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Examination of the Use of Online and Offline Networks by Housing Social Movement Organizations

Jessica N. Kropczynski

University of Kentucky, jess.kropczynski@gmail.com

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EXAMINATION OF THE USE OF ONLINE AND OFFLINE NETWORKS BY
HOUSING SOCIAL MOVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

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DISSERTATION
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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Jessica Nicole Kropczynski

Lexington, Kentucky

Directors: Dr. Patrick H. Mooney, Professor of Sociology
and
Dr. Patricia Hyjer Dyk, Professor of Sociology

Lexington, Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

EXAMINATION OF THE USE OF ONLINE AND OFFLINE NETWORKS BY
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Resource mobilization theory and political opportunity theory are often used to describe separate portions of social movements. This dissertation proposes a combined model of these two theoretical perspectives which describes how social movement organizations effectively engage in social marketing both online and offline. The field of social marketing highlights the utility of standard commercial marketing practices to achieve non-commercial goals. I argue that, while commercial marketing practices may benefit social movement organizations and are more cost effective given emerging technology, momentum for gathering resources, will be stifled unless a political opportunity presents itself. Guided by theory about the ways that political opportunities are translated into action by organizations, and momentum acquired through mobilizing resources, cycles of opportunity and resulting resource responses by housing social movement organizations are examined over time to present a case study for this theoretical model. The seemingly endless cycle of resource gathering underscores organizational mobilization of resources as a process rather than an outcome. My model outlines numerous forces that shape an organization's ability to mobilize in two distinct ways, through resources deployed (online and offline) and resources gathered. Resources will be discussed in three categories: organizational characteristics, network structure/position, and media/Internet presence. The relative importance of these factors and this process are described at length in the review of theoretical literature and will be illustrated in the case study that I provide: the housing social movement. Data for this case study has been collected through hyperlink network analysis, general webometrics, and congressional archives. My research aims to provide suggestions for the strategic socio-technical networking and social marketing of social movement organizations.

KEYWORDS: Social Network Analysis, Social Movement Organizations, Political Opportunity, Resource Mobilization, Housing

Jessica N. Kropczynski

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By

Jessica Nicole Kropczynski

<u>Patrick H. Mooney and Patricia Hyjer Dyk</u>
Directors of Dissertation

<u>Shaunna Scott</u>
Director of Graduate Studies

<u>June 3, 2013</u>
Date

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Abstract

Researchers often use resource mobilization theory and political opportunity theory to describe separate portions of social movements. This chapter proposes a combined model of these two theoretical perspectives that describes how social movement organizations engage in social marketing online and offline. The field of social marketing highlights the utility of standard commercial marketing practices to achieve non-commercial goals. This research aims to provide social marketing suggestions for the strategic socio-technical networking of social movement organizations. In the digital age, social movement organizations employ both online and offline methods to deploy organizational resources and to gather additional resources (e.g., network position or media/Internet visibility) necessary to sustain the organization. Prior to the digital age, offline methods of responding to political opportunities gave way to the restructuring of the network of housing social movement organizations (HSMOs). While commercial marketing practices may benefit social movement organizations, momentum for gathering resources will be stifled unless a political opportunity presents itself. Social movement theory concerning the ways organizations attempt to translate political opportunities into action is applied to an ongoing process of resource gathering to present a case study for the proposed theoretical model. This case study examines how cycles of political opportunity, and resulting resource responses, for housing social movement organizations led to major restructuring of the movement over time. This model outlines numerous

forces that shape an organization's ability to mobilize resources in two distinct ways: resources deployed and resources gathered. The theoretical literature review identifies the relative importance of these processes, focusing on how they have proven themselves instrumental to the housing social movement. This chapter briefly introduces the historical background of this movement and summarizes preliminary findings based on the use of this model. The Chapters 2, 3, and 4 will analyze different portions of the model and the concluding chapter will report overall findings based on these three analyses.

Chapter 1: A Theoretical Model of Social Marketing by Social Movement

Organizations in the Digital Age

Many social movement organizations (SMOs) in the same social movement have similar political opportunities; however, there appear to be differences in resources deployed by SMOs that have greater potential for gathering resources within the same movement. The activities of most SMOs involve addressing a problem, filling a need, and mobilizing adequate resources to address those problems and needs. While the mission statements and goals of SMOs often outline these first two activities, they rarely outline a strategy for mobilizing resources. The following manuscript serves as the introductory chapter to a dissertation that proposes an overarching theoretical model. The model specifies key variables that influence SMOs' ability to mobilize resources, and this chapter applies the model to a brief historical background of the housing policy domain. If the model can be helpful in examining key variables that influence SMOs' ability to mobilize resources in the housing movement, it is likely to find applications to other times and places. The proposed model places emphasis on political opportunities as a precondition for mobilization by SMOs in order to gain resources through strategic social marketing in the digital age.

The field of social marketing uses standard commercial marketing practices to achieve non-commercial goals, such as creating social awareness, philanthropy, or charity. The National Social Marketing Centre (2006) defines social marketing as a focus on specific marketing techniques and goals for social good. Combining these subfields of social marketing and social movements, this theoretical model illustrates that resources deployed through social marketing are able to gain more ground when a political

opportunity is present which builds the momentum for mobilization. Applying the method of social network analysis to this field uses relational data to structure knowledge about social movement activities. Given these activities, SMOs can make rational choices in order to develop a strategic social marketing plan. This study may be viewed not only as an exploration of the resources and political opportunities used by one network of SMOs—housing social movement organizations (HSMOs)—but also as an attempt to grapple with resource gathering strategies inherent in the study of any network of SMOs.

SMOs and for-profit entities produce economic outcomes in order to sustain themselves and carry out their mission statement and goals. Social movements, however, necessitate resources beyond income in order to achieve social impact. McCarthy and Zald (1973) define social movements (SMs) and SMOs simply: "Social movements are voluntary collectivities that people support in order to effect changes in society. Using the broadest and most inclusive definition, a social movement includes all who in any form support the general ideas of the movement. Social movements contain social movement organizations, the carrier organizations that consciously attempt to coordinate and mobilize supporters" (p. 2). This definition of social movements differed from the traditional collective action theorists of their time who viewed social movements as a form of deviant behavior. McCarthy and Zald's (1973) resource mobilization theory viewed social movement organizations as rational actors that worked within existing systems to acquire resources and mobilize people toward accomplishing movement goals. It was McCarthy and Zald's contention that conscience constituents are necessary for the success of movements in which less powerful beneficiaries are a part, as beneficiaries have few resources to provide for a movement's success while conscience constituents

provide resources such as time, money and leadership (1977, p. 1216). The term "conscience constituent" refers to direct supporters of a movement who do not stand to benefit directly from its success (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983). Mobilizing conscience constituents requires particular environmental conditions which are explored through the political process theory.

Doug McAdam (1982) used the political process model of social movements to "explain insurgency on the basis of a favorable confluence of factors internal and external to the movement" (p. 2). This model follows from the resource mobilization perspective that a small number of elites control the wealth and power in the political sphere, but also suggests that excluded groups also have the capacity to bring about structural change. Drawing on earlier critiques of classical approaches, and building on resource mobilization and especially the work of Tilly, McAdam analyzed the rise and decline of the United States Civil Rights Movement as a result of three factors included in his model: political opportunities (p. 40), indigenous organizational strength (p. 43), and cognitive liberation (p. 48). Political opportunities refer to "any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured" (p. 41). This broad definition was applied to McAdam's examples which include international political realignments, prolonged unemployment, wars, industrialization, and widespread demographic changes.

Shifts in the political status quo are changes in the opportunity structure, but these changes do not inevitably lead to the emergence of social movements. According to McAdam, political opportunities work indirectly through a restructuring of existing power relations. Shifting power relations "can facilitate increased political activism on

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the part of excluded groups either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a single insurgent group" (p. 42). Thus, opportunities represent diverse implications and do not guarantee that mobilization will occur. McAdam points to two additional factors necessary for the rise of social movements.

Indigenous organizational strength, the next factor in McAdam's model, refers to the resources (e.g. members who can be recruited as a group, respected leaders, a communications network, and individual ties) that allow a marginalized population to exploit opportunities afforded to them by changes in the political opportunity structure. The third factor of the model is a sense of cognitive liberation among potential social movement participants as a result of the group process. Cognitive liberation flows directly from the political opportunities and through local organizations. McAdam draws on Piven and Cloward (1977), stating that individuals must feel that a lack of legitimacy in the current political system and that their participation in the movement can lead to meaningful change. McAdam's model states that shifts in all three of these factors account of the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, and also for its decline, as all three factors moved toward a negative shift in the late 1960s.

In place of cognitive liberation, some theorists refer to a movement's framing process. The framing process is the "collective process of interpretation, and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action" (p. 2, McAdam et al., 1996). Although used in a sociological context here, framing is also commonly used in media studies, psychology, and political science. Frames are a type of shared meaning that may take the form of a message, belief, or value. Social movements construct meaning for

participants through the framing process (Snow, Zurcher, & Peters, 1981; Snow & Benford, 1988). The framing process leads to successful mobilization when the frames projected by a movement align with the frames of their participants to produce frame resonance between the two parties (Snow et al., 1981; Snow & Benford, 1988). Snow and Benford (1988) characterize three framing tasks as (1) diagnostic framing for the identification of a problem and assignment of blame; (2) prognostic framing to suggest solutions, strategies, and tactics to a problem; and (3) motivational framing that serves as a call to arms or rationale for action. The degree to which these tasks are carried out by framers contributes to participant mobilization, while frame resonance is a catalyst in the process of a participant aligning one frame with another. The strategic framing of messages that will resonate with potential participants is a vital step in responding to political opportunities that arise. An underlying foundation of this model is that SMOs undergo the strategic framing process in order to create political opportunities and also in response to political opportunities. While McAdam's cognitive liberation was focused on an individual sense of empowerment prior to involvement, analysis of framing processes emphasize the more strategic decisions made at the organizational level as an ongoing process.

Over time, the political process model has evolved and has been adapted to a number of scenarios that deemphasize instances of insurgency, and instead utilizes this theory to examine mobilization based on this confluence of factors that are internal and external to social movements. With this in mind, Robert Sampson, Doug McAdam, and colleagues developed a conceptual framework on civil society in 2005 that acknowledges that while sixties-style protest have declined, forms of civic engagement can also be

considered collective action events. The collective action events established by Sampson et al. (2005) are events that are civic and protest alike which bring individuals together in public to realize a common purpose. In analyzing this type of collective action, they found that traditional measures of mobilization such as social ties, group membership, and neighborly exchanges mattered less so in predicting community variations in collective action, than increased presence of nonprofit organizations concentrated in a local community (Sampson et al., 2005). This shows promise for the impact of HSMOs (which tend to be nonprofit organizations) in sustaining collective mobilization and action, given that factors internal and external are favorable. McAdam (1982) stated that political opportunities (and constraints) for collective action are expected to vary over time and it is these variations that help shape movement activities.

Building upon the concept of indigenous organizational strength, political process theorists analyze mobilizing structures, which include not only preexisting groups, but also movement organizations and the informal network of potential activists. In 1996, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald identified three major factors in examining the emergence and development of social movements: mobilizing structures, political opportunities, and framing processes. These factors are adapted as three stages in the model proposed in this dissertation. Mobilizing structures are considered by McAdam et al. (1996) to be "forms of organization (informal as well as formal)" (p. 2). These structures include "meso-level groups, organizations, and informal networks that comprise the collective building blocks of social movements" (p. 3, McAdam et al., 1996). Mobilizing resources are a focus of this dissertation which corresponds to McAdam's mobilizing structures in that mobilizing resources are the building blocks of socio-political participation for SMOs. The analysis

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of mobilizing resources specifically includes: organizational characteristics, network position/structure, and internet/media presence. These mobilizing resources are both deployed and gathered by SMOs as part of an ongoing process that SMOs undergo to sustain themselves and continue to have a social impact. While McAdam et al. (1996) consider mobilizing structures to be the collective building blocks of social movements, these mobilizing resources are considered here as the materials SMOs use to sustain themselves over time. SMOs must not only deploy resources, but eventually must also gather resources to complete the cyclical process of mobilization and continue to engage in the socio-political realm.

Meyer's 2004 review of political process theory encourages that researchers adopt a "process-oriented approach to political opportunities that explicitly examines how they work and how the responses that social movements provoke or inspire alter the grounds on which they can mobilize (p. 141)." Meyer (2004) refers to political opportunity and the political process theory (hereafter, PPT) nearly interchangeably. This dissertation operationalizes PPT as the theoretical perspective that describes the role of political opportunities in social movements. Political opportunities are operationalized in this dissertation as events necessary for mobilization, although their presence does not guarantee that mobilization will occur. PPT argues that the process which generates mobilization within a social movement is dependent on the existence, or absence, of a specific political opportunity. Defining the political opportunity as an event in an ongoing cycle of resource mobilization is a variation of Meyer's (2004) process-oriented approach.

In this case, political opportunities are events that build momentum for SMOs by sparking engagement by individuals while also fueling the resource gathering necessary for the SMO to sustain itself. While political opportunities have been defined in various ways, this dissertation relies on Tarrow's (1994) definition that describes political opportunity as the "consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics" (p. 19-20). The proposed theoretical model considers these dimensions of the political struggle necessary to engage conscience constituents to be momentum building events, although the presence of these events alone does not equate to mobilization. Tarrow (1994) states that this definition of political opportunities does not always lead to social movements, but can be identified as the beginning of a "chain of causation" (p. 20) and must only be consistent to the extent that it may lead to sustained interaction with authorities when contentious politics emerge. Since Tarrow's definition describes political opportunities as dimensions that lead to engagement, it is sometimes difficult to identify dimensions that do not lead to engagement. When focusing on resource gathering, it is possible to identify deployed resources that have the highest and lowest return on resource gathering for the majority of SMOs when political opportunities are present.

As Tarrow writes in *Power in Movement* (1994) "people join in social movements in response to political opportunities and then, through collective action, create new ones. As a result, the 'when' of social movement mobilization—when political opportunities are opening up—goes a long way towards explaining its 'why.' …[E]ven groups with mild grievances and few internal resources may appear in a movement, while those with deep grievances and dense resources—but lacking opportunities—may not (p. 17-18)."

Here, Tarrow makes the point that resources alone are not enough to inspire social movement mobilization. The presence of a political opportunity is necessary for movement participation. The proposed theoretical model builds on Tarrow's work by clarifying that formalized SMOs exist over long periods, and typically encounter many political opportunities after their inception. Under Tarrow's definition, SMOs are formalized through the work of individuals that join in a social movement in response to political opportunities. After establishing themselves as a formal organization, SMOs can not only take advantage of existing political opportunities, but also create new ones. Without formalization or regularly deploying resources, an SMO may not be able to capitalize upon momentum building political opportunities. Social marketing can be used to improve the framing process and potentially lessen the number of missed political opportunities due to inadequate strategies when it comes to deploying resources.

Socio-political participation can be observed through SMO engagement in political struggles. Housing is an important political topic that is clearly influenced by political opportunities to mobilize. In this chapter, two changes in the political environment led to major restructuring of the overall movement serving as a case study to demonstrate the use of the proposed theoretical model. Observation of a political environment frequently looks to government actions. In the case of housing, these actions are often in direct response to the economic environment; therefore, an overview of both economic and political changes will be discussed in this case study. Legislation provides commonly recognized political opportunities and roadblocks for various organizations. Housing in the United States has encountered a number of economic changes since the Great Depression (see Chapter 2), which have led the government to focus more strongly

on housing policy. Research on this movement will benefit from a theoretical model that blends both resource mobilization and political opportunity to contextualize socio-political participation of SMOs over time.

The proposed theoretical model can be used to examine networks of SMOs both before and after the digital age. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive description of the theoretical model guiding the subsequent analyses of this dissertation. An extensive discussion of the historical and political context of the housing social movement is provided in Chapter 2. This chapter defines elements of the theoretical model through a brief history of political opportunities that helped to establish and formalize HSMOs. Further, this chapter will use the theoretical model to demonstrate how HSMOs capitalize on important political opportunities through resource responses.

Prior to the digital age, the most transparent way to understand networks of SMOs was to observe their political participation and restructuring based on legislation. As an introduction to the proposed theoretical model, this case study will discuss two events prior to the digital age that led to major restructuring of the housing social movement. Chapter 2 of this dissertation will provide further details of the political and historical context leading up to the current housing crisis as illustrated through networks of co-participation in the policy domain. In the digital age, transparent networks of SMOs are also available by examining hyperlink networks; this is the primary focus of Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will compare networks of co-participation in Congressional testimony (the primary method for examining transparent networks prior to the digital age) against hyperlink networks (the primary method for examining transparent networks during the digital age). Chapter 4 also examines both types of networks across two time periods to

illustrate how one major political opportunity restructures both networks differently. The conclusion of this dissertation will describe how the digital age has provided opportunities for social movements to respond to political opportunities through increased availability of social marketing techniques to SMOs.

Before discussing the relevant literature, the major political opportunities to be used in this case study are introduced and followed by the problem statement. Two events are of particular interest to the mobilization of housing as a social movement and the structure of that movement prior to the digital age. First, civil rights activists, along with specialized organizations (such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the GI Forum, and the National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing) took issue with accessibility to public and private housing during the Civil Rights Movement in the early 1960s. Although the history of housing policy dates back much further, this period was the start of a modern protest movement that focused on fair housing concerns. Saltman (1978) conducted research on a 13 year period in the housing movement to determine the viability of a social movement when protest groups become institutionalized organizations. The term "open housing movement" was used by Saltman to describe this time period, wherein goals of the movement were nondiscriminatory housing opportunities; however, this dissertation uses the term "fair housing movement" to better reflect the goals of this movement. To address the concerns of disenfranchised populations, Congress passed the Fair Housing Law in 1968 to protect the buyer/renter of a dwelling from seller/landlord discrimination. Specialized organizations continued to serve the needs of low resource populations and

deliver oversight of the law. Although concern for fair housing was not completely

alleviated, passing this law was a victory to the fair housing movement.

In 1973, President Nixon froze all housing production programs due to national

budget concerns, which spurred the second event: the decentralization of housing issues

from the federal level to the local level. Budgeting and planning the construction of new

public housing has occurred primarily at the local level ever since. Local groups began

forming Community Development Councils (CDCs)[1], which started as Community

Action Agencies (CAAs)[2], to address housing problems not alleviated through federal

programs. Since the decline in funding for construction of public housing at the federal

level initiated by President Nixon, a notable increase of local organizations has occurred.

An example of these local organizations is the CDCs that have mobilized in response to

increased need for the construction of affordable housing (Erickson, 2009). The

government standard of housing affordability set by the U.S. Department of Housing and

Urban Development (HUD) states that a household should spend no more than 30% of

their household income on housing for it to be considered affordable (HUD, 1996). While

this standard commonly operationalizes the definition of housing affordability, research

by Kropczynski and Dyk (2012) suggests that this standard has been somewhat arbitrarily

formulated and does not lend itself well to housing affordability solutions for

marginalized populations. In recent years, HSMOs (such as the Housing Assistance

Council and Habitat for Humanity) have worked to create solutions to housing

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[1] Community Development Councils (CDCs) are local groups that typically serve as a bridge between the government and the community. CDCs often organize monetary funding efforts from the government and volunteerism from the wider community, and they assist grassroots organizations.

[2] In 1964, as a reaction to the War on Poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act founded the Community Action Plan to fight poverty and empower the poor. This was to be carried out by Community Action Agencies, local private and non-profit organizations heavily dependent on volunteer work, especially from the low-income populations they serve.

affordability that do not include a percent-of-income standard. The affordable housing movement put pressure on local and regional officials to consider provisions for affordable housing in the course of city planning. Such provisions might include affordable housing trust funds, adequate zoning for building of affordable housing, and temperance of gentrification.

This chapter asks the following question: How do HSMOs continue to engage in socio-political participation given changing political opportunities? Answering this question serves to introduce the subject of the dissertation (housing social movement organizations) while also demonstrating how the theoretical model can be applied to this subject. The following chapters will analyze more specific research questions regarding HSMOs. The theoretical model is tested in segments through the hypotheses of three stand alone articles; therefore, the subsequent three chapters (or articles) will use individual analyses of major portions of the model. The concluding chapter will use the results of each of these chapters to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of this model in studying social movements. The remainder of this chapter introduces the model and discusses the historical background of the housing social movement.

Relevant Literature

Few studies (Castells, 1983; Kemeny, 1992) have found ways to integrate housing studies with sociological theory. Castells (1983) discusses public housing to describe his concept of collective consumption, which has an advantage in SMs of being a class alliance issue for popular struggles against ruling powers. Collective consumption may refer to struggles for education, public transportation, public housing, and a wide range of other social struggles. Here, Castells alludes to the permanence of certain types of

struggles due their ability to appeal to a larger audience that can agree that collective

consumption will benefit the whole.

Although many can agree that housing issues are important to society, it

sometimes is dismissed for the purposes of analysis. Kemeny (1992) highlights this

absence in his book *Housing and Social Theory*. He concludes that it is difficult "to

conceptualise the integration of housing in social structure in such a way that its salience

is accurately reflected, with housing neither being elevated to an abstract field nor

relegated to a minor bricks-and-mortar issue with little social importance" (Kemeny,

1992, p. 153). Kemeny suggests using Granovetter's (1985) concept of "embeddedness,"

which views economies as embedded in social structures that contain broader networks

consisting of sociability, approval, status, and power. Kemeny explains that houses are

not just the physical place where people engage in social action, housing is embedded in

social action although it is sometimes not a variable in research (Kemeny, 1992).

