

SOCIAL CAPITAL

IN ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY, MAINE, 2000-2006*

A REPORT TO THE MAINE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 2000, the Maine Community Foundation teamed up with a coalition of community foundations and the Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School to commit to strengthening social capital in communities across the United States. The efforts of the Maine Community Foundation (MCF) and their colleagues recognize that social connectedness matters for community well-being and that local leaders can take proactive action to promote productive social relations. As part of their efforts, the coalition sponsored the first Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS) in July-November 2000. MCF sponsored a 500-person sample in Androscoggin County, home to the twin cities of Lewiston-Auburn.

The data from the first survey allowed communities to see a "snapshot" of their social capital and to compare their levels of trust and connectedness to other communities across the United States. Six years later, in the spring of 2006, MCF and several other foundations repeated the survey in their communities. The second wave of the SCCBS enables communities to understand how their social capital has changed over the past six years in the context of broader social capital changes at the national level.

This report presents findings on how social capital has changed in Maine's Androscoggin County from 2000-2006. Three primary questions guide the report:

1. How has social capital in Androscoggin County changed from 2000 to 2006?
2. As compared to social capital at the national level, how has social capital changed differentially in Androscoggin County?
3. How has social capital in Androscoggin County changed for different segments of the population, based on their gender, age, education, and income?

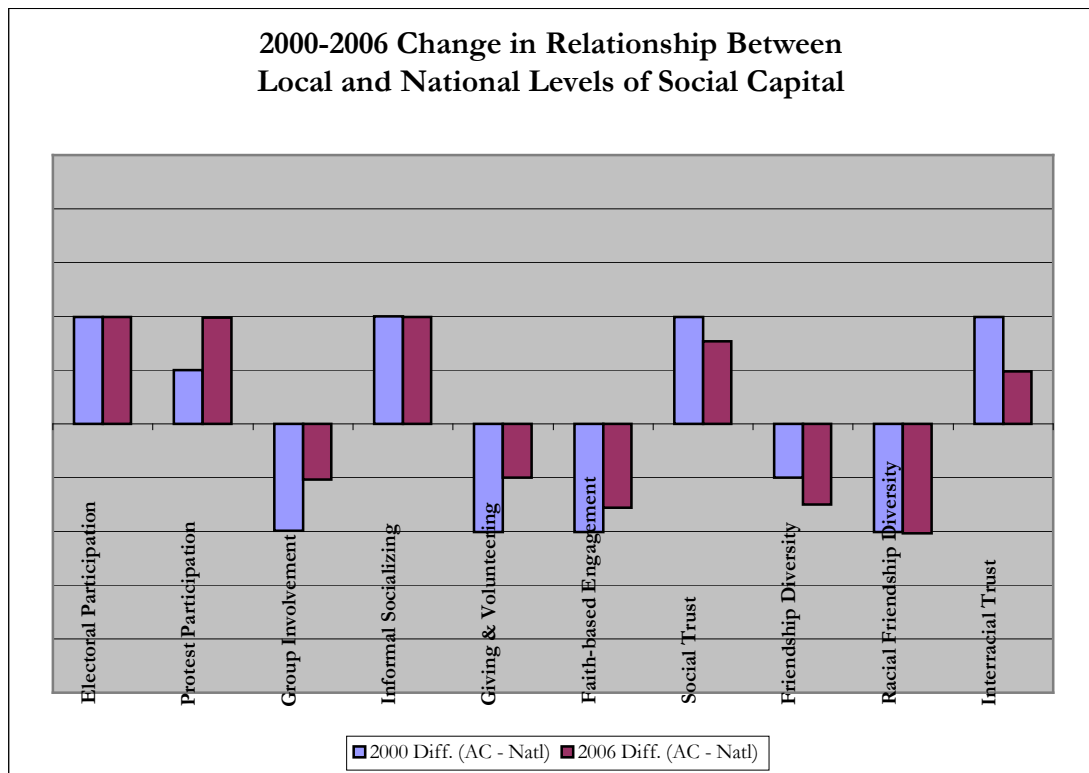
I find that changes in social capital in Androscoggin County (AC) from 2000-2006 vary based on the types of activities involved. The SCCBS tested several important dimensions of social capital, namely: electoral political participation, protest political participation, associational involvement, informal socializing, giving and volunteering, faith-based engagement, and social trust. The survey also asked questions aimed to probe individuals' diversity of friendships and trust for other races. By looking at each of these dimensions of social capital, community members can observe the different ways in which residents engage in local affairs and connect with one another.

Across both waves of the survey, AC possesses higher social capital on some dimensions and lower social capital on others. From 2000 to 2006, in some cases the difference between AC and the nation has grown, while in other cases it has contracted. Table 1 reports on how these relationships have changed for different dimensions of social capital. Figure 1 below displays these changes, not in terms of magnitude, but in terms of general direction. In terms of protest politics, AC had higher levels of activity in 2000 and increased its edge by 2006. In terms of electoral participation and informal social activity AC again possessed an edge over the nation and maintained it from 2000-2006. In terms of social trust and interracial trust, AC continues to have an edge on the nation, but by declining margins in 2006. In terms of overall friendship diversity, AC rated lower in 2000 and maintained that gap from 2000 to 2006. And, finally, in terms of associational involvement, interracial friendships, giving and volunteering, and faith-based engagement, AC continues to rate lower than the nation, but by declining margins in 2006.

Table 1. 2000-2006 Changes in Social Capital in Androscoggin County vs. the Nation

	Increasing Margin	Steady	Declining Margin
Androscoggin County > Nation	- Protest Activity	- Electoral Participation - Informal Socializing - Social Trust	- Interracial Trust
Androscoggin County < Nation		- Friendship Diversity	- Group Involvement - Giving & Volunteering - Interracial Friendship - Faith-based Engagement

In addition to overall trends in social capital, I identify one important change for a segment of the Androscoggin County population. Women in AC in 2006 displayed differential declines in general social trust and trust for the police. Women in AC also saw particularly sharp declines in interracial trust and trust for their own racial group, while women in the national sample displayed the precise opposite trend.



The report proceeds as follows. First, I introduce the concept of social capital and why it matters for communities in Androscoggin County (AC). Second, I describe the SCCBS data. Third, I present findings on changes to social capital in AC, as compared to the national level, from 2000-2006. I discuss how various segments of the population, based on gender, age, and education, contributed to changes in AC’s social capital. I conclude by considering various hypotheses to explain these changes in social capital and propose further research to test these theories.

WHY DOES SOCIAL CAPITAL MATTER?

Put simply, social capital is the *value* that exists in connections among human beings. When communities are better networked – that is, when more people are connected to one another – they develop trust and norms of reciprocity that allow them to work together.¹ Just like financial capital (e.g. money) or human capital (e.g. education), social capital (e.g. human networks) has benefits for individuals and communities. For individuals, social connections prevent isolation and aid in job-hunting and other efforts.² At the community level, less isolation and less division grease the wheels of society. Important public health advisories travel through communities more quickly when people are more connected. Neighbors can loan each other equipment because their networks of connections hold one another accountable. People are more willing to show up and contribute because they know they will not be the only ones ready to volunteer.

A wealth of evidence demonstrates that higher social capital is associated with better child development, public health, safety, economic prosperity, and happiness.³ Controlling for a broad range of demographic characteristics, social capital is associated with each of the positive community indicators below.

- Child Development: In places with abundant social capital, children score higher on standardized tests.⁴
- Public Health: Individuals with robust social networks are less likely to suffer physical and psychological ailments, including colds, heart attacks, strokes, cancer, and depression.⁵
- Safety: Communities with strong social capital—where residents know neighbors’ names and cooperatively look out for local children—have lower crime rates. Also, states with high social capital are less violent, whether in terms of fistfights or homicide rates.⁶
- Happiness: The best predictor of contentment is meaningful connections to other people. Regular engagement with others, whether through religious service attendance, volunteering, or entertaining friends, is as likely to make you as happy as doubling your income.⁷

As these examples demonstrate, the social networks that enable individuals to cope and succeed are not only a private good, but also benefit society as a whole. Since the publication of Harvard Professor Robert Putnam’s work on social capital, scholarly attention to social capital has grown rapidly and the importance of social capital has captured the interest of prominent public officials, including Presidents Clinton and Bush and the British government under Prime Minister Tony Blair. The British Office of National Statistics, the

¹ Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 2000.

² Granovetter, Mark. “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 78: 1360-1380. May 1973.

³ Social scientists may debate things like how to measure social capital and exactly how much social capital contributes to various outcomes, but they agree that human isolation is strongly associated with negative outcomes, while social capital – measured in terms of networks, trust, and participation – is strongly associated with beneficial outcomes.

⁴ Bronfenbrenner, Urie, Moen, Phyllis, and Garbarino, James. “Child, Family, and Community,” in Ross D. Parke, Ed. *Review of Child Development Research*, vol. 7. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984.

⁵ Kawachi, Ichiro, Kennedy, Bruce, and Lochner, Kimberly. “Long Live Community: Social Capital as Public Health,” *The American Prospect*. November-December 1997. 56-59.

⁶ Sampson, Robert J. “The Community,” in *Crime*, James Q. Wilson and Joan Petersilia, Eds. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Policy Studies Press. 1995. 193-216; and Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. 1961.

⁷ Putnam, 2000. See also Argyle, Michael. *The Psychology of Happiness*. London: Methuen. 1987; and Deiner, Ed. “Subjective Well-being,” *Psychological Bulletin*. 95. 1984. 542-575.

World Bank, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) regularly collect social capital data as part of their policy formulation practices.⁸ In summary, social capital is an increasingly relevant consideration nationally and internationally.

For Maine, social capital is a particularly important element of a functioning society. Citizens rely on one another to voluntarily fulfill many important functions. In many towns, volunteer Selectmen and/or citizen-composed Town Meetings serve as the primary means to conduct town business. Likewise, most smaller towns depend on at least some volunteers to staff their fire departments or emergency medical services. This report provides information on how social capital is faring in one area of Maine in the early part of the twenty-first century.

SOCIAL CAPITAL DATA

The year 2000 Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (SCCBS) is among the largest surveys on civic engagement in the United States, polling nearly 30,000 respondents in more than 40 geographic areas, including a 3000-person nationally representative sample. The 2006 wave of the SCCBS included 12,000 respondents in 21 geographic areas, again including a 2700-person nationally representative sample. The 2006 SCCBS consists of new representative samples at the community and national level, rather than re-contacting respondents from the 2000 SCCBS. In order to ensure comparability between the two waves of the survey, the same polling firm conducted the 2006 SCCBS and followed the procedures of the original survey.⁹

The survey collects data on the respondents' demographic characteristics and self-reported social capital-related attitudes and behaviors. In particular, the SCCBS tested several important dimensions of social capital, namely: electoral political participation, protest political participation, associational involvement, informal socializing, giving and volunteering, faith-based engagement, and social trust. The survey also asked questions aimed to probe individuals' diversity of friendships and trust for other races. By looking at each of these dimensions of social capital, community members can observe the different means through which residents engage in local affairs and connect with one another.

For each of these dimensions, researchers at Harvard's Saguaro Seminar used factor analysis on the year 2000 data to develop a composite measure based on clusters of thematic questions, displayed in Table 1. In a few places, I have slightly altered the original composite measures in order to allow for consistent measures across 2000 and 2006, since the 2006 survey omitted a few of the relevant questions originally contained in these composites. Throughout this report, I analyze changes in social capital revealed in single variables as well as the composite variables, but I use the general categories suggested by the composite variables to synthesize my findings.

⁸ See the following websites for further information: U.K Government, Office of National Statistics - <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/socialcapital/downloads/harmonisation_steve_5.pdf>, the World Bank - <<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital/>>, OECD - <http://www.oecd.org/document/33/0,2340,en_2649_34543_1850913_1_1_1_1,00.html>.

⁹ For the most part, the 2006 wave uses the same question wording and order, but it does include some additional questions and omits a few questions from the original survey. The survey is administered via telephone interviews with randomly selected residents, lasting an average of 27 minutes. To randomize, the survey selects respondents based on random digit dialing and interviews the adult in the household with the most recent birthday.

Table 1. Composite Measures of Social Capital

<u>Composite Dependent Variable</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Components</u>
Electoral Politics Participation	Elecpol4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An index that includes whether or not the respondent voted in most recent presidential election, is registered to vote, is interested in politics, knows his Senators' names, and reads the newspaper.
Protest Politics Participation	Protest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A count of protest related activities in the last year: participation in a group that took action for reform, attending a political meeting or rally, participating in a political group, attending a demonstration or boycott, participating in an ethnic or civil rights organization, and participating in a labor union.
Associational Involvement	Grpinlv	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A count of participation in various groups, including sports, youth, parents, veterans, neighborhood, elderly, charitable, labor, professional, fraternal, ethnic, political, arts, hobby, and self-help groups.
Informal Social Activity	Schmooz3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mean number of times a respondent socialized with co-workers, relatives, and friends at home and in public and played cards or board games with others in the past year
Giving and Volunteering	Charity4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Index of how much the respondent donated to religious and other charitable causes in the last year and the frequency with which respondent volunteered.
Faith-based Engagement	Faithba3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Index of religious service attendance, participation in church activities beyond services, church membership, and participation in a religiously-oriented organization
Social Trust	SoctrustH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A count of the number of groups the respondent reported, "trusting a lot" (options were neighbors, co-workers, shop clerks, the local police, and others in general).
Diversity of Friendship	Divrsity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Count of diverse personal friendships including friends who own a business, are African American, own a vacation home, are Asian, are manual workers, are Latino, are of a different religion, are community leaders, have been on welfare, or are white.
Trust in other Races	Racerst	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mean trust in whites, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics (not counting trust of own ethnic group).

In addition to this quantitative data, I have visited Lewiston five times in the last four years and conducted more than 60 in-depth interviews with community leaders and average residents. This data informs the final section in which I offer hypotheses to explain local changes in social capital.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL CAPITAL IN ANDROSCOGGIN COUNTY, 2000-2006

In this section, I present findings on how social capital has changed over time in comparison to the national sample. In cases where social capital differs based on gender, age, education, and income, I present these differences. Throughout my analysis, I only report statistically significant results ($p < 0.10$). These are the findings that, we can be reasonably confident, are not just an artifact of the sample size.¹⁰ In some cases, I may mention trends in the data that do not rise to statistical significance, but these results should be considered suggestive rather than conclusive. I identify differences and trends in the following way.

