

In Good Company: Examining Social Capital in African Americans through Online
Social Networking Use

By Star N. Johnson

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Thesis Directed By

Christopher Arterton
Professor of Political Management

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Thesis Statement

In Good Company: Examining Social Capital in African Americans through Online Social Networking Use

This thesis examines online social networks of African Americans¹ as a source of social capital. Because numerous studies have identified online social networks as a measure of social capital, this thesis uses data from Pew Research Center Internet & American Life Project's report titled "Social networking sites and our lives" to explore these networks in African Americans. The report consists of a survey conducted of 2,255 adults on social networking use and ideas regarding trust, political activity and social connectivity. This thesis reviews existing research on African American online and offline networks and explores the trends in the Pew data to see if it is consistent with the literature on this topic. The study ends with recommendations for questions that can be used in further research of this subject matter.

The thesis begins by reviewing past literature on social capital and social network analysis. It then looks at a variety of research that explores African Americans and social capital, including research on electoral activity, community engagement, religiosity and the effects of poverty on social capital. Next, raw data from the Pew study is used to analyze survey responses from Black respondents by looking at this data against the majority group of respondents in the study, White respondents.

The raw data from this report was obtained and used with permission from the Pew Research Center. This data breaks down the numbers from this report by demographic and shows the results of each question asked by researchers. The data from

¹The terms Black and African American are used interchangeably throughout this paper. The terms are used simply to define the same group of people.

this thesis uses the raw numbers from Black and White respondents by extracting information from the data set and compiling the results into charts.

Next, six survey questions are extracted from the question set and used as a sample of the survey. Although the survey is composed of 165 questions, time restraints require only a sample of these questions be used. The questions are then carefully examined to determine trends in the data and are then viewed against the existing research and assumptions on African Americans and social networks. Finally, a list of questions is created for further research based on these findings.

Introduction

This thesis has developed substantially since its inception. It has gone from having an international focus to focusing on African American community structures. I found it necessary to determine a way to examine social capital in African Americans that would allow me to explore an existing study. I decided to gear this study toward social networks because it has been noted as an effective way to measure social capital. It should be acknowledged that studies on social capital have undergone many changes over the years, and online social networks are a rather new medium for measurement. There is certain to be limitations involved in using this method, but such is expected given the novelty of online social network analysis.

The Pew study used in this thesis makes assertions about Internet users and more specifically, users of social networking sites. This thesis asks the question: What does the data from the Pew Study look like when we extract Black and White responses? There have been numerous studies that have focused on various aspects of personal networks, including Cornwell and Cornell's² study on access to experts in networks and McPherson et al.'s³ study on homophily. Both of these bodies of research were effective in using existing data on their respective topics and extracting the data of racial minorities to put the existing study into perspective. Their respective successes gave me confidence that my use of existing data could serve as a means for me to answer my thesis question effectively. My main focus of this thesis is to look at the data of Black and White

² Cornwell, E. Y., and Cornwell. B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51 (4)

³McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., Cook, J.M. (2001) Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Review of Sociolog*, 27(1)

respondents and conclude what prominent trends from the data would be important to focus on in future studies.

Background

In the 2008 national election, record numbers of Black voters flocked to the polls to cast their vote in an inarguably historic election. If one were to compare previous voting returns from past national elections, or voting returns from state and local elections, it would be evident that the 2008 election was an anomaly in Black voting history. In a report that examines voting and registration levels in the November 2008 presidential election, the U.S. Census notes that 2008 had the highest level of Black voter turnout than in any national election since 1996⁴. Blacks also had the highest level of voter registration activity, along with Non-Hispanic Whites. While this was generally regarded as a immense achievement for Black voters and a step in the right direction for electoral politics, questions still remain about how this success can be replicated in future elections and in other forms of political activity. Particularly, how can this level of civic engagement translate to achievements in Black communities, neighborhoods and families?

Social capital has been studied for decades, focusing on a myriad of problems facing American life. When exploring statistics on problems in African Americans communities, rising crime rates, an increase in women having children out of wedlock and dwindling high school graduation rates stand out. It is hard not to look at social capital in these communities as a way of understanding and hopefully solving these problems. Some have pointed to the breakdown of the Black family as an explanation,

⁴ File, T., Chrissy, S. (2012, July). Voting and Registration from the Election of 2008. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/p20-562.pdf>

while others have looked at various factors like education, socio-economic inequalities and generational gaps. Each of these possible explanations have one thing in common, they are all influenced by the relationships people have with each other, the connectedness they feel to their immediate surroundings and the ties they have in their larger communities.

I have always been interested in the study of communities, ranging from issues on economic development in local communities, to the role that youth empowerment organizations play. I currently work for a housing and community development trade association and divide my free time into volunteering with a youth group at the YMCA, working with a community theatre organization and serving as a member of the Hillcrest Heights Civic Association. Hillcrest Heights is a lower income predominately Black community in Prince Georges County Maryland, located right outside of Southeast, Washington DC. It is a part of a larger city, Temple Hills. My family initially moved to Hillcrest Heights in 1993 and has since moved around to a couple of different homes in the area. Generally speaking, the neighbors in my immediate neighborhood have all known each other for many years. More specifically, my apartment building is composed of three women, my mother and two others, whom I will call Ms. Carter and Ms. Thomas. The children of these three women have been raised together, have all attended the same school and lived in Hillcrest Heights or surrounding areas for most of their adult lives. The woman all work in different fields and none of them belong to the same church, organizations or communities groups. Like many people in this community, it is the commonalities of their children's experiences that have bonded them.

These women act as the defacto heads of the apartment building where I grew up and regularly visit now that I am older. Ms. Thomas is a retired teacher who spends her days running errands and keeping the house for her 3 children. Ms. Carter runs a day care center out of her home and my mother works in sales in Washington DC during the day. None of these women are a part of any formal community organizations, nor do they hold official titles for neighborhood church or local groups. However, they are the eyes and ears of the building and are vigilant in making sure that everyone in the building is safe and no external factors in the community (crime, truancy etc.) take place in our vicinity. For example, there was a group of high school students who used to visit different apartment buildings in the complex and smoke marijuana in the basement laundry rooms. Building management was notified but did not take any steps to rectify the problem, beyond sending a letter around to residents informing them of these incidents. Because Ms. Carter is home during the day, she served as the unofficial building monitor who would go downstairs to the laundry room and yell at the students to leave. She would also remind them of the truancy laws in our community and recommend they stop skipping school. My mother would come home in the evenings and do the same if she found students downstairs smoking. Because Ms. Thomas is an elderly woman who finds it hard to get around, she would call or knock on the doors of one of the other ladies to let them know the culprits were back.

This went on for about 3 months and then one day it stopped. The students stopped using the building to smoke and there were no more complaints on the matter. There is no way to know if the students started using another building or took their escapades to another neighborhood, but this apartment building was rid of the problem

and that can be attributed to a strong network of three women who made it their purpose (and continues to make it their purpose) to look out for each other and for the building. I once asked my mother and Ms. Carter why they would not simply call the police when they saw these young people partaking in this illegal activity. They both agreed that this is their neighborhood, their building and their responsibility. Besides, they enlisted the help of building management who provided very little assistance. Moreover, my mother commented that these young people are a part of our community too; they have just simply lost their way.

Two things stuck out to me in this conversation. First, their response was a perfect example of how strong relationships and a network of neighbors can positively impact problems in a community. “This is our neighborhood.” These women saw the importance of civic duty in their community and took steps to ameliorate an existing problem. They saw fixing this situation as their responsibility, to themselves and their neighbors. Second, while these women have been fixing problems in their building prior to this incident, building management’s ineptitude led to their intervention in this specific problem. It can be said that the lack of response from a formal group of overseers in the neighborhood led to the institution of an informal group. This idea will be explored later in this paper.

Hillcrest is not a perfect neighborhood. A recent uptick in crime, including two shootings over the course of a few months, and a decline in economic development causes the future of the community to look bleak. High school students, many like the ones mentioned above, have been seen as a big problem in the community. Problems with vandalism, petty crime, panhandling and noise levels have been associated with the

young people in this neighborhood. While these problems continue to persist, one unlikely community structure has been a safe haven for many students in the community. On any given afternoon or early evening, you can see large groups of teenagers crowding around computers in the Hillcrest Heights Library's computer section. When Hillcrest Library first created a section for computer use, the same problems from the streets used to find its way to the library. However, in the recent years, the library has taken measures to ensure that these young people respect the space and others using the facility. Now, many students spend their evening in the library using these computers instead of hanging out on the streets getting into trouble. One librarian is known as "Mom" by the students, a sign that this small network of librarians - some of whom are members of the immediate community – and patrons is a step in the right direction for the neighborhood.

The strong network of neighbors is an increasingly positive part of living in Hillcrest. Everyone knows each other and there is generally someone there who can help if a problem arises. My mother, Ms. Carter and Ms. Thomas embody that spirit by keeping a watchful eye on the activity of the building. The Hillcrest Heights library creates a reciprocal network structure of librarians who provide students with a safe place to dwell after school and students who help keep the community safer by making smarter decisions. These examples are not the exception. Many African American communities have these same informal structures that consist of people who work together to address problems in their neighborhoods without the help of formal outside sources. While it would be difficult to measure the success of these types of networks in the Hillcrest community, there is still little doubt that they have a positive effect on a community that has been otherwise left behind.

Community development is often mentioned in discussions of political efficacy. Participation in community organizations can help influence the way people view their impact on the government or political structures in their lives. The community of Hillcrest has a civic association that holds forums for political candidates to attend and speak to the community about their ideas for improving a variety of issues plaguing Hillcrest Heights.⁵ The members of the civic association organizes this forum as a way for neighbors to meet the people who will be eventually making decisions that impacts their lives. Members of the community can ask questions of the candidates and there is a period afterwards where candidates can speak with constituents one of one. This is one example of how a formal community organization can help members of a community become more involved in the political affairs surrounding them.

Participation in voluntary community organizations, like the Hillcrest Civic Association, can be related to higher competencies, confidence, sense of civic duty and lower feelings of helplessness.⁶ When members of a community feel empowered they are more likely to become involved in the decision making process of their communities, which can help them feel confident in their abilities to evoke change on a larger level. The Neighborhood Participation Project of Nashville, Tennessee, conducted a research project that studied block organizations in a transitional urban neighborhood in Nashville. In an effort to support the neighborhood revitalization process, Neighborhood Housing Services of Nashville created a number of block clubs that would give community

⁵ McGill, N. (2010, May 27). District 7 Focuses on Public Safety, Youth. Retrieved from http://ww2.gazette.net/stories/05272010/largnew173759_32547.php

⁶ Florin, P., Wandersman, A. (1990) An Introduction to Citizen Participation, Voluntary Organizations, and Community Development: Insights for Empowerment Through Research. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18 (1)

members an opportunity to address public safety and housing concerns. As a result, the neighborhood saw positive changes through the creation of these block clubs and spurred other cities to conduct research on the effectiveness of these community groups.⁷

The Neighborhood Participation Project illustrates why community engagement is such an integral part of social capital and such an important subject matter to study. The stronger relationships people have with one another, the more likely they will become involved in their communities and the more likely that will lead to a stronger sense of efficacy. Every election, there is discussion on how to get more people involved in the political process. The first step in achieving greater action is to elevate the mindset of the people. The only way people will become involved in the political process is if they believe their actions are making a difference. This study is just a beginning to the great deal of research that needs to be produced on this topic. It is my hope that this paper will bring some issues of social capital to light and highlight the importance fostering engagement and empowerment has on the bigger picture of efficacy among traditionally marginalized communities.

⁷ Florin, P., Wandersman, A. (1990) An Introduction to Citizen Participation, Voluntary Organizations, and Community Development: Insights for Empowerment Through Research. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 18 (1)

Chapter 1: Social Capital and Social Networks

While discussion surrounding social capital has been present since Lyda Judson Hanifan's studies on rural school community centers,⁸ it was the work of Robert Putnam that popularized the concept. Putnam defines social capital as “the collective value of one’s social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for others.”⁹ It focuses heavily on the importance of relationships and the value of social networks. Social capital has been broken down into two points that emphasize the resources attained through this form of capital and one’s location in a network: “(1) quantity and/or quality of resources that an actor (be it individual or group or community) can access or use through (2) its location in a social network.”¹⁰ The quality of a network is important because it can influence access to resources.¹¹ Those with contacts in their networks with specialized knowledge can have access to a better quality of resources.¹²

Social capital has been used to explain outcomes related to political, economic and community success. Studies have confirmed that social capital promotes better access to resources which in turn affects socioeconomic¹³ and political standings. Communities

⁸ Hanifan, L. J. (1916) The rural school community center, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 67 (1)

⁹ Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

¹⁰ Lin, N. (1999). Social Networks and Status Attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25 (1)

¹¹ Cornwell, E. Y., and Cornwell. B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51 (4)

¹² Bell, D. J. (1973). *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York: Basic Books.

¹³ Lin, N. 1999. “Social Networks and Status Attainment.” *Annual Review of Sociology*.

where social capital is stronger, have safer streets, healthier children, better educated people, and overall stronger democracy¹⁴.

In Bowling Alone: the collapse and revival of American Community, Putnam argues that Americans were seeing a decline in social capital and an anemic civic life and these factors have had dire consequences for communities across the country. As social networks were weakening, there was a lack of social and generalized reciprocity in existing social connections. Social reciprocity occurs when someone expects a favor from a member of his social network and vice versa. As Putnam puts it simply, “I’ll do this for you, if you do that for me.” Generalized reciprocity is doing a favor for someone with the notion that somewhere down the road, someone will return the favor. This is noted as a far more valuable form of reciprocity because it ensures that communities will look out for one another even if they are not immediately receiving a reward for doing so. Communities with strong generalized reciprocity have higher levels of trust, mutual obligation and social responsibility.¹⁵

Putnam examined a variety of factors that explored the state of social capital in America. The term “bowling alone” came from the question of whether or not Americans were seeing a decline in memberships of community organizations, a decrease in local club meetings and, as the title suggest, a dwindling of participation in social activities like bowling, bridge clubs and community softball and soccer teams. While there was a jump in the number of people who bowl, there was a drastic decrease in the number of people who were members of bowling leagues. Putnam studied the state of informal gatherings

¹⁵Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

like neighborhood barbeques and card games to determine if communities were becoming less connected. He looked at how trusting Americans are of each other and how engaged they are in philanthropy and volunteerism. The following categories were used to measure trends in social capital: Politics and Public Affairs, Clubs and Community Associations, Religious Institutions, Work Related Organizations (union, professional societies etc.) and Informal Ties (bowling leagues, neighborhood picnics).

Putnam found a sharp decline in memberships of formal organizations, informal community gatherings and linked these findings with a decrease in political participation, civic engagement and overall social connectivity. While there was not one specific factor Putnam could point to in explaining this decline, he noted changes in technology, family structure and generational differences as possible explanations.

