633 | 1610 | 1611 | 1670 | 1379 | 1855 | 1182 |
| | % | 50.30% | 49.70% | 50.00% | 50.00% | 54.80% | 45.20% | 61.10% | 38.90% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 362 | 196 | 300 | 241 | 366 | 159 | 442 | 75 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.90% | 35.10% | 55.50% | 44.50% | 69.70% | 30.30% | 85.50% | 14.50% |
| | *n* | 483 | 398 | 470 | 431 | 534 | 319 | 650 | 212 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 51.60% | 48.40% | 52.20% | 47.80% | 62.60% | 37.40% | 75.40% | 24.60% |
| | *n* | 791 | 975 | 825 | 928 | 757 | 893 | 748 | 888 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 44.80% | 55.20% | 47.10% | 52.90% | 45.90% | 54.10% | 45.70% | 54.30% |
| **Respondent Age middle third: 48-65** | *n* | 1503 | 1677 | 1651 | 1477 | 1354 | 1343 | 1741 | 1125 |
| | % | 47.30% | 52.70% | 52.80% | 47.20% | 50.20% | 49.80% | 60.70% | 39.30% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 279 | 157 | 293 | 136 | 250 | 110 | 348 | 62 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.00% | 36.00% | 68.30% | 31.70% | 69.40% | 30.60% | 84.90% | 15.10% |

| Test: Age-DEP-Control All Other | | AAI below avg or average | AAI above average | AP below avg or average | AP above average | SAI below avg or average | SAI above average | SP below avg or average | SP above average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *n* | 429 | 398 | 446 | 365 | 419 | 278 | 563 | 189 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 51.90% | 48.10% | 55.00% | 45.00% | 60.10% | 39.90% | 74.90% | 25.10% |
| | *n* | 771 | 1105 | 891 | 960 | 666 | 944 | 799 | 868 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 41.10% | 58.90% | 48.10% | 51.90% | 41.40% | 58.60% | 47.90% | 52.10% |
| **Respondent Age oldest third: 66-107** | *n* | 1391 | 1650 | 1045 | 4894 | 892 | 902 | 1338 | 1088 |
| | % | 45.70% | 54.30% | 36.70% | 63.30% | 49.70% | 50.30% | 55.20% | 44.80% |
| Church Attendence | *n* | 115 | 64 | 91 | 70 | 94 | 28 | 155 | 17 |
| Do not use/purchase | % | 64.20% | 35.80% | 56.50% | 43.50% | 77.00% | 23.00% | 90.10% | 9.90% |
| | *n* | 285 | 288 | 232 | 301 | 214 | 122 | 356 | 126 |
| Seek mostly outside community | % | 49.70% | 50.30% | 43.50% | 56.50% | 63.70% | 36.30% | 73.90% | 26.10% |
| | *n* | 965 | 1262 | 692 | 1409 | 572 | 742 | 790 | 937 |
| Seek mostly in community | % | 43.30% | 56.70% | 32.90% | 67.10% | 43.50% | 56.50% | 45.70% | 54.30% |

## Appendix C: Survey Instrument

***Codebook for Individual and Community Level Data***

# *«Community»*
# *A Community Study*

**IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY**
Ames, Iowa

**2004**

**Note: This codebook can be used for two different data sets:**

***2004 NRI Data – Individual Level***

***2004 NRI Data – Community Level***

**The variable names listed in this codebook apply to the individual level data. Variable names in the community level data set are also the same, but they have an extension related to the response category. For example, for var012 – the ratings of jobs – the community level data will show variables as follows:**

**Var012.1 – the percent of "very good" ratings**
**Var012.2 – the percent of "good" ratings**
**Var012.3 – the percent of "fair" ratings**
**Var012.4 – the percent of "poor" ratings**
**Var012.5 – the percent of "don't know" ratings**
**Var012.6 – the percent of "not available" ratings**
**Var012_m – the mean rating for jobs**

**Another example – for var084 – the extent to which people agree on local politics – the community level data will show variables as follows:**

**Var084.1 – the percent who circled "people tend to agree"**
**Var084.2 – the percent who circled "two or more groups are common**