First, I explore differences in a range of social capital variables in Androscoggin County (AC) from 2000-2006. I do this by generating a variable called “wave,” which is equal to one when the observation is from 2006 and equal to zero when the observation is from 2000. Using only the data from AC, I run a series of analyses on the social capital variables, controlling for wave. When statistically significant, the coefficient on wave can be interpreted as the average change in the social capital variable based on being a respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000. Because the composition of the sample is slightly different in 2006 than in 2000, I also control for a range of variables that are widely considered to be individual determinants of social capital, namely education, race, age, income, and gender.¹¹ Length of residency in a community is also a predictor of social capital, since newcomers have less time, and perhaps less inclination, to become rooted in local activities and networks. For this reason, I have also controlled for the respondent’s years of residence in the community. When I find a statistically significant result for wave, I can say that, holding constant gender, age, education, race, low-income status, and years of residence, the year in which the respondent took the survey makes a difference in terms of his/her social capital. Table 2 offers the details on the explanatory variables.

Table 2. Explanatory Variables

<u>Category</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Gender	gender	Male = 0, Female = 1
Age	age	Continuous variable
Education (Base case is Associates’ degree or “some college”)	lessHS	Less than high school education = 1, otherwise = 0
	HS	High school degree or equivalency = 1, otherwise = 0
	BAplus	College degree or further education = 1, otherwise = 0
Race	nonwhite	Nonwhite = 1, otherwise = 0
Years of Residence	livcom	1 = less than 1 year, 2 = 1-5 years, 3 = 6-10 years, 4 = 11-20 years, 5 = more than 20 years, 6 = all my life
Income	lowinc	If annual household income is “\$20,000 or less” or “over \$20,000 but less than \$30,000,” = 1; otherwise = 0

Second, I use the data from the Androscoggin County sample merged with the data from the national sample to identify how the AC sample differs from the national sample and how these differences have changed over time. The analysis identifies cases in which AC social capital has fluctuated with national trends and cases in which AC has experienced a different social capital trajectory over this period. I identify these cases using an interactive variable “Wave*Lewiston-Auburn.” The variable is equal to one when the respondent is an AC resident in 2006, and zero otherwise. When statistically significant, the coefficient on “Wave*Lewiston-Auburn” can be interpreted as the differential effect of being an AC resident in 2006 as supposed to 2000, holding constant national trends. In these cases, social capital is changing in AC differently than in the rest of

¹⁰ A statistically significant result at this threshold is one in which we can be 90 percent sure that the difference we find is not just an artifact of the survey method.

¹¹ Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. 1993.; Verba, Sidney, Schlozman, Kay Lehman, and Brady, Henry E. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press. 1996; Putnam 2000.

the nation. These analyses also control for gender, age, education, race, income, and years of residence in the community.

For social capital measures that vary across different gender, age, education, and income groups, I use the results of probit regression analyses to predict the social capital outcomes for different groups in 2000 and 2006. In particular, for each wave of the survey and each sample, I predict certain social capital measures for an average man and a woman that fit the following descriptions:

- Age 50, less than high school education, low income
- Age 50, high school degree, low income
- Age 25, high school degree
- Age 50, high school degree
- Age 70, high school degree
- Age 50, college degree or more
- Age 25, college degree or more
- Age 50, high school degree, newcomer

I use these predicted probabilities to explain how social capital varies for different segments of society.

To analyze changes in social capital over time and place, I use several statistical models. For continuous dependent variables, I use ordinary least squares (OLS) analysis. For binary dependent variables, I use probit, employing a Stata command that directly calculates the marginal effects of probit analysis (`dprobit`). Rather than presenting the probit coefficients, which are not readily interpretable, I present the marginal effects, with their standard errors.¹² For detailed regression tables, see Appendix A.

Electoral Political Participation

Electoral participation is one way of engaging in the community. To determine the extent to which Americans engage in conventional political activity, the SCCBS measures voter registration, actual voting, political interest, political knowledge, and newspaper reading. The composite variable on electoral participation is a zero-to-five index that combines whether or not the respondent voted in most recent presidential election, is registered to vote, expresses interested in politics, knows his Senators' names, and reads the newspaper.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

Between 2000 and 2006, electoral political participation increased in Androscoggin County. In 2006, the average Androscoggin County resident, holding gender, age, education, race, and years of residence constant, was 4 percentage points more likely to have voted in the most recent presidential election and 37 percentage points more likely to name at least one Maine Senator correctly and come close to naming the other correctly. The large gains in political knowledge are probably due to the fact that Maine's junior Senator, Susan Collins, was only elected in 1996, and AC respondents have become more aware of her over this period. On the zero-to-five point composite index, electoral participation increased by a quarter of a point for the average AC resident in 2006, all else constant.

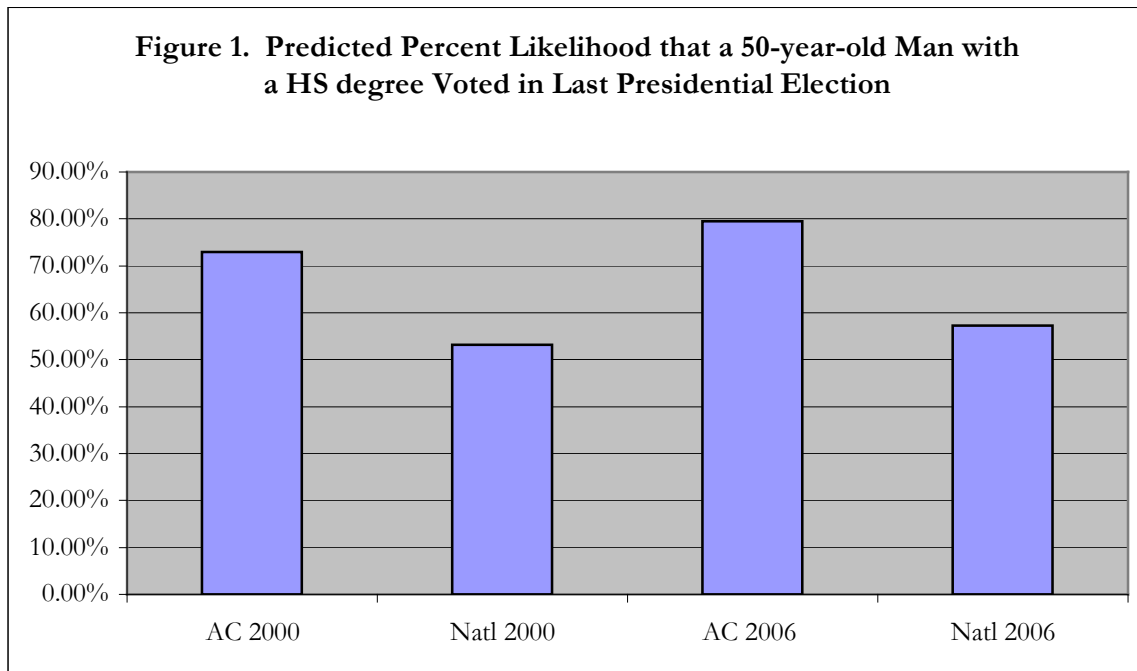
¹² For count variables, I checked the results of OLS regressions by running negative binomial regressions, which are more suited for this type of variable. The results from negative binomial and OLS regressions do not vary substantially in magnitude or significance, so I present the OLS results for ease of interpretation.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Compared to the nation as a whole in both 2000 and 2006, AC residents display higher levels of electoral political participation. On the zero-to-five composite index, electoral participation was 0.44 points higher for the average AC resident than the average national respondent, all else constant. In addition to this significant difference on the composite variable, across both waves being a resident of AC is associated with a 3.8 percentage point increase in voter registration, a 7.4 percentage point increase in voting, and a 25.8 percent increase knowledge of politics.

Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

By some measures, such as voting and political knowledge, electoral participation was up across the nation in 2006, though the national sample showed no significant change in terms of the composite electoral participation variable. While electoral participation was up across the nation by some measures, it increased by a slightly greater margin in AC. Figure 1 below predicts the probability of voting in the last presidential election for a 50-year-old, male, high-school educated respondent across samples and over time. If this average person lived in AC in 2000, he was 73 percent likely to have voted in the last presidential election; whereas if this average person lived elsewhere in the U.S. he was 53 percent likely to have voted in the presidential election. By 2006, the average person in AC was 7 percentage points more likely to have voted, while the average national respondent was 4 percentage points more likely to have voted.

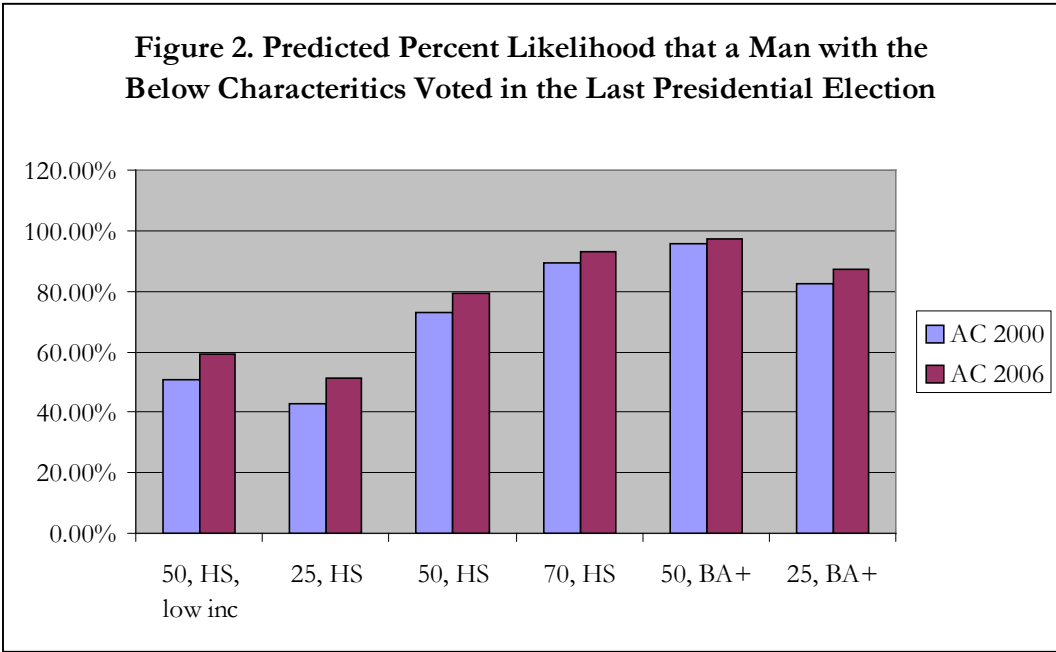


Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Both nationally and in AC, electoral participation varies based on gender, age, education, and income. Women, for instance, display less interest in and knowledge of politics. In terms of age, electoral participation increases as individuals grow older. Education is a key determinant of electoral participation. Compared to a respondent with “some college” education, the average high-school dropout scores more than one point lower on the zero-to-five electoral politics index, whereas the average respondent with a college degree or more education scores 0.38 points higher. Income also affects electoral participation. Low-income respondents score 0.34 points lower on the electoral politics scale.

Although voting does not differ substantially by gender, it does display the other differences in electoral participation across age, education, and income. The AC sample parallels the national sample in terms of

these differences. Figure 2 displays the predicted probabilities that different groups in AC voted in the last presidential election. In 2006, a 50-year-old low-income man with high school degree is 50 percent likely to have voted, while the same man who is not low-income is 73 percent likely to have voted. While the 50-year-old high school educated man is 73 percent likely to have voted, a 50-year-old with a college degree or more education is 96 percent likely to have voted. Figure 2 also shows the differences in voting across age groups, with voting increasing substantially with age. A 25-year-old man with a high school degree is only 43 percent likely to vote, while an otherwise similar 70-year-old man is 89 percent likely to vote – a 46 percentage point difference.



In summary, electoral political participation was up across the nation, such that AC maintained its edge in terms of high electoral participation.

Protest Political Participation

An additional dimension of political participation relates to protest activity. Often, individuals and communities display different levels of electoral and protest participation. The SCCBS asks respondents whether they have taken part in any of the following organizations in the last year: a group that took action for reform, a political group, an ethnic or civil rights group, or a labor union. It also asks whether respondents have signed a petition, participated in a political meeting or rally, taken part in a demonstration or boycott or taken action for local reform in the last year. The composite variable on political participation is a zero-to-seven count of the number of these activities in which the respondent has taken part during the last year.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

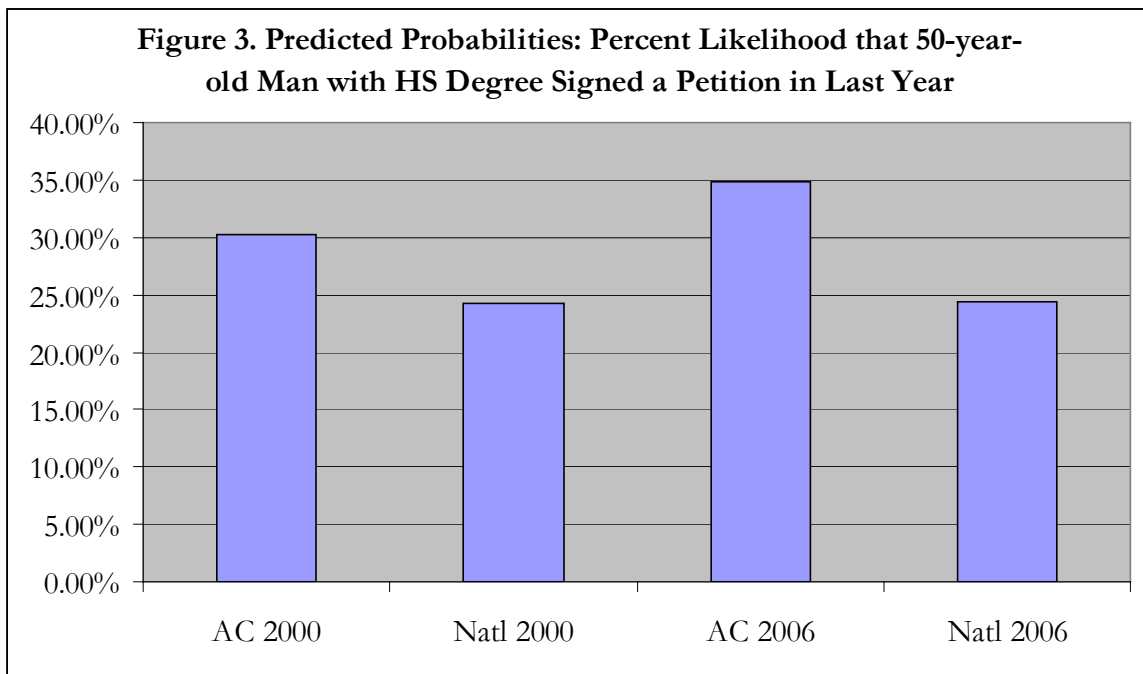
The average AC resident participated in slightly more protest political activity in 2006 than in 2000. Individual measures of protest activity, including signing petitions, participating in rallies, taking action for local reform, and taking part in political or ethnic/civil rights groups were upward trending, though not statistically significant. On the whole, the average AC resident participated in 0.26 more protest activities in 2006 than in 2000, holding the usual demographic characteristics constant.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Comparing AC to the nation as a whole, AC respondents participate in a small but statistically significant amount more protest political activity (0.12 additional protest activities per year). In particular, holding all else constant, the average AC respondent is 13 percentage points more likely to have signed a petition and 3 percentage points more likely to have participated in a demonstration or boycott in the last year.