Other theorists

Discussion of Putnam's social capital studies are often supplemented by mentions of other prominent researchers. James Coleman examined ways the lack of social capital affected high school drop outs and how social capital in family and community structures played into this problem. His work stresses the importance of social capital both within the family and in community institutions while citing social structures as important factors in the facilitation of some forms of social capital. He pointed to trustworthiness, social environments and information flow capabilities as important forms of social capital.¹⁶

¹⁶ Coleman, J. S. (1988) "Sociological and Economic Approaches to the Analysis of Social Structure." *The American Journal of Sociology*, 94

In contrast to Putnam, Pierre Bourdieu looked at social capital through a conflict theory lens.¹⁷ He noted that social capital can be used to embrace social inequalities by allowing the powerful to maintain status based on the makeup of their networks. He emphasized the importance of conflict and power in social capital and points to the advancement of social positions by those who use this form of capital as a resource. Bourdieu pointed out that trust can be used by the politically powerful to exploit lower classes. It should be noted that Bourdieu's theories do not neglect the benefits of social capital; rather they acknowledge potential weakness and opportunities for exploitation.¹⁸

Putnam's Later Studies

Putnam's work and the works of these theorists have undergone many changes and led to the creation of various supplemental pieces since they were first published. For example, in *Bowling Alone*, the section on technology and Internet connections was minimal, as the social networking boom did not have the popularity it does today. Additionally, Putnam's earlier work did not have a great deal of focus on minority populations. Since *Bowling Alone* was published, Putnam has created other works that have focused on ways to remedy the decline in social capital and has taken a second look at the state of community in the United States and abroad. Most notably, Better Together was published in 2000 as a way to show how Americans can become better connected. Bettersogether.org details the efforts of the initiative to understand social capital in a more recent context. *Bowling Alone* gave insight into the problems associated with declining social capital while Putnam's more recent work is solution-oriented.

¹⁷ I will point out that Bourdieu should not be labeled as a conflict theorist, as he has never publicly stated this in his work. However, much of his work has been linked to the theory.

¹⁸ Siisiäinen, M. (2000). "Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs . Putnam." Paper, ISTR conference, Trinity College, Dublin Ireland

Additionally, Putnam has studied diversity and the changing role of the minority in the community and society as a whole.

The next section of this paper will focus on social networks and the history and evolution of online networks. It will discuss research on Internet communities and track the development of these network structures.

Social Networks

There are various types of social networks with different dimensions and numerous levels of organization, size and purpose. Exclusive or bonding groups form based on homogeneous characteristics like race, religion and social status. Inclusive, binding groups are more heterogeneous and consist of more diverse groups. While both of these groups are prevalent in social networks, Putnam notes that both groups serve different purposes in strengthening the social capital among its members. Bonding groups create solidarity among its members, while bridging groups help diffuse information to people that may not have direct access otherwise. Bridging allows networks to make ties with a diverse group of people with different backgrounds and different resources. For example, a bonding group, like a fraternity, may have benefits in that it helps its members rely on one another for social support, but such a group is likely to consist of a homogeneous group whose resources have less diversity than acquaintances in a bridging group. Putnam notes that groups can both be bridging and bonding. For example, a group like a church congregation could be bonding across religion, while bridging across class.

Formally organized networks are those with official memberships, regular meeting dates and times and connections to national organizations, while informal

networks have less rules or parameters to follow. Multi-stranded networks are groups of people who see each other frequently, while single stranded and anonymous networks are those who see each other a few times a month in passing, but are not on a first name basis. Putnam uses the example of a church congregation, versus people who see each other frequently in the supermarket checkout line, to describe these two forms of networks. Some networks have stated public purposes (e.g. volunteer organization), whereas others have private purposes, like personal entertainment (e.g. book club).

The prevalence of homophily in social networks is important in the proceeding discussion about race and social networks. Homophily has been described as the pervasiveness of similar people in a network. People who are similar form relationships at a higher rate than those who are dissimilar. Studies have suggested that ethnic groups have a strong affinity for homophily within their social network. In southern and urban neighborhoods, levels of racial homophily in friendship networks begin in early grades and African Americans have been cited as having higher levels of homophily than other races.¹⁹ While research on homophily is limited, even more scarce is research on homophily in online networks.

The history of oppression in the U.S. can be seen as a possible explanation of why African Americans have such high levels of homophily. History often brings a minority group together by creating a common bond and allowing a shared past to bind them. Additionally, and possibly more importantly, the history of oppression within that group can create a tie that causes people to engage in networks that are racially homogeneous. The social, political and economic oppression of African Americans have led to their

¹⁹ McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., Cook, J.M. (2001) "Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27 (1)

distrust of the larger majority, who were seen as administrators of discriminatory laws and policies. The sordid history of slavery along with experiences in de jure and de facto discrimination has led to feelings of disconnection with the larger society. In the African American community, the low position Blacks have on the racial hierarchy in the U.S. have brought them together. Coming together as a group gave African Americans a sense of protection and mutual support within their community. Thus, the residual effects of institutionalized racism can be seen as a possible explanation for why homophily is prevalent in African American social networks. The downside to this is the limitations on access to resources and information that could be found outside of their group.

Online Social Networks

Hundreds of millions of people interact using online social network sites (or social networking sites) and that number is consistently growing. Social networking sites have been defined as online services that “allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.”²⁰ These sites allow users to share information, organize, and connect with others based on shared interests and activities. Online social networks can span from those who are connected through online auctions to message board users and online communities. While any site where users connect with one

²⁰ Boyd, D.M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). “Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship.” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (1)

another in a web-based platform is considered an online social network, most studies look at sites where relationships are explicitly stated.²¹

While there has been some debate around which social network site was the first to launch, many cite Six Degrees²² as the first recognizable site. Six Degrees is noted as the first site to combine user profiles, Friends Lists and the ability to send private messages. The site launched in 1997 and was home to millions of users. However, because there was not a forum for users to interact once they created a friends list and profile; the site began to lose its popularity and closed in 2000. Recognizing the importance of combining multiple features to create a successful site, other companies began creating community tools that allowed users to create profiles, compile and share Friends Lists and post status updates. LiveJournal²³, a popular weblog site began allowing users to create Friends Lists, composed of contacts they could share their journals with.²⁴

The success of these communities led to the creation of sites specific to certain hobbies, cultures, niche communities and business needs. Sites like Ryze²⁵, LinkedIn and Tribe²⁶ catered to people who wanted to expand their professional networks. From there, social networking sites with broader appeal and a more community, user-driven focus

²¹ Golbeck, J. (2007) "The dynamics of Web-based social networks: Membership, relationships, and change." *First Monday*, 12

²² SixDegrees.com

²³ Livejournal.com

²⁴ Boyd, D.M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). "Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13 (1)

²⁵Ryze.com

²⁶ Tribe.com

began to develop. Friendster²⁷ and Myspace²⁸ were two of the first user-driven sites to compete against each other by creating features to accommodate the growing social networking population. For example, Myspace allowed users to personalize their pages using basic and advanced HTML codes. This was a drastic change from Friendster, a site that operated with a more basic layout. Additionally, Myspace extended their user policy to underage users, a feature Friendster did not allow. Myspace also focused heavily on promoting mainstream as well as independent musicians, comedians, and other entertainment hopefuls by allowing artists, signed and unsigned, to create profiles promoting their work. Myspace responded to user demand efficiently, as the online communication sphere was continuing to evolve.

Facebook²⁹ launched in 2004 as a site built to support the social networks of Harvard University students, but later expanded to all college networks. Although the exclusivity of the site helped build its popularity, the next year it began to allow everyone to sign up and build their own networks. The success of Facebook, and the increase in demand led to the creation of various other user-driven communities organized around the concept of expanding personal networks.

There has been substantial research surrounding the strength of social network ties and increasingly more research concerning these networks when online communication is introduced into the relationships. Social ties have been defined as a pair of individuals

²⁷ Friendster.com

²⁸ Myspace.com

²⁹ Facebook.com

who “maintain one or more types of relations.”³⁰ Ties build into social networks, which can be divided into a variety of subsets and cliques, depending on how strong or weak the ties are. The strength of a tie can be based on many factors, including types of exchanges and frequency of contact and can be dependent on the individual’s willingness to work with their counterpart, share information and provide access to their contacts.³¹ A weak tie is characterized by infrequency and non-intimate connections, while a strong tie is identified by frequent contact, intimacy and reciprocation of services and resources. It is noted that both strong and weak ties have a function in social networks. Although an individual may not have frequent contact with a weak tie, that person is likely to belong to different networks than their pair and can therefore provide a more diverse set of resources. While strong ties generally have similar networks, they provide greater access to their resources

African Americans and Social Capital

This section will begin by presenting a historical look at African Americans and social capital through an exploration of networks created during the civil rights movement. It will then look at African American voting data, which will explain why studying Blacks in particular is important to the overall study of civic engagement and social capital in the United States. Finally, previous research will be explored to provide a framework for viewing the Pew research raw data breakdown.

³⁰ Haythornthwaite, C. (2005). “Social networks and Internet connectivity effects.” *Information, Communication & Society*, 8 (2)

³¹ Haythornthwaite, C. (2005). “Social networks and Internet connectivity effects.” *Information, Communication & Society*, 8 (2)

History

Discussion surrounding community engagement during the civil rights movement is often intertwined with discussion of political engagement. While the two have similar qualities that influence overall social capital in racial minorities, political engagement has been harder to attain in African American communities due to political opportunity theory. Political opportunity theory holds that differences in political conditions can have an influence on political participation. Repression in communities and the availability of allies have been cited as conditions that shaped protest and mobilization patterns in the civil rights movement.³²

The civil rights movement emerged out of local movement centers³³ including churches and local community groups. Smaller local organizations, like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were able to link local organizations to larger national organizations with the volume to participate in wide spread mobilization efforts. In addition to these centers, leaders within communities played a role in the movement. Leaders with greater experience were able to recruit and train members to run new chapters of national organizations and build up other participation efforts. Protest efforts like the sit-in campaigns of the 1960s, Freedom Ride campaigns and marches in Selma, Alabama, were all bred out of smaller local levels of participation.

During this time, civic organizations and religious institutions were two prominent types of formal organizations, with the NAACP being the organization this

³² Beyerlein, K., and Andrews, K.T. (2008) "Black Voting During the Civil Rights Movement: A Micro-level Analysis." *Social Forces*, 87(1)

³³ Morris, A. (1984). *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press

study focuses on the most. The NAACP and Black fraternal organizations played a central role in the mobilization of Blacks during the 1960s and beyond. Though not necessarily categorized as political or community engagement organizations, these groups helped develop skilled leaders by providing platforms where public speaking, fundraising and organizational skills were honed. These groups also sponsored voter registration drives and other political activities and events. Beyerlein's³⁴ study found that membership in the NAACP and fraternal organizations significantly increased electoral participation among Blacks. The odds of Blacks who belonged to these organizations voting were twice the odds of those who did not.³⁵

Informal networks were also used for political recruitment and mobilization efforts. When these networks were politicized, organizers were able to spread ideas faster and recruit people for the movement. Politicized networks consist of networks of family, friends and/or co-workers who discuss politics with one another.³⁶ This was an effective way to disseminate information and send out action alerts to people who were not familiar with the movement. In effect, these networks were able to influence the political opportunity in local communities during this era.

Political Participation: Voting Rates

Studying the voting rates of African Americans is one of the easiest and most accurate ways to measure direct electoral activity. Though it should be noted that this not

³⁴ Beyerlein, K., and Andrews, K.T. (2008) "Black Voting During the Civil Rights Movement: A Micro-level Analysis." *Social Forces*, 87(1)

the only way to measure electoral activity, as researchers have expanded discussions of electoral activity to include campaigning, fundraising, and other pre-election day activities. Though voter registration rates for Blacks steadily increased following the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Black voting rates have always lagged behind voting rates of Whites. There have been numerous explanations given for these voting rates, many of which pointing to longstanding inequalities in African American communities. Because of this, there has been much discussion surrounding inequality with regard to African American voting trends and likely explanations. One often cited statistic points to the fact that Blacks make up 14 percent of the population yet they represent 1/3 of those ineligible to vote due to high incarceration rates amongst Blacks.

Though there are rates available dating back to the early 1960s, Blacks were not identified as a separate group from other minority groups until later on in the decade. Prior to this, non-white voters were all lumped into the one category. As a result, all writings as well as data compiled during this time may present slightly skewed results.

The 2008 election saw an increase of more than 2 million Black voters, according to a study released by the U.S. Census Bureau.³⁷ While numerous groups saw increases from low levels of voting to higher levels, including Hispanics and young voters, African Americans had the highest turnout among voters 18 to 24. Many factors can be attributed to this increase, with the inclusion of an African American candidate in the general election for the first time in history, being the most prominent. Of the 69.7 percent of Black registered voters, 64.7 voted which marked a 4 percent overall increase from

³⁷ *Voter Turnout Increases by 5 Million in 2008 Presidential Election, U.S. Census Bureau Reports.* (2009). Retrieved October 2010 from <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/voting/cb09-110.html>

2004.³⁸ Election returns from the 1960s, show that 58.5 percent of voters turned out to the polls, in the election of 1964. Additionally, between 1966 and 1992, the percentage of Black registered voters increased by 21 percent. In 1966, 44 percent of minorities in the South were registered to vote, a number that grew to 65 percent by 1992.

Between these decades, Black voting rates have generally increased and decreased with the rest of the population, though Black voters have consistently voted and registered to vote at lower rates. For example, in 2000, 71.6 percent of white citizens were registered to vote, whereas only 67.5³⁹ percent of African Americans were registered to vote. Additionally, Black voters have switched from Republican to Democratic presidential candidates consistent with the rest of the voting population. It is likely that state and local voting rates varied depending on a variety of factors; however, that information is not available through these census reports.

As stated, the 2008 election saw a 4 percent increase. Under the *Reported Rates of Voting and Registration by Selected Characteristic* report, the election of 2004 showed 68.7 percent registered voters and 60.0 percent of reported voters.⁴⁰ The election of 2000 saw a slight increase from 1996 returns, in both registration and reported voting.⁴¹ In

³⁸ *Voter Turnout Increases by 5 Million in 2008 Presidential Election, U.S. Census Bureau Reports.* (2009). Retrieved October 2010 from <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/voting/cb09-110.html>

³⁹ Political Participation – Voter Registration (2002). Retrieved October 2010 from <http://www.libraryindex.com/pages/840/Political-Participation-VOTER-REGISTRATION.html>

⁴⁰ Holder, K. (2006, March). Voting and Registration from the Election of November 2004. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2006pubs/p20-556.pdf>

⁴¹ Jamieson, A., Hyon, S., Day, J. (2002, February). Voting and Registration from the Election of November 2002. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2002pubs/p20-542.pdf>

1996, 63.8 percent of Blacks were registered to vote and only 50.9 percent voted⁴²; whereas 67.5 percent of Black voters registered and 56.8 percent voted in 2000.

Non-Electoral Activism

Much of this paper has focused on electoral activity as a means of political participation. There are many forms of non-electoral activism that can be used to impact changes in national and local political structures. I will look at two pieces of research that discuss reasons why African Americans have relied on non-electoral methods in the past and at what level they use these forms of activism today.