Similarly, HSMOs are embedded in both the socio-political environment and the

economic environment. This research examines HSMOs response to political

opportunities and considers their ability to adapt and mobilize while becoming embedded

in the socio-political structure of the movement.

The sociological theories directed at explaining social movements—resource

mobilization, political process theory, framing, and social capital theory—have all shaped

the research on social change, and they can be used in combination to examine the

sustainability of social movements over time. These theories are useful to analyze and

interpret social movements and their activities; in addition to building understanding of

SMOs activities while embedded in the housing crisis. Resource mobilization theory

(RMT) and political process theory (PPT) are the primary focus of this proposed

theoretical model, and they are used to explain different portions of socio-political

participation. Social capital theory and framing will be used later to examine three

categories of resources used by SMOs.

In the proposed theoretical model, two different elements of social movements are

stressed: first, resources (as they are deployed and gathered) and second, political

opportunities for mobilization of those resources. The originators of RMT (McCarthy &

Zald, 1973) argue that the acquisition of resources and the mobilization of people toward

movement goals can be described in an entrepreneurial fashion. Later, McAdam (1982)

took a political perspective on RMT, stating that a political situation is necessary

mobilization groundwork for social movements to occur. RMT takes on a somewhat

organization-centric view of social movements, while highlighting the choices that

organizations might make to achieve movement goals successfully. The traditional view

of social movements states that movements are dependent on their contributing

supporters (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, p. 2). McCarthy and Zald (1977) later specified that

more resources are available beyond the members of a movement, and that RMT

"emphasizes the variety and sources of resources; the relationship of social movements to

the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement

organizations" (p. 1212). The interactions among movement organizations and with other

parties in the overall movement are a major focus of this dissertation.

As outlined in the previous section, two political opportunities changed the way

mobilization occurred. The first opportunity was the reframing of the movement to take

on varied topics and later, the decentralization of the housing movement to the local level

created an opportunity for smaller organizations to emerge. PPT examines political factors in the environment external to organizations; RMT examines the economic environment. A social marketing plan based on observable trends of HSMOs can be used to strategically deploy particular resources in order to capitalize upon valuable organizational characteristics and further the understanding how RMT and PPT utilize specific tools to mobilize more effectively and engage in social marketing. Both theories offer a differing point of view from which to gain perspective of the factors contributing to the success or failure in collective organizations. Thinking about each of these perspectives to promote the success of a social movement would rely heavily on the relationships between SMOs, since both of these theories emphasize the importance of social networks (Diani & McAdam, 2003). PPT clearly has an influence on the opportunities available to organizations to build resource-based relationships and become embedded in a social movement based on political opportunities.

RMT and PPT are brought together in this model to examine the ongoing socio-political participation of HSMOs over many years. Housing markets bring together a complex set of forces that shape housing supply and organizational demands. In 2001, McCarthy and Zald reflected on the enduring nature of RMT, stating that the theory "grew out of an empirical stocktaking of trends in the dynamics of social movements in the United States" (p. 535). Cycles of mobilization occur over time, and the process of gathering resources associated with these cycles often seems endless. Mobilization of resources should, therefore, be understood as a process rather than an outcome. While organizations use a number of resources, mobilization on the part of SMOs is also influenced by political opportunities for mobilization.

The numerous forces that shape an SMO's ability to mobilize resources are illustrated by the proposed theoretical model (see Figure 1.1). As with housing markets, consumers and organizations both respond to a set of factors that influence the supply of resources to SMOs and demand for SMO services. McCarthy and Zald (1973) describe changes in factors related to the socio-political participation of individuals to include "affluence, leisure, and changes in discretionary time" (p. 2). SMOs are different entities than individuals; therefore, additional factors must be utilized to describe the socio-political participation of organizations. Organizational characteristics are useful descriptors, such as affluence in terms of revenue, necessity to engage politically, and the available time of paid staff or volunteers, which similarly factor into to their socio-political participation. Organizational characteristics can be enhanced as a resource by additional resources such as Internet/media and network structure/position. Therefore, three factors might be related to the socio-political participation of SMOs in the digital age: organizational characteristics, Internet/media, and network structure/position. These factors do not work in isolation; rather, they are interdependent and recursive. Social marketing encourages deploying factors strategically depending on which factors produce the most resources gained. The three categories of factors are the mobilizing resources deployed by HSMOs in order to gather more resources in the ongoing process outlined in Figure 1.1. A social marketing plan should include an assessment of each of these three categories of resources, this may include, but is not limited to the examples provided in the figure.

The principal characteristic that distinguishes HSMOs from for-profit and government-based housing organizations is that the resources deployed filter through two

processes that lead to socio-political participation on behalf of the organization: (1) political opportunity for action, which influences (2) the ability to gather mobilizing resources. A for-profit organization, on the other hand, deploys similar resources to earn a profit. For-profit marketing approaches differ from social marketing approaches because for-profit organizations rely on economic opportunities and the likes and dislikes of their consumers, although they do not necessarily rely on a political opportunity to capture consumer interest. SMOs deploy similar sets of resources, but they rely on a political opportunity to gather resources in order to engage in socio-political participation. In this way, the framework is something of a prescriptive theory that can help researchers and practitioners generate hypotheses for effective SMO social marketing.

An HSMO, such as the Housing Assistance Council (HAC), has paid staff members, an active website, and is central to the online hyperlink network of housing organizations (Kropczynski & Nah, 2011). On February 13, 2012, the Senate Appropriations Committee rejected the administration budget for rural housing programs, creating a political opportunity for mobilization. HAC's framework to deploy resources in the form of informational webinars and discussion forums on the HAC listserv and Twitter feed allowed resources to be gathered in the form of an increased number of hyperlinks and Web traffic. This example illustrates how resources deployed lead to resource gathering in the presence of a political opportunity. HAC stands a better chance to gather resources when a political opportunity presents itself than an HSMO that deploys fewer resources. The following section describes at length the relative importance of the categories of resources deployed.

Figure 1.1. Resource Mobilization as Process Dependent on Political Opportunity
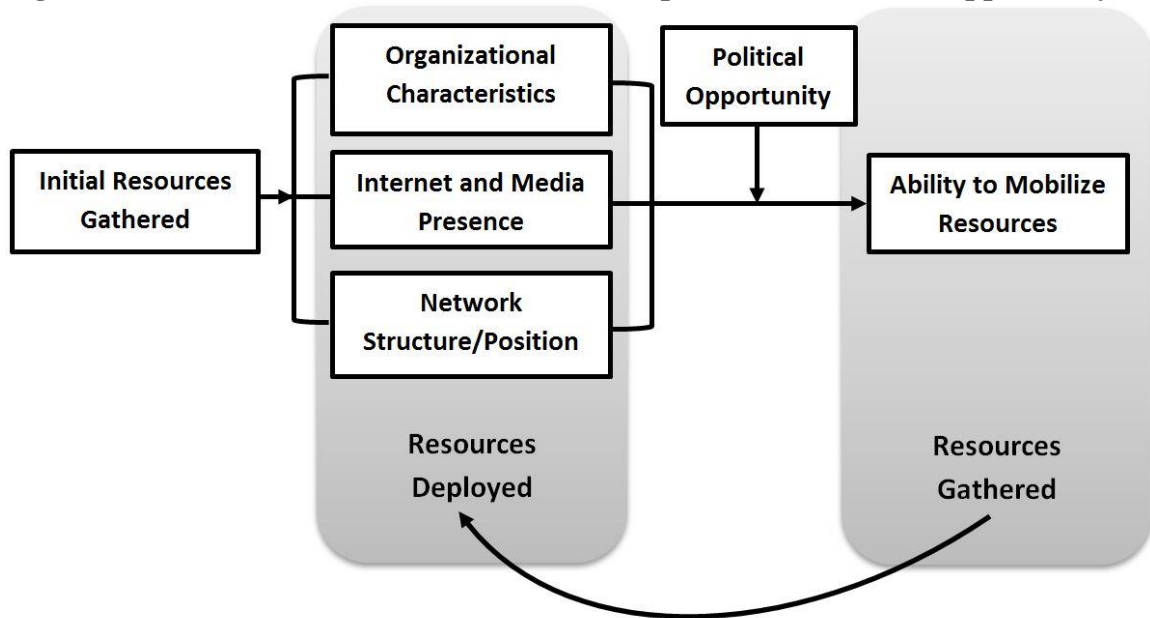
Initial Resources Gathered → Organizational Characteristics / Internet and Media Presence / Network Structure/Position → Political Opportunity → Ability to Mobilize Resources

Resources Deployed

Resources Gathered

Snow, Zercher, and Eckland-Olsen (1980) found that one of the most important

predictors of collective action were the opportunities for joining within a potential

participants' social network. Snow et al. (1980) expect that through actively supplying

opportunities for membership, various forms of activism might arise. Frames and goals

are considered organizational characteristics of the HSMOs in addition to other

demographics of the organizations, such as organizational income range, geographic

location, and target audience (e.g., national, regional, local). Organizational

characteristics, while descriptive of the organization, are also resources for (or challenges

to) mobilization. Distinguishing the modes of communication (Internet and media)

through which organizations communicate with one another and with the audiences they

wish to mobilize allows an understanding of the utility of each. The final consideration in

understanding HSMOs is their network position and structure. The network position

refers to an organization's position either central to the network, or on the periphery

(Borgatti, 2005). Organizations that are central can be thought of as having the most

popularity in a network. The network structure refers to the ability for organizations with different organizational characteristics to network with one another creating either dense or loose network structures. The network structure can be thought of as the pattern created by multiple organizations relationships with one another. The following sections discuss three categories of resources deployed: organizational characteristics, Internet/media presence, and network structure/position as mobilizing resources to social marketing.

Organizational Characteristics

The term "organizational characteristics" is used here as a broad term to describe organizational demographics, which include but are not limited to measurable organizational features such as the mission-based type of organization (determined by frames and goals), number and types of volunteers and constituents, and the resources that they mobilize. As previously mentioned, Snow and Benford (1988) identify three core framing-tasks and state that the degree to which framers attend to these tasks will determine participant mobilization. All HSMOs are considered to have identified with goals and mission statements targeted at the prognostic function of solving housing problems and are part of the same social movement. However, different HSMOs operate under slightly different prognostic and diagnostic frames. Given that HSMOs can adopt any number of goals and frames, socio-political inquiry should begin with understanding which goals or frames these organizations actually align (e.g., oversight of fair housing, debt reduction education, and provisions of affordable housing). These slightly differing frames have undergone frame alignment, which allows HSMOs to be embedded in the same socio-political structure and to operate using similar resources. Appendix 1.1

includes specific organizational characteristics used to identify the organizational types as a variable in this dissertation. Chapters 2 and 3 examine how these different frames work together in an embedded socio-political structure to develop the housing social movement.

RMT, as introduced by McCarthy and Zald (1973), treats SMOs as analogous to corporations searching for investors and partners. An SMO is treated in RMT as an entity similar to a corporation with a certain set of characteristics identified through its standing as a non-profit organization with the Internal Revenue Service. Researchers can employ useful descriptive categories, such as income, assets, and number of paid employees, to describe HSMOs. Each of these organizational characteristics can be used as an attribute in a network analysis of the HSMOs. McCarthy and Zald (1977) pose the hypothesis that increased discretionary resources of the mass and elite public increases the amount of resources available to the social movement sector. It follows that SMOs will then compete for public resources along with other movements within a sector. Competition for scarce resources, especially in times of economic recession, stresses the ability for collaborative relationships to exist between SMOs that are working toward similar goals and will need to outperform one another to draw from the same pool of limited funding. After all, SMOs are not only interested in their economic well-being but also in the collective goals of the overall movement. Strained relationships between like-minded organizations present a challenge to social movement mobilization, while unstrained (i.e., more collaborative) relationships can be a resource; the third section explores this complex dynamic further.

Internet/Media Presence

This chapter makes reference to the digital age, which is considered by some to be a rather tumultuous term given that only one-third of the world population uses the Internet. As of June 30, 2012, 78-percent of the population in United States are Internet users.[3] Federal spending in the United States has worked to decrease the digital divide between those with and without access to high-speed broadband Internet. Christopher Mims wrote an article for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) Technology Review in 2012, stating that "there is no digital divide" in America today. Recent reports from the Pew Internet and American Life Project also indicate reduced gaps in technology access over the past decade, due to the rise in mobile technology. Matt Richtel from the New York Times interviewed Microsoft researcher danah boyd on the new digital divide based on participation in Internet activities who stated "access is not a panacea, not only does it not solve problems, it mirrors and magnifies existing problems we've been ignoring (May 29, 2012)." The new digital divide does not focus on accessibility to Internet, but instead refers to Internet users of lower socioeconomic status (SES) engaging in more time-wasting activities than their middle and upper SES counterparts.

This dissertation does not examine the direct participation in online activities by individuals, but instead implies that HSMOs web presence influence conscious constituents. It is important, however, to address how the new digital divide might lessen participation by those of lower SES. Public participation has slowly declined in the United States over the past 50 years (Putnam, 2000). Research shows that voluntary in-person public participation in local communities tend to be biased toward older

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[3] Internet usage statistics accessed on February 10, 2013 from http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm

populations of upper and moderate SES, although paid participation tends to be biased

toward younger population of lower SES (Nabatchi, Gastil, Weiksner, Leighnigher,

2012). John Gastil's (forthcoming) current research shows that public participation online

tends to be more representative to a larger population in terms of gender, age, education,

and income. This indicates that there may be some hope for SMOs to mobilize

marginalized populations using the Internet.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) hypothesized that constituents who are isolated from

face-to-face meetings and claim membership through participation in mailing lists will

have a less stable flow of resources. This hypothesis could easily equate to the type of

isolation that SMOs have experienced when trying to mobilize through traditional forms

of mass media. Because many resource-poor organizations do not receive much

mainstream media attention, they utilize new technologies to overcome these limits (Nah,

2010a). Nah (2010a) explains that the Internet can be an effective tool to mobilize

quickly, to keep in touch with members and volunteers, and to seek potential donors with

minimal cost to the organization. Over time, digital communication technologies have

advanced SMOs' ability to maintain direct contact with interested audiences and like-

minded organizations through Web 1.0 (i.e., non-interactive, read-only websites) and

Web 2.0 (i.e., interactive social media sites). In addition, new technology allows SMOs to

have more control over how they frame their messages, goals, and missions, as opposed

to when third-party media, such as newspapers and broadcast news, reported them.

From an RMT perspective, participants in social movements are also rational

actors with collective goals that seek to align with others through online efforts.

Advertising these goals in virtual public space is a valuable resource for SMOs. The

presence of a hyperlink on a website may be considered a form of advertisement or endorsement (Park, 2003). Chapter 4 herein posits the hypothesis that as the need for this type of reference increases, it may be unlikely that SMOs competing for isolated constituents will continue to offer such a networking favor to other SMOs.

Hyperlink networks are online resources and collective goods that SMOs mobilize. Hyperlinks serve many functions; for example, the mention of an organization on a website might increase the visibility of that organization. A hyperlink is a directional tie that a Web surfer follows, thereby increasing the Web traffic of that site. In addition, the positive mention may work to maintain relationships with offline links (i.e., physical ties such as face-to-face meetings). Hyperlink networks are sometimes regarded similarly to academic citation networks in this way (Park, 2003).

McCarthy and Zald (2001) indicate that organizations have sometimes stressed availability for participation over incentive for participation (see McAdam, 1988). Through actively supplying opportunities for membership online, organizations expect that various forms of activism might increase. The introduction of new technologies caused availability for participation and forms of membership to develop new meaning. For example, Facebook allows organizations to form online groups that members can "join" or organizational pages that users can "like" at the click of a button. This type of low-effort membership might stimulate future involvement with the organization and organization awareness might travel through users' online friendship networks. This type of low cost, minimal effort activism is sometimes referred to as "slacktivism" (Morozov, 2011) recognizing that there are both potential positive and negative outcomes from such participation.

Network Structure/Position

　　According to Scott (2012), German sociologists (such as Ferdinand Tönnies and Gerog Simmel) first theorized the social 'network' as a sociology of the 'forms' of interaction which motivate the actions of individuals. Networks grow in value from interactions over time as well as from the new developments in communication infrastructure that connects individuals to one another. Open communication between SMOs create a resource for sharing information about developing trends and successful strategies while engaging a broad range of organizations at all levels of a social movement. Mobilization research and policy discussion reached a turning point when Putnam (2000) argued that social networks have value—specifically, they contain social capital, which grows over time through positive interactions. Putnam (2000) defines social capital by contrasting it with other forms of capital, stating, "physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). Social capital, as a product and a producer of civic engagement, is typically the resource that SMOs strive to mobilize among constituents. Putnam (2000) outlines three network principles of interest: tie reciprocity, bonding social capital, and bridging social capital. Social capital is most powerful when reciprocal social relations are present, showing a mutual reliance. Three different dimensions of a tie are tie strength (strong or weak), the type of tie (bonding or bridging), and reciprocity (reciprocal or non-reciprocal relationships).

　　Attributing these dimensions to social structure allows for further depth in discussions of HSMO relations. The value of bonding and bridging social capital as it

relates to a hyperlink network of national HSMOs is the focus of Chapter 3. Bonding social capital refers to the tendency for similar entities to band together, which strengthens in-group knowledge and trust. Bridging social capital refers to the tendency for dissimilar entities to work together to combine different abilities and to minimize weaknesses. In a seminal network study, Granovetter (1985) finds acquaintances rather than close friends to be more influential resources for job acquisition, and points to the strength of weak ties as one of the most productive gains from the networked experience. For organizations competing for similar resources, there is a need to research what types of ties (i.e., weak, strong, bonding, or bridging) and combinations of ties are most (and least) effective for mobilizing resources.

An item of contention among social capital scholars is the introduction of new forms of technology. Putnam (2000) identifies electronic entertainment, especially television, as a direct drain on social capital building activities through the privatization of leisure time. He suggests that the Internet is a form of passive entertainment, and questions it as a potential method to mobilize conscience constituents. Rather, he states that the Internet "…attracts reclusive nerds and energizes them…" and warned that "the Net disproportionately attracts civic dynamos and sedates them" (p. 171). Since then, scholars (Nah, 2010a; Park, 2003; Park, Bae, & Lee, 2005; Thelwall, 2009; Williams, 2006) have argued that the Internet can work as a tool for expanding networks. Moreover, an Internet presence can be a resource for SMOs especially after the transition from the information retrieving Web 1.0 to the information sharing capabilities developed with the introduction of Web 2.0 (see Chapter 5).

The direct psychosocial effects of Internet communication can vary depending on Internet use and the individual who is participating. For this reason, Williams (2006) distinguishes between online and offline forms of social capital, rather than assuming that they have the same value. Although the value of online social capital might be different from offline social capital, scholars have argued that the Internet can function as a useful resource for SMOs to expand offline networks (Davis, 2005; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Hensmans, 2003). This possibility for network expansion illustrates how online social capital can translate directly into offline social capital by building more reciprocal ties and building density[4] in networks. In the case of HSMOs, the hyperlink network structure that they share (HSMOs online social capital) bears some evidence of organizational collaboration efforts (HSMOs offline social capital), as is more fully presented in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Interrelated Resources

For HSMOs, researchers must answer questions regarding the organizational characteristics of network (both online and offline) participants and the effect of the Internet/media on mobilization. In addition, benefits and costs of participation will change through varying access to resources, political climates, types of social capital utilized, and framing of movement goals.

Network research begins with a set of objects of interest (or nodes) and the relationships between those objects (links). In the HSMO online network, nodes are represented by HSMOs; the links connecting them will be hyperlinks in the case of the hyperlink network analysis and offline relationships in the case of the network based on co-attendance of Congressional testimony. The node attributes help to explain which

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[4] The density of the network is the total number of ties divided by the total number of possible ties.

HSMOs have what kinds of ties with whom. Attributes are the characteristics of the nodes (here, organizational characteristics, such as assets, income, organizational type, etc.). While researchers should collect data on each one of these interrelated resources to fully test this theoretical model, this introductory chapter presents a limited portion of how researchers might use this model. The use of this model is explored further in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Research Question and Methods

Two political events are stressed in this introduction. The first event is the frame transformation from a fair housing movement to an affordable housing movement. The second event is the decentralization of housing resources at the national level. Given the political changes that HSMOs have undergone and the interrelatedness of the organizational characteristics, Internet/media, and network structure/position, a research question has been developed for this case study: How do HSMOs continue to engage in socio-political participation given changing political opportunities? Social movements have the potential to vary between vague entities and substantial entities that are difficult to describe in totality, as are the resources they mobilize, within complex political contexts. Therefore, researchers can only hope to explain some small portion of the social movement. While the housing social movement includes a number of organizations, this dissertation samples national HSMOs. This limits the generalizability of this study to national SMOs. This introductory chapter focuses on the historical and political context of these organizations since the inception of the housing organizations.

While overarching in nature, the proposed research question is addressed by examining two major political events that led to major restructuring of the housing social

movement prior to the digital age. The theoretical model will be used to examine political

events in the digital age in more detail throughout the subsequent chapters. Historically,

housing policy has changed significantly from one presidential administration to the next.

Therefore, the history of housing social movement starting with the fair housing protest

movement in the 1960s and decentralization of housing funds at the national level in the

1970s is reviewed to determine political opportunities from the past and the resource

response that ensued. This chapter is a preliminary analysis for the use of this theoretical

model by case study alone. A description of future research is outlined in the conclusion

of this chapter.