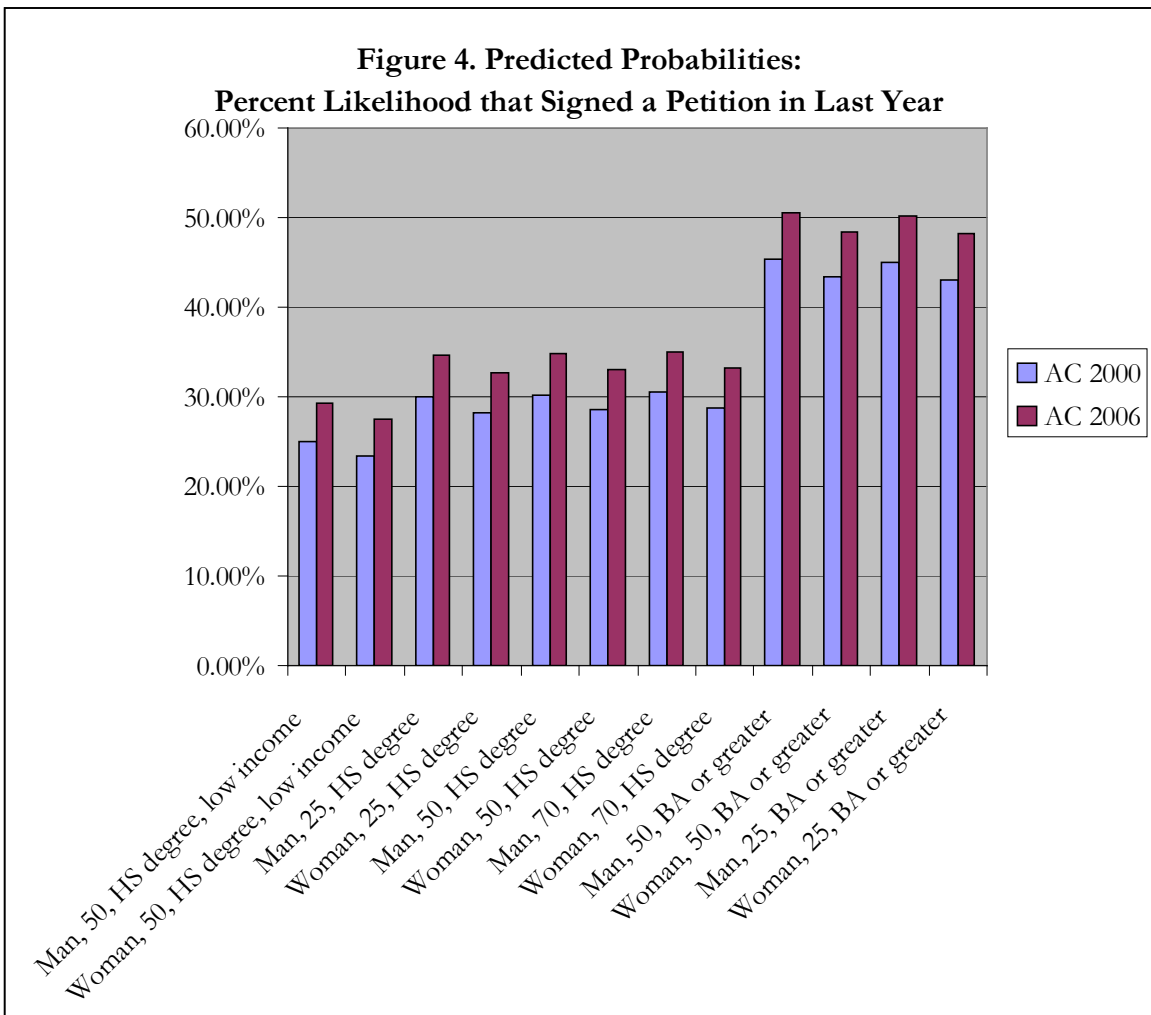
Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

On the whole, protest activity remained steady from 2000-2006 nationwide, while it increased slightly in AC. Thus, AC increased its edge on the nation in terms of protest activity. Figure 3 below displays the changes over time and across samples in terms of signing petitions for a 50-year-old, male, high school educated respondent. If this average person lived in AC, in 2000 he was 30 percent likely to have signed a petition in the last year, whereas if this average person lived elsewhere in the U.S. he was 24 percent likely to have signed a petition. By 2006, the AC respondent was 35 percent likely to have signed a petition in the last year, while petition-signing remained essentially constant at the national level. For this and other measures of protest activity, AC pulled further ahead of the nation between 2000 and 2006.



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Like electoral participation, protest participation differs substantially by gender, education, and low-income status. As one example of this phenomenon, Figure 4 displays the predicted probabilities that different groups in AC signed a petition in the last year. Both nationally and in AC, women are less likely participate in protest activity. Participation in demonstrations also differs by education. The average 50-year-old woman with at least a college degree or more education is 15 percentage points more likely to have participated in a demonstration in the last year than the same woman with a high school degree. The average 50-year-old woman with a high school degree is 5 percentage points less likely to have signed a petition in the last year if she is of low-income status. Age is an important determinant of most protest activity, though not petition-signing, with younger people usually participating more.



All together, protest political participation remained steady at the national level, but rose slightly in AC. AC increased its edge in terms of protest participation.

Associational Involvement

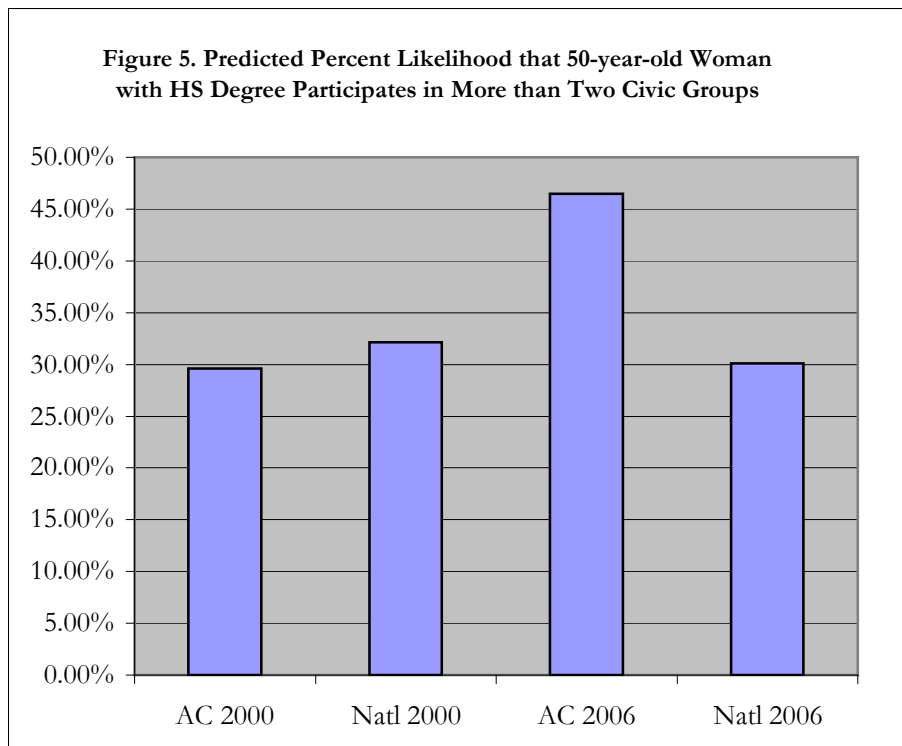
An important component of social capital is participation in civic organizations, where community members gather and develop the capacity to work together. The survey measured participation in various types of associations, including sports, youth, parents’, veterans’, neighborhood, elderly, charitable, labor, professional, fraternal, ethnic, political, arts, hobby, and self-help groups. The composite variable on associational involvement was a zero-to-fifteen count variable that summed the number of groups in which the respondent participated.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

In terms of group membership and participation, the average AC resident in 2006 participated in 0.28 additional groups in 2006 than she did in 2000. AC residents were also significantly more likely to participate in groups for the elderly and the arts in 2006.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Compared to the nation as a whole, across both waves, residents of AC participate in 0.16 fewer clubs and associations. For instance, all else constant, the average AC resident is 7 percentage points less likely to participate in a neighborhood association. Participation in other types of groups is lower in AC, though not by statistically significant margins. The only exception to the generally lower associational involvement in AC is self-help groups. AC residents are 6 percentage points more likely to participate in this type of organization. Figure 5 predicts the likelihood that a 50-year-old, high school educated woman participates in more than two groups. In 2000, this average respondent in AC was 30 percent likely to participate in more than two civic groups. On the national level, this average respondent was 32 percent likely to participate in more than two groups. By 2006, group membership had declined slightly on the national level, but grown substantially in AC, such that the likelihood of belonging to at least three groups was 16 percentage points greater in AC than in the nation as a whole.



Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

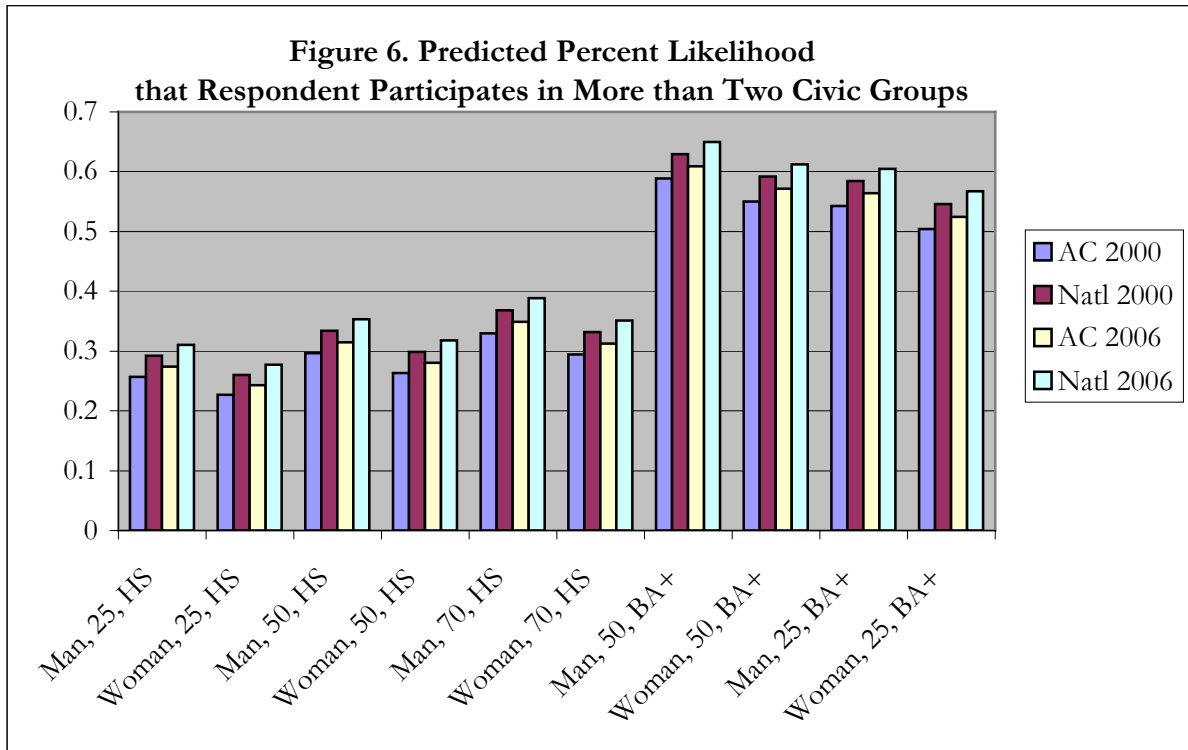
Nationwide, changes in associational involvement from 2000-2006 varied with the type of group, although overall levels of group membership remained steady. In terms of the various types of groups, AC's trajectory of change generally did not differ from the national sample over this period. One exception was groups related to the elderly. AC residents in 2006 experienced a differential 9 percentage point bump in participation in elderly groups. Overall, being an AC resident in 2006 was associated with an upward-trending, but not statistically significant differential increase in group membership.

Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Participation in various types of groups varies across different segments of the population. For instance, women are less likely to participate in sports groups and young people are more likely to participate in school-related groups. Rather than focusing on differences across various types of groups, I explore whether the overall number of group memberships varies for different segments of the population. I find that at both the national and AC level, women participate in fewer groups, though the differences are more pronounced in

AC. Group membership increases slightly with age, though by more significant margins nationally than in AC. Finally, group membership increases with education and income.

Figure 6 displays the predicted probabilities of participating in more than two groups for various population segments in AC and the nation. For AC respondents in 2006, women are between three and four percentage points less likely to participate in more than two groups than otherwise similar men. In terms of education, the average AC 50-year-old high school educated woman in 2006 was 31 percent likely to participate in more than two civic groups. An otherwise similar respondent with a BA or more education was 57 percent likely to participate in two or more civic groups – a 26 percentage point difference. Age differences in group participation were not significantly different in AC, though they trended in the same direction as other forms of participation, with older respondents participating in more groups.



Overall, associational involvement increased in AC and the nation from 2000 to 2006. While margin of increase was greater in AC than in the nation, AC did not experience a statistically significant level of differential growth in group memberships.