**All variables follow this pattern—variable name.extension number for response category. Means are always represented as variable name_m.**

**Means were calculated after removing "don't know" or "not available" responses. For example, the mean rating on jobs only includes those who circled 1, 2, 3, or 4. Ratings of 5 (don't know) or 6 (not available) were coded as missing and not included in the calculation of the means.**

**All variables in both data sets are labeled, as are response categories.**

**idcomm**
**id**
**fips**

# *«Community» Community Study*

## I. Place of Residence

**var001 A. How long have you lived in the «Community» area? _____ years**

**B. Where do you live?** ***(Circle your answer.)***

**var002**

1. Within city of «Community»
2. Outside city limits of «Community», on a farm
3. Outside city limits of «Community», not on a farm

**a. How many miles do you live from «Community»? ____var003____ miles**

**b. Do you consider yourself to be a resident of «Community» or of another community?**

**var004** 1. «Community»
2. Other (name?) _____**var005**_____

**C. Do you stay MOSTLY IN «Community» or do you go MOSTLY OUTSIDE «Community» to acquire the following services? Please circle the appropriate number for each of the services.**

| | Mostly In «Community» | Mostly Outside «Community» | Do Not Use/ Purchase |
|---|---|---|---|
| **var006** 1. Primary health care | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var007** 2. Specialized health care | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var008** 3. .....Shopping for daily needs | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var009** 4. ...Shopping for "big ticket" items | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var010** 5. .....Recreation/entertainment | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var011** 6.Church or other place of worship | 1 | 2 | 3 |

**D. Please rate each of the following services/facilities in «Community» by circling the appropriate numbers.** ***Circle "6" if a particular service is not available in «Community».***

| | Very Good | Good | Fair | Poor | Don't Know | Not Available |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var012** 1. Jobs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var013** 2. Medical services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var014** 3. Public schools ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var015** 4. Shopping facilities ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var016** 5. Adequate housing ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var017** 6. Recreation/entertainment.. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var018** 7. Child care services..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var019** 8. .... Senior citizen programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var020** 9. Programs for youth..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var021** 10. .....Overall quality of local services/facilities..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**E. Over the past 10 years or so, would you say the following services/facilities in «Community» have IMPROVED, WORSENED, or REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME?**

| | Improved | Worsened | Remained the Same | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var022** 1. Jobs..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var023** 2. Medical services..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var024** 3. Public schools ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var025** 4. Shopping facilities ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var026** 5. Adequate housing ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var027** 6. ...Recreation/entertainment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var028** 7. Child care services..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var029** 8. .... Senior citizen programs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var030** 9. Programs for youth..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var031** 10.Overall quality of local services/facilities | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

**F. Please rate the following GOVERNMENT services available in «Community».**

| | Very Good | Good | Fair | Poor | Don't Know | Do Not Receive Service |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var032** 1. Police protection..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var033** 2. Condition of streets ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var034** 3. Condition of parks ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var035** 4. Water..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var036** 5. Fire protection ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var037** 6. Garbage collection ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var038** 7. Emergency response service..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var039** 8. .....Overall quality of government services ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

## II. Attitudes About «Community»

**A. Imagine a scale for each pair of words listed below. For the first pair, "1" on the scale indicates totally friendly and "7" indicates totally unfriendly. The numbers in between (2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) are degrees of friendliness. For each pair of words, please circle one number that BEST DESCRIBES «Community».**

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var040** | Friendly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Unfriendly |
| **var041** | Dangerous | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Safe |
| **var042** | Supportive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Indifferent |
| **var043** | Prejudiced | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Tolerant |
| **var044** | Rejecting of new ideas | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Open to new ideas |
| **var045** | Trusting | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Not trusting |
| **var046** | Well-kept | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | Run down |