Summary of Socio-Political Context of HSMOs

Organizational characteristics for 26 national HSMOs (see Chapter 3 methods for

sample parameters) are shown in Appendix 1.1. The mission statements of each HSMO

are listed in Appendix 1.3. Mission statements of HSMOs were used to develop a

mission-based category for each organization. Some organizations belong to more than

one category. By assigning these categories, general statements can be made about

organizations in particular categories. For example, organizations with mission

statements focused on assistance, such as Habitat for Humanity ($284 million) and Local

Initiatives Support Coalition ($101 million), have the highest revenues in the sample.

Assistance-based organizations not only provide funding for many projects but in some

cases, they build affordable housing and require more revenue than other categories of

HSMOs. Of the six oldest HSMOs in the sample (National Housing Law Program,

National Rural Housing Coalition, Housing Assistance Council, National Council of

State Housing Agencies, National Multi Housing Council, Community Associations

Institute), all of them have a focus on advocacy, and four of them are based in Washington, D.C.[5] Examining HSMOs based on organizational characteristics describes the interrelated nature of resources available to these organizations. However, understanding the political opportunities available were exploited, thereby allowing them to continue to engage in the resource gathering process successfully describes their ability to sustain themselves and the housing social movement over time.

The fair housing movement[6] of the 1960s gained national media recognition through local activist groups that evolved into national housing organizations and eventually underwent a frame transformation (Saltman, 1978). With an interest in the careers or phases and development of social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1973; Zald & Ash, 1966), Saltman (1978) was concerned about the continuation of the social movement as fair housing movement groups began to formalize. The civil rights movement was a political opportunity for groups to organize around the issue of fair housing (the National Housing Law Program in particular credits this movement for its development). Without this political opportunity, HSMOs may not have been able to aggregate the resources which enabled the movement established itself at the national level. Civil rights and housing activists then founded the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, which by the early 1960s had changed the discriminatory policies of federal government agencies (such as the FHA) and persuaded President Kennedy to issue a directive against discrimination in government-subsidized housing.

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[5] The majority of all advocacy HSMOs in the sample are based in Washington, D.C. since advocacy for many of these organizations includes participating in national political discourse.
[6] The fair housing movement refers to the "open housing movement" described by Saltman (1978), with a focus on race, wherein goals of the movement were in favor of nondiscriminatory housing opportunity. These efforts applied to not only rental housing or public housing, but also included discriminatory redlining to families trying to acquire a mortgage.

Opponents of housing discrimination were not satisfied, and during the mid-1960s, a time of civil rights marches and urban riots, they brought attention to the racial ghetto. They convinced Congress in 1968 to pass a national law against racial steering, blockbusting, and redlining. The next political opportunity, the passing of the Fair Housing Law of 1968, was created by the success of exploiting previous political opportunities to gain further advantages. According to Kuettner (2006), there was a common realization of unmet needs despite accomplishments in the broader civil rights movement at this time. Martin Luther King Jr. acknowledged success in winning the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act (Kuettner, 2006). King also realized that neither law provided better jobs or housing for the masses of black poor in either the urban cities or the rural South. "What good is having the right to sit at a lunch counter," King asked, "if you can't afford to buy a hamburger" (p.58, Kuettner, 2006)? Due to changing needs after the enactment of the Fair Housing Law, a frame transformation occurred from a fair housing movement to an "affordable housing movement," which aimed at increasing availability of low-income housing. Today, the National Housing Law Program provides oversight of the Fair Housing Law, but also provides affordable housing assistance and engages in affordable and fair housing advocacy. The passage of this law was a victory for the fair housing movement—organizations had aggregated resources that could be deployed under a frame transformation with a different set of organizational goals.

Although the change may have occurred for a number of reasons, Snow and Benford (1988) propose that once proper frames are constructed, large-scale changes in society—such as those necessary for social movement—can be achieved through frame-

alignment. Frame transformation occurs when the proposed frames "may not resonate with, and on occasion may even appear antithetical to, conventional lifestyles or rituals and extant interpretive frames" (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986, p. 473). The original diagnostic and prognostic framing of the fair housing movement did not identify affordability as a direct problem or solution; therefore, this frame alignment can be best described as a transformation.

In the 1970s, limited funding at the federal level presented a political opportunity that sparked resource response in the form of decentralization of public housing construction nationwide. Consequently, local networks of affordable housing organizations emerged (Erickson, 2009). This event could be considered a re-decentralization of HSMOs; however, it is best described as a change in frame and scale wherein non-institutionalized fair housing protest groups gave way to formalized fair housing HSMOs. National fair HSMOs (FHSMOs) underwent a frame alignment and became national affordable HSMOs. National affordable HSMOs decentralized creating formalized local affordable HSMOs (AHSMOs) that did not closely resemble the local fair housing protest groups of the past. National HSMOs such as the Community Associations Institute, the Council for Affordable and Rural Housing, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation and later, Habit for Humanity and Youth Build USA took a federated organizational structure to allow for centralized organizational benefits, but localized chapters to engage in effective local advocacy and assistance. Compared to the previously established national organizations, local organizations secured more funding

and political influence and focused on affordable, rather than fair housing[7] (Erickson, 2009). Thus, the two major events in the housing movement spurred on by political changes were the frame transformation of national housing organizations from fair housing to affordable housing and the decentralization of the housing social movement from the national level to the regional/local level. The implications these changes have on the current housing crisis is tested in the analyses of subsequent chapters. The restructuring of the housing movement has diversified the number of goals and missions (see Chapter 3) that HSMOs undertake as well as their involvement at the local and national level (see Chapter 2).

Figure 1.2 illustrates how political opportunities elicit resource responses as part of an ongoing process among HSMOs. The resources are aggregated and deployed while various political opportunities create the momentum for mobilization that allows new resources to be deployed and gathered. The introduction of the Internet and new media has created a new set of resources that organizations might deploy as political opportunities emerge. The most recent political opportunity in the housing movement was the bursting of the housing bubble. The resource response and further description of this political opportunity for HSMOs in light of the digital age is discussed further below.

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[7] The affordable housing movement has put pressure on local and regional officials to consider provisions for affordable housing in the course of city planning. This may include affordable housing trust funds, adequate zoning for building affordable housing, and reduction of gentrification.

Figure 1.2. Example of Ongoing Process of Resource Responses to Political Opportunities
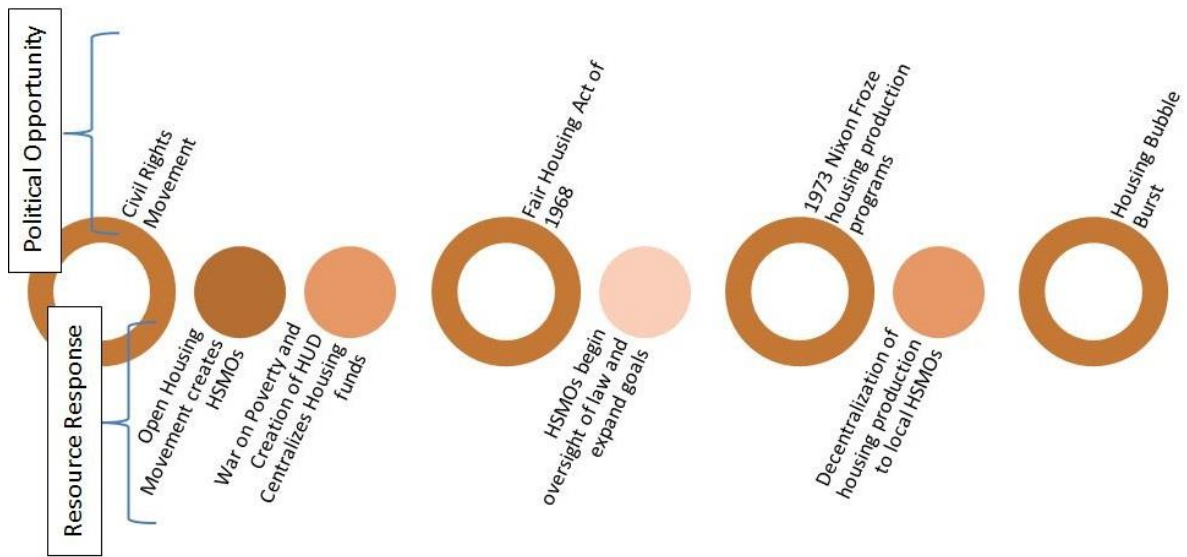
Between 1998 and 2008, affordable housing issues became even more prominent when the United States experienced a sharp rise in home prices which was the onset of the housing crisis. This rise was followed by a drop in home prices in a phenomenon now commonly known as the bursting of the housing bubble. Coleman, LaCour-Little, and Vandell (2008) argue that the creation of the housing bubble was partially due to changes in institutions, politics, and the regulatory environment. One such change in the political environment in 2008 was the end of the George W. Bush presidential administration, an administration which emphasized the purchase of single-family homes over the use of multi-family rental properties. That political concern later transitioned to the post-housing bubble time period of addressing housing debt through financial reform. The global financial system crash of 2008 exacerbated the shortage of assets in the world economy and triggered a partial re-creation of this bubble (Caballero, Farhi, &

Gourinchas, 2009). Many organizations worldwide were forced to close due to a shortage

of resources, especially non-profit organizations and SMOs (Erickson, 2009).

Leading up to the housing bubble, HSMOs, government agencies, and media

headlines became increasingly focused on single-family homes. President Clinton

emphasized the importance of affordable and accessible loans for prospective

homeowners. In 2002, President Bush unveiled a plan in Atlanta, Georgia, to address

both fair and affordable housing concerns by increasing the number of minority

homeowners by 5.5 million; large banners were seen on television and government

websites declaring, "A Home of Your Own" (Becker, Stolberg, & Labaton, 2008).

Through this initiative, Bush was able to convince lenders, such as Fannie Mae and

Freddie Mac, to increase low-income lending by allowing first-time buyers to qualify for

federally insured mortgages with no money down (Becker et al., 2008). Bush's vision for

a society less reliant on government for ownership was advertised as being more

economically secure than a society with fewer homeowners. After low-income lending

practices were changed, homeownership rates increased to historic highs during this

presidential era. Unfortunately, the new economic environment paved the way for

predatory lending practices and subprime[8] loans that would later bring on a wave of

foreclosures.

According to Hunnicutt (2009), the housing bubble resulted from the swell of

first-time homeowners with subprime loans and expanded when record numbers of

people refinanced with subprime loans to take advantage of extremely low interest rates.

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[8] The widespread financial crisis occurred after an increase in subprime lending (or loans to individuals with no credit or low credit scores), with particular focus on adjustable rate mortgages.. At that time, adjustable-rate mortgages began to reset at higher rates. By the late-2000s decade, mortgage delinquencies and foreclosures soared, resulting in the decline of securities backing these mortgages. Financial firms holding the mortgages lost most of their value, thereby causing the financial crisis.

In 2008, one-fifth of all subprime mortgages were in some stage of foreclosure (Hunnicutt, 2009). Today, post-housing bubble, a move has been made toward debt education and financial reform. Instead of economic security in terms of ownership, the political focus has turned to helping citizens understand their debt situation. To address subprime loans, which are often adjustable rate mortgages with increasing monthly payments and interest rates, housing organizations have adapted their activities based on a need to help families escape confusing and predatory loans in favor of stable loans or more affordable housing solutions. Just as word of extremely low interest rates available to homeowners spread quickly, in part due to accessible information in the digital age, information cautioning against these loan practices was also quickly made available on HSMO websites. More recently, HSMOs are able to share information about policy changes through social media campaigns. For example, the Housing Assistance Council now encourages active discussion about policy changes through their Twitter account. Similarly, as an HSMO changes missions, goals, and programs available to the population it serves, the digital age allows these changes to be known in almost real-time.

Political opportunities create resource responses almost instantaneously in the digital age. With these minute-by-minute adaptations, it is important for HSMOs to have a social marketing strategy with which to examine changes. Up-to-date research in this area will benefit HSMOs when it comes to strategic planning. An inventory of resources to be deployed by SMOs prior to political opportunity gives a better idea of resources gathered after a mobilizing political opportunity. Organizational characteristics can be determined by examining the missions and goals that HSMOs state on their websites, while other organizational demographics are made public by the Internal Revenue

Service. Due to a shortage of resources during the housing crisis, HSMOs have found it necessary to strategically develop goals in line with the political domain. Internet and media presence increases HSMOs' ability to deploy and gather resources rapidly as political opportunities become available, especially using Web 2.0 interactive social media sites. The housing social movement network structure experienced a decrease in linkages during the time of the housing crisis. Chapter 4 outlines how competition for scarce resources during the housing crisis has diverted attention away from outwardly directed hyperlinks on websites to inwardly directed links to social media sites. Organizational characteristics, Internet/media presence, and network structure/position are categories of resources that encompass a multitude of variables. These categories of resources deployed during the digital age allow researchers to examine social marketing responses to political opportunities in more detail.

Limited resources during the time of the housing crisis led to competition among HSMOs enduring this ongoing process. HSMOs, unable to deploy and gather resources— perhaps by not taking full advantage of political opportunities—were forced to close. For example, several chapters of Habitat for Humanity used "Re-stores" (selling used and donated building supplies) as a way to generate revenue. During the economic recession, many Re-stores were unable to afford their lease and were forced to close. Without resources to be deployed (such as a physical store front) and a mobilizing political opportunity (donated supplies and customers), HSMOs cannot gather resources. If HSMOs do not engage in the entire process continually, they are not able to engage in socio-political participation in the social movement. These suggested categories of

resources are easily accessible in the digital age for HSMOs wishing to make strategic

socio-political decisions and for researchers who wish to observe this ongoing process.

Suggestions for Future Research and Conclusion

This chapter has provided a limited example of how resource mobilization as a

process is dependent on political opportunity. To gain as much information as possible,

future research should use a mixed-methods approach, incorporating elements of the

organizations themselves as well as the political context in which they reside (see

Chapter 2). Thelwall (2009) recommends that when conducting research, especially in

the case of online phenomena, or webometrics, researchers should use a combination of

qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative techniques alone risk missing the big

picture due to the small-scale nature, while quantitative techniques risk only gathering

superficial-level data when not complemented by qualitative support. Using a mixed-

methods approach, this theoretical proposal uses RMT, social capital theory, and PPT to

investigate how housing social movement organizations use the Internet and media to

network with one another and their target audiences. The analyses in the subsequent

chapters use various methods, including hyperlink network analysis, content analysis of

websites, and social network analysis of Congressional testimony. Adopting these

multiple approaches will shed light on the logic of collective action in group politics and

call for a revitalization of housing social movement research in the Internet age.

The hypotheses of these subsequent chapters place further emphasis on the value

of mobilizing resources discussed in this introduction. In Chapter 2, an offline political

network structure of organizations is constructed using Congressional testimonies. The

analysis in Chapter 2 shows how organizations with differing organizational

characteristics and frames became embedded in the socio-political structure of the

housing social movement over time. Chapter 3, previously published in *New Media and*

Society in 2011, presents a hyperlink network analysis of 26 national HSMOs. The goals

and frames of each of these HSMOs are identified to determine bonding and bridging

ties. The resources gathered in the hyperlink network are an increased Web presence in

terms of overall traffic ranking and Google Page Rank[9]. Chapter 4 analyzes the two

qualitatively different types of networks (an issue network[10] and a policy community) of

the same 26 national HSMOs before and after the housing bubble burst. Similar resources

are deployed by HSMOs in 2007 and 2010, but varying political opportunity leads to

competition among organizations and fewer resources gathered. The concluding chapter

brings together the findings of all of these chapters in light of the theoretical model

introduced in this introduction.

     In summary, by using this theoretical model, future researchers might increase the

understanding of the social, historical, and political implications of the "affordable

housing" social movement, as viewed by conscience constituents and beneficiaries in

online and offline communities. This will deepen our understanding of the ways in which

national and regional social movement organizations use the news media, the Internet,

and other resources to advocate for their goals. This case study attempts to utilize a

limited historical perspective on the controversies, successes, and failures of past housing

endeavors in the United States and their relevance to contemporary projects in this sector.

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[9] Algorithm used by Google to determine priority of results in a search engine query. A higher Google Page Rank equates to higher priority in query results.

[10] This dissertation refers to inter-organizational hyperlink networks as issue networks. Issue networks are described as having limited control over resources and are often faced with more open contests with interest groups outside the network (Marsh, 1998). Issue networks are often created around emerging issues, membership is not limited, participation is often diverse, and contrasting opinions are permitted without a need for general consensus.

Future research in this area will also promote a broader understanding of the framing and construction of organization-based social movements online and in the media. Not unlike the insight that Kemeny (1992) brought to housing studies by integrating social theory, this research integrates social movement theory to better understand the resources utilized by the housing movement that have the most potential for mobilization.

While many of the strategies employed here are used for online marketing in the profit sector, social movement organizations compete for resources in ways different from those used by other organizations. Through the development of a theoretical understanding of the use of social marketing, researchers can promote a broader understanding of how social network positioning, both online and offline, can further the goals of organizations. High-visibility disasters, such as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and natural disasters, such as Hurricane Katrina, have heightened the need to understand what prevents better coordination among organizations tasked to deal with geographically concentrated issues, whether acute or chronic. Nationwide, persistent poverty occurs in geographic clusters that might exhibit network configurations that support this condition. Given the importance of the deployment and mobilization of resources by SMOs, understanding the nature of current social marketing tactics and the potential for improving those tactics is valuable to low resource organizations.

**Chapter 2: Networked Housing Policy: Examining the network position of housing
organizations within the housing policy domain**

Abstract

According to previous research using Congressional testimony, the policy domain
has moved toward an organizational state over time. The actors that are the most central
to policy domains tend to be governmental actors and corporations. This chapter provides
a review of housing policies dating back to the National Housing Act of 1934, paying
particular attention to housing organizations that appear as witnesses. Using the
Congressional testimony from major hearings (e.g., Housing Acts and the resulting pieces
of legislation, such as the Fair Housing Act, the Affordable Housing Act, and Saving
America's Rural Housing Act), a network of organizations with common testimonies has
been created to analyze key players in the housing policy domain. This chapter addresses
the types of housing policy that housing social movement organizations have taken a
central role in and the characteristics of major actors in housing policy that influence
housing social movement organizations. The results of the analysis in this chapter
highlight particular types of policy wherein housing social movement organizations most
often participate in Congressional testimony and identify key players in the housing
policy domain. This research maps the organizational representation of the framing and
development of housing policy.

Chapter 2: Networked housing policy: Examining the network position of housing organizations within the housing policy domain

Guided by social movement theory using the organizational mobilization of resources (see Zald & McCarthy, 1987) and the ways that political opportunities are translated into action by organizations (see Meyer & Minkoff, 2004), this study maps the presence and absence of state, financial, and housing social movement organizations (HSMOs) in a network of Congressional testimonies to profile the housing policy domain. This chapter provides a historical framework for understanding the organizational mobilization of resources in the housing movement and includes suggestions for the strategic networking of HSMOs to optimize the organizational attributes available and to gain resources (either network position, political visibility, or other attributes) for HSMOs.

Previous research on networks of Congressional testimony has examined legislative success based on co-sponsorship of bills (Fowler, 2006; Cho & Fowler, 2010), wherein two members of Congress were linked if they co-sponsored the same bill. Harding (2006) used roll-call votes to reveal networks of agreement that crossed partisan and ideological lines. Inter-organizational political networks have long been recognized as an important feature of political influence and action (Laumann & Knoke, 1987, 1989). The main purpose of these networks is to exert influence on the political process in order to shape policy and resource allocation decisions that affect various constituencies. Sometimes, inter-organizational networks around a particular policy issue are referred to as the policy domain (Laumann & Knoke, 1989); they are usually informal

with no fixed organizational or management structure which makes them unlike most other aspects of a network. Nonetheless, they are a form of collective action designed to influence any number of policy concerns. Regulation of the financial services industry, rules for the use of public lands, and mechanisms for building safety are just a few of the concerns addressed by the housing policy domain.

Laumann and Knoke have conducted extensive research on inter-organizational policy networks. In 1982, they define the policy domain as a subsystem:

> identified by specifying a substantively defined criterion on mutual relevance or common orientation among a set of consequential actors concerned with formulating, advocating, and selecting course of action (i.e., policy positions) that are intended to resolve the delimited substantive problems in question. (p. 256).

In 1987, they focused on two policy domains, health and energy, and began with the assumption that key state policy domain actors would include trade associations, professional societies, labor unions, public interest groups, government bureaus, and Congressional committees. Later, Laumann and Knoke (1989) mapped co-participation of actors that attended Congressional hearings over time to show that organizations, rather than government bureaus or other actors, are more prevalent over time in the policy domain, calling this phenomenon the "increasingly organizational state." The work here follows this latter research by examining the co-attendance of hearings by actors in the housing policy domain to identify key players in this arena, paying particularly close attention to HSMOs.

The theoretical model introduced in the first chapter incorporated both the political opportunity model and resource mobilization theory into one model. Looking at

the housing movement historically, particularly close attention is paid to events that breed

political opportunities and a resource response. Doing so builds a case for the positioning

of these two theories as they appear in the model. Using the historical background of the

housing movement, both the longevity of this social movement and the longevity of the

organizations that participate in the policy domain are examined. The use of social

movement theories is necessary to contextualize what happens to social movement

organizations (SMOs) as they age, sometimes making adaptations from protest groups to

bureaucratic organizations.