Informal Social Activity

Although formal organizations play an important function in gathering residents to work together, informal socializing is crucial in terms of building and reinforcing individuals’ personal support networks. The composite variable on informal social activity measures the number of times a respondent socialized with co-workers, relatives, and friends at home and in public, as well as played cards or board games with others in the past year. The variable reports the average value of annual informal socializing across these five categories. It ranges from zero to sixty, with the upper value representing people who participate in each of these activities more than once a week. In addition to these measures, I report on variables that measure the number of friends and confidants that a respondent has, as well as how often s/he interacts with neighbors.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

In AC, informal social activity mostly held steady from 2000-2006. The index of informal socializing is downward trending, but shows no statistically significant decrease. Statistically significant results on individual measures are mixed. AC residents report attending one additional parade per year, but they interact with neighbors less frequently. AC residents in 2006 have about the same number of close friends and confidants as they did in 2000.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

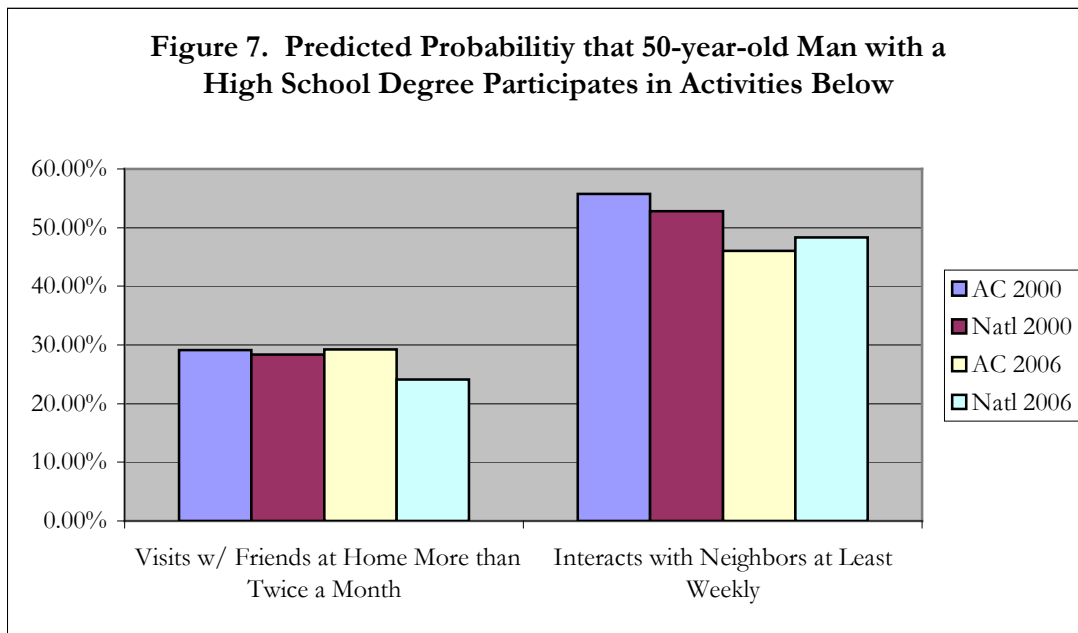
Compared to the national sample, AC residents display modestly higher levels of informal socializing activity. Being a resident of AC is associated with 4 additional visits with family, 3 additional visits to friends' homes, and three additional card games per year. Overall, being an AC resident is associated with an average of two additional informal social activities per year, all else constant. On the other hand, in terms of one related measure not included in the composite index, AC residents show a lower levels of informal social activity. AC residents interact with their neighbors less frequently than respondents in the national sample.

Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

Just as in AC, on the national level, index of informal socializing was downward trending for 2000-2006, but showed no statistically significant decrease. One individual measure rose to statistical significance. National respondents in 2006 invited friends in or visited friends' homes two fewer times in 2006 than in 2000, all else constant. On the other hand, being a national respondent in 2006 was associated with having almost one additional confidant, an important indicator of social support. Overall, informal social activity declined by about the same margin in AC and nationally, so AC residents mostly maintained their edge in terms of informal social activity.

Figure 7 below demonstrates differences in informal social activity over time and place for a 50-year-old man with a high school degree. In 2000, this average respondent is about 29 percent likely to visit with friends at home more than twice a month, whether he lives in AC or elsewhere. In 2006, socializing with friends remained steady in AC, but declined by four percentage points elsewhere. In terms of socializing with neighbors, being an AC resident is associated with a 56 percent likelihood of interacting with neighbors at least weekly, while living elsewhere is associated with a 53 percent likelihood of interacting with neighbors at least weekly. By 2006, the gap in neighborhood socializing had reversed, with the average 50-year-old high school educated man in AC 46 percent likely to visit with neighbors at least weekly, while this average respondent living elsewhere was 48 percent likely to visit neighbors with this frequency. On the whole, however, Figure 7 demonstrates that between 2000 and 2006 in both AC and the nation, informal social activity was downward trending, but rarely by significant margins.

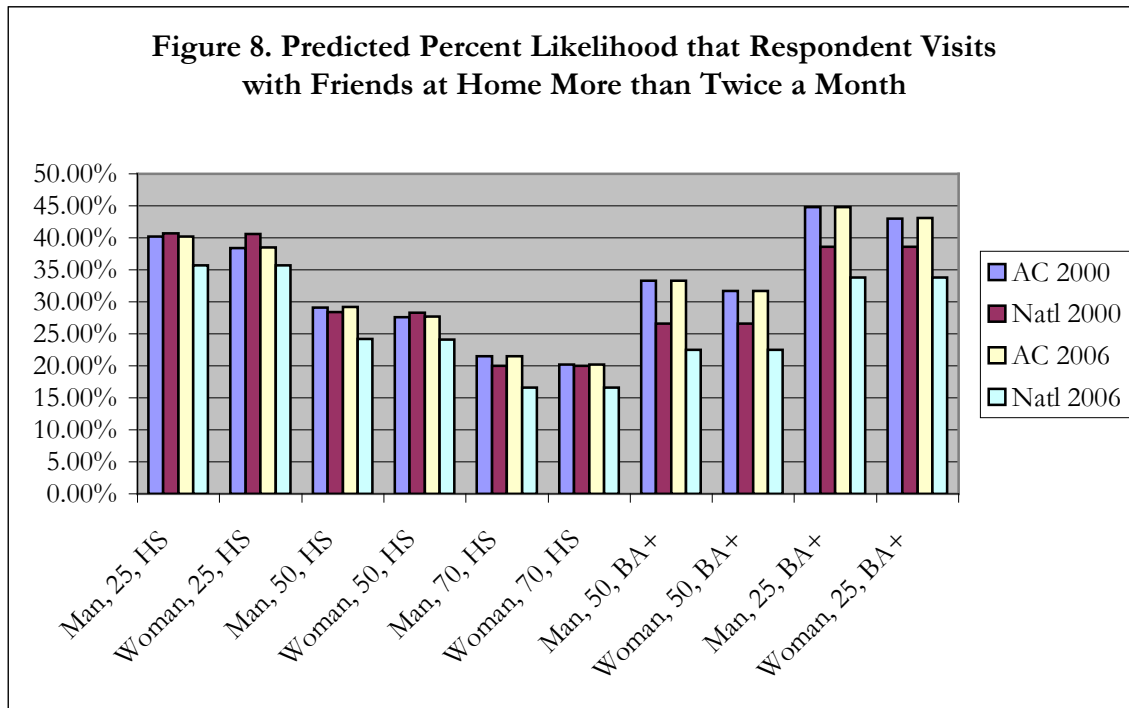
Figure 7. Predicted Probability that 50-year-old Man with a High School Degree Participates in Activities Below



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Informal social activity varies by age and education, and in some cases gender. Figure 8 below depicts differences in the percent likelihood that various categories of citizens visit more than twice a month with friends at home. As with other forms of participation, informal socializing increases with education, though not as substantially as for other types of engagement. In terms of age, informal socializing shows a reverse trend from other forms of participation. Young people take part in informal social activities more frequently than their elders.

Figure 8. Predicted Percent Likelihood that Respondent Visits with Friends at Home More than Twice a Month



On the whole, informal socializing has remained steady over time with AC retaining its edge in terms of this type of social engagement.

Giving & Volunteering

Altruistic activity is also an important component of social capital. The SCCBS measures charitable giving to religious and non-religious causes, as well as the number of times the respondent volunteers annually. A composite variable combines the mean value of giving and the number of times volunteered monthly in a zero-to-ten point index of giving and volunteering activity.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

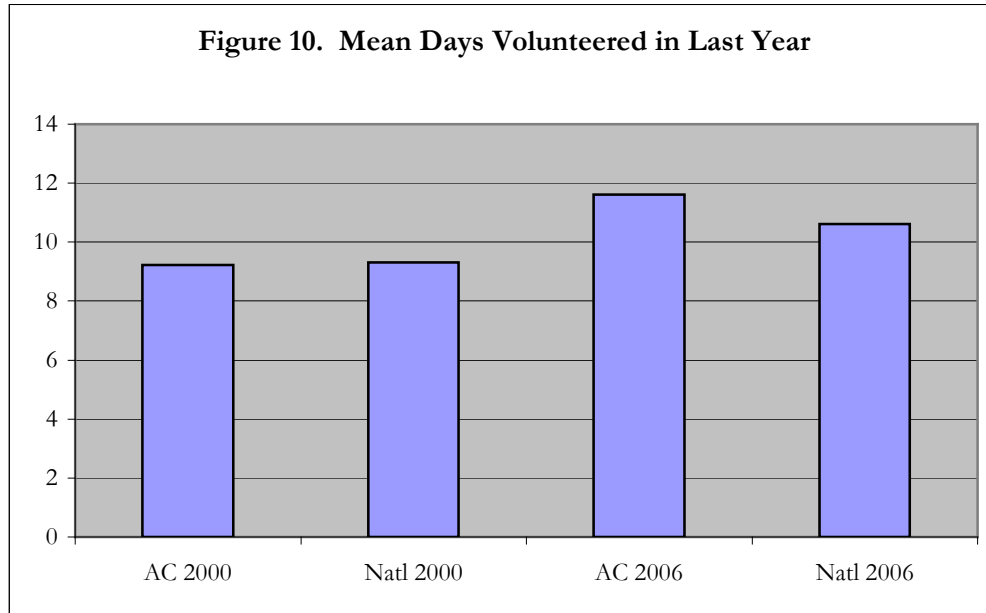
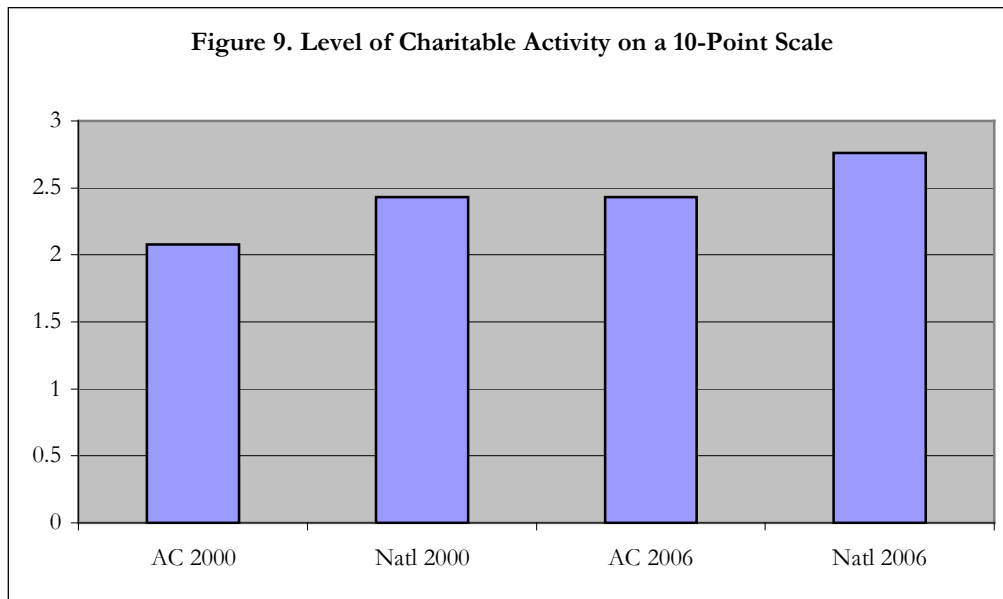
On the whole, charitable activity in AC increased a small but statistically significant amount from 2000-2006 – 0.27 points on the 10-point index. Residents of AC show particularly substantial increases in volunteering since the year 2000. Holding all else constant, the average AC resident in 2006 volunteered almost 3 additional days per year than the average respondent in 2000. Lewiston residents were also slightly more likely to give to charitable organizations, other than religious causes.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Compared to the national sample, AC residents report a third of a point less charitable activity on the ten point composite index. They give significantly less to religious and non-religious causes, but show no significant difference from national respondents in terms of volunteering.

Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

Giving and volunteering held steady on the national level from 2000 to 2006. Even so, in terms of overall charitable activity, the gap between the national and AC samples remained roughly the same over this period, as shown by Figure 9. In terms of volunteering, however, being an AC resident in 2006 was associated with a differential increase in volunteering of almost 2 days per year. Thus, as Figure 10 shows, the mean level of volunteering in AC in 2006 exceeds the mean value of volunteering in the national sample in the second wave, though not by a statistically significant margin.



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Giving and volunteering also vary by gender, age, education, and income, differing in similar ways across the national and AC samples. All else constant, being a woman is associated with an increase of an additional 2.5 days volunteered per year. In terms of charitable giving however, women give a small but statistically significant amount less than men. Giving increases with age, though volunteering does not. Both volunteering and giving increase with education. For instance, the average AC respondent with less than a high school degree volunteers three fewer days annually than the average respondent with at least some college education. Volunteering does not vary with low-income status. Not surprisingly, charitable giving is substantially lower for low-income respondents.

On the whole, charitable giving increased by a small but significant amount in AC over this period. The gap between charitable giving in AC and the nation remains, but AC has experienced differential increases in volunteering over this period.

