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PRO-AND-ANTI IMMIGRATION ACTIVITIES
IN IOWA'S 4TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT:
A COMMUNITY CAPITALS FRAMEWORK PERSPECTIVE

BY

ANNE JUNOD

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

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Major in Sociology


Specialization in Community Development


South Dakota State University


2014

PRO-AND-ANTI IMMIGRATION ACTIVITIES
IN IOWA'S 4TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT:
A COMMUNITY CAPITALS FRAMEWORK PERSPECTIVE

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the Master of Science in Sociology degree and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidates are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.


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This thesis is dedicated to my partner, Matthew Hildreth, for opening my eyes to the social and structural injustices impacting many immigrant groups in the United States.

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ABSTRACT

PRO-AND-ANTI IMMIGRATION ACTIVITIES

IN IOWA'S 4TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT:

A COMMUNITY CAPITALS FRAMEWORK PERSPECTIVE

ANNE JUNOD

2014

The foreign-born immigrant population in Iowa is increasing. Across Iowa's 4th Congressional District, communities that have never had statistically significant populations of non-Anglos have in recent decades experienced dramatic influxes of predominantly Latino immigrants. Today, Latinos comprise upwards of 25 percent of the population of some counties and well over 35 percent of the population of many towns. At the same time, many other communities in Iowa's 4th Congressional District remain almost exclusively white. How are communities responding? This research centers on the statements and activities of individual and group actors representing various market, state, and civil society sectors, examining which community resources are mobilized by what groups and the extent to which their actions are motivated by social capital or ideology. The Community Capitals Framework provides the analytic context with which one-on-one interviews and secondary data sources are analyzed to explore pro-and-anti immigration networks and activities and the extent to which these groups mobilize community capitals to create welcoming or unwelcoming communities. Understanding these networks, actions and motivations is critical in informing sustainable and appropriate community development efforts in this district as well as other regions in the

United States with similar historically dominant Anglo populations recently experiencing increases in immigrant populations.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The population of Iowa has increased gradually over the past century, however this growth has been modest, with the rate slowing to negligible gains since the 1970s and in many regions reversing to decline. At less than 2 percent statewide growth during the last decade, Iowa's rate was far below the 8 percent national average (Wright, 2010). Rural areas have experienced the most dramatic population losses, with a 21.8 percent overall decline from 1950 to 2010 (Peters, 2011). At the same time, many communities across micropolitan and rural Iowa have grown, due in large part to the rise in immigration to these communities in recent decades. Between 1990 and 2012, Iowa's American-born population increased by 7.6 percent; this is lower than the national average and dwarfed by Iowa's foreign-born population rate, which increased by 305 percent during the same period (United States Census Bureau, 2012c).

Like other regions across the Midwest, many communities in Iowa have experienced an influx of foreign-born residents over the past three decades, the majority of which are Latino. In northwest Iowa in particular, a number of towns and cities are regionally synonymous with immigrant growth. Iowa's 4th Congressional District covers all of northwest Iowa and much of central Iowa in thirty-nine counties, and has more counties with a Latino population between 5 and 10 percent and over 10 percent, respectively, than any other Iowa congressional district (United States Census Bureau, 2012d). Latino immigration to northwest Iowa is increasing, and at a faster rate than most of the rest of the state.

Brookings, Sterns, Fairview, El Dorado, and Oneida Counties are five counties in Iowa's 4th Congressional District with higher than state average Latino populations.

These counties are rural, agrarian, and historically have had almost exclusively Anglo populations. At varying points in the past three decades, each of these counties has experienced an influx of immigrants that continues today, with new residents arriving primarily from Mexico and Central America but also from regions in Southeast Asia, Central Africa, and South America.

The largest town of these five counties is Centerville, the county seat of Brookings County, with a 2013 population of 10,790 (United States Census Bureau, 2013). The remaining county seats range in population from just under 2,700 residents in Clover City, the seat of Oneida County, to almost 6,200 residents in Vermeer, the seat of Sterns County (United States Census Bureau, 2013b, c). As over two-thirds of Iowa communities continue to experience population losses resulting from the increased specialization and industrialized practices of modern farming (Patane, 2014), the closing of US-based manufacturing facilities, an aging labor force, and declining birth rates, the populations of these five Iowa counties have stabilized or increased in recent decades, in part due to their growing immigrant populations.

| COUNTY | TOTAL POPULATION (2013) | LATINO POPULATION (2012) | PERCENT LATINO POPULATION (2012) | LARGEST TOWN (POPULATION - 2012) | BASE ECONOMY |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| BROOKINGS | 20,567 | 4,662 | 23.1% | 10,790 | Meatpacking, Agribusiness, Food Service, Education, Healthcare |
| STERNS | 34,547 | 2,898 | 8.60% | 7,308 | Agribusiness, Manufacturing, Education, Healthcare |
| FAIRVIEW | 10,548 | 1,176 | 11.00% | 4,393 | Agribusiness, Healthcare |
| EL DORADO | 9,996 | 808 | 7.90% | 6,126 | Agribusiness, Healthcare |
| ONEIDA | 6,211 | 393 | 6.10% | 2,689 | Agribusiness, Healthcare |

Table 1, County Statistics

2012 ACS 5-Year Population Estimates: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml
 2013 population estimates: http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/community_facts.xhtml

Brookings County

Brookings County is home to the largest, most diverse, and longest-standing immigrant population of the five counties in this study. Immigrant refugees from Southeast Asia began arriving in the county in the 1970s, followed by Mexicans and Central Americans in the 1990s to work in the county's then recently non-unionized meat processing facilities. In 1980, the largest processing plant in the county employed between 300-400 union employees that were paid a \$10.75 per hour starting wage; by 1991, following union busting and subsequent layoffs, the adjusted-for-inflation per-hour starting wage declined to \$6.00 (Thu and Durrenberger, 1998). To reduce costs, increase efficiency, and avoid potential conflict with a unionized workforce, the plant recruited virtually all of its new employees from immigrant communities, with the majority coming from Southeast Asia and Mexico.

Today, the plant employs approximately 1,800 non-unionized workers with starting wages between \$9 and \$12 per hour, which was approximately the same starting pay at the same plant during the 1970s, *not* adjusted for inflation. Although Centerville is a resort community with a small liberal arts college and an active and diverse business sector, the majority of residents are employed at one of the town's growing meat processing facilities and today the town is colloquially still considered by some of those interviewed to be a "blue collar, meatpacking town."

Interviews with city and county officials suggest that county census data are inaccurate due to the relatively high number of undocumented residents in the area. Law enforcement estimates place the population of Centerville at approximately 15,000 residents, representing over 30 countries and speaking over 25 languages. Today,

immigrants and refugees continue to move to Brookings County for work, family, and quality of life prospects, with the most recent new residents arriving from South Sudan, Burma, and Somalia.

Sterns County

Sterns County, Iowa is located approximately one and a half hours' drive from Brookings County and like Brookings County, is distinguished for its thriving agriculture and related manufacturing sectors. Like Brookings County, Sterns County has historically had a predominantly Anglo population, with nearly 80 percent of residents claiming Dutch ancestry (Tavernise and Gebeloff, 2011) and the majority of residents members of various Dutch Reformed Christian faith traditions. Sterns County is home to two private liberal arts colleges as well as one community college, in addition to four hospitals. One interviewee noted that Sterns County has the distinction of having more hospitals than any other county in Iowa.

Sterns County is economically prosperous, with a cost of living lower than the state average yet a higher-than-state-average median household income (Flora and Junod, 2012). Sterns County ranks first of Iowa's 99 counties in hog production, dairy production, laying flocks, fed cattle, and sheep production with total agricultural animal receipts over \$10 billion annually, a figure rivaled only by the county's equally significant agriculture receipts, which also total \$10 billion annually (Flora, 2012). Sterns County is extraordinarily conservative politically, ranking first of Iowa's 99 counties in the number of registered Republican voters in 2012 at 71.78 percent (Larimer, 2013).

During the 1990s, Latinos began moving to Sterns County to work in county dairies, hen and egg processing facilities, and agriculture-related manufacturing plants. Between 2000 and 2010, the number of Latinos in the county increased from 808 to 3,001, a 271 percent increase which represented a growth in the population from approximately less than 1 percent of county residents to over 10 percent in as many years (CensusViewer, 2012). The non-Hispanic White population in the county decreased during the same period by -.25 percent (ibid., 2012). In addition to continued flows of immigrants from Mexico, Sterns County has more recently seen immigrants from extremely rural and remote regions of Guatemala and El Salvador, many of whom speak native tribal languages and dialects, presenting translation challenges for community social service providers.

In early 2008, representatives from business, state and civil society groups in Sterns County attended a Sterns County Board of Supervisors meeting to address perceived racial profiling of Latino residents by county police and sheriff's officers. Meat, dairy, beef, and poultry producers as well as educators, members of clergy, the medical community, and advocacy groups attended to discuss the alleged harassment of Latino residents by some law enforcement officials in the community. Complaints included a battery of racially-motivated and otherwise unprovoked traffic stops outside of area manufacturing and agriculture processing facilities, perceived harassment of Latino workers by law enforcement officers at worksites, and engendering of a pervasive climate of fear resulting in many Latino workers refusing to drive to work *en masse* (Flora, 2012).

Issues raised by community members in the meeting included a desire to promote what was best for the county, the importance of immigrants to the county's economy, the importance of keeping families together, and the need for the community to work together to address immigration issues faced in the absence of federal immigration reform (Flora, 2012). Today, there remains tenuous but by some accounts, improving relationships between county law enforcement departments and advocacy groups in regards to the policing practices directed at the county's immigrant population, as well as varied perspectives on the quality of these practices and the relationships between county immigrants, law enforcement officials, and advocacy groups.

Fairview County

Although somewhat distant from Brookings and Sterns Counties, Fairview County, while still a rural county, is both notably closer to Des Moines and positioned much closer to a major interstate than the other counties in the study. In Kensington, the county seat (2012 population of almost 4,400), approximately 1 in 3 businesses are Latino-owned and operated (Klein, 2014). Between 2000 and 2013, the Hispanic and Latino population of the county increased from 6 percent to 11.5 percent, with the population of Kensington experiencing the most concentrated growth and nearly doubling from approximately 11 percent Hispanic and Latino to 21.5 percent during the same period (United States Census Bureau, 2013d). Today, approximately one in five Kensington residents and one in three school children in Fairview County is Latino (Fletcher, 2013). As in Brookings and Sterns Counties, research and interviews suggest that the county Latino population is significantly underreported in census data due to the county's relatively sizeable but indeterminate undocumented immigrant population

(Fletcher, 2013). According to estimates from county advocacy and direct service providers, the percentage of immigrants in Fairview County without adequate or accurate identifying documentation is difficult to estimate but probably somewhere in the 90 percent range.

Mirroring Brookings and Sterns Counties, Fairview County has a robust and growing youth population that is reflected in the county schools' Latino population growth: in 1997, 7 percent of children in Fairview County schools were Hispanic; by 2012, "44 percent of kindergarteners were Hispanic as were 31.1 percent of all students enrolled" (Fletcher, 2013:6). There are no universities or colleges in Fairview County and the county ranks below statewide averages in both median and per capita household income. Over half (54.4 percent) of Kensington school district children qualify for free or reduced-price meals, an 11-point increase from five years ago (Fletcher, 2013). This is likely due to the county's lower-than-state-average wages in addition to its growing number of lower-income, relatively young immigrant families who may not be eligible for food assistance (ibid., 2013).

Like Brookings and Sterns Counties, Fairview County's economy is led by agriculture and agriculture-related manufacturing, with a robust grain and livestock sector. Approximately one-third of county resident non-farm earnings derive from the manufacturing sector, withstanding the relatively recent closure of some leading area manufacturing and processing facilities (ibid., 2013).

El Dorado County

El Dorado County, Iowa, as with the other four counties in the study, is rural and highly agrarian. It is located approximately one hours' drive from Brookings County and

two hours from Sterns and Fairview Counties, respectively, and is adjacent to a popular tourism region in the state. The county seat is Loughland, which had an estimated population of just over 6,100 in 2013 (United States Census Bureau, 2013e). El Dorado County has the second lowest percentage of Latinos of the counties in this study at 8.3 percent, although this percentage is still higher than the Iowa state average of 5.5 percent (Iowa Data Center, 2013).

During the late 1990s, the Latino population in the county grew as Mexican and Central American immigrants began moving to the area to work primarily in the region's egg and chicken processing facilities as well as in various other regional agriculture-related manufacturing facilities and automobile parts manufacturing plants (Perry, 2014). Compared to Brookings, Sterns, and Fairview Counties, there is virtually no research on recent immigration or related community responses to immigration in El Dorado County. Local sources noted this is likely because the immigrant population is relatively small and newer to the region than those immigrant populations in the three previous counties, and because many of the immigrants in El Dorado County live somewhat "under the radar" and almost exclusively in the county's more remote, smaller communities outside the main population center and county seat, Loughland.

Oneida County

Oneida County has the lowest percentage of Latinos of the five counties in the study at 6.1 percent in 2013 (United States Census Bureau, 2013f), slightly higher than the state average of 5.5 percent (State Data Center of Iowa, 2014). Located in an extremely remote and rural part of Iowa, Oneida County is also the least populated county of the five counties in the study with a 2013 estimate of just over 6,400 residents,

with Clover City, the county seat, home to just over 2,800 residents (ibid., 2014). As with the other four counties in the study, Oneida County's economy is highly agrarian, with the majority industries including agriculture, agriculture-related manufacturing, and related processing and transporting. Like El Dorado County, there is virtually no existing research on recent immigration or community responses to recent immigration in Oneida County.

Oneida County is an Iowa border county adjoining another plains state, placing Clover City less than twenty miles from a 13,000-resident population center in that bordering state. This neighboring community has a longer-standing and faster-growing Latino immigrant population than Oneida County and is part of a significant agriculture and manufacturing transportation corridor that it shares with Clover City as well as other Iowa communities located further into the state's interior. Clover City residents interviewed considered the town to be a bedroom community for this larger neighboring city and stated they believed the growing Latino immigrant population in their community to be the result of the growing agriculture and labor demands in both the neighboring town and across the region.

All Clover City residents interviewed have lived in the community for at least 18 years; a few have lived there their entire lives. All indicated that they have observed a slow, gradual increase in Latino immigrants to their county over the past two decades, but nothing akin to the relative "waves" of immigrant populations interviewees describe in the comparatively larger Brookings and Sterns Counties. According to 2013 census estimates, 393 Latinos live in Oneida County; this nascent presence is noted by long-time county residents, but in most cases only marginally so. As the new immigrant population

is still small, according to residents interviewed, their presence has yet to warrant coordinated community responses or related services of any magnitude apart from one-on-one interactions between neighbors, businesses, or law enforcement. There is no full-time interpreter available through county or related state offices (although one sheriff dispatcher is bilingual and will translate for that office as needed). In most cases Spanish-speakers are responsible for providing their own bilingual family member or friend to translate for them whenever there is a need for a translator, in county public buildings as well as in private businesses, with landlords, and elsewhere in the community. On the occasion a court appearance is required with a Spanish-speaking resident, court interpreters are transported to Clover City from neighboring jurisdictions located forty-five to 90 minutes' drives away. According to a county official, there is no financial justification or available resources to hire bilingual staff or county court interpreters because the Spanish-speaking population is so small. Two or three county churches have engaged in sporadic welcoming ministries and for a while there was a Spanish-language service at one church, but the pastor that led that service recently retired and the service has not been replaced.

The five counties in the study present as a continuum of communities; some are experiencing lower and newer levels of immigrant growth, in contrast with other communities experiencing relatively higher and longer-standing levels of immigrant growth. To varying degrees, market, state, and civil society groups in these communities are networked, responding to new immigrant populations in effective, ineffective, welcoming and unwelcoming ways.

First, I summarize the literature on immigration studies in the state of Iowa, highlighting pro and anti organized groups. Second, I discuss the Community Capitals Framework, the theoretical framework underlying this analysis, especially the concepts of social and political capital. I also address the role of ideology as a form of political impetus, but one that lacks capital assets. Third, I present the research process used in this study and explain the forms of analysis. The findings chapters encompass a continuum of social and political capital present in the counties of study. I begin with findings on bridging and bonding social capital in pro-organizations, and link these levels to networks with political capital. Next, I present findings on organizations with strong levels of social capital, but with weaker political capital connections. Last, I assess anti-organizations and activities in all counties that exhibit almost no social capital ties, and rise instead from formal leadership and ideology. In conclusion, I explain the complex structure of immigration experience in the state of Iowa drawing from the findings presented. I also indicate beneficial areas for future research as identified in this study.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The review of literature provides a foundation for understanding past and present community responses to non-European immigrants in northwest Iowa. As the most recent immigration wave is relatively recent in Iowa's history, and as the focus region, Iowa's 4th Congressional District, exists in its current form as the result of redistricting following the 2010 census, there is comparatively little research on responses to immigration in northwest Iowa vis-à-vis that on immigration to historically traditional receiving states and regions. Further, non-European immigration to rural areas is a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States and research on Iowa-specific community responses is somewhat limited (Lay, 2012).

The review of literature will include: 1) a selected history of immigration and community responses in Iowa; 2) a review of the Community Capitals Framework in the immigration context; and, 3) a review of the literature regarding ideology and community power to affect change.

Immigration in Iowa

The land that comprises Iowa was obtained via treaty by the United States government from the Sac and Fox nations in 1804, one year after the Louisiana Purchase. By federal decree, Iowa land was originally reserved for veterans of American wars, with each veteran entitled to between 10 and 160 acres, depending on the war(s) in which they fought (Maharidge, 2005:47). Many veterans elected to sell their plots to landholding companies, which bought them up in large swaths to then sell to settlers during the mid- and-late 1800s. The first recorded white settlement in Iowa, established in 1833,

included immigrants from Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Kentucky, and Virginia. By the mid-1800s, settlers from across the United States and Europe were migrating to Iowa by the thousands (Schweider, 1990).

The majority of Iowa's first Anglo residents were Americans of Scandinavian, English, or German ancestry (Maharidge, 2005; Schweider, 1990). By the mid-19th century, Iowa's population had grown to nearly 200,000, with most residents arriving from neighboring states, but with a sizeable and growing foreign-born immigrant population as well: in 1850, over ten percent, or 20,969 Iowa residents were foreign-born immigrants (Harlan, 1931). Germans in particular settled widely across the state, and today most Iowa Anglos are at least in part ethnically German (United States Census Bureau, 2012). By the mid and late 1800s, German immigrants comprised the largest minority population in Iowa at approximately five percent of the total population (Schwieder, 1996). It was also around this time that anti-German, anti-Irish, and anti-Catholic sentiments began reverberating across much of the United States, organizing formally as the nativist, anti-immigrant American Party, more commonly referred to as the Know-Nothing Party, in the late 1850s (Cole, 1921). In his history of early Iowa, Cyrenus Cole describes the relatively small yet growing number of foreign-born immigrants in Iowa and the impact the national Know-Nothing Party had across the state:

There were foreign admixtures in the new immigration, but compared with the whole these were slight. This foreign element was two-thirds either German or Irish, and the Germans were at least twice as numerous as the Irish. An increasing Scandinavian influx also is noticeable... The status of the foreigner for a few years was affected by Know Nothingism, a name given to the doctrines of what was called the American party which had its origin in native fears of foreign influences in America. It was the period of the first enormous tides of immigration. One of the predominant ideas of this party was to exclude immigrants from suffrage until after a residence of twenty or more years. In one of the elections the party was successful in nine states, but its own excesses proved its undoing and the prejudices which it aroused retarded rather than aided the processes of Americanization. In Iowa the movement at no time had much strength, for such far-

seeing men as Governor Grimes were opposed to it; neither were the foreigners numerous enough in the state to make them a menace to even the most timid Americans. (Cole, 1921:286-287).

Joseph Keck, a judge, early Iowa settler, and 29th Iowa General Assembly member, wrote in his private journal in 1909 of the Know-Nothing Party's previous activities in Iowa specifically, describing the history of the party and its relatively minimal influence beyond inciting emotion:

...the Know Nothing Society, which to the best of our recollection was formed in Van Buren County. One of the main features of the Society was to oppose Foreigners [*sic*] from holding office, of profit, and trust in our country. In those days it was claimed that a large majority of those that held Offices were of the Foreign element, which endangered our liberties and was detrimental [*sic*] to our free institutions, Americans, to fill the offices, was the watch word, but of course it was not designed against any that was thoroughly Americanized...The recollection we have of the name given the Society, was American, while those outside call them Know nothings, because they could not find out anything from the members, when asked questions relative to the working of the Society. The answer, don't now, the secret of the order, was not to let anyone know until he became a part of the order...It was not the intention to run it into politics, but some office seekers took advantage of it to get into office...at any rate the Society was abandoned, and at this writing *we cannot call up any great good that was accomplished, except it had a tendency to arouse the people...* [emphasis added] (Keck, 1909).

Cole notes that there was little traction for the Know-Nothing movement in Iowa and Keck recalls that the group was responsible for little more than inciting emotion; however, Cole addresses the possibility of Iowa's relatively small immigrant population as an explanation for the group's relative unpopularity – perhaps Iowans were ideologically disinterested in joining the nativist, anti-immigrant political party, or perhaps there were simply not enough immigrants in Iowa at this time to provoke such organized opposition to them.

These issues of proximity and interaction between Anglos and non-Anglos are discussed as principal factors in the negative or positive feelings towards new groups by Lay (2012) as well as Stein, Post, and Rinden (2000). Stein et al. find that Anglos living

in communities with high proportions of Hispanics report more negative feelings about Hispanics than Anglos that do not; however, “Anglos who live in proximity to Hispanics *and who have frequent contact with Hispanics* have more positive feelings towards this group” (Lay, 2012:49). This study highlights the primacy of personal interaction as a critical factor in cultivating bonding community relationships, social capital and social movements, a theme widespread throughout the literature on social capital formation and development (Flora and Flora, 2008; Ocasio and Pozner, 2013; Putnam, 2000; Szreter, 2002).

By the lead up to World War I, anti-German sentiment was rife across the United States, with state-funded propaganda, ideology and rhetoric polarizing Americans against Germans in Europe to bolster American solidarity during wartime (Maharidge, 2005:49-51). Anti-German attitudes, sometimes manifested violently, spread throughout the United States and across Iowa, with German-language newspapers, churches, schools, businesses and civic centers forcibly sold, closed, or destroyed.

In this spirit, Iowa governor William Lloyd Harding in 1918 passed The Babel Proclamation, mandating English as the only official and permissible language in Iowa, to be spoken in all public places, schools, government buildings, and churches (Frese 2005:51). Anti-German fanaticism against both German immigrants and ethnically German Americans was widespread, resulting in the passing of English-only legislation in many state and local jurisdictions across the United States; however, Governor Harding was the only United States Governor to not only outlaw German, but all other foreign language use in public and many private spaces as well (Frese, 2005).

Residents of Denison, Iowa (which is today located in Iowa's 4th Congressional District), responded in support of this law by forming a mob and breaking into the public school, removing all German-language texts and setting them on fire in the school yard (Maharidge, 2005:52). One mob member wrote "NO MORE GERMAN" on a school blackboard during the raid. At this time in Iowa, there was general "hysteria over anything German" (p. 52). By 1920, with the war over, a Crawford County newspaper reported that things were getting back to normal, "without specifying what had been abnormal" about community social cohesion in recent years (ibid., p. 55). This part of Iowa's immigration history is little-known to many residents, as it was in large part intentionally forgotten and many news publications recounting the events were destroyed following the war (Maharidge, 2005).

In the decades since, a large majority of Iowa communities remained racially relatively homogenous and almost entirely white, until Southeast Asian and Latino immigrants began migrating to the state in large numbers beginning in the late 1970s (Champlin and Hake, 2006; Lay, 2012; Maharidge, 2005). Iowa, like many other states in the Midwest, was not a traditional immigrant receiving state and only in recent years did a growing population of non-European immigrants begin to arrive (Champlin and Hake, 2006; Grey, 1996).

Over the past three decades, the easing of antitrust and labor restrictions encouraged by the pro-business political climate in the United States encouraged a shift away from well-paying, high skilled union labor to low-paying, low-skilled, and predominantly Mexican labor in agriculture and related manufacturing industries across the American Midwest (Champlin and Hake, 2006). In addition to the push factors

resulting from economic crises in Mexico during the 1980s and 1990s, the increased freedom of movement and citizenship granted to many previously unauthorized immigrants by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, and the labor insecurity experienced by many Mexicans following the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992, America's immigration policies during the same period ensured American manufacturers a constant flow of cheap, predominantly Mexican laborers willing to work for no benefits, with no unions, and for far less pay than their native-born counterparts from decades prior (Champlin and Hake, 2006; Ueda, 2007).

Iowa's manufacturing sector was not exempt from this shift, particularly in rural communities where manufacturing facilities had long-since relocated from urban centers to control costs through vertical integration and control of supply chains (Champlin and Hake, 2007; Grey, 1996). Across the state and in northwest Iowa, beef, pork, and poultry processing facilities busted unions and closed facilities, only to reopen under new ownership with new Latino immigrant workforces receiving drastically reduced pay and benefits (Grey, 1996). "...[The] industrialization of meatpacking...has increased the need for low-cost labor that is easily replaceable. Foreign-born labor has been aggressively recruited to fill this role" (Champlin and Hake, 2007:54). Today, Latinos comprise the largest minority population in Iowa, representing 5.5 percent of the state's population (Iowa Data Center, 2013); by 2040, this percentage is projected to more than double to 12.7 percent (ibid., 2013).

Since the advent of the Know-Nothing Party, little formal anti-immigrant organization has manifested in Iowa apart from ancillary offshoots of national groups. Virtually no grass roots led, locally formulated and organized anti-immigrant groups exist

in Iowa's 4th Congressional District today. The Minutemen Civil Defense border patrol group, a national group that organized in April of 2005, has an Iowa branch called the Minutemen Civil Defense Corps that is headquartered in Des Moines. Today, the group has one visible member and actor, Robert Ussery, the group's state director. The Iowa Minutemen Civil Defense Corps is listed as a "nativist extremist" organization by the Southern Poverty Law Center, as it "targets individual immigrants rather than immigration policies" in many of its programs and activities (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007).

The group has hosted no recent public events aside from an annual "Rally and Forum on Immigration" held at the state capital in Des Moines. In 2014, the group held its 9th annual rally on the capitol steps which was attended by several people with picket signs and which hosted speakers from some national groups, including the president of The Remembrance Project, a group based in Texas that is currently travelling the United States displaying a patchwork quilt to memorialize the lives of Americans who have been killed by undocumented immigrants (Petroski, 2014).

The Iowa Minutemen branch has no public website, discernable statewide network, or regional branches or associated regional headquarters of any kind. There are a few Facebook Pages seemingly associated with the group, but these pages do not seem to be moderated by the group's state director or anyone else publically affiliated with the Minutemen group. These pages either have no public moderator or the moderators have taken pseudonyms to conceal their identities, such as "Spartan" (Iowa Minutemen Community, 2014).

The National Minuteman Headquarters website is the online presence for the national group and also hosts state chapter webpages; the Iowa state chapter page has not been updated since at least 2009 and no public events or activities are listed as having been organized since this time. Cached versions of the page show that in 2007, there was a Des Moines Chapter of the Iowa Minutemen Civil Defense Corps, a Woodbury County Chapter, a Harrison County Chapter, and a Pottawattamie County Chapter; with the exception of Des Moines, all of these counties are located along the Nebraska border in Iowa's 4th Congressional District (Minuteman Civil Defense Corps, 2007). As of June 2010, all reference to these sub-chapters was gone, in addition to the contact information for anyone associated with the statewide Iowa chapter. As the page appears today, there is no contact information for anyone associated with the Iowa State Chapter of the Minuteman Civil Defense Corps.

While the group does not appear to have a sizeable Iowa membership, staff, state network of groups or activities, or actively facilitate public events or activities aside from a small annual gathering in Des Moines, Robert Ussery, the state director, is active in his lobbying efforts on behalf of the Iowa Minutemen group. During the 2013 and 2014 state legislative sessions, Ussery lobbied twice against temporary drivers' cards for immigrants without documentation, multiple times for stricter voting ID laws, against proposed legislation abolishing English as the official language of Iowa, and multiple times for state constitutional amendments relating to the expansion of individual rights to keep, transport, transfer, possess, and otherwise use firearms (Iowa Legislature, 2014). Ussery has also lobbied the Iowa state legislature multiple times for bills requiring the verification of social security numbers for individuals using public services as well as

against legislation allowing in-state tuition for DREAMers who have grown up in Iowa (ibid., 2014).