Swain's⁴³ study examines the factors that are likely to influence non-electoral activism among African Americans. Groups that have long lacked a voice in electoral politics generally resort to non-electoral methods of activism. Swain cites college students, military veterans, immigrant populations and African Americans among these groups. Given the success of non-electoral tactics during the civil rights era, the tradition of social and political activism through these means has continued over time. Swain looked at National Black Election Study data where 1,216 African Americans participated in a telephone survey to determine the level of non-electoral political activism. Of all the different non-electoral activities discussed, the one constant among those interviewed was the importance of three organization types: religious, community and those with an African American focus. Swain was able to draw several conclusions

⁴² Casper, L., Bass, E. (1998, July). Voting and Registration from the Election of 1996. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/3/98pubs/p20-504.pdf>

⁴³ Swain, R. D. (2010) Shall We March On?: An Analysis of Non-Electoral Participation in the Black Community in the Post-Civil Rights Era. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40 (4)

based on his analysis of this data. While organizations foster activism in African American communities, religion is not as important a factor in promoting non-electoral activism as it was a generation ago. Instead African American churches are leading towards facilitating more conventional forms of activism like voting and contacting public officials.⁴⁴

Brown discusses how group-based resources encourage political activity.⁴⁵ Group-based resources are used by those who belong to groups that lack individual social-economic resources. This includes hearing political messages in church, involvement in church activities, membership in Black social change organizations, having a sense of racial group consciousness, and exposing one's self to political information in the Black media. This allows individuals to act as a resource for one another and keep members of groups and networks informed about issues that impact Black communities. These group-based resources were essential political activism during the Civil Rights era. Organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordination Commission were effective in circulating information to members and encouraging individuals to vote. Brown cites Ralph Ellison's theory on political identity which holds that the residual effects of slavery have caused African Americans to have a collective political identity. Due to economic and social constraints, there is a feeling of collective threat that strengthens the group and causes

⁴⁴ Swain, R. D. (2010) Shall We March On?: An Analysis of Non-Electoral Participation in the Black Community in the Post-Civil Rights Era. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40 (4)

⁴⁵ Brown, R.K. (2001). Group-based resources and political participation among Black Americans. *African American Research Perspectives*, 7 (1)

them to view political action as a way to increase the group's social positioning in society.⁴⁶

Using data from the National Black Politics Study, Brown determines what effect group-based resources have on political activism. The 1993-94 study uses a multiple frame telephone survey of 1,206 African Americans. The study shows that almost all of the group-based resource variables were positively associated with electoral participation.⁴⁷

Community Engagement

This study explores the link between social isolation in impoverished neighborhoods and political isolation. Cohen et al. studied the effects the economic stresses of poverty can have on African American political attitudes. More specifically, this study looked at concentrated poverty within “deadly neighborhoods” in an effort to look beyond the consequences of individual poverty. Cohen et al. notes a study that argues that the “concentration effects” of poor neighborhoods foster an environment conducive to social isolation, where residents become disconnected from the community structures that lead to social participation.⁴⁸ Studies suggest that a lack of economic success leads to social disorganization. Social and economic marginalization of impoverished African American communities can negatively affect political efficacy. The

⁴⁶ Brown, R.K. (2001). Group-based resources and political participation among Black Americans. *African American Research Perspectives*, 7 (1)

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Cohen, C. J., Dawson, M.C. (1993) Neighborhood Poverty and African American Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 87 (2)

continued failures of the democratic process in these neighborhoods will widen the gap between African Americans in impoverished neighborhoods and those in less impoverished neighborhoods.⁴⁹

Cohen et al. developed a model to test a causal relationship between poverty levels and the political behavior and public opinion of African Americans. This study found that African Americans in the poorest neighborhoods believe in the political efficacy of some types of political action, even though they are less likely to engage in these actions. The study also found that economic distress may lead to the lack of confidence in group effectiveness. In this study, African Americans in general seemed to agree on the same issues regardless of economic status (evaluation of the president, the need for a strong state, redistributive economic policies, and choices for elected offices). This causes the authors to presume that political disaffection by the poorer Blacks may be partially due to the absence of political leaders that represent their interests.⁵⁰

Religious Institutions

Swain⁵¹ takes a deeper look into the role of religiosity in promoting community activism among African Americans. Though there has been a decline in religiosity in the African American community, the Black Church still remains a relevant factor in

⁴⁹ Marable, M. (1991) *Race, reform and rebellion: The second reconstruction in black America*. Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi

⁵⁰ Cohen, C. J., Dawson, M.C. (1993) Neighborhood Poverty and African American Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 87 (2)

⁵¹ Swain, R. D. (2010) Shall We March On?: An Analysis of Non-Electoral Participation in the Black Community in the Post-Civil Rights Era. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40 (4)

promoting and encouraging social and community activism. The role of the Black Church stems back from the civil rights era when the church served as a catalyst for community activism. Because the policy concerns of Blacks were not addressed through traditional democratic means, Blacks turned to non-electoral modes of participation in such large numbers that non-electoral modes of participation were seen as the norm during this time.⁵² Swain cites research that explores the role of religiosity in community activism. Research by Lincoln and Mamiya⁵³ shows how prominent the Black Church was in increasing membership in the SNCC, the NAACP and other secular civil rights organizations. These groups met in church halls and basements to discuss mobilization efforts. Swain cites research from Frazier⁵⁴ which contends that the Black Church encouraged social and political activism.

The Black church plays a role in educating its members on political and social issues. Church leaders use the pulpit to disperse information and encourage members to engage politically. Black members of politicized churches are more likely to engage in protests and electoral behavior. Politicized churches are more likely to encourage political engagement because these churches are generally sought out by parties and candidates. Additionally, democratic skills like participating in church meetings, writing reports and selecting church officials are honed in churches.

⁵² Eisinger, P. (1974) Racial Differences in Political Participation. *The American Political Science Review*. 68

⁵³ Lincoln, C. E. & Mamiya, L.H. (1990). *The black church in the African American experience*. Durham: Duke University Press

⁵⁴ Frazier, E. F. (1963). *The Negro Church in America*. New York: Knopf.

Religion has been shown to serve as a means for group identification amongst Blacks.⁵⁵ Black churchgoers develop a sense of solidarity for other church goers which can lead to a shared outlook on their lives and their communities. This allows for a stronger relationships to form and church-based social capital resources to become available.⁵⁶ In examining church-based resources and political activism, Brown and Brown concludes that Blacks churchgoers are more likely to be politically involved and possess a stronger social and political consciousness. Additionally, church attendance promotes stronger participation in elections.⁵⁷ These findings support Swain’s contention that politicized churches help Blacks receive information that lead to their involvement in the political process.⁵⁸

In discussing African Americans and religion, it is almost impossible not to constrict the conversation to Christian Blacks. Discussions on the “The Black Church” are generally focused on the varying denominations of Black Christians in the United States. It is suggested that specifically Black Christians have a connectedness that lead them to a strong interest in their communities. Hoffman and Appiah refer to this as a “call to civic duty”. Black Christians receive this call from their ministers who preach to the congregation the importance of civic duty and its link to being a Christian. This could

⁵⁵ Wilcox, C., Gomez, L. (1990) Religion, Group Identification, and Politics among American Blacks *Sociology of Religion*, 51 (3)

⁵⁶ Brown, R. K & Brown, R.E. (2003). Faith and works: Church-based social capital resources and African American political activism. *Social Forces*. 82 (2)

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Swain, R. D. (2010) Shall We March On?: An Analysis of Non-Electoral Participation in the Black Community in the Post–Civil Rights Era. *Journal of Black Studies*, 40 (4)

account for the higher levels of community and political involvement among church going Blacks over non-church going Blacks.⁵⁹

Social Networking and Civic Engagement

Given the research stated thus far, I will take a look at the existing research on interpersonal and online networks. Afterwards, I will analyze the Pew study to determine if the trends in the extracted data are consistent with the previously stated research.

There have been numerous stated benefits and disadvantages of both interpersonal and online social networks. The Internet allows for a reduction in cost maintenance that is not present in interpersonal networks. Additionally, online communication has been proven to enhance the level of intensity in offline interactions. Meanwhile, offline interactions can lead to participation in local communities, since many online networks are made up of friends and family members who are not living in the same vicinity as each other.⁶⁰

While online networks are sometimes seen as relationships between people who have met online, studies have shown that online networks most commonly consist of people who know each other offline. These relationships are then strengthened through online communication. For example, in the Pew study, the majority of respondents use social networks to maintain existing relationships, rather than create entirely new networks of strangers. The study explored networks of various social networking sites including Facebook, one of the most used sites in the study. Facebook allows its users to create Friends Lists, made up of friends who can view and comment on pictures, statuses, notes

⁵⁹Hoffman, L. H. and Appiah, O. (2008) Measuring Race as a Cultural Component of Social Capital: Black Religiosity, Political Participation, and Civic Engagement. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 19

⁶⁰ Zuniga, G., Valenzuela, S. (2011) "The Mediating Path to a Stronger Citizenship: Online and Offline Networks, Weak Ties, and Civic Engagement." *Communications Research*, 38 (3)

and posts. Only 7% of Facebook users in the study have people on their Friends List that they have never met in person. Only 3% of users have people in their Facebook networks that they have only met one time. The majority of users have the following breakdown of friends:

- 22% people from high school
- 12% extended family
- 10% coworkers
- 9% college friends
- 8% immediate family
- 7% people from voluntary groups
- 2% neighbors

These users also have inactive or “dormant” relationships with friends of friends and other groups that they have very little everyday interaction with.

Online and offline networks have benefits with regard to civic engagement and both forms of communication have been shown to inspire strong civic life. However, online communications are noted as a more goal oriented medium and therefore a greater tool for action-oriented engagement. In civic engagement, weak ties encourage civic action because it allows individuals to take advantage of a diverse set of resources that creates new opportunities for engagement. It should be noted that these weak ties still offer greater benefits when civic engagement related communities occur online.

Moreover, larger networks tend to spur civic participation, in both online and offline relationships.⁶¹

⁶¹ Zuniga, G., Valenzuela, S. (2011) “The Mediating Path to a Stronger Citizenship: Online and Offline Networks, Weak Ties, and Civic Engagement.” *Communications Research*,38 (3)

Chapter 2: Summary of Pew Study

The study titled "Social Networking Sites and Our Lives: How People's Trust, Personal Relationships, and Civic and Political Involvement are Connected to their Use of Social Networking Sites and Other Technologies" was conducted by the Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project to explore whether SNS like Facebook, LinkedIn, Myspace and Twitter isolate or connect people. In a previous Pew study "Social Isolation and New Technologies", researchers found no relationship between the decline in size and diversity of close social ties and Internet and mobile phone use. Because this study was taken in 2009, before the rapid the social networking boom in the past two years, Pew expounded upon that study with data from phone interviews between October 20 and November 28, 2010. A total of 2,255 American adults, 18 or older were surveyed. Of those surveyed 1,787 were Internet users and 975 were social networking users who belonged to Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Myspace and other sites.

Pew used Survey Sampling International LLC, (SSI) to obtain a representative sample of adults in the United States who have access to a landline or cellular phone. The survey used a landline and cellular random digital dial (RDD) sample. There were also 610 callback interviews (499 from the landline sample and 111 from the cellular phone sample) included in the survey from respondents who were interviewed in the 2008 "Personal Networks and Community Survey." The survey had an overall margin of error of plus or minus 2.5 percentage points and a margin of error of plus or minus 2.8 percentage points for Internet users. The margin of error for social networking site users was plus or minus 4 percentage points.

It should be noted that this study does not make inferences about cause and effect of Internet and social networking use. Pew stresses that these results should not be interpreted to mean that Internet usage causes people to have larger social networks; rather it points to a strong association between the two. It should also be noted that this study is a part of an ongoing series titled “The Social Impact of Technology.” This series began looking at Internet ties and social capital in 2006 and has conducted 5 studies since. Pew is consistently updating this series with research on Internet use and social networking. Most recently, it has published research on social media in the 2012 election as well as studies on older adults and online social networks.

This study uses data from the Pew Internet & American Life Project because it provides data on Internet usage as well as social network behavior, such as respondents’ feelings on social trust and their participation in political and community activities. Additionally, Pew is consistent in offering valid and reliable data that has been noted by various outlets. The Internet and American Life Project conducts research under the Pew Research center, a nonpartisan, non-profit organization that creates reports based on nationwide random phone and online surveys and qualitative research. The Internet and American Life Project began publishing reports in May 2000, after the Project conducted a survey on the role of Internet and email in people’s lives. It has since created reports on online privacy, music downloading, Internet viruses, wireless connectivity and teenage social networking use. Among those who have used findings from the Project are policy-makers, political practitioners, technology leaders and non-profit executives. The findings from this report have been cited by a number of media outlets including CNN, the Christian Science Monitor and PBS Media Shift.

Summary

The study found that 79 percent of surveyed adults use the Internet and 59 percent of these users use at least one social networking site. The study saw growth in the amount of SNS users since 2008, with almost half the numbers of respondents using SNS. There was an increase in social networking use in people over 35, with 48 percent of respondents using SNS, as opposed to only 18 percent in 2008.

Myspace and Twitter have the most racially diverse users, with 16 percent of Blacks, 12 percent of Hispanics and 15 percent of Other Races using Myspace. Blacks make up 9 percent of Twitter users, Hispanics 12 percent and Other Races 21 percent. Facebook has 9 percent Black users, 9 percent Hispanic users and 1 percent Other Race, while 2 percent of Black social network users use Linked In, 4 percent of Hispanics and 13 percent of Other Race. Myspace users have the lowest average years of formal education than any other SNS users and its users tend to be younger, with an average age of 32. LinkedIn users tend to be older, with an average age of 40, tend to have at least one university degree and are disproportionately male, at 63 percent versus the 37 percent of female users. However, 56 percent of overall SNS users are female. The average age of Facebook users is 38, Twitter users are at average age of 33 and the average age of users of "other" SNS is 35.

In terms of popularity, 92 percent of respondents use Facebook which also has the highest share of users' daily visits. Additionally, 52 percent of Facebook users use the site on a daily basis. Twitter and Myspace fall on the opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of social networking growth. Less than 10 percent of new users joined Myspace in the

last year, whereas Twitter saw a 60 percent growth. Similarly, 33 percent of Twitter users use the site daily, while only 7 percent of Myspace users log on every day.

Based on the data, the study looks at close ties found within networks, the diversity of one's network and how trusting respondents are. It also examined how open respondents are to the viewpoints of others and how well they can see issues and problems through another person's perspective. Finally, participation in local community groups and organizations, overall civic engagement and political participation are explored.

Close Ties

At average, Americans have an estimated 634 ties in their network, including friends, family, coworkers and acquaintances. Some of these ties, like those with family and close friends are stronger, while the majority of ties are weaker. Internet users have an estimated 669 social ties, while non-users have an estimated 506 ties. SNS users' social ties are estimated at 636. This coincides with findings that show frequency in Internet usage linked to a larger network.

Social network users were found to have more close ties than non users. Close ties are defined by how many discussion confidants, people who you can discuss important matters with, that respondents have. Internet users in general had an increase in new close social ties since the 2008 findings and have more close ties than non-Internet users. The demographics of these users are important to consider. At average, those with a Bachelors degree have 12 percent more close social ties than those with a high school degree.

Internet users receive more support from their social ties than non Internet users. Emotional, support, companionship and instrumental or tangible support were all listed as types of supports these users receive. The study found a significant relationship between Internet usage and these types of social supports. More specifically, Facebook users have higher levels of support than other social networking sites. Bloggers are also noted as Internet users with high levels of support.