**B. Rate «Community» as a place to live by indicating the extent to which you AGREE or DISAGREE with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number.**

| | | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Undecided | Disagree | Strongly Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var047** | 1. | Being a resident of «Community» is like living with a group of close friends | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var048** | 2. | When something needs to get done in «Community», the whole community usually gets behind it | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var049** | 3. | I think that "every person for themselves" is a good description of how people in «Community» act | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var050** | 4. | Most people in «Community» would not report a suspected neighbor of selling drugs | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var051** | 5. | Clubs and organizations in «Community» are interested in what is best for all residents | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var052** | 6. | Overall, people like myself have little impact on important community decisions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var053** | 7. | Disadvantaged groups, such as those with low income, rarely get involved in community projects | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var054** | 8. | The involvement of youth in community projects is encouraged in «Community» | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var055** | 9. | Compared to 10 years ago, trust between «Community» residents has increased | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var056** | 10. | Residents in «Community» are receptive to new residents taking leadership positions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var057** | 11. | When important community issues arise, most people in «Community» are willing to express their opinions publicly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var058** | 12. | People in «Community» look out mainly for what's best for their friends and family, and are not much concerned about the welfare of other local people | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var059** | 13. | In «Community», you are expected to report any shoplifting incident you witness regardless of who is involved | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var060** | 14. | People in «Community» trust their elected officials | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var061** | 15. | To get ahead in «Community», you have to know the right people | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var062** | 16. | People who do not attend church or a synagogue have a hard time "fitting in" in «Community» | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var063** | 17. | The immediate neighborhood I live in is closely knit | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var064** | 18. | People in «Community» are comfortable leaving their doors unlocked | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var065** | 19. | In «Community», people respect you more for what you achieve in personal life than for your willingness to help others | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var066** | 20. | Overall, «Community» has more things going for it than other communities of similar size | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

**C. To what extent would you say you can trust the following groups of people in «Community»? Would you say JUST ABOUT ALWAYS, MOST OF THE TIME, SOME OF THE TIME, or HARDLY EVER?**

| | | Just About Always | Most of the Time | Some of the Time | Hardly Ever |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var067** | 1. Your neighbors | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var068** | 2. People working in local stores | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var069** | 3. Local teenagers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var070** | 4. New residents | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var071** | 5. Local police | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var072** | 6. Local public officials | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var073** | 7. Local people you don't know personally | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

**D. When it comes to INFORMAL SOCIALIZING, would you say the following differences tend to DIVIDE people in «Community» A LOT, SOME, or NOT AT ALL?**

| | | A lot | Some | Not at All | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var074** | 1. Differences in their amount of education ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var075** | 2. Differences in ethnic background ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var076** | 3. Age differences ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var077** | 4. Differences in sex ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var078** | 5. Differences in length of residence ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var079** | 6. Differences in social standing ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var080** | 7. Differences in wealth..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var081** | 8. Religious differences ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var082** | 9. Differences in group memberships ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| **var083** | 10. Differences in family name ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

**E. When it comes to LOCAL POLITICS, do the people of «Community» tend to agree on the issues or are there often two or more groups with different ideas about the issues?**

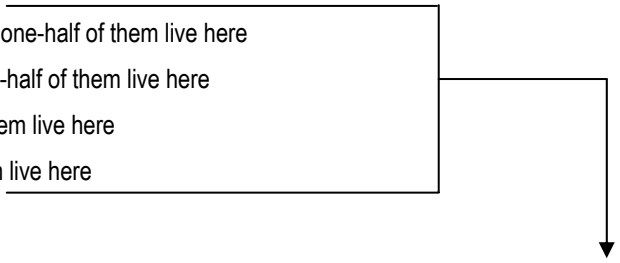
**var084** 1. People tend to agree
2. Two or more groups are common

**F. About what proportion of the adults living in «Community» would you say you KNOW BY NAME?**

**var085** 1. None or very few of them
2. Less than half of them
3. About half of them
4. Most of them
5. All of them

**G. About what proportion of your close personal adult FRIENDS live in «Community»?**

**var086** 1. I really have no close personal friends
2. None of them live here
3. Less than one-half of them live here
4. About one-half of them live here
5. Most of them live here
6. All of them live here



**H. Thinking about your close personal friends who live in «Community», about how many of them. . .**

| | All of Them | Most of Them | About Half of Them | Less Than Half of | None of Them |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | Them | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var087** | 1. are your relatives or in-laws? ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var088** | 2. are your neighbors? ..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var089** | 3. work with you?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var090** | 4. belong to the same church or synagogue that you do?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var091** | 5. belong to the same civic group that you do?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

