

Neighborhood Matters: The Impact of Resources on Online Participation of Warsaw Residents

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Summary: This study examines the relationship between individual social capital and online participation in neighborhood of residents in a metropolitan city. Based on quantitative data collected through a modified version of the Resource Generator questionnaire among 9 063 residents of Warsaw, the impact of resources embedded in personal networks on online discussions on local issues is evaluated. It is found that resources in personal networks, perceived by respondents as embedded but not mobilizable, negatively influence online talks focus on neighborhood. However, this impact turns into positive when they are able to mobilize resources available through social ties. Although some scholars suggest that social capital in the neighborhood declines, this study shows that neighbors remain considerable source of mobilizable resources affecting online discussions on local issues. Moreover, it is established that fact of being raised indigenously, relations with neighbors and trust in them may encourage urban residents to participate in neighborhood by discussing local issues online.

Keywords: social capital, resources, neighborhood, online participation.

Much has been said on the relationship between communication technology, social capital and civic activity since Putnam's reference book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* was published in 2000. Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002) reconstructed three lines of research emerging as a response to Putnam's thesis on the decline of civic engagement and social capital in the American community evoked by the Internet use. First, convergent with Putnam's argumentation, further develops the rationales behind the negative evaluation of changes in local community, caused by the impact of Internet (Nie & Hillygus, 2002). Second rejects the Putnam's explanations and gives empirical evidence on positive impact of Internet on social capital of the local community (Hampton, 2007; Rheingold, 1993).

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Third, shows that social capital is not in decline but is rather changing as Internet use increases among members of local communities (Lin, 2001; Wellman, Haase, Witte, & Hampton, 2001). Considering following currents in social capital research the impact of ICT on different forms of participation in neighborhood is not clear-cut. This relationship becomes even more complex as adoption of ICT's for local community-related purposes intensifies and evolves.

Some recent research focused on virtual communities of local community members (Carroll, 2012), gamers (Tseng, Huang, & Teng, 2015), mobile phone users (Yang, Kurnia, Lee, & Kim, 2008) and social media users (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007; Ellison, Vitak, Gray, & Lampe, 2014) give evidence of ambiguous impact of technology on social capital. On the one hand, new forms of social capital, such as "gaming social capital" (Molyneux, Vasudevan, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2015) or "Facebook social capital" (Dohmen, 2012) emerge and stimulate people's activity and participation in neighborhood. In this vein, Baborska-Narozny, Stirling and Stevenson (2016) pointed on positive impact of Facebook Groups on local neighborhood. They found that social media have potential to stimulate social capital of a single urban development and help to reach community goals. On the other hand, scholars provide evidence of negative effects of ICT that may harm social capital e.g. polarization of communication (Sunstein, 2007) or selective exposure (Knobloch-Westerwick & Meng, 2009). As a consequence, such negative effects of ICT use may feed distrust, social distances and indifference to local community, that is, factors negatively affecting the participation in neighborhood.

The bulk of the research examines social capital as a result of diverse social practices grown from ICT usage. This study reverses the direction of inquiry outlined above and examines the impact of social capital on Internet use for neighborhood goals. In doing so, Lin's (2001) definition of social capital captured through social relations is employed. He defines social capital as "a social asset by virtue of actors' connections and access to resources in the network or group of which they are members" (2001, p. 19). Social capital is a property of individuals accessing and/or mobilizing material and symbolic resources embedded in personal networks made of kin, friends, acquaintances, neighbors, workmates etc. In order to measure social capital at the individual level this research uses the questionnaire consisting the Resource Generator tool proposed by Van Der Gaag and Snijders (Van Der Gaag, 2005; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2001, 2005). Consequently, the following research questions are pursued: Do resources embedded in personal networks (social capital) affect the Internet discussions on local community issues? Whose resources, e.g. relatives, friends, acquaintances or neighbors, have impact on online participation in the neighborhood? What factors, namely relations with neighbors, trust in them, strength of local identity or fact of being raised in Warsaw are associated with the dependent variable? Do personal resources of respondents matter when the Internet discussions on local issues are considered?

Theory of social resources

A massive critics of Putnam's research came off the imprecise definition of social capital, and consequently, the ambiguous methodology applied to collect quantitative data. The main reasons of slip raised by scholars commenting his research include: (1) unclear causal relation between variables constituting social capital (Durlauf, 2002), (2) inaccuracy of indicators (Skocpol, 1996), (3) faulty selection of data and low quality of datasets (Fischer, 2005), (4) latent assumptions on impact of the Internet and television. (Wellman et al., 2001) Despite the amount of research evoked by Putnam's theses, scholars have not reached an agreement on the fundamental issues related to social capital. Paxton (1999) suggested two problems behind the general tension. First is a gap between the concept of social capital and its measurement. Second is a reliance on single indicators of social capital (e.g. membership in NGOs). In order to avoid problems mentioned above and get better insight into local community processes this study leans on the theory of social capital proposed by Lin (Lin, 1999, 2001; Lin, Vaughn, & Ensel, 1981).