Diversity

The study showed that Internet users are more likely to have diverse social networks than non Internet users. Diverse networks as defined by the variety of social positions, and the different social locations people have in society. These findings are consistent with Pew's 2008 report on social isolation. More specifically, LinkedIn users have more diversity in their networks than all other sites in the study. Twitter is the second most diverse, while Facebook and Myspace follow closely behind.

It is important to point out the role education plays in the diversity of one's social network. The study sites education as the best predictor of diversity in social networks. For every two years of formal education, Internet users see a boost in network diversity and bloggers see a boost for every four years of education. Bloggers were found to have higher levels of network diversity than other Internet users.

Trust

Internet users believe that most people can be trusted, more than non Internet users. When it comes to social networking users, there is a strong relationship between trust and those who use Facebook. Other social networking platforms did not see the

same relationship. Facebook users believe that most people can be trusted 3 times more likely than non Internet users.

Multiple Viewpoints

The study took a look at the relationships between social networking use and the ability to consider other view points or "perspective taking." "Perspective taking" is important to the social capital conversation because it is considered a pro-social behavior that helps to improve the welfare of others. The study found that certain social networking sites were related to high levels of perspective taking. Specifically, Myspace users have the greatest ability to consider other view points over other social networking sites. Overall, women and people with 4 year college degrees had higher levels of "perspective taking."

Local Communities

The 2008 Pew study asked respondents if they know the name of most, or some of the neighbors in their local communities. In 2008, 21 percent did not know the name of any of their neighbors, yet in the 2010 study only 18 percent did not know some of their neighbors by name. Younger people, those who live in apartment buildings or complexes and those who were single knew less of their neighbors in both the 2008 and 2010 study. Technology was not an indicator of whether or not people knew their neighbors.

Civic Engagement

The study looked at memberships in voluntary associations, community groups, neighborhood associations, youth groups, local sports leagues, local social groups, and religious institutions. There has been a significant increase in overall volunteer activity

from the 2008 study to the 2010 study. Internet users had slightly higher volunteer and membership activity than non Internet users. Age and education level are other factors that are associated with membership in community groups and volunteerism.

Political Engagement

Of all social networking sites in the study, Facebook users are the most politically engaged. Political activity among users was determined based on their intent to vote in the upcoming election, if they tried to convince another person to vote for a candidate and whether or not they had attended any political rallies, speeches, meeting or fundraisers in support of a candidate. LinkedIn users have high levels of political activity as well. Myspace users have the lowest level of political engagement. Once again, education was an indicator of how politically engaged users were, showing those with higher levels of education as more active. Age and gender were strong indicators as well.

I will extract information on Black and White respondents' answers to a series of questions from a raw data set of this study. This will allow me to look for trends in the data sets and determine which questions yield responses from Black and White respondents that are consistent or contradictory to what previous research says about Black social networks and social capital. I will discuss the factors that went into choosing this question set, followed by a breakdown of the results. The next part of this paper will focus on an analysis of each question in the set and conclude with questions and issues that can be addressed in further research of this topic.

The main goal in this study is to extract information in this data set that measures Black and White respondents against each other. This is done in order to present a clearer

picture of Black respondents, without taking into account other demographic information. It is important to note the limitations in using this approach. The raw data provides a breakdown of the Black, White and Hispanic Americans surveyed in this study. The survey asks respondents questions regarding a variety of demographic factors, including level of schooling, employment status, household income and political views. While this information is helpful in painting a better picture of the respondents, it also important to emphasize Pew's original point that the data obtained in this study is not for cause and effect purposes. Because of the numerous demographic details within this data set, it would be difficult to make the assumption that Internet or social networking use causes these respondents to exhibit certain behaviors.

For example, the percentage of respondents that believe most people cannot be trusted could be associated with the type of region the respondent lives in (urban, rural, suburban). Additionally, the percentages of people who know the names of their neighbors could be associated with the number of years they live in their current location. None of this data allows for these inferences because there is not enough information to know if there are other factors that influences these respondents. Thus, my analysis of this raw data will be based solely on the strong associations discussed in Pew's report.

Chapter 3: Breakdown of Data by Race

I received raw data from the Pew Internet and American Life Project in order to view a breakdown of survey responses by demographic. More specifically, I am looking for a breakdown by race, while focusing on Black and White respondents. I choose White respondents because this race had the largest number of respondents in the survey. The raw data divides survey respondents by the following categories:

- *Sex:* Male and Female
- *Race:* Black, White and Hispanic
- *Age:* 18 to 29, 30 to 49, 50 to 64 and 64 and over
- *Education:* Less than High School, High School Graduate, Some College and College Graduate+
- *Household Income:* Less than \$30,000, \$30,000 to \$49,999, \$50,000 to 74,999 and \$75,000+
- *Parental Status:* Parent and Not a Parent

Each survey question allows for dichotomous affirmative or negative answers (or an answer referring to a time lime – “All of the Time “Most of the Time etc.), a “Don’t know” answer and an opt-out answer of “Refused”. Some questions allows for an answer of “It depends.” The number of each demographic questioned was consistent with national demographic breakdowns. Pew used a balanced sample of respondents that matched population parameters for sex, age, education level, race, etc. The Census

Bureau's 2009 Annual Social and Economic (ASEC) Supplement was used to determine the basic parameters.⁶²

The respondents were asked questions regarding their trust, social support, political activity. (e.g. Q1. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?) They were also asked questions about how often they use the Internet, send and receive, use social networking sites and mobile phone usage. (e.g. On which of the following social networking sites do you currently have a profile?)

This paper focuses on eight specific questions used in the study. While the study used 156 diverse questions that focus on various aspects of social networking use and the social networks of its users, examining a sample of these questions allow for a more focused analysis. This allows me to study each of the questions and better understand them based on the previous research on this topic. It also helps me in the second part of this study, where I will look at possible explanations for the results of this study.

I recognize the limitations that come along with focusing on only eight questions. It would hard to make a determination on the entire survey based on the answers to these question, something that this paper does not seek to do. I am not attempting to make any inferences based on the results of these eight questions. Instead, I hope to better understand where African American respondents stand in this study and what might account for these results.

Choosing Questions

I carefully selected the following eight questions because they fell into the two

⁶² Census 2000 data was used for the population density parameter and the cellular phone usage parameter came from the July December 2009 National Health Interview survey.

categories stated above: social networks and Internet usage. I choose eight questions that best embodied these two categories, that were largely representative of the study. In determining which questions would serve as a good representation, I took into account the questions that the Pew researchers mentioned in the study. I also made sure I did not select questions that were duplicative⁶³ of each other. For example, in choosing questions regarding Internet usage, I did not pick two questions that focused on Facebook use, or two questions that concentrated on trust. In doing so, I was able to create a greater diversity of questions.

I ruled out questions that were based on demographics, mainly because there was no way to tell what the race of the respondent is based on the question. Studies have pointed to strong associations between education level and race⁶⁴, as well as income level and race⁶⁵, yet the data does not breakdown the demographic information by race. I also ruled out contingency questions, where a series of questions was based on the answer of a preceding question.

Contingency questions are important to the Pew study but could lead to challenges in my analysis. An interesting contingency question is a series of questions regarding occupations of people in the respondent's network. As previously mentioned, quality in a social network is important in gaining access to resources. People with access to resources from experts, whether they are professionals with knowledge and skills gained from a formal education or experts who provide practical experience as a

⁶³ This refers to two questions being duplicative of each other within this paper, not the Pew study.

⁶⁴ Middleton, R. (1963) Alienation, Race, and Education. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 28 (6)

⁶⁵ Desimone, L. (1999) Linking Parent Involvement with Student Achievement: Do Race and Income Matter? *The Journal of Educational Research*, 93 (1)

resource, find themselves with higher quality networks.⁶⁶ The original contingency question asks respondents “I am going to ask about types of jobs and whether people you know hold such jobs. These people include your relatives, friends and acquaintances. Do you happen to know someone who is... [INSERT ITEM]?”⁶⁷ The surveyor then asks the respondent about their connections with someone who is a(n): lawyer, middle school teacher, full-time babysitter, janitor, personal manager, hair dresser, bookkeeper, production manager, operator in a factory, computer programmer, taxi driver, professor, policeman, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a large company, writer, administrative assistant in a large company, security guard, receptionist, Congressman, hotel bell boy.

Follow up questions go on to ask respondents about the relationship the respondent has with these people who hold these jobs, such as whether these people they know are “friends” or contacts on a social networking site. This question was originally chosen because of its ability to provide insight on studies about experts as resources in social networks. However, analyzing contingency questions is challenging because they are only measuring a subset of the original sample of respondents. These questions are important to the overall Pew study and would be more effective for a study that solely analyzes this series of questions.

Additionally, only questions are chosen regarding the primary social networks mentioned in the Pew study. The raw data shows questions regarding “Other” social networking sites (eg. About how long ago did you start using another social networking site I haven’t already mentioned?) The Pew study mentioned that African American

⁶⁶ Cornwell, E. Y., and Cornwell, B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51 (4)

⁶⁷ This does NOT include those who are retired.

respondents scored higher in questions where an “Other” social networking site option was present. While this would be beneficial to study, this paper will not focus on these questions because there is no way to know what these “Other” sites are. Further research into this topic could determine what other sites are prevalent among African American social networking users and whether these sites cater to certain ethnic groups more than others.

Chapter 4: Questions for Analysis

Below are the eight questions chosen for analysis and the rationale used in the selection process:

- **Question 1** – “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?”

Trust is a strong theme in the Pew study, and throughout many studies on social capital.⁶⁸⁶⁹⁷⁰ Individuals that are trusting of others yield positive outcomes with their own network, in their neighborhoods, and larger communities. Additionally, there has been research that links strong social trust to trust in political institutions and a greater satisfaction with democracy.

- **Question 2**- “Thinking about the (coming November elections / recent national elections held on November 2) have you gone to any political meetings, rallies, speeches or fundraisers in support of a particular party or candidate ?⁷¹

This question was added to expand the definition of political activity (see question 3). Participation in political meetings, fundraisers etc., are all forms of political activity, therefore it is important to add a question that measures levels of political activity outside of voting.

- **Question 3**- “Thinking about the (coming November elections / recent national elections held on November 2) have you tried to convince someone to vote for a

⁶⁸ Newton, K. (2001). Trust, social capital, civic society, and democracy. *International Political Science*, 22 (2)

⁶⁹ Kelly D.C. (2009) “In preparation for adulthood: Exploring civic participation and social trust among young minorities.” *Youth and Society*

⁷⁰ Zmerli, S. and Newton, K. (2008) Social Trust and Attitudes Toward Democracy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72 (4)

⁷¹ Questions 2 and 3 were split up In order. The questions were originally designed as 2a 2b.

particular party or candidate.

While there are several questions that discuss political activity, this question deals with electoral activity in particular. It is important to examine this question because working to convince someone to vote a specific way, shows a high level of commitment to the electoral process.

- **Question 4** - Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November, or not? /

A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the elections this year on November 2nd. How about you? Did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?"⁷²

This question explores political activity among the respondents. Election activity is an important aspect of social capital⁷³ because it influences an individual's knowledge of the political system and fosters civic engagement within communities. Election activity can also help increase the levels of expertise in the networks an individual belongs to.

- **Question 5**- "Do you belong to or ever work with [INSERT ITEM]?
 - a. A community group or neighborhood association that focuses on issues or problems in your community
 - b. A local church, synagogue, mosque or temple."

This question was selected because Pew cites memberships in community organizations as a test of civic engagement in social networks. It should be noted

⁷² Pew notes that these numbers may be somewhat inflated because respondents often say they are planning to vote even if this is not true.

⁷³ La Due Lake, R. and Robert H. (1998) Social Capital, Social Networks, and Political Participation. *Political Psychology*, 19 (3)

that community groups and neighborhood associations are not inclusive of local sports teams, youth groups, such as the YMCA or boy scouts, social clubs and charitable organizations. Although these individual are often lumped under the category “community groups” they are placed in their own separate category for the purposes of this survey. It should also be noted that the community groups under this category are specifically groups that focuses on problems within said community. Religious institutions were added to this category because of the prominence they hold in ethnic communities. Churches have noted as a staple in the Black community, specifically for their role in re-building inner city-communities and serving as a foundation Black activism. Dating back to the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the church functioned as a gathering place for strategy meetings, allowed organizers to take up collections for their protest efforts and helped protesters hone their skills public speaking and leadership skills.⁷⁴ Religious institutions provide individuals with a platform for both religious worship and community involvement.

These next set of questions focuses on Internet usage. Facebook was used instead of other social networking sites because the Pew study found that Facebook users are more political engaged than users of other sites. The questions are:

- **Question 6** - “Thinking about the people on your Facebook friends list, how many of them are members of a group you belong to, such as a church or voluntary association?”

⁷⁴ Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Similar to the preceding question, this question was included because of its focus on religious institutions. It shows who the respondent's friends list consists of, which gives better insight on who makes up the online networks of these users.

- **Question 7** - "How often [are you] online?"

This is a very basic question on its surface but it provides a framework for further analysis. The Pew study links Internet usage with larger social networks, closer ties and social trust. The question is focused on in order to determine if there is a proportionate or disproportionate number of Black to White Internet users and what this says about its links to trust and other benefits found in the study.

- **Question 8** - "About how often do you use FACEBOOK – several times a day, about once a day, 3-5 days a week, 1-2 days a week, every few weeks, less often or never?"

Again, Facebook users scored highest in many areas including most trusting and most politically active. This question is included because it allows me to examine African Americans facebook use.

Chapter 5: Results

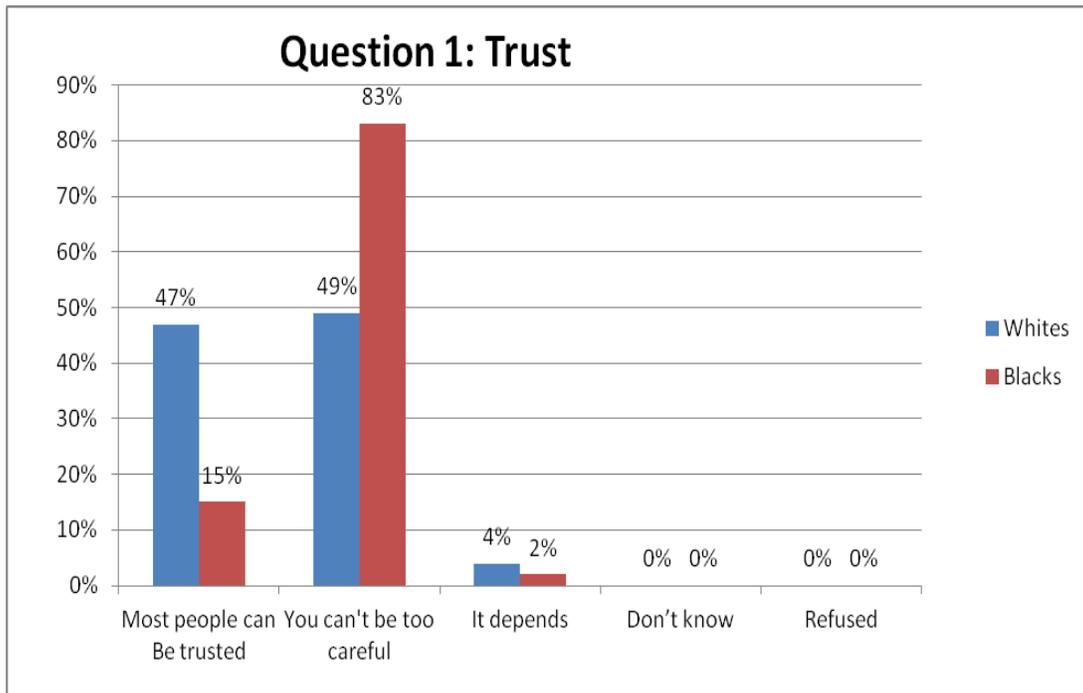


Figure 1. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q1) on Pew survey: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?”

