May 2024

FRAYING CONNECTIONS

EXPLORING SOCIAL CAPITAL AND ITS SOCIETAL IMPLICATIONS

Miranda Spindt
Will Flanders, PHD.

WISCONSIN INSTITUTE
FOR LAW & LIBERTY

Executive Summary

In this introductory paper we draw upon the literature from subject experts to understand what social capital is, how it has declined over time and why it is important to rebuild. Social capital can be understood as the relationships we have with our families, communities, and institutions. There are also many ways to measure the prevalence of social capital. We examine some of these measures including clustering, volunteer rates, economic connectedness. This lays the foundation for the two following papers that discuss the greater role that technology and the internet has played in declining social capital, and solutions that can be implemented by governments, organizations and individuals.

- The Surgeon General declared loneliness an epidemic in the United States in 2023. Loneliness has been found to lead to higher risks of dementia, heart disease and stroke. It was exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Depressive feelings were reported six times more in the first six months of the pandemic than in 2019.
- Loneliness and social isolation have been linked with increases in negative and violent behaviors. Studies have shown that social isolation is the leading factor in those who commit mass shootings.
- The traditional family structure has been changing over time. Out-of-wedlock births have increased as the number of adults entering marriages has decreased. Having a strong bond with our family serves as a foundation for how we build relationships with others.
- Low-income children who are exposed to high-income families have higher incomes in adulthood as they have relationships with people that may impact their career choices or provide them with more career and educational opportunities.

What is Social Capital?

Many anecdotes and data points suggest that we are losing a shared American culture in the United States today. According to Pew Research Center, 79% of Americans believe that we have too little trust in each other.[i] These trends are not new—indeed, concern about such issues has been a hallmark of conservative discussion for decades. However, there is a feeling that the disintegration of society has only accelerated in recent years.

This lack of social connectedness has led to what has been called an "epidemic of loneliness." While we may have more connections virtually than at any point in history, Americans report having fewer friends than we have in the past, as recently as compared with 1990.[ii]

One potential paradigm for understanding this daunting problem is found in the theory of social capital. Though the concept of social capital has many definitions, for this work we define it as the collection of interpersonal relationships that unite a heterogeneous society toward shared goals.

American history has had a pioneering appreciation for the heterogeneous component of that definition. James Madison, for example, argued in Federalist Paper #10 that the many factions in a pluralistic society—though in competition with each other—would in the end work towards the preservation of a republican government across the vast American territory. It was further highlighted by the visiting French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville, who noted on his tour of the United States that, "In no country in the world has greater advantage been derived from association".

Social capital can be measured by how much time we spend with friends and family, involvement in community organizations, levels of trust for our neighbors or governments, and much more. It is important to note that the causes and effects of social capital can differ across communities and the different components can compete against one another. For example, there are multiple reasons that someone may not trust their local government, and spending more time with your family can take away from time spent with friends. Despite the seemingly complicated nature of this concept, it is quite intuitive. The less time we spend with others and in our community—regardless of how that looks—the more socially isolated we are.

Robert Putnam's Research

In more modern times, social capital was brought to the public consciousness by Harvard sociologist Robert Putnam in his 2000 book, Bowling Alone. Putnam argued that the loss of shared institutions that cross class, political, and racial lines has worked to tear at the fabric of the American republic. Unfortunately, it appears that we are forgetting the importance of cultivating relationships that can connect us across our different ethnicities, religions, socio-economic statuses, and ideological beliefs which ultimately benefits us all individually and societally. Putnam studied social and relational trends since 1950 and below are just a few presented in the book:

- Between 1973 and 1994 the number of Americans who attended even one public meeting on town or school affairs in the previous year decreased by 40 percent.
- Membership of national professional associations fell significantly. In one example, Putnam states, "While the number of registered nurses in America doubled from 1 million in 1977 to 2 million in 1998, membership in the American Nurses Association (ANA) fell from 190,000 to 175,000, so that the ANA's 'market share' was cut exactly in half from 18 percent of all RNs in 1977 to 9 percent in 1998" (Putnam, pg. 88). Today ANA membership is back up to 196,000, but this is less than 2% of the 5.2 million registered nurses.[iii]
- The average number of times that families entertained guests in their homes fell from fourteen to eight between 1975 and 1999.
- The percentage of adults who agree that "most people can be trusted" fell from 55% in 1960 to 35% in 1999. Today, that is just 22%.[iv]

What these statistics illustrate is the decline of community involvement, which is how we meet and build relationships with other people. Having connections with others is a basic human need that is severely lacking today, and it is taking a toll on us personally and societally.

Charles Murray's Research

The notion that declining social capital is a problem is one that crosses lines of ideology. In 2012, Dr. Charles Murray of the American Enterprise Institute released Coming Apart—a book focused on the changes in culture across economic lines that have occurred since the 1960s. Focusing primarily on white Americans, Murray has been hailed by many for being one of the few scholars to understand the growing hopelessness felt by many in the new lower class, and to presage the rise of Donald Trump.[v]

While the term 'social capital' isn't used often in the book, the problems identified are very similar: he argues that American society in the last fifty years has become far more

stratified along lines of intelligence and experiences. To demonstrate this, he offers a series of questions in his book which the reader can calculate a score based on their answers.[vi] A few of these questions include:

- What does the word Branson mean to you?
- Since leaving school, have you ever worn a uniform?
- Have you ever held a job that caused something to hurt at the end of the day?