In examining the incidence of political opportunity and resource mobilization,

two specific definitions are used to identify their occurrence. As described in Chapter 1,

this dissertation uses Tarrow's (1989) definition of political opportunity. Political

opportunity describes actions within a social movement are dependent on the existence,

or absence, of a specific political opportunity. Tarrow identifies that resources alone are

not sufficient to inspire social movement mobilization; the presence of a political

opportunity is necessary for movement participation. Under Tarrow's definition, SMOs

are formalized through the work of individuals who join in a social movement in

response to political opportunities. Tarrow's definition of a political opportunity allows a

working definition of this event. Tarrow (1989) described political opportunity as the

"consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political

struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics" (p. 19-20). In the

housing social movement, each decade of policy brings about particular dimensions of

political struggle, which lead to opportunities for particular actors to mobilize.

Resource mobilization theory (RMT), on the other hand, is described by McCarthy and Zald (1973) as a lens to examine the members of the movement as resources, but it also "emphasizes the variety and sources of resources; the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement organizations" (p. 1212). In the case of the policy domain, organizations (as opposed to individuals or informal groups) can be assumed to already have a certain amount of deployable resources. Through active participation in the social movement and the policy domain, these organizations stand to gather the resources that they need to sustain themselves. The present study focuses on entire organizations, rather than individuals. Organizations engage in politics when they are present for a political hearing, and the topic of the hearing can be considered the dimension of the political struggle that encourages them to attend. Therefore, resources are divided again into two related types: resources deployed, and resources gathered. The hypothesis presented in the Chapter 1 tested here is that SMOs engage in a necessary cycle of deploying and gathering resources in order to engage in socio-political activities. Engagement in this way not only allows SMOs to instigate policy change, but also to allows them to remain relevant and active as an organization after the change has occurred in order to continue to provide services. The cycle is such that SMOs deploy resources (i.e., organizational characteristics that allow for participation in the policy domain) in the context of political opportunities (i.e., successful legislation in favor of housing social movement goals), which, if present, will permit SMOs to gather other important resources (i.e., a central position in the housing policy domain). If political opportunities are not present, it is

difficult for SMOs to remain engaged in socio-political activities and they may cease to be relevant or active in the policy domain.

Doug McAdam (1982) used the political process model of social movements to "explain insurgency on the basis of a favorable confluence of factors internal and external to the movement" (p. 2). This model follows from the resource mobilization perspective that a small number of elites control the wealth and power in the political sphere, but also suggests that excluded groups also have the capacity to bring about structural change. Drawing on earlier critiques of classical approaches, and building on resource mobilization and especially the work of Tilly, McAdam analyzed the rise and decline of the US Civil Rights Movement as a result of three factors included in his model: political opportunities (p. 40), indigenous organizational strength (p. 43), and cognitive liberation (p. 48). Political opportunities refer to "any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured" (p. 41). This broad definition was applied to McAdam's examples which include international political realignments, prolonged unemployment, wars, industrialization, and widespread demographic changes.

Shifts in the political status quo are changes in the opportunity structure, but these changes do not inevitably lead to the emergence of social movements. According to McAdam, political opportunities work indirectly through a restructuring of existing power relations. Shifting power relations "can facilitate increased political activism on the part of excluded groups either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a single insurgent group" (p.

42). Thus, opportunities represent diverse implications and do not guarantee that mobilization will occur.

For Tarrow (1989), political opportunities are external, or environmental, influences for resource gathering to mobilize groups, whereas mobilizing resources tends to be carried out from an internal perspective. Tilly (1978) developed a model of collective action that also combines these two theories; however, he recognized one persistent problem with his model regarding social structure versus agency in accounting for collective action. He termed this problem the issue of "purposive" (goal directed action) versus "causal" (dependent on outcomes of other events) explanations of collective action (p. 228). Jenkins (1983) suggests that RMT is useful when looking at the short-term rise and decline of collective action, but it sometimes falls short in taking into account larger social-structural changes. The structural focus of Tilly's work is a common feature of the political opportunity approach, but Tarrow's emphasis on political opportunities being external to social movements remains pertinent. Important perspectives on the significance of structure and agency can be gained in explaining social movements over time by exploring the ways in which deployed resources are facilitated, or impeded, by external political opportunities and constraints, which may lead to further resource gathering on the part of an SMO.

In the policy domain, some political opportunities for SMO resource gathering might be characterized as an associative state. Based on associationalism, a concept derived from Alexis de Tocqueville (Kaufman, 1999), the associative state is a particular kind of partnership between firms and the government (Pirani, 2005). In this partnership, the government promotes economic growth by suggesting programs to voluntary

associations. Kaufman (1999) tested several hypotheses concerning the effects of associationalism. The first he describes as a neo-Tocquevillian argument which states that voluntary associations will reduce government spending. A second hypothesis by Kaufman (1999) is that voluntary associations may mobilize support for appropriations that will increase government expenditures. The dataset used by Kaufman (1999) examined social spending at the turn of the 19th century and found variable results from year to year although the number of civic associations had a significant positive effect on social spending levels. By mapping the key players in the policy domain, we can better understand who is dominating the policy domain and potential government spending, given different political climates.

The majority of Congressional testimony for recurrent and non-controversial hearings usually comes from a limited pool of accessible expert and technocratic witnesses. Only a limited number of matters are selected for dispute, and public testimony of controversy in the hearings, usually the most controversial topics, necessitates dispute. Almost every hearing has selected witnesses to answer subcommittee questions. Therefore, many of the key players in the policy domain are invited witnesses. Part of the ongoing participation in the housing policy domain on the part of SMOs relies on organizations' willingness to play by the rules of a bureaucratic entity. In some cases, they must become bureaucratic entities themselves to continue receiving resources.

This study examines the housing policy domain, focusing on the various types of organizations that service housing needs and examining the network position of these organizations in the political domain. This examination not only focuses on housing

legislation longitudinally, but it also outlines the political opportunities and roadblocks

that housing social movement organizations (HSMOs) have experienced; it identifies

frame transformations of the overall housing movement through these changes; and it

identifies factors that facilitate coordination among HSMOs. The latter analysis will

focus on geographically concentrated issues as well as the factors that prevent

coordination.

Organizations can have very different characteristics, such as national/regional

targets, income range, and other demographics. There are advantages to networking with

organizations containing both similar (bonding ties) and different (bridging ties)

characteristics; this network structure is also of particular interest to the ways that social

movement organizations collaborate with one another at the regional and national level.

Problem Statement

Given the variety of goals that housing policy addresses and changes to the

political environment that housing organizations operate in, little is known about the

political interaction between these organizations as part of a larger networked social

movement. This research will explore the history of the housing policy domain, paying

particular attention to the political opportunities and mobilization of resources available

over time.

Housing markets bring together a complex set of forces that shape housing supply

and organizational demands. As a result, one must consider all of the organizations

involved in the policy domain, not just the HSMOs that serve the population directly.

Cycles of mobilization occur over time, and this seemingly endless cycle of resource

gathering and deployment underscores that the mobilization of resources is a process

rather than an outcome. This process and the many changes that have taken place in the

policy domain over the years can better be understood through a descriptive account of

the housing policy domain by decade.

Housing Policy Background

This review begins with the start of public housing and follows changes to major

housing policies by decade, noting political opportunities available to specific groups

during each period. The citations for this section are based on a review of a combination

of housing acts available through LexisNexis Congressional Search as well as data

available through the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD,

2012). The records of hearings and testimony of each act covered in this section were not

available for the analysis of Congressional testimony due to missing records on

LexisNexis or errors in archive scanning. However, when co-participation data are

unavailable, it is helpful to have an understanding of the political tone of each decade in

interpreting the analysis. While hearings are held independently of one another, many

acts are influenced by the goals and opportunities of the period.

Although housing policy predates the 1930s, this analysis begins with the Great

Depression because it marks the beginning of permanent, federally-funded public

housing and distinctive housing organizations (HUD, 2012). The Stock Market Crash of

1929 is regarded as the beginning of America's Great Depression, which continued until

1941 when the United States entered World War II (Erickson, 2009). The 1930s were a

time of unemployment and financial collapse. Congress passed the Emergency Relief and

Construction Act of 1932 (S. Rep. No. 75-509, 1933), which created the Reconstruction

Finance Corporation (RFC) and authorized loans to private corporations that agreed to

provide housing for low-income families. Although the financial status for individual families increased somewhat because of RFC, unemployment rates remained high (HUD, 2012). The National Housing Act of 1934 (S. Rep. No. 73-3603, 1934) was intended to relieve unemployment and to stimulate the release of private credit from banks and lending institutions for home repairs and construction. This initial housing act also created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which would handle mortgage insurance by assuming the risk and freeing funds for home loans (HUD, 2012). Two organizations precede the National Housing Act: the Home Loan Bank Board and Bank System created in 1932 and the Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC) formed in 1933 (HUD, 2012). In 1937, the FHA chartered the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) as a subsidiary of the RFC (HUD, 2012). While these early measures stimulated housing construction, the United States Housing Act of 1937 (H.R. Rep. No. 75-81, 1937) authorized loans for the first time to local public housing agencies for lower-rent public housing construction, thereby creating the Public Housing Administration. Financial collapse paved the way for the creation of new housing and financial programs during this decade. For economic and political reasons, banks and other financial institutions required the most attention during the Great Depression. At this point during the historical timeline, political opportunities and resources were more readily available to financial institutions than they were to corporations, government bureaus, or HSMOs.

In the 1940s, non-military domestic housing construction came to a halt as World War II began. The Veterans Administration (VA) home loan program had a major effect on housing by authorizing millions of single-family and mobile home loans (HUD,

2012). Housing construction resumed following World War II, which gave way to the

subsidization of suburban growth through these loans. The Housing Act of 1949 (H.R.

Rep. No. 81-4009, 1949) addressed the decline of urban areas through new housing

programs to assist in urban redevelopment, slum clearance, and new construction.[11] In the

1930s, emergency housing programs built housing quickly, but shoddily (Erickson,

2009). Housing acts in the 1940s and 1950s prescribed the removal of these poorly built

projects in addition to general slum clearance (HUD, 2012). Some policies during this

time increased the role of the state in facilitating private sector development. While

veterans and families benefitted greatly from these policies, the policy domain actors that

benefitted most from political opportunities during this period were construction

companies in the private sector.

The 1950s began a gradual shift in consideration from new construction and

demolition to conservation of existing properties. The Housing Act of 1954 (S. Rep. No.

83-2938, 1954) amended the Housing Act of 1949 to expand funding to rehabilitation and

conservation. The act also authorized relocation payments to persons displaced by repairs

intended to preserve existing housing resources and urban renewal (S. Rep. No. 83-2938,

1954). More housing acts were passed in this decade under President Dwight D.

Eisenhower, who rapidly expanded federal involvement in housing to include financing

for new construction and the preservation of existing resources (HUD, 2012). In addition,

the FHA began insuring loans for projects that were high-risk and therefore previously

difficult to fund. These projects included: nursing homes, disaster clean-up, rehabilitation

projects for homes in disrepair, co-operatives (multi-owner tenement housing), low-

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[11] Following World War II, and continuing into the early 1970s, "urban renewal" referred primarily to public efforts to revitalize aging and decaying inner cities, although, some suburban communities undertook such projects as well.

income housing for those displaced due to rehabilitation projects, and military housing. Civil rights demonstrators and members of the sit-in movement joined with the NAACP and Urban League in calling for non-discriminatory housing practices that began to form in the 1950s (Saltman, 1978). During this decade, the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, which organized earlier in response to a specific housing struggle in New York City, expanded and joined with national organizations to form the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) (Saltman, 1978). The NCDH's founders included principle religious, civic, labor, and civil rights groups of the country, which were dedicated to equal housing opportunity as a basic constitutional and moral right. The 1950s continued to benefit private sector construction companies. As special considerations were added to housing concerns, such as elderly and low-income populations, political opportunities for civil rights demonstrators, the NAACP, the Urban League and other groups interested in tenants/homeowner rights emerged in the housing policy domain where they were not previously active.

President John F. Kennedy issued Equal Opportunity in Housing in 1962, which represented the first major federal effort to apply civil rights to housing (Saltman, 1978). The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 created HUD as a cabinet-level agency, and it initiated a housing program which leased privately owned housing to low-income families at an affordable cost (HUD, 2012). Through the work of the NCDH, local community action groups proliferated through additional funding and emphasis on low-income housing (Saltman, 1978). In the late 1950s, 300 local community groups had been identified as fair-housing organizations while at the end of the 1960s, there were just over 200 local fair-housing groups across the country (Saltman, 1978). Groups

associated with the NCDH that began to organize in the 1950s with the help of the

NAACP and the Urban League began to formalize and establish themselves further

through the decade to uphold existing laws and inform amendments to these laws

(Saltman, 1978). Fair housing laws were a major contribution of 1960s legislation. The

primary purpose of the Fair Housing Law of 1968 (H.R. Rep. No. 90-114, 1968) was to

protect the buyer/renter of a dwelling from seller/landlord discrimination. Its primary

prohibition made it unlawful to refuse to sell to, rent to, or negotiate with any person

because of that person's inclusion in a protected class (H.R. Rep. No. 90-114, 1968).

Political opportunities became available to organizations associated with the NCDH able

to perform oversight of the fair housing laws.

In January 1973, President Richard M. Nixon declared a moratorium on approvals

for subsidized housing programs (Erickson, 2009). When the moratorium was rescinded

in the summer of 1974, the Section 8 voucher program[12] became the main source of

government-subsidized housing (HUD, 2012). This action decentralized housing funds

from the national to the local level. Housing policy during the 1970s emphasized safety—

such as the elimination of lead-based paint—and protection of the rights of consumers in

the area of interstate land sales. Research on housing and community development issues

became a priority, and HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research (PD&R) was

created in 1973 and tasked with conducting this research. PD&R's American Housing

Survey identified techniques for building more affordable, durable, disaster-resistant,

safe, and energy-efficient housing (HUD, 2012). HUD USER was launched in 1978 as

the main vehicle for distributing relevant research and information, and it remains active

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[12] The Section 8 voucher program supplied rental subsidies to eligible tenants residing in newly
constructed, rehabilitated, and existing rental and cooperative apartment projects.

today as a multi-media resource for housing stakeholders (HUD, 2012). Organizations

able to perform oversight of safety codes and carry out research programs stood to benefit

from political opportunities in the 1970s. Some of these organizations were formerly

associated with NCDH; others were local housing authorities and local government

bureaus.

In 1970, the inflation rate of energy costs was 4.8% per year. By 1979, the

inflation of energy costs had risen to 37.5% per year, which affected families' ability to

make ends meet when it came to paying their home mortgage loans. The Depository

Institutions Deregulation and Monetary Control Act of 1980 sought to change the rules

governing thrift institutions, which expanded alternative mortgages to families in need. In

an effort to reduce government spending, budgetary constraints eliminated Section 8 New

Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation programs. Further reductions in government

spending came in 1981 when the Brook Amendment adjusted the standard of

affordability for government subsidized housing, and the standard was raised from 25%

of income to 30% of income (Pelletiere, 2008). To create more affordable housing

opportunities for low- and moderate-income families, the Low-Income Housing Tax

Credits program was created and the Housing Urban-Rural Recovery Act of 1983 (S.

Rep. No. 96-640, 1980) implemented the Section 8 Voucher program. PD&R's

evaluation of the Fair Housing Assistance Program during this decade led to the

expansion of the scope of fair housing provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, giving

HUD additional responsibilities in this area (HUD, 2012). Given the evidence on

discrimination in housing, other measures were taken to ensure housing opportunities

were available for all—this included a new focus on Native Americans, Alaskan Indians,

and the homeless. Amid this new focus, the Interagency Council on Homelessness was established in 1987 under the Stewart B. McKinney Act (H.R. Rep. No. 100-134, 1988). The Indian Housing Act (H.R. Rep. No. 100-3927, 1988) soon followed in 1988, along with the Fair Housing Amendments Act, which stiffened the penalties for offenders and made it easier for victims of discrimination to seek remedies (HUD, 2012). The 1980s made many adjustments to previous laws, fine-tuning and redirecting to suit economic needs. The primary political opportunities of this decade were for developing housing authorities and existing rental properties that became a part of the Section 8 Voucher program. Other organizations and private interests at an advantage were those that performed inspection and repair of properties for Section 8 housing.

Many of the policies in the 1990s were enacted in response to the cost of expiring Section 8 contracts and deteriorating properties. FHA-insured mortgages were at a high cost at this time, necessitating higher than market-rate rents, making expiring Section 8 contracts expensive to renew (HUD, 2012). Federal budgetary concerns led to a restructuring of HUD, including significant staff cuts, reorganization of operations, and program consolidation (HUD, 2012). The Low-Income Housing Preservation and Resident Homeownership Act of 1990 (H.R. Rep. No. 101-136, 1990) attempted to offer incentives to preserve low-income rental properties, while the Multifamily Assisted Housing Reform and Affordability Act of 1997 (S. Rep. No. 105-513, 1997) restructured mortgages to maintain affordable Section 8 subsidies. During this time of difficulty in maintaining rental and multifamily housing programs, Congressional hearings were held to discuss methods to increase single-family homeownership rates. Political opportunities during this time were in favor of financial institutions, primarily mortgage companies.

Other groups with an advantage during this time were organizations offering assistance to promote single-family homeownership such as Habitat for Humanity and the Housing Assistance Council.

As a result of policies in the 1990s, homeownership rates had a steady incline throughout 1990s, reaching a record high of 67.7% in 2000. In the housing policy domain, an associative state between firms and government was present more than ever, HUD worked at an increased capacity with public agencies and private partners, in addition to non-profit, faith-based, and community organizations to expand the availability of affordable housing (HUD, 2012). Under the Real Estate Settlement Procedures Act, HUD led a consumer advocacy initiative to reform outdated and complex regulatory requirements (HUD, 2012). Housing prices peaked in early 2005, prompting the Housing Economic Recovery Act of 2008 (H.R. Law No. 3221, 2008), which was tasked with strengthening and modernizing the regulation of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac (government-sponsored enterprises) and the Federal Home Loan Banks. The increase in housing prices in 2005 brought on the start of a long and steady increase in home foreclosures and the beginning of housing crisis (Erickson, 2009).The Neighborhood Stabilization Program was also established at this time with grants for stabilizing communities suffering from foreclosures and abandonment of homes (HUD, 2012). When the foreclosure crisis and recession continued, efforts to relieve economic concerns were extended into 2009 with the passage of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, the Hearth Act, and the Helping Families Save Their Homes Act (HUD, 2012). Political opportunities during this decade were predominately for organizations able to provide housing assistance programs (i.e., housing authorities and

charitable programs) or housing debt education programs able to produce measurable results on a small budget.

This review of the history of the policy domain by decade clearly shows that the major actors given opportunities to acquire resources have been financial institutions, construction companies, and organizations willing to carry out programs enacted by the state. The decentralization of activities from the national to the state level divided the political domain not only in terms of centralization, but also in terms of geographic boundaries and rural-urban dichotomies.[13] The remainder of this chapter categorizes organizations in terms of geographic boundaries, scope of the population served, and organizational types to provide an analysis in terms of these larger attributes.

The Networked Policy Domain

To understand the policy domain of the housing social movement, a network analysis was conducted of participants in Congressional hearings using organizational type as an attribute. Organizational types include HSMOs, government bureaus, financial institutions, and other typologies based on organizational missions and goals. Strained relationships between like-minded organizations are sometimes a challenge to social movement mobilization, while unstrained collaborative relationships can be a resource (this is further explored in the next section). McCarthy and Zald (1977) hypothesize that one possible reason for this phenomenon may be that as discretionary resources of the mass public and elite public increases, so increases the amount of resources available to the social movement sector. It follows that SMOs will then compete for resources from the public along with other movements within this sector. This type of competition

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[13] While scholars during this time were labeling areas on a rural-urban continuum, many organizations and policies refer to either the rural or the urban and, therefore, are discussed as a dichotomy for the purposes of categorization in this analysis.

stresses relationships between SMOs working toward the shared goals of a social movement. After all, SMOs are interested not only in their organization's economic well-being, but also in the collective goals of the overall movement.

Open communication between SMOs constitutes a resource for sharing information about developing trends and successful strategies while engaging a broad range of organizations at all levels of a social movement. Increasing amounts of interactions over time strengthens the network value. Network research begins with a set of objects of interest (or nodes) and the relationships between those objects (links). In this network, the nodes signify witnesses representing organizations at Congressional hearings, and the links connecting them correspond to the hearings where they appear together. The attributes of individual nodes help to explain which organizations have which types of ties to other organizations. Additionally, node attributes might explain an organization's position in its network. Attributes are the characteristics of the nodes (organizational characteristics in this case, such as local/national status, rural/urban focus, and organizational). A central network position is considered a resource for organizations because greater centrality creates potential for greater access to all resources flowing through the network (Putnam, 2000).

<div align="center">**Research Questions**</div>

The housing policy domain has undergone many political changes and it contains various types of organizations as key players. To further delineate the most prominent players in this policy domain, two research questions are proposed:

RQ1: Under what political opportunities have HSMOs experienced increased centrality in the housing policy domain?

RQ2: What are the characteristics of the most central actors to housing policy?