Since the formation of the national Minuteman Civil Defense group in 2005, at least 250 other nativist groups have formed across the United States (Juffer, 2013). In Iowa, the Southern Poverty Law Center lists one other anti-immigrant “nativist extremist” group in addition to the Iowa branch of the national Minuteman group, a group called Riders Against Illegal Aliens, based in Ottumwa, Iowa. There is virtually no evidence of this group, its members, or activities in Iowa today.

The majority of explicitly pro-immigrant or immigrant-serving organizations and civic groups that exist today in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District are less than twenty years old, having been organized in response to the latest wave of immigrants to Iowa in the 1980s and 1990s. As non-European immigration, specifically to rural parts of Iowa, is a relatively recent phenomenon, many community members, both in this study and the limited existing research on the topic of recent immigration to northwestern Iowa, describe immigrants and Anglos living parallel to one another – civilly, in general, but at arms’ length and not involved in the others’ lives.

In her exposition of immigration to Sioux County, Iowa, a county in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District, Juffer describes a study in which the majority community members surveyed said their community was a welcoming place to immigrants, but at the same time that they had very limited personal interaction with one another:

A survey taken by students at Northwestern College found that of the 200 people interviewed (191 of whom were Anglo and 99 percent of whom identified as Christian), about 75 percent said Sioux County is generally a welcoming place to immigrants, and 70 percent said that immigrants “strengthen the community.” However, 87.8 percent said they have no Hispanic friends outside of the workplace. (Juffer, 2013:3).

This is a relatively common pattern among other Anglos across Iowa's 4th Congressional District – while many highly-networked groups are active across the region working with and welcoming immigrants, many area residents who do not have similar direct contact or non-professional, personal relationships with immigrants report very little interaction with one another. In her research on Iowa youth responses to and perceptions of immigrants in primarily 4th Congressional District towns, Lay (2012) describes this phenomenon further. Lay finds that even as many respondents stated they believed their community was actively welcoming, they do not believe that immigrants would be particularly welcome in their community, and further, they do not find these views contradictory: “Even though they see their communities as nurturing and welcoming, they recognize that some people – “others” – would not fit in.” (Lay, 2012:47).

The Community Capitals Framework and Immigration in Iowa

The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) is an analytic tool used to understand and explore a community's assets, or resources, and the way these resources are capitalized or decapitalized to affect community change. The CCF categorizes community resources into seven different capital classifications: natural capital, cultural capital, human capital, social capital, political capital, financial capital, and built capital.

Dunn-Young (2012) examines these capitals from an immigration context in Marshalltown, Iowa, a mid-sized community with a large meatpacking presence in Iowa's 1st Congressional District, located directly to the east of Iowa's 4th Congressional District. Dunn-Young analyzes the access to and influence over affecting change in community capitals possessed by members of the Marshalltown immigrant community,

finding that bilingual and institutional resources as well as flexible identification options are central measures in indicating Latino immigrant access to and agency within public institutions (Dunn-Young, 2012).

Further, Dunn-Young finds that institutional policies of some Marshalltown agencies, such as City Managers Offices and the Marshalltown Housing Development Department offices, execute policies specifically designed to deny services to undocumented residents, which often ultimately result in the denying of services to their citizen children as well (2012:44). Accordingly, community access to capitals – specifically in this example, access to housing as built capital – and thereby community power is reduced for immigrants and native-born residents alike, diminishing social cohesion by limiting immigrants’ ability to acclimate quickly and thereby prolonging the “hunkering down” (Putnam, 2009), or diminished trust between and among community groups by the dominant community group (Dunn-Young, 2012:55). Dunn-Young describes how capitals-access restrictions for Latino immigrants in Marshalltown reduces overall social cohesion, as the immigrant community is restricted from acting within community capital institutions and power structures. In more basic terms, immigrants are restricted from “fitting in” to the larger community, which affects the “hunkering down,” as described by Putnam (2009), of both in-group and out-group trust levels by the dominant community group (Dunn-Young, 2012:12). According to Dunn-Young, when immigrants are actively prohibited from engaging in community institutions, this influences the dominant community group’s mistrust of the newcomers and their perceived deviation from dominant community group norms, which limits social

cohesion between the dominant and subordinate groups and ultimately diminishes social capital in the community overall.

Dunn-Young includes a critique of Putnam's "'hunkering down' effect in response to increased diversity" argument through Sturgis et al.'s (2010) findings that social capital and community trust are not, in fact, measures affected by *increased diversity*, but rather by the number of relationships an individual has in their local community or neighborhood (Sturgis et al., 2011). He maintains that increasing both immigrant access to community institutions and improving flexibility within various capitals will increase overall community social cohesion and reduce levels of mistrust in Marshalltown (Dunn-Young, 2012:55). In line with Sturgis et al.'s critique, Lay (2012) and Rice and Steele (2001) show, based on research in Iowa (and contrary to Putnam's findings that diversity can be a cause of diminished trust), that instead, "towns with greater *white* ethnic heterogeneity tend to have lower levels of community attachment, trust, and involvement in community activities" (Lay, 2012:70). At the same time, in her research of youth attitudes and behaviors in response to immigrants in five communities in rural Iowa, Lay finds that while levels of community trust are measurably lower in more diverse communities, "students in the diverse towns were, however, *more* active in their schools" (2012:79, 142). Lay also finds that over time, trust levels increase as does community engagement, indicating that communities with growing immigrant populations may experience somewhat heightened levels of mistrust initially, but this subsides and equalizes as time passes (2012:144).

Ultimately, Dunn-Young suggests that Marshalltown can create a more welcoming community and influence social capital cultivation by increasing immigrant

access to and agency within community capitals, specifically the political and human capital arenas by increasing bilingual services and resources, instituting more flexible identification standards, and providing related resources by which immigrants can more easily move within and engage with the broader community. As Dunn-Young summarizes, “Communities that deprive new immigrants of these tools are erecting barriers to the civic and social engagement of these residents and most certainly are depressing the social capital of the subordinate groups – and of the community as a whole” (2012:50).

Lay emphasizes the lack of research on the effects of immigration in small towns and rural areas in the United States (2012:141-142) and thus explores the behaviors and attitudes of native-born youth towards immigrants in rural Iowa, profiling youth in five communities across the state. Four of these communities (Boone, Carroll, Harlan, and Storm Lake) are located in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District. Through hundreds of one-on-one interviews and surveys over time, Lay measured political and social cohesion as perceived and experienced by high school students in both communities with large immigrant populations as well as in neighboring communities with low or virtually no levels of immigrant in-migration.

Lay further suggests that the “hunkering down” effect is misapplied when discussing smaller communities, as “the idea that diversity contributes to a general pulling back...fails to recognize the importance of the civic arena or density of social networks in small towns” (2012:142). In fact, Lay finds that of the smaller communities studied, in those communities with higher levels of immigrant activity, both students and adults remained active in their communities: “the same coffee klatches, Bible studies,

Rotary clubs, and lunch bunches that had existed in these communities...continued after immigrants began to arrive” (ibid.).

However, Lay’s research shows that while these activities continued among the dominant, predominantly Anglo community, complaints arose that “immigrants did not participate in these activities” (2012:142) as much as many in the dominant community group say they prefer. Lay shows that over time, increased diversity does *not* have a negative effect on community trust or civic engagement, but does emphasize the chasm between the expectations for social and civic involvement by the dominant Anglo community and the perceived lower levels of participation by immigrant groups in their communities.

Lay’s (2012) research does not explore the ways in which these communities have or have not created welcoming environments for new immigrants as a way to more thoroughly explore this perceived divide in social and civic participation and capital cultivation, as this research does, but instead describes how community attitudes and behaviors change over time as diversity through immigration increases. Ultimately, Lay’s work addresses the notion that immigrant population growth diminishes community cohesion and trust and instead shows that over time, community trust improves in communities with growing immigrant populations.

Maharidge’s (2005) anecdotal research was compiled by spending one year living in Dennison, Iowa, and becoming involved in community ESL classes, city council meetings, and community civic projects. Dennison is located in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District. Maharidge found that community institutions that traditionally serve as access points for residents to engage in the larger civic, business and social sectors were in many

aspects making improvements in increasing immigrant access to and agency within these community capital arenas, while other arenas were creating actively unwelcoming environments for immigrant groups. For example, in 2003, the Denison city council approved Ordinance 1237, which restricted the number of unrelated people legally allowed to share housing and which was modeled after similar legislation passed in Ames, also located in Iowa's 4th Congressional District. One community member was in attendance, who spoke with concern for the ordinance's potential impact on disabled individuals who share housing, or unmarried women living as roommates to save on expenses (Maharidge, 2005:59). The council responded that if issues like that arose, the ordinance could be amended later, and it passed with a unanimous vote (ibid). Further, the previous year, the city council passed a similar ordinance that mandated the paving of all gravel driveways and restricted vehicle parking on unpaved surfaces. Maharidge suggests that ordinances such as these, which do not specifically reference Hispanics, Latinos or immigrants, still have the effect of disproportionately targeting this population over other residents regardless of legislative intent. In these and other examples, political and built capitals are mobilized to create unwelcoming environments for immigrants in Denison.

Critiques by dominant community groups shown by Lay (2012) are similar to those observed by Maharidge: many Anglo and native-born residents expressed a desire to see a greater number of immigrants participate in social and civic activities, while immigrants were at the same time denied full participation or autonomy in other community capital arenas.

Flora, Flora and Tapp (2000) explore community attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants in an Iowa meatpacking community (“*Industria*”) and observe a two-camp division between community members bounded by their disparate views on the immigrant population: the Legalists and the Pluralists. Legalists are concerned with strict interpretations of the rule of law, stress the importance of making new immigrants aware of US laws, and insist on prompt expulsion from the community for law-breakers; their primary concern is the new immigrants’ non-conformity to established societal rules (Flora et al., 2000:3, 8). In contrast, pluralists are concerned with the reduction of worker turnover at the *Industria* meatpacking plants, increasing opportunities for immigrant integration into the community, and the overall benefits to the community the new immigrant populations bring (Flora et al., 2000:9). Flora et al. examine pluralist and legalist actors across three institutional sectors in the community: market, state, and civil society; and provide multiple examples of how groups representing these sectors worked collaboratively to increase or decrease immigrant integration in *Industria*.

Ultimately, only when *Industria*’s diversity committee – which struggled for years to garner *both* legalist and pluralist support and maintain consistency in operations – leveraged actors from all three institutional community sectors was some consensus achieved between opposing camps and meaningful work accomplished (Flora et al., 2000:16). Civic, social and state institutional groups, including local government, school board, state service programs, faith groups and business leaders, worked together to find commonality and move forward in tandem with other faith and civil rights groups working directly with *Industria*’s immigrant population to find agreeable solutions for legalist and pluralist members representing all community capitals and sectors (ibid).

Power, Ideology, and Social Capital

There is no dearth of sociological and economic literature on the subject of power in community social capital formation. Social and moral norms, trust, and social networks comprise the basis for Putnam's widely discussed conceptualization of social capital, but his framework has been expounded upon by some and criticized by others for largely neglecting to address the role political power plays in affecting or obstructing community change. Bourdieu (1986) describes the negative side of social capital, defining it as less of a community asset, as Putnam describes, than as a strategy for preserving and replicating the cultural capital and ultimately, power, of society's ruling classes (Onyx, Edwards and Bullen, 2007). In this vein, Onyx et al. contend that while social capital is effectively employed and cultivated between equals within a society, the hegemonic class structures inherent to democratic societies create inequalities and exploitation, which work against social capital formation (2007:216). The role of power and class hierarchy is inextricable from social capital, as it is not only used generatively to cultivate positive community change, it is also widely used to replicate social inequalities between groups and both preserve and legitimize societal power within ruling classes (Bourdieu, 1986; De Oliveira, Guimond, and Dambrun, 2012; Onyx et al., 2007; Sidanius and Pratto, 1999).

Among the tenets of dominant discourse theory, social power is described in terms of the "control exercised by one group or organization (or its members) and the actions and/or the minds of (the members of) another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, influencing their knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies" (van Dijk, 1996:84). Accordingly, power in communities is predicated on the degree of access

individuals or groups have to myriad community resources, including employment, status, wealth, and control over public discourse. This power is often organized in entrenched community institutions to maximize control (van Dijk, 1996:85).

Because of the inequitable access to and control over power and its disruptive influence on social capital in the context of hierarchical social systems, Szreter (2002) and Woolcock (1998) argue for the addition of Linking Social Capital to the categories of Bonding and Bridging, through which the *quality* of relationships between groups of unequal power can be assessed and analyzed. Linking Social Capital specifically refers to the power and access qualities of social relationships between individuals and groups with varying degrees of and access to power: it includes “the relationships of exchange, which are established between parties who know themselves not only to be unlike, as in the case of bridging social capital, but furthermore to be unequal in their power and their access to resources” (Szreter, 2002:579). Linking Social Capital has an equalizing effect, by which greater access and influence – power – is conferred from individuals and groups with more power to individuals and groups with less power. It is intentional and relational:

[Linking Social Capital] takes on a democratic and empowering character where those involved are endeavoring to achieve a mutually agreed beneficial goal (or set of goals) on a basis of mutual respect, trust, and equality of status, despite the manifest inequalities in their respective positions. (ibid)

Woolcock (1998) analyzes the levels of Linking Social Capital in societal groups through two mechanisms: embeddedness and autonomy. Embeddedness refers to the qualities of knowledge and mutual understanding between groups with unequal access to power, such as state and civil society groups, particularly on the part of more empowered parties. Societal groups with more power must take an intentional stake in societal

groups with less power, but not to the extent that either party's independence or agency is compromised, thereby preserving the autonomy of both groups. One group must not become the steward of the other, but individuals in groups with more power must create relational linkages with individuals in groups with less power, and vice versa, to become cross-class allies in identifying and accomplishing community goals. Strong Linking Social Capital bonds between community groups exist when levels of embeddedness and autonomy between groups exercising different levels of power are in balance (Woolcock, 1998).

For the purposes of this study, the emphasis placed on personal, one-on-one relationships in cultivating social capital, affecting community change, and driving genuine social movements must not be understated. Szreter (2002) and Putnam (2009) discuss the distinction between "genuine social movements" and "synthetic social movements." The former, akin the civil rights movements of the mid-twentieth century, are driven by close, strong ties between real people from within their respective communities; the latter are driven by outside interest groups or parties influencing change through commercial and financial investments (Szreter, 2002:581-582; Putnam, 2009:153-160). Synthetic social movements, while often extremely effective, are neither the cause nor the effect of genuine, grass roots social capital as they lack local, authentic one-on-one relationship networks as drivers of their movements. Although they are often varnished as community-led or represented, they are not local and they do not promulgate community social capital. Instead, synthetic social movements are driven often entirely by national outside funder groups that have neither bridging nor bonding connections with communities in which they work to influence. In contrast to synthetic social

movements, genuine social movements that authentically both produce and are motivated by social capital require relationships: “Social movements with grassroots involvement both embody and produce social capital” (Putnam, 2009:153).

Synthetic social movements are typically driven by outside financiers but are made to appear to be representative and locally driven. To illustrate, Putnam discusses the rise of state ballot initiatives in recent decades and debunks the claim that this increase reflects a rise in organized, grass roots community civic engagement. Instead, Putnam shows that over the whole of the 20th century, more than half of all state ballot initiatives sprung from just five states and further, since the 1980s, the overwhelming majority of state ballot campaigns have been managed by professional firms (2009:163). Putnam discusses the findings of Tolbert et al. (1998) to show that instead of the grass roots civic engagement bellwether that the rise in state ballot initiatives has been claimed to be, the phenomenon is instead attributed to an increase in outside funding and political astro-turfing by national groups:

One study [by the California Commission on Campaign Financing] concluded, “...Any individual, corporation, or organization with approximately \$1 million to spend can now place any issue on the ballot...*Qualifying an initiative for the statewide ballot is thus no longer so much a measure of general citizen interest as it is a test of fundraising ability*” (Putnam, 2009:163-164, citing Tolbert, Lowenstein & Donovan, 1998).

Synthetic social movements neither reflect nor generatively affect social capital; however, these groups are often still incredibly adept at message cultivation and sanctioning their influence, particularly through the manufacturing and disseminating of dominant discourses and ideologies. For Woolcock (1998) and Szreter (2002), authentic social capital, opposed to synthetic social movements, is critical because social capital can either reinforce or dismantle power disparities within community groups. Intrinsic to either the reinforcing or dismantling of these power disparities is the role of ideology.

For Szreter, individuals neither manufacture nor consume ideas in equal measure – despite the freedom and promise of equality under the law residents of democratic societies are to enjoy, there exist inequalities in different groups’ access to and control over information and knowledge, particularly dominant discourses. As change agents in society, ideas and ideology matter at least as much as bonding relationships: strong linking capital between capitalized and undercapitalized groups creates opportunities for those in positions of power to more equitably distribute power, and this is only accomplished through the exposure of capitalized groups to new ideologies via linking ties. Szreter illustrates this dynamic allegorically with an emphasis on economic class divisions, but the same is true for gender, race, ethnic, and other hierarchical societal divisions:

Citizens and their networks and associations, even in a well-developed representative democracy, do not play on a flat, even, regular surface. Only the middle of the surface area is relatively even. At the lower-income end, the surface is steeply tilted and barren, while at the other, upper income end, its tilt curves upward at an ever-steepening angle and tapers narrowly almost to a point. Most of the power and wealth are held here, and there is little opportunity to gain a footing for those not already established there. Those occupying the narrow heights can look down with satisfaction on the busy plains of the middle-income families and the foothills beneath them, but they cannot even see those toiling on the barren incline of relative deprivation and poverty, beyond the horizon at the far end of the middle plain. *This is why the battle of ideas and ideology matters so much, to gain the concerns of the poorer at least a hearing among the rich and powerful, up on the lofty heights. For only ideas and ideals (and fear) can influence the perceptions and motives of the power-holding elite to consider the pursuit of goals beyond those of their own immediate interests.* (Szreter, 2002:587, emphasis added).

Szreter’s emphasis on fear as an ideological motivation is important, particularly concerning distinctive social groups with different levels of power. Ocasio and Pozner define power as “the ability to influence others’ actions and outcomes according to one’s own desires and objectives” (2013:4) and, as has been widely discussed, groups have varying and conflicting levels of power and access to power in democratic societies. As such, commitment plays a significant role in galvanizing group attitudes and ideologies

by serving as a motivational mechanism that strengthens an individual's connection to a group or organization, whether formal or informal (Ocasio and Pozner, 2013; Lawler and Yoon, 1993). The stronger an individual feels tied to a group – the higher their level of commitment – not only the stronger their loyalty and attachment to the group, but also, the greater the perceived cost or loss of leaving the group, the increase in sense of moral obligation to hold up group norms and rules, and importantly, the preponderance of feelings and behaviors that denigrate non-group members (Ocasio and Pozner, 2013; Johnson and Rusbult 1989). In this way, commitment plays a catalyzing role in reaffirming existing power groups in democratic societies. Group members confer higher levels of status and favoritism on one another and reinforce their position as group members by judging members' ability to replicate the cultural assets that have been determined by the dominant power group: "Having command over the language, cognition, values, and outward indicators of the organization...is related to status" (Ocasio and Pozner, 2013:16). When members of a society fail to meet or emulate the group in power's cultural asset standards – when they fail to reinforce the symbolic and cultural capital structures that keep powered groups in power – they are met with derogation by the dominant group. Deviation from social or cultural norms, language, and values is viewed as threatening to dominant social groups and met with aspersion.

Conclusion

Factions of every generation of new immigrants to the United States act with hostility to immigrant groups that come after them. While substantial non-European immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Iowa, fear and new immigrants' deviation from dominant societal group culture and norms have motivated hostility

toward immigrants throughout the state's history. One hundred years ago it was the Germans; today it is the Latinos. But then as well as now, this hostility is rooted in just a faction of larger society. Today, organized action against immigrants in Iowa is virtually non-existent, with just one formal group led by one individual organizing relatively limited and waning number of anti-immigrant activities in recent years, and expending comparatively greater efforts lobbying for anti-immigrant legislation at the state capitol. Unorganized anti-immigrant sentiment is not significant either: 2013 *Des Moines Register* polling shows that 77 percent of Iowans support some path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants, while only 21 percent of Iowans are against a path to citizenship (*Des Moines Register*, 2013). The majority of Iowans support rather than oppose immigration reform legislation that would benefit immigrants without status; the negligible organized anti-immigrant activity in Iowa is not representative of the majority of Iowans' views.

In contrast to the isolated efforts of organized anti-immigrant activities in the state, relatively high social capital is a hallmark of immigrant-welcoming groups in Iowa's 4th Congressional District. Social capital describes the relationships and bonds that strengthen community cohesion and facilitate community change, and political capital describes the authority, access, and agency individuals and groups possess in operationalizing their goals. Bridging and bonding social capital are to the social links between groups and individuals, respectively, but linking capital refers to the *quality* of these links and the extent to which they exist between and among individuals representing groups with disparate levels of community power. Societal groups with high levels of power often preserve and reinforce their power through the institutional

preservation and proliferation of cultural assets and norms that are used to measure in-group and out-group membership and status. Regardless of the social capital between and among groups with less power in democratic societies, their agency and power are bound by dominant discourses that preserve cultural assets and therefore, the power, of dominant community groups; only when groups with more power invest in intentional, equitable relations with groups with less power via linking ties can community social capital and access to power manifest equitably.

Community groups in Iowa's 4th Congressional District across state, market, and civil society sectors are responding to immigrant population growth in ways that increase community group and member agency, power, and improve social capital cultivation, as well as in ways that decrease agency and power and limit social capital cohesion. Social capital is a driver of authentic social movements and a cultivator of greater levels community capitals, but the contextualizing role of power and ideology is integral to the effectiveness of community social movements. Hierarchically organized and entrenched power, and the ideological constructs cultivated and reinforced by dominant power groups work against social capital formation and have a destructive impact on community cohesion, access to power, and agency. While immigrants to Iowa represent a relatively small yet growing percent of the population, immigrants and immigrant-welcoming groups face ideological barriers and power disparities despite the relative lack of organized anti-immigrant activity in the state.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY AND METHODS

The Community Capitals Framework

The Community Capitals Framework (CCF) serves as the analytic tool with which the statements and activities of groups and individuals in northwest Iowa are analyzed in this study. The CCF is an analytic instrument used to understand and explore a community's unique assets, or resources, and the ways these resources are capitalized or decapitalized to affect community change. The CCF divides community resources into seven categories: natural capital, cultural capital, human capital, social capital, political capital, financial capital, and built capital (Flora and Flora, 2008:17-19). In this research, the CCF is used to analyze the ways community resources are capitalized or decapitalized to create welcoming or unwelcoming communities for immigrants in northwest Iowa and the extent to which the actions of these groups are driven by community social capital or ideology. The CCF approach aids in framing respondents' impressions of and relationship to community assets and the extent to which these assets are mobilized around immigration.

Social and Political Capital will be of particular focus in this study. Social capital includes the ties, relationships and networks within a community – predicated on mutual trust – which can have the effect of promoting positive or negative community change. Two types of social capital are bonding social capital and bridging social capital: Flora and Flora describe bridging social capital as community relationships that are usually “single-purpose linkages,” or those usually held between individual community members according to their relationship, while bonding social capital is described as including “multiple linkages to enforce norms and encourage trust,” often between agencies,

groups, or outside organization or government entities (Flora and Flora, 2008:18). Social Capital describes the bonds or relationships between and among individuals and groups that affect both positive and negative change in communities large and small. Bonding Social Capital specifically refers to relationships between individuals, focusing on the “close redundant ties that build community cohesion” (Emery and Flora, 2006: 21), while Bridging Social Capital refers to the connections and relationships between community institutions and groups, both within a specific community and across multiple communities and networks (Emery and Flora, 2006; Flora and Flora, 2008). The groups and networks in this study have been analyzed and categorized as possessing either High, Medium, or Low Social Capital as follows:

High Social Capital

Groups with high levels of social capital exhibit a diverse array of community relationships both between and among individual group members and other non-group members representing various market, state, and civic groups. These individual group members are actively involved with many other individuals from across community sectors as they engage in their work and the quality of these relationships is personal and positive (Bonding Capital). Members of groups with high levels of social capital also exhibit a preponderance of formal and/or informal individual community relationships with individuals from other groups and institutions across community sectors. As institutions, these groups also have formal and informal relationships with other groups across community sectors, both within their community as well as in other communities across the region and state (Bridging Capital).

Medium Social Capital

Groups with medium levels of social capital exhibit somewhat diverse community relationships both between and among individual group members and other non-group members representing various market, state, and civil society groups; however, the quality and/or quantity of these relationships may be limited. Groups with medium levels of social capital may exhibit uneven relationships, perhaps with many connections between group members and individuals in one or two community sectors, but few or no connections between individuals representing other community sectors; or, these relationships may present as strained, less positive, or less personal. Groups with medium levels of social capital also exhibit formal and informal relationships between their group and other groups across community sectors, however these relationships may be limited and/or the relationships may not indicate a diverse network representing multiple community sectors; or, they simply may not have significant relationships with many other groups or networks from outside their community.

Low Social Capital

Groups with low levels of social capital exhibit few to no community relationships between individual group members and those from other market, state, and civil society groups as they engage in the work of the group. Group members work with few if any other individuals in their community, or their group may have formal policies of working alone. Groups with low levels of social capital also exhibit few if any formal or informal relationships between their group and other groups across community sectors.

Political Capital refers to the structural and political power individual actors and groups have to affect community change. Political capital includes community power

structures defined by Flora and Flora as “the ability of a group to influence the standards of the market, state, or civil society; the codification of those standards in laws and contracts; and the enforcement of those standards” (2008:18). It also includes the access to power, level of influence, and access resources these groups have across institutions (Flora et al., 2008), in addition to their ability to impact and improve the well-being of their communities (Aigner, Flora and Hernandez, 2001; Emery and Flora, 2006). The groups and networks in this study have been analyzed and categorized as possessing either High, Medium, or Low Political Capital as follows:

High Political Capital

Groups with high levels of political capital are actively involved in and highly effective at advocating for their causes and influencing related community outcomes. They have varied and close relationships with state and community powerbrokers, are able to lobby and sway power groups for resources and support, as well as engage in successful advocacy campaigns to heighten community awareness of their goals and bring about political and structural change. High Political Capital groups also include groups that may possess institutional authority and have access to resources and connections, although they may not necessarily be effectively or actively utilizing their positioning and access.

Medium Political Capital

Groups with medium or moderate levels of political capital also advocate for their causes to community powerbrokers, although they may do so with mixed results or they may only have access to certain community power groups and limited to no access to

others. They may have marginal to moderate “voice” in the larger community due to lack of adequate access to powerbrokers or resources; they may lack general community awareness of their work; and/or they may lack broad influence. They are engaged in expanding their voice and influence by working to strengthen connections between their group and sources of community political and structural power. Alternatively, these groups may have members active in cultivating these relationships and influence, but the political and structural powerbrokers in their community may be entrenched by political ideology, apathy, lack of shared vision, and/or lack of political will.

Low Political Capital

Groups with low levels of political capital may not advocate for their causes to community powerbrokers at all, or they may do so minimally, with little to no effectiveness. They have little to no influence or relationships with community political bodies and powerbrokers and they may not be resourced to significantly affect community change or cultivate their influence. Alternatively, these groups may have a few members active in cultivating these relationships and influence, but the political and structural powerbrokers in their community may be entrenched by political ideology, apathy, lack of shared vision, and/or lack of political will.

Research Methodology, Methods, and Population

The research methodology is qualitative in that the majority of research questions were open-ended in an effort to explore the complex and presently under-researched activities and statements of northwest Iowa groups and their responses to growing

regional immigration. Primary and secondary data sources were utilized to substantiate and triangulate interview and research findings.

The research population included 17 adult individuals representing civic, social, faith, political, business and other community groups across Iowa's 4th Congressional District. This sample group was limited to individuals with proficiency in English. Participants were approached through referral as well as from a compiled listing of community law enforcement officers and professionals, state and local elected officials, faith leaders, business leaders, activists/allies, health care professionals, civic and social leaders, and other community stakeholders. Contact with participants was made by a combination of approaching existing contacts, by "gatekeeper" referrals, and "cold calling" known community leaders.

Upon solicitation, agreement to participate, receipt of cover letter and confidentiality documentation, and return of signed participation/information sheet, formal interviews were conducted to explore the statements and actions of individuals and community groups in northwest Iowa in relation to the region's immigrant population, analyzed through a Community Capitals Framework lens (see Appendix A: Interview Protocol). Over twenty additional unstructured interviews and private conversations with market, state, and civil society group members from across Iowa's 4th Congressional District were part of the interviewer's reconnaissance.

Interviews were conducted one-on-one, in person, and in English. Formal interviews were conducted with a protocol, audio recorded, transcribed and appropriately coded for analysis. If participants wished, they could receive a copy of their transcribed interview. The identity of all respondents is concealed, and each respondent that is

directly quoted has been given a pseudonym in the study. To further protect the privacy of interview participants, all town and county names in the study have been changed.