The scores then suggest which socio-economic archetype the reader belongs to and brings awareness to the upper-middle class bubble that has little understanding of the average American life.

The opportunities to enter the middle- and upper- class that were available to previous generations without college and advanced degrees have largely been eliminated. Consequently, there is far less opportunity for those without a strong educational background to interact and foster cross-class relationships, and thus to move up the ladder themselves. This has left those in the lower classes feeling increasingly alienated. To quote Murray:

> "It is not a problem if truck drivers cannot empathize with the priorities of Yale professors. It is a problem if Yale professors, or producers of network news programs, or CEOs of great corporations, or presidential advisers cannot empathize with the priorities of truck drivers."

It is along these lines that America is coming apart according to Murray. Not along lines of race or religion, but along lines of class. The increasing disaffection of lower-class whites has at least partially contributed to the resurgence of populism within American politics. This shows some of the consequences we face when there are fewer opportunities to connect across class due to declining social capital.

Social Capital Today

While Robert Putnam's work in Bowling Alone studied the changes of social capital throughout the second half of the 20th century, similar time-series data collection into the 21st century is difficult to find. This makes it very hard to measure the extent to which social capital has continued to decline over the last two decades. However, we can take his valuable insight and apply this to the data we have available today.

The Joint Economic Committee began researching the associational life of Americans in 2017 and released the Social Capital Project. The measures of social capital they used are

very similar to what Putnam used in his research. They collected data on 26 variables that they sorted into seven subindices which are broken down below.[vii]

- **Family Unity**- Percentage of births to unmarried women, women currently married, and children with a single parent.
- **Family interaction**- Percentage of children who are read to every day in the past week, children who watched four or more hours of television in the past week, and children who spent four or more hours on an electronic device in the past week.
- **Social Support**- Percentage of people who get emotional support sometimes, rarely or never, neighbors who do favors at least once a month, people who their most or all their neighbors, and the average number of close friends.
- **Community Health**- Percentage of people who attended a meeting which discussed politics in the last year, participated in a demonstration, volunteered for a group, attended a public meeting, worked with neighbors to fix something, served on a committee or as a group officer, and the number of organizations per 1,000 people,
- **Institutional Health**- Percentage of people with some or great confidence in corporations to do the right thing, some or great confidence in media, some or great confidence in public schools, the census response rate and voting rate in presidential elections.
- **Collective Efficacy**- The rate of violent crimes per 100,000 people.
- **Philanthropic Health**- The percentage of people who made a charitable con

Figure 1 is a snapshot of the Joint Economic Committee data. Each county has an overall social capital score based on their measurements which are color-coded based on the percentile they are in. Dark blue means that it is in the bottom 20% and yellow means that it is in the top 20%. Additionally, Table 1 below compares the rankings for overall social capital index scores and subindex scores of Midwestern states. Nationally, Wisconsin ranks third overall for social capital strength. While some data are missing for Northern counties, every county ranks in the top 20% or 40% except for Milwaukee County which is in the bottom 20%.