The level of co-participation in Congressional hearings will also be used to determine the (de)centralization of the network. As a first step in this direction, this research will map the existing ties among SMOs working in the housing social movement. The methodological goal is to determine the basis for the centrality of various types of organizations over time. Identifying the actors most often central will provide a greater understanding of what is performed to increase the positive ties that would help determine the ability to mobilize.

Methods

A sample of Congressional housing legislation was selected using the LexisNexis Congressional Search Database. All available U.S. Housing Act Hearings were used, as well as legislation that emerged directly from actions in U.S. Housing Acts (see Appendix 1 for a full list). All organizational affiliations of those present to testify were recorded for each available hearing. The organization names were recorded exactly as they appear in the Congressional archive. A second re-coding for continuity was performed to account for the abbreviations of organizational names. (For example, "Housing Assistance Council," "The Housing Assistance Council," "HAC," and "Housing Ass. Coun." as all indicated the same organization.) Organizations that underwent a name change were not accounted for with historical continuity in this analysis. For example, two unions, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) are counted as two separate nodes prior to

when they merged in 1955 and became the AFL-CIO, where it is coded as a new and distinct organization. Organizations that might have appeared under a different name in earlier hearings and underwent a name change are also treated as two distinct organizations.

A 1-mode network is typically based on an actor-by-actor matrix, while 2-mode networks are typically based on an actor-by-event matrix (or any two modes that comprise a network). In this study, co-attendance of Congressional hearings were used to create a 2-mode network with organizations/affiliations as one mode and hearings as the second mode. Organizations were then categorized by their attributes (type of organization, local/national status, and rural/urban focus) to determine the types of organizations most central. This information about the organizations was collected using the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS) online database of information that organizations report to the Internal Revenue Service. Organizations that dissolved prior to the creation of this database are coded as "missing" with the exception of several organizations that make it clear in name that they have a national, state, or a clearly rural or urban focus.

Mission statements of organizations were also provided by NCCS. Organizations are not consistent in reporting mission statements to the IRS; therefore, some mission statements were found on existing websites, and organizations were classified into categories based on how they describe themselves in their mission statements or goals. Again, when this information was not available, or when the organization had dissolved, it was counted as 'missing' data in the analysis and the organizations were simply listed as a connecting tie for purposes of centrality in the overall network.

The most common way of analyzing social networks is through the centrality of the nodes because the position in the network can indicate the flow of information running through each node (Wasserman & Faust, 2007). This analysis views a high degree of centrality[14] as a valuable trait. As indicated in the literature, as the degree of centrality increases for an actor, the ability to potentially mobilize resources increases. Each node in a social network usually represents an individual or entity. In this case, each node represents an actor that appeared for Congressional testimony.

Results

The sample consisted of 24 pieces of legislation and 33 hearings (Appendix 1) with 483 organizations being represented in these hearings. Information could not be found for all organizations. The following is a basic description of organizational demographics for the organizations for which information could be confirmed. Of these, only 14 were identified as rural organizations and nine were identified as urban organizations. There were 114 local organizations, 279 national organizations, and four international organizations. An assessment of the organizational types showed:

- 31 Government
- 59 Financial
- 31 Construction
- 12 Corporation
- 8 Real Estate
- 8 Union
- 18 HSMOs

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[14] Degree of centrality of a node is the count of links a node possesses.

- 8 Housing Authority

- 7 Research

- 16 Religious

- 1 Law

- 284 Uncategorized

While a large portion of organizations are labeled as uncategorized their position as an actor is included in the housing policy domain. The research questions guiding this study are concerned with the most central actors and HSMOs. All of the most central actors and HSMOs have been identified in this network. The network position of the 284 uncategorized, organizations are known to be peripheral to the network. While their position aids in determining how central the most central organizations are, it is not necessary to categorize these periphery organizations in order to answer the research questions posed in this chapter.

All of the actors were first organized with all hearings shown together in a 2-mode network map noting the distribution of types of actors on each mode (hearings and organizations). Figure 2.1 shows the 2-mode matrix with actors depicted as circles and the hearings represented as squares.

Figure 2.1. Sociogram of Actors and All 33 Hearings Shown in the 2-Mode Map (circles represent organizations and squares represent hearings)
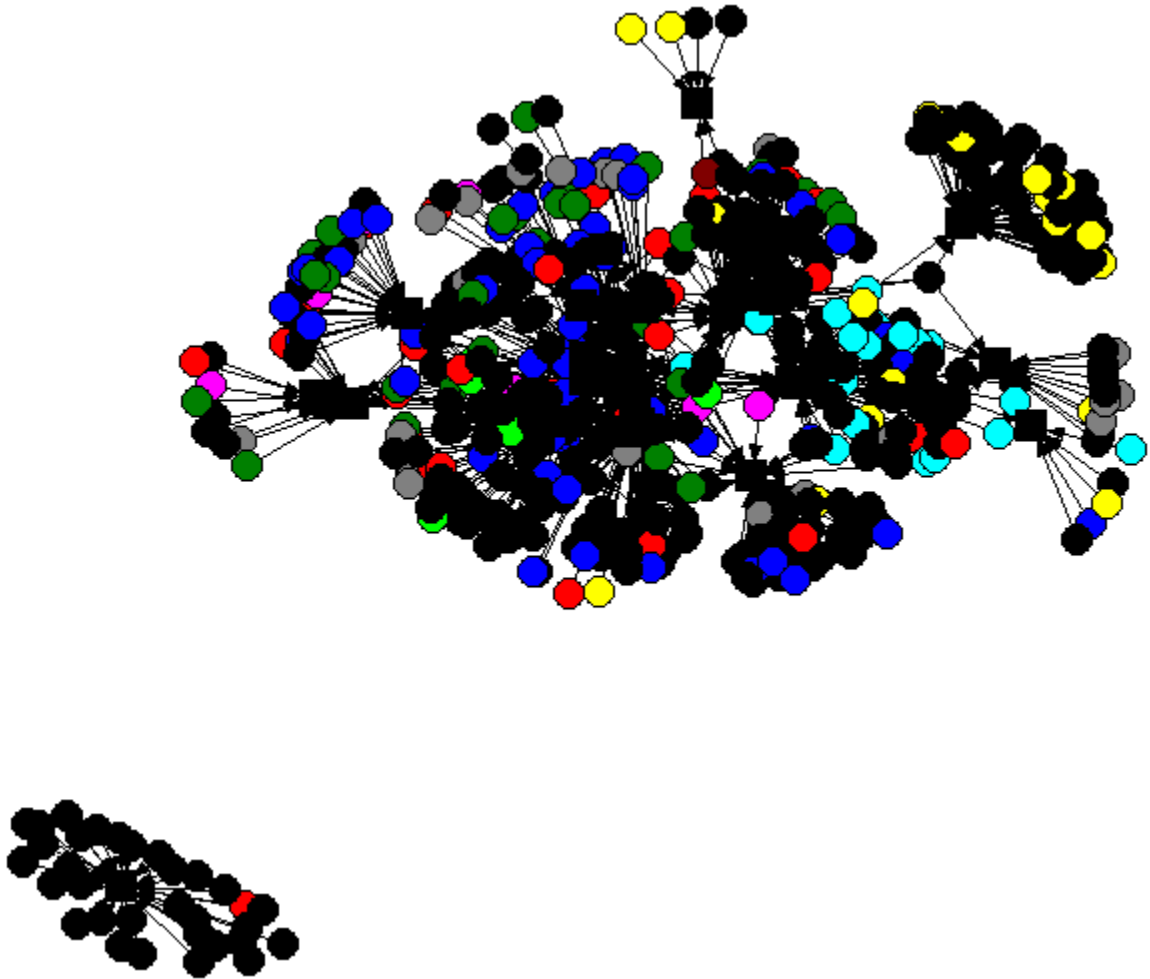
The 2-mode network of all testimony shows that many actors tended to appear for only one hearing. The Housing Act of 1936 is isolated in Figure 2.1 because the actors that attended this hearing had no other witnesses in common with any other hearings. This is notable because the remaining 32 hearings had at least one witness in common. Due to the cluttered nature of the network map shown in Figure 2.1, the number of ties were decreased to only display nodes with a degree of centrality above 10 in order to produce a sociogram with the top 100 keyplayers in the policy domain (Figure 2.2). Through this action, four hearings, and all actors with a specifically urban focus that did

not contain top 100 keyplayers were eliminated from the sociogram. The most central

hearing is the National Affordable Housing Act of 1988, followed by the Housing Act of

1954, because the highest numbers of actors attended these hearings. Figure 2.3

highlights predominant organizational types in decade-by-decade sociograms. In 1954,

the actors with the greatest attendance were veterans associations and unions; in 1988,

HSMOs were the most in attendance. As Figure 2.4 describes, as more HSMOs became

established, they also became key players in the policy domain. Prior to these HSMOs

becoming established, the most prevalent hearings were attended by other special interest

groups.

The most central actors to the overall network in terms of the degree centrality[15]

are the National Association of Home Builders, the National Housing Conference, the

National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Housing and

Redevelopment, and the Mortgage Bankers Association. These actors have been present

for the highest number of hearings and, therefore, have created more ties in the network.

A common theme among these organizations is that they are all over 70 years old and are

either headquartered in Washington, D.C. or have local representatives there. This fact

may indicate that age and locality of an organization contributes to its ability to have a

high degree centrality in the policy domain.

The National Association of Home Builders is a trade association that helps

promote the policies that make housing a national priority, and has existed since 1942.

According the Thomas Dodd Research Center (2010), the National Association of Real

Estate Boards (NAREB) is currently the largest trade association in the U.S. (now known

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[15] Degree centrality is the simplest measure of centrality, defined as a simple count of links connected to a
particular node.

as the National Association of Realtors). NAREB was established in 1908, their stated

objective "to unite the real estate men of American for the purpose of effectively exerting

a combined influence upon matters affecting real estate interests" (Thomas Dodd

Research Center, 2010, p. 1). The HSMO that has been present the longest is the National

Housing Conference, which was established in 1931 and is primarily interested in

advocacy. According to their website, the National Association of Housing and

Redevelopment (NAHR) was established in 1933 when a group of housing officials came

together to address the nation's housing needs. NAHR states that their leadership resulted

in the passage of the Housing Act of 1937 and the historical narrative on their website

reflects the major themes of each decade of housing policy (NAHRO, 2012). The

Mortgage Bankers Association (MBA) is headquartered in Washington D.C. and has

been representing the real estate finance industry since 1948.

In terms of betweenness centrality,[16] several actors might have attended fewer

hearings, but they lie between the highest number of actors in the overall network. Those

with the highest betweenness centrality are the Housing Assistance Council, the National

Association of Home Builders, the National Housing Conference, the AFL-CIO, and the

National Association of Housing and Redevelopment. Three of the 25 actors remaining

have a rural focus. The Farmers Home Administration (FHA) was partial to rural housing

testimonies from the 1940s to 1960s, while the Housing Assistance Council (HAC) and

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[16] While degree centrality is a count of the number of ties an organization has, betweenness considers advantageous positions in a network. An example of this type of an advantageous position is that of a "gatekeeper" that has the capacity to broker contacts among other actors or, in contrast, to isolate actors or prevent contact. So while the actor with the highest degree centrality might have the most ties, the actor with the highest betweenness centrality is calculated by identifying the actor that lies between other actors in such a way that it has the power to connect or isolate the most people in the network. To paraphrase from Hanneman and Riddle (2005), organizations that do not lie between any pairs have no brokering power, while organizations that lie closer to the middle of a network lie on more pathways among pairs and are in an advantageous position.

the National Rural Housing Coalition (NRHC) have been present for the majority of hearings from the 1970s through the present.

Two of the actors with high betweenness value, the NAHB and the National Housing Conference, are also organizations with high degree centrality and have been long established. The Housing Assistance Council is a non-profit organization in Washington D.C. that has existed since 1971. By headquartering themselves in the nation's capital, this organization has been able to attend more hearings to emphasize its goals of developing more single- and multi-family homes and promoting homeownership in the United States. This organization is unique to the hearings in that their missions and goals are not specific to policy; they also work on their own building programs. The Housing Assistance Council is quite young by comparison to other HSMOs that are central to the policy domain, yet it holds a high betweenness centrality, suggesting that this organization has taken advantage of more political opportunities to engage during its years that of existence. As previously mentioned, the AFL-CIO is the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, a national trade union center which previously existed as two actors in the policy domain. While each had previously been established, the centrality of these organizations prior to 1955 did not contribute to their overall centrality in the policy domain. The role of these organizations previously may have benefited the organizations' transition into a central role after their merge. This transition may have been more difficult for the Housing Assistance Council as a new actor in the policy domain.

Figure 2.2. Sociogram of Organizations and Hearings with Degree Centrality Greater than 10 in the 2-Mode Network (circles represent organizations and squares represent hearings)
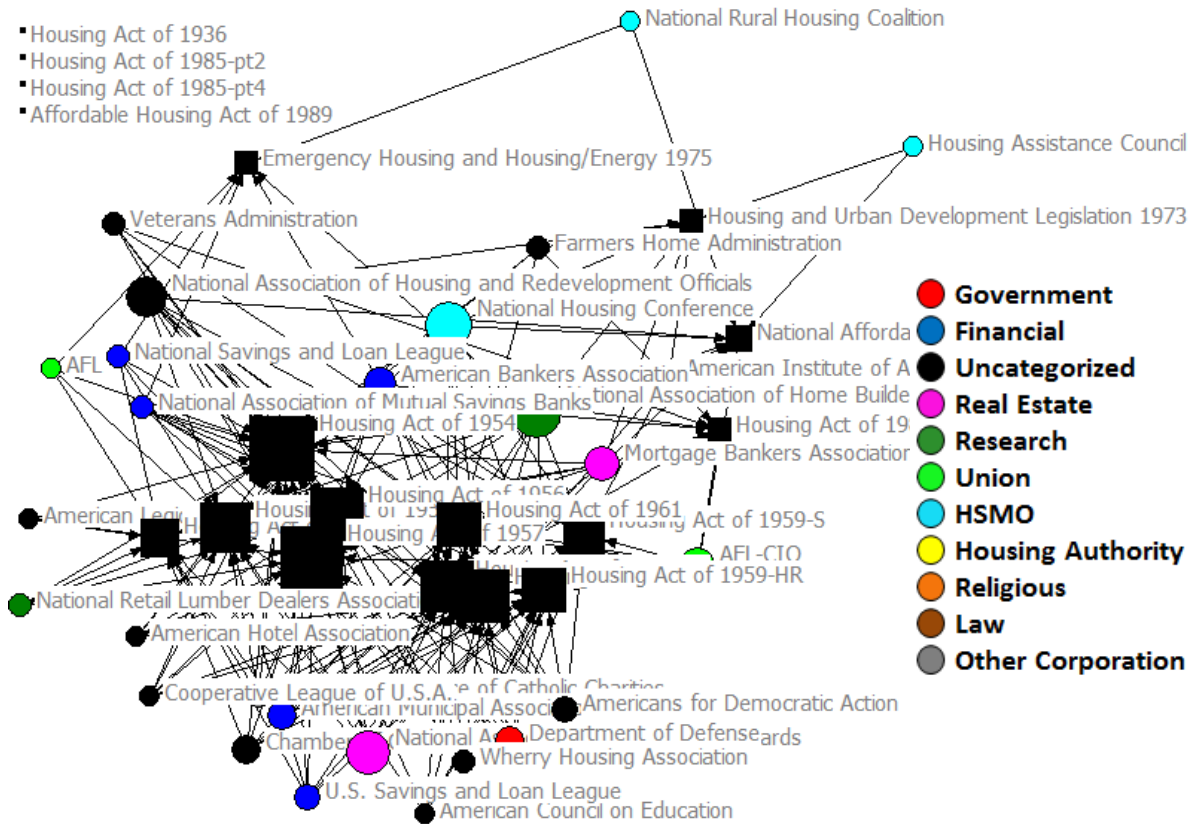
To visualize the longitudinal nature of the data, the placement of organizations was examined by decade from the 1930s until the present, and the results are displayed in Figure 2.3 and in Figure 2.4. At the inception of housing legislation, no HSMOs existed. As time went on, more HSMOs appeared in the policy domain as they began to organize and establish organizations. With the passage of time, HSMOs and rural organizations have become more central to the networks that they appear in, not just appearing in the periphery but also brokering ties between various types of hearings in the 2-mode network. This is not the case for the state-, financial-, or urban-focused organizations,

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which tend to only appear in the periphery of their networks and have decreasing

betweenness centrality.

Figure 2.3. 2-Mode Networks from the 1930s to 1960 (Key consistent with previous figures)
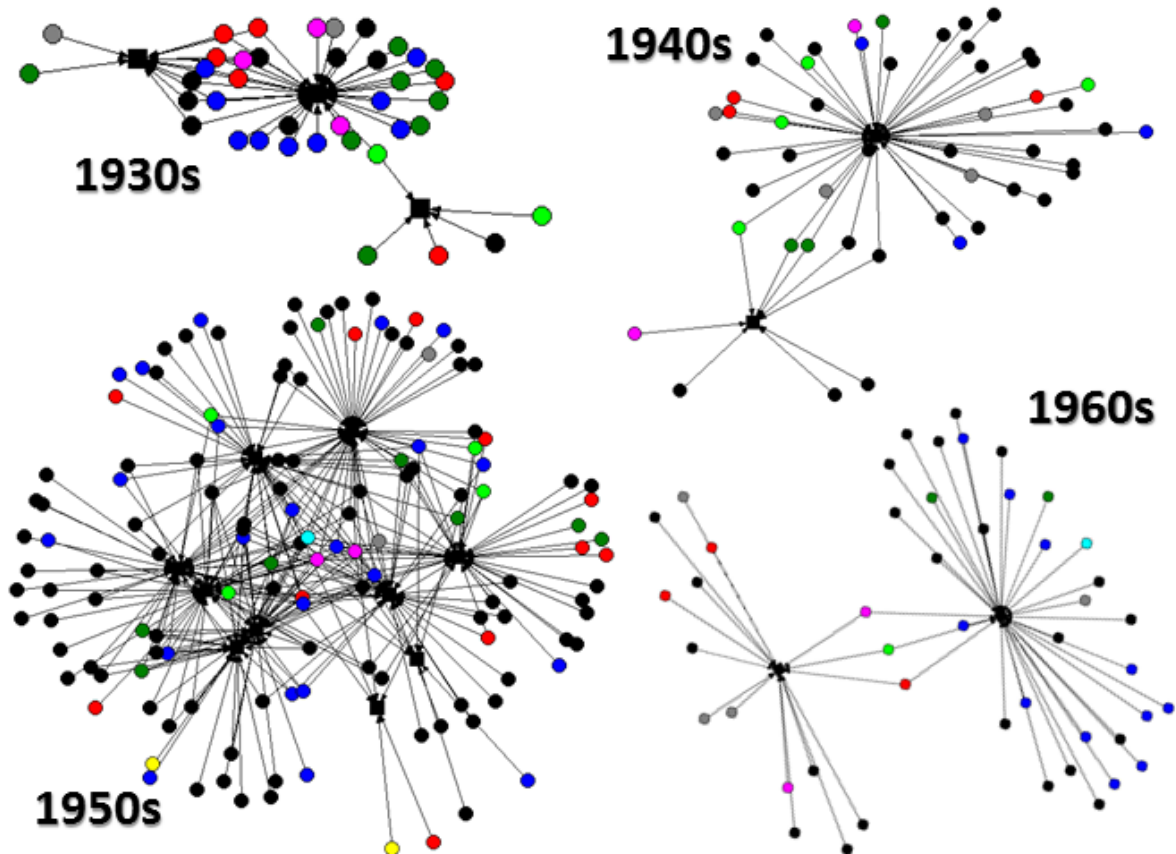
In these earlier decades, we see that unions, real estate boards, and government

bureaus tend to bridge more hearings than other types of organizations do. Financial

institutions tend to appear at more hearings, although they do not attend many different

types of hearings. Particular financial institutions appear for different pieces of isolated

pieces of legislation. In the later decades, financial, construction, and real estate actors

were less common, while HSMOs became the organizations that attended hearings most

frequently. Legislation in these later years had fewer financial, construction, and real

estate issues publically laying the framework for national policies, and much of the key

legislation on these issues now occurs at the state level (Erickson, 2009).