**I. About what proportion of your adult RELATIVES and IN-LAWS (other than very distantly related persons) live in «Community»?**

**var092**
1. I have no living relatives or in-laws
2. None of them live here
3. Less than one-half of them live here
4. About one-half of them live here
5. Most of them live here
6. All of them live here

**J. In general, would you say you feel "at home" in «Community»?**

**var093**
1. Yes, definitely
2. Yes, somewhat
3. No, not much
4. No, definitely not

**K. Suppose that for some reason you had to move away from «Community». How sorry or pleased would you be to leave?**

**var094**
1. Very sorry to leave
2. Somewhat sorry to leave
3. It wouldn't make any difference one way or the other
4. Somewhat pleased to leave
5. Very pleased to leave

## III. Community Involvement

**A. Overall, how would you rate the spirit of community participation in «Community»?**

1. Very good

**var095** 2. Good

3. Fair

4. Poor

**B. What about the following situations? For each, would you say MOST, ABOUT HALF, or only a FEW «Community» residents would volunteer their assistance?**

| | | Most | About Half | Few |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var096** | 1. A tornado causes serious damage to several local businesses and homes | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var097** | 2. Volunteers are requested to help on a community-wide spring cleanup | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var098** | 3. Donations are requested to help keep the only locally owned grocery store open | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var099** | 4. Local churches/synagogues ask for donations of canned foods for the needy | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var100** | 5. Volunteers are needed to deliver meals to the elderly who are home-bound | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| **var101** | 6. Because of a water shortage, residents are asked to voluntarily stop watering lawns and gardens. | 1 | 2 | 3 |

**C. How interested are YOU in knowing what goes on in «Community»?**

1. Very interested

**var102** 2. Somewhat interested

3. Neither interested nor disinterested

4. Not interested

**D. During the past 12 months, have you personally been approached by someone from «Community» to do the following?**

| | | Yes | No |
|---|---|---|---|
| **var103** | 1. Donate money to a community fund drive | 1 | 2 |
| **var104** | 2. Volunteer time to work on a community improvement project | 1 | 2 |
| **var105** | 3. Join or participate in a local organization or group | 1 | 2 |
| **var106** | 4. Vote in a local election | 1 | 2 |
| **var107** | 5. Attend a meeting having to do with a community issue | 1 | 2 |

**E. How many times in the past 12 months have you participated in a «Community» improvement project such as a volunteer project or fund-raising effort?**

1. None

**var103** 2. Once

3. Twice
4. 3-4 times
5. 5-9 times
6. 10 or more times

**F. In general, how would you describe YOUR level of involvement in local community improvement activities and events?**

1. Very active

**var109** 2. Somewhat active

3. Not very active
4. Not at all active

**G. Which, if any, of the following limit your involvement as a volunteer in community improvement projects?**

| | | | Does Limit My Involvement | Does NOT Limit My Involvement |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var110** | 1. | I do not have time to get involved ..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var111** | 2. | I do not have the skills to contribute to community projects..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var112** | 3. | I don't really know how to become involved..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var113** | 4. | I've tried to volunteer for community projects, but my help was not accepted..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var114** | 5. | I have no interest in participating as a volunteer in community projects..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var115** | 6. | No one has asked me to volunteer ..... | 1 | 2 |
| **var116** | 7. | There are no community projects that need the support of volunteers | 1 | 2 |

**H. How involved are you in LOCAL groups and organizations, that is, those that hold meetings and activities in «Community»? *Please circle "1" if you are not involved with a particular type of group. If you do belong to any of the organizations in a category, please circle the number that indicates your level of attendance.***

| | | | | Level of Attendance | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Do Not Belong | Never | 1-5 Times a Year | 6-11 Times a Year | Once a Month | Weekly or More |
| **var117** | 1. | Service and fraternal organizations (such as Lions, Kiwanis, Eastern Star) …… | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var118** | 2. | Recreational groups (softball, bowling, card clubs). …… | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var119** | 3. | Political and civic groups (PTA, PEO, historical groups, local development organizations)…… | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var120** | 4. | Job-related organizations (labor unions, professional associations). …….. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var121** | 5. | Church or other religious groups (Bible study groups, committees, etc.)…….. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| **var122** | 6. | All other groups and organizations. …… | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