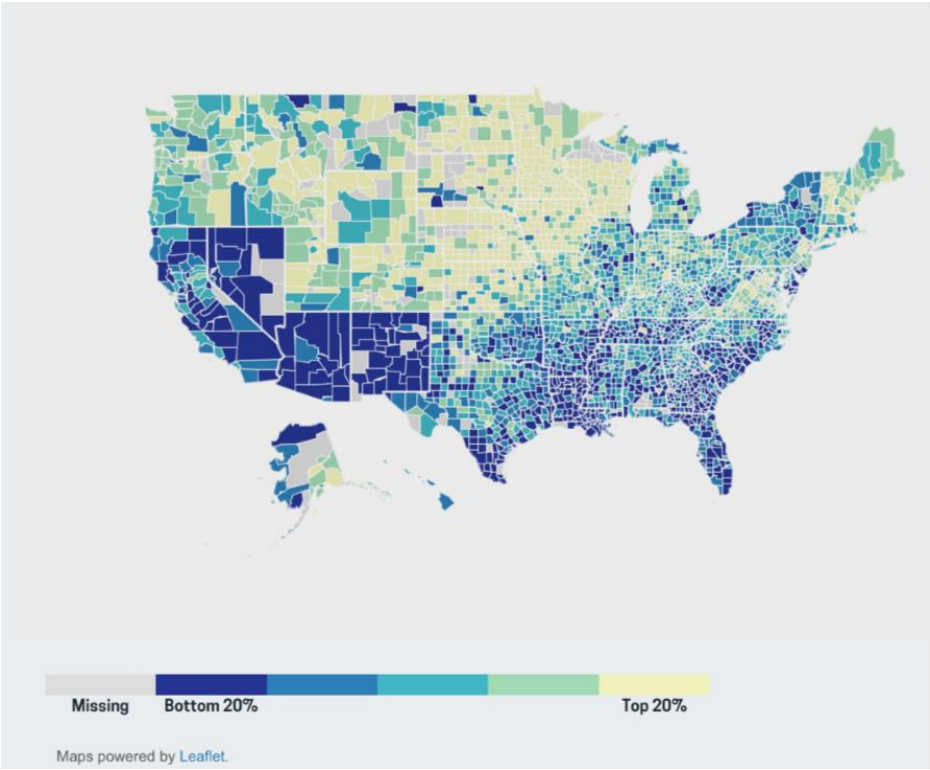

Figure 1: Joint Economic Committee Social Capital Index

State	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Iowa	Indiana	Michigan	Illinois	Ohio
Overall State Ranking	2	3	9	23	27	28	29
Total Index Score	1.81	1.61	1.07	0.14	-0.14	-0.22	-0.26
Family Unity Subindex	5	16	10	29	34	25	39
Family Interaction Subindex	10	9	14	21	35	27	37
Social Support Subindex	2	3	7	21	27	25	23
Community Health Subindex	11	7	13	25	27	34	31

Institutional Health Subindex	1	2	3	14	9	38	31
Collective Efficacy Subindex	10	21	16	29	38	30	19
Philanthropic Health Subindex	2	3	15	26	32	27	33

Table 1: Midwestern states overall and sub-index rankings from the Social Capital Project

Wisconsin does very well overall and ranks high on many of the subindexes as a state. However, taking a closer look at the county level data reveals areas for improvement. There is county level data for four subindices—Institutional Health, Community Health Subindex, Family Unity Subindex and Collective Efficacy Subindex.

For the Institutional Health Subindex all Wisconsin Counties fall within the top 20% of counties nationwide. Looking at the Community Health Subindex, Wisconsin has nine counties that fall in the middle 20% nationally. Thesehave fewer religious congregations and non-religious non-profit organizations compared to other Wisconsin counties. These counties are depicted in blue in Figure 2.

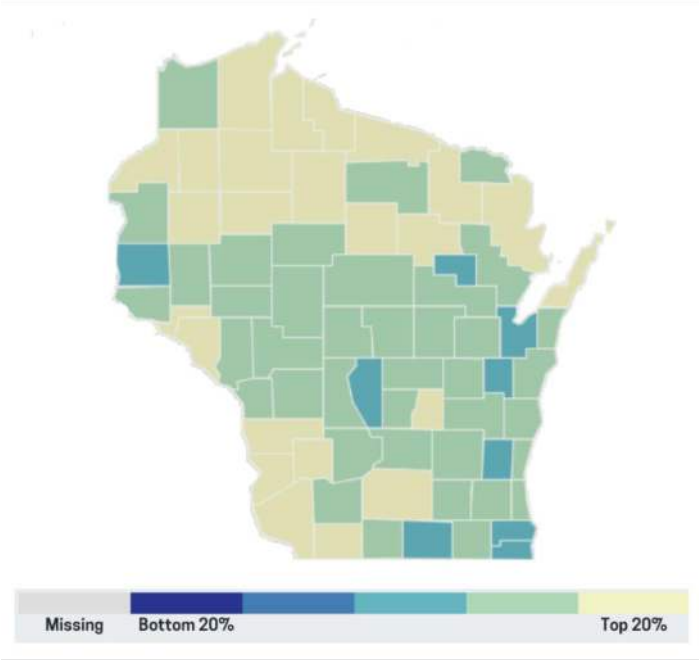

Figure 2: Community Health Subindex Snapshot of Wisconsin

But when looking at the other two subindices, there is greater variation in how Wisconsin counties rank nationally. For example, Sawyer, Forest, Menominee and Milwaukee Counties are in the bottom 20% of the Family Unity Subindex, shown in Figure 3, with particularly high rates of children born out of wedlock and with single parents. Another 23 counties fell between the middle 20% or bottom 40%. For Collective Efficacy, the number of violent crimes per 100,000, Milwaukee County is in the bottom 20% and Brown, Ashland and Iron County are in the bottom 40%. An additional 16 counties are in the middle 20%. This is shown in Figure 4.