Responses were comparatively analyzed with those of other interviewees as well as with other secondary data sources to determine which community capitals are capitalized or decapitalized by whom, and 1) the extent to which community social capital influences the statements and activities of these individuals and groups, and 2) the extent to which the statements and activities of these groups influence social capital formation – specifically, whether the groups in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District are creating more or less welcoming communities for immigrants. The nature of sought responses, which were varied, often subjective and highly nuanced, inherently lent themselves to an exploratory research approach.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CAPITAL

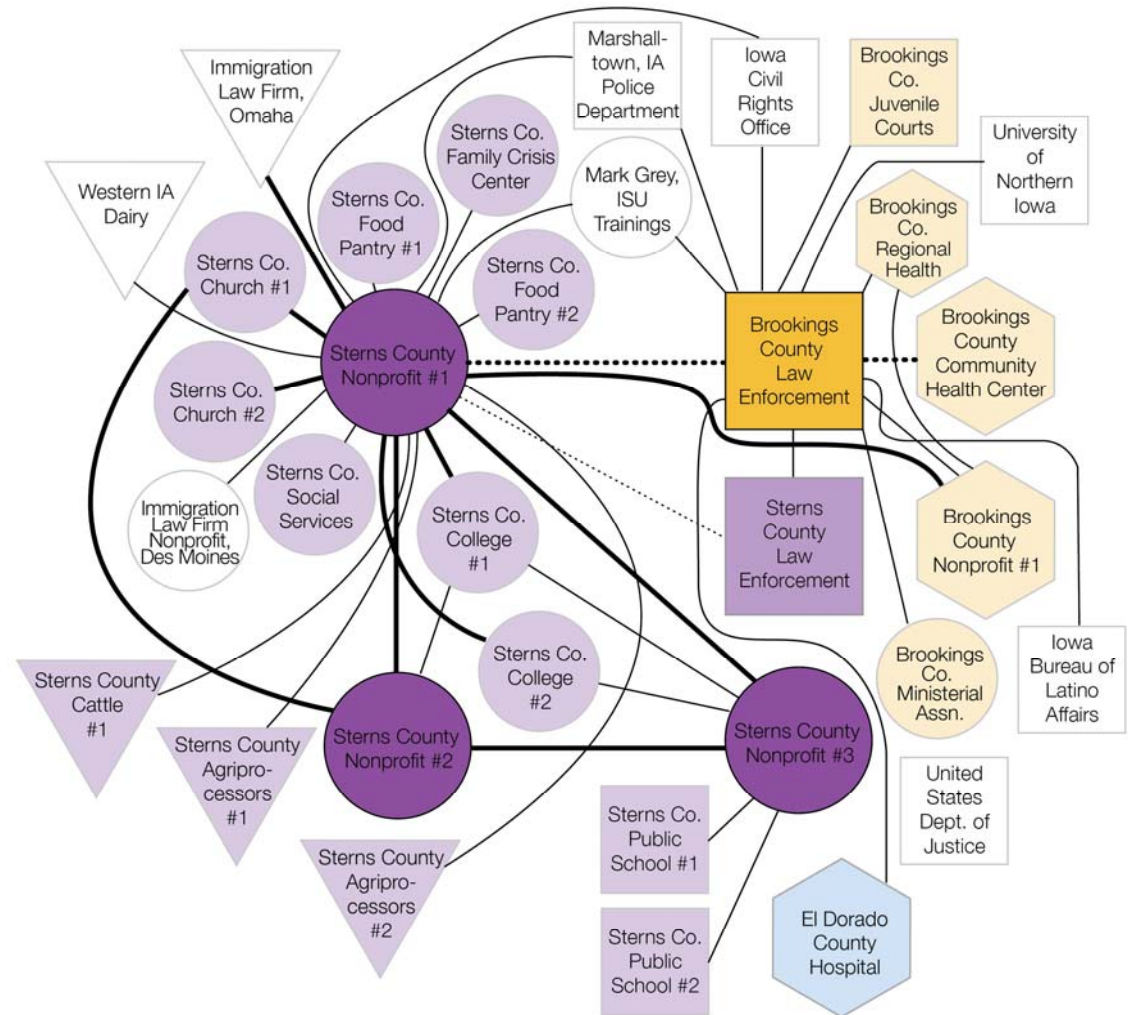
Introduction

A variety of networks and actors are working across and beyond the five counties in the study to actively or passively respond to immigrants in Iowa, in welcoming and unwelcoming ways. The individuals interviewed for this study represent state, market, and civil society groups and each of these groups exhibit varying degrees of social and political capital that they leverage in their work to respond to immigrants in their communities. This section examines the networks and activities of these groups, as organized on continuum ranging from High, Medium and Low Social Capital and High, Medium and Low Political Capital groups (see *Table 2: Social and Political Capital*).

| | | POLITICAL CAPITAL | | |
|----------------|--------|--|--|---|
| | | HIGH | MEDIUM | LOW |
| SOCIAL CAPITAL | HIGH | N/A | Sterns Co. Nonprofit #1, Sterns Co. Nonprofit #2, Sterns Co. Nonprofit #3, Brookings Co. Law Enforcement | Fairview Co. Nonprofit #1, Brookings Co. Nonprofit #1, Sterns Co. Community Health Center |
| | MEDIUM | Sterns Co. Law Enforcement | N/A | Brookings Co. Community Health Center, Sterns Co. Community Health Center, El Dorado Co. Hospital |
| | LOW | Onedia Co. Attorney, Brookings Co. Attorney | Brookings Co. Meatpacking #1 | N/A |

Table 2, Social and Political Capital

High Social Capital, Medium Political Capital Groups



HIGH SOCIAL CAPITAL, MEDIUM POLITICAL CAPITAL GROUPS
STARNS COUNTY NONPROFIT #1, STARNS COUNTY NONPROFIT #2
STARNS COUNTY NONPROFIT #3, BROOKINGS COUNTY LAW ENFORCEMENT

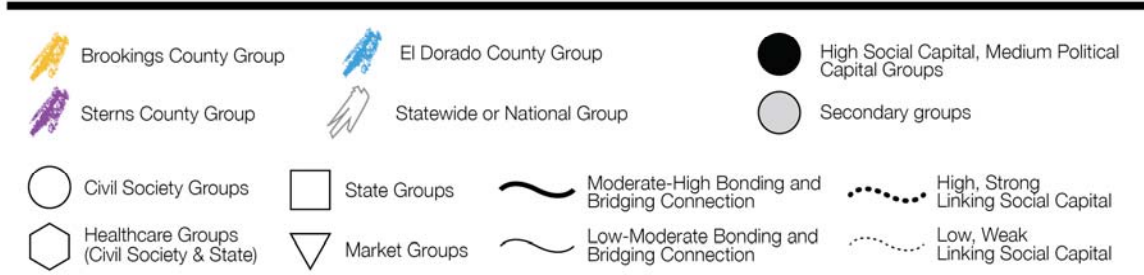


Figure 1, High Social Capital, Medium Political Capital Groups

Of the groups represented in the study, four stood out as exhibiting the highest levels of bonding and bridging social capital and higher levels of political capital than the other groups. Although linking ties were not extensive, groups in this clustering displayed more evidence of either strong or growing linking ties, or were more actively working to develop linking ties than the other groups. Three of the groups in this clustering represent civil society, particularly nonprofit organizations and actors, and one group represents the state sector, a county law enforcement agency. While other nonprofit organizations in the study also exhibited relatively high levels of social capital, the Brookings County Law Enforcement #1, discussed below, is the only state agency in the study to exhibit high levels of social capital. With the exception of BCLE1, located in Brookings County, the remaining three groups in this cluster: Sterns County Nonprofit #1, Sterns County Nonprofit #2, and Sterns County Nonprofit #3, are concentrated in Sterns County.

Sterns County Nonprofit #1 (SCNP1) exhibits the highest levels of both bonding and bridging social capital of all the groups in this cluster and in the study. SCNP1 was founded in the late 1990s in response to the growing number of Latino immigrants in Sterns County without access to adequate translation services. The organization was founded by a former county hospital social worker to resource community civic, state, and market groups with Spanish-English translators when she observed a lack of these services at the hospital and elsewhere in the community. At first, the organization utilized an all-volunteer rotating network of unpaid translators, but in time they learned they would have to expand their programming and resources. The members of SCNP1's all-volunteer board started the county's first interpreter-for-hire program in 2000, which

eventually expanded to work with area schools, social service agencies, hospitals, as well as with various county agencies, law enforcement departments, and area landlords.

Early on, the organization learned of a second significant need facing immigrants in the Sterns County region: immigration attorneys. "...In the early years of [SCNP1], the second greatest need was an absence of immigration attorneys in a 100 mile radius – the closest were in Omaha or Des Moines" (Jans, 2014). In response, the organization's board began cultivating relationships with immigration attorneys in neighboring states and jurisdictions and engaging them to travel to Sterns County for legal clinics and client advising multiple times per year. Today, SCNP1 is still organized as an all-volunteer board whose members have other jobs and are not paid for their work with the organization. In 2014, the annual operating budget of SCNP1 is less than \$9,000.00. The relationships established between market, state and civil society sectors and SCNP1 during the early years have today grown into robust service networks and cross-institutional relationships: over two thirds of the participants interviewed, representing market, state, and civil society sectors from the five counties in the study across Iowa's 4th Congressional District, were either aware of the work of SCNP1, have worked with SCNP1 in the past, or currently have a formal or informal working partnership with SCNP1 or its board members.

Like SCNP1, Sterns County Nonprofit #2 (SCNP2) exhibits high levels of both bonding and bridging social capital and medium levels of political capital. SCNP2 is an informal network of Sterns County and regional residents formed by Aaron Anderson, also a board member with SCNP1, in 2012. Members include area college professors, faith leaders, healthcare providers, local and national immigration advocates, college and

graduate students, and community volunteers. Early in 2012, Anderson's church held a series of community meetings examining Christian perspectives on immigration issues. When the series was complete, Anderson and other participants shared a desire to expound upon the conversations and ideas from the meetings in actionable ways. In response, the group formed a petition entitled "To Fix Our Broken Immigration System" and distributed it virtually. Over the course of a few weeks, the petition received over 800 signatures from across the state and nation, with the majority coming from Sterns County and Iowa's 4th Congressional District communities.

It was an election year, and Anderson personally reached out to both the incumbent congressional candidate in his district as well as his then-opponent to inform them of the petition, the importance of the issue in Iowa's 4th Congressional District, and ask for a meeting with each candidate. The opponent, publicly supportive of immigration reform, agreed to the meeting and met shortly thereafter with SCNP2 and approximately 40 Sterns County agribusiness owners, health care providers, educators, and other community members at the public library to have a conversation about the issues facing immigrants and citizens alike vis-à-vis what SCNP2 advocates stated to be the failed policies of the country's broken immigration system. The then-incumbent congressman, who has publically positioned himself as the foil to pro-immigrant and pro-immigration legislation and groups during his twelve years in office and who was subsequently re-elected, was also invited to a meeting with SCNP2 and Sterns County community members but never responded to Anderson's invitations.

Instead of a partisan political issue, many SCNP2 group members emphasize their view of the need for immigration reform as a "kingdom," justice, and/or moral issue. In

Sterns County, the most conservative county in the state (Larimer, 2013), faith-led advocacy has proven somewhat effective in engaging the broader community on immigration. SCNP2 still focuses on political advocacy, with members currently working with SCNP1 and other statewide groups including law enforcement, elected officials, and advocacy groups to pass a limited state driver's card bill that would give immigrants without adequate documentation the opportunity to study and test for a driver's card, greatly reducing, in SCNP2's view, the likelihood that immigrants without adequate identification will be pulled over for minor offenses, detained, charged with identity offenses, and deported. The bill calls for drivers' cards rather than licenses to avoid conflation of the two, as the drivers' cards would be more limited in their usage as identification. Driver's cards would not be acceptable as identification for the purposes of voting.

Like SCNP1 and SCNP2, Sterns County Nonprofit #3 (SCNP3) exhibits high levels of both bonding and bridging social capital and medium levels of political capital. SCNP3 is a youth mentorship program directed by Rick Estevez, a DREAMer whose family emigrated from Mexico when Rick was a young child. Rick is a member of SCNP1's board and grew up in Sterns County, receiving his undergraduate degree from the private liberal arts college in Vermeer. He identifies with rural Iowa and speaks affectionately of living in Sterns County: "I love the smell of manure in the air around harvest time – when I go away and come back that smell means I'm home."

Estevez has directed the youth mentorship program in Sterns County since 2012. The program is twofold: One group mentoring program specifically targets underserved youth, both Latino and Anglo, by focusing on leadership development, community

involvement, and guiding kids to build healthy relationships with adults as well as peers. The second program specifically focuses on Latino youth, many of which are immigrants or the children of immigrants. Estevez has established relationships with Latino undergraduate students at his alma mater and formalized a mentor development partnership with the college whereby Latino undergraduates volunteer to mentor Latino youth in the program. Estevez saw a particular need for culturally appropriate mentorship opportunities for Latino youth in Sterns County:

A lot [of Latino county youth] don't have positive adult relationships or a community that understands their parents' culture that has influenced them so much. I think a lot of Latino youth here need someone to understand them and gain a sense of belonging... So we have about 5 Latino mentors from [the college] – the students are Latino and the youth are Latino – that's very intentional, so we can relate to them better and develop deeper relationships and understand them in ways others might not. – Rick Estevez

At the core of SCNP3's mentorship model is relationship building, giving kids the opportunity to share and grow their gifts, ultimately helping them thrive. To achieve this, Estevez has cultivated an extensive network of community relationships and partnerships with area public schools, private universities, churches, and advocacy groups to provide funding support, donate the use of public spaces and supplies for after-school activities, refer school youth to SCNP3, and arrange for expanded programs and opportunities for youth involved in SCNP3.

Brookings County Law Enforcement #1 is one of the law enforcement departments in Brookings County (it does not represent all the departments within the county), with headquarters in the county seat of Centerville. Like the other groups in this clustering, Brookings County Law Enforcement #1 (BCLE1) exhibits high levels of both bonding and bridging social capital and medium levels of political capital, with the highest evidence of social capital of all the state groups in the study.

As previously discussed, Brookings County is both the largest and most diverse county in the study. According to the senior law enforcement official interviewed from BCLE1, over thirty nationalities and twenty-five languages are represented in Centerville, making community policing for what is otherwise a moderately-sized rural community much more complex than that of less-diverse rural communities of similar sizes. The head of BCLE1, Paul McGinty, is a twenty-five year veteran of the department, having moved to Centerville to take on the role as chief after serving 11 years in a major Midwest metropolitan police department in a neighboring state. McGinty believes the diversity encountered in that metropolitan environment prepared him for his work in Centerville, and it is in part from these experiences in a larger, diverse jurisdiction that McGinty has adapted larger-community policing models to fit the unique needs of Centerville.

In his work to improve community policing in an increasingly diverse community, McGinty has also cultivated relationships with major police departments across the country, in addition to relationships and partnerships with state and national policing organizations. McGinty has also partnered with advocacy, justice and policing research institutes, universities, the United States Department of Justice (USDOJ), the Iowa Civil Rights Office, the Iowa Bureau of Latino Affairs, as well as various other national, state, and local groups to constantly evaluate and improve upon the policing practices of the department.

In 1995, BCLE1 employed what has become a national model in best practices in community policing with its Community Service Officer Program, by which two native speaking Spanish and Lao community residents, also bilingual in English, serve as

intermediaries between the department and larger community. Community Service Officers (CSOs) are civilians, dressing in department uniforms and carrying out basic police duties, such as answering non-emergency calls and writing parking tickets to free up officer time (Herbst, Walker, and Irlbeck, 2002). CSOs do not carry guns, but instead they primarily work to improve communication and engender trust between the larger community, particularly the non-English speaking community, and BCLE1. Funding for the CSO positions were allocated by the city council, whereby the first full-time city-level interpreting staff positions were created.

McGinty views relationships and communication, not just within the BCLE1 department, but across community institutions, as the key to effective policing and building positive relationships in the community. He is emphatic regarding the importance of these relationships:

It's not business as usual with diverse communities like in more traditional northwest Iowa Caucasian communities. Sometimes [relationship building is with] a very small group, sometimes it's one at a time. It's not like at city council meetings. Relationship building is perpetual – it never ends. And it's not solely from my office – our offices and firefighters create way more bridges – they do more work in the field, more than I can [alone]. We've learned that has to not just be a thought or a program – it has to be a lifestyle – always pursuing these relationships.

As an example, McGinty instated a department-wide policy that, in addition to officers' regular beat patrols, each officer is required to make one non-law enforcement related contact with at least one community member per shift. For McGinty, “this small act helps residents feel more comfortable approaching officers and calling on police in their time of need.” In this vein, BCLE1 is very active in community neighborhood outreach programs, partnering with other county groups to set up field offices in different neighborhoods two to three times per month and inviting residents to meet and talk with BCLE1 officers. To further develop relationships, McGinty also explained that BCLE1

initiates community focus group conversations between department officials and leaders from various different immigrant communities several times per year.

Today, SCNP1 organizes its work into three program areas in their efforts to create a more welcoming Sterns County for immigrants: Empowerment, Education, and Advocacy. Through these program areas, SCNP1 has built relationships and partnered with area and regional healthcare providers, area churches and faith communities, area colleges, and other representatives from state and civil society groups, providing referrals, ESL classes, transportation services, cultural competency and ‘Know Your Rights’ trainings, in addition to its various advocacy initiatives targeting local and state elected and appointed officials. SCNP1 has also cultivated longstanding relationships with area businesses, particularly in the agriculture and related manufacturing sectors and many of these businesses also sponsor SCNP1’s annual community soccer tournaments and Latino Festivals.

SCNP1’s board members have developed individual and organizational relationships with other state and national immigration advocacy groups, law enforcement agencies, and health care networks to resource their work as well as resource the work of other groups and networks in creating immigrant welcoming communities across the state and nation. SCNP1 members have worked in other regions of Iowa supporting nascent immigrant groups with start-up projects and strategic planning, as well as traveled to congressional offices in Washington, D.C. and across Iowa to appeal to members of Congress for federal immigration reform as well as on issues specifically facing many immigrants in Iowa’s 4th Congressional District, such as state drivers’ card legislation.

For over two years, two members of SCNP1's board, Helen Jans and Aaron Anderson, who also heads SCNP2, have met (and continue to meet) with Andrew Dietrich, a senior Sterns County law enforcement official, to cultivate stronger personal relationships between SCNP1, county law enforcement, and immigrant communities in the county. Helen Jans, a volunteer SCNP1 board member and Registered Nurse heading the diabetes program at one of Sterns County's four hospitals, describes her perspective on the events and the process by which these relationships were cultivated:

Back in 2008, there were a lot of issues with some deputies from the sheriff's department. They were parking on the gravel roads near employers who had large numbers of Hispanic workers and um, about 100 citizens, including a large number of those employers, came to a board supervisor meeting to complain about this practice and from that, one of the new supervisors contacted me as [a SCNP1 board member] and said "Obviously there's a problem here, can we get together and see if we can come up with solutions?" From that developed a small planning committee called the Sterns County Immigration Focus Group. We invited twenty different community leaders from a variety of backgrounds to a series of nine different sessions. It was part educational, and we ended up adding a few sessions because we wanted to work on solutions. We had faith leaders, city leaders, including the local sheriff and county attorney – that was intentional because they needed to be part of the conversation. We had education representatives, healthcare representatives, and the best thing that came out of that were the relationships that were developed. Now we have relationships – we can call the county attorney, we can call the sheriff.

Today, Jans and Anderson, a retired professor and university administrator holding a Ph.D. in both mechanical and aerospace engineering, have personal working relationships with Dietrich as well as others in positions of political power. They meet regularly to establish rapport and appeal on behalf of issues affecting immigrants in Sterns County. According to Jans and Anderson, these relationships are cordial and respectful, if not overtly friendly, as oftentimes advocates and county officials find themselves on opposite sides of some issues facing immigrants in the community. Anderson sees the act of slow, deliberate, and laborious relationship cultivation as the most effective and sincere change strategy. Says Anderson of his meetings with Dietrich:

We talk about issues we think are relevant to our immigrant neighbors and try to encourage him to be an advocate. We have no formalized written statement of collaboration – but we have been working very hard to informally create a relationship of mutual trust and understanding with [Dietrich], hoping that will filter down to his [department] and his office.

Anderson, Jans, and fellow SCNP1 board members also work with immigrant friendly law enforcement and state officials, both from Iowa's 4th Congressional District as well as neighboring jurisdictions. SCNP1 has hosted these neighboring officials on panel discussions and immigration forums throughout the state, and referred these officials to neighboring law enforcement jurisdictions and immigrant welcoming groups across the state for both speaking engagements and information sharing. In addition to engaging law enforcement, SCNP1's Advocacy arm is active in their attempts to influence state and federal immigration messaging and policy by advocating on immigration issues to local, state, and federal legislators. Board members are currently cultivating existing relationships with state senators and representatives in their efforts to pass a limited state drivers' card bill that would benefit immigrants without sufficient identifying documentation.

During the past year, SCNP2 began a series of immigration potlucks and panel discussions that are held quarterly in Brookings County, a more central location than Sterns County for other groups attending from across western Iowa. Law enforcement officials, immigration reform advocates, health and education professionals, and clergy from various faith communities across the state present and discuss timely issues relating to immigration in Iowa. Since SCNP2 started the potlucks over a year ago, similar community immigration potluck discussions have started in two other communities across the state. Advocates that are responsible for these potlucks first attended SCNP2's potlucks and built relationships with Anderson and SCNP2 members. Together, along

with representatives from state, market, and civil society groups, these organizations are working to pass driver's card legislation in Iowa and build relationships with their immigrant neighbors in their work to create more welcoming and inclusive communities.

The purpose of SCN3 is youth mentorship and engagement, but Estevez is politically active in his efforts to engage the larger community on immigration as a faith, justice, and family issue, as well as the need to address immigration reform nationally and work collaboratively to create welcoming communities locally. Estevez is the first DREAMer in Iowa's 4th Congressional District to publically disclose his undocumented status, and has met with his member of Congress, a vocal opponent of DREAMers and comprehensive immigration reform, on multiple occasions both in his Iowa offices as well as in Washington, D.C., in effort to build some level of understanding and attempt to humanize undocumented immigrants to his representative. Estevez also works closely with SCN3 and has begun cultivating relationships with DREAMers across Iowa, speaking at forums and with law enforcement and elected officials from across the state as well as those hosted by SCN2 and other groups, and empowering other DREAMers to take leadership roles. As the first to publicly disclose his undocumented status in Iowa's 4th Congressional District, Estevez has garnered press from *Mother Jones*, *The Huffington Post*, Univision, as well as multiple state and regional newspapers across Iowa, which, combined with his multiple appearances with and appeals to state and national elected officials, has galvanized his position as a leading DREAMer in the state on the politics of immigration and undocumented immigrants.

In addition to actively cultivating stronger bridging social capital between state and national justice and policing groups and state advocacy and law enforcement groups,

as well as bonding social capital between individual officers in the department and Centerville community members, McGinty travels extensively throughout the 4th Congressional District and across Iowa, sharing best practices from his experiences in Centerville and supporting other law enforcement departments and community groups better respond to growing immigrant populations in their communities. This commitment to community relationships, both between individuals in the department and Centerville community members as well as between his department and groups across the state and nation is further illustrated by his connections to other groups in the study: McGinty has either met with individual group members, spoken at group-sponsored forums and panels, or currently has plans to meet with over one third of the other interview participants.

Further, McGinty was one of over forty law enforcement officials, business and labor leaders, victim advocate group representatives, and faith and immigration advocacy group representatives from across Iowa that signed on to a statewide petition calling for the passing of legislation providing for limited driver's cards for undocumented immigrant residents of Iowa (Iowa Safe Roads, 2014). The petition states that state driver's cards for immigrants without documentation will benefit every Iowan, by making both roads and communities safer, and better enabling first responders to respond to accidents (ibid, 2014).

McGinty's position of leadership in a nationally lauded law enforcement department in one of the most diverse counties in the state grants him moderate levels political power. McGinty has further cultivated this authority by sharing his influence and expertise with neighboring communities and jurisdictions across the state, and publicly supporting legislation he believes will benefit his and other communities and

improve public safety. He has spoken with multiple law enforcement departments across Iowa's 4th Congressional District advocating for immigrant driver's cards and more responsive law enforcement departments. His authoritative influence is further noted in the number of speaking engagements he is regularly asked to attend and keynote. His is an inherently influential position and is using his political to establish and strengthen community relationships and improve public safety.

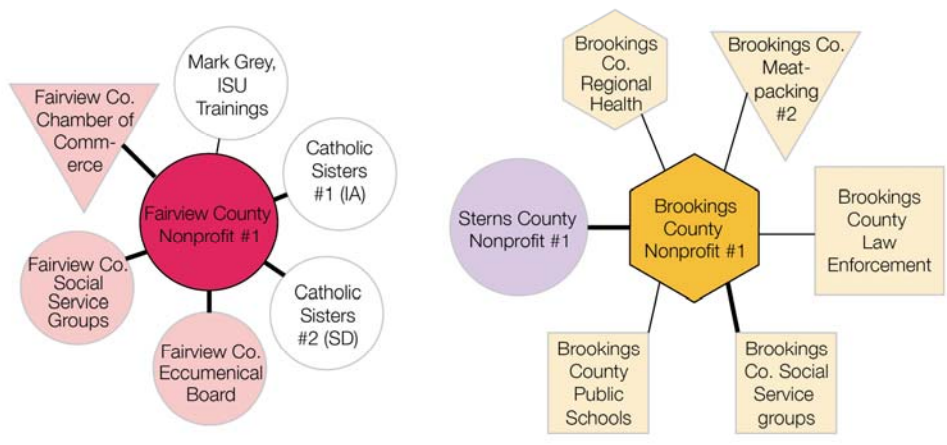
Relationship cultivation is a hallmark theme across all the groups in this clustering. More than representatives of any other cluster of groups, those representing one of the four groups in this cluster repeatedly described the impact and importance of relationships on their work. Relationships do not seem to be part of their work as much as they seem to be the driver of their work, and relationships are sought with both allies and potential opponents alike. In this vein, groups in this cluster seek cross-sector relationships, both institutionally and individually; they do not stay within their own sector but work with state, market, and civil society groups across the region and state.

Another hallmark theme of the groups in this clustering is their activity level and advocacy. These groups do not only focus on service programming alone, but they also incorporate advocacy, working to develop or improve relationships with elected officials and others in positions of power and then actively appealing to them on behalf of their goals. They are dynamic and active, continually working on new projects and relationships and do not seem to operate with fixed program or project structures.

SCNP1, SCNP2, SCNP3, and BCLE1 all exhibit high levels of bonding and bridging social capital and moderate levels of political capital. These groups' growing local, regional, and national relationships have equipped them to engage through

partnership, services and advocacy with immigrants in their community as well other groups across the state. Their attempts to cultivate relationships and advocate for political power with county law enforcement as well as state and national officials and related structural powerbrokers is ongoing.

High Social Capital, Low Political



HIGH SOCIAL CAPITAL, LOW POLITICAL CAPITAL GROUPS

FAIRVIEW COUNTY NONPROFIT #1, BROOKINGS COUNTY NONPROFIT #1

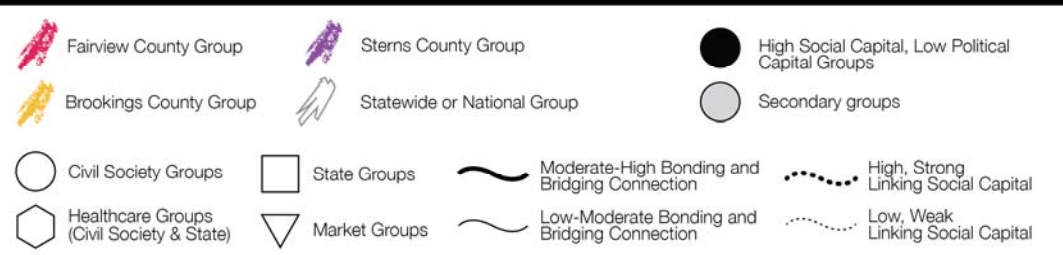


Figure 2, *High Social Capital, Low Political Capital Groups*

Two groups in the study exhibited high levels of social capital with comparatively low levels of political capital. These groups, Fairview County Nonprofit #1 and Brookings County Nonprofit #1, exhibited extremely high bonding relationships among and between their staff and board members with other members of their respective communities across all sectors.