**I. Considering ALL the types of groups and organizations listed above, about how many LOCAL groups in total do you belong to?**

_____ groups/organizations

**var123**

**J. Of all the LOCAL groups and organizations that you are involved with, please write in the names of the TWO that are most important to you. Then answer the questions that follow for each.**

| | 1. _____**var124**_____ | 2. _____**var131**_____ |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Does membership consist mostly of people from the same sex? | 1. Yes **var125**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var132**<br>2. No |
| 2. Are members mostly of the same religion? | 1. Yes **var126**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var133**<br>2. No |
| 3. Do members mostly share the same social standing? | 1. Yes **var127**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var134**<br>2. No |
| 4. Do members mostly share the same income level? | 1. Yes **var128**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var135**<br>2. No |
| 5. Are members mostly of the same age? | 1. Yes **var129**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var136**<br>2. No |
| 6. Overall, do most members of this organization also share membership in other local organizations? | 1. Yes **var130**<br>2. No | 1. Yes **var137**<br>2. No |

**K. About how many organizations that hold meetings OUTSIDE «Community» do you belong to?**

**var138** _____ groups/organizations

**L. Considering your TOTAL involvement with organizations, would you say you are more involved with LOCAL ones or those OUTSIDE «Community»?**

1. More involved locally

**var139** 2. More involved outside community

3. About the same
4. Don't belong to any

**M. Please indicate how frequently you socialize or visit with others at the following local gathering places. (*Circle "5" if the gathering place does not exist in «Community».)***

| | | Daily | Weekly | Monthly or less | Never | No Such Place |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var140** | 1. Food centers (restaurants, coffee shops, snack bars, deli's, etc.) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var141** | 2. Bar/lounge | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var142** | 3. City park | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var143** | 4. Bowling alley | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var144** | 5. Town square or downtown area | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var145** | 6. Mall | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var146** | 7. Community center | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var147** | 8. Golf or country club | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **var148** | 9. Other: _____ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

**var148a** Church
**var148b** School
**var148c** Library
**var148d** Gas station/convenience store
**var148e** Work

## IV. Background Questions

***Finally, a few questions are included to make certain that a cross-section of all «Community» residents have participated. Please remember that all information given will be reported in summary form only.***

**var149** **A. Your age (as of last birthday)?** _____ years

**var150** **B. Your sex?**

1. Male
2. Female

**var151** **C. Which best describes you?**

1. African American
2. Asian American
3. Hispanic/Latino/a
4. Native American/American Indian
5. White
6. Other: _____

**D. From what countries or part of the world did most of your ancestors come? *(Circle <u>all</u> that apply.)***

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var152** | 1. Africa | **var159** | 8. | Germany | **var166** | 15 | Poland |
| **var153** | 2. Austria | **var160** | 9. | Hungary | **var167** | 16. | Russia |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **var154** | 3. | Canada | **var161** | 10. | Ireland | **var168** | 17. | Spain |
| **var155** | 4. | Czechoslovakia | **var162** | 11. | Italy | **var169** | 18. | Sweden |
| **var156** | 5. | Denmark | **var163** | 12. | Mexico | **var170** | 19. | American Indian |
| **var157** | 6. | England, Scotland, Wales | **var164** | 13. | Netherlands | **var171** | 20. | Asia |
| **var158** | 7. | France | **var165** | 14. | Norway | **var172** | 21. | Other:_____ |

**E. If you indicated above that your ancestors came from more than one country, which of these countries do you feel closer to? _var173 var173a var173b var173c var173d var173 __**

**F. What is your current marital status?**

1. Married
**var174** 2. Divorced/Separated
3. Never married
4. Widowed

**G. Your highest level of formal education attained?**

1. Less than 9th grade
**var175** 2. 9th to 12th grade, no diploma
3. High school graduate (includes equivalency)
4. Some college, no degree
5. Associate degree
6. Bachelor's degree
7. Graduate or professional degree