Lin's theory makes explicit the assumption that resources embedded in personal networks have an impact on individual actions and can lead to better socioeconomic status. Accordingly, resources accessed through an ego's social ties, so called "social resources", are made of network and contact resources (2001, p. 21). "Network resources refer to those embedded in one's ego-networks, whereas contact resources refer to those embedded in contacts used as helpers in an instrumental action, such as job searches" (Lin, 1999). To distinguish resources owned by others from private resources belonging to an individual, Lin introduces a term "personal resources". By personal resources he means "resources possessed by an individual [that] may include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods (e.g. diplomas and degrees)" (2001, p. 21). In this research both social and personal resources are evaluated as the independent variables with expected impact on online discussions on neighborly issues.

Although the theory of social resources probes the effects of embedded and mobilizable resources available in social networks on actions taken by individuals, it does not preclude that resources may act as a constraint in a diverse social contexts. (Van Der Gaag, 2005). As a consequence, this study assumes that social capital is made of resources that may bring opportunities and impose constraints on individuals acting in the neighborhood. It needs to be emphasized that some of these resources could be mobilized, while others are only embedded in personal networks of relatives, friends, acquaintances and neighbors. For example, individual may have a friend earning a huge money. However, ego assumes that his friend is rather greedy person and there is no possibility to borrow some money from him when it is needed. In this case money is an embedded resource that cannot be mobilized for purposive action. Moreover, it is further expected here that the type of relationship is coupled with quality and quantity of resources, which in turn may affect participation in the neighborhood. Such approach explicitly indicates the causal relation between variables and, what appears to be a particularly important, does not mistake the components of social capital with its effects.

Resources and participation in the neighborhood

The term "community participation" is a well-established concept referring to a variety of social practices contributing to community wealth and goals. In pioneering work *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville praised the disposition of Americans to form different types of associations as one of major forces strengthening the democratic order and community involvement (Tocqueville, 1998, pp. 215-219) Tocqueville's remarks have been adopted by Putnam, who reinterpreted these early thoughts on American communities into more systematic and applicable approach. For Putnam (2000) participation has three core manifestations: political, civic and religious. He puts emphasis on official membership in a formal organizations as 'facet of social capital [and] a useful barometer of community involvement' (2000, p. 49). Although in Putnam's proposal social capital merges with community involvement, the general idea of political, civic and religious involvement at local and national level seems to be useful for the operational evaluations of neighborhood participation.

In the literature there are diverse operationalizations of the term "community participation". McMillan & Chavis (1986) suggest that the fulfillment of individual and collectivity needs breeds the participation. For Choguill (1996) the key component of community participation is 'self-help, that is, community mutual-help', but she also considers community participation more broadly as a mean of influence on political decisions. More complex definition of community participation has been proposed by Zakus & Lysack (1998), who analyzed the strategy of health service delivery at local level. Community participation, according to them, is a 'strategy that provides people with the sense that they can solve their problems through careful reflection and collective action'. It is based on collective wisdom that produces participation with potential of positive impact upon people's life. Carroll (2012) expanded the meaning of participation by practices appearing in community networks. He suggested that new ways of participation are emerging. "One might not

bowl in a league or invite the neighbors over very often, but instead might write a community blog and use web-based collaboration to mentor middle-school science projects” (2012, p. 19). In a similar vein, Loader, Vromen and Xenos (2014) claim that the networked young citizens prefer networked and less institutionalized forms of public engagement.

Building on quoted definitions and meanings of participation, it is assumed here that a wide range of offline and online activities contribute to reach local community goals and objectives. Some of them may have co-operational and publicly visible character while others are more isolated or publicly invisible, but still driven by community needs and goals. Accordingly, participation is narrowed here to online discussions on neighborly issues. Although such communicational practices are just little episode of online involvement into neighborhood, it is expected that in the era of digital communication they may reflect the way resources embedded in personal networks impact the community driven activities.

The impact of resources on online participation in the neighborhood has not been explicitly investigated in social science literature. Prior research focus on a job search and occupational status (De Graaf & Flap, 1988; Granovetter, 1974; Montgomery, 1992; Yakubovich, Bian, 1997; Earle, & Miller, 2005) socio-economic attainment (Lin, 1999), intraorganizational support (McGuire & Bielby, 2016) shows that resources may affect the actions taken by individuals embedded in diverse social contexts. Drawing from the literature, people with higher number of resources, that is, richer in social capital, should have achieved their individual goals more easily than those with lesser resources, poorer in social capital. Such resources, material and symbolic, include e.g. information, knowledge, trust, recommendation, contacts or money. When applied to local community, it could be hypothesized that individuals with higher amount of resources embedded in personal networks should be more involved into community through online discussions. In keeping with previous findings (Lewicka, 2005; Putnam, 2000) resources are perceived as an obligation that encourages individuals to be active members in the neighborhood. Community involvement may appear here as a part of strategy to defend or gain material and symbolic resources needed to pursue individual goals. Building on that, the following hypothesis is proposed. People richer in social capital, i.e. those with higher amount of resources embedded in kin, friends, acquaintances and neighbors ties, will more actively take part in online discussions on local issues (H1).