Fairview County Nonprofit #1 (FCNP1) exhibits high levels of both bonding and bridging social capital and relatively low levels of political capital. Founded one and a half years ago by Catholic Sisters Jean Klein and Marta Cruz, the organization focuses on education as an empowerment tool to provide teaching, learning, and service opportunities to Fairview County's growing immigrant population. In addition to myriad education classes ranging from ESL to gardening to healthy cooking to Zumba, the sisters also provide daily practical and much-needed support services like translation and transportation.

Like FCNP1, Brookings County Nonprofit #1 (BCNP1) exhibits high levels of social capital and relatively low levels of political capital. BCNP1 is a multicultural health coalition headquartered in Centerville that focuses its work on responding to community health-related issues facing Brookings County's highly diverse population. BCNP1 is interdisciplinary, with board members from across community and public health networks, meat processing and agribusiness industries, clergy, education professionals, city leadership and governance, immigrant ally and partner groups, and even a local high school student. Deborah Dacy, a registered nurse and full-time interpreter for multiple social service agencies in Brookings County, facilitates BCNP1. Dacy has longstanding community ties through her work in public and private health as

well as with Spanish-speaking immigrant populations across western Iowa, and exhibits the highest individual bonding social capital of all the participants in the study.

BCNP1 hosts culturally competent public health events and workshops throughout Brookings County, trainings and health screenings at regional businesses, as well as community education and collaboration opportunities in the form of workshops and discussions called Community Conversations, which are hosted monthly. Dacy emphasizes BCNP1's wide-ranging membership and partner agencies reflect the organization's desire to fill the gaps where other health providers and agencies are sometimes unable to meet all the unique and often complex health needs of Brookings' highly diverse immigrant population. BCNP1 is able to fill these gaps in large part due to the organization's far-reaching and oftentimes longstanding personal and professional relationships across many community sectors and is one of the strongest examples of bonding and bridging social capital of any of the service organizations in the study; BCNP1 is remarkably well-networked.

One prominent example of the quality of their relationships and the impact of these relationships on the work of BCNP1 in creating more a welcoming community is reflected in the organization's ability to partner with the largest meatpacking facility in the county. Many corporate, non-unionized agribusiness facilities in the region are notoriously closed-off to outside resourcing, collaboration, and partnerships; however the BCNP1 board includes senior-level administrative staff from two of the largest processing facilities in the county. Because of these relationships, BCNP1 has arranged a partnership with the larger of two processing facilities in Centerville to conduct on-site health screenings for the facility's employees. Barb Palmer, a BCNP1 board member as

well as public health administrator at a Brookings County hospital, says the turnout for these screenings has been significant and that because of this partnership, hundreds of Brookings County residents, many of which are immigrants with limited medical access, are receiving important care:

The screenings that have happened at [the plant] have been exceptional. Packing plants very much watch attendance of employees – you don't get off work to do much, so we felt like they were probably missing out on screenings. So we've done some screenings at [the plant]: diabetic screenings; we also provided some education with that as well and counseling afterwards for people with abnormal results. We've done BMIs, hypertension screenings, dental screenings, and I think all of them have been a big success. [We had] 300 people at each of the first two screenings and 150 at the dental [screening]. Those are people that probably wouldn't have had that done because they wouldn't have taken off work – that's a big unique need we're meeting.

Meeting community needs that have historically gone unaddressed is a goal for FCNP1 as well. Cruz and Klein selected Fairview County and specifically Kensington, the largest city and county seat, for the location of FCNP1 because it was an Iowa community with a sizeable immigrant population that lacked such an organization and related services:

I looked at the map of the counties to see if there was a center already established. Since I previously worked for [a hospital in a neighboring community], we traveled here once a week. I knew the people and I asked what they saw lacking. They said their own place. I looked at [Centerville] and they already had a place running; I thought, Kensington doesn't have anything, let's try there. – Marta Cruz

FCNP1 built relationships with immigrant women in the community to determine the organization's programming structure, and continues to prioritize feedback from these women in setting the direction for the organization and the services it provides. As a first step, the sisters conducted a community survey led by Latina immigrant women in the community and was held over a series of weeks in the women's homes. Each week, 12-15 immigrant women came together with the sisters to share their thoughts and preferences on what the FCNP1 center should provide to the community. The sisters also

made rigorous and ongoing efforts to meet and establish relationships with state, market, and social service groups in Kensington, to both establish rapport and secure their potential support for FCNP1, but also to learn how FCNP1 could support the work of these other groups in the broader community. The sisters met with bank officials to determine both what types of documentation and processes were required for opening bank accounts and obtaining lines of credit and loans for new immigrants so they could meet the financial needs of FCNP1 clients, as well as find out common challenges the banks face in working with certain immigrant populations and solicit bank officials' suggestions for possible community financial education opportunities in that vein.

Early on, Klein and Cruz met with the Kensington Chamber of Commerce President, who was so supportive of the organization that he offered to donate chamber space to FCNP1 to use while they renovated the space the organization now occupies. FCNP1's relationship with the Kensington Chamber is stronger than that between any other civic organization and market institution in the study, and their relationship is ongoing. The Chamber has sponsored FCNP1 events, acted as a partner and mentor in the expansion of FCNP1 services, and advocated for the work and impact of FCNP1 across Fairview County. FCNP1 also met with nearly all of the social service agencies in the county when they first began, to understand the challenges they experienced when working with diverse and multi-lingual clients so FCNP1 could work to address those challenges. Now, FCNP1 and these social service agencies continue to cultivate the informal partnerships they have developed by meeting regularly to build capacity and better serve their clients and neighbors.

More than any other group, FCNP1 was intentional from the start in cultivating relationships with community members across all sectors in order to both meet community needs, support the work of other groups, and address the challenges faced by their community's growing immigrant population. They attended the most recent immigration potluck panel hosted by SCNP2, and are in the process of securing a speaking commitment from Paul McGinty to meet with Kensington law enforcement and community leaders to discuss effective and equitable policing strategies in increasingly diverse communities.

Like FCNP1 and many other groups in the study, BCNP1 also collaborates with Paul McGinty and the BCLE1 as well as other county health agencies by participating in neighborhood Community Outreach events, establishing touch points with previously unreached community members to reach as many residents as possible. Although BCNP1 members have strong network ties across market, state, and other civil society groups, these relationships are not significantly leveraged to affect structural community change; it is not for lack of access, but structural change does not seem to be the focus of their group as much as filling service gaps and meeting direct needs. Dacy works alongside Aaron Anderson and Helen Jans of SCNP1 and SCNP2 on regional and statewide advocacy efforts, but those efforts are separate from her work with BCNP1.

Similarly, FCNP1 exhibits comparatively low levels of political capital, despite their strong relationship with the Kensington Chamber of Commerce, a structural institution. They are not actively engaged in advocating for their issues to other power groups, although the sisters are personally supportive of state and national policies calling for immigration reform and related pro-immigrant legislation. They have not met with

community and state political or other structural leaders to advocate on behalf of immigrants in this regard; their work is more oriented toward direct service than advocacy.

FCNP1 and BCNP1 exhibit high levels of bonding and bridging social capital and low levels of political capital, as well as stronger relationships with market groups in their respective communities than any other group in the study. In both communities, market relationships have enabled these groups to have a broader impact and serve more residents than they would without such connections. Their robust, personal and diverse local and regional relationships have enabled the organizations to dramatically address many needs and issues facing immigrants in their respective communities, but focus on direct service over political advocacy has not equipped the groups to significantly affect community change or cultivate influence at the structural level. With foci more on direct service and meeting community needs than advocacy, FCNP1 and BCNP1 do not seem oriented toward structural community change and accordingly exhibit low levels of linking and political capital.

Medium Social Capital, High Political Capital

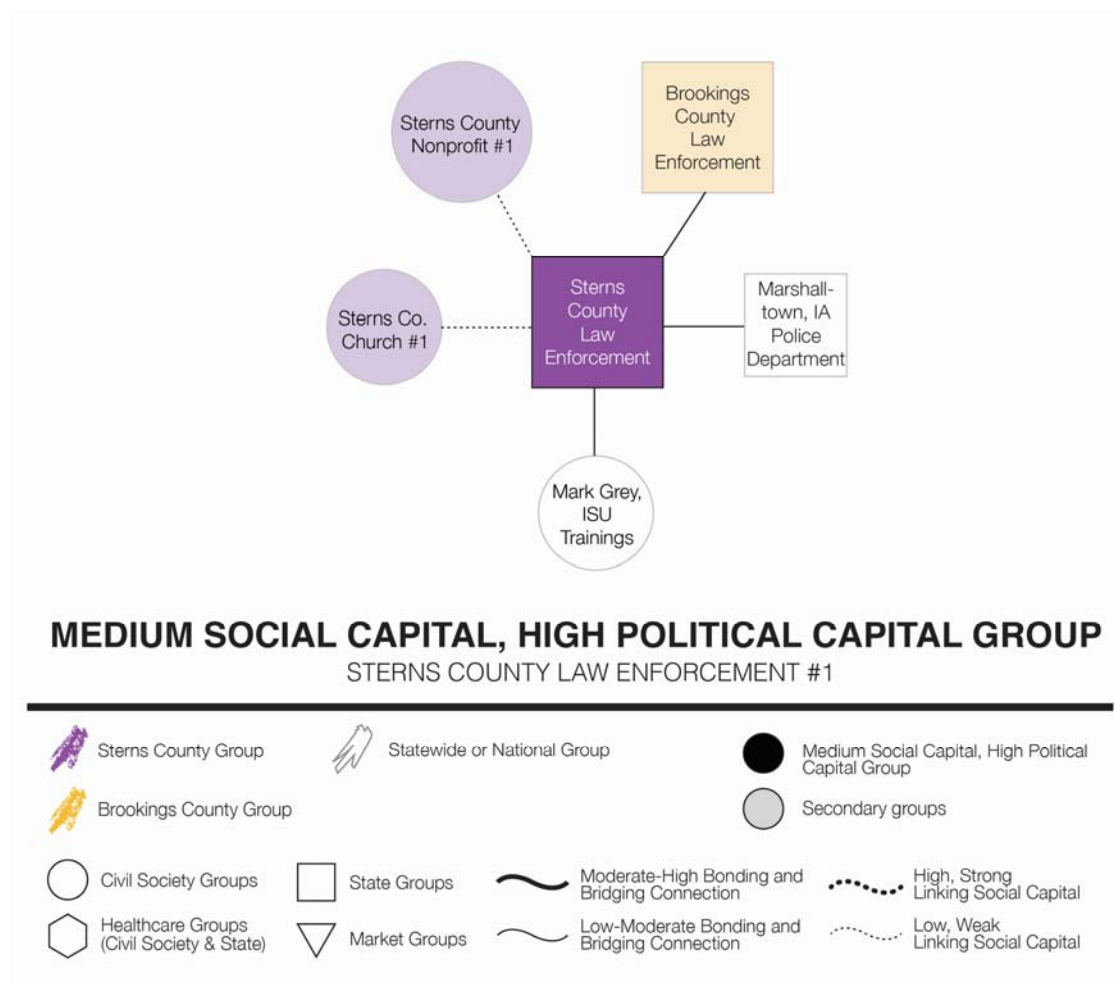


Figure 3, *Medium Social Capital, High Political Capital Group*

Sterns County Law Enforcement #1 is one of the law enforcement departments in Sterns County (it does not represent all the departments in the county), with headquarters located in the county seat of Vermeer. Sterns County Law Enforcement #1 (SCLE1) exhibits medium levels of social capital and high levels of political capital. Andrew Dietrich, a lifelong Sterns County resident, has served in law enforcement for a total of 35 years, with nine years in the highest leadership position in both the department and county. Over the past two decades, Dietrich and other county residents observed a steady

increase in the county's Latino immigrant population. Dietrich describes this influx as well as community responses as increasingly overwrought, particularly because the majority of new immigrants at that time were assumed by many county residents to lack adequate documentation. Whether or not there were problems with community backlash against the increase in immigrants assumed to be undocumented by some Sterns County residents, which Dietrich questions, his description of the culminating 2008 events involving immigrant allied business and advocacy groups against what they considered to be unprovoked traffic stops and racial profiling by county law enforcement is markedly different from the descriptions given by immigrant advocates in the county, such as that from Helen Jans with SCNP1 (see Jans' account on p. 53). Dietrich describes a tension at that time between community advocacy and allied groups and county law enforcement:

In 2008 we had a major blowup. A lot of the businesses and advocacy groups went to the board of supervisors here claiming – making an issue out of – whether the sheriff's office and county attorney, and specifically the sheriff's office, was racially profiling: pulling [people] over just for being Hispanic and arresting them. And consequently what would happen is many would get deported. The businesses, employers would lose them and along with that, three to four other Hispanic people would leave because they got scared. That was back in the day when there were more of these raids – Postville – so that became a big issue too. I think there was a lot of a fear. There were sides drawn up: "law enforcement were racially profiling," and the advocacy groups. The two different sides. So from that– that was in February – in the summer of 2008, the board of supervisors put a task force with law enforcement, faith leaders, educators, other government people, and local city officials, and we became educated on all the issues of immigrants and essentially, it started out really good but by end of the sessions I think everyone was really frustrated because everyone realized the issue still lands in the lap of the federal legislators and our leaders in Washington to make changes in the immigration system and without that, it's tough to do anything. – Andrew Dietrich

Despite the described contention between law enforcement and other community groups regarding perceived racial profiling on the part of county law enforcement, Dietrich met with these and other community groups to cultivate relationships and engage with new groups to bring disparate community groups together. In this spirit, Dietrich continues to meet with multiple groups from the immigrant advocacy, social services, and

faith communities in Sterns County, but says the quality of the meetings and relationships is not all positive. When the task force work of 2008 ended, Dietrich reached out to Helen Jans and Aaron Anderson in an effort to reconcile differences and discuss possible avenues for mutual agreement in working with immigrant communities in Sterns County. Dietrich laments the ongoing conflicts felt between many county civic groups and his department, and in some cases the degree of perceived tension between SCLE1 and these groups is significant. Dietrich is unsure how to improve the strained bonding relationships between his department and some members of county civic groups:

They don't mean it in a bad way, [but] their passion comes out in the form of hate toward law enforcement, almost as if we are Nazi troops marching around seeing a Hispanic person, grabbing them, throwing them out of the car. I feel— you've got these advocacy groups doing good things and I think law enforcement is viewed as "All you're doing is bad things," and that's been kind of hard to deal with and accept, because in law enforcement, again, our role is to serve and protect and help people and in this particular area I've felt under a magnifying glass and like people think we're Hitler and the Nazis. And that's been, not very nice. It's not something I want, and I don't necessarily know how to overcome that.

In addition to the ongoing though at times tumultuous relationship cultivation attempts Dietrich engages in with community civic and advocacy groups, he has also utilized university extension services to provide cultural competency trainings for his department and established a relationship with senior Brookings County law enforcement official Paul McGinty, who has shared community policing best practices for diverse communities with Dietrich and other law enforcement departments in Iowa over the years. Although many of these practices seem beneficial, Dietrich says, some are not a fit for his officers or other Sterns County residents that may be uncomfortable with language differences:

That's one of the things [McGinty] talked about – he tells his officers that, you know, every shift they have to try to stop by a group of Hispanic people sitting outside – you know, pull up. That's more of a community policing mentality – just build a rapport. They [Sterns County advocacy groups] would like to see me do more things like that.

That'd be tough because our guys would pull up, [but] they can't talk to them – there *may* be somebody who speaks English, but to force my guys to get out of their cars and do that, that's hard. I can't force them to do that type of thing; that'd be tough to do for most people. It's kind of like some people, a lot of people, don't like to stay after church and [have] coffee with people. When there's Hispanic Latino celebrations, that'd again be difficult. I myself have gone; it's hard. Even I went to [a neighboring town], took my wife, and we saw a woman from the Latina Health Coalition. It's "Hola," a couple words, then you're done – it's weird – it throws you. If you say a few Hispanic words, they think you understand Spanish, and its "No entiendo," and you're done, and you stand around. It's really hard.

Dietrich and the majority of those interviewed for the study cite language differences as a significant barrier to relationship cultivation. As just one in ten deputies in the SCLE1 department is bilingual, bonding social capital community policing practices like those suggested by McGinty would be challenging for SCLE1. SCLE1 is relatively well-connected with other statewide law enforcement departments, civic, advocacy, and faith groups, as well as related cultural education and training resources, although the quality of these bridging and bonding relationships is perceived at times as challenging to Dietrich and the department.

As both an elected official and the highest-ranking law enforcement officer in the county, Dietrich possesses both implicit and explicit political power in the community. He works closely with the county attorney and the county board of supervisors. As a lifelong Sterns County resident, he is socially and professionally connected with local, regional and state community stakeholders. Dietrich has met with the 4th Congressional District Congressman as well as at least one Iowa Senator on multiple occasions, has been consulted by the 4th Congressional District Congressman on his perspectives on immigration in the district and his views on immigration reform, as well as sat on a national anti-immigration panel with the 4th Congressional District Congressman in Washington, D.C (although Dietrich says his statements on the panel were not anti-

immigrant). In these and other examples, Dietrich has access to, if not personal relationships with, political powerbrokers with the ability to affect national legislation and policy directly affecting Brooking County residents.

In fear of potential public backlash, Dietrich has chosen not to publicize some of the actions his department has taken that benefit many immigrants in the community, such as the new department policy of declining to comply with federal ICE hold requests. Including Sterns County, hundreds of other law enforcement jurisdictions across Iowa and the nation have recently changed department policies to deny ICE detainer requests for immigrants arrested without adequate documentation. In the past, individuals have been held in detention for days on ICE detainer requests, many times for minor traffic offenses, awaiting Department of Homeland Security personnel to pick them up, process them, and oftentimes deport them. Many times these detainer requests, which have recently been adjudicated in multiple other state jurisdictions to be unconstitutional and a violation of the detainees' civil liberties, have led to the deportation of immigrants who may have been pulled over for window tint that is too dark, or similarly small infractions. Dietrich's departmental policy change, to deny these prospectively unconstitutional hold requests, is within his legal authority and likely put his department in greater compliance with the law, as well as protects his department from possible future civil liberties violation lawsuits.

Even so, Dietrich is reticent to make public this policy change because he fears possible backlash from some members of the community, which he describes at some length. Dietrich is conflicted, however, because in closing he questions the legitimacy of his own concerns:

I went ahead and made the changes in the jail concerning the ICE issues. I did it; that was beneficial for the Latino community that are undocumented – what purpose would it serve to go public on that? That’s my thought, why would I even do it. I think [Aaron Anderson] and [SCNP1] kind of felt like that would show me being supportive of the undocumented Latino community and a person of my position being supportive – that’s their feeling. My feeling is I think my – maybe this is the better metaphor – I think it would wake the “sleeping lion” if I would go out and be more public about these things. Right now a good thing was done, but if I went public, if there is at sleeping lion, a Republican out there who absolutely thinks every illegal should be arrested and handcuffed and sent to the border – [and me] going out and supporting the immigrant community... I think it’d be – consequently that would almost hamstring me in what I’m trying to do. And secondly, I do think then all of a sudden you could have people – if there is a “sleeping lion” out there – you could have people all of a sudden becoming more antagonistic or bitter towards the immigrant community, saying “Here you are!” now all of a sudden these people are angry at them and become a little more discriminatory. None of this is fact, I could be totally wrong – maybe there is not a “sleeping lion.”

SCLE1 exhibits medium levels of social capital and high levels of political capital. SCLE1 exhibits moderate levels of both bonding and bridging social capital, engaging with state and civil society groups and their representatives in the department’s work with new immigrant populations in the community. Dietrich maintains and develops relationships with regional immigrant allies, members of clergy, and related civic groups, in addition to law enforcement peers in jurisdictions across the state. However, the quality of these relationships as described by Dietrich are at times tense, if not disagreeable, and as such, the connectedness or “glue” between SCLE1 and some other community and state groups is strained. Politically, SCLE1 and Dietrich exhibit high levels of both structural power and access power, with implicit and explicit authority and connections both within the county as well as across the state. The reticence to operationalize this authority based on possible but unfounded concerns over community backlash is not a limiting factor on the substantive political and structural capital SCLE1 and Dietrich nonetheless possess.

Medium Social Capital, Low Political Capital

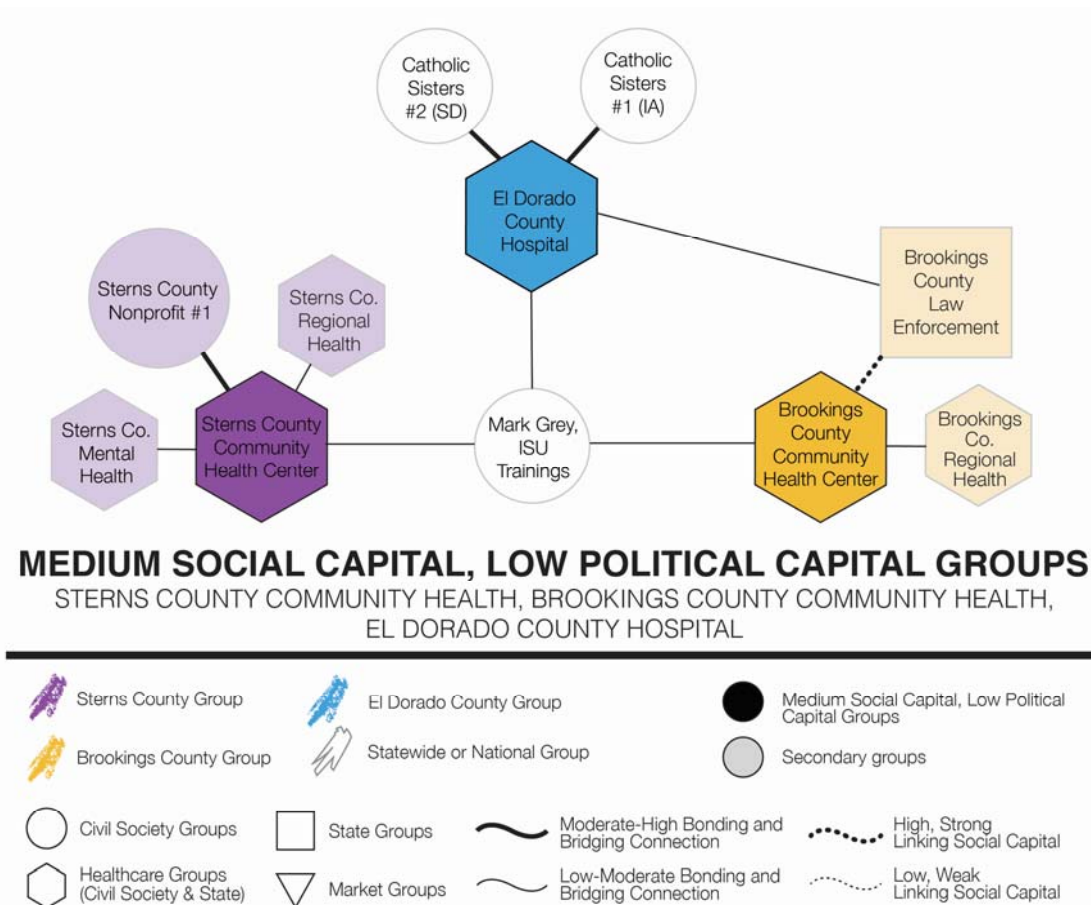


Figure 4, *Medium Social Capital, Low Political Capital Groups*

Three groups in the study exhibit moderate levels of social capital with low levels of political capital. Sterns County Community Health Center, Brookings County Community Health Center, and El Dorado County Hospital are all private medical and health care facilities, and the only such groups in the study.

Sterns County Community Health Center (SCCH) is a federally qualified community health center that provides medical, dental, and behavioral health services to the medically underserved in the greater Sterns County region. It provides services on a sliding-fee scale, improving access to medical care for all community members, particularly those at or below the poverty line. According to administration, approximately 50 percent of SCCH's clients are Latino, the majority of which are Spanish speaking and many of which are immigrants or come from immigrant families. In response, SCCH has dedicated significant staff and board resources to ensuring culturally appropriate service provision, which includes bilingual staff, outreach efforts, and materials.

In response to growing community need, the Center created a Spanish-speaking outreach position to reach as many Spanish-speaking Sterns County area residents that could benefit from the center's services as possible. Dolores Nylander, Executive Director of the center and a nurse with 40 years of experience, says SCCH has been successful in their outreach efforts and that patients prefer their culturally-and-linguistically appropriate service provision, but acknowledges that there are many more patients in and around Brookings County they have yet to reach that would benefit from their services and approach.

SCCH has formal and informal referral and partner relationships with many different agencies, organizations, and groups across the region to maximize their service provision and meet community needs. These groups include SCNP1, the county public health department, a regional mental health services provider, and the area family crisis center. SCCH has a diverse and representative board with membership across

community sectors, including market, state, and civil society. Helen Jans with SCNPI is also on the board of SCCH and a long-time personal friend of Nylander. In turn, Nylander is a past SCNPI board member, and has remained involved with the organization and related immigration advocacy efforts in Sterns County since the completion of her board term. Professionally and personally, Nylander and Jans have and continue to work together in various capacities to improve outcomes for both the medically underserved and immigrant populations in their community, as neighbors and allies. As a longtime Sterns County resident, Nylander has forged many relationships across community sectors and personally exhibits high levels of bonding social capital.

Like Sterns County Community Health Center, Brookings County Community Health Center (BCCH) is a federally qualified community health center providing medical, dental, and behavioral health services and referrals to the medically underserved in the greater Brookings County region. It provides services on a sliding-fee scale, improving access to medical care for all community members, particularly those at and below the poverty line. BCCH exhibits medium levels of social capital and comparatively low levels of political capital.

The BCCH president is Mitch Bauer, a 13-year paramedic who has spent the majority of his career in public service. With Brookings County's increasingly diverse population, BCCH continually works to hire staff that resembles the community as part of the organization's efforts to meet community health needs in culturally appropriate ways. Says Bauer, "half our staff – 22 total – almost 50 percent speak Spanish; we have one receptionist and regular scheduler that speaks Hmong and English; the majority of staff speak at least one [other] language." A significant part of BCCH's work involves

understanding and responding to the cultural health and nutrition gaps that exist between the dominant Anglo western culture and those of new community members, and there are often complex culture gaps that must be addressed as part of BCCH's culturally-responsive healthcare provision:

When people come here from different countries, depending on the country, but a lot don't go to the doctor. Some patients in parts of Mexico, the pharmacist is the doctor, and they don't go to the doctor they go to the pharmacist and the pharmacist gives medication. In the US the first place they go is the pharmacy, [and the] pharmacist says, "No, you have to go to a doctor." So they get here if they have insurance they don't know what it is; they find out there is a financial aspect of healthcare here. – Mitch Bauer

Culture gaps that complicate service provision are common across the health service organizations in the study. In their ongoing effort to fill these gaps, BCCH has established regional partnerships with complementary organizations across sectors to expand the scope of service provision beyond what is available in many more traditional health centers, but Bauer admits more personalized care is necessary to better meet the needs of BCCH's diverse patient base:

We partner with ISU extension. They do nutrition education for our patients at no charge so we can do that, but being able to actually go in the [patients'] home – and, you know – there are people that come to this city from places with no refrigerators. So they come here and they put their food on the counter; someone says, "That needs to be refrigerated," so they put it there, but don't realize it's not plugged in, so that food goes to waste. If we could have someone that goes to all our patients' houses and teaches them what it's like to live in America and what they need to do to be healthier, have healthier habits, that would be in our patients' best interest.

In addition to utilizing Iowa State University Extension services for nutrition education, BCCH has employed the cultural competency training services of Mark Grey, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Iowa and Director of the Iowa Center for Immigrant Leadership and Integration. Grey has conducted similar trainings at approximately one in five of the groups represented in the study and each of the health and medical care groups in this cluster have utilized his training and resource services.

BCCH also has partnerships with the county hospital and area clinics for various referrals and inpatient hospitalizations, as well as with Paul McGinty and the BCLE1 law enforcement department. BCCH is one of the partner groups that participates in the neighborhood outreach events, sending staff to mobile neighborhood stations alongside law enforcement and other service providers a few times per month to establish rapport in the community and answer health questions Centerville residents may have.

El Dorado Hospital #1 (EDH1) is a private hospital located in El Dorado County's largest city and county seat, Loughland. Like other health service agencies in the study, EDH1 exhibits moderate levels of social capital and relatively low levels of political capital. Sister Mona Perry is a hospital administrator and also serves as a hospital chaplain as well as hospice chaplain and has been with EDH1 for twelve years. Sister Perry is a member of the same Catholic order as sisters Cruz and Klein in Fairview County.