Faith-based Engagement

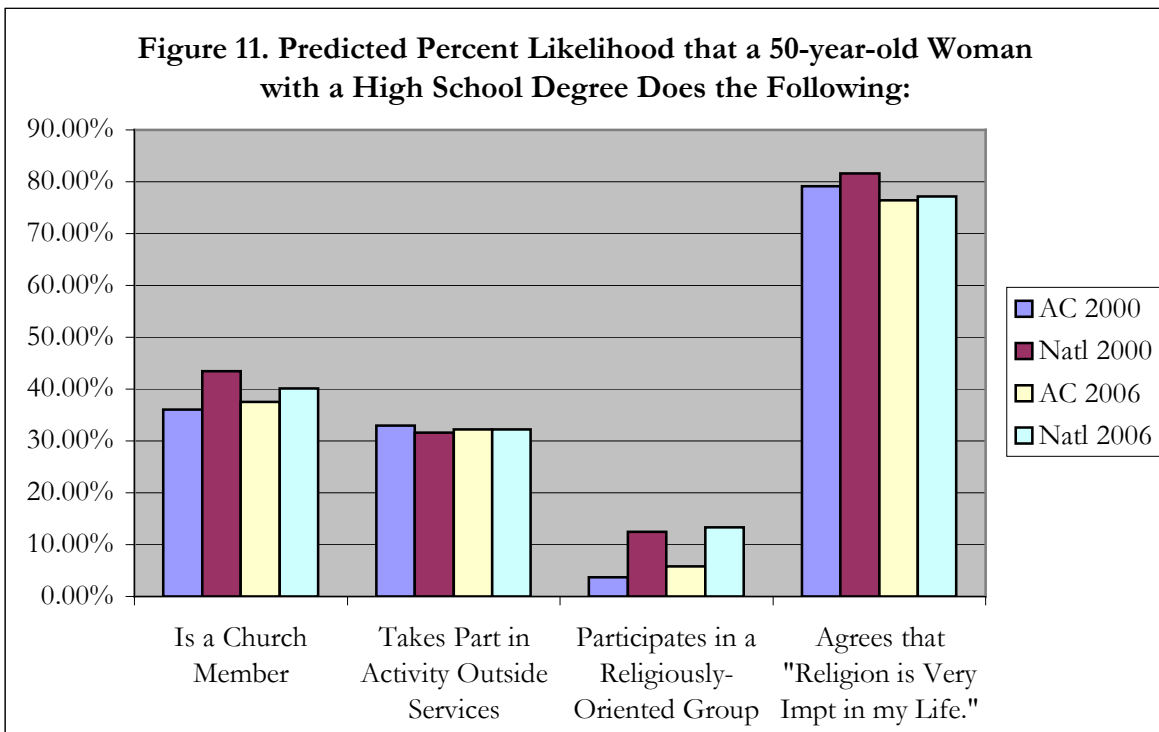
Engagement in religious institutions and activities is another means through which community members gather and cooperate. In many communities, however, levels of faith-based engagement differ from levels of engagement in general civic organizations. Thus, we measure faith-based engagement separately. The composite variable on faith-based participation is a zero-to-four index that combines church membership, religious service attendance, participation in church activities beyond services, and participation in a religiously-oriented association.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

Overall, faith-based engagement in AC was upward trending, but not significant from 2000-2006. One exception is that the average AC resident was 4 percentage points more likely to participate in a religiously oriented group in 2006.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Compared to the nation, AC residents show lower levels of faith-based participation by all measures. The average AC resident across both waves is 11 percentage points less likely to be a church or synagogue member, 11 percentage points less likely to have taken part in religious activities outside of services, and 5 percentage points less likely to take part in a religiously-oriented organization. Finally, the average AC resident, all else constant, is 10 percentage points less likely to agree that, “religion is very important in my life.” Overall, being a resident of AC is associated with a 0.31-point drop on the zero-to-four index of faith-based engagement. Figure 11 shows the differences between AC and the nation for a 50-year-old high school educated woman, in terms of the predicted probabilities of church membership, participation outside services, taking part in a religiously-oriented group, and agreeing that, “religion is very important in my life.” As the figure demonstrates, differences between AC and the nation are less pronounced for this category of woman than for the AC sample as a whole.



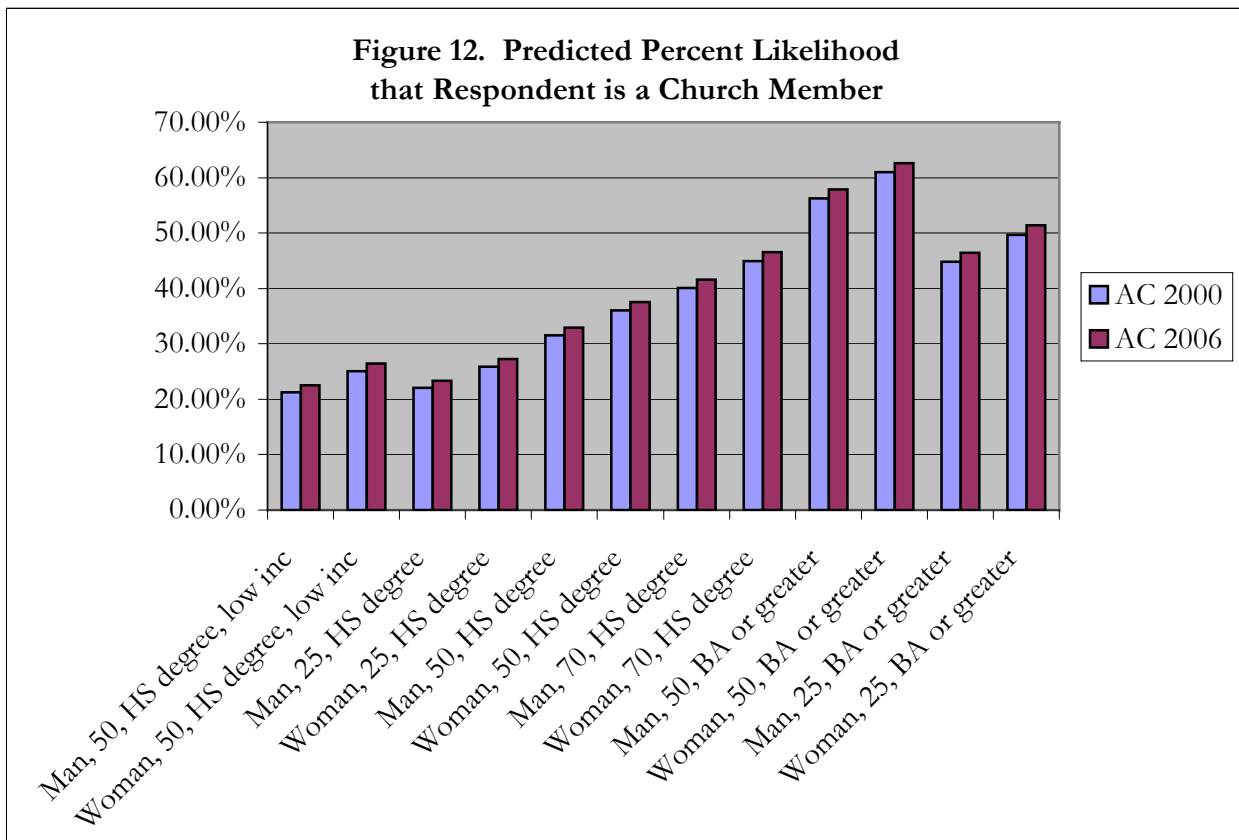
Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

On the national level, faith-based engagement showed some slight declines over this period. In 2006, respondents were less likely to be church members, for instance. AC residents somewhat narrowed their gap in terms of faith-based participation, but generally not by statistically significant margins. One exception is that being an AC resident in 2006 is associated with a small but statistically significant differential increase in attendance at religious services. In terms of the categorical variable on religious attendance, however, the average attendance in AC remains 1-2 times a month.

Change for Different Segments of the Population:

In AC, faith-based engagement differs by age and education. Taking church membership as emblematic of these differences, Figure 12 displays the predicted probabilities of membership for various categories of AC residents in 2000 and 2006. For each category, church membership increases somewhat over this period. As Figure 12 demonstrates, being a woman is associated with a slightly greater likelihood of church membership. For instance, a 50-year-old man with a high school degree is 5 percentage points less likely than a similar woman to be a church member. Church membership also varies with education. While the 50-year-old man with a high school degree is 31 percent likely to be a church member, an otherwise similar man with a college degree or more education is 56 percent likely to be a church member. Membership also increases with age. A 25-year-old man with a high school education is 22 percent likely to be a church member, while a 70-year-old man with similar characteristics is 40 percent likely to have joined a church.

Figure 12. Predicted Percent Likelihood that Respondent is a Church Member



In summary, from 2000-2006 faith-based engagement declined by some measures at the national level, while it increased slightly, but generally not significantly in AC. AC narrowed its gap in terms of faith-based engagement, but not by statistically significant margins.

Social Trust

Trust is an essential aspect of social capital. Social trust refers to having faith not only in particular known individuals, but in people in general. The SCCBS measures the extent to which the respondents trust neighbors, co-workers, shop clerks, the local police, and others in general. The composite variable on social trust is a zero-to-five count of the number of these groups that the respondent reports trusting “a lot.”

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

Change in social trust in AC from 2000 to 2006 was mixed. General social trust, trust for neighbors, and trust for colleagues was downward trending, though not by statistically significant margins. Trust for shop clerks was upward trending, though again not by a statistically significant margin. Trust for the police, on the other hand, was substantially up in AC over this period. Being an AC resident in 2006 was associated with a 9 percentage point increase in the likelihood of trusting the police “a lot.” Over all, the composite variable on social trust showed no significant change.

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

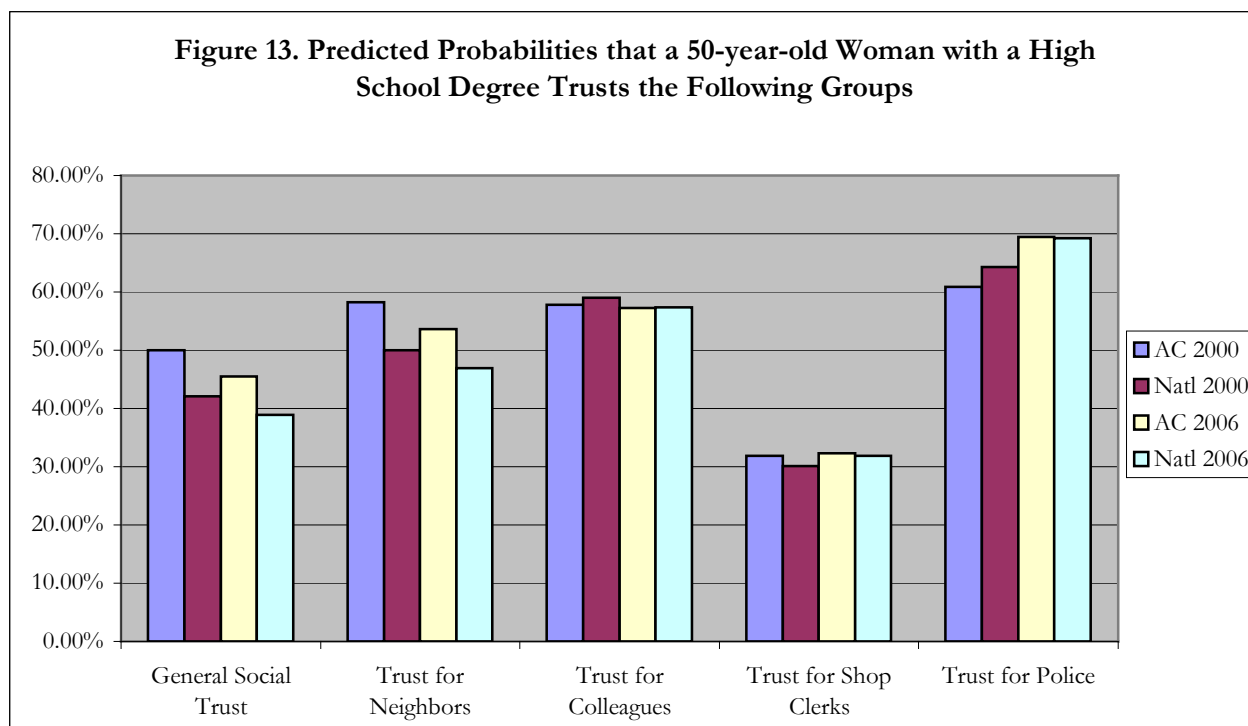
For the most part, AC does not differ substantially from the nation as a whole in terms of social trust. Being an AC resident is associated with a 5 percentage point greater likelihood of saying that “most people can be

trusted,” as supposed to “you can’t be too careful.” No significant difference exists in terms of the composite social trust variable.

Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

In the national sample, being a respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000 is associated with a 3 percentage point decline in general social trust. Trust for neighbors also fell by 3 percentage points, all else constant. Trust for colleagues was downward trending, but not statistically significant. Trust for shop clerks was upward trending, while trust for the police was up by 5 percentage points. Overall, the composite variable on social trust was downward trending, but not by a statistically significant margin. In sum, fluctuations in trust at the national level followed the same pattern seen in AC over this period. As a result, AC maintained its slight edge on the nation in terms of general trust, while other measures of social trust remained roughly even at the national and local level.