Over the last few decades, physical and social neighborhoods (Keller, 1968; Power & Willmot, 2007) have been co-shaped by technological development, migrations, economic upturns and downturns, political decisions and cultural shifts. (Rheingold, 1993; Zwiers, Bolt, Van Ham, & Van Kempen, 2014) As a consequence, composition of personal networks, intensity of local relations, sense of identification with neighbors, nature of social control at the neighborly level, degree of involvement into community issues etc. have changed (Galster, 2001). Although some physical settings and social relationships within a local community evolve, it is rather accepted that neighborhood still matters. (Cramm, Van Dijk, & Nieboer, 2013; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Farrell, Aubry, & Coulombe, 2004) Neighbors possess material and symbolic resources that may impact people's outcomes at different life stages. Educational achievements, sexual activity, job opportunities, spare time activities, care for the elderly are examples of such an impact. Thus, it is assumed that social capital of neighbors has not disappeared, but some urban residents do not perceive opportunities offered by neighborhoods. Still, those less wrapped up in work, not addicted to ICT, not paralyzed by the fear of strangers etc., could be more aware of resources available through neighbor ties. They may participate in various local activities to pay back, contribute or sustain variety of resources embedded in the neighborhood. Thus, it is hypothesized that individuals with better access to resources embedded in neighborly network will be more actively engaged into online discussion on local issues (H2).

Results of multiple studies conducted in the last two decades confirmed that many citizens use Internet to commence or enhance their participation in neighborhood issues. Kollock (1999) suggests that people engaged in online cooperation are usually motivated by: (1) anticipated reciprocity, (2) expected prestige and

high reputation, (3) sense of efficacy (self-agency), (4) altruism, (5) community attachment, or (6) own interests that overlap with the interests of community. As Karpf (2015, p. 61) aptly summed up: “Whether we label it »clicktivism«, »connective action«, or »hashtag activism« there is a prevailing sense that digital technologies have imbued everyday citizenship with more power than ever before”. In order to emphasize a socio-technological shift taking place in modern societies, Portney and Berry (1997) suggest that Tecqueville's America is being replaced by the mall, cable television, and the Internet. It does not necessarily mean that the local participation declines, but it is obvious that technology becomes an important factor influencing local engagement¹. Carroll (2012, p. 97) showed that the Internet use is related to community membership, civic and social participation of individuals. He reported that people interested and engaged into community issues become even more involved when they turn to the Internet. It may suggest that the Internet use increases the so called “participatory capital” (Wellman et al., 2001). Individuals engaged in relations with neighbors, embedded in local community, interested in local history etc. may more actively use the Internet to increase their community participation. Based on that the following hypotheses are proposed. Individuals with stronger local identity will more actively take part in the Internet talks around local issues (H3). Consequently, individuals trusting neighbors will more actively take part in the Internet talks around local (H4).

Method

Operationalization of social capital at the individual level has its direct methodological implications. It makes the selection of measurement instruments somehow dependent on three commonly used tools designed for the measurement of individual social capital: (1) the Name Generator, (2) the Position Generator, (3) the Resource Generator (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Although, all these tools have been found extremely useful in social capital research (Appel et al., 2014) the Resource Generator offers a specific structure that distinguishes resources embedded in personal networks on those that could and couldn't be mobilized for purposive action. Accordingly, the Resource Generator questionnaire is made of two sets of items representing resources embedded in personal networks. The general rule behind the selection of resources is to link them with important aspects of social capital in a given social entity. The social production function theory (Lindenberg, 1996; Ormel, 2002) has been suggested by scholars as a guide on how to identify valued resources (Van Der Gaag, 2005; Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Items in the questionnaire represent resources selected as relevant to the research problem. First set of items in the questionnaire, equipped with the question “Do you know anyone who...”, shows which resources an individual knows are possessed by others. Second set brings a list of resources that can be mobilized by the individual in various social contexts, e.g. labor market. The comparison of two types of resources helps to identify the gap between embedded resources and ability to mobilize them through social ties.

The original contribution of this study is a modified version of the Resource Generator that extends the idea of personal network by introducing the neighborly dimension into the questionnaire. It is assumed here that the neighbors along with family, friends and acquaintances are significant source of material and symbolic resources for urban residents. However, the problem is that neighbor ties cannot be classified as “strong” or “weak” until additional measures such as intensity of relations or emotional engagement are introduced. It happens that neighbors are “strong ties”, that is friends or family members. Simultaneously, many of them are just occasionally met people, thus weak ties. Despite this limitation information on resources that are embedded and could be mobilized through neighbor ties seems to be valuable for the evaluation of participation in neighborhood.