Like Cruz and Klein, Sister Perry has worked extensively with a Latino ministry of the same order based in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, that has provided guidance and trainings for Perry and EDH1 as they work to respond effectively and appropriately to the county's growing Latino population. Around 2000, sisters in Perry's order began observing an increase in the number of Latino immigrants in El Dorado County, so they consulted with the Sioux Falls-based Latino ministry on the best ways the sisters and the hospital could respond. As a result, the sisters and hospital administration developed a strategic plan that included listening sessions with Latino members of the community, from which Perry and hospital staff learned of various ways that they were not meeting

the needs of Latino immigrant populations in El Dorado County, as well as an important and fundamental shift in the way they provided services to the community:

Our strategic plan, one of our key points was that we would have good rapport with the Latino population. So what I did with that was to start having listening sessions with Latino population, so we had three listening sessions. Sisters from Sioux Falls that speak Spanish came and helped us with that. What we would do is have a Spanish Latino person who does really good Spanish meals do the food and we helped with financing that. From that [we learned of] signage, interpreters, different ways of meeting their needs. Specifically for the hospital we were already doing some things, but didn't think we were doing enough – we thought we were doing FOR the Latino population; we didn't think we were doing WITH the Latino population. – Mona Perry

Based on the turnout and feedback from the listening sessions the hospital learned of important cultural preferences the predominantly Anglo staff had not been aware of before, including that the Latino immigrants in their community that participated in the listening sessions preferred to be referred to as Latino, not Hispanic. According to EDH1 and all other health care institutions in this study, appropriate and preferred cultural interaction information such as this is important in engendering patient trust and building provider-patient relationships, but also in improving patient participation in health care over time.

By 2004, in response to the community listening sessions, all hospital signage, patient paperwork and related documents in every department of the hospital were available in Spanish and in English, and by 2006, the hospital had developed an in-house interpreter program directed by a native Spanish speaker doctor on staff. Like many other groups in this study, EDH1 has employed the cultural competency training services of professor Mark Grey from UNI, and also like many other groups in this study, Perry is currently in the process of scheduling a presentation with Paul McGinty, senior law enforcement officer with BCLE1, and hospital managers at EDH1 regarding proactive

and positive community and institutional responses to new immigrants in El Dorado County:

More recently in our 2014 strategic plan – we’re revamping that, and I invited [Paul McGinty] from [Centerville] who has, I think, a really enthusiastic program in [Centerville]. I invited him to speak to hospital managers here and a key group of community leaders – police, city council – to tell them about the positive program they have in [Centerville]. That [will be] the beginning of our revamping with our Latino program here. – Mona Perry

Additionally, Perry has established personal relationships with members of the SCNP1 board and has traveled across the district to attend SCNP1 and BCNP1 co-sponsored immigration forums and potlucks. Perry continually attempts to establish working relationships with regional civic, state, and market groups, including the Loughlin mayor and city planner. She has met on many occasions with them both, and although their relationships are somewhat new, Perry believes them to be allies and continues to cultivate these relationships.

What SCCH possesses in moderate bonding and bridging social capital with its well-networked board and multiple partner agencies across the community and region, it lacks in political capital. Establishing a community health center in Sterns County was an arduous and to some community residents, unpopular effort, particularly among some existing county healthcare providers. Now that the organization is open, many of its proposals to expand health services are often still blocked or embattled. For example, because SCCH provides extensive language services with multi-lingual staff and culturally competent care, many immigrant residents of Sterns County prefer the health center to other providers in the region. However, because SCCH is relatively small in comparison to larger county hospitals and clinics, it is a constant struggle to convince

some regional employers to include SCCH as a preferred provider on employee insurance plans:

We're struggling with one of our payers that covers an industry in the community that says: "Our preferred provider is the medical clinic" – but some of the workforce at the manufacturing plant want to come to our health center; they like our interpreters. We are trying to work with HR at this manufacturing plant. The little guys like us have a big battle to fight, just to get an audience. The Latino workers go to work and get handed an insurance plan. They say, "Wait a minute, I want to go at the health center, that's where I've been going for two years; now I have to switch? No one over there will talk to me in my language." That's the tough stuff – it takes patient choice out of it. – Dolores Nylander

Regarding prenatal and childbirth medical care, immigrant women in the region are disproportionately affected by SCCH's relative lack of political capital in the community. Currently, SCCH serves between sixty and seventy prenatal care patients annually; of these, 85 percent are immigrant women. Last year, SCCH underwent an extensive planning and application process to establish a birth center at their facility, and the plans included increasing the use of midwives and expanding the practice of midwifery in childbirth. In addition to the maternal health benefits, the midwife model of care is culturally fitting for many of Sterns County's immigrant population, as midwifery is common throughout Mexico and Central America. Nylander describes the process for establishing a birth center and the challenges they faced from both local and state medical centers and government officials:

The process in Iowa to establish a birth center is the Iowa Health Facilities Consul must grant you a certification of need. And the Iowa Health Facilities Consul is a governor appointed, 5-person panel – [it's] very political. So you also have criteria to write [the] application. Naïvely, we went into it thinking we used a consultant with national credentials, presence, [who has] run more than one birth center and helped more than one group go through the process. We wrote a flawless application. When we appeared in April before the council, I can say based on their responses that at least three members never even opened the application; they had their mind made up before we started talking. They attacked us as individuals; they weren't going to make their decision based on anything in that application. And we had a vehement opposition from the hospitals locally – the three hospitals in [Sterns County] with labor and delivery services were present with their CEOs and leadership from the hospital with physicians and attorneys.

Their allegations were that a birth center would be unsafe and restrict [the other hospitals'] ability to recruit family practice doctors. And they stretched up all kinds of horror stories with 70 letters of opposition, signatures from the mayor, city council, businessmen in this community. We had 100 letters of support, 90 from women; of their 70 letters, maybe 10 were from women, [the others were from] men –businessmen, powerful people in the community.

Despite described value to the community, particularly women and immigrant women, the application was denied by a 4-1 vote. SCCH's ongoing work to make affordable and culturally appropriate healthcare available to all Sterns County region residents is often met with structural and political opposition that Nylander and her staff are sometimes unable to overcome.

Similarly, BCCH exhibits moderate levels of social capital and relatively low levels of political capital. While the organization is relatively well networked across the Brookings County region with academic institutions, law enforcement, and other healthcare agencies, there is neither strong evidence of individual-level relationships between members of these and other groups or extensive diversity in strong bonding relationships between BCCH and other community groups across market, state, or civil society sectors. There is no evidence of strong political capital in the organization and no evidence of strong linking relationships with regional community powerbrokers.

EDH1 also has a growing network of bonding and bridging social capital connections across sectors in El Dorado County and the 4th Congressional District and these relationships are relatively new. As such, EDH1 exhibits moderate levels of social capital, although these relationships are expanding and strengthening. With no strong political ties outside of those nascent connections with local officials, the organization exhibits relatively low levels of political capital.

The medical and health care groups in this cluster are moderately well connected with other groups in the same sector in their respective communities, and have utilized similar resource networks across the state, including Mark Grey, Paul McGinty, and various group members representing SCNP1, SCNP2, and various faith communities. However, none of the groups in this cluster exhibit high or strong levels of linking social capital or political capital with any state group or institution, and some are met with obstruction when attempts are made to cultivate ties. Accordingly, the groups in this cluster exhibit moderate levels of social capital and low levels of political capital.

Low Social Capital, High Political Capital

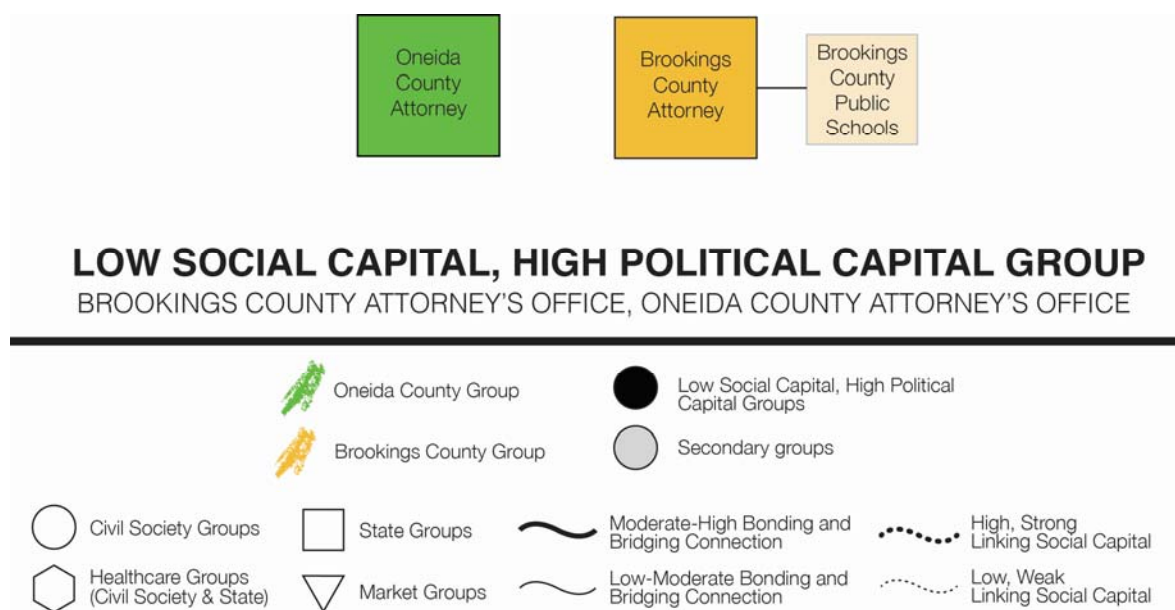


Figure 5, *Low Social Capital, High Political Capital Groups*

Two groups in the study exhibit low levels of social capital with comparatively high levels of political capital, and both of these groups are county attorney's offices: the Brookings County Attorney's Office and the Oneida County Attorney's office. Despite the differences in the communities they serve – Brookings County having the highest

number and most diverse immigrant population of the counties in the study, and Onedia County having the lowest number – both offices exhibit similarly low levels of social connections with other state, market, and civil society groups. However, there are differences in the groups' approaches to service provision with immigrant populations and past experiences working with other groups.

The Brookings County Attorney's Office (BCAO) exhibits low levels of social capital and high levels of political capital. Patrick Davidovsky is a Centerville native who moved away after high school and returned to Centerville to practice law approximately twenty years ago and has been the County Attorney for the past eight years. Davidovsky reports a significant increase in caseload since he returned to Centerville, in large part due to the community's growing immigrant population. In addition to adding staff, BCAO has made attempts to respond to the many new immigrant groups moving to Brookings County by meeting with individual community group leaders to both build rapport and together find non-administrative solutions for curbing low-level infractions from within the particular immigrant community. Despite the office's efforts, not all of these attempts were successful:

When the Sudanese came, we had a meeting with leaders in the community and talked to them. They were used to like, the elders would get together in the community and talk to those with problems with drinking or stealing or whatever. At first we tried to work within that community to just re-affirm and have the leaders report back on how someone is doing, [to] have a deferred prosecution [for them, if they] sign a waiver, just see how you do. If you learn your behavior isn't acceptable, in rural Iowa, can you change it? It didn't seem to work much with that community. They didn't think in timelines and lineal like we do. It worked to some extent but it was, we kind of gave up. – Patrick Davidovsky

The county attorney's office is not otherwise engaged in cultivating relationships with new immigrant populations, in large part due to limited staff capacity and resources. The office does, however, have partnerships with Brookings County schools and various

other county agencies, sharing their translating expertise and services. Outside of resource sharing with other state agencies, there is no evidence of strong bonding or bridging social ties with other county agencies, institutions, or group members in BCAO's work with immigrant community residents. BCAO does not work with any other group, formally or informally, in either their work or in building bonding or bridging relationships within the community. In terms of political capital, however, BCAO is inherently resourced both to exercise authority and discretion in the application of the law. Although BCAO does not officially consider someone's immigration status when charges are brought against an individual – “we don't care,” says Davidovsky – in recent years his office has dedicated more time and resources to understanding and judiciously applying immigration law to ensure that individuals with status complications are not disproportionately punished for offenses that would have comparatively less impact on individuals with adequate identification:

“We have become more— attempted to become more knowledgeable on immigration law and consequences to criminal defendants on immigration status to make sure we're not being too hard on them because of their status...here we do a lot, we plead way down a lot of the immigration charges, those that are fraudulent charges or identity theft, at least the first time around so they can have a chance, and not create a criminal history that makes it impossible to come back and live with their family. ICE is excited about drug charges – they put those with violent felonies. Those are the factors we weigh in deciding – it's reverse discrimination. If you get a white kid from [a neighboring town] and you get a drug charge, it's more likely you'll have that on your record – it won't be as severe as a kid whose parents never got around to making them legal.” – Patrick Davidovsky

BCAO is positioned to exercise authority in the application of the law as Davidovsky and his staff see appropriate and accordingly possess high levels of political capital as an institution. BCAO and Davidovsky also have access to and relationships with others in political power, with implicit and explicit authority and connections both within the county as well as across the state. Socially, BCAO does not exhibit any strong

ties with individuals or groups in the community or across the region in relation to their work with Brookings County immigrant populations and as such, exhibit low levels of both bonding and bridging social capital.

The Oneida County Attorney's Office (OCAO) also exhibits low levels of social capital and high levels of political capital. Hank Babich, the attorney for Oneida County, moved to Clover City almost nineteen years ago after working for the county attorney's office in a neighboring community, and while he has observed an increase in the number of immigrants to the community and accordingly, an increase in his caseload, he says this growth has not been dramatic. OCAO has a staff of two – Babich, and his secretary Gloria MacNair. The office has no formal or informal partnerships with market, state or civic groups regarding their work with immigrant populations in Oneida County; with the smallest population and lowest percent of immigrants of all the counties in the study, Babich and MacNair say there is no need. When translators are required for court or hearings, OCAO will petition one of two neighboring jurisdictions, one a forty-five minute drive away, the other an hour and a half drive away, for the use of a court reporter. Conversely, when Spanish-speaking residents have interaction with the office, they must provide their own interpreter, usually a friend or family member. OCAO says there are neither the resources nor the demand to warrant bonding or bridging relationships in their work with immigrant populations in Oneida County.

Politically, OCAO is inherently resourced both to exercise authority and discretion in the application of the law and as such exhibits high levels of political capital, though the office does not consider immigration status when applying the law: “The job of every attorney is to zealously advocate for the client – that’s different for a

prosecutor. Our job is to seek justice, not convictions. I take that very seriously and I believe it's important when I do trainings with officers from them or from me – it [immigration status] shouldn't matter.” Like Davidovsky in Brookings County, with the highest number of immigrants of the communities in the study, Babich, in Oneida County, with the lowest number of immigrants, exercises a policy of indifference to immigration status. However, the implications of immigration status on the outcomes of prosecutions often have disproportionate impacts on individuals without legal status than on individuals with status, and unlike Davidovsky's office in Centerville, OCAO does not seem to make these considerations when applying the law and defers to standard court processes. Consequential externalities, such as family separation and deportation, are not considerations in the equal application of the law by OCAO. When asked about immigration consequences for pleading guilty to a misdemeanor or felony charge for immigrants without legal status, Babich gives the same answer as he does for immigrants with legal status and does not seem to consider the potential disparate impact between the two:

On any felony offense, immigrants [with legal status] are required they go into with the judge and the judge has to ask them if they're a citizen and the judge has to ask that, and the judge has to advise them that this could cause complications with their immigration status; [for immigrants without legal status] they [still] need to be advised that a criminal conviction may affect their immigration status – the more serious the offense the more likely it's going to have a negative effect.

As no formal or informal partnerships or relationships are evident between OCAO and few are evident between BCAO and state, market, and civil society groups in their work with their counties' growing immigrant populations, the offices exhibit low levels of bonding and bridging social capital. In contrast, the offices are structurally positioned to exercise authority and latitude in the application of the law and although there is little

evidence of this in regards to immigrant populations with OCAO, and comparatively higher evidence of this with BCAO, both groups still possess high levels of structural political capital as institutions.

Low Social Capital, Medium Political Capital

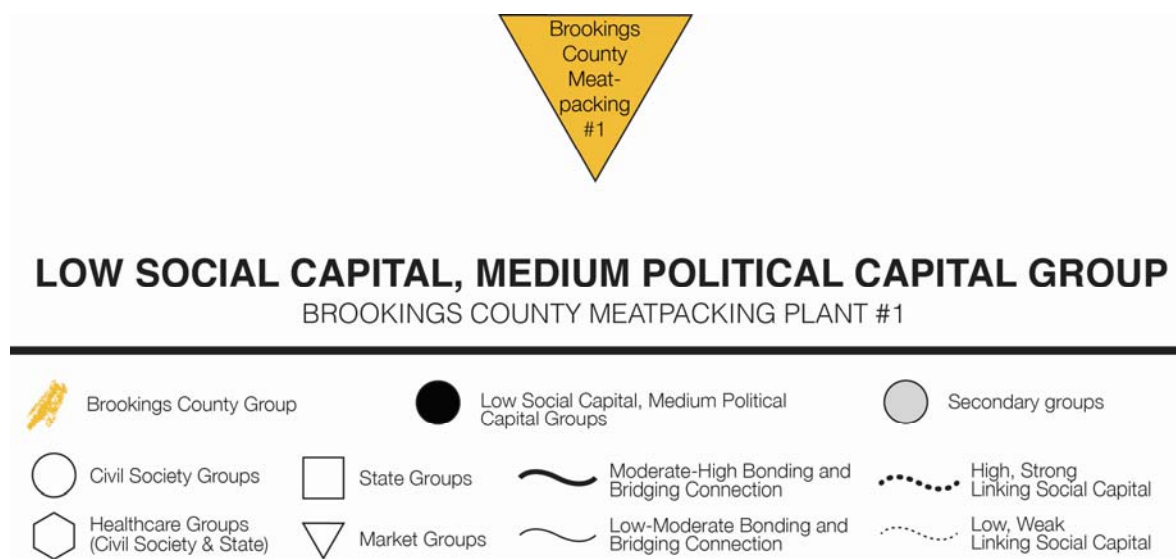


Figure 6, *Low Social Capital, Medium Political Capital Group*

One group in the study exhibits low levels of social capital and moderate levels of political capital. Brookings County Meatpacking Plant #1 (BCMP1) is the second-largest meatpacking plant in Centerville and Brookings County, employing approximately 700 county residents. Of these, approximately 55 percent are native-Spanish speaking, followed by smaller yet sizeable employee populations of Laotians, Somalis, and Sudanese. Elizabeth Alvarez is the Human Resources Generalist at the plant and says that Centerville’s relatively long history of immigration has helped both the community in general and BCMP1 in particular work with and respond to the diverse needs of their

sizeable immigrant labor force. Alvarez describes BCMP1's welcoming efforts to accommodate these differences in order to reduce employee turnover and provide incentives for new immigrant employees to remain in the Centerville area:

As a company I think we have been extremely welcoming, in that a majority of our employees are immigrants, or minorities rather. What our company has done in this location is focus on how to accommodate non-English speakers and how to welcome them, and provide resources for them so they will stay in the area. A big problem we have is retention because the immigrant population is fluid and mobile; when they come, we want them to stay. We want to provide them with any resources we can provide so they stay in the area.

BCMP1 exhibits low levels of bonding and bridging social capital. In their ongoing efforts to welcome and retain immigrant labor, they have no formal or informal partnerships or relationships with market, state, or civil society groups, and this is intentional. The advantages of avoiding partnerships in their work with their predominantly immigrant workforce outweigh the disadvantages, solely and explicitly because the plant wishes to avoid a unionized workforce. According to Alvarez, bonding and bridging community relationships and formal or informal partnerships could lead to union development at the plant:

The problem is we don't allow that sort of thing [community partnerships] on site because we have to allow the same availability to unions. We are union free – not all our locations are. And we believe in a union free environment because with our open door policy and equal and free treatments of all employees, a union is not necessary. Really it's union avoidance: if we allow [BCNP1] on site to do dental screenings, we'd have to allow the same flexibility to a union rep to hold a meeting and give out information...three to four [of our other] facilities are union and we want to avoid unions. Being in HR, we try to make ourselves available and treat everyone in a consistent manner. Being in HR, I don't need them, I can do the same thing without a union. Of course there's a case by case [in my interaction with employees] – a union comes in and sets rules and I have no flexibility with a union. They're black and white with no availability, and I can cultivate better relationships.

Alvarez and BCMP1 management prohibit formalized relationships between BCMP1 and any other state, market, and civil groups, stating that they have the best resources to work with their diverse immigrant workforce internally; however, Alvarez

has personal relationships with immigrant welcoming groups in Centerville, where she volunteers her time providing financial literacy education trainings in both English and Spanish. Alvarez works with Deborah Dacy of BCNP1, with whom she has a personal and working friendship, and upcoming financial literacy classes will be held at a multicultural center in Centerville that is affiliated with Dacy's church. Although Alvarez has and continues to work with both groups, these relationships do not cross over into her work with BCMP1.

BCMP1 exhibits low levels of social capital but moderate levels of political/structural capital; as the second-largest packing plant in Brookings County, BCMP1 as an institution holds sway with community powerbrokers as both a major employer as well as economic driver in the community.

CHAPTER 5: WELCOMING AND UNWELCOMING ACTIVITIES

Introduction

The groups affiliated with those interviewed from across the five counties in the study either passively or actively operationalize their social and political capital assets to respond to the increase in immigration to their communities. These responses, which are not always overt, have the effect of creating more or less welcoming community environments for new immigrant residents. Many similar themes, statements and observations were noted across multiple interview responses, which in various examples are evidence of the participants' beliefs or feelings about immigrants. Examples of how these beliefs inform welcoming and unwelcoming activities are discussed in this chapter.

WELCOMING THEMES

Language Services

Across the five counties in the study, the most common example of ways individuals said their groups have effectively responded to immigrants was with bilingual staff or through access to translation services and the provision of collateral materials, documents, patient or client forms, and/or building signage in multiple languages. Of the seventeen groups represented in the study, eleven discussed the importance and impact of language services or the ability to communicate effectively with immigrant populations as a way their group was welcoming to immigrants in their community.

In addition to improving bonding and bridging relationships between immigrant community members and the groups that offer language services, language services also allow immigrants to more fully participate in their communities in ways that would not

be possible without translation or related language materials. Sister Klein in Fairview County:

[The Hospital] has interpreters but just about everyone else doesn't, so we help them with applications to work, kind of you name it. With filling out paperwork, or working with landlords...interpreting for like domestic violence and sexual abuse with counselors, those who work with those in crisis counseling...but so much of it is stuff that's not being done.

Further, groups with relatively robust language services, such as BCLE1 and BCCH, say that where many language services are good, more are better. Says Paul McGinty, senior law enforcement official in Centerville:

1 in 4 contacts we have on the street and 1 in 3 in the office we have a language barrier... We keep a long list of interpreters from packing plants and other folks stepping forward; we pay them an hourly rate. We have printed materials in English, Spanish and Lao, and one of few Lao keyboards [in the state] and software programs in Lao, so we do a lot of work for city hall and other agencies that do their materials in those too. We have a Spanish-speaking community service offer and Lao service officer, and a handful of officers are relatively fluent in Spanish and can hold their own briefly in Lao, but we have great need for more multilingual officers.

Anecdotally, individuals representing groups with language services also exhibit a broader understanding of relatively basic issues regarding immigrants and immigration in their community and had more insight regarding the quality of relationships between immigrant groups and the broader community.

Institutional Initiatives

In addition to adding resources or staff in response to the growing number of immigrants across the five counties in the study, many of those interviewed discussed specific initiatives that their group or other groups have undertaken to actively welcome, build relationships with, or serve immigrants in their communities. Many of these initiatives have been overt, such as BCLE's Community Service Officer program, which is improving relationships between community members and law enforcement officers in

Centerville. As another example, Deborah Dacy describes an initiative designed to strengthen human capital in new immigrant groups currently underway in Centerville:

The city manager is orchestrating a Citizens Academy designed to empower immigrant leaders – that’s what they’re going after - [there's] a group of people recognizing that our leadership has to and must, and is embedded in the [immigrant community].

Barb Palmer, board member of BCNP1 and friend and colleague of Deborah Dacy, describes another initiative explicitly designed to strengthen the human capital in Brookings County immigrant populations:

A good example is trainings [Deborah has] done with daycare providers – [some are] not able to become licensed because of documentation, however, [Deborah] saw the need for them to still get the education even though they can’t have that document in hand. They still need the knowledge. So she linked up with someone to provide those workers that can’t get the information a platform to get it.

Not all initiatives discussed were explicitly designed to respond to or benefit immigrant populations in the five communities, but had the effect of doing so nonetheless. For example, Patrick Davidovsky, Brookings county attorney, recalls a department of transportation and city parks decision that had the effect of benefitting majority immigrant members of the community:

Mostly Hispanics were using the sand volleyball court and the DOT said you can’t park on the highway on the side with the courts. So you’d have families park on the other side of highway [and cross traffic to get to the volleyball courts]. The city responded by closing the sandlot and opening more, moving [them] across the highway [to where parking was available]. The city responded to the issue by not closing it because it wasn’t safe, but moving it to a safe place so families could still use it and get together.

Multiple group members across community sectors also discussed the impact of listening sessions with specific immigrant populations on their groups’ effectiveness in both working with and elevating the voice of immigrants in their community, and a number of Sterns County residents described multiple initiatives undertaken by one of the county public libraries:

I believe the library here is doing as good a job as any entity that's really trying to outreach. They have story hour, summer events; [they are] actively trying to engage families and kids and Spanish speakers. Their programming is definitely encompassing. They have weekly [community events] led by someone that speaks Spanish to talk about community resources, what's available in ESL, healthcare, immigrant legal assistance; that's fairly new. – Helen Jans

In both Fairview and Sterns County, civic groups have organized “Know Your Rights” seminars that educate immigrants on new tenant issues and landlord responsibilities, equitable access to credit and banking, and their civil rights when interacting with law enforcement officers and agencies. Across community sector groups, many of the intentional initiatives targeting immigrant groups focus on various human capital cultivation opportunities.

Immigrants Support the Economy

When asked to describe the impact of immigrants in their communities, the most common answer given by participants involved immigrant residents' positive impact on local and regional economies. Study participants that had less positive views of immigrants overall still stated they believed immigrants improved the economy. Braam Van Dyk, an agribusiness owner in Oneida County, says he believes the majority of his colleagues and related agribusiness institutions are supportive of immigrants and immigration because they know their industry depends on immigrant labor, and that despite the region's reputation for political conservatism, immigration is not a partisan issue:

Other ag owners in the area, they're pro-immigration. They know they're needed and it's necessary. Take the farm bureau organization – they're a pretty conservative organization but definitely pro-immigration because they know. Or the US Chamber of Commerce – they say they're not conservative – but they are for immigration because the people that belong to those organizations are telling them we need the workers.

A few members of Sterns County's agribusiness community have been public about their support for and dependence on immigrants, sponsoring the SCNP2's annual Latino Festival and SCNP1's annual Soccer Tournament, and many of these sponsor businesses were among the group of business leaders and community stakeholders that attended the 2008 Sterns County Board of Supervisors meeting defending Latino immigrant residents and complaining of perceived racial profiling by law enforcement. Management from two of these businesses were panelists at the 8-week series on immigration held at Aaron Anderson's church that led to the formation of SCNP2, and their sentiments mirrored those of Van Dyk. According to Anderson, "the dairy operation owner spoke and said if it weren't for our immigrant neighbors, he'd be out of business, and [the egg processing plant] HR representative said the same thing."