From the eight questions selected, I extrapolated information about Black and White respondents and entered the information into a chart detailing the data breakdown. The raw data for the first question “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?” shows that only 15 percent of Black respondents believe that most people can be trusted compared to the 47 percent of White respondents. An overwhelming 89 percent of Black respondents answered that you can't be too careful in dealing with people. Less than half Whites answers yes to this question. (Figure 1) Question 2 asks respondents about their past and expected political participation. Both Black and White respondents produced low

numbers when asked if they had gone to any political meeting, rallies, speeches or fundraisers for a party or candidate. Only 6 percent of Black and 10 percent of White respondents answered “Yes”. In Question 3, when asked if they had tried to get someone to vote for a party or candidate, 24 percent of Black respondents answered “Yes”, while 25 percent of White respondents answered in the affirmative. However, in Question 4, when asked if they plan to vote/ did wind up voting in the upcoming election, 66 percent of Black respondents and 69 percent of White respondents said they did vote or planned on voting.

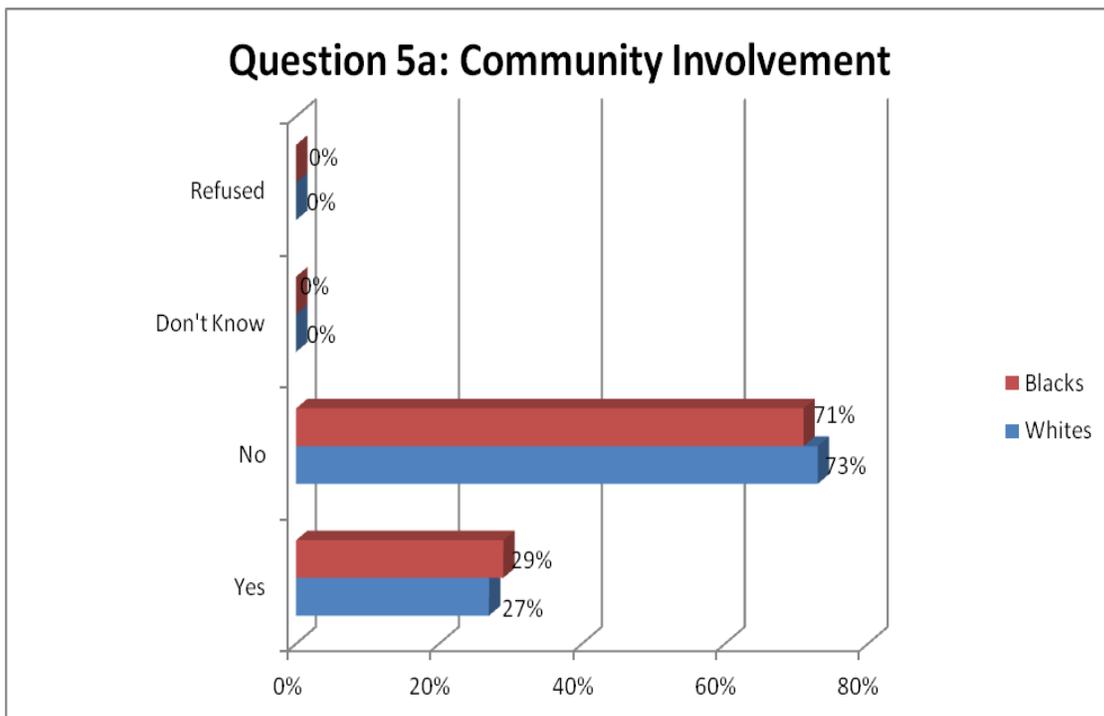


Figure 2. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

Question 5a shows that 27 percent of Black respondents belong to, or work with a community group or neighborhood association, while 29 percent of White respondents answered this question in the affirmative.

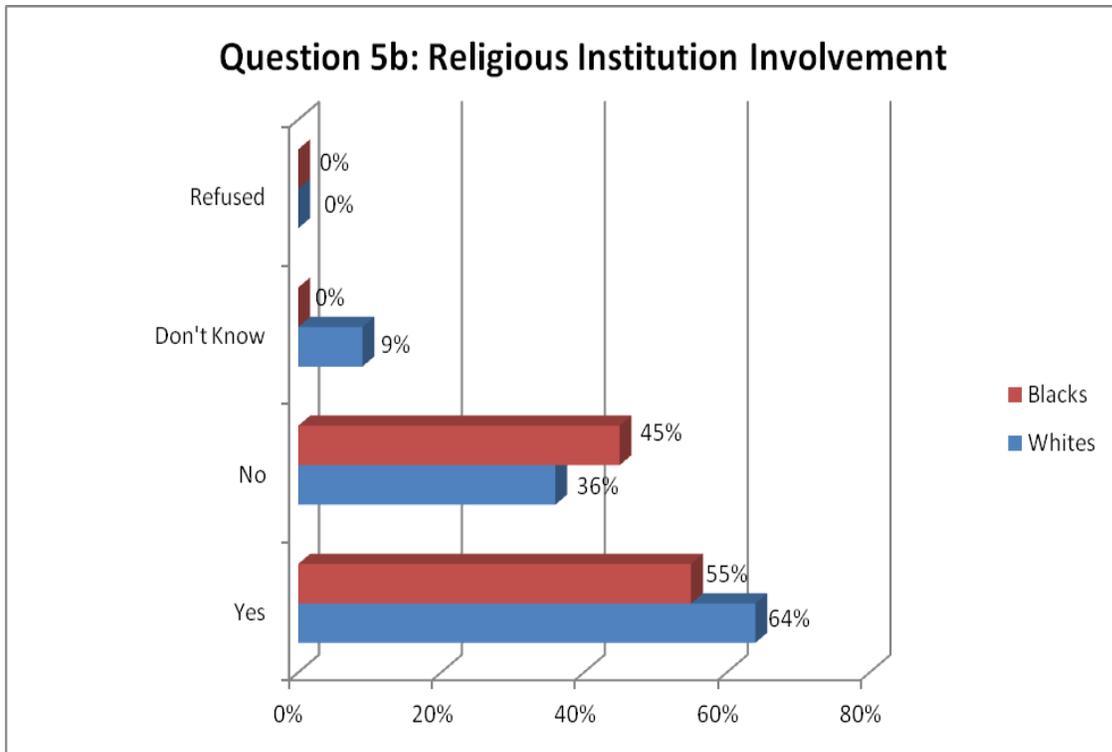


Figure 3. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

Question 5b shows that, 55% of Black respondents belong to a church, synagogue, mosque or temple. When White respondents were asked this question, 55% answered that they belong to one of the aforementioned religious institutions.

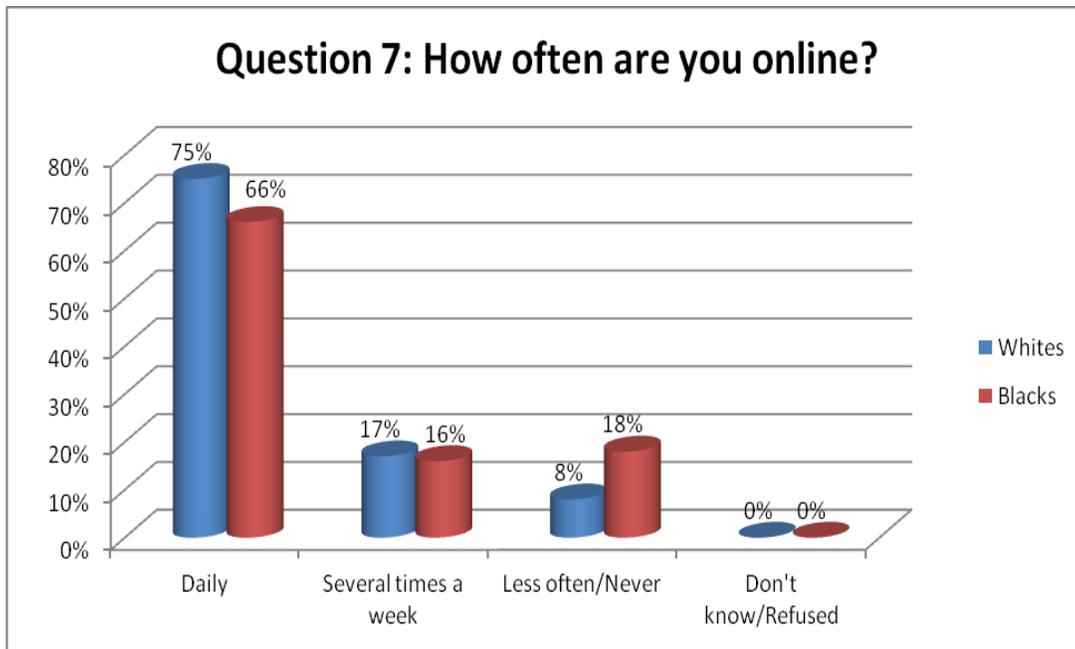


Figure 4. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

Question 6 asks - “Thinking about the people on your Facebook friends list, how many of them are members of a group you belong to, such as a church or voluntary association?” 44% of Blacks said that 5 or more of their Facebook friends belong to their church or voluntary association, while 36% of White respondents said that 5 or more of their Facebook friends list belong to their church or voluntary association. Question 7, asks respondents “How often are you online?” to which 66 percent of Black respondents answered “Daily”. Meanwhile, 75 percent of White Respondents are online daily.

Additionally 1 percent of Black respondents are online “Less often/Never”, whereas half that percentage of Whites are online less often/never. (Figure 2) A breakdown of the data for Question 8 finds a significantly larger number of Black respondents use Facebook several times a day, with 45 percent to the White respondents 28 percent. (Figure 2)

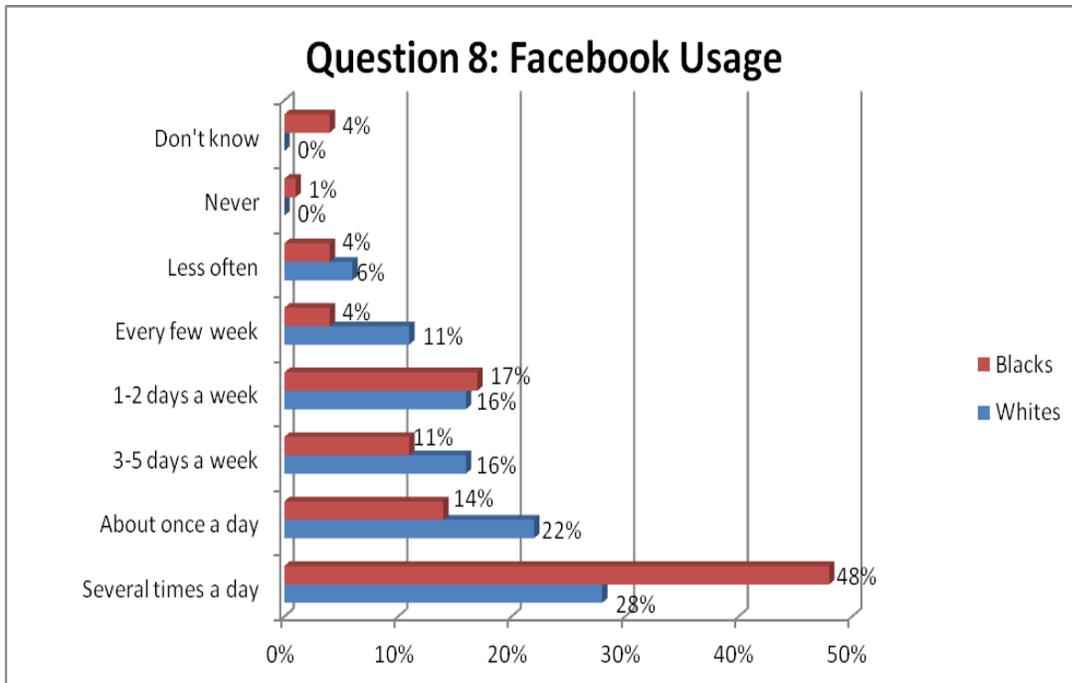


Figure 5. Bar graph detailing responses to question (SNS3) on Pew survey: “. About how often do you use Facebook – several times a day, about once a day, 3-5 days a week, 1-2 days a week, every few weeks, less often or never?”

Chapter 6: Analysis

There were several notable findings in the results of the raw data break down. I will focus on four themes:

- (1) Trust
- (2) Engagement
- (3) Social Capital
- (4) Internet Use

I will then take a look at how these 4 concepts connected to one another and offer possible explanations for these findings. Finally, I will determine questions and issues for further research based on the results of these four categories.

(1) Trust

First, there is the vast difference in the Black respondents' answer to Question 1 concerning trust of most people and the feeling that most people cannot be trusted. Only 15 percent of Black respondents answered that most people can be trusted, while 83% felt that you can't be too careful when dealing with most people. This answer is consistent with early research regarding social trust in African Americans. In 1974, Blacks scored lower on the trust scale of the Philosophies of Human Nature instrument and Black college students scored significantly lower than Whites on Rotter's Interpersonal Trust Scale. While there has been massive research on Blacks and social trust since then, the findings of these studies present a significant issue.⁷⁵ The Philosophies of Human Nature instrument found low levels of trust among Black respondents but when asked if they trust Blacks over "most people", the trust levels increased significantly.⁷⁶ The Pew study asked Black respondents if they trust "most people" and believed that you cannot be too careful in dealing with "people" but made no distinction in race. This presents the question of whether or not that number would have increased had that distinction been made.

Trust is an important factor in social capital and has been associated with many positive outcomes, both in individuals and within communities. Trust can lead to increases in ethical conduct and help build strong and cohesive community networks.⁷⁷ In exploring the issues of social trust, we can look to Cornwell et al.'s possible explanation

⁷⁵ Scott, D. (1982) Trust Differences Between Blacks and Whites In An Organizational Setting. *Akron Business and Economic Review*, 13 (2)

⁷⁶ White respondents trusted members of their own racial group more than "most people" as well.

⁷⁷ Rahn, W., Transue, J. (1998) Social Trust and Value Change: The Decline of Social Capital in American Youth, 1976-1996. *Political Psychology* (19-3)

for the low levels of experts among racial minorities. Homophily in social networks was cited as a possible explanation, a finding consistent with studies that cite African Americans as having homogeneous social networks.⁷⁸ This presents another question since studies also show that African Americans have higher levels of trust among their own racial groups. However, as mentioned earlier, Pew's question asked Black respondents if they trust "most people" and did not differentiate among Blacks and Whites. It would be valuable for a future study to look into the consistency of homophily in African American social networks and levels of social trust.

There have been numerous explanations given for the decline in social trust overtime and the same themes of disparities in economic socio-economic levels, discrimination and education continue to appear when discussing African Americans. I will further expound upon these issues with social trust, later in this chapter.