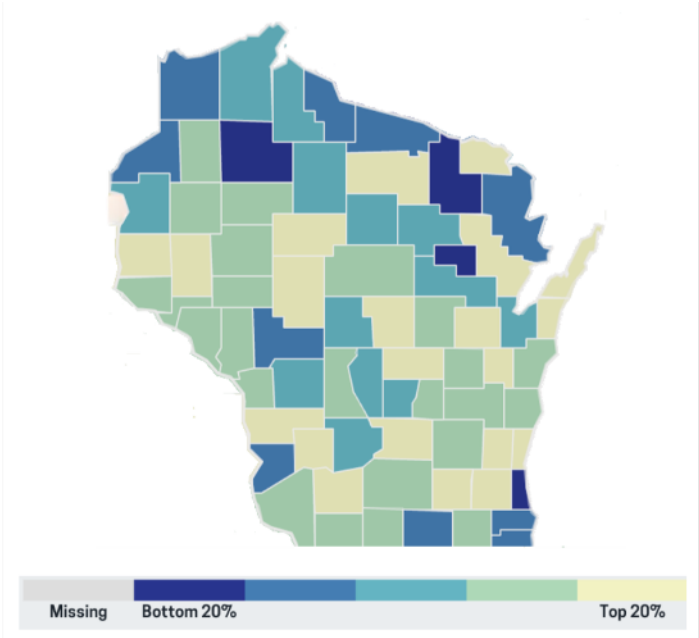

Figure 3: Family Unity Subindex Snapshot of Wisconsin

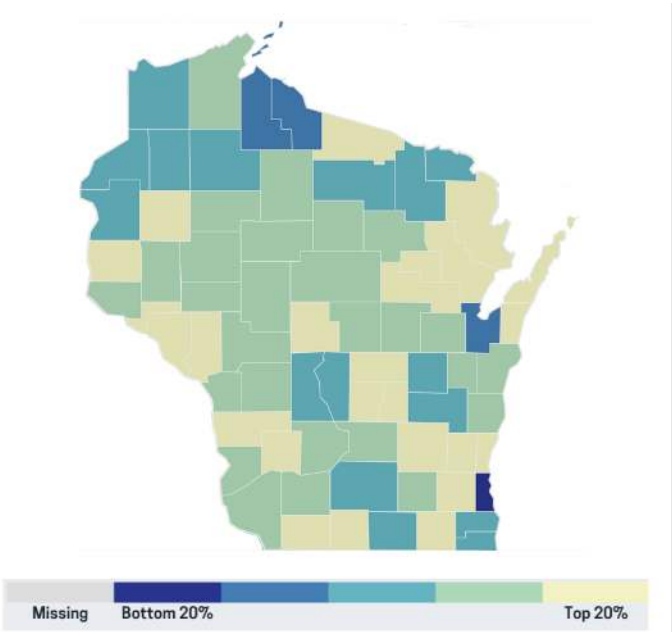

Figure 4: Collective Efficacy Subindex Snapshot of Wisconsin

The Social Capital Atlas

The Social Capital Atlas developed by Raj Chetty et al with Opportunity Insights, gives a different perspective on the measurements of social capital. It uses data from Facebook to look at cohesiveness (the degree to which friend groups are closed or open) and economic connectedness (the degree to which low- and high-income people are friends with each other).[viii] The first form of social capital here captures more insular relationships—those that are unlikely to cross lines of class or ideology. These are the sort of relationships that can be especially helpful when a person needs immediate help—a bit of cash to make the rent or an emergency babysitter. The latter captures connections that do cross those lines. These are the sort of relationships that are especially helpful for social mobility—offering a better life for the next generation or getting better job opportunities.

Figure 5 is a snapshot of the Social Capital Atlas measuring economic connectedness, which is the share of friends that are high-income had by low-income individuals. The scale ranges from 17.8% to 64.6%, represented as red to blue. The more red there is on the map, the less economic connectedness there is. Wisconsin counties on this map are all on the higher end of the scale except Milwaukee and Menominee Counties. It is worth noting that the Social Capital Atlas and Social Capital Project heat maps look very similar. Although these two sources use different measurements for social capital, this suggests that there is a relationship between economic connectedness and the many other social capital measurements.