Figure 2.4. 2-Mode Networks from the 1970s to the 2000s (Key consistent with previous figures)
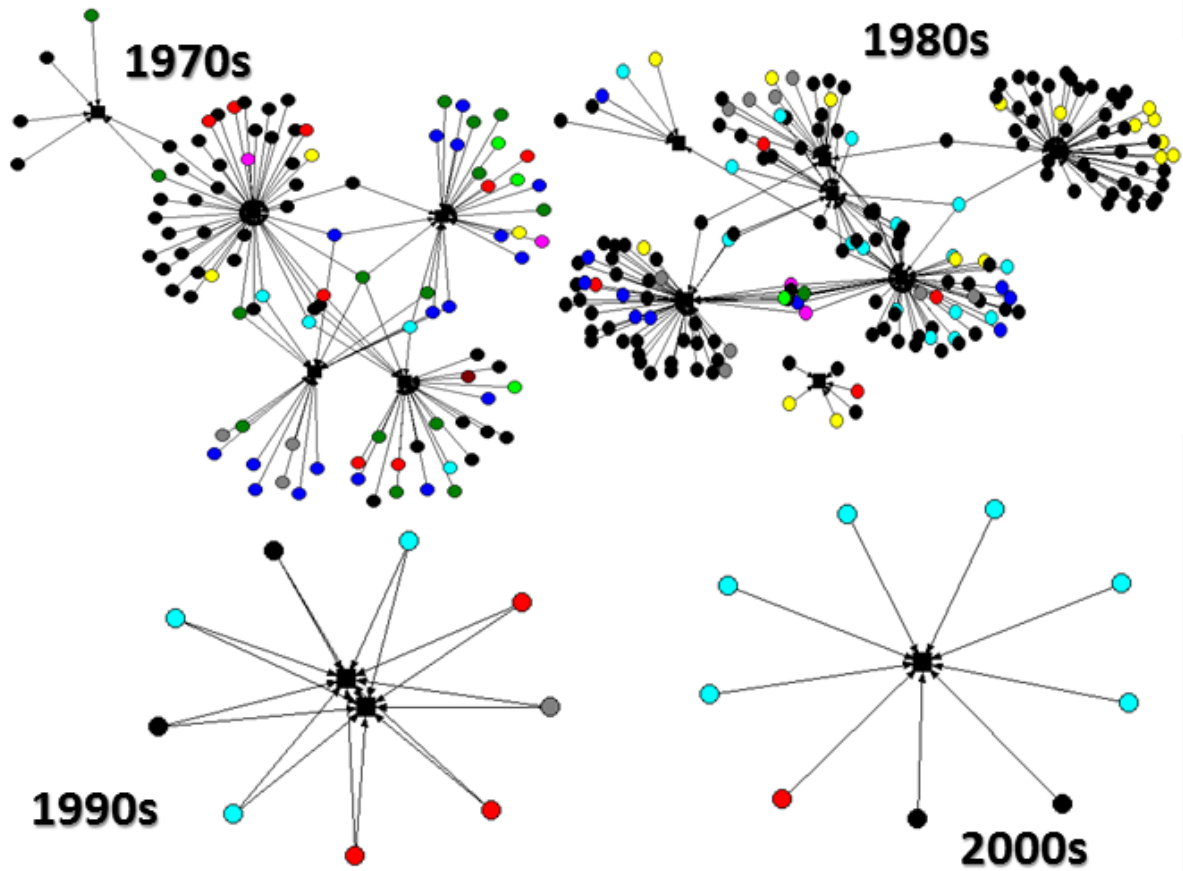
The 2-mode matrix of organizations and hearings was used to create an affiliation,

the 1-mode matrix of organizational witnesses alone, and their connections based on the

hearings that they attended together. In Figure 2.5, the organizations are colored

according to the type of organization (see key), and the shapes have been changed to

show local (circle), national (square), or international (triangle) target audiences of the

organizations. A diamond indicates that the target audience of the organization could not

be determined. The analysis shows that local organizations (such as housing authorities[17])

tended to be on the periphery of the policy domain, while government organizations,

national HSMOs, and financial institutions were the most central to the domain.

Figure 2.5. Organizational Witnesses in the 1-Mode Network (sized according to degree centrality, colored according to organizational type—see key)
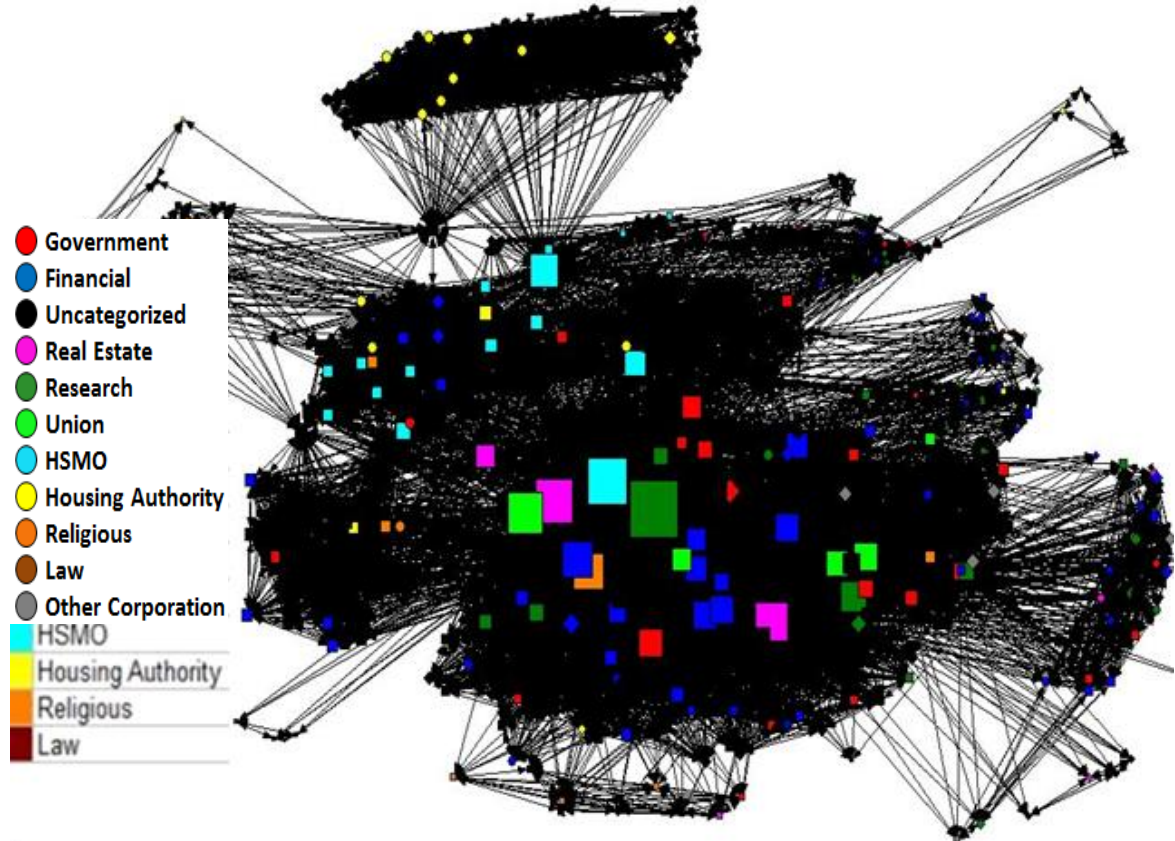
Discussion

The first research question was concerned with the characteristics of housing

policy that HSMOs have taken a central role in. HSMOs did not begin taking a central

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[17] Housing authorities are typically federally recognized public corporations with boards appointed by the local government. Some housing authorities are registered as non-profit organizations with the IRS, while others are not. These organizations typically serve the same general mission: to provide affordable housing to low- and moderate-income people. In addition to public housing, housing authorities also provide other types of subsidized housing for seniors or others with special needs and via housing vouchers, such as Section 8, Veterans Affairs Supportive Housing (VASH), or Family Unification Program (FUP). Therefore, they have all been categorized in the same way.

role in policy until the 1960s. The HSMOs that eventually became central to housing policy established themselves as formal organizations as early as the 1930s and 1940s. However, it was not until particular political opportunities presented themselves in the policy domain that these organizations became key players in the policy domain. HSMOs were the most present for hearings focused on civil rights issues (Fair Housing Act of 1967), rural housing (Rural Housing Act of 1977 and Saving America's Rural Housing of 2006), and the creation of affordable housing (Housing Act of 1985, National Affordable Housing Act of 1988, and the U.S. Housing Act of 1995).

The second research question examined the characteristics of the central actors in the housing policy domain. Knoke and Laumann (1989) found that, over time, the policy domain has been dominated by organizations rather than corporations or government bureaus, they termed an organizational state. Although Knoke and Laumann's (1989) research focused on the presence of corporations rather than on non-profit or social movement organizations, the analysis here discovered that in recent years, the key players in the housing policy domain have tended to be housing HSMOs—not the corporations or financial and construction actors which were more central to the policy domain in the 1950s. During the 1950s, hearings were focused on the rebuilding of America after the Great Depression and World War II. The 1930s introduced a heightened focus on the construction of public housing, while the 1940s were heavily focused on slum clearance. During this time, these issues were of the highest importance to construction companies. Along with building homes, the development and maintenance of home mortgage companies, authorizing loans to public housing, were key issues to financial institutions. While, these issues and key construction and financial institutions never disappear from

the policy domain; the number of construction and financial institutions present has decreased over time. It is possible that these entities have found ways (i.e. direct lobbying of Congress and campaign contributions) to make their presence known in the policy domain without sending representatives to a Congressional hearing. The political opportunities for various financial and construction actors to be involved in the national policy domain were greater prior to the 1950s, while perhaps they were greater at the state level after the 1950s. The political opportunities for HSMOs were increasingly greater as oversight of the fair housing law and issues of affordable housing were present in hearings.

The results of this analysis suggest the ability of organizations in the policy domain to adapt and mobilize to strengthen longevity in the policy domain. Resource mobilization theory tends to treat SMOs as analogous to corporations searching for investors and partners, and in the case of the political testimony, this could be a sound strategy. Many organizations exist with a particular focus, whether the focus is pertinent to policy or not. Organizations are only able to move their topic forward and become more prominent in the policy domain as the topic becomes established in Congressional hearings. SMOs must have some amount of resources deployed to take advantage of political opportunities and therefore continue to gather the resources offered by those opportunities and help sustain HSMOs. Chapter 3 will examine how HSMOs with differing mission statements network with one another and how different types of relationships might benefit resource gathering, such as the online visibility of these organizations. Chapter 4 will delve deeper into the resources gathered and deployed by

HSMOs by comparing the income of organizations to their positions in online and

political networks.

Chapter 3: Virtually networked housing movement: Hyperlink network structure of housing social movement organizations[18]

Abstract

Using such theories as resource mobilization and social capital, this chapter examines how housing social movement organizations (HSMOs) in the USA are connected through hyperlink networks. In doing so, this study employed hyperlink network analysis (HNA) through data collected from 26 national housing SMOs. Results indicate that the more bridging ties an organization has, the more central they are to the network. Results also show that the more incoming hyperlinks a particular organization has, the more central they are to the network. These results suggest that the utilization of bridging social capital by a housing SMO has the potential to increase the ability to mobilize resources by that organization. Furthermore, increasing the number of bridging hyperlinks available on a website can improve the web presence of the SMO furthering the goals of the overall movement.

Chapter 3: Virtually networked housing movement: Hyperlink network structure of housing social movement organizations

This chapter examines how housing social movement organizations (SMOs) form their hyperlink network structure. The theoretical model presented in this dissertation seeks to combine resource mobilization theory and political opportunities to describe the process that SMOs undergo to remain active. SMOs deploy resources in an effort to gain additional resources needed to sustain the organization. SMOs are better able to complete this process when political opportunities present the necessary momentum for resource mobilization. This chapter examines SMOs hyperlink networks. A resource deployed by SMOs in this online network is the content of their website and outgoing hyperlinks (links to other organizations). By deploying these resources SMOs hope to gather additional resources such as incoming hyperlinks (other organizations that hyperlink to them), improved Google Page Rank, and overall traffic. This chapter further examines ties between organizations with similar and dissimilar mission statements and goals. At times, political opportunities may influence these ties (see Chapter 4). Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to provide SMOs with ways to deploy resources more strategically through social marketing in order to optimize resource gathering.

In the digital age, the impact of online networks and resources has become increasingly important to the social movements that utilize them to achieve their goals and missions. Prior to the improvements to online search engines, such as Yahoo!, Google, and MSN, hot links were integral in providing like-minded resources to conscience constituents seeking information about social movements. Organizational and educational websites would generally devote one page of their site to these links and title

the tab—hot links. On this page, one would find hyperlinks to explanatory articles, instructions on how to acquire resources, or organization sites that are very similar to the one currently being visited. This hot links page has also been used by academics to cite sources for their website to prove the validity of claims, which many websites no longer feel obligated to provide. Today, hot links are not as relevant to many websites due to the improved efficiency of algorithms used by search engines. Although the algorithms have been improved, these hot links are still relevant for some movement groups. For example, a search engine request for "housing" often returns results for housing assistance or developers resulting in very little about research and advocacy organizations, and even less about the potential hyperlink network structure of these organizations.

The hyperlink network structure is group of websites that are 'connected' by the hyperlinks. The series of hyperlinks that can be traveled by web surfers from one website to another. The structure is not bound by the singular path followed by a web surfer; it is typically represented by a map of all possible connecting websites. Researchers may limit this search of possible connectors to a topic or theme. Ackland et al. (2006) points out that hyperlink networks have implications for the shaping of online discussions of social issues, but for the housing social movement in particular, the use of hyperlinks remains an imperative tool in seeking out these lesser known movement groups.

Both assistance and advocacy organizations serve under the broad umbrella of the housing movement in the United States. The fair housing movement began as an offshoot of the civil rights movement, with a specific movement goal of outlawing housing discrimination in housing rental, the purchase of homes, and a broad range of other housing-related transactions (Saltman, 1978). The movement's major achievement is the

creation of the Fair Housing Law in 1968, but the housing SMOs established during this time have continued to exist ever since to uphold the law as it applies to emerging populations and to address new housing problems (HUD, 2008). Low-income, low-resource populations utilize the services of these fair housing organizations which are also low on resources themselves. Housing organizations often find themselves to be a resource for all housing problems that arise for these low resource populations, broadening the goals of the organizations since the time of the Fair Housing Law to more than oversight of discriminatory practices. Currently, housing SMOs have turned the majority of attention toward the sub-prime mortgage crisis and the lack of affordable housing in the U.S. Another trend over time is less involvement in the movement by the low-income populations affected by these problems, and more management of the movement by the long established SMOs. This trend toward management of the movement through SMOs rather than networks of individuals makes the study of this movement particularly pertinent in this point in time.

Due to changing needs, there has been a shift in many housing SMOs mission statements from fair housing goals to instead reflect affordable housing goals aimed at making more low-income housing available. Pritchett (2002) argues that housing affordability should have been a major component of the earlier fair housing movement in order to truly address the housing inequalities that were the goal of the movement at its start. Websites have aided the momentum of this movement transition by providing the resources available through the network of the fair housing organizations. In classifying the current progress of a movement, after understanding the history of the movement, it is suggested that in an 'information society', we might first study this virtual network to

gain understanding regarding current information flows of the network (Brunn and Dodge, 2001).

Literature on the fair housing movement (Saltman, 1978; Pritchett, 2002) predominately covers the history of these organizations up to the creation of the Fair Housing Law of 1968, but there is a lack of literature on their goals after the creation of this law. Given that housing SMOs have taken on much more during this time than just fair housing topics, the network structure now includes organizations working together that have categorically different mission statements while all serving the same low-resource populations. In his review of hyperlink network analysis, Park (2003) points to a methodological gap in the literature warranting further research of inter-organizational network clustering based on the content of the mission statements of these organizations. One of the simplest ways to look at clustering of mission statements will be through the labeling of online linkages. Those labels are based on the aforementioned heterogeneous or homogeneous based on mission statements of these organizations. Each new link to an organization allows more visibility for the organization and the movement enhancing its ability to mobilize resources.

Relying on such theories as resource mobilization and social capital applied through the method of social network analysis, this study investigates the clustering of housing SMOs around central themes of their mission statements in addition to the number of incoming hyperlinks to these websites. This study aims to map the hyperlink network structure of the housing social movement groups through hyperlink network analysis (HNA) and further examine the extent to which hyperlink network structure can influence the centrality of housing SMOs in the hyperlink network structure.

Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

Previous studies utilizing hyperlink network analysis (HNA) have explained many advantages that hyperlink activity has for organizations involved in these hyperlink networks. Rogers and Marres (2000) make clear that the linking of organizations to one another through websites is not random and often reflects strategic choices of the organization represented by the website. Acting as an endorsement by linking organizations, hyperlinks indicate trust (Davenport and Cronin, 2000) and can also indicate authority (Kleinberg, 1999). Other scholars such as Barbules and Callister (2000) have discussed the perceptions that hyperlinks create for those viewing websites in their work using new technologies in education, highlighting the associative relations that hyperlinks produce. Notably, Shumate and colleagues use collective action theory in the development of the concept 'connective public goods' which are created by these inter-organizational hyperlinks that bring attention to network goals (Shumate & Dewitt, 2008; Shumate & Lipp, 2008). Following this thread of ideas aimed at organizations engaging in strategic network linkages in an effort to bring attention to goals, the following section reviews such theoretical perspectives as resource mobilization and social capital.

Resource Mobilization Theory

According to McCarthy and Zald (1977), resource mobilization theory stresses the importance of acquiring a variety of resources, such as trust, authority, and connective public goods, in order to mobilize members toward the completion of movement goals. Among the resources that McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue as being vital to mobilization are the relationships among organizations, which can be interpreted as inter-organizational networks. Jenkins (1983) describes the institutions with the most

organizational centrality within these networks to have the most tangible gains since higher degree of centrality in a network increases exposure to potential resources flowing through the network. For social movements, the ability to bring attention to movement goals, gain group membership, and ultimately increase social capital through hyperlinks is a significant gain.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) define a SMO as any organization that aligns itself with the mission and objectives of a social movement. Ties among organizations represent the information flows among organizations that stimulate mobilization in the network (Curtis and Zurcher, 1973; Killian, 1984; Laumann *et al.*, 1978). Many organizations identified in current research as SMOs are non-profit organizations, because these organizations are thought to not be influenced by financial gains they may achieve and are presumed to be further immersed in the cause of the social movement.

The Internet, websites, or hyperlinks are all considered potential resources by these SMOs for stimulating the linkages to other groups both on and off the Internet (Biddex and Park, 2008; see also Nah, 2010a). Through the creation of more social ties among these organizations, SMOs may generate potential resources for causes, missions, and activities. Hyperlink networks are much like traditional communication networks composed of individuals although hyperlinks often link individuals to organizations or organizations to organizations (Rogers and Kinkcaid, 1981). As an instant form of communication, the Internet is outlined as a tool for social movements by way of two necessary elements: diffusion and contention (Ayers, 1999). The diffusion of contention throughout many populations aids in spreading collective protest or even in the globalization of a protest, while the spread of contention provides the cause for protest.

For housing SMOs, the majority of the movement is managed by SMOs that do little

protest activity; rather, diffusion of contention is the primary way through which this

movement has utilized the Internet or hyperlinks.

Social Capital Theory

Originally used by Bourdieu (1986), social capital was used as a way to explain

the creation of capitalist culture through social and economic forces. According to him,

social capital refers to "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked

to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of

mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 248-249). He proposed that

cultural capital shapes the actions or goals in any particular field, while social capital is

necessary to acquiring people (or social ties or inter-organizational networks) that will

help aid in the action. His definition makes clear why social capital is a necessary

resource of social movements to achieve goals. Coleman (1988) argued that there are

three aspects of social capital: obligations and expectations, information flow, and

sanctioned norms. The flow of information in a network can be described as the number

of ties or hyperlinks that an organization may use to increase potential exposure to

resources flowing through the network.

Furthermore, Coleman (1988) defines social capital as "not a single entity but a

variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some

aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain action of actors--whether persons or

corporate actors--within the structure" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). He then argues that "a

given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless

or even harmful for others" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). Later, Putnam (1993) went on to

define social capital as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (p.1). In his book, *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) further argues the importance of networks to society, while Williams (2006) adds that the specific value of these networks to society is their ability to provide emotional support and mobilize action. Lin (2001) distinguishes between social capital in its capacity and its actual returns on mobilization. Putnam (2000) describes a marked decrease in the number of individuals joining groups and organizations over the past fifty years, a trend that bears significant implications for our society. Emery and Flora (2006) describe this era in the U.S. as a downward spiral in all forms of capitals, which ultimately resulted in a loss of community morale.

Although scholars define social capital in different ways, social capital provides useful insights in relation to resources of social movement organizations through information and communication technologies. The introduction of new technologies promises increased capacity and returns through changing information flows, norms, and reciprocities for organizations that can be viewed as a potential tool for regaining lost social capital (Dutta-Bergman, 2005). For housing organizations, new technologies can serve as effective and efficient communication tools through which they can mobilize conscience constituents. As for actual returns for housing SMOs, each additional hyperlink is a tie that may increase information and resource flows.

The distinction between bonding social capital and bridging social capital is often used to illustrate how social capital –while it may benefit members of social networks involved— does not always benefit the greater good (Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2000; see also Williams, 2006). Bonding social capital refers to the value assigned to social

linkages among homogeneous groups. It is a useful tool for strengthening in group ties, as well as sharing and improving commonly held knowledge among like-minded groups. An example of bonding housing SMOs may be two groups that are linked whose mission statements indicate the goal to offer assistance to families in need of affordable housing. While these SMOs may have much to offer one another due to similar interests, there is also potential for aggravated relations while competing for similar resources.

In contrast, bridging social capital refers to the value of social linkages among socially heterogeneous groups (Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2000; see also Williams, 2006). It is often referred to as cross-cutting linkages and can be used to stimulate new ideas among differing groups. An example of bridging housing SMOs may be a SMO that has a mission statement indicating goals that are research based linking to a SMO with a mission statement indicating goals that are focused on oversight of the fair housing law. Bridging social capital is inclusive while bonding can be exclusive (Williams, 2006). These exclusive groups may operate in a self-serving hierarchical patronage system that works against the best interest of society (Putnam, 2000). That is, while the natural inclination may be that homogenous groups (bonding) will link together, many expect to find value-added linkages in heterogeneous groups (bridging) (Granovetter, 1983; Norris, 2002).