⁷⁸ Cornwell, E. Y., and Cornwell. B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51 (4)

(2) Engagement

Community Involvement and Religious Institution Involvement are explored through questions 5a and 5b.

Community Involvement - Question 5a

Slightly lower numbers of Blacks are involved in community groups or neighborhood associations than White respondents (22 percent of Blacks versus 27 percent of Whites). These are significantly lower numbers than those derived from Question 5b, where the majority of Black respondents are active in religious institutions. Cohen et al.'s study on concentration affects points to the prevalence of poverty in African American communities as an indicator of low community involvement.⁷⁹ Economic stress negatively influences members of low income communities and led to social isolation. This could account for lower numbers of involvement in formal community groups and neighborhood associations, while simultaneously accounting for higher numbers of religious activity. It could be the perception in involvement that accounts for the gap in these two questions.

Membership in religious institutions is in fact a form of community involvement but it is not a formal association that requires weekly or monthly meetings, membership dues or formal committees. Churches and religious institutions do, however, have meetings of the congregation during weekly church service, weekly donations to collection plates as well as tides and committees for youth groups, choirs and church trips. While the church is very similar to formal community organizations, it may be the perception that church is a part of religious life and not an additional responsibility one must take on.

⁷⁹ Cohen, C. J., Dawson, M.C. (1993) Neighborhood Poverty and African American Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 87 (2)

Religious Involvement - Question 5b

Question 5b showed that the majority of both Black and White respondents belong to a religious institution. This question can be best analyzed by examining the results of a December 2011 Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project study on religiosity and technology, that drew interesting parallels between religious activity and other forms of connectedness. The study showed that 53 percent of religiously active Americans believe that other people are generally trustworthy, while 43 percent of people who are not religiously active believe people are trustworthy. In viewing these findings in addition to the June 2011 Pew study used in this paper, two things jump out as a point for analysis - (1) the 55 percent of Black respondents who belong to a religious institutions and (2) the 53 percent of religiously activity Americans who believe others are trustworthy. First, I will look at other conclusions from the December 2011 study on religion.

The December 2011 study showed that religious people, those involved in religious organizations, were also active in secular organizations. Compared to non-religious people, religious people were shown to be more involved in sports groups, with 35 percent being more involved in sports organizations for themselves or for their children, than the 17 percent of non-religious people. Religious people are more active in charitable or volunteer organizations, such as Habitat for Humanity or the Humane society, at 34 percent to 15 percent for the non religious. Additionally, 30 percent religious people are active in community groups or neighborhood associations versus the 11 percent for the non-religious. Religious people spend an average of 7.5 hours per week

participating in group activities while non-religious people participate in group activities for an average of 5.4 hours a week.

These findings show that people who are active in religious life tend to be more involved in secular aspects of their communities, a conclusion that falls in line with Swain's research on African American and religiosity and community activism. Swain posits that Blacks learn skills that are valuable for activism through their involvement in the church. The data extracted from the June 2011 Pew study has 55 percent of African Americans belonging to religious institutions. Based on the results of these two surveys, it can be said that much of the community involvement in secular community life is influenced by the religious institutions people belong to. Further, the findings would suggest that African Americans who belong to religious institutions are active in community groups and organizations than those who do not.

The second point of analysis deals with the ever present issue of trust. The December 2011 study shows that 53 percent of religiously active Americans believe that other people are generally trustworthy. This comes in direct contrasts with the June 2011 study that found 83 percent of African Americans believe that most people cannot be trusted. This may initially cause the two studies to appear contradictory; however, it is important to note that the 83 percent in the June 2011 study is based on extracted data, while the December study speaks to the entire sample surveyed for this question. If one were to extract data from the December study, there is likely to be a difference in the answer Black respondents give versus non-Black respondents. There is likely to be a difference based on earlier studies on social trust discussed previously in this paper. Additionally, the fact that the question asks if "other people" are trustworthy could influence the

response. Given the results of The Philosophies of Human Nature instrument, defining terms like “most people” (June 2011 study) and “other people’ (December 2011 study) could make a significant difference in the responses given by African American survey participants.

Opportunity Costs

In discussing, community and religious involvement it is important to take into account the opportunity costs of these forms of engagement. The initiative it takes for one to participate in a community activity is an important factor to consider. Generally speaking, periods of economic downturn lead to civic disengagement. Putnam points to the Great Depression, a time when membership in civic organizations had the biggest decline in a 100 year period. Additionally, Jahon et al.’s study on the sociological effects of economic recessions highlighted.

(3) Internet Use

The Pew study found that Internet users have stronger social ties, more diverse social networks and higher volunteer activity. There is also a significant relationship between Internet users and social support. Question 5 found that more White respondents than Black respondents use the Internet daily, but Blacks still had a high percentage of usage, at 66 percent.

Question 6 asked respondents about their levels of Facebook usage. Significantly more Black respondents than White respondents answered that they use Facebook several times a day. According to the Pew study, Facebook users are more trusting, have more close ties and are more politically engaged. More specifically, those who use Facebook multiple times a day are over 40% more likely than other Internet users to feel most people can be trusted. It may be tempting to make the inference that because 66% of Black respondents log onto to the site several times a day, that Black respondents are more trusting, more politically engaged and have closer ties.

However, while overall Facebook users have these attributes, Blacks do not necessarily fall into this category, even though they use Facebook heavily. This presents a question for further research – while this strong association exists between Internet use and strong vibrant social networks, and while Black respondent’s social network use is generally consistent with the use of White respondents - are their differences in the quality of these networks that lead to two factors: (1) lower levels of social trust and (2) low levels political activity, two staples of social capital?

Cornwell et al.'s⁸⁰ study on experts in social networks may shed some light into this question. This study used data from the 1985 and 2004 General Social Surveys (GSS) to explore expert contacts within social networks of racial minorities. Experts could increase an individual's access to resources, status attainments, and political power. Researchers found low levels of access to expert contacts in racial minorities and asserted that racial minorities are less likely to have expert ties in their social networks. Pew's study listed Internet, and more specifically Facebook users, as having high levels of trust and political activity. The decline in experts may point to why these levels are low in African Americans. It is not explained why Facebook users have higher levels of political activity but in reviewing the Pew report, users who use the site update their own status, comment on another's post or status and "Like" another user's contact on an average day. Higher educated Facebook "friends" or "friends" with specialized skills⁸¹ could act as a resource for an individual. For example, users with contacts who are involved in politics may be more likely to gain knowledge on certain political issues or stay abreast on election activity through updates on posts and statuses. Similarly, those with higher educated contacts may be more likely to act as a resource for users to find ways to get involved in political activities.

While there is no way to determine the entire makeup of the respondents in the study's online network, the decline in experts in racial minorities offline social networks could possibly point to low quality social networks among Blacks. It would be beneficial

⁸⁰ Cornwell, E. Y., and Cornwell. B. (2008) Access to expertise as a form of social capital: An examination of race- and class-based disparities in network ties to experts. *Sociological Perspectives*, 51 (4)

⁸¹ This does not necessarily refer to skills attained through formal education.

to explore the topic of quality in these networks more in additional research, as there are many questions that come along with that assertion – How can we define “quality” in networks? Does the prevalence of expert contacts in denote “quality”? The Pew study did an effective job in breaking down the occupations of online network contacts and it would be interesting to see an even more in depth breakdown of social networks in Black and White respondents in order to determine what benefits these respondents are receiving from their contacts.

The Pew study and supplemental raw data alone does not fully examine the discourse on these social networking sites. However, participation analysis of these sites could serve to provide another possible explanation for low levels of political activity among African Americans, despite overall Internet and Facebook use comparable to Whites. Byrne conducted a study if one of the largest and longest running Black social networking sites, Black Planet.⁸² Byrne used this site because there is not an abundance of social networking sites that specifically cater to Blacks, and there’s an even smaller number that has the population size of Black Planet. Black Planet has evolved since its inception in 1999⁸³ into a site with a wide range of community areas, including chat rooms, dating services, discussion forums, user profiles and news article with response sections.

The study explored various discussion forums on the site in order to determine which topics gained the most leverage, while emphasizing on topics concerning politics and social justice. In examining these topics, Byrne looked for action oriented discussion, where participants initiated political actions. He found that only a handful of discussion

⁸² Blackplanet.com

⁸³ Since 1999, Black Planet has gained over 15.8 million members as of 2007.

threads initiated some form of action, and these threads had the lowest participation rate of any of the threads in this section. The study concluded that, although there were ongoing discussions on political and social justice issues, very rarely did these discussions move to talk of civic engagement.

While this study only examined one site, it gives a view of participant activity in Black social networks. It is not known whether or not Facebook and other social network users discuss political action or if there is even substantial political discussion in general. This is a topic worth exploring in the future, potentially with a Black oriented social networking site measured against a comparable site that does not have an ethnic focus.

(4) Social Capital

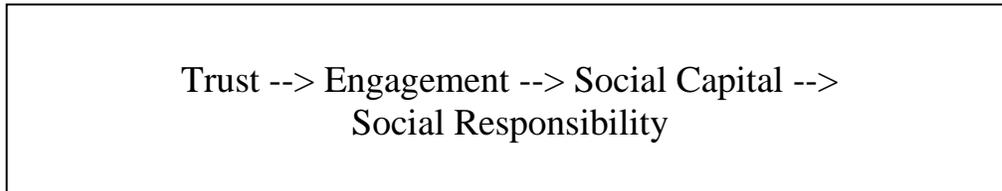
While there were no questions that dealt directly with social capital, every single question asked deals with issues that influences social capital. The next section of this paper, Connecting the Concepts, will further show the link between social capital and Trust, Engagement and Internet Usage. In question 1, the subject of trust has been shown to be a huge indicator of the strength of social capital in communities. Healthy relationships are built on trust and mutual respect of one another. The absence of trust in African American communities can negatively influence the strength of the social capital. However, as discussed earlier, trust amongst a group and trust among the larger population are two very distinct things. Although there are low levels of trust exhibited from the survey recipients, there could be high levels of trust among blacks. That would create valuable, yet homogenous networks with strong social capital.

Questions 5a and 5b deal with involvement in community organizations and religious institutions. Participation in these types of groups will inevitably strengthen social capital in communities. Becoming involved in community or religious groups helps to expand social networks and teaches members important activism skills. Additionally, when people become involved in these types of groups they build and strengthen relationships, which is likely to lead to higher levels of trust. High levels of involvement among African Americans suggest a move in the right direction. While African Americans have had historically low levels of political activism, involvement in community and religious organizations can point to non-traditional avenues of engagement. Strong social capital is the end goal to the trust and engagement discussed earlier in this chapter. Next, I will look at how each of these concepts are interconnected

and how meeting the end goal of greater social capital can lead to a more socially responsible society.

Connecting the Concepts

Figure 6.



In analyzing these results, I created a structure (Figure 4.) that connected these three concepts of (1) trust, (2) engagement, and (4) social capital, in an attempt to rationalize the low levels of trust among Blacks and high levels of (3) internet use. Through this study, it has become evident that trust has a strong influence on both engagement and social capital. More specifically, in the Black community, trust is an essential component of political and community engagement and is one of the most important factors in building strong social capital.

The structure (Figure 4.) outlines the findings in this study and shows how these concepts intersect. Trust leads to higher levels of engagement, which in turn leads to stronger social capital. Strong social capital leads to social responsibility which can manifest itself through voting, volunteering as well as building a better family life, safer neighborhoods, and a stronger democracy. The end goal of this structure is a more connected world that ensures reciprocal relationships globally. Encouraging better citizens of a town leads to better citizens of a country which leads to better citizens of the world. These are the end goals to stronger social capital that has been outlined by Putnam and various other social capital scholars.

Figure 7.

Trust among Blacks --> Engagement with Blacks -->
Social Capital among Blacks --> Social Responsibility?

When discussing Blacks, in particular, the structure changes. The relationship between trust, engagement and social capital still exists, however, the makeup of these networks are an essential factor to consider. While only 15% of Blacks felt that most people can be trusted, the number may not have been so low if the question were "Can most people in your network be trusted?" As stated earlier in this study, Blacks have the highest level of homophily in their social networks. Therefore, if the question had asked if most people in their networks could be trusted, or more pointedly "can most black people be trusted?" their answer may have inspired a structure that looks like the one above (Figure 4). Trust among Blacks leads to higher levels of engagement with blacks, which in turn leads to strong social capital among blacks. This new structure would be consistent with the Philosophies of Human Nature experiment. While strong social capital can be beneficial to a community, the end goals of a world with higher connectivity and a greater sense of reciprocity are not necessarily present in the second structure. When one group has high levels of trust amongst their own racial group but not the overall population, they are less likely to achieve the goal of cohesion with the rest of the country and world.

Nunnally's study on race and discrimination, point to distrust among Blacks as institutionalized and normative by American political institutions. During the Reconstruction era, Whites were constructed as the dominant group over Blacks and other minorities through government induced discrimination and unequal laws that benefited Whites. This impacted how Blacks viewed political institutions and in general,

non-blacks, to protect Blacks' interest. Following the passage of civil rights legislation, Blacks still were uncertain of their place in the racial hierarchy of the country and existing economic and political disparities led to distrust. Nunally also lists the psychological effects of pre-civil rights era abuse as a factor that lead to insular Black communities. Post-civil rights era generations were taught about their place as a Black person in America by their parents through racial socialization.⁸⁴ Nunally argues that through racial socialization, members of racial groups are taught whom to trust in a society. These residual effects of a historical racial divide combined with more contemporary racial divisions⁸⁵ have led to low levels of trust, as Nunally states "“distrust,” not “trust” has been the basis on which race relations have been institutionalized in America."

In exploring reasons for the lack of trust, it is important not to look at Blacks as a monolithic group. While the history of Blacks in America links the group, the subgroups of Blacks that have emerged are worth examining as well. Robinson argues that the tie that binds Blacks today is their history, often the history of racism and discrimination being the most prevalent. The disintegration of Black America has led to a splintering of the African-American population into four subgroups: the wealthy elite, the mainstream middle-class majority, the impoverished, abandoned minority and the recent wave of African and Caribbean immigrants. Robinson notes that this splintering has only began to

⁸⁴ Demo, D. H. & Hughes, M. (1990). Socialization and racial identity among Black Americans. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53

⁸⁵ Kinder, D.R., and Sander, L.M. (1996) *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

form over the last forty years, where the condition of Blacks in America began to change, some subgroups getting out of poverty and other falling even further behind.⁸⁶

Under Robinson's theory, it might be worth it to further delve into the issue of trust. Taking a look into the breakup of levels of trust in these four subgroups could paint a better picture of how class influences the residual effects of racism and discrimination that Black America has experienced. If the levels are different, with higher levels of trust being linked to groups that are more marginalized than others (i.e. the abandoned minority versus the wealthy elite), this would suggest that the affects of African American shared history are minimal or perhaps declining as Black move further away from their past. If the levels were the same, it could be concluded that the residual affects Nunally discusses are transcendent of class within the Black community.

⁸⁶ Robinson, E. (2010) *Disintegration: The Splintering of Black America*. New York: Anchor Books.