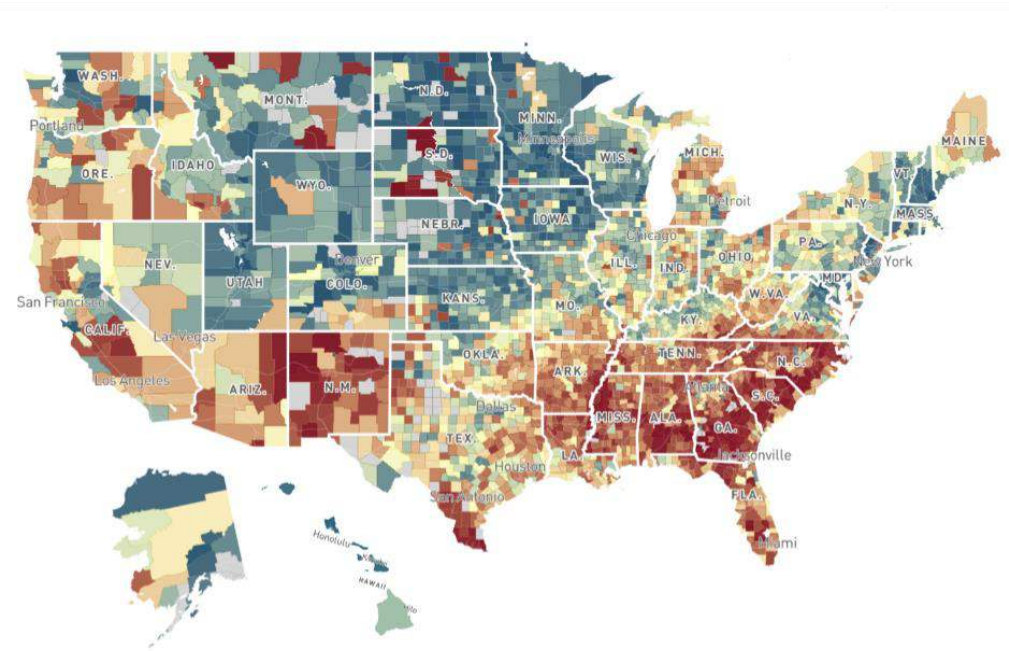

Figure 5: Economic Connectedness Map from Social Capital Atlas

The Current State of Loneliness

In May of 2023, the Surgeon General declared loneliness an epidemic in the United States.[ix] A report from the Surgeon General highlighted that the rate of loneliness among young adults has increased every year between 1976 and 2019,[x] and 79% of young adults aged 18 to 24 report being lonely compared to 41% of adults older than 66 years old.[xi]

The report hammers the point that our increased loneliness is largely due to our lack of social connection in almost all aspects of our lives. The percentage of Americans living alone has tripled in the last eighty years. In 1940, 8% of households were of just one person. In 2022, the number is 29%.[xii] We spent five fewer hours engaging with family in our household per month in 2020 as we did in 2003 on average. We also spend 20 fewer hours a month with friends and ten fewer hours engaging with others besides friends and family, all adding up to 24 more hours in isolation.[xiii]

Loneliness can have very negative impacts on both mental and physical health. Loneliness and social isolation are associated with higher rates of depression, anxiety, and suicide,[xiv] and can be as bad for your health as being obese or smoking 15 cigarettes a day.[xv] It has been found that these are also associated with:

- A 50% increased risk of dementia,[xvi]
- A 29% increased risk of heart disease,[xvii] and
- A 32% increased risk of stroke.[xviii]

Loneliness and the Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic presented unprecedented challenges to our society. As governments implemented measures such as lockdowns, social distancing, and travel restrictions to curb the spread of the virus, individuals were forced to adapt to a new way of life characterized by physical isolation. These changes had far-reaching consequences for social capital. People were physically separated from friends, extended family, and colleagues, which hindered the formation of new relationships and weakened existing ones.

Many people were cut off from their usual social support networks. The pandemic resulted in job loss, reduced work hours, and financial instability for many individuals and families. Fear of contracting the virus was widespread. Students faced disruptions in their education, which added stress for both students and their families as the daily routines and plans were disrupted, creating a sense of uncertainty and loss of control. Not to mention the intense politization of the pandemic and racial issues that reached a height of polarization. All of these things lead to higher instances of depression, anxiety, and even drug addiction:

- In the first nine months of the pandemic, Americans reported rates of depression and anxiety that was six times higher than in 2019.[xix]
- Rates of anxiety and depression for teenagers were 65% and 61% respectively, compared to 50% and 44% for adults.[xx]
- In the fall of 2022, parents with teens reported that their biggest parental concern is their children's struggle with mental health.[xxi]

Isolation and Violence

While more research on the topic must be done, it is worth mentioning the association between social isolation and violent behavior. There have been studies that demonstrate that individuals who experience social isolation are at a heightened risk of engaging in violent behavior. For example, a study of 177 mass shootings found social isolation to be a main external factor leading up to the attacks.[xxii] Another study found a positive correlation between loneliness and aggressive and hostile attitudes.[xxiii]

Social isolation can mean staying at home for long periods of time, having little to no contact with friends or family, and no access to community involvement.[xxiv] Social isolation can lead to feelings of loneliness, alienation, and a lack of emotional support, which can increase stress and frustration. These negative emotions may, in turn, manifest as aggressive or violent outbursts as individuals struggle to cope with their distress. Moreover, social isolation can limit the development of crucial social skills and empathy,

making it more challenging for individuals to resolve conflicts non-violently and engage in pro-social behavior.

Additionally, the lack of social bonds and a support system can create a sense of hopelessness and detachment from societal norms, making individuals less likely to adhere to social codes and norms that discourage violent behavior. In extreme cases, individuals experiencing profound social isolation may turn to violence as a means of asserting power, gaining a sense of control, or seeking retribution against a society they perceive as having abandoned them. Overall, the association between social isolation and violent behavior underscores the importance of addressing social connectedness, mental health support, and community-building efforts to reduce the incidence of violence in society.

The Role of Family Structure

Often left out of conversations about declining social capital is the role of the family. In academic circles, the consideration of changing family dynamics in the United States is something of a taboo subject. After all, highlighting the role that family stability can play in improved societal outcomes could suggest that non-traditional family structures are "bad." But the evidence is strong that traditional family structures can work to reduce antisocial behavior. Familial relationships are the most direct form of bonding social capital. The cohesiveness of family units likely imparts similar—and likely more—benefit than other bonding connections.