Resource Mobilization, Social Capital, and the Hyperlink Network: Research Questions

For communities interested in increasing their social capital, the Internet may be used to discover the resources available through websites of housing SMOs. Shah and his colleagues (2001) note that "Because residents can only know some small fraction of the

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people who comprise a community, they must rely on mediated information to form their rough evaluations of the community (p. 471)." Hyperlinks are an example of how community members may be directed toward useful organizations they would not have known about previously. The links that a website provides as references to outside sources are called 'outgoing hyperlinks', while the number of hyperlinks on other sites directing others toward that particular site are called 'incoming links'. Incoming hyperlinks could bear influence by way of trust, prestige, authority, or credibility (Park, 2003). In the methodology of their data selection process, Park and Thelwall (2005) indicate that the websites that have more incoming links are often perceived as the most prestigious websites.

In addition to perception based mechanisms validating the importance of hyperlinks, search engines also use hyperlinks as a measure to rank the value of each website. Google, for example, uses "Google bots", an information gathering program, to crawl websites; then indexes are built based on keywords; further, through their "PageRank" software, website traffic is also part of the algorithm used to perform searches (Google, 2008). PageRank is one of the parameters of search engine ranking; essentially, it is a ranking system that counts each hyperlink as a "vote". The number of votes from all other pages on the Web tells Google how important a particular page is (Google, 2008). This bolsters the argument that hyperlinking is still an important function provided by websites *for* other websites.

As mentioned previously, advanced algorithms of search engines, have not improved the 'searchability' of all topics. Hyperlink networks are a necessary tool for research on topics that are difficult to locate using a search engine in addition to being

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useful organizational resource for gaining social capital and mobilizing resources. For example, a search for "fair housing" provides a few governmental sites, educational resources, and a variety of news results. For research on the topic of fair housing, it is most efficient to use the resources provided by only one or two of the websites listed in the search results, rather than basing research off of the search results query itself. For these topics, organizations continue to use hot links only under the title of "Links" or "Resources" pages. One of the topics with difficult searchability is the housing social movement, due to its relevance within government, law, education, non-profits, and advocacy. Many organizations within this movement provide links pages to aid web researchers in their quest for further information on the topic.

Previous studies have indicated the usefulness of hyperlinks as a resource for organizations to increase social capital (Bar-Ilan, 2004; Burbules and Callister, 2000; Davenport and Cronin, 2000; Ingwersen, 1998; Kleinberg, 1999; Park, 2003; Rogers and Marres, 2000; Shumate & Dewitt, 2008; Shumate & Lipp, 2008). Based on the understanding that the Internet is an effective tool for mobilizing citizens to participate and become further involved in social movements (Kahn and Kellner, 2004; Marmura, 2008; Nah, Veenstra, and Shah, 2006; Wellman et al., 2001), this study explores the clustering within the hyperlink network of linked social movement groups categorized by their diverging mission statements, which is necessary to mobilize increased social capital (Jenkins, 1983; Park, 2003). These diverging mission statements when relating organizations within the network can be considered to be either bonding or bridging links. Another measure of the placement within the network is the number of incoming and outgoing hyperlinks that each organization has not only within the network, but from

any other websites. Taking all of this into consideration, this study proposes the

following two research questions:

RQ1:   With regard to the mission statements, what hyperlink network structure do

         HSMOs form through hyperlinks?

RQ2:   To what degree does the number of incoming hyperlinks influence the placement

         of the organization within the network of linked HSMOs?

Method

Data Collection

         In this study, incoming and outgoing links to national housing social movement

groups were compared and analyzed independently. The sample consists of 26 national

housing organizations (see a list in Appendix) and over 10,000 housing related and non-

housing related hyperlinks to these organizations. There is no comprehensive list

available of all national fair housing social movement groups. Thus, a sample was

collected using a variation of a snowball sample.

         Specifically, beginning with a non-comprehensive list of national organizations,

each organization's website was visited and all of the linked organizations were recorded.

Each time an organization that was not on the list appeared in a link, the new

organization was added to the list until redundancy and no new organizations appeared.

Housing organizations' websites were then evaluated to minimize this list to those that

could be defined as SMOs by excluding organizations that were not non-profit

organizations. Outgoing links were collected from the individual websites themselves,

while incoming links were generated using a tool on Google's search engine. From

Google's main page, each organization was typed in using Google's search for incoming

links: LINK: "www.habitatforhumanity.com". All websites that were either no longer active or with file types (e.g., .doc or .pdf) were excluded from the list of incoming links.

To determine bonding or bridging status of the hyperlinks, the mission statements of these organizations were examined. Mission statements clearly and concisely describe goals in one sentence to a paragraph and are identified by McCarthy and Zald (1977) to be relevant in distinguishing the SMO status of an organization. Key words describing the purpose of the organizations were highlighted within the mission statements and then were grouped into similar categories. For example, "lobbying", "political action," and "working toward policy change" were key words for the group of housing SMOs labeled advocacy. An example of a mission statement of an advocacy organization is the *National Housing Conference*, which engages in "…nonpartisan advocacy for national policies and legislation that promote suitable housing in a safe, decent environment." Another category, assistance, was classified by key words such as "financial aid", "lending", and organizations that help organize building efforts. An example of an assistance organization is the *Housing Assistance Council*, which "…assists in the development of both single- and muli-family homes and promotes homeownership for working low-income rural families through a self-help, sweat equity construction method."

Other categories of housing SMOs included oversight, research and education/information based. The category of research and education/information-based housing SMOs were then collapsed into one group. Some organizations were engaged in both assistance and advocacy or any combination of groups, so these labels were not exclusive to an organization. This was a process of developing basic labels of

organizational goals to then label hyperlinks between organizations as either bonding or bridging. An SMO with a mission statement of both advocacy and assistance linking to an SMO with a mission statement that reflects both advocacy and research was labeled as a bonding link because the two organizations have overlapping goals. An SMO with a mission statement of both assistance and research that linked to an SMO that was focused on both advocacy and oversight was labeled as a bridging link because their mission statements were not overlapping. Although this did occur, many mission statements were clearly focused on one goal.

Hyperlink Network Analysis

To examine the virtual network structure of housing movement groups, this study adopts a hyperlink network analysis (Park, 2003). The most common way of analyzing social networks is through centrality of the nodes since position in the network can indicate the flow of information running through each node (e.g., Wasserman and Faust, 1994). Higher degree of centrality increases the ability to mobilize resources, as well as levels of social capital of each organization. Each node in a social network usually represents an individual or entity. In this case each node is representative of a website for a housing SMO. The lines between those nodes in the map of the network represent the linkages between those nodes, which may be social ties, business transactions, or any relationship between nodes. Here each line between nodes represents a hyperlink on a website directing site visitors to other housing SMO websites. In the case of hyperlink network analysis, these links are directional representing incoming and outgoing links. Centrality is generally related to traffic flows within a network (Boargatti, 2005). This traffic in the hyperlink network would refer to web surfers visiting websites based on

clicking a series of hyperlinks furthering the capacity of the connective public goods (Shumate & Dewitt, 2008; Shumate & Lipp, 2008).

For this study, the matrices of linked organizations that formed the hyperlink network structure (Park, 2003) were then imported into UCInet software for social network analysis (Borgatti, et al., 2002). Degree centrality, defined as a simple count of links connected to a particular node, was used to identify key players in this network. Degree centrality can be defined directionally through indegree and outdegree. While indegree centrality refers to the number of direct links flowing into a node from other nodes, outdegree centrality indicates the number of links flowing from one node to other nodes in the network. Borgatti (2005) notes that "Regardless of trajectory, some measures (e.g., betweenness) assume that what flows from one node to node is indivisible (like a package) and must take one path or another, whereas other measures (e.g., eigenvector) assume multiple "paths" simultaneously (link information or infections) (p. 56)."

<div align="center">

Results

</div>

Hyperlink Network Structure of Housing SMOs

Figure 3.1 displays the hyperlink network structure of 26 national housing organizations based on a site-by-site matrix. It is highly centralized and is not possible for the network to have any isolates because each node must have at least one indegree. Less than twenty percent of the organizations contain reciprocating ties. This is possibly due to an independent nature in deciding to link to resource; it is not reflective of physical network in which an agreement is made to socialize with one another. Each of the nodes on the map had the range between 27 and 1,347 incoming links from outside this network.

Figure 3.1. Hyperlink Network Structure of National Housing SMOs
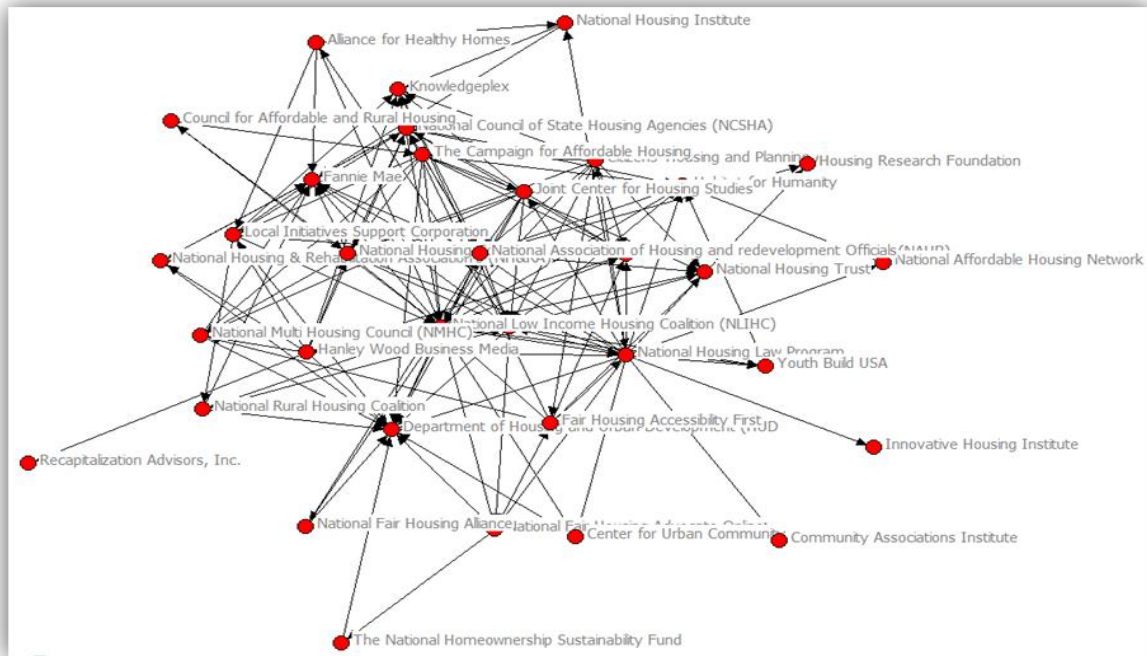
Bonding and Bridging Ties

The majority of organizations were categorized as advocacy organizations (N=10; e.g. The Campaign for Affordable Housing, Fair Housing Accessibility First), followed by assistance (N=8; e.g. Habitat for Humanity, Youth Build USA), informative/ research (N=6; e.g. Housing Research Foundation, Knowledgeplex), and oversight (N=4; National Fair Housing Alliance, National Fair Housing Law Program). The number of bonding ties an organization had was not significantly correlated with the degree of centrality. However, the number of bridging ties an organization yielded a significant, positive relationship with the degree of centrality (p=.003). The result of clustering organizations by mission statement illustrated that when organizations have hyperlinks from other organizations with different organizational goals than their own, the likelihood that the organizations will be in a more central location in the hyperlink network increases. Holding a central position increases information flows and makes that the goals of the

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organization more visible to web traffic (Shumate & Dewitt, 2008; Shumate & Lipp, 2008).

This comparison of the 'most linked to' organizations in the network is relevant to the aforementioned algorithm used to determine PageRank status by Google. A comparison was made between the of degree centrality of each housing SMO to the PageRank by Google. Furthermore, another comparison was made with the Alexa Traffic Ranking. Alexa (www.alexa.com) is a web information company that provides various webometrics including a rank of individual websites compared to the traffic all websites globally. The result of the comparisons of housing SMO with search engines indicated that the organizations with the highest centrality were also among the organizations that had the highest PageRank and Traffic Ranking.

Other key nodes in this network that may be noted include the organization with the highest Eigenvector centrality (National Low Income Housing Coalition). The result indicates that this SMO has the most potential to have information flowing in from all other parts of the network, or the most potential to be found by web surfers traveling this network of hyperlinks by way of other links. Being highly present in a network increases perception of authority or endorsement (Kleinberg, 1999) and reflects trust in this organization (Davenport and Cronin, 2000). The organizations that are hyperlinked to this network are represented by both bonding and bridging ties. The highest betweeness centrality (National Housing Law Program) indicates that it has the most potential to be directly visited by web surfers traveling this network without having to go through many other websites. This organization is predominately hyperlinked to by both bridging and bonding ties.

Centrality

        According to Wasserman and Faust (1994), there are many measures of centrality. As mentioned previously, due to the directional nature of ties in a hyperlink network, degree centrality is divided into indegree (the number of hyperlinks pointing to a particular housing SMO) and outdegree (the number of hyperlinks that a particular housing SMO lists on their site). Outdegrees ranged between 0 and 20 with an average of 4.5, while indegrees ranged from 1 to 15 with an average of 4.5. The organizations with the top five outdegrees are "connectors" within the network. Of these organizations, many have a mission statement that reflects advocacy of the movement and efforts to mobilize members. The organizations with the top five indegrees, however, are "hubs" within the organization that many network travelers will identify early in their search. Of the five organizations with the highest indegrees, three of them provide grants to fund other organizations in the network. The organizations receiving grant funds all link to their grantors through hyperlinks.

Table 3.1. Degree Centrality of National Housing SMOs

Connectors (OutDegree)	Hubs (InDegree)
• National Housing Law Program (20) • National Low Income Housing Coalition (14) • National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (13) • Housing Assistance Council (11) • Hanley Wood (11)	• National Low Income Housing Coalition (15) • National Association of Home Builders (9) • Habitat for Humanity (9) • National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (8) • Knowledgeplex (6)

Note: Parentheses indicate number of links

One might expect when comparing the total number of all incoming hyperlinks of an organization to their degree centrality that, by definition, the organization with the most links should have the highest degree centrality. This is does not necessarily have to be the case in this comparison of the degree centrality within the site-by-site matrix of national organizations without the total number of incoming links from outside organizations contributing to the centrality score. However, those organizations with the highest degree centrality were also among the organizations with the highest number of incoming hyperlinks links from outside organizations. This indicates that both sites inside and outside of the matrix studied link to the same housing organizations.

Discussion

In sum, organizations with the most bridging ties were also the organizations with the highest degrees of centrality in the network. Furthermore, organizations with the most incoming links had the highest degrees of centrality in the network. These results suggest that by increasing the number of bridging ties and increasing the number of incoming links, housing social movement organizations (SMOs) have higher levels of information flows to increase social capital and mobilize resources. There is the potential to gain organizational resources through positioning in networks of linked housing social movement groups. In other words, the higher indegree centrality, the more likely it may be to have higher searchability through major search engines, which may be useful information in an organizations' grant application process. These results also suggest that organizations interested in making the housing social movement wide-spread through access to resources should consider linking to organizations with 'gateway' organizations that have the highest Eigenvector centrality and betweeness centrality.

As McCarthy and Zald (1977) argue, ties among organizations represent the information flows among organizations that stimulate mobilization. Following this argument, in this study preliminary information about the information flows of housing organizations were gathered from online hyperlinks of present day SMOs. Based on the mission statements of these organizations, few identify oversight of the Fair Housing Law as a primary objective of the organization. Many have either redirected or broadened efforts to include affordable housing issues, which, as Pritchett (2002) argued, was necessary but ignored in the initial formation of this movement. The hyperlinks that each of these organizations provide on their websites contribute to mobilization of the

movement by providing a 'reputation system' of relevant organizations. The online

relevance of these organizations can be determined by their Google PageRank, which

was consistent with the value assigned to housing SMOs through the hyperlink structure,

wherein value would be measured through centrality within the network.

   According to Wasserman and Faust (1994), the organizations identified as having

the most indegree centrality and the most outdegree centrality are key actors in this

network. These are the organizations that have the highest probability of coming up in an

online search query for housing organizations. These organizations had more bridging

ties, which may have aided in their ability to take a central role in this network. If so, it

would be more valuable for housing SMOs to create more ties with organizations that

have diverse mission statements rather than ones with similar mission statements.

   As discussed earlier, the Internet provides the diffusion of opportunity to

participate in addition to the motivation and capacity for organization. Kahn and Kellner

(2004) comment on the new and innovative political forums that the Internet provides

opportunities for conscience constituents to express themselves democratically and

network with one another to create networks that engage themselves politically. The

methods by which the technology-savvy participate in movements and join political

action groups is changing rapidly, creating a need for research in a whole new arena of

community participation. Hyperlink analysis is only one of many relevant methods suited

to researching the field of technoactivism (Kahn and Kellner, 2004).

   Jenkins (1983) argues that the mobilization of members depends not only on

resources, but also on group organization and opportunities for collective action.

Although advantages of hyperlink network placement have been highlighted in this study,

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the question still remains: is the network is being utilized as a resource and is collective action is taking place? First, a few items that would greatly improve the reliability of the methodology is to develop a comprehensive list of all organizations relevant to the movement, which includes international, national, regional, and local organizations. A more comprehensive dataset can be potentially obtained through interviews with advocates, or rigorous use of online search engines. While this study only included non-profit organizations in the network of housing organizations, there are many governmental and for-profit organizations that may also be instrumental in the shaping of the movement, and could be added to this network to see how these organizations influence the overall hyperlink network structure.

Second, interviews with advocates and researchers would also be useful in gaining understanding in the usefulness of the online linkages in these networks, and how they reflect working offline linkages. A comparative study is especially important in light of studies suggesting that some activities of organizations may differ from their virtual representations (Wall, 2007; Howard, 2002). This comparative study may include but is not limited to the governments, for-profit organizations, and the SMOs to discover effective and efficient venues through which housing organizations can mobilize and maximize resources. Third, further methodological analysis should also be conducted in this area to reinforce the importance of hyperlinks in an organizational web presence; one interesting measure would be to test the correlation between traffic rankings and offline degree centrality.

Despite the aforementioned limitations and suggestions, this study provides theoretical, methodological, and practical insights for future studies to continue to

examine housing social movement groups and their hyperlink network structures in several significant ways. First, the study provides theoretical insights regarding the utilization of bridging social capital by an organization to improve network positioning that will aid in the mobilization of resources through increased overall web presence. Second, this study also provides methodological insights regarding the strategy for incorporating organizational mission statements into the analysis of hyperlink network structure. Third, the study provides practical insights for housing SMOs to adopt and develop possible strategies for furthering goals of the movement.

Chapter 4: The Structural Transformation of Agencies: A longitudinal examination of the hyperlink and political network of housing social movement organizations in the United States

Abstract

Using a sample of 26 national housing social movement organizations that transformed and reconstructed their network structures during two different political environments (pre-housing bubble and post-housing bubble), this study investigates how this transformation of the network structure takes place in a changing political environment. Organizations often participate in multiple networks simultaneously; some networks allow for more agency on the part of actors, while others are governed by outside structures. This study uses two different network types: an online hyperlink network and a network of co-participation in congressional hearings. Relying on the interrelated theories of resource mobilization and political process, this study postulates that differences in resources deployed can provide reconfiguration to social movement organizations that strive to gather resources through virtual and political networks during times of differing political opportunities. Through a comparison of resources deployed and resulting network linkages gathered and lost, this study found that during the United States economic recession of 2007–2010, network centrality has decreased in the hyperlink network where organizations have more agency. The majority of ties in the network of co-participation in congressional hearings were attributed to organizations of similar age and housing focus. Implications are discussed from theoretical, methodological, and practical points of view.

Chapter 4: The Structural Transformation of Agencies: A longitudinal examination of the hyperlink and political network of housing social movement organizations in the United States

Social movement organizations (SMOs) require resources to sustain active participation as part of a larger social movement. Although sometimes strategic, the process of deploying and gaining resources by SMOs does not typically match the level of complex strategy that corporations use when deploying marketing plans. Beyond targeted communications, SMOs have a number of other characteristics to larger audiences; SMOs also rely on connections with similar organizations. SMOs must rely more heavily on political opportunities available to them rather than marketing to the likes and dislikes of consumers alone. According to Thompson et al. (1999), understanding social ties among organizations helps to identify how decisions between alternative courses of action are made, how performance can be evaluated, why organizations adopt particular structures, and how they respond to changes in the external environment.

As discussed in the introductory chapter, resources that SMOs possess include organizational characteristics, their Internet and media presence, and their network position and structure. Resources, or combinations of resources, are deployed with the intention to gather the means necessary to thrive in a competitive economic and political climate. Alliances are assumed to achieve goals that cannot be achieved with another independent organizational approach. Alliances can fulfill any number of corporate goals which include: gaining scale, reducing costs, accessing new skills, products or markets,

and sharing risks (Smeets & Dogge, 2007). Thus, an alliance can take on a wide variety of forms, ranging from loose networks of information sharing to highly structured, co-participatory networks.

Organizations are constantly in transition due to internal and external forces. The debate over the primacy of structure or agency in shaping human behavior can also be applied to the forces that contribute to organizational change. Agency is the capacity of conscience constituents to act independently and to make free choices. Structure is the recurrent patterned arrangements of the environment that influence or limit the choices and opportunities available. The theoretical model used throughout this dissertation characterizes structure and agency in terms of resources and political opportunities. Organizations have the capacity to make free choices with regard to the resources they wish to deploy. Political opportunities influence the choices available to gather resources needed to sustain an organization. This process takes place over time. Because organizations participate in multiple networks that allow for differing opportunities to deploy and gather resources, this model can be used to gain an understanding of how organizations thrive in times of changing political opportunities.