Small business and related entrepreneurial activity by immigrant residents has had revitalizing impacts on some of the small towns across the five counties in the study, and the general spiraling out economic impacts affect all community sectors. This compounding growth is a somewhat unique phenomenon in comparison to many other rural Iowa towns that are declining in both industry and population:

When you look at the retail businesses, our downtown, we had a lot of empty storefronts. Those towns in Iowa that have growing Latino populations, they are entrepreneurs; they are opening businesses and restaurants. All the Latino businesses that we have in the downtown area, from a five and dime store to three authentic Mexican restaurants, a tortilleria, both a Dutch bakery and a Mexican bakery. – Helen Jans

The positives so far outweigh the negatives of our shifting demographics and diverse culture here that your fingers would fall off typing. During the economic downturn of 2008, we built a \$40 million resort and added jobs in this community. We enhanced the size of packing plants and grew business. In a period of time and today where a lot of rural school districts are consolidating, we have a new elementary school – it's four to five years old and already popping their walls. We did a \$20 million expansion of the high school. Not a lot of communities unattached to urban areas in Iowa have this problem – it's a real good problem to have. – Paul McGinty

A lot of immigrants work at machine shops around here – the dairies or packing plants, whether the egg hatcheries or any other work that’s happening around this area that’s agricultural, or you know, factory-based – it’s helping explode this area economically. I think in that sense it’s been contributing a lot. Most small towns are dying and it’s immigrants that are really helping places like these towns prosper when others aren’t. – Rick Estevez

A common theme among interview participants was the rejection of the notion that immigrants take jobs away from native-born Americans. One in three interviewees, representing a broad scope of views on immigration and ranging from law enforcement officials to agribusiness owners, addressed this issue without prompting:

They make an indispensable contribution [to our economy]. Contrary to the myth that they’re taking away jobs from Anglos, they take jobs that Anglos won’t take. The ironic thing there is if that message could get out, and given that members of our community are so pro-business, free market, capitalism, entrepreneurship, that’d be a dynamite message if that could get out. But there are still a lot of people that don’t know that. They’re making huge contributions to the economy of our area. – Aaron Anderson

There’s people making a point that they’re taking our jobs I don’t agree with that. You talk to big dairy employers in our communities and they tell you “I cannot hire any young guys outta high school, or college grads – they don’t want to do this kind of work,” whereas a lot of Hispanic people tend to be blue collar workers. – Andrew Dietrich

They say that these people are taking jobs Americans won’t take – that’s BS. If you ask [the meat processing plants in town], they’ll hire anyone that comes to their facility if they’re qualified – white people, black people, brown people – they’ll hire anybody. You just don’t have a lot of people coming in. They would fill every job they have with a qualified person that came in – that’s what they’re looking for, they’re looking for qualified people. And they don’t care what color they are and they’re going anywhere they can find qualified people because they have a job to do and product to move. So if the community could support all the jobs they had, then they wouldn’t need to have a need for other races. – Mitch Bauer

"They steal jobs" – Really? That’s ridiculous. I used to work at the unemployment office – there’s a whole lot of white people that stay on it a lot longer because they’re too proud to take a job from a production facility. But a lot of the immigrant population that I worked with, they said "I will do anything." They are more willing to do the jobs that white people don’t want, so are they stealing jobs? No, because you show me 700 white people that are willing to work at my facility. – Elizabeth Alvarez

In spite of a few simplistic generalizations that may be damaging to Latino and other immigrant community members, interview participants from across community sectors, representing an array of positive and negative views regarding immigrants,

almost universally agree on the overall benefits of immigrants to the economy and regional workforce and categorically deny the notion of immigrants in Iowa taking jobs away from Americans.

Driver's Cards/Licenses

One in three interview participants cited state driver's cards for immigrants without legal status as an initiative that would both improve public safety and create a more welcoming community for immigrants without adequate documentation by facilitating freedom of movement and reducing general fear felt by undocumented immigrants of both law enforcement and greater community visibility.

The biggest issue on a day-to-day level is the fact that undocumented immigrants in Iowa are not able to get a driver's license, so when they encounter local police or the sheriff's department because of traffic violations, that's generally how they end up in jail and maybe deported because they don't have a form of ID that is acceptable to police. So the police take them in and start digging into where they work, contact the employer, and find out they're working under another name and that generally leads to a felony charge of ID theft and forgery, and because it's a felony they're almost always deported. – Helen Jans

I think they should...allow them to have driver's licenses so they can put their own license plates on cars and get insurance. The harsh reality is they're still going to drive; they still need to get places and go to work. So what is happening is other people are registering those cars and putting it in their name so it's a risk to them because if they get in an accident, the person held responsible is the owner of that car. Let's boost the economy and allow them to get drivers licenses. They'll be buying more cars, more gas, insurance – just let them drive. – Elizabeth Alvarez

Pending legislation for limited driver's licenses – [which was] not successful [this year] – [in the] next year or two hopefully it will get more traction. It would have positive impacts for undocumented immigrants and public safety – more drivers educated, more insured drivers, and safer roads. – Paul McGinty

Many of the civic groups and one law enforcement agency represented in the study are actively involved in advocating for limited driver's cards for undocumented immigrants meeting specific criteria, as are multiple other law enforcement jurisdictions across Iowa's 4th Congressional District and in other parts of the state. The proposition

has been unsuccessful in the state legislature in recent years, although this has been with little associated advocacy or organizing by civic groups. SCNP1, SCNP2, and BCLE1, along with numerous other state and civic groups across Iowa are currently engaged in numerous state driver's cards campaigns and voter education efforts and are more organized than other efforts have been in recent years. Temporary driver's cards for qualifying immigrants will likely be voted on in the Iowa State Legislature in January 2015.

Relationships

More than any other welcoming initiative discussed was the importance of individual relationships in strengthening community ties between both immigrants and communities as well as between market, state, and civil society groups in maximizing the reach and impact of connected groups. Bonding ties, those between institutions and agencies across community sectors, were discussed by all civic agencies in the study as well as by select health and law enforcement agencies as foundational to effective service provision. Similarly, networks of bridging ties, the connections between individuals across and within communities, were proportionally evident among and between the most active and structurally powerful groups: the groups with high bridging social capital in this study are also typically better equipped to affect community change and cultivate their influence.

Some individuals in the study also discussed the importance of relationships in transforming negative community perceptions regarding immigrants:

I've seen it happen – people who had a really narrow, negative view of immigrants were suddenly able to get to know someone who is an immigrant and it changed their whole perspective. They understood their situation and why they're here. We've tried to do community education about 'What it means to be undocumented,' and 'Why don't people

just get legal,' but we've not had great turnout for those kinds of conversations because the majority of [Sterns County] white people don't interact with Latinos because of the language barrier. They don't go to the same places or churches, there's no opportunity to even meet each other. – Helen Jans

What we've been able to do very slowly and laboriously is to build relationships of mutual understanding and trust with more and more of our Latino neighbors. It's hard to quantify. I think where we've been successful is [SCNP1] more and more is being viewed by Latino neighbors and the Anglo community as an organization that is caring personally for our Latino neighbors. [With other civic and advocacy groups,] we're sensitive to the fact that we're all volunteer – we can't spread ourselves too thin. But by example and by encouragement we can encourage people to do similar things...the truth of matter is most of what we've done has been informal. We're doing our work by building relationships with people. – Aaron Anderson

As Jans and her colleague Anderson describe, this relationship cultivation process is intentional, organic, and highly personal. As previously described, Anderson in particular is a disciple of slow relationship cultivation as a community change strategy, frequently discussing the importance of respectful conversations and meaningful, incremental growth from the bottom-up of communities via one-on-one relationships, rather than top-down “quick fix” organizing strategies that do not prioritize relationship cultivation.

UNWELCOMING THEMES

Faith Communities

Fifteen of the seventeen interview participants discussed involvement in their church or faith community at least once during their interviews; the vast majority of those participating in the study consistently attend a place of worship and a few hold positions of leadership in their respective faith communities. One individual briefly referenced faith communities in the region as examples of community institutions actively welcoming immigrants, and this is specifically true in particular denominations with highly-visible immigrant and notably Latino outreach and cultural activities, such as Our

Lady of Guadalupe celebrations; Spanish, Lao, Somali-language masses; church-partnered community outreach programs and nonprofit organizations; Latina women's groups, and related efforts. The denominations observed with the highest levels of such programs in Iowa's 4th Congressional District are the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA).

Multiple participants, however, discussed several areas where they believed many regional faith communities, specific denominations, pastors and priests, and fellow church members are failing to welcome immigrants in accordance with the tenets of their respective faith traditions. The majority of the most visible actors in Iowa's 4th Congressional District working to welcome immigrants are members of Judeo-Christian faith communities and they report that their actions in support of immigrants are strongly motivated by their faith traditions; however, at the institutional level, many study participants state that faith communities as a whole in the region are failing to fulfill the Biblical mandate to 'welcome the stranger':

Some church leaders/pastors I know who are personally sympathetic have a mixed enough clientele among parishioners where they could get in hot water if they became too vocal. We haven't found yet that the faith communities in our county have embraced and celebrated what we're doing. I think that is very unfortunate because from my perspective as a Christian, it is all based in the teachings of Matthew 25 – the most meddlesome and neglected chapter in the Bible. The mandate amongst Christians to work for the well-being of our immigrant neighbors is clear as a bell to me, but that's only in theory. For whatever reason, there are still a lot of professing Christians in [Sterns County] who don't see this on their radar screen. Speaking personally, not on behalf of [SCNP1] – [SCNP1] is not sectarian – I couldn't tell you the church affiliation of most of our members – we're not sectarian – [SCNP1] is doing this because it's the human thing to do, not just because it's the Christian thing to do; obviously it is both. I wouldn't view the faith community as a resource. – Aaron Anderson

As well as institutional concerns, participants noted unwelcoming attitudes and behaviors from individual members of their respective faith communities. Dolores Nylander, Executive Director at the health center in Sterns County with a patient base of

over 50 percent native-Spanish speakers, struggles to find organizational support from area Christian communities, the overwhelming majority of which are of various

Reformed faith traditions:

[Sterns County] is a really “Christian” community that touts its reaching out to neighbors and caring for one another, on the surface. But when there’s requests to demonstrate that involving financial support and other ways like this it’s been kind of hard; we struggle getting donations, for tangible things locally.

Paul McGinty, senior law enforcement official in Centerville and a deacon in his church, has observed negative responses from parishioners regarding his church’s multicultural activities, noting that there is much more work to be done on the part of the church in creating welcoming communities:

At Christmas and Easter we have done everything multilingual – all different choirs at our Midnight Mass, Easter Vigil, and readings in all those languages too; people loved it. Until I’m sitting at a coffee shop a week later with my wife and hear some fellow Catholics spewing about the fact that “them” and “those people” and if you go to the English mass it should be English, and Spanish should be Spanish, never the twain shall meet. We have a lot of work to do.

One pastor, who is supportive of immigrants and comprehensive immigration reform, said he cannot publically appear to align himself or civic groups with which he volunteers with more politicized partner groups in support of immigration reform because of the probability of backlash from his parishioners. Another pastor anonymously discussed his reticence to confront anti-immigrant members of congress or take part in advocacy actions that admonish anti-immigrant or racialized public speech against the Latino community, questioning if it is the church’s place to publically call elected officials to task, and stated that is not the arena in which the church belongs.

Housing

Access to quality affordable housing was a recurring concern in all of the five communities in the study. Full housing markets, unreasonably high rental costs, and sub-standard housing conditions were cited across all communities, and instances of racial profiling and denial of rent based on perceived prejudice were pervasive. Patrick Davidovsky, attorney for Brookings County, is also a landlord in Centerville and reports that bias against Latino and minority renters is a problem in the community:

We now have, for the last four to five years, the city of [Centerville] has had a housing inspection program. For rental housing you have to have a rental permit. Landlords get a discount if you attend a meeting on training. The Des Moines [facilitator] person was proud to say you can use a clearinghouse website [to post your rental properties], but no one in the room would use it because you can't control who [in the community] would use it [to search for a rental property]. A lot of apartments would rather sit empty than have the risk of a minority group move in or be accused of being discriminatory.

Rick Estevez, a DREAMer and youth development nonprofit professional in Sterns County, describes the housing he grew up with as an undocumented immigrant youth with limited family resources, as well as social and financial capital implications that he says are corollary to poor housing conditions. Of all the participants in the study, Estevez is the only respondent who has sought housing as an undocumented immigrant as well as the only respondent to discuss the related social and financial impacts of poor quality housing on immigrants without documentation:

There's not enough [housing] and it's not very nice. Unfortunately like, that's kind of the way it is. Like I know growing up, we had pretty rough housing situations because, you know, we didn't have a ton of money and there isn't a lot available. So we had to live in some houses that were not that nice. They had various problems or didn't look nice. The one house we refer to as the "house of rats" because [it had] a lot of, a bunch of mice. So we endearingly call it the house of rats. There were tons of rats and mice. Or like, we lived in a trailer court for most of my time in elementary school – that was pretty ok, and um, we were thankful for that...for a lot of families now it's become a big push, so a lot of families either live in the country in small towns that makes them a little more secluded or separated, which is unfortunate, because transportation is a difficult thing in the immigrant community as well so it makes life a little more difficult for some families... if you don't have papers, you have to rent. Unfortunately, that's a huge way to

build wealth in the US is you buy a house and then sell it, but that's not possible with a lot of undocumented immigrants so the development of wealth is tricky.

Estevez describes how barriers to the cultivation of specific community capital assets, such as housing, can have spiraling out effects on the development of other community capitals, such as social or financial capitals. Multiple respondents discussed the 'pushing out' of many immigrants from larger core cities within their county or region to much smaller, neighboring rural towns, due to both limited availability of housing and higher housing costs in core communities. As such, many immigrant populations are isolated from larger community networks, limiting their access to social capital cultivation opportunities. Further, because only rental housing is available to most immigrants lacking documentation, the development of financial capital through homeownership is impossible for them.

Language Services

Many groups in the study have robust and wide-ranging translation and related language services, including phone translation, full-time interpreters, and the availability of forms and documents in multiple languages; however, other groups in the study have no such services, and non-English speaking immigrant populations interacting with these groups must secure these services independently. In some circumstances, this is a barrier to service provision and unwelcoming, and in other circumstances it is illegal. Helen Jans, SCNP1 board member, registered nurse, and diabetes educator at one of Sterns County's four hospitals, describes the challenges both immigrants and service providers face when translation services are not made available to patients:

Three of four of our county hospitals don't have a staff interpreter, and one is located in a community that has had a sizeable Spanish-speaking immigrant population for over twenty years...I finally suggested to [SCCH] and their CEO that 1) patients from other

towns for transportation reasons should be able to get diabetes education at the closest hospital to them, and 2) the vast majority of immigrants have no medical insurance so there is a financial burden to the patient and hospital. Most people try to do a good job paying those bills back, but also the burden for hospitals is great, so when it all falls on one hospital because the majority of immigrants with diabetes are coming to one hospital [because of its interpreter services], it's kind of unfair...two hospitals I spoke with said the patient would need to bring their own interpreter because the hospital doesn't have one; at one of the hospitals they said they have the phone interpreter [service] but don't use it.

In addition to burdening non-English speaking Sterns County residents by not providing accessible health services in many residents' communities and forcing them to drive longer distances for healthcare than their English-proficient neighbors, Jans maintains this breach in service provision is unlawful:

Because it receives federal funding through Medicare and Medicaid – and any organization that receives federal funding – is required by law under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, is required to provide an interpreter in patients' native language at no cost to the patient. It's title 6 or 7 – they cannot discriminate according to age/sex/race, status. Documented or undocumented is irrelevant.

In other communities in the district, language services are not provided because the Spanish-speaking population that would utilize them is not considered large enough to warrant the resource expenditure. Hank Babich, Oneida County Attorney, has observed a relatively small yet steady increase of Latino immigrants to the Clover City region over the past eighteen years, but this increase is not large enough to justify a staff interpreter position in his office, or any other department in the county. Immigrants facing prosecution from the county attorney's office are responsible for providing their own interpreter – except during court proceedings when court interpreters from neighboring jurisdictions share their services – and because the population of non-English speaking immigrants is relatively small, Babich says that working with translators and non-English speakers is not “overly burdensome” on his office, yet (2014). No consideration is exhibited for the burdens placed on non-English speakers in

the county, however, who are required to source their own interpreters who can both translate and advise. Lack of appropriate language services for immigrant populations can serve as barriers to both service provision as well as equitable treatment under the law, creating unwelcoming environments for non-English speaking community residents.

Culture Gaps

Culture gaps regarding community norms and expectations between immigrant populations and dominant Anglo communities in this study were commonly reported, which may be a predictable result of new and different populations finding themselves living together. However, many respondents reported negative, stereotyping, or otherwise unwelcoming statements and actions from community members towards immigrant groups based on lack of cultural understanding or prejudice, actions that are directed toward both immigrant youth as well as adults:

I think what happens, especially with Latino youth in this area, is they do encounter some form of prejudice; whether it just be jokes...I don't think it's regular, but jokes or teasing makes youth around here self-conscious. I think it's something, that um, just happens in a general outgroup/ingroup sort of thing – the outgroup has a difficult time becoming part of the ingroup and the ingroup is pretty set in their culture. And in ways and you'll find that everywhere, but in northwest Iowa, it's just something that's happening with, well it's just like – in relation to immigrants that's just what's happening here. It's an interesting time, it's a new time; with a lot of immigrant youth and families coming to northwest Iowa, there's a learning curve accepting a new population coming into where they live. – Rick Estevez

Patrick Davidovsky, county attorney as well as landlord in Brookings County, says many of the cultural differences between various new community groups and the dominant Anglo population are too great to surmount, and that for many it will be impossible to overcome predetermined bias against them, especially when many of the cultural expectations of dominant Anglo groups are not overtly expressed:

[The culture gaps] are insurmountable. They move here not knowing the expectations. It's easy for the poor who come here to fulfill the stereotype of the old white landlord who says "I'm not going to put up with this anymore."

Helen Jans agrees, citing unspoken community norms that immigrants are simultaneously expected to implicitly know and abide by, even though these expectations are often never communicated with new community groups:

I spoke to two landlords last week and they both separately said the same thing: "I appreciate the fact that for the most part the rent is paid on time, so I don't have issues with that, and for the most part the women take excellent care of the insides of the homes –they're spotless" – and I've found that to be true with the homes I've visited. But there are issues with the outside of the homes. They come from countries without outside grass; they don't know how to take care of it or treat dandelions. That's an unspoken rule in [Sterns County] – you won't be accepted. Or snow removal – they're not from countries with snow, so in the winter they don't get their sidewalk scooped. That's another unspoken rule.

One participant calmly expressed his frustration with his immigrant neighbors in this regard, stating he knows the discrepancies he observes are predicated on cultural divides. Although he says he has a longstanding and positive relationship with his immigrant neighbors, he made no mention of ever discussing the implicit community norms or expectations with them:

My neighbors have been my neighbors probably for ten years, and we get along pretty well. I know their– I can see in their residence there are some cultural differences with the outside of the residence. The outside of their homes they don't keep it up as nicely as it was kept up before with the occupant before. They're nice folks; I'd like to see them mow their lawn a bit more. I'm pretty good about scooping snow in the winter and they're hit and miss. I walk to work and it'd be nice if– I've noticed the lady of the house does damn near all the work outside. – Hank Babich

The unspoken expectation of well-maintained properties is not remaining unspoken in all the communities in the study. Paul McGinty describes the volume of calls his office receives from residents complaining of unkempt properties by some immigrant residents; although the number of calls is high, indicating a level of dissatisfaction by some members of the community, McGinty and his officers are

working alongside new residents to educate them on cultural norms and over time,

McGinty's partnership approach has proven effective:

Where [with the] traditional northwest Iowa white population, the priority is on how house and property looks, it might not be immigrants' priority. Frustrations presented themselves with junk in the yard. The police department works with citizens to clean yards up, get trash out, and so on. [We were getting] 1,200–1,300 contacts a year to get trash out, mow weeds, rid junk cars, things like that. The interesting thing – those are contacts – most all folks are willing to do it, but might not know how though. Of all those contacts, we only cite or charge maybe ten or twelve. It's our belief that if the property owner is moving in the right direction– mowing, getting rid of stuff – that's a success story and we don't have to necessarily issue a ticket. Some habitual repeat offenders don't get it done, and some of those are not minority citizens.

Many of the cultural gaps discussed related to housing and maintenance, but a few involved social and family norms. Paul Davidovsky describes his perception of the generalized splintering of community groups over time and how prejudices against immigrants have led to unwelcoming and even traumatizing incidents in the community:

We're not as close knit of a community – [there is] a lot more 'We-They'. Where everyone used to watch the wandering child, now it's "Those people, they never watch their kid," and the mom's charged with child endangerment and next thing DHS has completely traumatized a bunch of kids and a family.

Incidents of culture gaps generating unwelcoming and divided environments for both immigrant residents and the receiving community were common across all five communities in the study. Those organizations exhibiting strong efforts to address these gaps, by providing community and cultural education opportunities for both immigrant groups as well as native-born community members, include the civic groups in the study and one law enforcement agency. There is comparatively little evidence of similar efforts from other state, market, or health service groups in the study.

Legislation

Many study participants discussed unwelcoming legislation at the federal, state, and local levels that has either specifically targeted immigrants or has had the effect of

primarily targeting immigrants, creating unwelcoming if not punitive community environments for many new residents. A handful of participants discussed local ordinances and city measures limiting the number of cars residents may have in front of their home, both on their driveway and on the street, as well the surfaces on which it is acceptable to park vehicles. Others discussed county ordinances requiring cars to have license plates and prohibiting “junk” cars from being stored on lawns, but many of these interviewees were unsure if these ordinances had the effect of disproportionately affecting immigrant residents.

Rick Estevez discussed his frustration with a piece of city legislation in a neighboring city that appears to have been designed to limit visible junk on properties, but has had the net effect of specifically targeting immigrant community members:

One specific law in Sioux City that’s a city statute said you can’t put couches on your front porch, and that was directed very much at the immigrant community. I don’t remember when, I just remember being really pissed because it’s ridiculous – because it’s America – you can’t take away guns but you can take away couches? It’s so weird. It was very much targeting immigrants.

As previously discussed, many participants also mentioned the lack of a state driver’s card legislation for immigrant residents without adequate documentation in Iowa as a significant state issue that affects both immigrants and citizens, as multiple interviewees say public safety would increase as insurance premiums would decline if limited driver’s card legislation were passed in Iowa.

Many participants, including both of those representing law enforcement agencies, emphasized the impact that lack of comprehensive immigration reform legislation at the federal level has had on local law enforcement jurisdictions. Andrew Dietrich, senior law enforcement official in Sterns County, is open about the burden that

lack of reform has on his department, as well as his unsuccessful efforts to appeal to members of Iowa's Congressional delegation:

I've gone to Washington, D.C. on trips and met with congressmen – Grassley and King – and told them, something has to be done. But it's really frustrating to me when I watch those political people – and for them their elections are way bigger than mine – they know their constituents and supporting 'amnesty' issues, or whatever you want to call it, would be detrimental to their careers. And to me that's, real frustrating and it's all fallen on us law enforcement in the county. And the real issue is reform in Washington, D.C. If there were reform at the federal level, problems wouldn't fall on local government like they're presently doing.

Patrick Davidovsky describes the undue tension that the lack of federal action on immigration reform creates for him and fellow county attorneys, both legally and with his constituency, which he believes may not understand the complexity of the issues surrounding immigration reform. In his view, unbiased application of the law has the effect of punitively punishing undocumented residents, so his office is caught between a responsibility to apply the law but a moral charge to do so judiciously, not punitively:

The biggest issue is that with no avenue towards citizenship, we have kids that graduate from high school and they can't go to college – no scholarships, no social security number. [The federal government has] imposed on local elected officials the obligation to be flexible, to look the other way or ignore the law because they're not dealing with the [issue]. That's the pressure that forces me to do nothing, to treat them more leniently than I would a white kid born here. Because they haven't solved the problem, so the consequence is too severe to enforce the same laws against them than the native kids. I do things the public wouldn't appreciate because they're majority black and white [thinkers], and because I've got [Congressman] Steve King that wants to build a fence and talks about kids with calves the size the cantaloupes – I mean what!?! – Patrick Davidovsky

Davidovsky is not the only participant to describe Iowa's 4th Congressional District Representative, Steve King, as both an obstruction to immigration reform and out of step with his constituents on immigration issues. Sixteen of the seventeen participants in the study specifically describe Representative King as being anti-immigrant. Representative King and political ideology are discussed further in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 6: IMPACT OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CAPITAL IN NETWORKS

Introduction

As the groups in the study fall along a continuum between high social capital, high political capital and low social capital, low political capital, their activities and representative actors reflect a parallel continuum between highly active, overlapping energies and actors on one end of the continuum, and isolated, individual actors and activities on the other end. Many groups in the study are interconnected via both relatively high levels of bridging and bonding social capital – the activities and efforts of these groups have the appearance of overlapping as individuals representing different groups work together across institutions and communities on common programs, advocacy efforts, and events. As economies of scale experience greater returns due to their size, the efforts of the best-networked groups in the study have broader and more sustained impacts resulting from their bridging and bonding social connectivity.

More Connected, More Effective

As was described in the previous section and is evident from the network map on page 109, (see Figure 7, *Network Map*), a few of the groups in the study typified dramatically high levels of bonding and bridging capital in comparison to other groups in the study. These groups include Sterns County Nonprofit #1 (SCNP1), Brookings County Law Enforcement (BCLE), Sterns County Nonprofit #2 (SCNP2), Fairview County Nonprofit #1 (FCNP1), and to slightly lesser extents, Brookings County Nonprofit #1 (BCNP1), Sterns County Nonprofit #3 (SCNP3), and Sterns County Community Health Center (SCCH). With the exception of Brookings County Law Enforcement, all highly connective groups in the study are from the civil society sector. These groups

have many relationships, both institutionally as well as personally between group members across community sectors, and many of the groups are engaging in collaborative, ongoing projects with other groups across the region and state.

Examples of these projects include the state drivers' card efforts of SCNP1, SCNP2, and BCLE; immigration forums and potluck events originally organized by SCNP1 and SCNP2 that expanded to include BCNP1 and other groups across the state; and community outreach events between, BCLE, BCNP1, and other Brookings County state and civil society groups. Collaboration in these and other efforts is described by interviewees as both organic and matter-of-fact – for the primary actors in these groups, this networking is critical but implicit, just another integral part of their efforts to affect community change. These actors: Helen Jans, Aaron Anderson, Deborah Dacy, Paul McGinty, and Sisters Marta Cruz and Jean Klein, all conveyed a similar energy in their ongoing collaboration work, as they seek out new relationships in their community and across the state, across all community sectors.

These relationships are the driving theme across the individuals representing these groups. In the majority of interviews with individuals from higher bridging and bonding groups, interviewees referred to other actors across the region and state by their names first, and only occasionally mentioning the group they represent. Most of the main actors in these highly networked groups know each other personally and professionally and have worked together on many occasions on shared projects, often travelling hours to speak on a panel, bring a potluck dish, attend a forum, facilitate a breakout session, plan an advocacy action, or canvass a neighborhood.

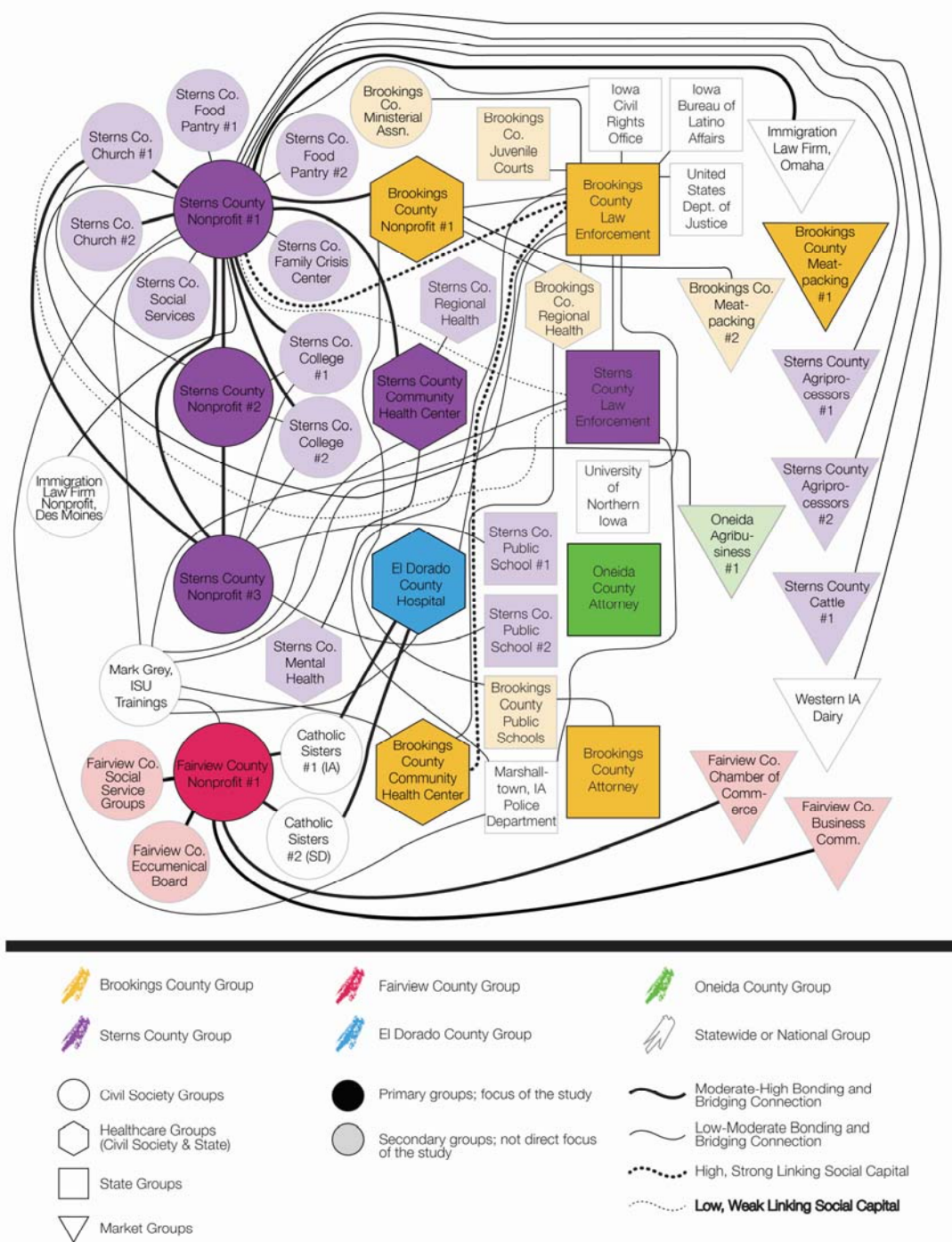


Figure 7, Network Map

As Paul McGinty describes, this work is imperative and ongoing: “Anyone who provides services, we try to network with them in the community. One of the drums I

beat is we need to be anywhere and everywhere where there is a spot at the table where people are talking about issues impacting our community – shifting demographics being one of them.” Aaron Anderson shares McGinty’s proactive, relationships-first approach:

We’re sensitive to the fact that we’re all volunteer – we can’t spread ourselves too thin – but by example and by encouragement we can encourage people to do similar things...the truth of the matter is most of what we’ve done has been informal. We’re doing our work by building relationships.