One meta-analysis in 2013 looked at the body of work on the relationship between absent fathers and the life outcomes of kids.[xxv] The analysis identified a number of negative outcomes that would be likely to decrease the social capital of the next generation. These include an increase in externalizing behaviors like physical aggression and rule breaking, as well as increases in risky behaviors like drug use during the teen years. It also found a negative impact on graduation rates, levels of employment, and mental health in adulthood.

Wisconsin has generally followed national trends in terms of marriage and divorce. The figure below depicts marriage and divorce rates in the state dating back to 1920 using data adapted from the Department of Health Services.[xxvi] Divorce rates have trended down slightly from a high point in the early 1980s. However, importantly, this has been accompanied by a more dramatic decline in marriages. Today, 25% of adults reach 40 years old without ever marrying. By comparison, it was just 6% in 1980.[xxvii]

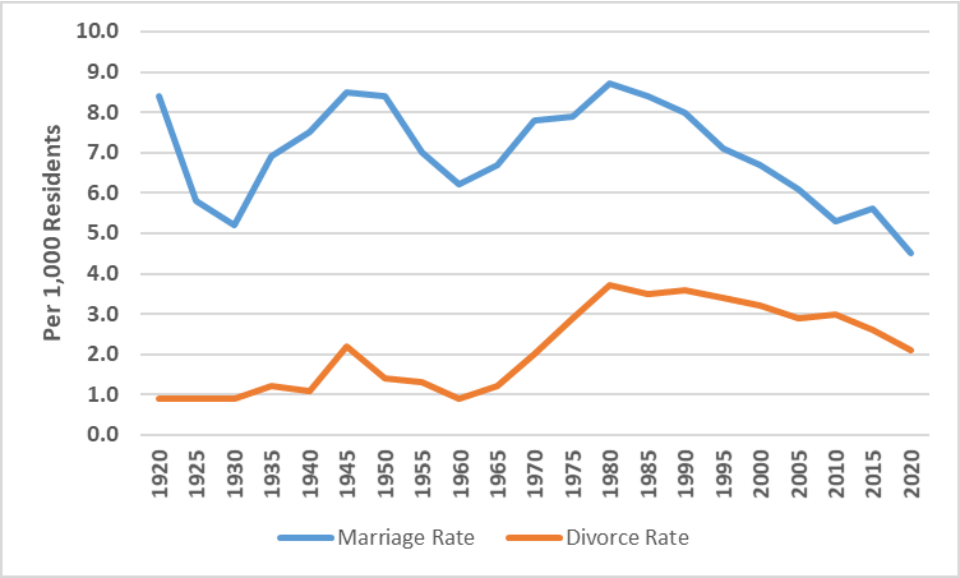

Figure 6: Marriage and Divorce Rates since 1920-Wisconsin

It appears that Americans are becoming more selective about entering a marriage or declining to marry altogether. This in turn decreases the likelihood that those who do marry will divorce.

This trend of declining marriages has led to more children being born out of wedlock in Wisconsin. Figure 7 shows the percentage of children born to single mothers dating back to 1990. The percentage of babies born to single mothers in 1990 was about 24.3%. In 2020, this increased to about 37.4%—a 13 percentage point increase.

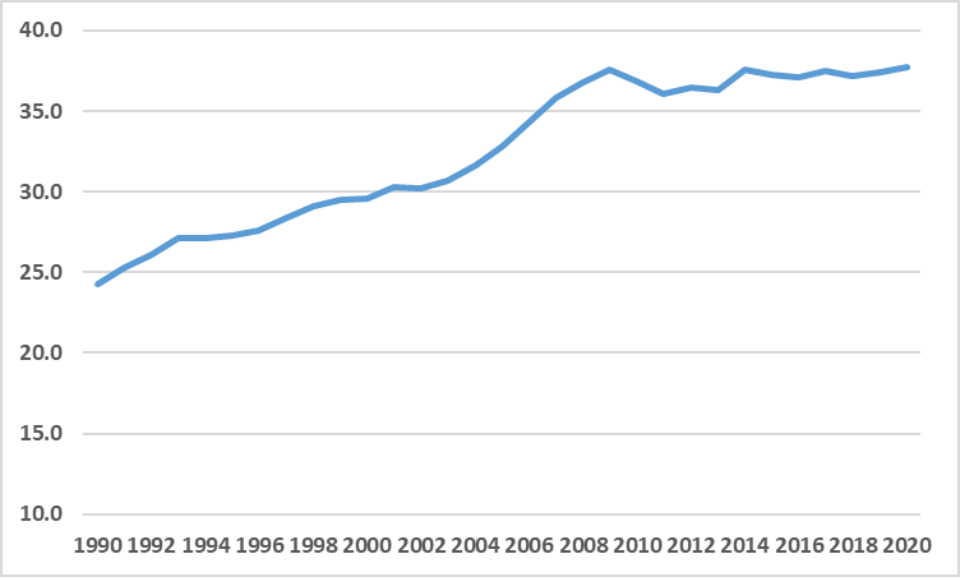

Figure 7: Out of Wedlock Birth Rate in Wisconsin from 1990 to 2023

The increase in out-of-wedlock births is obviously different across the state. According to the most recent data available from the Wisconsin Department of Health Services,[xxviii] the percentage of births to single mothers ranges from 15.19% in Ozaukee County to 69.5% in Menominee County. The Figure maps the percentage of out-of-wedlock births across Wisconsin. While urban areas like Milwaukee are quite near the top, some might be surprised to learn that several rural counties also have extremely high percentages.