**H. What is your religious preference?**

**var176** 1. Catholic
2. Protestant
3. None
4. Other: _____

**What is your specific denomination, if any? _____var177_____**

5. Jewish
6. Islam/Moslem
7. Buddhism
8. Hinduism
9. Other

**I. When it comes to politics, do you consider yourself to be a Democrat, Republican, or Independent?**

1. Democrat
**var178** 2. Republican
3. Independent
4. Other: _____

**J. Do you own or rent your current residence?**

1. Own
**var179** 2. Rent
3. Have some other arrangement: _____

**K. How many people, including yourself, live in your household?**

**var180** _____persons

**L. How many of the people living in your household are under 18 years of age*? (Write in "0" if none.)***

**var181** _____ persons

**var182** **M. Your present employment status?**

1. Employed or self-employed on a **full-time** basis
2. Employed or self-employed on a **part-time** basis
3. Retired
4. Full-time homemaker
5. Student
6. Unemployed

**Please list your primary occupation.**

Occupation_____**var183**_____
Community where employed_____**var184**_____
Miles traveled to work (one-way)_____**var185**_____
List second occupation (if any)____**var186**_____

**Overall satisfaction with your present employment situation.** ***(Circle your answer.)***

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied **var187**
3. Somewhat dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied

**N. What was your approximate gross (before taxes) household income from all sources for 2003?**

**var188**

1. $9,999 or less
2. $10,000-19,999
3. $20,000-29,999
4. $30,000-39,999
5. $40,000-49,999
6. $50,000-64,999
7. $65,000-74,999
8. $75,000 or more

**Thanks for your help!!!**

**If you have any additional comments, please use the back page.**

***Please write any comments on this page.***

# Volunteer Group Categories – Organizational Codes

**1) Fraternal and interest groups:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Lion's Club | Rotary | Legion |
| Men's Club | Kiwanis | Optimist Club |
| Jaycees | Mason's | Amvets |
| Ruritans | Women's Club | senior citizen's groups |
| property owners' associations | Pheasants Forever | Watanye |

**2) Recreational groups (including the arts and hobbies):**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Arts | Sport clubs | Gardening |
| Card clubs | Boy's & Girl's Clubs | 4-H |

**3) Political and civic groups:**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Civic League | Community clubs | Town Festivals |
| Booster Club | Historical clubs | |
| Charities | Teen Center | |
| Betterment/promotions committees | | |

**4) Business and professional associations:**

| | |
|---|---|
| Chamber of Commerce | BPW |
| Economic development/Business groups | |
| Job-related groups | |
| Land-O-Lakes co-op board | |

**5) Church groups:**

**6) Community service groups:**

| | |
|---|---|
| city or county government | park boards |
| social services | schools |
| extension related orgs | fire dept and emergency services |
| utility groups | banks |
| newspapers | daycare groups |
| student groups | housing groups |
| Lincoln Hwy Association | Iowa Renewable Energy Group at UNI |

# Religion Codes

**Religious Preference Codes**

1. Catholic
2. Protestant
3. None

If other*…..

4. Jewish
5. Islam/Moslem
6. Buddhism
7. Hinduism
8. Other

* If “Other” is a category listed below, change the answer to “2” and enter the appropriate denomination code.

## Protestant Denomination Codes

01. Methodist
02. Presbyterian
03. Baptist
04. Episcopal
05. Lutheran
06. Latter Day Saints/Mormon
07. Reformed
08. Jehovah’s Witness
09. Mennonite
10. Non-Denominational
11. Other
12. Evangelical
13. Christian
14. United Church of Christ
15. Assembly of God

# Occupational Codes

**01, Professional Technical and Kindred Workers**
Accountants
Architects
Computer specialists
Engineers
Farm Management Advisors
Foresters and Conservationists
Home Management Advisors
Lawyers and Judges
Librarians, Archivists & Curators
Mathematical Specialists
Life and Physical Scientists
Operations and Systems Researchers and Analysts
Personnel and Labor Relations Workers
Physicians, Dentists and Related Practitioners
Registered Nurses, Dietitians and Therapists
Health Technologists and Technicians
Religious Workers, Clergy
Social Scientists
Social and Recreational Workers
Teachers, College and University
Teachers, Except College and University
Engineering and Science Technicians
Technicians, Except Health and Engineering and Science
Vocational and Educational Counselors
Writers, Artists and Entertainers
Research Workers, Not Specified
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers

**02, Managers and Administrators**
Assessors, Controllers and Treasurers, Local Public Administration
Bank Officers and Financial Managers
Buyers and Shippers, Farm Products
Buyers, Wholesale and Retail Trade
Credit Men
Funeral Directors
Health Administrators
Construction Inspectors, Public Administration
Inspectors, Except Construction, Public Administration
Managers and Superintendents, Building
Officers, Pilots, and Pursers, Ship
Officials and Administrators, Public Administration
Officials of Lodges, Societies and Unions

Postmasters and Mail Superintendents
Purchasing Agents and Buyers
Railroad Conductors
Restaurant, Cafeteria and Bar Managers
Sales Managers and Department Heads, Retail Trade
Sales Managers, Except Retail Trade
School Administrators, College
School Administrators, Elementary and Secondary
Managers and Administrators

**03, Sales Workers**
Advertising Agents and Salesmen
Auctioneers
Demonstrators
Hucksters and Peddlers
Insurance Agents, Brokers and Underwriters
Newsboys
Real Estate Agents and Brokers
Stock and Bond Salesmen
Salesmen and Sales Clerks
Sales Workers, Allocated

**04, Clerical and Kindred Workers**
Bank Tellers
Billing Clerks
Bookkeepers
Cashiers
Clerical Assistants, Social Welfare
Clerical Supervisors
Collectors, Bill and Account
Counter Clerks, Except Food
Dispatchers and Starters, Vehicle
Enumerators and Interviewers
Estimators and Investigators
Expediters and Production Controllers
File Clerks
Insurance Adjusters, Examiners and Investigators
Library Attendants and Assistants
Mail Carriers, Post Office
Mail Handlers, Except Post Office
Messengers, Including Telegraph and Office Boys
Meter Readers, Utilities
Office Machine Operators
Payroll and Timekeeping Clerks
Postal Clerks
Proofreaders

Real Estate Appraisers
Receptionists
Secretaries
Shipping and Receiving Clerks
Statistical Clerks
Stenographers
Stock Clerks and Storekeepers
Teacher Aides, Except School Monitors
Telegraph Operators
Telephone Operators
Ticket, Station and Express Agents
Typists
Weighers
Miscellaneous Clerical Workers
Not Specified Clerical Workers
Clerical and Kindred Workers, Allocated

**05, Craftsmen and Kindred Workers**
Automobile Accessories Installers
Bakers
Blacksmiths
Boilermakers
Bookbinders
Brickmasons and Stonemasons
Bulldozer Operators
Cabinetmakers
Carpenters
Carpet Installers
Cement and Concrete Finishers
Compositors and Typesetters
Cranemen, Derrickmen and Hoistmen
Decorators and Window Dressers
Dental Laboratory Technicians
Electricians
Electric Power Linemen and Cablemen
Electrotypers and Stereotypers
Engravers, Except Photoengravers
Excavating, Grading and Road Machine Operators
Floor Layers, Except Tile Setters
Foremen
Forgemen and Hammermen
Furniture and Wood Finishers
Furriers
Glaziers
Heat Treaters, Anaeolers and Temperers

Inspectors, Scalers and Graders, Logs and Lumber
Inspectors, Construction and Railway
Jewelers and Watchmakers
Job and Die Setters, Metal
Locomotive Engineers
Locomotive Firemen
Machinists
Mechanics and Repairmen
Millers, Grain, Flour and Feed
Millwrights
Molders, Metal
Motion Picture Projectionists
Opticians and Lens Grinders and Polishers
Painters, Construction and Maintenance
Paperhangers
Pattern and Model Makers, Except Paper
Photoengravers and Lithographers
Piano and Organ Tuners and Repairmen
Plasterers
Plumbers and Pipefitters
Power Station Operators
Pressmen and Plate Printers
Rollers and Finishers, Metal
Roffers and Slaters
Sheetmetal Workers and Tinsmiths
Shipfitters
Shoe Repairmen
Sign Painters and Letterers
Stationary Engineers
Stone Cutters and Stone Carvers
Structural Metal Craftsmen
Tailors
Telephone Installers and Repairmen
Telephone Linemen and Splicers
Tile Setters
Tool and Die Makers
Upholsterers
Craftsmen and Kindred Workers