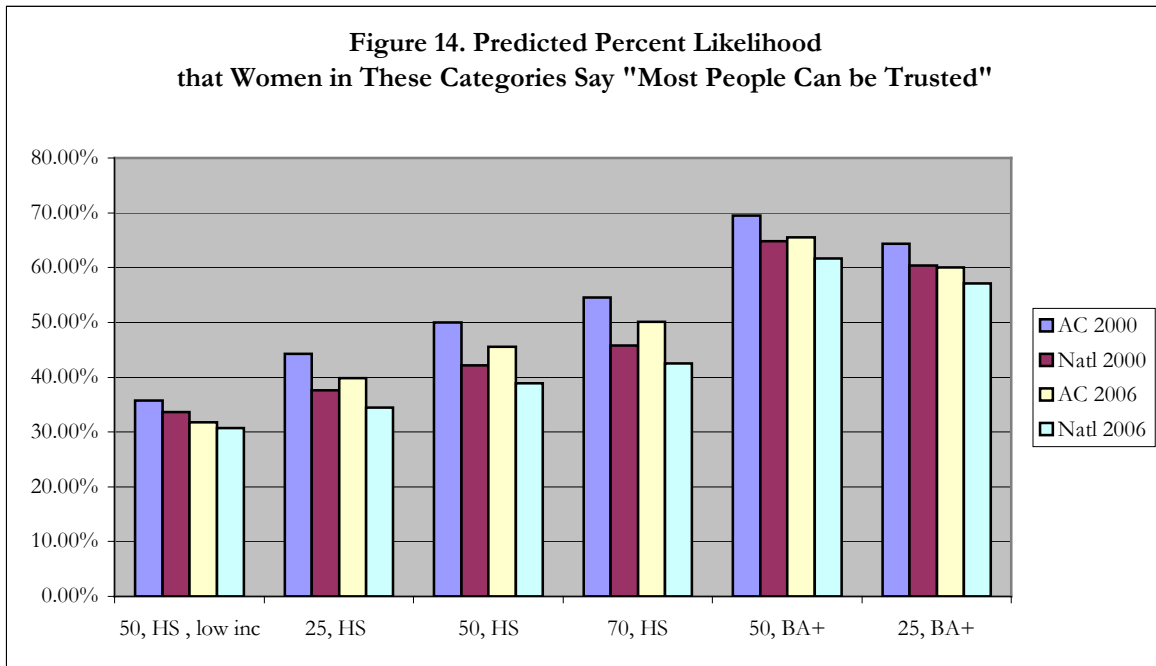
Figure 13 presents changes in different forms of social trust for a 50-year-old woman with a high school degree across samples and over time. This AC respondent in 2000 is 50 percent likely to say that most people can be trusted, compared to 42 percent for a respondent who lives elsewhere. By 2006, respondents in both samples were less likely to express generalized trust. Trust for police showed the opposite trend. In 2000, an AC resident was 61 percent likely to express high trust in the police while a respondent from elsewhere was 64 percent likely to do so. By 2006, trust for the police had increased in both samples, though by greater margins in AC, so that respondents from both samples were 69 percent likely to express high trust for the police.



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

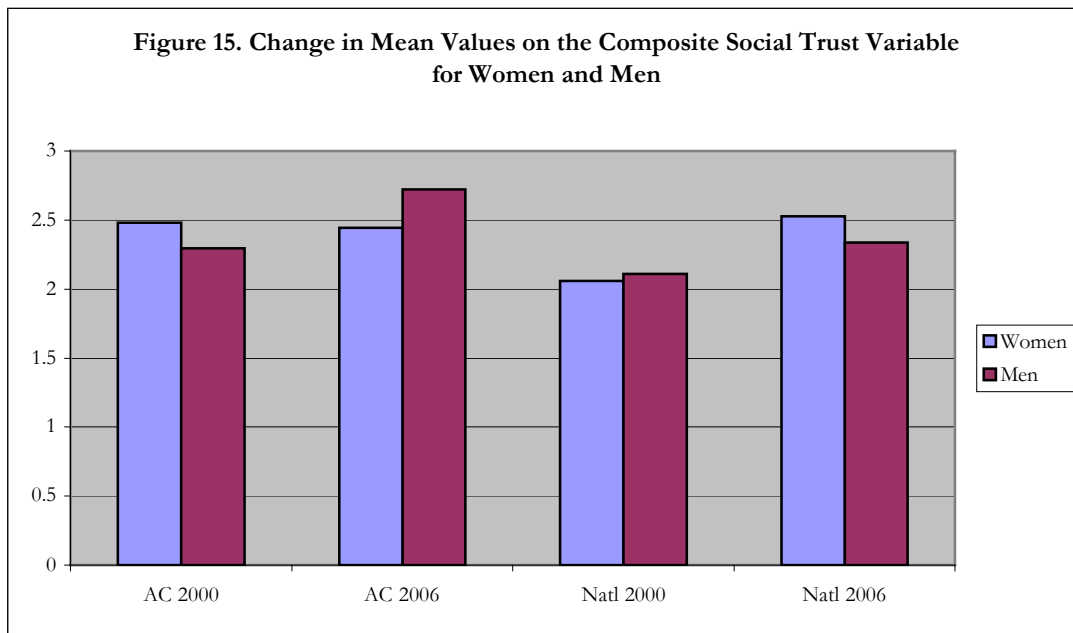
Like other forms of social capital, trust differs across segments of the population. Across the board, trust increases with age, education, and income. Figure 14 demonstrates these differences as they relate to generalized social trust. In terms of income, a 50-year-old low-income woman with a high school degree in AC is 14 percentage points less likely to say most people can be trusted than a similar woman who is not low income. In terms of education, the average AC 50-year-old with a high school degree in 2006 is 46 percent

likely to say that most people can be trusted, compared to 66 percent for the same woman with a college degree or more education. A 25-year-old high school educated woman is 40 percent likely to say that most people can be trusted, while her 70-year-old counterpart is 50 percent likely to say the same.

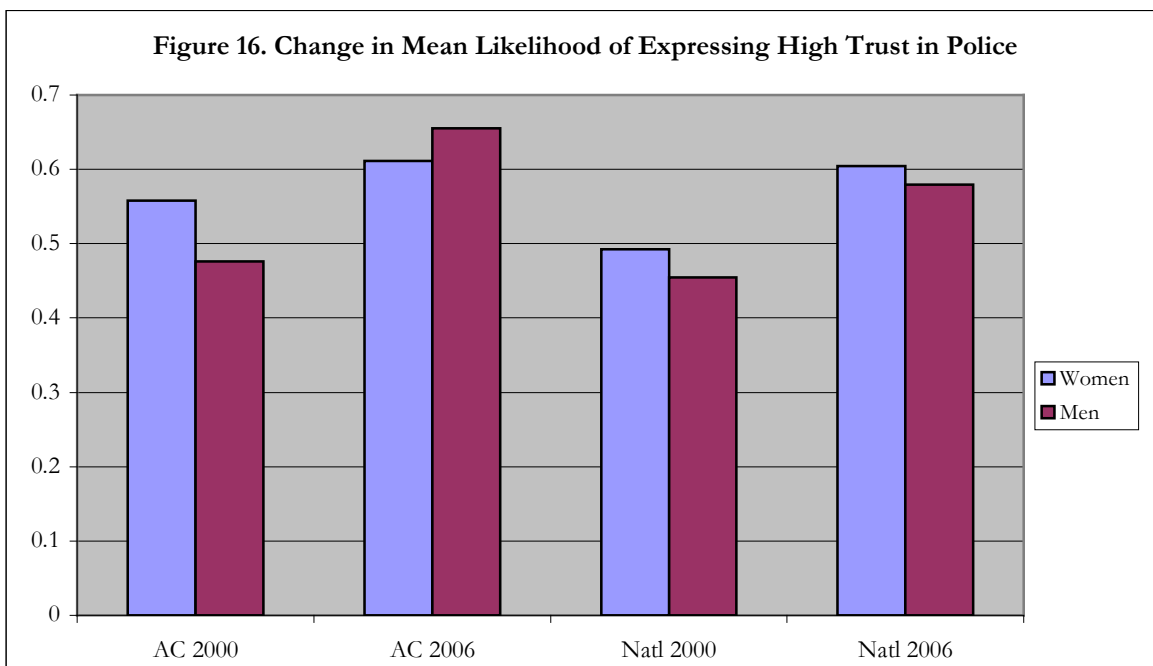


Trust varies with gender in a more complicated manner. Looking across both waves of the survey, it appears that trust does not vary significantly with gender in AC, while elsewhere being a woman is associated with increases in trust for neighbors, shop clerks, and the police. Upon closer examination, however, trust varies differentially by wave in both AC and the nation. In order to explore the changing role of gender in predicting trust across the waves, I ran regressions on the various dependent variables for AC and the national data separately, in both cases including an interactive variable that multiplied wave and gender. This “wave*sex” variable (which equals one when the respondent is female and in the 2006 sample) enables us to see the differential change in trust for a woman in 2006.

In terms of the composite social trust variable, being a woman in AC in 2006 is associated with a differential decline of more than a third of a point on the zero-to-five scale. Being a woman in the national sample in 2006, on the other hand, is associated with a differential *gain* of almost a third of a point on the composite social trust variable. As a result, as Figure 15 demonstrates, from 2000 to 2006 men overtook women in terms of social trust in AC, while women overtook men by the same measure in the national sample.



A similar phenomenon was in evidence in terms of high trust for the police in AC. Being a woman in AC in 2006 was associated with a differential decline of 12 percentage points in terms of the likelihood of expressing high trust in the police. Trust in police increased by significant margins in AC over this period, but, whereas in 2000, women were more likely to express high trust in the police, by 2006 men were more likely to express this level of trust. Figure 16 depicts this change.



In summary, from 2000-2006 Lewiston held steady in relation to the nation in terms of social trust. Social trust declined by more significant margins on the national level, but AC showed some curious results in terms of interactions between gender and changing social trust over time. Women in AC in 2006 displayed differential declines in general social trust and trust for the police – a phenomenon that deserves further exploration.

Diversity of Friendships

In addition to the size of social networks, the composition of networks matters for the strength of social capital. For this reason, the SCCBS measures the extent to which respondents have friends that bridge various societal divides, whether economic, religious, or racial. The survey asks respondents whether they have a friend who owns a business, owns a vacation home, has been on welfare, is a manual worker, is of a different religion, is a community leader, or is African-American, Asian, Latino, or white. The composite measure of friendship diversity is a zero-to-ten count of how many diverse friendships the respondent reports.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

In terms of the overall number of diverse friendships, AC shows a significant increase of 0.40 diverse friendships per respondent from 2000-2006. Being an AC respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000 is associated with an 11 percentage point increase in the likelihood of having a friend who receives welfare benefits. Second, being an AC respondent in 2006 is associated with substantial increases in the likelihood of having non-white friends. All else constant, the average AC respondent in 2006 is 10 percentage points more likely to have a Black friend, 9 percentage points more likely to have a Hispanic friend, and 5 percentage points more likely to have an Asian friend. AC also experienced overall changes in terms of interracial friendships. Being an AC resident in 2006 as supposed to 2000 is associated with a quarter-point increase in interracial friendships on a zero-to-four scale.

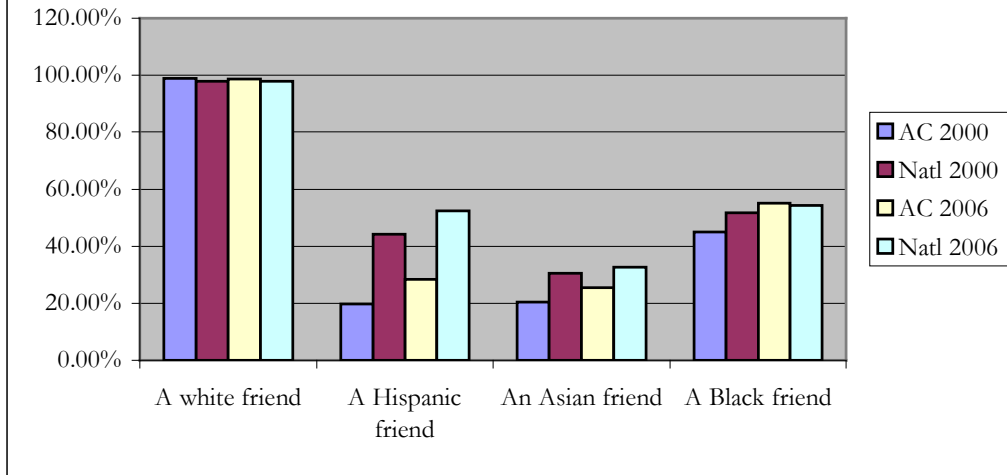
Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

Across both waves of the survey, AC differs from the nation in several ways related to friendship diversity. First, AC residents are 13 percentage points more likely than national respondents to have a friend who receives welfare benefits. Likewise, AC residents are 6 percentage points more likely to have a friend who is a manual worker. In terms of interracial friendships, AC residents are 24 percentage points less likely to have a Hispanic friend, 6 percentage points less likely to have an Asian friend, and 15 percentage points less likely to have a Black friend. Although interracial friendships increased in AC over the six-year period, AC lags the rest of the nation in terms of interracial friendships. It is worth noting that AC is over 90 percent white, so there is a limited sample of non-white friends to choose from locally.

Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

As in AC, the national sample shows a statistically significant increase in the number of diverse friendships from 2000-2006, with diverse friendships increasing by 0.29, all else constant. The trajectory of change on the national level is roughly similar to that in AC, so I find no differential change in overall friendship diversity in AC over this period. In terms of particular friendship variables, being a national respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000 is also associated with a 4 percentage point increase in the likelihood of having a friend who is a manual worker and a 12 percentage point increase in the likelihood of having a friend who receives welfare benefits. Similarly, being in the national sample in 2006 is associated with an increase in the number of interracial friendships per respondent. The average national respondent in 2006, all else constant, is 8 percentage points more likely to have a Hispanic friend, 2 percentage points more likely to have an Asian friend, and 2 percentage points more likely to have a Black friend. Thus, the national sample followed the same trajectory of change in terms of friendship diversity from 2000-2006. In absolute terms, interracial friendships increased slightly more in AC than in the nation over the period, but not by a statistically significant margin. On the whole, the gap between interracial friendship in AC and the nation stayed essentially steady over this period. In terms of overall friendship diversity, including socioeconomic and religious considerations,

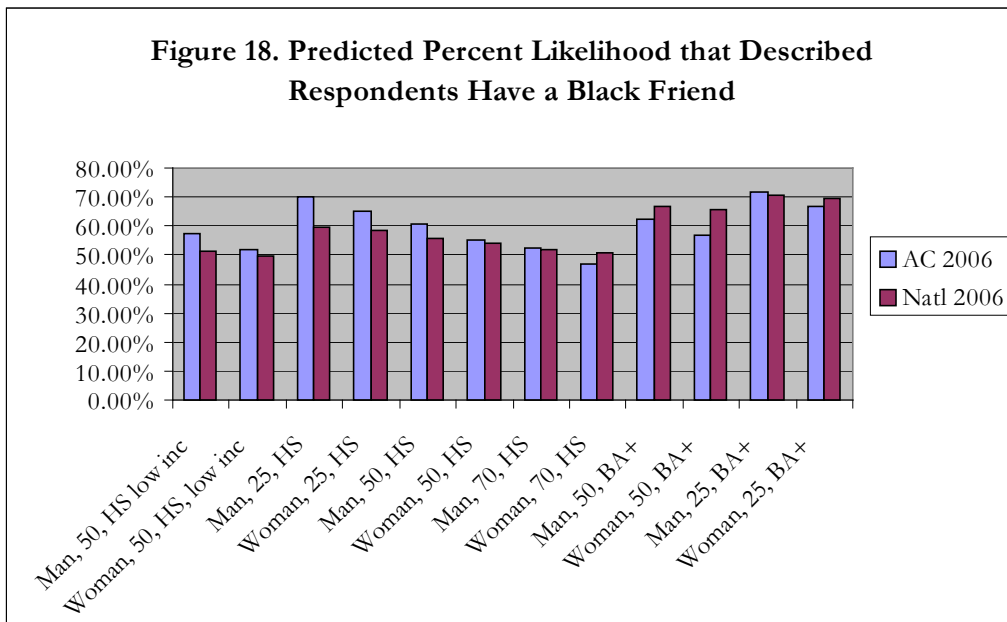
Figure 17. Percent Likelihood that a 50-year-old Woman with a High School Degree has the Following Types of Friends



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

Friendship diversity varies with gender, income, education, and age. In terms of gender, being a woman is negatively associated with friendship diversity, particularly interracial friendship. Being of low-income status is also negatively associated with diverse friendships. The number of diverse friendships increases with education level, but decreases with age. As respondents age, their social networks become more homogeneous. Looking at Figure 17 as an example, the predicted likelihood that a 50-year-old low-income woman with a high school degree has a Black friend is 52 percent. The same woman who is not low-income is 55 percent likely to have a Black friend. An otherwise similar man is 61 percent likely to have a black friend. In terms of education, a 50-year-old woman with a BA or more education is 7 percentage points more likely to have a black friend than her high school educated counterpart. Finally, younger people are substantially more likely to have a black friend, with the highest predicted probability at 72 percent likely for a 25-year-old man with a BA or greater education.