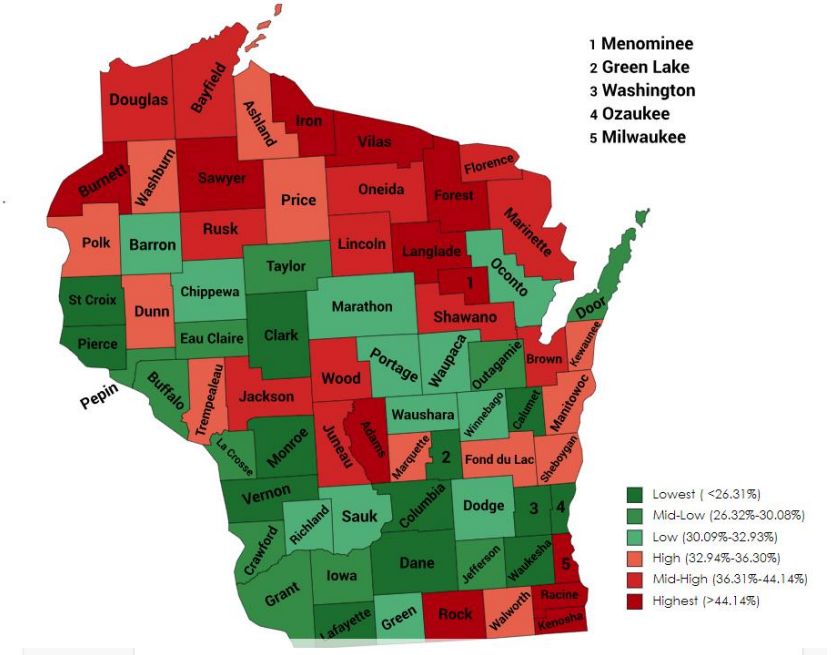

Figure 8: Out-of-Wedlock Births by County

Social Capital and Economic Mobility

Not only can rebuilding social capital improve the issues we face today with mental health and violence, but we can expect to see economic benefits as well. The Social Capital Atlas, one of our data sources mentioned earlier, is part of the research led by Raj Chetty on the importance of economic connectedness. His research shows that there is greater potential for upward economic mobility when communities are better connected across socio-economic lines.[xxix] This is a very similar point to what Charles Murray discussed in his book. Low-income individuals have fewer opportunities to engage in and build relationships across different social classes, ultimately impeding their upward mobility and creating resentment.

Economic connectedness is measured by the share of friends, who are high-income earners, that a low-income individual has. They found that social networks are heavily separated by income, meaning that we tend to befriend others who are economically like us. Among those in the bottom 10% of income earners, only 2% of their friends belong to the top 10% of earners. In areas where there are higher rates of poverty and income inequality, the rates of upward economic mobility are much lower. This segregation is due to the amount of exposure and friendship bias there is among different classes. For example, you may go to a school district where most people are like you so you would not be exposed to people in other income levels. Then, even if multiple income groups did have exposure to each other, they would be most likely to form relationships among themselves rather than mixing.

However, when there is better economic connectedness there is greater economic mobility. Chetty's research found that low-income children who grew up in a more economically connected county had 20% higher incomes on average in adulthood. Being surrounded by, and having relationships with, others who have high incomes can shape career goals, make educational resources more accessible, and open more opportunities for jobs and internships. Increasing social capital in this sense provides a greater chance for people to rise out of poverty.

Conclusion

Loneliness and isolation are a growing epidemic as our relationships have been deteriorating in almost every aspect of our lives, known as our social capital. We can see how this decline in social capital causes severe ramifications for society from increasing mental health struggles, rising crime rates, and stagnant economic mobility.

But why are we becoming more isolated? In the following paper, we will discuss how the rise of technology in the 20th century is considered the main cause for our dwindling social capital. We expand on this research to talk about how social media in the 21st century has sped up our continued isolation. Finally, we touch on polarization in our country today and how it can be worsened by social media. As we navigate an ever-evolving world marked by technological advances, it becomes more crucial than ever to prioritize human connection.