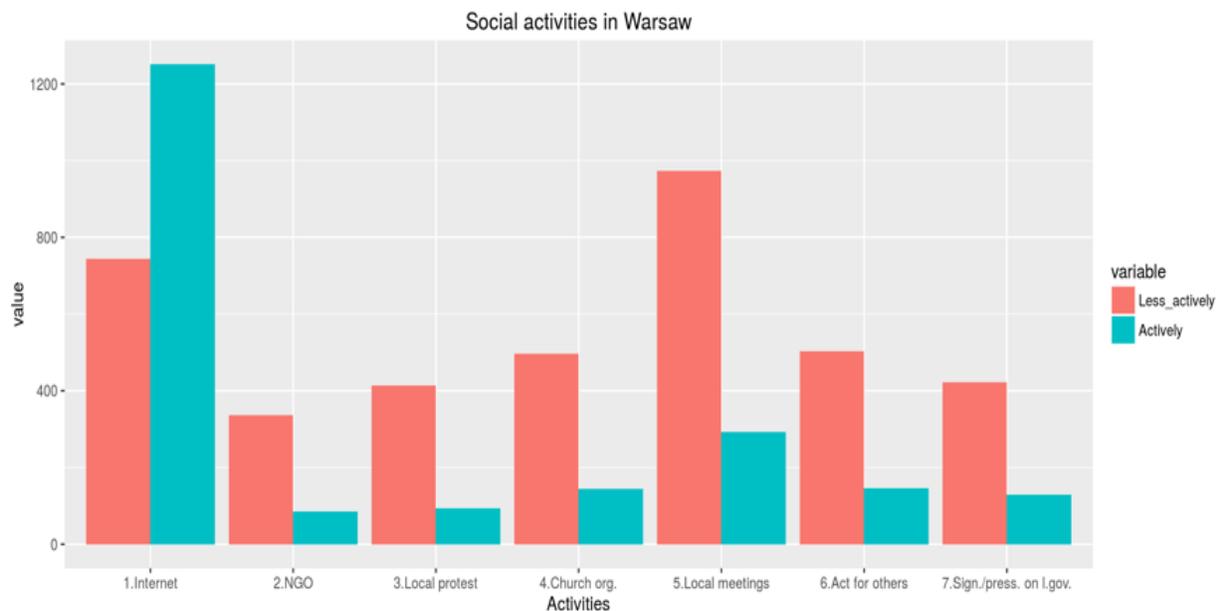
¹ The problem of online engagement and its impact on participatory actions has been widely discussed in the subject literature. However, we omit this issue due to restrictions on the paper size.

The Resource Generator tool has been a part of the Quality of Life of Warsaw's Residents Survey conducted in 2012 on a stratified random sample of 9,063 residents of Warsaw. In each of eighteen city districts at least 500 respondents have been interviewed through paper assisted personal interviews (PAPI).

Measures (variables)

Dependent variable

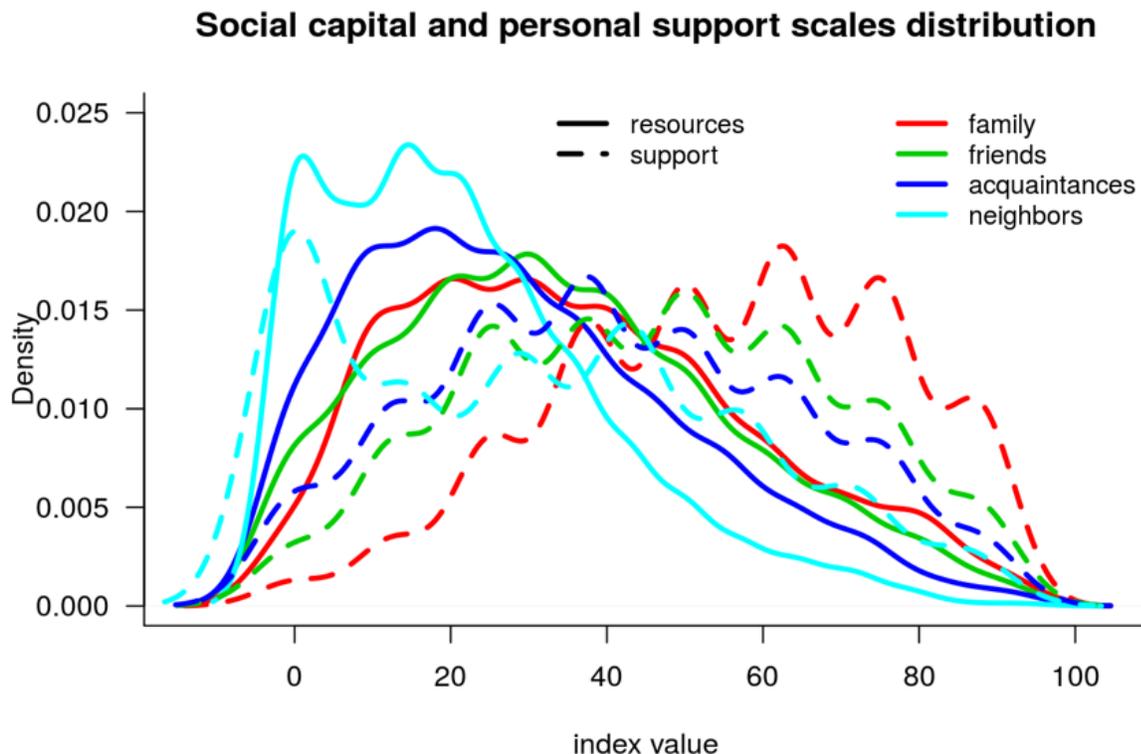
In this study dependent variable is a declared use of internet for discussions on local issues. Respondents selected one of four answers (a) "No use", (b) "Rare use", (c) "Frequent use", (d) "Hard to say". In order to clarify analysis "Hard to say" answers have been removed. The survey consists of seven items referring to different social activities of which five have direct local character: (1) Internet discussions on local issues, (2) participation in local protests, (3) membership in parish community, (4) attending meetings of local community, (5) signing petitions addressed to local government. Graph 1 confirms that internet talks on neighborly issues is the most popular form of participation in local community among residents of Warsaw, what may support argument that ICT contribute social capital in neighborhood.