Figure 18. Predicted Percent Likelihood that Described Respondents Have a Black Friend



In summary, overall friendship diversity increase over this period in AC and the nation. The number of interracial friendships, however, did increase substantially in both AC and the nation as a whole. Since both samples showed increasing interracial friendship diversity, the gap between interracial friends in AC and elsewhere remained steady.

Interracial Relations

In addition to quantifying interracial friendships, the SCCBS measured interracial affect. This dimension of social capital relates to identifying divisions in society. Interracial affect is measured in a variety of ways. First, the survey asks respondents to what extent they trust Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. A zero-to-three composite variable combines mean trust in each of these groups, not counting trust of one's own ethnic group. The survey also asks about views on interracial marriage. Finally, it asks whether immigrants are growing "too pushy," in order to measure sentiment towards immigrants, who are largely non-white/non-Anglo at this point in time.

Change in Androscoggin County from 2000-2006:

While measures of interracial friendship suggest that interracial affect has grown more positive over the past six years in AC, measures of racial trust show declines. In 2006, mean trust in other racial groups in AC is downward trending, though not statistically significant. Questions on racial trust asked respondents whether they trusted different racial groups "not at all," "a little," "some," or "a lot." Mean trust for each group, controlling for gender, age, education, years of residence, race, and low-income status did not change significantly. On the other hand, the likelihood that AC residents express "a lot" of trust in different racial groups has declined substantially. AC residents in 2006 are 11 percentage points less likely to express "a lot" of trust in African-Americans, 12 percentage points less likely to express "a lot" of trust in Hispanics, and 10 percentage points less likely to express a lot of trust in Asians. Even high trust for whites has declined in AC by 5 percentage points. These declines are specifically among white respondents in AC, since I have controlled for being nonwhite in my analyses.

Similarly, the average person in AC is somewhat less likely to favor having a close relative marry a person of a different race. The survey asks whether the respondent favors or opposes marriage with whites, African-Americans, Hispanic, and Asians. For each racial group, respondents can respond on a zero-to-four scale ranging from "very much oppose" to "very much favor," with the middle value, "neither favor nor oppose." Being an AC respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000 is associated with a decline on this scale of a quarter of a point for marrying Asians, 0.20 points for marrying an African-American, and 0.15 points for marrying a Hispanic. The average AC resident is 5 percentage points less likely to say that they at least "somewhat favor" having a close relative marry an Asian or an African-American. Finally, the average AC resident in 2006 was 16 percentage points more likely than in 2000 to agree with the statement "immigrants are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights."

Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation:

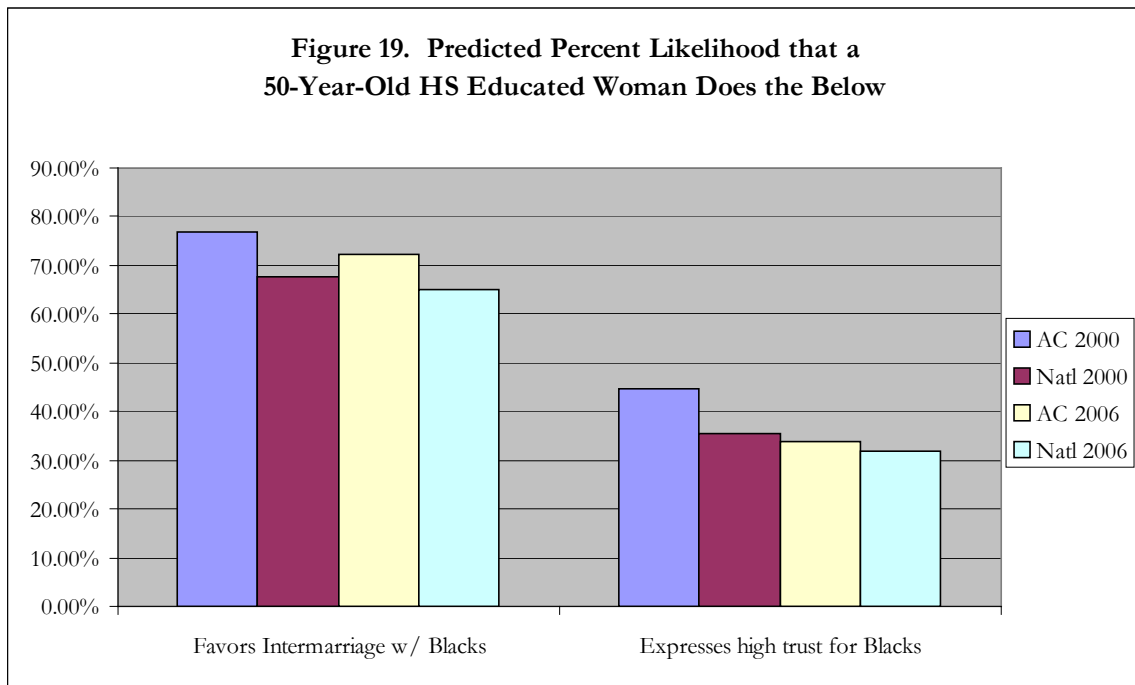
Although AC experienced declines in interracial trust over this six-year period, across both being in the AC sample is associated with higher levels of interracial trust than being in the national sample. The average AC resident is 12 percentage points more likely than respondents in the national level to have "a lot" of trust in African-Americans, 8 percentage points more likely to have "a lot" of trust in Asians, 12 percentage points more likely to have "a lot" of trust in Hispanics, and 7 percentage points more likely to have "a lot" of trust in whites. On the zero-to-three composite variable on interracial trust, being an AC resident is associated with an increase in trust for racial groups other than one's own of 0.18 points.

In terms of intermarriage, the average AC resident, all else constant, is 6 percentage points more likely than the average national respondent to at least somewhat favor having a close relative marry an African-American or an Asian, and 4 percentage points more likely to favor having a relative marry a Hispanic. Finally, the average AC resident was 10 percentage points less likely than a national respondent to agree with the statement “immigrants are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.”

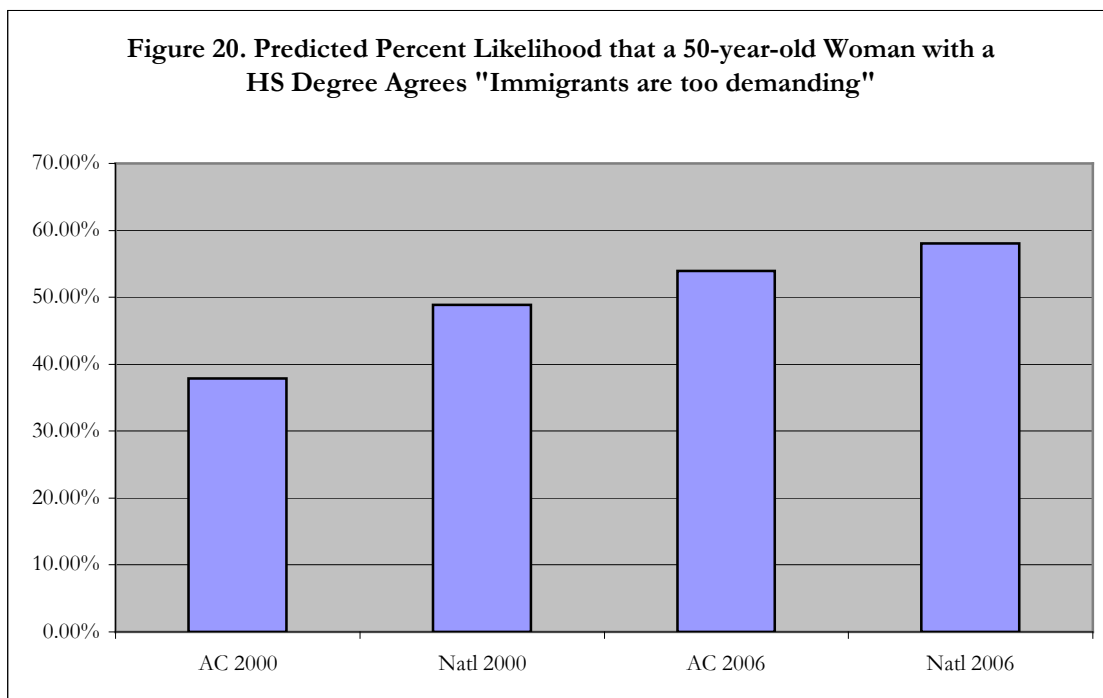
Differential Change in Androscoggin County Compared to the Nation, 2000-2006:

Although AC displays generally higher levels of interracial trust than the nation, it lost some of this edge from 2000-2006. At the national level, change in interracial trust followed a similar trajectory as in AC, but declines in trust were not as large. In 2006, national respondents were 4 percentage points less likely to express “a lot” of trust in African-Americans, and 3 percentage points less likely to express “a lot” of trust in Hispanics, Asians, and Whites. The composite variable on interracial trust showed no significant change. Just as in AC, support for intermarriage also decreased at the national level. The average national respondent in 2006 as supposed to 2000 was 3 percentage points less likely to favor having a close relative marry an Asian or an African-American and 2 percentage points less likely to favor marrying Hispanics and whites. National respondents were also 9 percentage points more likely to believe that immigrants were growing too demanding in 2006 than in 2000.

Despite the generally similar trajectory of declines in interracial trust, being a resident of AC in 2006 was associated with differential changes over and above national trends. In terms of racial trust, being an AC resident in 2006 was associated with a differential 7 percentage point decline in high trust for African-Americans, a 6 percentage point decline in high trust for Asians, and an 8 percentage point decline in high trust for Hispanics. In other words, interracial trust declined across the nation from 2000-2006, but AC resident experienced even greater declines. The same was true for views on intermarriage. Over and above national declines, being an AC resident in 2006 was associated with an additional 11 percentage point decline in the likelihood of favoring intermarriage with racial groups other than ones own. As Figure 19 clearly displays, by 2006 white AC residents still expressed higher trust for Blacks and were more likely to favor intermarriage with Blacks than national respondents, but by significantly declining margins. In 2000, a 50-year-old woman with a high school degree in AC was 45 percent likely to express high trust for Blacks, where as in 2006 she was only 34 percent likely to express this level of trust. Over this period, the gap between AC and the nation for this respondent shrunk from 9 percentage points to only 2 percentage points.

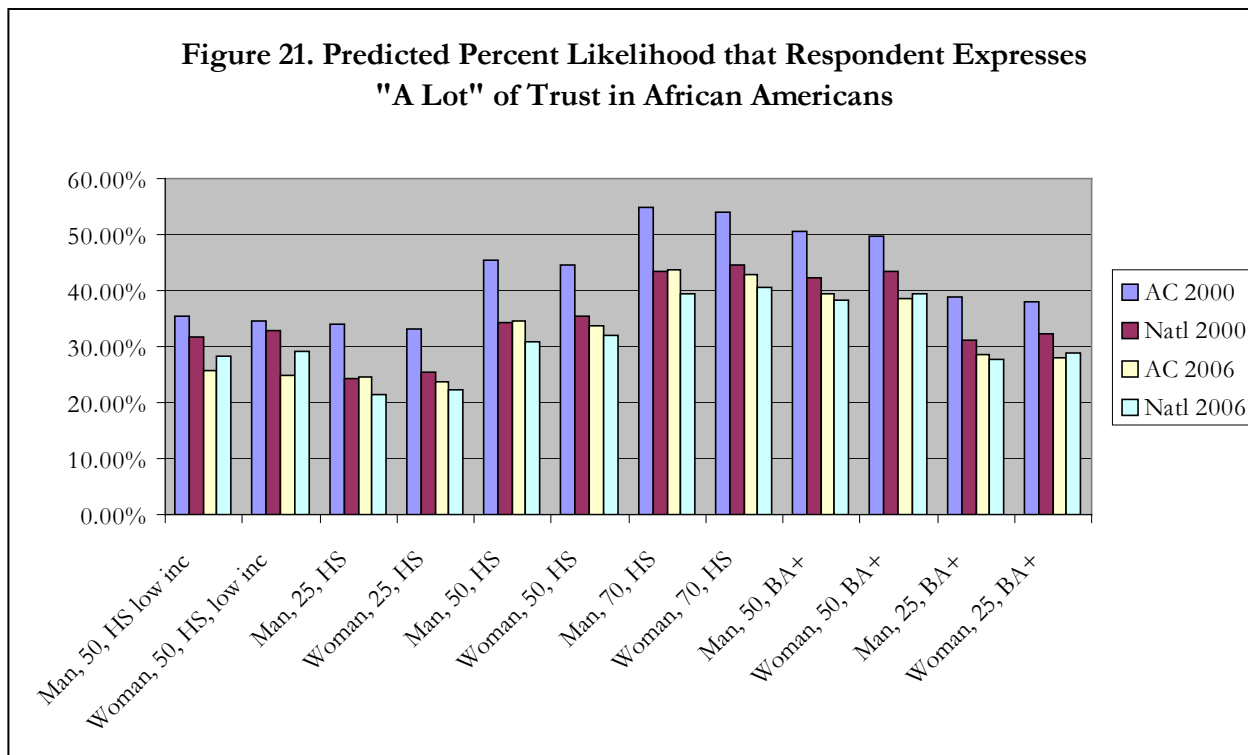


Likewise, while concerns about immigration were heightened across the nation, AC experienced a particular increase in concern. Being an AC respondent in 2006 was associated with a differential increase of 7 percentage points in terms believing that immigrants are growing too demanding. Figure 20 depicts this trend. In 2000, a 50-year-old high school educated woman in AC was 38 percent likely to say that immigrants had grown too demanding, whereas in 2006, she was 49 percent likely to agree with this statement. Concern about immigrants only increased by 5 percentage points at the national level, so AC's edge on the nation in terms of support for immigrants, narrowed to 4 percentage points in 2006, from 10 percentage points in 2000.