Endnotes

[i] Pew Research Center. (2019, July 22). The state of personal trust. https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/07/22/the-state-of-personal-trust/
[ii] Smithsonian Magazine. (n.d.). An Epidemic of Loneliness Threatens Health of Americans, Surgeon General Says. Retrieved from https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/an-epidemic-of-loneliness-threatenes-health-of-americans-surgeon-general-says-180982142/
[iii] American Association of Colleges of Nursing. (n.d.). Nursing Workforce Fact Sheet. Retrieved from https://www.aacnnursing.org/news-data/fact-sheets/nursing-workforce-fact-sheet#:~:text=Nursing%20is%20the%20nation's%20largest,89%25%20are%20employed%20in%20nursing.&text=The%20median%20age%20of%20RNs,over%20the%20next%20five%20years.
[iv] Pew Research Center. (2019, July 22). The state of personal trust. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2019/07/22/the-state-of-personal-trust/
[v] American Enterprise Institute. (2016, July 1). Coming apart: Election Q&A with Charles Murray. Retrieved from https://www.aei.org/economics/coming-apart-election-qa-with-charles-murray/
[vi] American Enterprise Institute. (n.d.). Murray Bubble Quiz. Retrieved from https://www.aei.org/murray-bubble-quiz/
[vii] Joint Economic Committee, United States Senate. (n.d.). Social Capital Project. Retrieved from https://www.jec.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/republicans/socialcapitalproject
[viii] Social Capital Project. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://www.socialcapital.org/?dimension=EconomicConnectednessIndividual&geoLevel=county&selectedId=&dim1=EconomicConnectednessIndividual&dim2=CohesivenessClustering&dim3=CivicEngagementVolunteeringRates&bigModalSection=&bigModalChart=scatterplot&showOutliers=false&colorBy=
[ix] https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-social-connection-advisory.pdf
[x] https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/34898234/
[xi] https://newsroom.thecignagroup.com/loneliness-epidemic-persists-post-pandemic-look
[xii] https://thehill.com/policy/healthcare/4085828-a-record-share-of-americans-are-living-alone/#:~:text=The%20U.S.%20Census%20shows%20that,estimated%2029%20percent%2C%20by%202022.
[xiii] U.S. Department of Health & Human Services. (n.d.). Social Connection: Trends in U.S. Adults. Retrieved from https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/sg-social-connection-graphic-trends.pdf
[xiv] Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.). Loneliness and Social Isolation Linked to Serious Health Conditions. Retrieved from https://www.cdc.gov/aging/publications/features/lonely-older-adults.html#:~:text=Recent%20studies%20found%20that%3A,%2C%20obesity%2C%20and%20p32hysical%20inactivity.&text=1-,Social%20isolation%20was%20associated%20with,50%25%20increased%20risk%20of%20dementia.
[xv] American Psychiatric Association. (2023, February 15). Loneliness and Social Isolation. Retrieved from https://www.psychiatry.org/news-room/apa-blogs/loneliness-and-social-isolation
[xvi] Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (n.d.). Loneliness and Social Isolation Linked to Serious Health Conditions. Retrieved from https://www.cdc.gov/aging/publications/features/lonely-older-adults.html#:~:text=Recent%20studies%20found%20that%3A,%2C%20obesity%2C%20and%20physical%20inactivity.&text=1-,Social%20isolation%20was%20associated%20with,50%25%20increased%20risk%20of%20dementia.
[xvii] ibid.
[xviii] National Center for Biotechnology Information. (2016, July 1). Social isolation, loneliness and health in old age: a scoping review. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4941172/
[xix] Boston College. (2024, April 19). Anxiety and Stress Spike During Pandemic. Retrieved from https://www.bc.edu/bc-web/bcnews/campus-community/faculty/anxiety-and-stress-spike-during-pandemic.html
[xx] ibid.

[xxi] Pew Research Center. (2023, March 2). Mental health and the pandemic: What U.S. surveys have found. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/03/02/mental-health-and-the-pandemic-what-u-s-surveys-have-found/
[xxii] PubMed. (2005, June). Social networks and health: It's time for an intervention trial. Retrieved from https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/15851509/
[xxiii] Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1985). The effects of mass media exposure on acceptance of violence against women: A field experiment. Journal of Research in Personality, 19(3), 296–309. Retrieved from https://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/comm/malamuth/pdf/85jspr2.pdf
[xxiv] National Center for Biotechnology Information. (n.d.). Social Isolation: Definition. In Epidemiology and Prevention of Vaccine-Preventable Diseases (The Pink Book) (13th ed.). Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK235604/#:~:text=area%20of%20interest.-,DEFINITION,large%E2%80%9D%20on%20a%20broader%20level.
[xxv] National Center for Biotechnology Information. (2014, July 1). Social isolation, loneliness and health in old age: A scoping review. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3904543/?fbclid=IwAR0pbDICVddw5QwFH-yIYEfsXPHhRLJbAdvhE-e6mySIaRUYEDXsh55XhfQ
[xxvi] Wisconsin Department of Health Services. (n.d.). Marriage Statistics. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.wisconsin.gov/stats/marriages.htm
[xxvii] KCRA 3. (2023, July 1). Record number: 40% of Americans 19 to 40 have never married. Retrieved from https://www.kcra.com/article/record-number-40-year-olds-in-us-never-married/44405177
[xxviii] Wisconsin Department of Health Services. (n.d.). Birth Certificate Application Form. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.wisconsin.gov/wish/birth/form.htm
[xxix] Opportunity Insights. (2022). Social Capital: Evidence from the Opportunity Atlas. Retrieved from https://opportunityinsights.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/socialcapital_nontech.pdf