Graph 1. Social activities of residents of Warsaw.

Independent variables

Five types of resources: (1) knowledge, (2) information, (3) skills, (4) acquaintanceship and (5) financial/material help, were recognized as important for individuals considering internet discussions on local community. First part of the questionnaire consists of fifteen items selected to identify which resources are embedded, while second part made of eleven items indicates which resources could be mobilized (Appendix). Additionally, items from both parts of the Resource Generator were scaled using Mokken (1971) scaling technique dedicated to nonparametric item response theory (IRT) models (Van Der Ark, 2007). Scales illustrate the gap between embedded and mobilizable resources from personal networks of respondents.



Graph 2. Social capital and personal scales distribution.

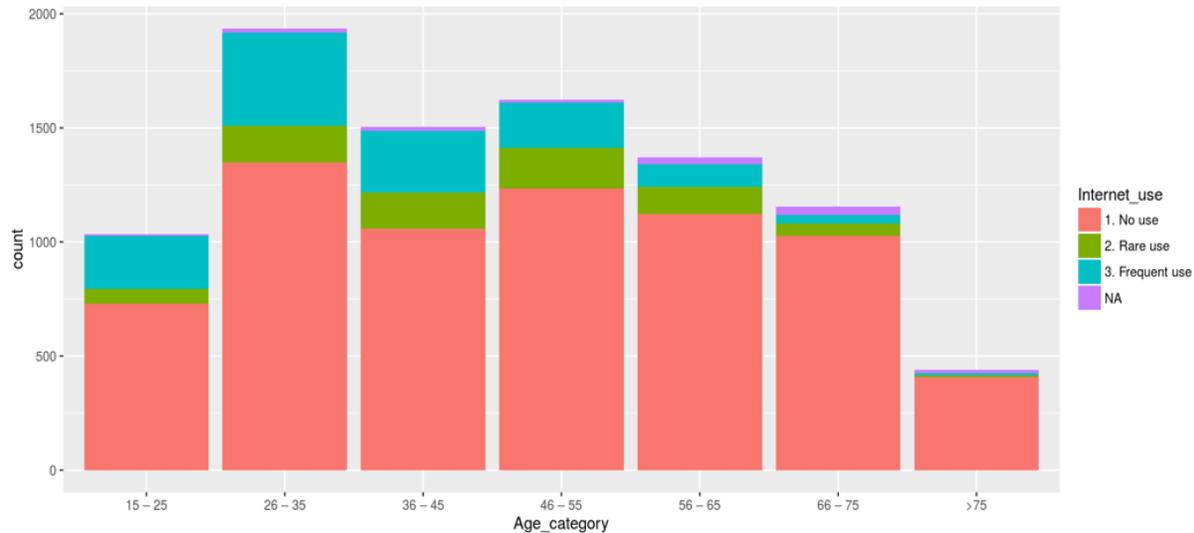
In order to reveal respondent's place/community attachment, in the third regression model four additional independent variables have been tested. These variables include: (1) local identity measured through five items, (2) neighborly relations, (3) trust in neighbors, (4) fact of being/not being raised in Warsaw. "Local identity" is an aggregated variable made of the following items:

- a. I miss my place when I'm out for a long time.
- b. I think I have impact on issues related to my district.
- c. I'm interested in history of the place I live.
- d. I'm embedded in the place I live.
- e. I wish my relatives lived here in future.

These items have been measured on 5-point Likert's scale with the following answers: "Strongly disagree" (score: -2), "Disagree" (1), "Hard to say" (0), "Agree" (+1), "Strongly agree" (+2). For the purpose of research, the variable "Local identity" is an average value of scores given by respondents for all five items presented above.

Variables "neighborly relations" and "fact of being/not being raised in Warsaw" are binary (yes/no), while a variable "trust in neighbors" has been measured on five point Likert's scale.

All regression models include the additional independent variable indicating personal resources of the respondents. The list of fifteen items used to diagnose accessible resources has been adopted to measure personal resources of respondents (Appendix).