This approach is effective. Anecdotally, the more groups emphasize relationships, the more successes they have had in their programming and advocacy efforts. Sisters Cruz and Klein in Fairview County, perhaps more than any other group in the study, focused on relationships from the outset by engaging in listening sessions and focus groups with Latina community members to hear from them what they wanted in a community organization; from there, the sisters engaged in a targeted campaign to meet with as many business, state, and social service agencies as possible, targeting bankers, hospital administrators, city council members, and myriad other community stakeholders to establish a rapport and determine community needs their group was poised to fill. These were not one-off meetings; the sisters continue to cultivate their growing network and after just one year of operation, FCNP1 provided services to over 400 individuals and the demand for their services is growing. Both Cruz and Klein attribute much of their positive community reception and cross-sector support to the strength of their relationships in Fairview County.

Perhaps the most important motif from the overarching relationship theme is time. All high social capital groups describe their work as ongoing and emphasize intentionality in their relationship cultivation. The approach is organic, slow, and by all

high-connectivity respondents' accounts, is intrinsic to the sustainability and effectiveness of their work.

Sharing Resources

Another hallmark of the highly-connective groups is the sharing of resources, particularly human capital assets. All high connectivity groups have partnered with Mark Grey, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Northern Iowa and Director of the Iowa Center for Immigrant Leadership and Integration, at least once but often on multiple occasions, to conduct specialized cultural competency trainings for their organization, or to speak to a community group or share research and related assets. Many highly-connective groups have utilized extension services from Iowa State University in their service provision or staff trainings, and group members themselves travel across the state and nation to work with other groups or speak and engage on behalf of the work of their group or to empower members of other groups.

Many of the high-connectivity group members also engage almost daily via email, sharing news articles related to immigration, scheduling meetings with one another, recommending other group members for speaking engagements or panel events, and soliciting community-wide input or support on a specific issue or challenge. As solicitation and support are pooled, high-connectivity groups often glean the best from their shared resources, not simply those immediately available to them from their individual organization or region.

Market Connections

Only two groups exhibit strong connections with market groups in their respective communities and no groups in the study exhibited bonding relationships with market groups from outside their immediate communities. Those groups with relatively strong connectivity with market groups in their communities are SCNP1 and FCNP1. In all, there was little evidence of strong market networking activity across the majority of groups; however, of the two groups that reported strong market connectivity, the market groups – representing chambers of commerce, banking, agribusiness and manufacturing – overwhelmingly supported the immigrant-welcoming activities of the groups. Support manifested financially, as funding from regional market groups is instrumental in the sustained programmatic activities of SCNP1; as well as politically, as FCNP1’s close and strong ties with the regional chamber of commerce has been influential in cultivating access between the organization and other community powerbrokers, such as the city council and major business leaders.

Low connectivity between many market groups and many immigrant-welcoming groups in the study appears to be an opportunity for bonding social capital development, as evidence suggests that many businesses, particularly those dependent on immigrant labor or patronage, would likely be supportive of the work of these groups.

High Political Connectivity, Low Social Connectivity

In contrast to the highly connective groups described above, the majority of groups in the study with comparatively lower levels of social capital connectivity also exhibit relatively higher levels of political capital. Additionally, groups fitting this profile are all state groups representing the judiciary and enforcement branches of the

criminal justice system. The groups with moderate to low levels of social capital yet comparatively high levels of political capital are Sterns County Law Enforcement (SCLE1), Oneida County Attorney (OCA), and Brookings County Attorney (BCAO).

As previously discussed as well as illustrated in Figure 7, *Network Map*, a hallmark of these groups is their comparatively low levels of bonding and bridging social capital. While the individuals representing these groups possess the highest levels of political capital in the study due to the authority and latitude inherent to their positions, they also have relatively weak relationships with the community groups over whom they exercise power and authority. As immigration to these communities continues to rise, this relative lack of social capital connectivity presents a practical challenge in that many of the other groups in the study with high social connectivity are adept at resourcing both civil society and other state groups in effective responses to new immigrant populations. Working together has shown to improve responses and outcomes for high connectivity groups; low connectivity groups cannot avail themselves of these same resources.

Hank Babich, Oneida County Attorney, Patrick Davidovsky, Brookings County Attorney, and Andrew Dietrich, senior Sterns County Law Enforcement official all described a significant learning curve in their responses to new and diverse immigrant groups; by remaining either relatively isolated or ineffectively-networked in their responses, these state groups' efforts are decapitalized as they do not benefit from the resources and effective responses of their better-networked counterparts across all sectors. Sterns County Law Enforcement is perhaps the most connective group in this category as it has more relationships by number than the other two offices; however the

relative strained quality of these relationships serves as a barrier to effective cross-sector collaboration.

A highlight of these groups is the general singularity of their offices and efforts. While collaboration and social connectivity across sectors occurs to varying yet still relatively low levels between these offices and other groups, interviewees describe the overarching work of their offices as either intentionally or passively insulated from other sector groups and agencies: bonding relationships are not described as integral to the work of these groups. Even if bonding or bridging relationships are pursued, they are not described as valuable or generative inherently, but instead they are viewed as instrumental, sought in order to better facilitate the work of their office by easing or appeasing other groups.

Overall, the groups with the most access and political authority also have the lowest bonding and bridging connectivity with groups representing or working with populations over which they exercise judicial latitude and authority. These groups have the capacity to leverage their access, power, and authority in their respective communities, and they often do; yet they have the lowest level of connectivity with the community groups their decisions (or lack of decisions) directly affect. This lack of connectivity is exhibited both intentionally and unintentionally, as Davidovsky describes how his office applied the law in ways they thought were beneficial to immigrants without documentation, only to find out their efforts were unintentionally causing them more harm:

We don't focus on marijuana even though local police do, at least the first time around. They can do paraphernalia – under immigration law paraphernalia is more serious than possession though! We thought we were helping people with simple possession to plead to paraphernalia – for native people that doesn't count as drug charge – but under Federal law [for immigrants] apparently it was.

Other groups in the study have robust and longstanding relationships with immigration attorneys and advocates across Iowa; this trial-and-error exercise in the application of the law, which can have significant and life-long implications on the lives of those impacted, would not be necessary were the office benefitting from bonding relationships with immigration expert groups, as just one example.

Low Linking Capital

Part and parcel to the low connectivity between high political capital groups is the relatively low quality of linking capital between these groups and other groups in the study and across Iowa's 4th Congressional District. While Brookings County Law Enforcement exhibits the highest levels of linking capital of all the state and structural power groups in the study, in addition to the highest level of social capital connectivity of all the state groups in the study (see Figure 7, *Network Map*), BCLE is but one municipal law enforcement agency and does not exercise authority beyond Centerville City limits; it is not a county or regional law enforcement agency. The groups with which the office does have influence are highly embedded and BCLE is a strong advocate for them across community sectors; the linking capital between BCLE and these groups is high.

Low linking capital among the other groups is manifested by low levels of embeddedness on the part of the other state agencies with the civil society groups over which they exercise power. At best, the advocacy on behalf of community groups by these offices is minimal and in some instances, exercised only after extended pressuring. While Dietrich engages in relationship cultivation with more groups in the study than other county attorney offices in this group, the quality of these relationships – the

embeddedness – is relatively low; between the other groups in this category (OCAO, BCAO) and their constituent groups, it is nonexistent. In practice, this lack of linking capital on the part of structural power groups on behalf of less-politically capitalized community groups limits the agency of these groups and to many extents hamstrings their ability to affect community change.

In Centerville, where linking capital between BCLE and civil society groups is high, McGinty's authority and influence has maximized the agency of other community groups:

In the mid to late 1990s, the Hispanic community wanted to lobby the city council to put pressure on local cable TV provider to bring a Spanish station but they didn't know how. So they came to the department to ask us to be their representative to the city council, and we did. And when they came to us, we had bilingual staff. Early on tried to build bridges and relationships. – Paul McGinty

In Sterns County, Dietrich has exercised his authority to benefit community members and groups in similar ways, however his actions have been kept private to reduce perceived potential community backlash. Because the advocacy efforts on behalf of community members are kept secret, the bonds of linking capital – the embeddedness of his office with community groups over which his office exercises power – is not improved because the groups that benefit are not aware of Dietrich's actions.

There's some things I haven't been public on...[regarding the ICE detainer requests] I went ahead and made the changes in the jail concerning the ice issues. I did it, that was beneficial for the Latino community that are undocumented – what purpose would it serve to go public on that? That's my thought, why would I even do it...I don't know if that's the best thing to make public right now...Being elected in a very republican county, I've said some of these things I can get done, it's best not making a big deal out of it. – Andrew Dietrich

Between the two county attorney offices in the study – the remaining two groups with high political capital yet low social capital – there is virtually no evidence of embeddedness with other community sector groups. The contrast between McGinty's

approach, to strengthen linking capital by publically lobbying for issues directly affecting the Latino community in Centerville, and Dietrich's approach, to quietly change select policies to benefit the Latino community in Sterns County, but not inform the community of these changes, is important to analyze for the purposes of understanding agency and the extent to which community civic groups have influence over their respective community powerbrokers, and why.

CHAPTER 7: POWER AND IDEOLOGY

Many groups in Iowa's 4th Congressional District are active across community sectors and exhibit a substantial array of bonding and bridging relationships that they leverage to create more welcoming communities; however, only two civic groups (SCNP1 and BCCH) and one state group (BCLE1) share relatively high levels of linking capital. Although the majority of individuals representing immigrant-welcoming groups in the study expressed a desire or shared attempts to cultivate strong linking bonds with state and other structural power groups, only one state group in the study, Brookings County Law Enforcement #1, exhibited reciprocal, respectful linking ties with community groups with less agency and access to political capital.

In his role as police chief with BCLE1, Paul McGinty cultivates relationships with individuals and actors across Brookings County and the rest of the state, with immigrant groups, social service agencies, health centers, nonprofit organizations and faith institutions, to understand their goals and work together in achieving those that strengthen community cohesion. McGinty has been an advocate for such groups to other state agencies, embedding his department in the success of their efforts while preserving mutual autonomy and lobbying on behalf of these less-empowered groups to increase their power and agency. The bonding, bridging, and linking ties between BCLE1 and the various community groups across sectors with which the department shares social ties are not only the strongest of those in the study, but the efforts of these groups in aggregate are more effective and encompassing than those of groups in the study that do not share linking bonds with BCLE1 or other state groups.

BCLE1, when working with SCNP1 or BCCH, commands higher participation at community forums on immigration reform than when SCNP1 acts in the community alone. Greater services and resourcing is provided to neighborhood community groups when BCLE1 and BCCH outreach together, instead of BCCH acting independently with its own resources. When the Latino community in Centerville approached McGinty to lobby on their behalf to the city council to secure Spanish-language television stations in their media market, McGinty's influence and access was critical. Without BCLE1's strong linking ties, the agency and effectiveness of these and other community groups' activities would be eclipsed, as the power and access that McGinty and BCLE1 inherently possess in virtue of their entrenched position of authority in the community is not readily accessible to lesser-capitalized groups.

In contrast to BCLE1, the other state groups in the study, Brookings County Attorneys' Office (BCAO), Onedia County Attorney's Office (OCAO), and Sterns County Law Enforcement #1 (SCLE1) exhibit either low-quality or no levels of linking capital with less-powered groups in or across the communities in this study. Civic groups in the study that have attempted to cultivate linking ties with these groups have been met with repeated opposition, primarily in the forms of passive hostility or apathy. In the cases of OCAO and BCAA, the notion of working with or on behalf of other community groups to enhance community cohesion, equitably allocate power, or increase community group agency seems largely antithetical to their work, which is described by interviewees in solitary and non-interdisciplinary terms.

Patrick Davidosvsky, Brookings County Attorney, described his offices past attempts to work with the Sudanese immigrant population in Centerville, but reports that

these efforts were stymied due to perceived insurmountable culture gaps and no similar efforts are ongoing with the Sudanese community or any other immigrant or civic group. Hank Babich, Oneida County Attorney, did not discuss any instance of his office working with, investing in, or elevating the work of immigrant or civic groups for any purpose during his 18-year tenure, although Babich describes the immigrant population in Oneida County as nascent. Andrew Dietrich, senior Sterns County law enforcement official, discussed his ongoing efforts to cultivate ties with civic groups, but either described many of these ties as strained or emphasized his belief that whatever linking work is done by his department on behalf of immigrant community groups should remain private, even to those groups on whose behalf Dietrich is working.

Without strong linking ties between these and other state groups, the civic groups in the study have limited access to influencing institutionalized community power to affect change and enhance community cohesion. Despite strong levels of social capital and virtually zero organized anti-immigrant opposition, civic groups still face barriers to creating welcoming communities, in large part due to the lack of strong linking ties they share with state groups. There is clear evidence of strong support for immigrant populations from across market sectors, including, but not limited to: significant actors in the Iowa agribusiness community and the National Chamber of Commerce; statewide polling showing more than 3 out of 4 Iowans support a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants (*Des Moines Register*, 2013); strong support from national and statewide interfaith communities as well as bellwether leadership taken by state and regional law enforcement agencies on smarter and more humane policing with immigrant populations; and finally, robust and expansive social capital ties between and among

many of the immigrant-welcoming groups in the study. Nonetheless, many groups face barriers to creating immigrant-welcoming communities due to their limited linking ties. Why the lack of strong linking ties in support of the work of these groups, despite the growing statewide and national support for their immigrant-welcoming work, across faith traditions, political parties, and interest groups? This chapter explores the influence of anti-immigrant ideology vis-à-vis authentic social capital.

Ideology and the Social Capital Spectrum

As discussed in Chapter 4, the groups in this study represent a continuum between high social capital, high political capital and low social capital, low political capital, leveraging their capital assets to varying degrees of success and influence. Higher levels of social capital and access to political capital have equipped groups in the study to better achieve their community goals than groups with lower levels of social and political capital. Yet even the most socially-and-politically capitalized groups in the study face barriers to affecting and increasing their community power and operationalizing their goals. Despite the many capital assets they put into play and almost total lack of organized anti-immigrant opposition, the groups in the study still face institutionalized barriers to creating welcoming communities.

Many of the individuals representing groups in the study, as well as other representatives of state agencies and elected officials across Iowa's 4th Congressional District, exhibit behaviors and attitudes indicative of ideological influence rather than of authentic, grass roots social movements like that of many high social capital groups in the study. Anti-immigrant ideology is very much a dominant discourse in Iowa's 4th Congressional District, despite the lack of organized opposition and preponderance of

networked social actions across community sectors to welcome new immigrants. This ideology is a powerful foil to the high social capital, bottom-up, grassroots activities of many groups because it operates outside of the social capital spectrum: ideology requires no relationships and does not rely on local assets because it is not local and it is not social. Instead of organized, grass roots groups with broad networks across community sectors, as with immigrant-welcoming groups in the study, the anti-immigrant powers in Iowa's 4th Congressional District are neither networked nor based on bonding and bridging relationships between people and institutions. Instead, they are entrenched, institutionalized *ideas*, reaffirmed by groups and actors with high levels of and access to political and structural power that have a stake in the reproduction and preservation of anti-immigrant ideologies in the conservation of their power.

The influence of these ideologies is evident with multiple individuals in the study, and particularly so with those representing various state sectors, or those with higher levels of institutional political power and access. This influence is made manifest in two themes, discussed widely among interviewees across all sectors: first, the role of fear in anti-immigrant ideology formation and influence; and second, the use of language, particularly ostensive neutrality, in both anti-immigrant ideology formation and the reinforcing of existing community power structures.

Fear

Ocasio and Pozner (2013) and Johnson and Rusbult's (1989) exploration of commitment, in-group identification and obligation to norms and rules, denigration of non-group members, and the reaffirming influence these dynamics have on existing power structures is contextualized in this study by many of the interview respondents'

discussions of fear in relation to immigrants. Across the five communities, multiple interviewees either describe their own personal fears of new immigrant populations, or critique the fear expressed by other community members. “Us-Them” language was common, used by some interviewees directly, or by others more critically, chastening other individuals’ use of “us” and “them” in their respective communities.

Fear of potential or invented negative externalities resulting from the rise in immigrant populations were expressed as actual phenomena by a number of respondents, despite the same respondents’ admissions that the specific concerns they raise are not in fact based on reality or their experiences. This explicit conflation of known reality in contradiction to a potential fear, discussed in other western Iowa communities with rising immigrant populations by Lay (2013), is emblematic of the influence of the dominant discourse of “immigrants as criminals” despite evidence and experiences to the contrary. In this way, ideology supersedes and contradicts personal experience, but is nonetheless maintained. Andrew Dietrich, Senior Law Enforcement Official in Sterns County, describes his fear of the potential rise in criminal activity resulting from new immigrant populations at length, only to conclude that they have had no experience with such activity in their jurisdiction, but still legitimizes his fears:

Most of our immigrants are a very blue-collar crowd, um, they work in either farm jobs or local dairy jobs or construction work. Just blue collar jobs and they seem to be very content with that. [In] the future, some of the issues – there’s a lot of people fearful of second and third generation immigrants becoming more Americanized and that may be problematic in terms of crime. I don’t know if that’s true or not – OK you take a 40-55 year old immigrant, comes here, first generation right outta Mexico: poor, and has a job in [a local town], a good job; they’re able to send their kids to school. He is content with blue collar, 70 hours a week at a dairy. Maybe his child comes here at 4 years old – all of a sudden that child doesn’t have the recollection of poverty in Mexico and the child sees America and all that people can have: material goods, and wants all of that, but yet lives in almost a poverty situation here. Compared to what the local people have – most everybody in his class in high school would probably have a whole lot of things but he doesn’t because his parents come from a really poor state and they’re content. Well now this person wants more, and may start acting out and getting into drug culture and start

committing crimes – some of that has happened with second and third generation immigrants – and that is a little bit of a fear and a little bit of an issue that some people are making about immigration. I don't know if it's actually there, I don't necessarily see it here.

At first, Dietrich provides some distance between himself and the fears he expresses, saying that “some” in the community have fears and that he is not sure whether they are legitimate. However, his voicing of potential fears of others transitions into a statement of fact, that it is “a little bit of an issue,” followed by the contradictory admission that he doesn't “necessarily see it here” in Sterns County. This voicing of unfounded fears as reality, or fact, by Dietrich, a community powerbroker, suggests the influence of anti-immigrant ideology and legitimizes and reinforces the dominant discourse of immigrants as criminals.

Similarly, Mitch Bauer, president of the Brookings County Community Health Center (BCCH), discusses his tendency to stereotype immigrants without documentation as drains on the economy. Unlike Dietrich, Bauer openly suggests that his tendency to stereotype undocumented immigrants results from his political ideology as a Republican:

If I saw two people, identical people, and one is documented and one is not, I think you automatically kind of go– But oh man, and that's the Republican in me, “these people are using up our resources and stuff and not paying into the system.” So as a personal bias, I would be– it doesn't mean I'm going to treat them any differently, it just means deep down I know they're not here legally. It's just the way I grew up – I'm not gonna say I grew up Republican, but some of the way Republicans think is the way I think.

In contrast to Dietrich, Bauer is open about his tendency to stereotype undocumented immigrants and expresses self-awareness regarding the ideological impetus for his attitudes. Bauer seems to lament his tendency to stereotype and later states that he knows his stereotypes do not reflect reality. At first, Bauer explains his view that immigrants are more likely to use social services and less likely to pay taxes, but immediately afterward describes how Anglos are just as likely to do so as

undocumented immigrants, and finally, that the immigrants in his experience are actually more likely to pay their bills:

They're not paying into Medicare, into you know, state income taxes, [or] federal, and again if they are, it's not theirs, it's someone else's. However, if they do not have insurance, they're the first— they'll go to the ER, they'll have, you know, lots of kids that hopefully they pay for, hopefully they're insured, and their insurance will cover it... But if you have someone who is a ghost on paper, using up resources that, you know, you're never going to get back, that's what bothers me. If you check with the hospital, I'm sure they have people of all— low income, middle class — that don't pay their bills, so to them I don't know if they can discern one population from another. But I know, my family, I know we skated on a lot of bills because my dad couldn't afford to pay them, and we're here legally, and so, I think that happens some, but I think if they're undocumented, they do a lot better, they take more pride in paying their bills because they're here for a reason. Our patients, our self-pay patients [which are majority immigrants] are more apt to pay their bills because they have a sense of wanting to do the right thing.

At first, Bauer seems to regurgitate common dominant discourses regarding immigrants in the United States, but each time he does so he seems to catch himself, acknowledging the influence of dominant political ideology on his thinking, and reverses his initial statements. This suggests the strength of ideology in reinforcing the dominant discourse of “immigrants as takers,” or “immigrants as resource drains” in spite of evidence, experience, or personal beliefs to the contrary.

In regards to this study, perhaps the most influential purveyor of anti-undocumented immigrant ideological rhetoric is Steve King (the representative's name; not a pseudonym), who has served as Iowa's 4th District's representative in Congress for the past twelve years. Representative King is on the record as one of the most anti-undocumented immigrant members of Congress, having advocated for electrified border fences, the mass deportation of all 11+ million undocumented immigrants in the United States, and the criminality of DREAMer youth on multiple occasions, comparing them to drug smugglers with “calves the size of cantaloupes” (Lapidos, 2013). According to the Sunlight Foundation's CapitolWords project, which tracks the content and context of

language used in floor speeches by members of Congress, the third most common word used by Representative King over the course of his career is “illegals,” behind “Obamacare” and “ACORN.” King has used the word “illegals” in his floor speeches more than any other member of Congress except Representative Ted Poe (R-TX). Among Representative King’s top ten most-used words are “illegals,” “amnesty,” “border,” and “immigration.” “Iowa” ranks twelfth, just after “Iraq” (Sunlight Foundation, 2013).

Numbers USA, one of three national extremist groups the Southern Poverty Law Center (2009) describes as “at the nexus of the American nativist movement,” has given Representative King an A+ rating for his anti-immigrant voting record and public positions regarding immigrants. Among the measures listed in determining congressional report cards on reducing immigration are: “Challenge Status Quo,” “Reduce Illegal Jobs & Presence,” and “Reduce Anchor Baby Citizenship,” in which Representative King scored A, A+, and A+, respectively (Numbers USA, 2013). Of the 17 individuals interviewed for this study, 16 specifically addressed Representative King’s stances and statements on immigrants and immigration as extreme: “He is probably the worst of the worst when it comes to immigrant rights” (Dolores Nylander); “King is particularly vitriolic” (Aaron Anderson); “In my personal feeling, he assumes anyone of color is not here legally” (Mitch Bauer). Even those interviewed who were less critical of King, such as Dietrich and Babich, still described King’s far-right immigration positions as a reflection of his political posturing. Overall, the majority of interviewees maintained that in contrast to his extremism, Representative King’s hardline stances against immigrants do not represent the views of the majority of his constituency.

Even so, Representative King has been re-elected every two years since he assumed office in 2003, which suggests the power of group identity and commitment discussed by Ocasio and Pozner (2013), and particularly, the impact of denigration of non-group members to galvanize group commitment. Statements by interviewees suggest that even though many 4th District Iowa voters may and likely do support immigrants or immigration reform to varying degrees, group commitment to the Republican party and the power of its associated ideology trumps other ideologies when it comes time to vote. Some of the more dominant discourses of Republican ideology, as described by interviewees, include the right to bear arms, family values, and religious freedom. These discourses crowd out support for other issues. So instead of advocating for issues such as immigration reform or welcoming communities that also align with value sets or goals for many northwest Iowa residents, fear of not being perceived as part of the dominant social group – the Republican Party – silences welcoming voices and efforts and diminishes the power of otherwise bipartisan community actors working to create more cohesive communities.

Individuals' alignment with and deference to the group, including the distinct cultural values embodied in its dominant discourses, is emblematic of group membership. Issues such as immigration, which when discussed in welcoming or pro-immigrant language, are not viewed as in line with the dominant discourses of group membership and are often accordingly rejected. As such, even as group members may have conflicting values, perhaps motivated by respective faith traditions encouraging the welcoming of immigrants, they are still not strong enough motivating factors to inspire constituencies or social movements around immigrant issues that can overcome the

hegemony of anti-immigrant ideology. Further, because pro-immigrant attitudes are seen as contradictory to the dominant ideologies of Republican Party membership in northwest Iowa, supporters of civil society groups in Iowa's 4th Congressional District are often conflicted between public support for immigrants and membership and acceptance in the dominant social group. Fear of not belonging limits engagement and advocacy, even among many that may care about the issue. Aaron Anderson describes this phenomenon in Sterns County, illustrating the motivating influence of fear, founded or unfounded, across community sectors:

Ideology trumps everything: values, faith, etc. You tell people the tenets of the Senate [immigration reform] bill, they support it; but tell them it's the [Democratic] Senate bill, they're against it. You ask if they should require vs. allow immigrants to have work permits: they're for it if it's legalistic and required, they're against it if it's allowed. Churches won't come out because they're afraid of parishioners even though many personally believe the biblical call is clear or if they personally believe reform is necessary. Law enforcement won't publically come out for reform or drivers licenses even if they personally privately support it because they're afraid of voters. In many cases the boogey man is fabricated.

Rick Estevez takes Anderson's assertions a step further, describing not only the power of ideology in influencing groups in spite of other beliefs to the contrary, but how the power and pull of group branding specifically drives support for Representative King and ultimately reinforces anti-immigrant ideology:

Around here it's all about being Republican – that's why I think King gets voted for every year, it's because he's a Republican. Not because of what he does or says, because he's Republican. People here want to be Republican so bad and support Republican causes so bad – I think other issues overpower [immigration] or they're more interesting or more important to people here like abortion or like, religious freedom, or arms freedom; those issues are more important to people in this area I think. So that's why someone who supports all those things, Steve King, gets the support he does. Although he might be anti-immigration – which a lot of people in this area might support – he's pro-life, pro arms, small government, and he's a Republican, so people are going to vote for him. I think that's the issue, people just want to be Republican, and he's a Republican candidate so they vote for him...And I think the fear of just not— the fear is not fitting the mold of being Republican, and I think that's where people start to have fear of like speaking out for immigrants – that's not in the mold for a lot of Republicans, to speak in pro immigrant ways. That's where the fear comes of potentially not looking like a Republican.

So it is not only fear of potential or outright fabricated concerns like crime or economic abuses that support dominant anti-immigrant discourses, it is also fear of not being accepted in the dominant social group or the loss of status as the primary social group. Andrew Dietrich explicitly admits his fear to act in support of many immigrants in Sterns County because of perceived potential community backlash and loss of status within the community:

My fear is – my fear, and it’s probably – whether it’s legitimate, real or not, is that if a large group of mainstay Republican people here in the county started to say “Hey, what’s with [Dietrich]? He’s promoting all this stuff toward, all these areas that the undocumented or in their mind ‘illegal’ aliens should have, jeesh, I’d think he’s doing the job we’ve elected him to do, let’s get somebody to run against him”...If there’s a sleeping lion out there - and there might not even be one – if that might awaken that lion, however that would happen, their loss of respect, there may be letters to the editor: “What’s going on with [Dietrich]? He’s advocating issues for people here illegally.” And there are your officers out in the field and they face someone from the public being angry with them. And again, I don’t know if that would actually happen, it’s kind of like, is that something that I really feel like I should do? You know again, the issue would be being much more public than what I am with the things that I’m doing. Is there a value in that? Or is that something that could be harmful?