Change for Different Segments of the Population:

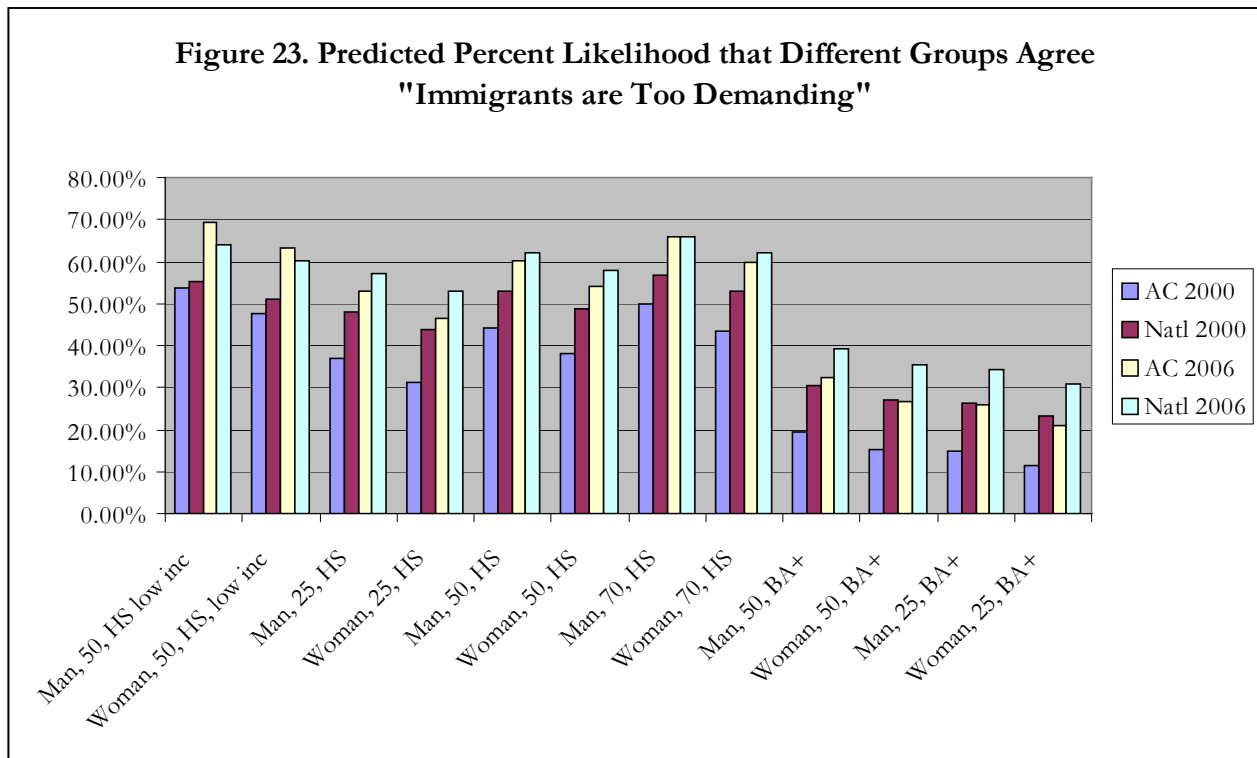
Various measures of interracial affect differ with gender, age, education, and income. On the whole, interracial trust increases with age, with education, and with income at both the local and national level. For instance, as Figure 21 demonstrates, the average AC 50-year-old low income man with a high school degree is 26 percent likely to express “a lot” of trust in African-Americans, while his counterpart who is not low-income is 35 percent likely to express high trust. In terms of education, a college educated 50-year-old man is 5 percentage points more likely to express high trust than his high-school educated counterpart. Age-wise, high trust in African-Americans ranges from 24 percent for a 25-year-old high school educated man to 44 percent for an otherwise similar 70-year-old.



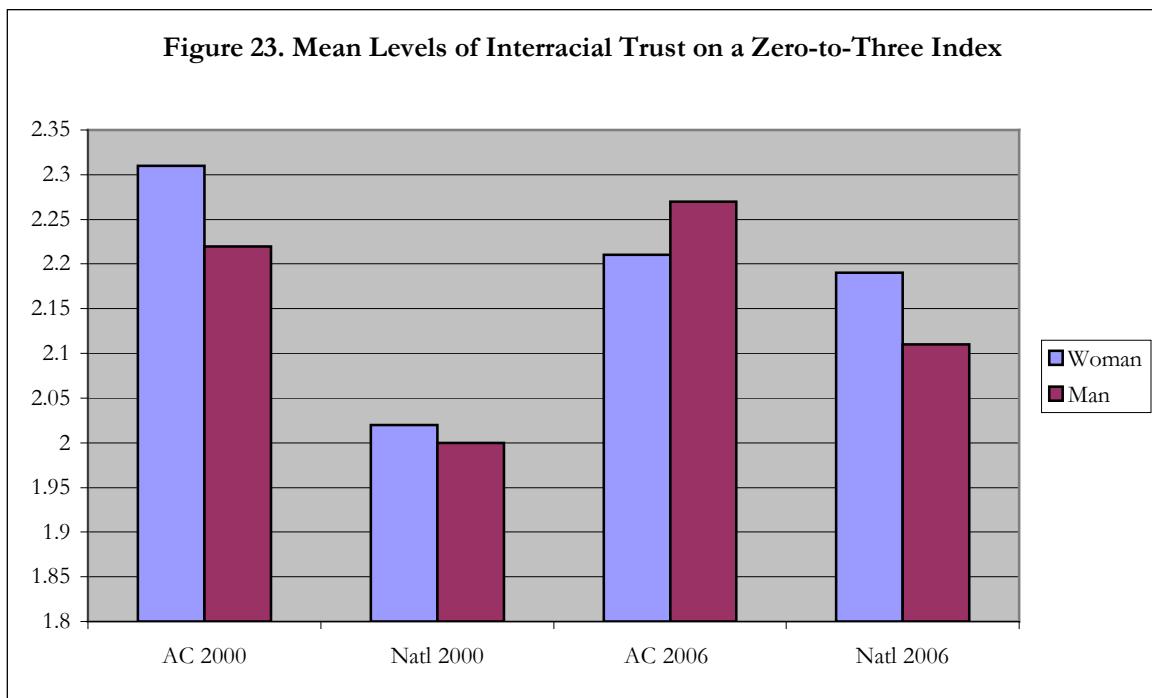
Support for interracial intermarriage follows a different pattern. While it increases with education and income, it decreases with age. The changes across different segments of the population, however, are sufficiently small that they are not readily observable graphically.

Finally, concerns about immigrants decrease with education, but increase with age. As Figure 23 demonstrates, the average high-school educated 50-year-old man in AC was 60 percent likely to say that immigrants are growing too demanding in 2006. His low-income counterpart was 9 percentage points more likely to feel the same, while his college educated counterpart was 18 percentage points less likely to express concerns about immigrant demands. In terms of age, a 25-year-old high school educated respondent was 53 percent likely to feel that immigrants are too demanding, while his 70 year old counterpart was 66 percent likely to feel the same – a 13 percentage point difference.

Figure 23. Predicted Percent Likelihood that Different Groups Agree "Immigrants are Too Demanding"



As with social trust, the effect of gender in predicting interracial trust differed from 2000 to 2006 at the local and national level. In general, women in AC have slightly, though not statistically significantly, higher interracial trust than men. Being a woman in the 2006 AC sample, however, is associated with a differential decline in interracial trust of 0.14 on the zero-to-three interracial trust scale. Being an AC woman in 2006 is also associated with differential declines in trust for one's own racial group and high trust for whites. In 2006, being a woman in AC was associated with a differential 12 percentage point decline in expressing high trust for whites. On the national level, on the other hand, being a woman in the national sample in 2006 as opposed to 2000 is associated with a tiny but statistically significant differential increase in interracial trust of 0.06 points. Likewise, being a woman in the national sample in 2006 is associated with greater trust for one's own racial group and a greater likelihood of expressing high trust for whites. In summary, while being a woman in AC was associated with differential declines in interracial trust and trust for one's own group in 2006, being a woman in the national sample was associated with differential increases in the same categories. As Figure 23 demonstrates, from 2000-2006 levels of interracial trust increased for both women and men in the national sample and men in AC. Women in AC were the only group that experienced overall declines in mean interracial trust over this period.



On the whole, from 2000-2006, AC followed the same pattern as the nation in terms of declining interracial trust and support for intermarriage and increasing concern about immigrants. While AC maintains a slight positive edge on the nation in terms of these issues, declines were significantly more substantial in AC than in the national sample. Interestingly, women in AC saw particularly sharp declines in interracial trust and trust for their own racial group, while women in the national sample displayed the precise opposite trend.

CONCLUSION

From 2000-2006, levels of social capital in Androscoggin County and in the nation did not change massively. The Androscoggin County data, however, did show some interesting cases in which its trajectory of social capital change diverged from national trends. In this closing section, I briefly recap my findings, then propose questions that deserve further attention in future work.

As this report has described, change in social capital in AC differed based on the types of activities involved. For each of the important dimensions of social capital, AC experienced the following changes in comparison to the national sample:

- *Electoral political participation* was up across the nation from 2000-2006, such that AC maintained its edge in terms of voting and the like.
- *Protest political participation* remained steady at the national level, but rose slightly in AC. Here, AC increased its edge.
- *Associational involvement* increased in AC and remained steady nationally from 2000 to 2006. Over this period AC slightly narrowed the existing gap between civic group participation in AC and the nation, but not by a statistically significant margin.
- *Informal socializing* has remained steady over time with AC retaining its edge in terms of this type of social engagement.

- *Charitable activity* increased by a small but significant amount in AC over this period. The gap between charitable giving in AC and the nation remains, but AC has experienced differential increases in volunteering over this period.
- *Faith-based engagement* declined by some measures at the national level, while it increased slightly, but generally not significantly in AC. AC narrowed its gap in terms of faith-based engagement, but not by statistically significant margins.
- *Social trust* held steady in AC and the nation, but AC showed some curious results in terms of interactions between gender and trust over time. Women in AC in 2006 displayed differential declines in general social trust and trust for the police – a phenomenon that deserves further exploration.
- *Friendship diversity* in terms of socioeconomic, racial, and religious differences increased over this period in AC, but not in the nation. The number of interracial friendships, however, increased substantially in both AC and the nation as a whole. Since both samples showed increasing interracial friendship diversity, the lower levels of interracial friendship in AC as compared to the nation persisted.
- *Interracial trust* and support for intermarriage declined in AC and the nation, while concern about immigrants increased. While AC maintains a slight positive edge on the nation in terms of these issues, declines were significantly more substantial in AC than in the national sample. Interestingly, women in AC saw particularly sharp declines in interracial trust and trust for their own racial group, while women in the national sample displayed the precise opposite trend.

In 2006, AC residents are participating less in groups, but more in protests. They still hang out with their friends and family at rates that exceed the nation and they are catching up in terms of charitable and faith-based activities. They are more likely to have friends of different races, but less likely to trust people of different races, or to trust people in general. Each of these developments begs the question – what is changing in Androscoggin County that is causing it to diverge from national trends in terms of social capital change over time?

Residents of Lewiston, Androscoggin County's largest city and the second largest city in Maine, see two major changes in the past decade. A few residents praise efforts by local government and economic development agencies to revitalize lower Lisbon Street, a previously derelict section of the town's main drag. Beautification efforts and business development have succeeded in creating a more vital and attractive entryway to the city's downtown. But the first change that comes to mind for most residents is the arrival of a substantial population of Somalis, former refugees who left their settlement sites to congregate in a safer, more affordable locale. Since they began to arrive in 2001, after the administration of the first SCCBS, the Somalis population has grown to comprise 5-7 percent of Lewiston's 36,000-person population. While many Lewiston residents have reached out to make the newcomers feel welcome, many others resent the Somalis presence, believing that they are taking advantage of preferential public benefits.

Declines in social trust and interracial trust could be related to long-term residents' reactions to the Somali influx. This hypothesis deserves further attention in subsequent work. In particular, I intend to extend this work to compare changing social capital for Lewiston residents and others in Androscoggin County, to see if views have changed differentially in Lewiston as supposed to neighboring towns. I also plan to compare the Androscoggin County data to a demographically matched sample from New Hampshire. Although I have controlled for many individual-level demographic characteristics in my analyses here, it is possible that the national sample differs from the Androscoggin County sample in other systematic ways that bias these results. Comparing AC to a demographically matched sample from neighboring New Hampshire could help to alleviate these concerns. In particular, this analysis could help to determine whether local reactions to the Somalis' arrival have anything to do with changing social capital, by allowing me to compare to essentially

similar samples, one of which experienced the of the arrival of the Somalis prior to the second wave of the survey.

In this additional work, it is important to consider the differential changes in social trust and racial trust for AC women. This unusual finding raises several questions – namely, why are women in AC experiencing these differential declines in interracial trust at a time when their nationwide compatriots are experiencing differential increases? Why are these changes impacting women in AC, but not men? The two analyses described above will serve as a first step to answering these and other questions.

Ultimately, Androscoggin County continues to surpass the nation on many measures of social capital. None of the declines in social capital that this report uncovers are massive or insurmountable. In the context of Lewiston’s substantial demographic change in the last five years, however, it is worth considering how Lewiston and surrounding communities can maintain and strengthen social capital even as they encounter changes, such as increasing racial diversity.