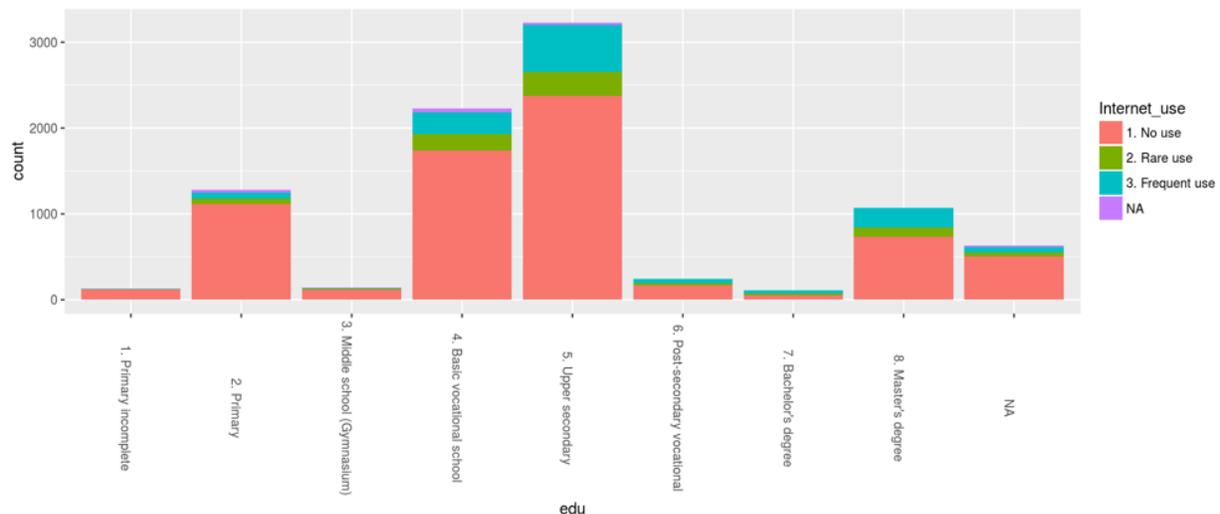


Graph 3. Internet use by age group.

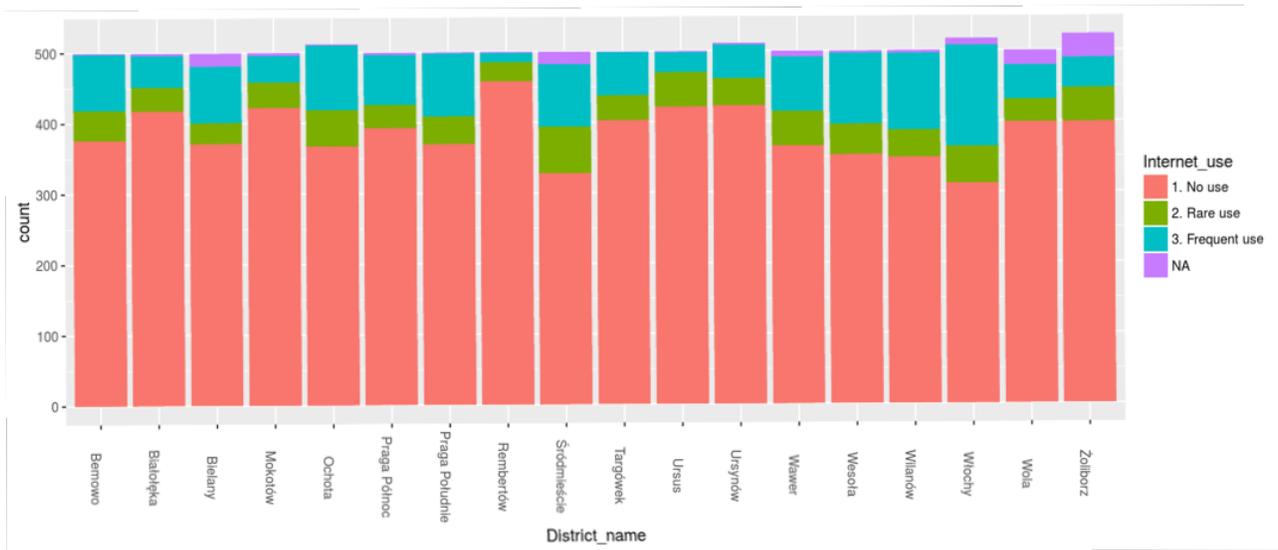
Moreover, each regression model includes three control variables: (1) education (8-levels), (2), age, and (3) gender.

Results

There were 53% women and 47% men in the sample of 9 063 respondents. Nearly 74% of them have been raised in Warsaw, while the average age of respondent was 41 years. Approximately 22% (1 995) of them declared to use Internet for discussions on local issues. Almost 42% (829) of those discussing online local issues are respondents with upper secondary education. The city district Włochy had the largest fraction (38%) of respondents discussing online local issues, while Rembertów had the lowest fraction (8%). More descriptive statistics can be found in Graph 2.



Graph 4. Internet use by education



Graph 5. Internet use by district.

Table 1 presents the OLS regression models with declared use of internet for discussions on local issues as the dependent variable. In the first model the aggregated impact of embedded and mobilized resources is evaluated. In the second model the impact of embedded and mobilizable resource has been examined for all types of relations: relatives, friends, acquaintances and neighbors. The third model examines the effect of local identity, relations with neighbors (binary “yes” or “no”), trust to neighbors, and fact of being raised in Warsaw on the dependent variable. Additionally, in all three models the effect of education, age, gender, and personal resources on the dependent variable has been tested.

As it is shown in the Table 1, the impact of resources embedded in personal networks is twofold. Resources only embedded have negative impact on Internet discussions on local issues, while those perceived as mobilizable have positive impact on the dependent variable. Personal resources possessed by individuals positively influence dependent variable. Control variables education and age are significant in all three models but gender remains insignificant. Education has negative impact on the dependent variable, which is explained further in the paper.