Representative King seems to employ the tactic of denigrating non-group members, particularly Latino immigrants, to galvanize support for his position of leadership in the dominant social group. Representative King depends on the protection and replication of dominant discourses to retain his power; per Ocasio and Pozner (2013), Latino immigrants, with different cultural assets, are often portrayed as a threat to the entrenched power of predominantly white, conservative Judeo-Christians in northwest Iowa. In his most recent campaign ad, Representative King discusses a litany of perils facing Americans set to a pictorial montage, including photographs of an apparent immigrant climbing over a border fence, ISIS troops brandishing weapons and black facemasks walking in lockstep, and finally a critically ill Ebola patient in a plastic shell being transported by medical aid workers wearing HAZMAT gear. The text of the ad,

voiced by Representative King, describes generalized threats he associates with insecure borders, in addition to internal threats he says Americans also face:

In Iowa, we tell it like it is. I've been telling Washington over and over, and rather loudly, about threats building outside our country because of ignored border security; and financial threats from within, due to Obamacare and our stifling debt. On the other hand, my opponent is for amnesty, for Obamacare, and for Nancy Pelosi. And that's telling it like it is. I'm Steve King and I approve this message. (King for Congress, 2014)

Fear in general seems to be a primary tactic Representative King employs to incite support for both his candidacy and his party's ideology. The majority of interviewees describe Representative King's scapegoating of immigrants as a means of preserving his dominant group status by winning votes: "He feeds off the Republican status quo and focuses on 'Oh, well how can I paint the worst picture I can [of immigrants] to get these votes and maintain these votes?" (Elizabeth Alvarez); "Steve King only makes those comments [about immigrants] to whip up right wing support" (Patrick Davidovsky).

The propagation of fear of loss of both status and group membership, predicated on the perceived threat of immigrants, not only motivates some voters, it also has the effect of reinforcing anti-immigrant ideologies by crowding out competing discourses. Deborah Dacy describes the power of King's statements and activities in affecting the dominant discourse by isolating and silencing the voices and work of immigrant-welcoming groups: "It's hard when you have someone like Steve King whose horrible statements seem to trump and obliterate anything positive by other people even though those things are happening." Even though grass roots, authentic social movements are active across Iowa's 4th Congressional District, replete with strong bonding and bridging social capital bonds cultivating welcoming communities, they face significant barriers in entrenched, dominant ideology power vacuums that have the proverbial effect of sucking

all the oxygen out of the room. As an anti-immigrant lightning rod, Representative King's negative rhetoric garners media attention but also reinforces dominant ideology of immigrants as threats in the volume and velocity of its public dissemination, in contrast with the less publicized and less polarizing activities of immigrant-welcoming groups. For Dacy and other representatives of civic groups in the study, grass roots, authentic social movements supporting immigrants and immigrant-welcoming communities have difficulty competing with the national rhetoric and persona that Representative King cultivates.

Representative King is but one actor working in Iowa's 4th Congressional District to influence ideology and reinforce entrenched, dominant group power; while there are no organized, authentic social movements working against immigrants or immigrant-welcoming groups in the district, there are other ideological powerbrokers that have made attempts to establish influence and propagate anti-immigrant ideology in northwestern Iowa and across the country. FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, presents as a legitimate national group working for immigration reform legislation that serves the national interest. FAIR and the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS) are the two other national groups the Southern Poverty Law Center describes as at the "nexus of the American nativist movement," along with the previously discussed Numbers USA (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009). In fact, FAIR is an extremist anti-immigrant group working to keep America white, with leadership ties to white supremacist and eugenicist groups (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2013). John Tanton, the founder behind all three national groups, has expressed his goal of limiting immigration to the United States as a primary strategy in his efforts to preserve white hegemony (ibid).

Paul McGinty, head law enforcement official with BCLE1, describes a past attempt by FAIR and other national groups to produce and disseminate anti-immigrant discourse across Iowa, using Centerville as a cudgel:

On a few occasions, usually folks not from around here have tried to stir the winds of hate in our community. Our leaders have stood up and barked out, saying “We support and embrace our community!” Two to three caucuses ago, FAIR, an anti-immigrant group, started running commercials across Iowa and the Midwest, saying “Don’t let your community turn into [Centerville],” showing [footage of] gang members, et cetera. None of footage was shot here. I was so proud – the mayor, county board [of supervisors, and] school supervisor, [held a] press conference and said, “1) This organization is not welcome [in Centerville]; 2) This [commercial] is not accurate; and, 3) We embrace our diversity – it’s not like this.” I’ve been confronted two times by Minutemen organizations trying to engage me in a debate, saying our use of interpreters and multilingual forms is a violation of The Constitution. It’s absolute crap, and an embarrassment to the people who asked me to talk. Groups like that are mostly nationally based instead of some local group.

In opposition to the synthetic social movements described by Woolcock (1998), Szreter (2002) and Putnam (2009), FAIR, Minutemen, and other national groups lack authentic social capital in their work to influence community ideology and civic action, although their use of fear can prove effective. As described by Tolbert, Lowenstein and Donovan (1998), top-down ideology buttressed by significant financial and commercial resources has far-reaching influences. The disingenuous FAIR ad was aired across scores of media markets in a handful of Midwestern states, while the community backlash against the ad and public support of Centerville immigrant populations was at most only nominally publicized in the immediate Centerville region.

Fear of fabricated or potential negative externalities seen to be causally linked to the rise in immigrant populations and fear of diminished status within dominant social groups or fear of diminished power in hierarchical social systems motivates community powerbrokers, particularly officials accountable to constituencies, and non-local, national

groups in their reinforcing, both actively and passively, of dominant, anti-immigrant discourses and ideologies.

Language and Narrative Framing

Evidence of acquiescence to dominant anti-immigrant ideology in participant language was evident even among some representatives of immigrant-welcoming groups, demonstrating the obfuscating influence that ideology has on narrative framing. By accepting the dominant discourse of “immigrants as ‘illegals,’” or describing communities as “welcoming” because there aren’t race wars in the streets, ostensibly neutral community groups such as law enforcement agencies, and even pro-immigrant social and civic groups, accept and effectually legitimize the narrative framing from dominant group ideologies, placing themselves in positions of denouncing fallacies rather than championing their truths to change dominant discourse and positively affect community change. Attempting to transform ideology from such a defensive position – accepting the dominant narrative framing but working to redress it – legitimizes the authority of dominant social groups to define the narrative and set ideology around immigration.

When asked to explain their community’s responses to immigrant groups, a number of interviewees described their communities as welcoming. In particular, those with lower levels of personal bonding social capital with immigrants in their community that have had experiences with immigrants through their profession but acknowledge they do not interact with immigrants socially or have personal friends that are immigrants, were among the more vocal advocates of their communities as welcoming. The rationale given for the designation of communities as welcoming by these

respondents is indicative of language framing influenced by dominant anti-immigrant ideology. Hank Babich, Oneida County Attorney, describes his standard for considering Oneida County a welcoming community:

I believe that it's pretty good because I can't remember a case where Caucasians started a fight with Hispanics or vice versa. When we get an assault case it's either Caucasian folks fighting amongst themselves or Hispanic folks fighting amongst themselves – the fact that we don't have fights based on race or language, to me that's a pretty good indication that people are pretty welcoming.

Instead of “welcoming,” a verb, used in a proactive, intentional way, Babich describes Oneida County as welcoming because of something people are *not* doing: engaging in race or language fights. By setting the standard for welcoming at “no race fights,” Babich reinforces the dominant social group’s power and ideological framing of Iowa being a generally nice place and generally welcoming in two ways. First, by considering Oneida County welcoming because it has not had race fights, Babich provides the means by which to discount legitimate, unwelcoming activities because they may not appear to be as overtly unwelcoming as race fights. If “race fights” and worse indicate an unwelcoming community, and “no race fights” indicate a welcoming community, there is little credence for otherwise unwelcoming actions and behaviors from residents and institutions in Oneida County towards immigrants, such as the lack of any translation services in county offices for the growing non-English speaking population.

If only explicit violence towards immigrants makes communities unwelcoming, the comparatively subtler, implied, or tacit unwelcoming activities across all communities in the study have little legitimacy. As such, a competing ideological framing that questions the welcoming of communities and calls attention to unwelcoming activities is

almost apologetic, placing immigrant-welcoming groups on the defensive and reinforcing power imbalances between dominant and subordinate social groups.

Secondly, as Babich, a person of power and access in Oneida County, espouses such a reductionist standard, he perhaps unknowingly reinforces and legitimizes existing power discrepancies through the proliferation of silencing ideology by which there is little opportunity or authority to question this framing. If the County Attorney says Oneida County is welcoming and defines it as such because there are no race fights, average residents with less voice, power, and authority that contend otherwise face significant power imbalances if they attempt to change this framing.

Andrew Dietrich, senior law enforcement official in Starns County, makes a similar claim to that of Babich, noting that Starns County has accepted Hispanics because there has not been violent criminal action by Anglos against Hispanics. Dietrich adds to the discussion, however, by analyzing racism in the context of Starns County as a welcoming or unwelcoming community:

Some people are racist – most people aren't – but I still think there's a strong sense of racism out there. The elderly in our county, I know listening to oh, like, some of the elderly, including my mother talk, just because they haven't grown up with this kind of diversity, they've lived here all their lives, they're not overly open to that kind of change. In terms of racism there's some out there, probably less than what everybody thinks...I think [Starns County] has accepted the Hispanic population very well. Like I said, that shows in terms of we haven't had a lot of violent criminal actions of Anglo versus Hispanic – we haven't had that...When I meet with immigrant communities [and faith leaders]... I tell them I think there isn't much discrimination and they tell me they feel like there is, not just from law enforcement, but from general Caucasian public. Whether it's real or perceived, I'm not sure. You know sometimes an immigrant might go in the local Wal-Mart and see somebody and um, might see a look on their face and *feel* like "they don't like me because I'm an immigrant race or ethnicity."

It is important to note that these remarks from Babich and Dietrich were given when asked to describe their community's responses to immigrants and whether the communities were welcoming or unwelcoming; a discussion of racism or race violence

was not a part of the protocol. Dietrich begins his response with a discussion of racism in the county. His comments are somewhat contradictory, admitting at one time he believes there to be a “strong sense of racism out there,” and at another that racism is “less serious than everybody thinks.” Nonetheless, he describes racism as an issue in Sterns County. Interestingly, his remarks then evolve into a critique of ‘perceived’ racism by immigrants, and that he is unsure whether their claims are legitimate or not, but that he suspects some feelings of racism could be based on ‘feelings’ or, perhaps misconceptions. This disconnect – the admission of racism followed by a critique of claims of racism – is indicative of the dominant discourse relating to immigrants.

Throughout the interviews, respondents gave examples of other community members’ complaints of “immigrants taking American jobs” or “immigrants as drains on the economy” or “immigrants as criminals,” which the majority of respondents overwhelmingly decried. Many respondents, including those in positions of power, described examples of explicit racism against immigrants in their communities. However, only respondents in positions of political and structural power, such as those representing law enforcement or other state groups, openly questioned claims of racism in their communities. This finding is interesting because the questioning of “legitimate” racism came *after* actual examples of racism are discussed, defined as such by the interviewees themselves.

Dietrich’s simultaneous admission and critique of racist claims seems overwrought, indicative of the influence of dominant ideology regarding immigrant populations on his perception and language. His own experiences and observations belie his ideologically-driven questioning of racism in Sterns County, but a part of the

dominant ideology is rejection if racism is discussed. If immigrants make claims of racism, their motives and perceptions are called into question, *even* as racism is openly admitted to be an issue. As Dietrich comes to the conclusion that complaints of racism against immigrants may be largely predicated on their *feelings*, the power of the dominant ideology on his language and perception is evident – even though he has observed racism in his community, the ideological construct of racism as exaggerated or fabricated holds sway. Dominant ideology says Sterns County can't be racist, or at least it can't be that badly racist even though he discusses his own experiences and observations to the contrary.

Parallel to Babich's commentary, Dietrich's position of power in Sterns County frontloads his influence in reinforcing unwelcoming dominant discourses in relation to immigrants. Like Babich, Dietrich's minimizing language regarding unwelcoming attitudes and behaviors of Sterns County residents leaves little room to legitimize unwelcoming behaviors that do not amount to either violence or some abstract form of indisputable racism. As community powerbrokers, Dietrich and Babich's attitudes and ideological motivations influence the execution of their duties, the tone of their agencies, and the choices they make in exercising their authority. Influenced by commitment to dominant group membership, Dietrich minimizes negative behavior by dominant groups and reinforces existing social power structures when he says: "I think there's a strong sense of racism out there...but some of the elderly, just because they haven't grown up with this kind of diversity...they're not overly open to that kind of change," while amplifying criticism of subordinate groups when he says: "You know sometimes an immigrant might *feel* like 'they don't like me because I'm an immigrant race or

ethnicity’.” Dietrich downplays racist behavior and attitudes as “not being overly open” while questioning the validity of Latino complaints about the very same racist behavior. This minimizing of subordinate groups and defense of dominant groups reflects his commitment to the dominant social group, as described by Lawler and Yoon (1993) and Ocasio and Pozner (2013) has far-reaching implications on the day-to-day experiences of immigrants in Sterns County.

In contrast to those representatives of state sectors with relatively low levels of bonding social capital that considered their communities largely welcoming, the majority of interviewees exhibiting higher levels of bonding social capital described their communities in much more complicated terms. While many interviewees described ties between Anglos and Latinos as improving in their communities, most also described a social silo-ing of Anglos and Latinos, with large divisions between the two groups predicated on stereotypes, language barriers, and cultural differences. Over half of those interviewed described the need for more bridging opportunities between Anglos and Latinos in their communities, and that instead of engaging with each other socially as close friends and neighbors, Anglos and Latinos exist largely apart from each other. This is contradictory to Dietrich, Babich, and a number of other interviewees’ descriptions of their communities as plainly welcoming. Based on interview responses from individuals exhibiting the highest levels of bonding social capital with immigrants in their communities – those with multiple personal relationships with immigrants – it seems that for many communities represented in the study, Latinos and Anglos live largely separate lives in their communities. Dolores Nylander describes the situation in Sterns County:

The majority of [Sterns County] white people don’t interact with Latinos because of the language barrier [and they] don’t go to same places or churches. There is no opportunity to even meet each other. How do you even communicate? It’s almost like we’re living in

the same community side by side but it doesn't go beyond that...I would say 60 percent of white people in [Sterns County] probably don't know a Latino personally and [they have] no interaction other than seeing them at a grocery store or school.

Even community groups with high bonding and bridging social capital that are actively working with immigrant welcoming groups across their community and state face practical and cultural challenges to creating more welcoming communities, as Nylander describes. In addition to these, however, there exists another ideological barrier beyond those already discussed. Even among a number of immigrant allies, anti-immigrant language framing adopted from the dominant discourse of “immigrants as criminals” was utilized in some interviews. A number of interviewees, even those that work with both documented and undocumented immigrants on a regular basis, repeatedly referred to undocumented immigrants as “illegals,” and others lapsed between “illegal immigrants” and “undocumented immigrants.” One representative of the state sector with relatively little professional and virtually zero close personal contact with immigrants exclusively used “illegal aliens.” The majority of interviewees working with immigrant welcoming groups referred to “the undocumented” or “those without papers,” but a few vacillated between “illegals” and “illegal immigrants,” further suggesting the influence of ideology is at least as strong as individual belief and actions. Except for the one state sector representative, all those interviewed that used the “illegal” language framing have close personal and/or family ties with undocumented immigrants, work with or advocate on behalf of immigrants, and express strong support for immigration reform as well as distaste for the vitriol espoused by state and national anti-immigrant ideologues. Nonetheless, they lapse into the language of the dominant discourse when discussing undocumented immigrants. This lapse illustrates the power of ideology in reinforcing dominant discourses and perpetuating accompanying supportive rhetoric.

Even those in the study who ardently oppose the dominant ideology of immigrants as criminals cannot escape its pervasive cultural influence, rooted especially in language.

Conclusion

It appears that the instrumental use of fear as a tactic to reinforce dominant group ideology is often employed by individuals in elected office who may feel beholden to preserving dominant group culture, mores and accompanying ideology in order to protect their position, ensure their re-election, and/or ultimately guard their own power. In reinforcing group ideology, they galvanize their place as leaders within the dominant social group, further strengthening their position by either explicitly or implicitly reinforcing dominant group discourses. In the case of Representative King, whose national spotlight as an anti-undocumented immigrant extremist amplifies the volume and velocity of his rhetoric, he often explicitly uses fear to both motivate continued support for the dominant social group and disempower perceived outside threats, particularly immigrants and immigrant welcoming groups. To varying degrees, other elected officials of lesser authority, and some of those in this study, acquiesce to this anti-immigrant rhetoric and ideology, despite contradictory personal feelings or goals; in order to preserve their own power and positioning, they reinforce the discourse of the dominant social group. Dietrich describes his decision not to publicly support certain interests of the immigrant community in Sterns County, despite his contradictory feelings, because of possible backlash from Representative King supporters:

Our county is filled up with a lot of folks who've lived here all their lives and believe strongly that there should – that they should “just be legal,” and you probably know a lot of Steve King's stances on the issue and a lot of people really support that. So for me to come out and say, “Hold it folks, we need to do something different” – I don't know if that should be my role.

Dietrich is fearful of acting in ways he believes are antithetical to dominant group membership, in that he may upset voters he believes to be motivated in part by Representative King's anti-immigrant ideology. It is important to note, however, that this capitulation is not only limited to elected state officials in the study, but is also exhibited in other individuals in positions of power with constituencies to whom they are accountable: faith leaders. Across the study, interviewees described the relative inaction or outright blocking of immigrant welcoming activities and narratives by many community faith leaders, with some exceptions, because they feared backlash from congregants. Aaron Anderson describes this phenomenon in Sterns County:

Some church leaders/pastors I know who are personally sympathetic have a mixed enough clientele among parishioners where they could get in hot water if they became too vocal... I think that is very unfortunate because from my perspective as a Christian it is all based in the teachings of Matthew 25 – the most meddlesome and neglected chapter in the Bible. The mandate amongst Christians to work for the well-being of our immigrant neighbors is clear as a bell to me.

Ideologues disseminate dominant discourse to preserve power, which influences lesser officials and community leaders to capitulate to the dominant discourses to preserve *their* power, and down the line the pattern continues. These discourses, and corresponding replication of inequalities, are ultimately reproduced both actively, by anti-immigrant behavior that is protected or diminished by dominant social groups and actors, as well as passively, in virtue of the pervasive influence of ideological discourses on many aspects of dominant culture and language. In this way, ideology is incredibly powerful, flowing from the top of societal groups to the bottom, and not, in contrast, from the bottom outward and upward, as is the hallmark pattern of authentic social movements. Ultimately, immigrants and welcoming groups face entrenched, structural

barriers, not dependent on relationships, but rather on the preservation and replication of power and ideas, in their work to create more welcoming communities.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research has explored the statements and activities of various market, state, and civil society groups in Iowa's 4th Congressional District, including the resources and networks mobilized by these groups and the extent to which group actions are motivated by social capital. This research has also described the impact of ideology on social capital formation and operation in these groups and their communities. Key findings from the research have implications on networked groups and genuine social movements working to create welcoming communities in Iowa as well as other regions in the United States with growing immigrant populations.

Groups in the study with higher levels of both social and linking capital exhibit greater success and wider reach in their work to affect community change. The majority of these groups are representative of the civil society sector, however one group, a law enforcement agency, is remarkably well networked with groups from all sectors and exhibits similarly high levels of social capital. A key feature of these groups is their involvement in political advocacy in addition to direct service provision. The more involved groups are with advocacy activities, the higher their levels of political and linking capital and subsequently, the broader their network and the greater their access to and influence with partner groups as well as their respective communities.

Two primary hallmarks of these groups are their involvement with groups from across community sectors and the emphasis they place on relationship cultivation as a primary change strategy. Importantly, although these groups' activities are ongoing and there is no evidence of their ability to completely counteract the ideological barriers they face in cultivating welcoming communities, these groups have successfully created

inroads across the 4th Congressional District and the state, in large part due to their extensively well-networked advocacy and service provision activities. This suggests that the volume and velocity of welcoming activity, when coordinated across communities and predicated on strong bonding and bridging ties, can serve as an effective foil to top-down ideological influences and strongholds. Over time, slowly, and deliberately, these groups have cultivated authentic social movements to create welcoming communities and over time, many of their efforts have met with success. There does not seem to be a substitute for authentic relationship cultivation as a strategy for organizing community change in northwest Iowa, and the groups that employ this strategy most extensively are achieving more of their goals than groups that do not.

Groups in the study with moderate levels of social, linking, or political capital are private representatives of the health care industry with low to moderate political and structural access and little linking capital. Because health care groups work with immigrant populations at higher rates than many other sector groups, diverse social capital assets and linking capital are particularly important. These groups do not exhibit strong linking ties with state agencies or actors, but not for lack of trying; instead, for lack of influence and power. This is a possible point of entry for improved strong bonding relationships between health care administrators and board members and individual state actors that are in potential ally positions.

Groups in the study with lower levels of both social and linking capital are also relatively well resourced with high political capital assets. These groups are state groups representing law enforcement and county attorney agencies that demonstrate discretion and access in their application of the law and sphere of influence, particularly with other

elected and appointed state officials; however, they either do not exhibit strong bonding or bridging social ties with other sector groups, or the ties they do share do not exhibit balanced and high levels of embeddedness and autonomy. None of these groups exhibit strong linking ties with other groups, a possible point of entry for improved and expanded relationships on the part of these groups with other community actors and groups across sectors, particularly as these groups possess the greatest access to political capital. Improved linking ties between these and other state groups and civil society and market groups is strongly recommended.

Overall, there were relatively low levels of linking capital between state groups and actors in the region and civil society and market groups. Those relationships that do exist and are strong have compounding impacts on both parties, improving community relations, reputations, and outcomes for both groups. This presents as a significant opportunity for state groups in the study, to improve these ties and relationships with less empowered civil society and market groups working to create welcoming communities, who in turn have collective constituencies that can lend reciprocal support and partnership. Those state groups in the study that exhibit strong embedded but autonomous relationships with area civil society groups report better relations, mutual respect, and greater community support for their work, while civil society groups' access to power, voice, and influence in the community is also strengthened.

In the realm of ideology, this research suggests that ideology tends to supersede experience when motivated by fear, but only in the absence of strong direct bonding relationships. Many of those in the study that exhibited evidence of ideological influence in their critique of immigrant communities also lacked strong relationships with

immigrants. Despite their experiences that contradict their prescriptive ideological frameworks, the influence of ideology still holds sway. In contrast, for those with numerous and positive bonding relationships with immigrants, experience supersedes ideology; authentic relationships seem to dismantle stereotypes. Multiple interviewees emphasized the same theme – if residents get to know the new people, their perceptions change. Despite the barriers that the majority of interviewees describe in this regard, Paul McGinty believes that change is possible and that relationships and attitudes can improve:

Honestly, in my teen and young adult years I had a different attitude towards diversity than I do now. One has to evolve and mature in their understanding of the richness of diversity...Over the years I've tried to set a good example. People say you can't change people but I am a walking example of a person who has changed and I know you can, and people can know the world is bigger than you.

An additional recommendation for groups working to create more welcoming communities is to focus linking capital cultivation efforts across sectors, to be sure, but particularly on those individual actors in positions of political and structural power that are not elected – that is, not as beholden to constituencies and perhaps less fearful of losing voter support. In this study, state actors in elected positions were less likely to publicly act in welcoming ways towards new immigrants, while state actors in non-elected positions still exercised power and latitude and still possessed access, but were not as beholden to their fears regarding community responses to their potential actions or stances regarding immigrants and had a greater history of public action and support. By cultivating relationships with such actors, civil society groups strengthen and broaden their networks and improve their linking capital, but may also have improved opportunities to secure public allies than with other state actors in elected positions.

For groups working for more welcoming communities, creating more community opportunities for immigrants and Anglos to connect, engage, and cultivate meaningful and authentic relationships seems a formidable yet viable strategy for dismantling the destructive power of dominant discourse ideologies on social capital cultivation. As Anderson repeatedly emphasizes, and Szreter (2002), Putnan (2009) and Woolcock (1998) contend, these relationships are the only constitution of authentic social movements. In the face of inauthentic, top-down ideological power vacuums, it seems in northwest Iowa some of the most effective community responses are those of slow authenticity.

But what are the implications of grass roots, slow relationship cultivation across communities and networks against efficient, a-social and hegemonic ideology? Research is still needed on sustainable social capital cultivation in predominantly rural communities, particularly bridging, bonding, and linking relationships between individuals and groups geographically isolated from one another; as well as the efficacy of community social capital development and authentic social movement strategies in response to ideology.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. General

- What is your title and scope of work?
- Describe your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)'s responses to (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrant populations in your community.
- Describe what, if any, statements, policies, or official views your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) has regarding (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrant populations in your community.
- Describe what, if any, formal or informal partnerships your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) has with other groups in relation to your work regarding (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrants in your community.
- Describe your major fundraising mechanisms: who or what institutions fund your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)?
 - *If applicable*: What institutions fund your immigration-specific work?
- What is/are the most effective thing/s your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) has done in regards to (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrant populations in your community?
- Give examples of ways you/your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) can be more effective in your work regarding (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrant populations in your community.
- What community resources does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) mobilize in your work regarding immigrant populations in your community?
- Do you think your community is aware of your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)'s work regarding immigrant populations?
 - If so, do you have a sense of their perceptions of your work?
- What impacts do foreign-born residents have on your community?
 - *Do they strengthen/improve it?*
 - *Do they threaten/weaken it?*
- If you are familiar with other (agency/faith institution/office/organization)s in your area that are doing similar or opposing work, please list them and describe their work.

2. Built Capital

- To your knowledge, describe the availability of housing for (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrants in your community: is housing available? Is it enough? What kind? Is it affordable?
- To your knowledge, do (both "authorized" and "unauthorized") immigrants in your community face challenges in securing housing? If so, please describe.
- Is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) involved in this issue in your community? If so, please describe.
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

3. Financial Capital

- To your knowledge, describe the availability of financial resources (such as access to credit, access to bank loans, financial education opportunities, small business loans, etc.) available to (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigrants in your community.
- To your knowledge, describe (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigrant activity in the larger business community in your area.
 - Describe immigrant participation in Chamber of Commerce
 - Describe immigrant-owned businesses
- Is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) involved in this issue in your community? If so, please describe.
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

4. Political Capital

- To your knowledge, describe any legislation, statutes, or ordinances in your community that specifically affect (positively or negatively) immigrants in your community.
 - *Or at the state or federal-level?*
- Are your elected officials’ actions, voting records, and statements regarding (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigrants in your community beneficial or unbeneficial? Why or why not?
 - *Including city council, county commissioners, school board, city manager, mayor, state representatives, congressional representative, Senators, etc.*
- To what extent are (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigrants in your community active in the political sector?
- Does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) engage elected officials on this issue? Describe any activity.
 - *Face-to-face meetings, rallies, petitions, letters to the editor, bill sponsoring, etc.*
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

5. Social Capital

- Does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) engage the larger community on the issue of immigration by facilitating/sponsoring social events? If so, describe.
 - *Neighborhood events, community picnics/potlucks, etc.*
- Does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) attempt to build relationships with (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigration in your community? Why or why not? If so, describe.
- Are community ties (relationships, networks, connections) between immigrants and the rest of your community strong, weak, neutral or something else? Why?
- Describe your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)’s involvement with social media and the extent to which you view your activity as effective.
- Is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) otherwise involved in this issue in your community? If so, please describe.

- Other comments? Anything else of note?

6. Human Capital

- Does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) provide learning or training opportunities for the larger community on the issue of (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigration in your community? If so, describe.
 - *Pro-or-anti immigrant, ally-or-anti education and resources; Know your rights seminars, ESL classes, citizenship classes, DACA support services, immigrant legal services, etc.*
- To what extent is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) effective in resourcing/educating the larger community on the issues your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) sees regarding immigration?
- To what extent do (both “authorized” and “unauthorized”) immigrants in your community have access to professional and/or personal improvement opportunities?
- Is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) otherwise involved in this issue in your community? If so, please describe.
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

7. Cultural Capital

- Does your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) engage the larger community on the issue of immigration by facilitating/sponsoring cultural events? If so, describe.
 - *Parades, festivals, Our Lady of Guadalupe celebrations, Las Mananitas, etc.*
- If applicable, describe your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)’s bilingual materials and services.
- If applicable, describe your (agency/faith institution/office/organization)’s multi-cultural or diversity-related activities and efforts.
- In your opinion, to what extent are immigrants treated and received like other community members?
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

8. Natural Capital

- To your knowledge, to what extent do immigrants in your community have access to and utilize public spaces?
 - *Parks, waterfronts, trails, lakes/streams, etc.*
- To your knowledge, to what extent do immigrants in your community participate in Natural capital community groups and activities?
 - *Natural resource boards, hunting/fishing organizations; immigrant access to hunting/fishing licensure.*
- Is your (agency/faith institution/office/organization) otherwise involved in this issue in your community? If so, please describe.
- Other comments? Anything else of note?

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