Chapter 7: Further Research

The most evident dichotomy found in this study was the low levels of social trust among Black respondents and comparable or higher levels of Internet and Facebook use. Trust and Facebook use were positively linked in the Pew report, yet African Americans showed exceptionally low levels of trust. It may be beneficial to delve deeper into the 83 percent of Black respondents who believe most people cannot be trusted. Additionally, there were findings that point to high levels of participation in religious institutions and community organizations and online social networks that include contacts from these groups. These findings are consistent with Putnam's conclusion that the Black church is a driving force in social capital among African Americans. This study provided a breakdown of raw data from a relatively recent Pew study on online social networks. As Pew continues to append their studies on social network use, it will be important to monitor if and how these findings change.

Several questions have been posed for additional research on this topic. In general, continuous research on social networking sites is needed as online communication technologies continue to evolve. More specifically, further work should explore reasons for low levels of trust in Blacks and perhaps look at these levels against overall social network use. It should be considered that if the wording of the question is adjusted to include "trust of Blacks" versus simply trust of "most people", there may be a difference in findings. Additionally, Black oriented social networking sites could be studied against sites like Facebook and Twitter. Do Black oriented sites foster stronger social capital among African Americans or does the homophily of the sites discourage social capital? Additionally, research on quality of networks could be useful in determining other benefits of social network use. Could individuals with more experts in

their networks have higher levels of civic engagement? Finally, there would be value in a study that compared the networks of other demographics such as gender, income level and education.

Studies on social capital are almost never without discussion of social networks. Since the advent of the Internet, this discourse has shifted between those who believe the Internet and social networking sites weaken social capital and those who link usage with strong networks. It is inevitable that the discussion will continue to evolve along with the evolution of online technology.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

“The community stagnates without the impulse of the individual. The impulse dies away without the sympathy of the community.”

—William James

In the late sixties, neighborhood watch programs began to emerge around the U.S. out of response to the 1964 murder of Kitty Genovese, a young woman who was brutally raped and murdered outside her New York City home.⁸⁷ The case gained notoriety when it was reported that her cries for help were heard and repeatedly ignored by numerous neighbors in her apartment complex. Growing concerns for safety led the National Sheriff’s Association to create the National Neighborhood Watch Program in 1972.⁸⁸ The program was designed to address the need for crime prevention in local communities. It remains a strong example of a type of community group that brings citizens together to address a need that is traditionally handled by an established institution. Though the initiative provides training and resources for local citizens to create and register a group, neighborhood watch programs are technically considered informal community organizations because they do not exist for profit.⁸⁹ However, this group does have a registration process and rules that members must follow in order to officially exist as a neighborhood watch group. Any member of a community can join and any community can form a watch as long as they have a partnership with their local law enforcement agency. While there are some communities that develop informal neighborhood watch

⁸⁷ Neighborhood Watch (2012) Retrieved October 2012 from <http://www.nationofneighbors.com/pages/about-neighborhood-watch>

⁸⁸ Frequently Asked Questions (2012) Retrieved October 2012 from <http://www.usaonwatch.org/service/faq.aspx>

⁸⁹ USAonWatch Current Issue (2006) Retrieved October 2012 from http://www.usaonwatch.org/assets/publications/UOW_501c3.pdf

groups before registering their group with the national program, a group must form this important partnership to become a part of the network of watch groups.⁹⁰ This sets this program apart from unofficial community structures that exist to serve similar needs.

The concept behind watch groups has been around since the night watchmen of colonial times who kept an eye out for suspicious activity in their neighborhoods. Citizens coming together to keep a watchful eye on the happenings of their communities have long existed, with varying degrees of formality. The racial makeup of the community has been shown to be a predictor in how formal or informal these groups are.⁹¹ For example, members of minority groups that have a history of brutality and marginalization by law enforcement agencies may be less likely to register a formal neighborhood watch group given the requirement that a partnership with a law enforcement group must be established. Instead, informal crime prevention structures may develop. The community of Hillcrest Heights discussed in the introduction of this paper is an example of how a network of neighbors can thwart a problem without the help of a formal enforcement structure. While these informal networks exist, the question remains of what their existence means in the larger realm of social capital and the eventual goals of social responsibility and stronger connectedness.

The issue of trust in these communities is an important factor to consider when discussing social capital and social networks through the lens of race. Trusting

⁹⁰ Forest Lakes Owners Association (2006) Retrieved October 2012 from http://www.floa.org/community/neighborhood_watch.htm

⁹¹ MacDonald, J., Ricky B., Kofner, A., Stokes, R., Sehgal, A., Fain, T., Beletsky, L (2009) Neighborhood Effects on Crime and Youth Violence: The Role of Business Improvement Districts in Los Angeles. Santa Monica: RAND Corporation.

relationships can lead to greater social capital within a community. This can help influence the goals of social capital that Putnam and others outline - higher levels of trust, mutual obligation and social responsibility. As social capital research cited throughout this paper shows, this is not a simple task. This task becomes even more challenging when race is entered into the equation. African Americans have a history of racial and political marginalization which impacts most aspects of community life.

In Extraordinary Ordinary People: A Memoir of My Family and Me, Condoleezza Rice recounts her experiences growing up in the Deep South during times of racial segregation. She tells stories of her father's reluctance to join any official protest movements, marked by his decision to instead sit watch on his porch to defend his family from Ku Klux Klan members.⁹² This story illustrates a trend that came up frequently throughout my research - the idea that members of predominately African American communities tend to work within their communities and social networks to strengthen social capital, rather than looking to traditional avenues (e.g. formal community groups, political organizations). Religious institutions were found as the major exception to this trend, as religious Blacks were seen to dominate the Pew Survey.

Trust was a prevalent theme throughout my research results. The value in creating trusting relationships begins on an individual level. When two individuals can successfully maintain a trusting relationship, those individuals are more likely to trust in their communities and larger society. Beem describes this as "a shared set of values,

⁹² Rice, C. (2010) *Ordinary, Extraordinary People: A Memoir of My Family*. New York: Three Rivers Press

virtues, and expectations within society as a whole.”⁹³ Much like neighborhood watch organizations are instated in communities to prevent crime, many formal and informal networks are necessary for social capital to thrive. The absence of trust, due to racial differences, can influence how often these types of organizations or groups are formed. Lower rates of neighborhood watch groups may exist in areas where traditionally marginalized groups live but this does not necessarily mean that informal crime prevention structures do not exist. Additional research into the topic of formal and informal groups would provide a better idea of how these groups impact communities and what the racial breakdown of formal and informal groups mean.

Social capital is achieved through a variety of avenues, including groups with formal membership processes, like fraternities and civic associations. It can also be achieved through informal structures like book clubs and block parties. While it is easier for researchers to track how many people are joining official organizations, the unofficial gatherings are the ones that may be more telling in how strong a shared sense of community is in a particular area. The problem is, African Americans may have lower levels of trust but the prevalence of informal communities structures could still exist. In fact, the existence of these structures could show strong social capital in these communities. When people join official groups, with set times for meetings, dues, and much more structure, their membership in the group obligates them to continue participating in the group. Informal structures allow for more flexibility and generally have little tangible incentive for joining. Participation in these types of structures could

⁹³ Beem, C. (1999). *The Necessity of Politics: Reclaiming American Public Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

be even more beneficial to social capital goals, since more initiative must be taken for one to maintain an informal community structure.

The Pew Study brought to light a number of trends in social networking use and the breakdown of the study by demographic helped provide a context for examining social capital in light of race. As it stands, this has been an effective way to measure social networking use and was a substantive way to dissect a phenomenon that is certain to garner much advancement in years to come.

Trust impacts how community members interact with one another and with larger institutions. If a community does not, for example, trust the local law enforcement agency, they may be less likely to trust political institutions. A lack of trust in political institutions can impact feelings of efficacy which impacts voting rate and overall political involvement. This is a cycle that can only be broken up by concerted efforts to ameliorate problems ethnic groups may have with a lack of trust in their communities. Social capital studies are essential to these efforts, with special emphasis placed on studies with a racial focus.

Studies on social capital and race are becoming more available but are still too rare. Given the history of race relations in the U.S., the cohesion or lack thereof in a community is inevitably impacted by the racial makeup of its constituents. Therefore, studies on how race impacts social capital and are not just necessary to the advancement of scholarship on the subject but essential in understanding how practical politics plays out in racially homogeneous communities. In getting groups to vote, attend political events or engage in community activities, political practitioners and community

organizers should be aware of how race affects social capital, which in turn impacts democracy. The issue of trust is present in almost all aspects of this study, given its influence on engagement and social capital. Understanding trust, in light of race, gives a better understanding why homogeneous social networks exist among Blacks and what historical and contemporary factors impact these networks.

Final Thoughts

A considerable amount of time has passed since I choose this topic and began researching this subject area. I started my research my second year of graduate school, during a time when I was involved in a variety of community development endeavors. I served on a committee for the Hillcrest Heights Civic Association. I volunteered for the YMCA's Youth and Government program and I worked in the policy department of a housing and community development trade association. After living in Washington, DC, I moved back to Hillcrest Heights to save money and now I am preparing to move back into the DC near the Columbia Heights area. This move and these changes I am in the process of making have raised two very important questions. First, will I continue to be involved with the Hillcrest Heights Civic Association as I once was, while living in Washington, DC? Second, what challenges will I face in integrating myself into the Columbia Heights community and what challenges are already present, due to the gentrification of the area?

The reach this thesis topic has on almost every aspect of my life is incredible. During conversations with friends and colleagues, on several occasions, I have found myself referring back to this topic of social capital and social networks. Everything from

education to public safety to the effects the 2012 election results will have on the efficacy of African Americans, has roots in social capital theory. Now, with my move nearing, I am once again referring back to this study and the remarkable work by authors like Putnam and Lin I have spent hours and hours poring over. First, I will address Hillcrest, the area I will be leaving, possibly for good.

Much time has passed since I wrote the introduction to this paper. Today, I still volunteer with the YMCA and have met some remarkable young people who are benefiting greatly from the presence of the Y programs in their lives and in their communities. I have worked in the housing field and will likely continue working in housing and urban development. As for the Hillcrest Heights Civic Association, I have cut my ties with the organization. There was a time when the civic association was an important institution in the community. I had been involved with this organization since a very young age. In grade school, I participated in their Hillcrest Heights Day parade every year and as a teenager I always attended events and community forums as a part of a youth organization I belonged to. Over the past few years I have attended meetings and political events. Even when I was living in Washington, DC, I supported the organization partially because my mother and family members still lived in the area, but also because Hillcrest Heights is and always will be where I consider “home”. I was a stakeholder in the community and through the years I have put great effort into helping the area grow. The problem is that Hillcrest Heights is changing and the civic association is not changing with it.

An influx of former Washington, DC residents have made their way into Prince Georges County resulting in an uptick in crime, new problems with turf rivalries amongst young people and an overall difficulty integrating these new residents. Unfortunately, instead of confronting these problems, Hillcrest Heights Civic Association has taken a head in the sand approach. Instead of putting more effort into addressing the issues facing the community, as it once did, the organization has resigned itself to organizing spaghetti dinners and hosting scholarships only open to young people whose parents are mainstays in the association. In short, the organization has deviated away from its original goal of bringing the community of Hillcrest together and has turned into a forum for self-congratulatory indulgence. The same members are elected to the same positions every year and there does not seem to be any real interest in expanding the reach of the organization to younger people in the community. For example, the organization shuts down during the summer months, a time when programming for students who are home for summer break should be could not only be helpful, but could mean the difference between students loitering in the streets and them having a productive way to spend their summer months. Of course, any organization has a right to do what they choose with the time and resources they have. However, I do not see a place for myself in the Hillcrest Heights Civic Association given the way they chosen to spend theirs. I do not know if I will stay away from the organization forever, but as of now I moving out of the area and my mother is preparing to buy a house in another part of Prince Georges County. Time will tell if I will continue working with a community that has given me so much but needs so much in return.

The second issue on my mind refers to the area I plan to move into, Columbia Heights. Columbia Heights was once an area heavily populated with Latinos and Blacks and plagued by crime and poverty. Along with the U street – Cardozo and Georgia Avenue areas, Columbia Heights is a neighborhood in transition. Translation: rents are being raised to capitalize on the inflow of young professionals looking for neighborhoods beyond the even pricier Georgetown, DuPont Circle and Foggy Bottom areas. As a result, people who have lived in these neighborhoods are being forced to move into other areas. I accompanied a friend to an event at St. Stephen's auditorium in Columbia Heights a few months ago. While waiting for the event to start, we caught the tail end of a meeting of what I am assuming was the local neighborhood association. The central problem being discussed was public safety. After sitting through about 20 minutes of discussion, I made two observations – 1.) Safety is indeed an issue in this neighborhood and 2.) The majority, if not, all the members of this meeting were white, young, most likely working in the city. This made me think about the effects of gentrification as it relates to social capital, something that has been on my mind even more heavily because of my move.

I always like to say that gentrification is neither good nor bad; rather it is good and bad. It has innumerable benefits and possibly an equal amount of disadvantages. However, as it relates to social capital, the main disadvantage that sticks out is the divide between the two groups in any gentrified area, those who are coming in and those who fear they are on the way out. With such a tension created through this process, creating any type of community relationships beyond that of peaceful coexistence is nearly impossible. Additionally, the people who do decide to stay in these neighborhoods often see their neighbors moving out due to increased rents, and staples of the community, like

mom and pop shops and old churches are often closed down to make room for chain stores and larger commercial properties. This leads to questions of how people can go about sustaining communities that no longer look like the communities they once knew. I have not decided whether or not I will join a community organization once I move to Columbia Heights but if I do, I will spend the earlier part of my time in the organization observing, taking in information and analyzing the dynamics in the community. The latter time will be focused on action, both in sustaining the development of the community and making moves to create relationships and a network of my own.

The completion of this thesis is just the beginning for me. I am committed to continuing to better every community I have an honored of being a part of. I am committed to doing work that will strengthen the networks of minorities to create greater opportunities for access to resources than can help improve their quality of life. My wish for the future of community development would be this: I want us to not just live in a community but to work to have community. I want us to feel, know and breathe everything great about the community in which we dwell and commit to fix everything that needs work. Most importantly, I want us to treat our communities, and our relationships with each other in those communities, like a new home. The more work we put into the home, the greater the value. To reference the famous quote about democracy – community is not something we have, it is something we do.

Appendices

Figure 1. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q1) on Pew survey: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?”