In the second hypothesis it was proposed that individuals with higher amount of resources embedded in neighborly network will be more actively engaged in the online discussion around local issues. The second model shows that there is no effect of resources perceived by respondents as embedded and positive influence of those that can be mobilized through neighbor ties. In the second model it can be also found that embedded resources of friends negatively influence the dependent variable. However, resources mobilized through family and acquaintances ties have positive impact on internet discussions on local issues.

Table 1.
Regression models – Internet use for discussion on local issues.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Effect	SE	p	Effect	SE	p	Effect	SE	p
(Intercept)	0.707	0.760	0.352	1.538	0.777	0.048	0.007	0.992	0.994
Education	-0.260	0.081	0.001	-0.257	0.082	0.002	-0.285	0.082	0.001
Age	0.290	0.082	0.000	0.244	0.083	0.003	0.326	0.084	0.000
Gender	0.000	0.260	0.999	-0.067	0.261	0.797	-0.060	0.263	0.820
Pers. Resources	0.028	0.009	0.002	0.031	0.009	0.001	0.026	0.009	0.004
R. accessible (RA)	-0.069	0.010	0.000				-0.067	0.010	0.000
R. mobilizable (RM)	0.081	0.008	0.000				0.085	0.008	0.000
RA family				-0.131	0.077	0.088			
RA friends				-0.170	0.086	0.050			
RA acquaintances				-0.131	0.077	0.087			
RA neighbors				-0.121	0.068	0.076			
RM family				0.242	0.093	0.009			
RM friends				0.007	0.097	0.941			
RM acquaintances				0.274	0.090	0.002			
RM neighbors				0.374	0.093	0.000			
Identity							-0.051	0.186	0.784
Neigh_rel							0.551	0.287	0.055
Trust							0.033	0.013	0.014
Raised							0.544	0.282	0.054

In the third model trust to neighbors has positive impact on the dependent variable. The local identity remains not significant, while relations with neighbors and the fact of being raised in Warsaw have nearly acceptable level of statistical significance.

Summary and Discussion

The presented study was aimed to examine the relationship between resources embedded in personal networks and participation of individuals in the neighborhood through ICT. It is found that resources have an impact on respondent's online activity. However, such impact is not single-mode, e.g. positive or negative. It significantly varies depending on ability to mobilized resources and type of relation through which individuals access them.

In the H1 it was proposed that people with the higher amount of resources embedded in personal networks (social capital) will more actively participate in online discussions on local issues. However, the results of model 1 show that an impact of resources on the dependent variable is twofold. There is a negative effect of resources perceived by respondents as accessible, and a positive of those assessed as mobilizable. This results may appear baffling but when some additional factors are considered such initial inconsistency becomes more comprehensible. Results of the European Social Survey, European Value Study, and Social Diagnosis bring evidence that Poland has one of the lowest rates of the generalized trust among citizens in Europe (Czapiński & Panek, 2015). The bumpy ride to market economy started in 1989 has further lever up the sense of community so heavily twisted by communism. Liberalization, privatization, monetization and individualization breed anomie and strip Polish society from the leftovers of the generalized trust (Stark & Bruszt, 1998; Sztompka, 1996). In a changing society where distrust remains a "cultural rule" (Sztompka, 2000), resources owned by others may be perceived as a threat. As Sztompka (1996) points out in the "culture of distrust" social relations are not free of anxiety, suspicion and watchfulness. People do not behave spontaneously and openly as those living in established democracy and market economy. The cultural rule is to monitor and control others in order to pursue private interests. It is therefore probable that respondents are afraid of possible uses of resources possessed by people they do not trust in general. In other words, distrust may breed negative effects such as uncertainty, suspicion, social distance, lack of reciprocity or even fear. However, it seems that negative effect dwindles when respondents become confident that resources embedded in personal networks could be mobilized and used to pursue individually defined goals. Confidence may reduce the risk of uncontrolled uses of resources owned by alters.

Consequently, the low level of the generalized trust has an impact on participation in the neighborhood. Individuals assuming that resources own by others cannot be mobilized for purposive actions may not be interested in communicating with neighbors and rather avoiding cooperation at the local level. However, it is only one side of the coin. The negative effect of resources that could be only accessed turns into positive when respondents perceive resources embedded in personal networks as mobilizable. Thus, this contradictory effect of resources appears to be quite logical in a society with institutionalized distrust. As a consequence, there is no reason to reject H1.

In the second model, the relationship between engagement into online discussions and resources embedded in personal networks has been tested for family, friend, acquaintance, and neighbor ties. It is found that resources embedded in family, acquaintances, and neighbors circles have no significant impact on the dependent variable. Only resources embedded in friends ties negatively influence online discussions on local issues. In the H2 it was assumed that individuals with higher amount of resources embedded in neighborly network will be more actively engaged in online discussion. The positive impact of neighbors' mobilizable resources and no significant impact of those that are only embedded, form the basis to support the H2. Such findings confirms that neighbors are considered as a significant source of resources what extends our knowledge on changes taking place in local community. It appears that the process of "disembedding" (Giddens, 1990) from local context has its limits. Obviously, in the age of digital communication many individuals lift out their social relations from physical neighborhood and join virtual communities built around common interests, problems, hobbies etc. On the other hand, people skilfully complement online and offline domains rather than fully migrate to the virtual world (Wellman et al., 2001). Thus, it is proposed that neighbors remain a significant source of material and symbolic resources what may encourage urban residents to engage in online discussions on local issues.