**06, Operatives, Except Transport**
Asbestos and Insulation Workers
Assemblers
Blaster and Powdermen
Bottling and Canning Operatives
Chainmen, Rodmen and Axmen, Surveying
Checkers, Examiners and Inspectors, Manufacturing

Clothing Ironers and Pressers
Cutting Operatives
Dressmakers and Seamstresses, Except Factory
Drillers, Earth
Dry Wall Installers and Lathers
Dyers
Filers, Polishers, Sanders and Buffers
Furnacemen, Smeltermen and Pourers
Garage Workers and Gas Station Attendants
Graders and Sorters, Manufacturing
Produce Graders and Packers, Except Factory and Farm
Heaters, Metal
Laundry and Drycleaning Operatives
Meat Cutters and Butchers, Except Manufacturing
Meat Cutters and Butchers, Manufacturing
Meat Wrappers, Retail Trade
Metal Platers
Milliners
Mine Operatives
Mixing Operatives
Oil and Greasers, Except Auto
Packers and Wrappers, Except Meat and Produce
Painters, Manufactured Articles
Photographic Process Workers
Precision Machine Operatives
Punch and Stamping Press Operatives
Riviters and Fasteners
Sailors and Deckhands
Sawyers
Sewers and Stitchers
Shoemaking Machine Operatives
Solderers
Stationary Firemen
Textile Operatives
Welders and Flamecutters
Winding Operatives
Miscellaneous and Not Specified Operatives
Manufacturing

**07, Transport Equipment Operatives**
Boatmen and Canalmen
Bus Drivers
Conductors and Motormen, Urban Rail Transit
Deliverymen and Routemen
Fork Lift and Tow Motor Operatives
Motormen; Mine, Factory and Logging Camp

Parking Attendants
Railroad Brakemen
Railroad Switchmen
Taxicab Drivers and Chauffeurs
Truck Drivers
Transport Equipment Operatives

**08, Laborers, Except Farm**
Animal Caretakers, Except Farm
Carpenter's Helpers
Construction Laborers
Fishermen and Oystermen
Freight and Material Handlers
Garbage Collectors
Gardeners and Groundskeepers
Longshoremen and Stevedores
Lumbermen, Raftsmen and Woodchoppers
Stock Handlers
Teamsters
Vehicle Washers and Equipment Cleaners
Warehousemen
Miscellaneous and Not Specified Laborers
Laborers, Except Farm

**09, Farmers and Farm Managers**
Farmers, Owners and Tenants
Farm Managers
Farm and Farm Managers

**10, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen**
Farm Foremen
Farm Laborers, Wage Workers
Farm Laborers, Unpaid Family Workers
Farm Service Laborers, Self-Employed
Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen, Allocated

**11, Service Workers, Except Private Household**
Cleaning Service Workers
Chambermaids and Maids, Except Private Household
Cleaners and Charwomen
Janitors
Food Service Workers
Bartenders
Busboys
Cooks

Dishwashers
Food Counter and Fountain Workers
Waiters
Food Service Workers
Health Service Workers
Dental Assistants
Health Aides, Except Nursing
Health Trainees
Lay Midwives
Nursing Aides, Orderlies and Attendants
Practical Nurses
Personal Service Workers
Airline Stewardesses
Attendants, Recreation and Amusement
Attendants, Personal Service
Baggage Porters and Bellhops
Barbers
Boarding and Lodging Housekeepers
Bootblacks
Childcare Workers
Elevator Operators
Hairdressers and Cosmetologists
Housekeepers
School Monitors
Ushers, Recreation and Amusement
Welfare Service Aides
Protective Service Workers
Crossing Guards and Bridge Tenders
Firemen, Fire Protection
Guards and Watchmen
Marshals and Constables
Policemen and Detectives
Sheriffs and Bailiffs

**12, Private Household Workers**
Child Care Workers
Cooks
Housekeepers
Laundresses
Maids and Servants
Private Household Workers

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