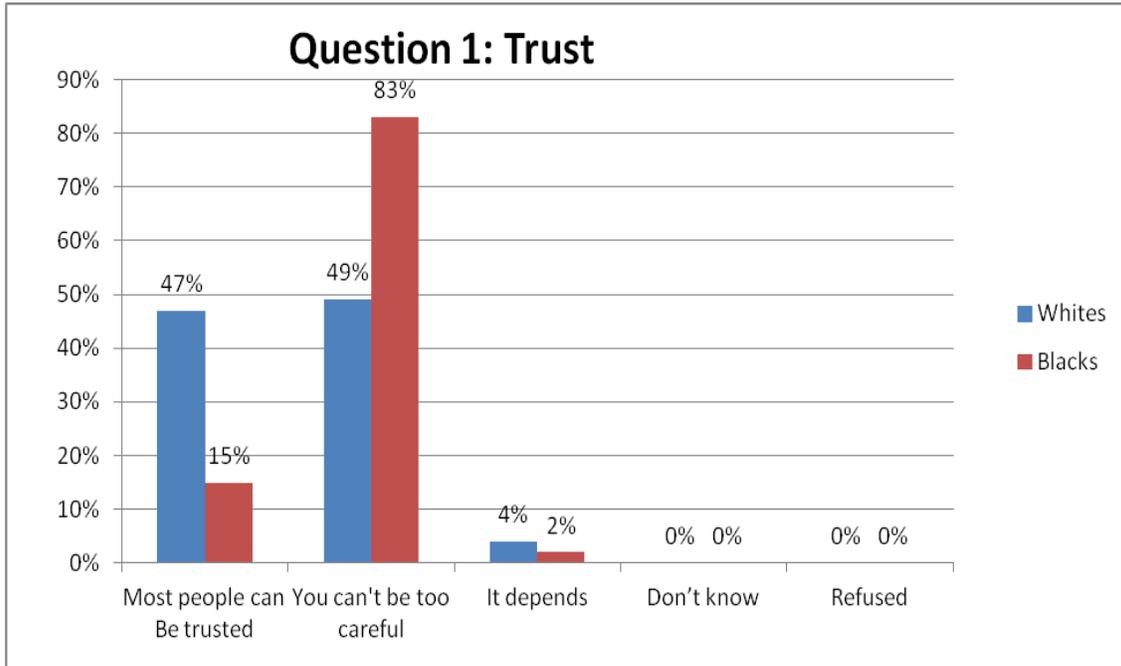


Figure 2. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

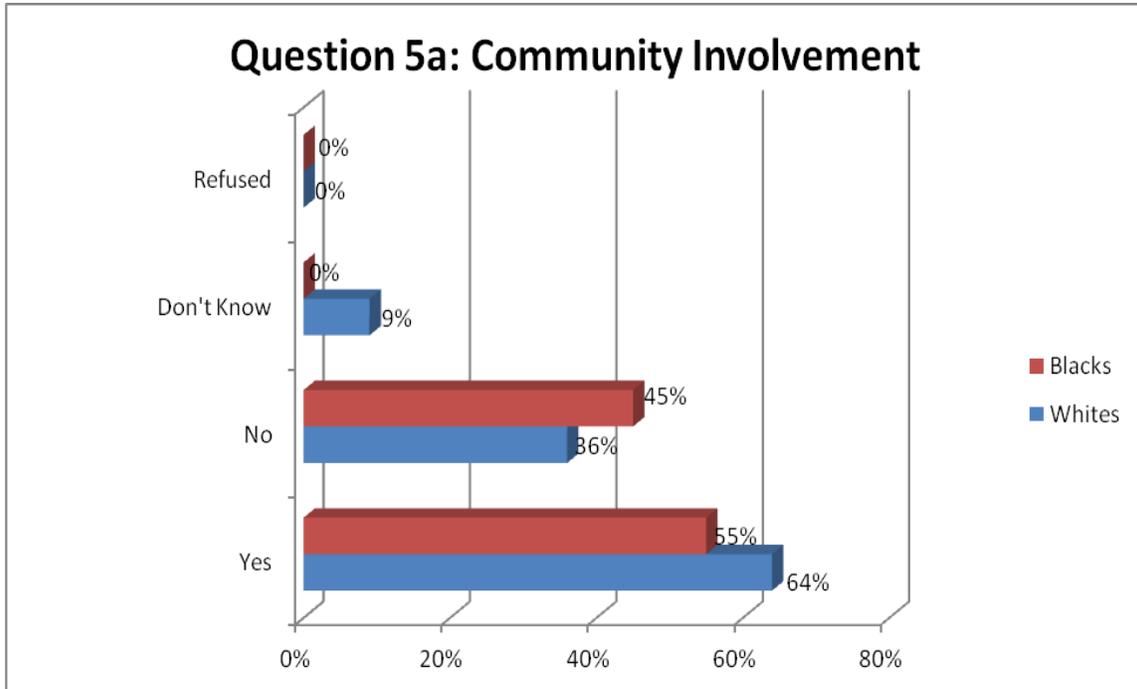


Figure 3. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

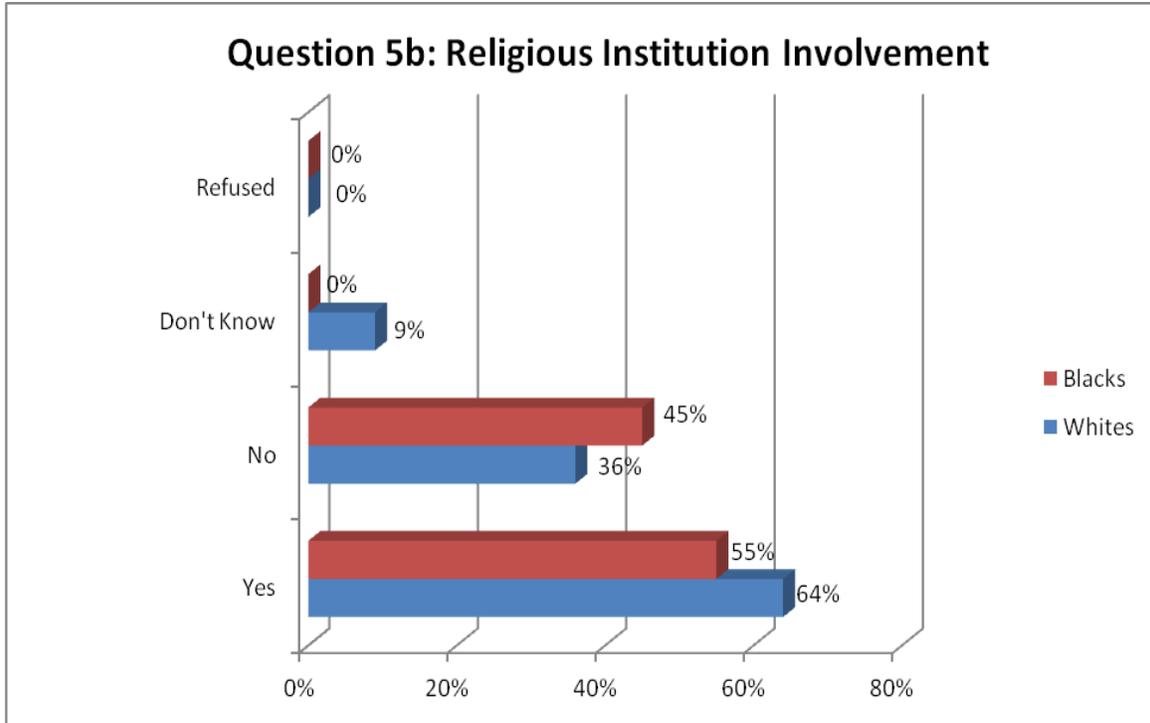


Figure 4. Bar graph detailing responses to question (Q7) on Pew survey: “How often are you online?”

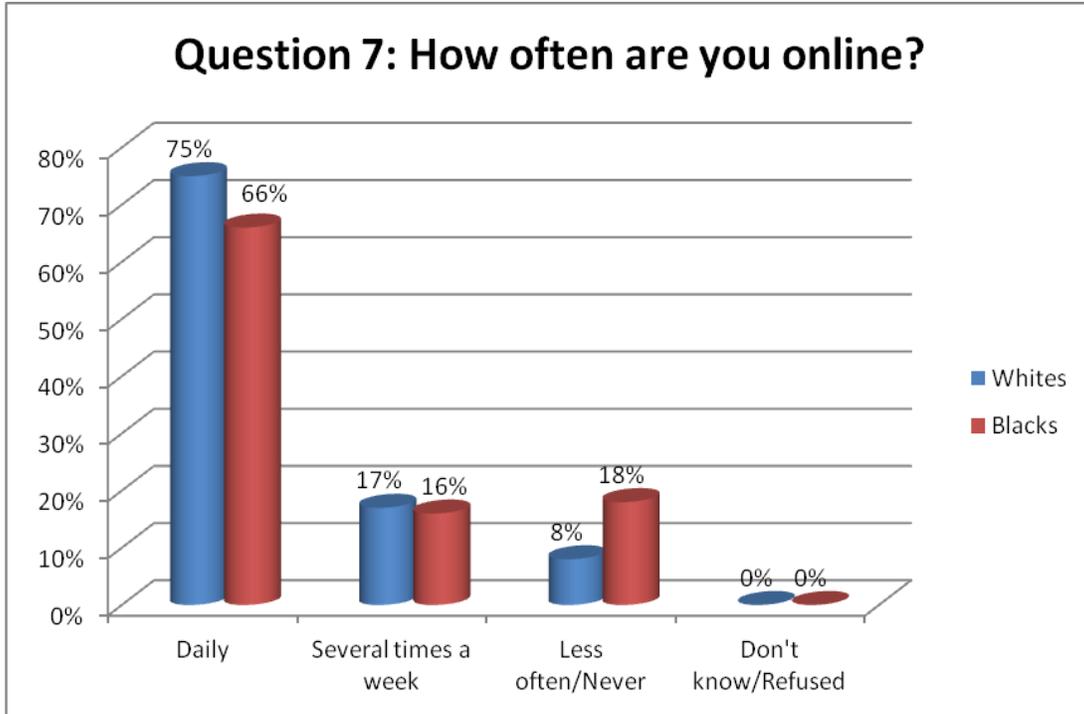


Figure 5. Bar graph detailing responses to question (SNS3) on Pew survey: “. About how often do you use Facebook – several times a day, about once a day, 3-5 days a week, 1-2 days a week, every few weeks, less often or never?”

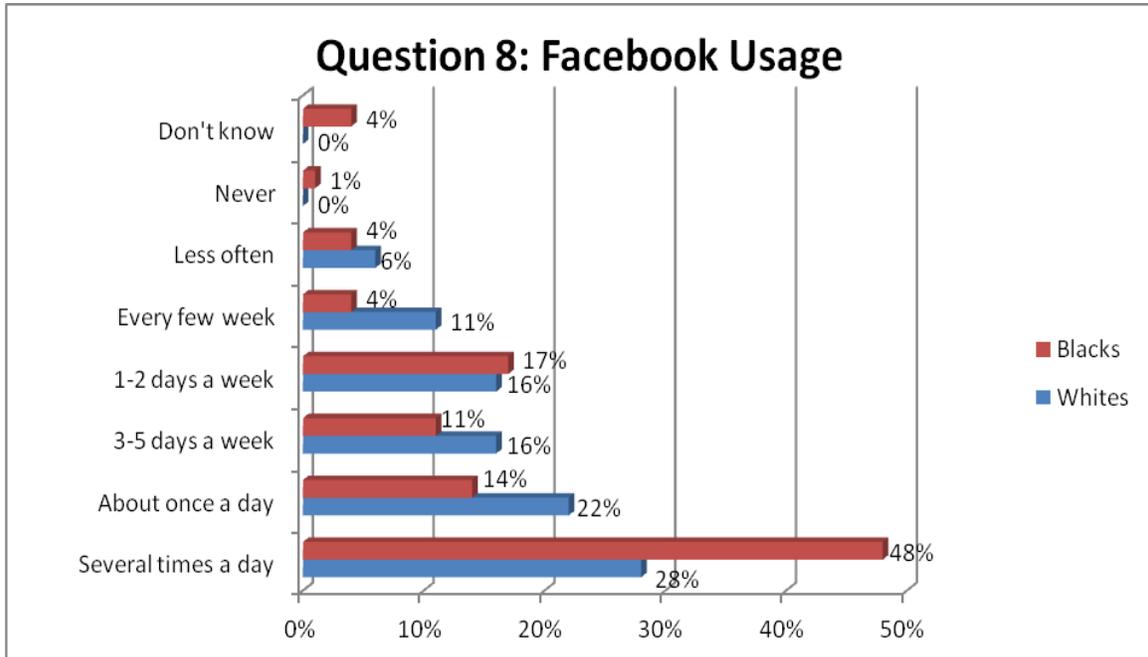


Figure 6.

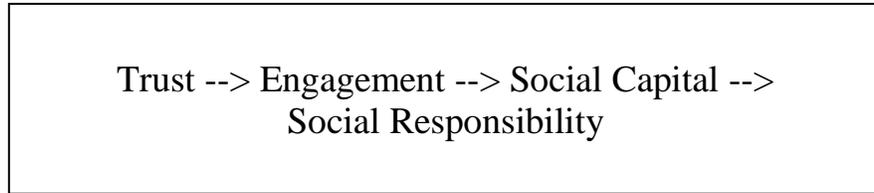
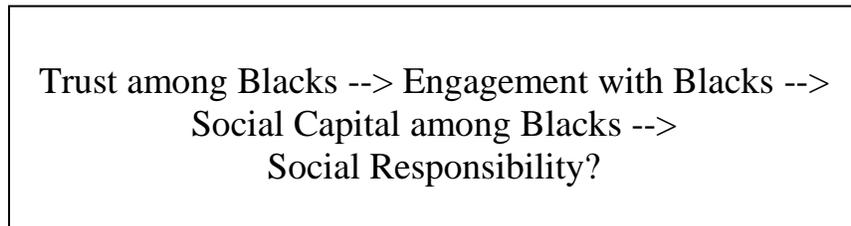


Figure 7.



Tables

Table 1.

Q1: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	White	Black
Most people can be trusted	47%	15%
You can't be too careful in dealing with most people	49%	83%
It depends	4%	2%
Don't know	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%

Table 2.

Q2a -ii: Thinking about the (coming November elections / recent national elections held on November 2)... Have/Did you... Gone/Go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches or fundraisers in support of a particular party or candidate?	White	Black
Yes	10%	6%
No	89%	93%
Don't know	0%	1%
Refused	29%	5%

Table 3.

Q2a-ii: Thinking about the (coming November elections / recent national elections held on November 2)... Have/Did you... Tried/Try to convince someone to vote for a particular party or candidate	White	Black
Yes	25%	24%
No	75%	76%
Don't know	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%

Table 4.

Q2a: Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November, or not? / A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in the elections this year. Did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?	White	Black
Yes/Yes, voted	69%	66%
No/No, did not vote	28%	34%
Not registered	1%	0%
Don't know	1%	0%
Refused	1%	0%

Table 5.

Q3a: Do you belong to or ever work with a community group or neighborhood association that focuses on issues or problems in your community?	White	Black
Yes	27%	29%
No	73%	71%
Don't know	0%	0%
Refused	0%	0%
Q3b: Do you belong to or ever work with a local church, synagogue, mosque or temple?	White	Black
Yes	55%	64%
No	45%	36%
Don't know	0%	9%
Refused	0%	0%

Table 6.

Q3: Thinking about the people on your Facebook friends list, how many of them are members of a group you belong to, such as a church or voluntary association?	White	Black
None/Not Applicable	45%	42%
1	2%	4%
2	5%	0%
3	4%	1%
4	3%	3%
5 or more	36%	44%
Don't know	3%	6%

Table 7.

Q5: How often are you online?	White	Black
Daily	75%	66%
Several times a week	17%	16%
Less often/Never	8%	18%
Don't know/Refused	0%	0%

Table 8.

Q6: .About how often do you use FACEBOOK – several times a day, about once a day, 3-5 days a week, 1-2 days a week, every few weeks, less often or never?	White	Black
Several times a day	28%	48%
About once a day	22%	14%
3-5 days a week	16%	11%
1-2 days a week	16%	17%
Every few weeks	11%	4%
Less often	6%	4%
Never	0%	1%
Don't know	0%	4%

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