Finally, in the third model impact of the independent variables such as: (1) local identity, (2) engaged in relations with neighbors, (3) trust in neighbors and (4) fact of being/not being raised in Warsaw, on the dependent variable has been tested. Only one of them, trust in neighbors, is statistically significant, though local identity and the fact of being raised in Warsaw have nearly acceptable level of significance. Therefore, H5 is firmly confirmed while, H4 and H6 could be accepted with the borderline value. For the same reason, H3, e.g. local identity impact on the dependent variable, is rejected. Thus, trust in neighbors positively affects the Internet talks around community issues. This result confirms that trust may be one of the most important factors enabling or constraining from mobilizing resources embedded in the neighbors' circle. Three significant variables seem to be coupled. Relations with neighbors build trust into local community, however some elementary trust is needed to maintain relations with them. It also seems that trust and relations with neighbors are partly shaped by the fact of being raised in Warsaw. On the other hand, it might seem little surprising that local identity has no impact on the dependent variable. This phenomena could be partly explained by the diversity of respondents. Warsaw is the biggest metropolis in Poland with high rate of migrations. Local embeddedness and identity might not be significant factor having effect on respondents' behaviors. For example, official statistics show that nearly 30% of residents of Warsaw do not pay taxes locally (Lipszyc, 2012). These findings open some questions and interesting points to be investigated. No significant effect of local identity does not automatically mean that residents of Warsaw are not participating in the neighborhood. Nevertheless, this study shows that the online discussions around community issues in Warsaw are incited by trust in neighbors, relations with them, and the fact of being raised in Warsaw rather than local identity.

Thus, this research suggests that neighbors' resources remain a significant stimulus to participate in online activities focused on local issues. It also appears that social capital in the neighborhood might not be in decline. The Internet and ICT are potential factors initiating and/or enhancing some changes at the local level, but these should not be hastily blamed for the decline of the social capital in the neighborhood.

Future Research

There are limitations to this research and it could be improved in several respects. The major problem is related to the construction of the questionnaire. The Resource Generator instrument was a part of a broader survey focused on quality of life of Warsaw's residents. As a consequence, some items initially chosen for the research had to be removed due to overload of the consolidated questionnaire. Although all items have been rigorously examined before the final selection and then scaled before regression modeling, the questionnaire with the higher number of items in the Resource Generator could probably bring broader and more robust results.

The 'Quality of life survey' was one-wave research designed to measure different aspects of Warsaw's residency. This survey has not been repeated, so it is impossible to capture some long-run changes and tendencies related to access and mobilization of resources embedded in personal networks. It is likely that future research in Warsaw based on the questionnaire from the Appendix would bring data for comparative analysis. A longitudinal research may shed light on dynamics of resources embedded in personal networks and dynamics of social relations in urban environment.

Another promising line of inquiry might be to use the Resource Generator in different locations simultaneously. Such research could bring results with great analytical potential allowing to reconstruct wider picture of social capital in neighborhood. However, some limitations imposed by the cultural background need to be accounted when international projects are planned.

Finally, the contextual interpretation of quantitative results presented in this study is not the ultimate one. There might be more latent variables with potential impact on access and mobilization of resources embedded in personal networks of urban residents. Various combinations of quantitative and qualitative information taken into the theoretical frame may lead to different conclusions and suggestions. Unsurprisingly, the final interpretation depends on the selection of specific theoretical context, usage of "side information", and application of given statistical methods. (Kritzer, 1996) Thus, future research made with the Resource Generator tool may supplement or replace the conclusions offered in this paper. However, the shortcomings and limitations presented above should not distract from the conclusion that resources embedded in personal networks matter when residents of Warsaw, or more widely – urban environment – consider the Internet discussions on local issues.

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Appendix

The Resource Generator

1. Access to resources	Family	Friends	Acquaintances	Respondent (personal resources)
Does anyone in your Family, Friends or Acquaintances...? And yourself?				
a. is familiar with the law				
b. earns more than 8,000 per month				
c. regularly spends holidays abroad				
d. uses the Internet regularly				
e. knows Warsaw well				
f. is acting on behalf of a political party				
g. has a high position in a large company				
h. can play a musical instrument				
i. can fix a car, bike, etc.				
j. knows a lot about finance (e.g. taxes, loans)				
k. has his own company				
l. is able to repair household appliances				
m. can speak and write in a foreign language				
n. knows personally someone appearing in the media				
o. works in the media				

2. Mobilization of resources	Family	Friends	Acquaintances
If you were in need, whether you have someone you can ask for help in the following matters?			
a. help to do your shopping			
b. give you a legal advice			
c. assist in completing the tax form			
d. find summer job for a family member			
e. advice on the conflict at work			
f. borrow a few thousand Zlotych			
g. discuss which political party to vote			
h. help children learn			
i. take care of the house while you are away			
j. find solution to the problem with computer			
k. recommend a good movie or book			