The methodological network analysis approach assumes that actors are mutually dependent—in other words, the actors cannot achieve their goals without resources that are possessed by other actors (Benson, 1982; Rhodes, 1988). Networked interaction patterns between actors emerge around policy problems and resource clusters. Interaction patterns can become sustainable over time due to the limited substitutability of sources of resources in some networks. Rules develop which regulate the patterns of behavior of actors and resource distribution in networks. Resource distribution and rules are gradually

shaped in interactions, but they are also solidified and altered by these interactions (Giddens, 1984).

The inter-organizational networks created through interactions in the political and economic environment form a context within which actors act strategically both online and offline. Within inter-organizational networks, interactions occur around policy and around issues. Marsh and Rhodes (1992) show how networks' structures affects policy outcomes, and they created a typology of networks based on dimensions of membership, integration, resources, and power. Rhodes (1988) based her research on two of these typologies by contrasting policy communities and issue networks. Policy communities are described as communities involving powerful organizations that control key resources and tend to produce policy continuity (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992). Moreover, policy communities are based on common understandings of problems within a particular policy domain (such as the housing policy domain). Ideas in a policy domain must conform to the normative orientation of the group and cases of conflict are solved through general consensus of the group. In this case, networks of organizations that co-participate in congressional hearings are structured by the schedule and agenda of congressional hearings.

Issue networks are described as having more limited control over resources and are often faced with more open contests with interest groups outside the network (Marsh, 1998). Issue networks are often created around emerging issues, membership is not limited, participation is often diverse, and contrasting opinions are permitted without a need for general consensus. Hyperlink networks can be characterized in this way because

they are not reliant on a structure or schedule, and they are open to the diversity of the Internet as a whole.

This study examines the network linkages among organizations in two networks: an issue network of hyperlinked organizations and a policy community of organizations that co-participate in congressional hearings. The emphasis remains on the issue network that represents choices made through the agency of the SMO; however, adding another dimension to information gathered about the networked movement deepens understanding regarding the policy community and ability to participate in a structured environment. An SMO brings the same resources deployed to both networks, but resources gained might differ depending on the structure of the network. These structural advantages and disadvantages are examined to describe two types of social solidarity networks utilized by the same 26 housing social movement organizations (HSMOs) in Chapter 3. While examining these two types of networks (the policy community and the issue network) during two periods (pre- and post- housing bubble), this study asks whether the same resources deployed produce the same resources gained in both types of networks. Furthermore, does having more alliances in one network correlate with alliances in the other and/or between time periods?

Relevant background

The Internet has brought about a networked society of conscience constituents and increasingly networked organizations. While researchers have examined the usefulness of online networks for mobilization of conscience constituents (Grossman, 2009; Williams, 2006); technology and networks (Barley, 1990; Castells, 2000; Monge & Fulk, 1999; Park, 2003; Rice, 1994); and political networks (Knoke, 1990), research

comparing the patterns of offline political interactions of organizations to their online

hyperlink networks remains in its infancy. Social movement organizations (SMOs)—i.e.,

groups of institutions working toward the same goals under the larger umbrella of a social

movement—develop natural networks. These networks are often subject to

transformation as political events transpire. While networks are necessary for

mobilization of SMOs, connections among organizations are not always positive,

especially as structural conditions, such as environmental changes increase the potential

for competition. For example, limited funding at the national level could deter

"Organization A" from increasing visibility for "Organization B," which has similar

goals and numerous accomplishments, if both organizations rely on the same grant

dollars to maintain their operating budget. This study examines HSMOs' hyperlink

network structure and co-participation in the congressional hearings during two different

time periods before and after the housing bubble burst.

The political event around which this study centers is the United States housing

crisis, a structural change that began to develop long before the housing bubble burst. As

defined in Chapter 1, the housing bubble is commonly defined as the time period wherein

the United States experienced a sharp rise between 1998 and 2008 (Erickson, 2009). The

bubble soon burst when a sudden and dramatic drop in home prices occurred in 2008

(Erickson, 2009). Coleman, LaCour-Little, and Vandell (2008) argue that the bursting of

this bubble in 2008 was in part due to the success of HSMOs and in part changes in

institutions, politics, and the regulatory environment. The political environment clearly

shifted before and after 2008 in part due to the change in presidential administration. The

major emphasis on pre-housing bubble politics was an emphasis on single-family homes.

This differs from post-housing bubble politics response to the crisis through financial reform of housing debt. The crash in the United States housing market intensified a shortage of assets in the world economy and contributed to the global financial system crash of 2008 (Caballero Farhi, & Gourinchas, 2009). Many worldwide housing related organizations were forced to close with this shortage of resources, especially non-profit organizations and SMOs (Erickson, 2009).

Becker et al. (2008) suggest that the pre-housing bubble emphasis on single family homes enabled lenders, such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, to increase low-income lending by allowing first-time buyers to qualify for federally insured mortgages with no money down. The Bush administration presented a vision for a society less reliant on government for ownership, which would be one more economically secure than a society with fewer homeowners (Becker et al., 2008). Through this effort, overall homeownership rates did increase to historic highs during shortly before the housing bubble burst. However, new predatory lending practices and subprime loans (i.e., adjustable rate mortgages with increasing monthly payments and interest rates) also emerged. These increases later brought on a nationwide wave of foreclosures and a scramble to address these changes through policy and organizational programs (Coleman et al., 2008).

In 2008, one-fifth of all subprime mortgages were in some stage of foreclosure (Hunnicutt, 2009). The post-housing bubble politics directed legislation and subsequent grant dollars toward debt education and financial reform. Instead of economic security in terms of ownership, housing organizations have somewhat turned their focus to helping citizens understand their debt situation. To address subprime loans, housing organizations

have shifted the focus of their activities toward helping families escape confusing and predatory loans and acquire stable loans or more affordable housing solutions (Coleman et al., 2008). As change occurs in nationwide housing concerns, housing organizations must adapt to fulfill socially relevant missions and goals and to find funding and other resources to carry them out.

Over time, social movements often become formalized through SMOs that share the goals of the movement (Tilly, 2004), as evidenced by numerous networks of SMOs working toward common goals throughout history (Piven & Cloward, 1977). Some HSMOs began as informal protest groups, but many have since developed into non-profit organizations. In the case of national HSMOs in this sample, all have been long established in the housing movement and have formalized into non-profit organizations. Although they are formalized, they still undergo changes in response to the political environment and new communication technology.

During the two political eras discussed here (pre-housing bubble and post-housing bubble), the political and economic environment changed considerably. HSMOs have continued to influence housing policies related to affordable housing, but the way that organizations network with one another has been changed by increased competition (Erickson, 2009). For example, HSMOs have changed their approach to societal concerns to match societal needs as policy and grant dollars dictate. A typology of activities that HSMOs engage in was developed in Chapter 3 (Kropczynski & Nah, 2011) which includes: advocacy, assistance, research/informative, and oversight. While some HSMOs offer housing assistance directly through financial means, others focus indirectly on advocacy by lobbying for improvements in homeowners' financial well-being through,

while others offer housing assistance directly. Others engage in research to inform policymakers and practitioners or engage in informative practices, such as financial literacy for first time homeowners. Several HSMOs still include oversight of the Fair Housing Law of 1968 as part of their mission and goals. Different types of HSMOs are more or less dependent on the Web-based goals of the organization. Informative HSMOs tend to rely more heavily on their websites to spread up-to-the-minute news to target audiences quickly and easily while lobbying groups will be more active. The structure and type of HSMO networks has also broadened in the digital age due to the increasing importance of online networks and resources to achieving the goals and missions of SMOs. These non-profit organizations often work on small budgets and are quite familiar with efficient mobilization on a budget.

Given the lack of comparative research on online and offline inter-organizational network structures through a longitudinal study, the present analysis contributes by presenting the structural transformation of an issue network of hyperlinked organizations and a policy community of a co-participation in congressional hearings at two different time periods given changes in the political and economic environment. The pre-housing bubble time period was more abundant in resources, such as funding and less competition among housing organizations, but the focus on home purchases shifted to the present climate of fewer resources and more competition during post-housing bubble debt reforms. This study therefore assumes that HSMOs will maximize their exploitation of political opportunities (i.e. competition for fewer resources in a new political and economic environment) differently in order to gather resources given differing deployable resources. These political opportunities are measureable at two levels: (1) the

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node-level, which can be measured through degree centrality and quadratic assignment procedure (QAP) regression, and (2) the network-level, which is measurable using QAP correlation and testing for homophily in the network. At the node-level, degree centrality refers to the number of links that correspond to a particular node. In directional networks, indegree centrality refers to incoming links, while outdegree centrality refers to outgoing links (Scott, 2000). Correlation between networks will test for similarity or dissimilarity between two periods or two network types, while network homophily examines the tendency for ties to form based on similarities between actors in a network (Scott, 2000).

The purpose of the study is to understand how resources deployed improve resources gathered by examining the changes in the network of HSMOs from two perspectives at two time periods. Shumate and Dewitt (2008) argue that the creation of hyperlink networks is best explained by collective action theory (Olson, 1968) which also highlights the potential for unequal effort by free-riders in the network. This argument is made by considering hyperlink networks to be a contribution to public goods. Collective action theory states that public goods that are accessible to the public are created through rational collective contributions of organizations and conscience constituents. This study further explains the hyperlink network with specific forms of collective action. In so doing, the following section discusses the grounding of this research in such interrelated theories as resource mobilization theory (Zald & McCarthy, 1979) and the political process model (McAdam, 1982).

Theoretical Framework, Research Question, and Hypotheses

Resource Mobilization Theory

With micro-economic underpinnings, McCarthy and Zald (1977) developed resource mobilization theory in the 1970s. This theory was preceded by collective action theory (Olson, 1968), which studies the (sometimes spontaneous) pursuit of goals by more than one person and connects collective action to social institutions. Resource mobilization theory assumes that social movements are comprised of rational actors who make rational choices, treating SMOs as entities similar to corporations in their search for investors and partners. This theory ultimately states that before movements can accomplish goals and achieve collective actions, movements must mobilize their resources primarily through the help of volunteers or constituents (McCarthy & Zald, 1973; McCarthy & Zald, 1977, Zald & McCarthy, 1979).

One can conceptualize the McCarthy-Zald approach to social movements (McCarthy & Zald, 1973; McCarthy & Zald, 1977, Zald & McCarthy, 1979) as a handbook to achieving collective action. It diverges from other approaches, such as that of Piven and Cloward (1977), who posited that formal organization is detrimental to mobilization. In contrast, resource mobilization theory takes on a somewhat organization-centric view of social movements while highlighting the choices made by organizations that lead to the achievement of movement goals. Jenkins (1983) highlighted the diverse routes through which movements are formed in his review of this theory in light of other social movement theorists. While Olson (1968) identified the free-rider problem of an individual's decision to join an SMO, Tilly (1978) contested Olson by stating that mobilization potential is determined greatly by the pre-existing mobilizing potential of

the particular organizational or group identity. The term "free-rider" is generally used to refer to individuals who benefit from the collective goods obtained from the effort of a group or agency without suffering the costs (Olson, 1968). The individual versus group mobilization effort is one way to examine the free-rider problem, but now with networks of SMOs working toward a similar over-arching goal, the same type of "individual identity" of a particular organization might exist within networks of organizations.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) hypothesize that as the amount of discretionary resources of the mass and elite public increases, the amount of resources available to the social movement sector increases. It follows that SMOs will then compete for public resources along with other movements in this sector. This type of competition is problematic for SMOs working toward similar goals of a social movement. SMOs are assumed not only interested in their economic well-being but also in the collective goals of the overall movement. Sharing information with conscience constituents can be considered a public good for a social movement. Open communication between SMOs constitutes a resource for sharing information about developing trends and innovations and engaging a broad range of organizations at all levels of a social movement. In competitive political and economic climates, information can also be a resource that is restricted among SMOs. If uninterrupted by environmental factors, networks have the potential to grow in value from interactions over time and from the new developments in the communication infrastructure that connects them. For example, online forums can aid the convergence of organizations distributed across time and space that may not be able to network with one another otherwise. Moreover, McCarthy and Zald (1977) hypothesize that constituents who are isolated through mailing lists will have a less stable

flow of resources. This could easily equate to the type of isolation that SMOs have experienced when trying to mobilize through traditional forms of mass media. Many resource-poor organizations that do not receive much mainstream media attention utilize new technologies to overcome such limits (Nah, 2010a). Nah (2010a) explains that the Internet can be an effective tool to mobilize quickly, to keep in touch with members and volunteers, and to seek potential donors with minimal cost to the organization. McCarthy and Zald (1977) go on to state that these types of organizations have a higher need for advertising and might treat their target goals as products similar to expendable consumer goods.

From a resource mobilization perspective, conscience constituents are also rational actors seeking out collective goals with which to align. Advertising collective goals in this virtual public space is a valuable resource for SMOs. The presence of a hyperlink on a website could be considered a form of advertisement or referral. As the need for this type of reference increases, HSMOs competing for isolated constituents might not continue to offer such a networking favor to other HSMOs. Hyperlink networks are online resources and collective goods that allow SMOs to mobilize functioning in many ways (Park, 2003; Park, Bae, & Lee, 2005; Park, 2006). For instance, the mention of an organization on a website might increase the visibility of that organization. The hyperlink is a directional tie that a Web surfer may use, thereby increasing the Web traffic of that site. In addition, the positive mention could work to maintain relationships with offline links or physical ties; some amount of new website traffic occurs through in-linking websites. In addition, indegree centrality (or in-links to websites) can be used as a measurement of an individual website's ability to mobilize

resources, such as strengthening offline ties (Park, 2003) and stimulating website traffic for the organization (Kropczynski & Nah, 2011). Increased website traffic equates to an increase numbers of conscience constituents receiving information, potentially aligning themselves with the views of SMOs, and contributing to mobilization efforts.

Previous research shows that participation in online hyperlink networks by organizations increases the relevance of those organizations. Shumate (2012) examined the evolution of a hyperlinked issue network including nongovernmental organizations over one year; she found that indegree centrality and issue network participation by organizations are related to the selection of hyperlinks by conscience constituents. Weber (2012) studied the effects of hyperlinks on inter-organizational network structure among newspaper organizations over time, finding that early actions in the inter-organizational online community had measurable effects on the entire industry. While literature exists comparing hyperlink networks to themselves over time, few studies have compared hyperlink networks to the network structure of the same organizations participation in the policy domain.

Putnam (2000) argued that social networks are a resource for people and organizations in that they contain social capital. Following Putnam (2000), this study echoes the value of social capital in mobilization and further describes a measurable value as the number of linkages that take place in a network, or degree centrality. Putnam (2000) also points to a marked decline in social capital in America, over time turning it into an increasingly scarce resource. He further proposes that social capital is most powerful when reciprocal social relations are present. This builds upon the aforementioned example of a hyperlink network in which reciprocation might be a

valuable asset not only in the sense of social relations, but also in the advertising momentum of movement goals.

Where social capital scholars have disagreed is in regards to the introduction of new forms of technology. Putnam (2000) notes that through the privatization of leisure time, electronic entertainment (especially television) has been a direct drain on social capital building activities. He questioned whether the Internet would become a form of passive entertainment, and he did not see it as a way to mobilize individuals but rather that the Internet "…attracts reclusive nerds and energizes them…" (Putnam, 2000, p. 171). In reaction, scholars have tried to argue that the Internet can work as a tool for expanding networks and can provide a valuable resource for SMOs (Davis, 2005; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Hensmans, 2003). Not only are networks themselves a resource for HSMOs, but they are also a tool for gaining other resources, such as donations, volunteers, and media attention. Where it was once feared that the Internet was dividing communities, it now serves to build community.

Barry Wellman declared that "the proliferation of computer-supported social networks has afforded changes in the way people use community: community is becoming defined socially not spatially" (p. 53, 2005). The direct psychosocial effects of Internet communication can vary depending on the individual who uses this form of communication and how he or she uses it. For this reason, Williams (2006) echoes to distinguish between online and offline forms of social capital rather than assuming they have the same value. Through the expansion of SMO networks, online social capital might translate directly into offline social capital, building more reciprocal ties and

density[19] in networks (Davis, 2005; della Porta & Diani, 2006; Hensmans, 2003). In the case of HSMOs in this study, the implication is that the hyperlink network structure that they share (i.e., their online social capital) bears some evidence of their efforts for organizational collaborations or assistance in their offline social capital. Therefore, online and offline networks are distinct but interrelated through networked communities (Nah, 2010b).

Political Process Theory

Doug McAdam (1982) used the political process model of social movements to "explain insurgency on the basis of a favorable confluence of factors internal and external to the movement" (p. 2). This model follows from the resource mobilization perspective that a small number of elites control the wealth and power in the political sphere, but also suggests that excluded groups also have the capacity to bring about structural change. Drawing on earlier critiques of classical approaches, and building on resource mobilization and especially the work of Tilly, McAdam analyzed the rise and decline of the US Civil Rights Movement as a result of three factors included in his model: political opportunities (p. 40), indigenous organizational strength (p. 43), and cognitive liberation (p. 48). Political opportunities refer to "any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured" (p. 41). This broad definition was applied to McAdam's examples which include international political realignments, prolonged unemployment, wars, industrialization, and widespread demographic changes.

Shifts in the political status quo are changes in the opportunity structure, but these changes do not inevitably lead to the emergence of social movements. According to

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[19] The density of the network is the total number of ties divided by the total number of possible ties.

McAdam, political opportunities work indirectly through a restructuring of existing power relations. Shifting power relations "can facilitate increased political activism on the part of excluded groups either by seriously undermining the stability of the entire political system or by increasing the political leverage of a single insurgent group" (p. 42). Thus, opportunities represent diverse implications and do not guarantee that mobilization will occur.

This dissertation operationalizes political process theory (PPT) as the theoretical perspective that describes the role of political opportunities in social movements, as noted in Chapter 1. Political opportunities are operationalized in this dissertation as events necessary for mobilization, although their presence does not guarantee that mobilization will occur. PPT argues that the process which generates mobilization within a social movement is dependent on the existence, or absence, of a specific political opportunity. Meyer's 2004 review of this perspective encourages that researchers adopt a "process-oriented approach to political opportunities that explicitly examines how they work and how the responses that social movements provoke or inspire alter the grounds on which they can mobilize (p. 141)." Defining the political opportunity as an event in an ongoing cycle of resource mobilization is a variation of Meyer's (2004) process-oriented approach.

While resource mobilization theory speaks to the agency of the SMO in its ability to sustain itself, the political process model accounts for social structures that create opportunities and challenges for SMOs. Pichardo (1988) identifies the key division between resource mobilization theory and the political process model as the role that elite members of society (i.e., heads of organizations and politicians) play in the formation of

movements. McAdam (1982) developed the political process theory in an effort to combine the organizational capabilities of movements in micro, meso, and macro approaches to build upon resource mobilization theory. McCarthy and Zald (2001) identify the political process model as distinct from their own by focusing on windows in time where opportunities exist as well as the role of the state in providing costs and benefits for action. This model has two parts: first, movements are established through cognitive liberation, and second, movements further develop through political opportunities and networks of conscience constituents. According to McAdam (1982), mobilization around social movements occurs due in part to political factors that are external to the movement. This is of particular importance to SMOs that may garner more or less support depending on their political environment. This differs from the resource mobilization approach that focuses on the participants and leaders within the social movement. In viewing the hyperlink network of SMOs over time with changing political climates, this model proves very useful in the sense that SMOs might reconfigure their virtual resources through hyperlinks to respond to political environments. This study suggests that the political opportunity for mobilization among HSMOs will decrease as competition for resources increases. This can be observed at the network-level through changes in interaction patterns in the overall network. The mobilization of individual conscience constituents is not directly examined in this study.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) establish that most social movements, if sustained for long periods, will most likely generate SMOs in time. Some of the SMOs involved in the housing social movement have existed for over 50 years throughout varying political climates and tools for mobilizing. The analysis in Chapter 2 showed that the inter-

organizational network structure in the policy domain has changed considerably over the years. While the political process model examines factors of change external to the organizations, resource mobilization theory is more internal to the organization and focuses on how each organization utilizes specific tools to mobilize more effectively.

The networks of HSMOs should be evaluated considering digital communication technologies as new types of resources (technological opportunity), as well as different political and economic opportunities before and after the bursting of the housing bubble. These changing social relations can be examined in many ways. For this study, changes in the hyperlink network structure and co-participation in Congressional testimony will be the focus. A study of the social housing sector in the Netherlands by Van Bortel and Elsinga (2007) examined the housing political environment as a network of players and used three key concepts to describe these inter-organizational networks. The first concept they used was multiformity, which can manifest itself within and between organizations. Similar to bridging social capital between organizations, the housing sector illustrates multiformity by being comprised of numerous parties with differing interests, values, and organizational characteristics. Organizations could differ as drastically as housing associations, municipalities, and project developers or as simply as housing associations with different size, financial position, and strategy. Multiformity takes place in organizations when network players represent several department or organizational units, such as federated organizations. Multiformity in this case can refer to differences in network structure or the agency of SMOs in the same network as they interact in either the information network and policy community.

A second characteristic of political networks described by Van Bortel and Elsinga (2007) is "closed-ness." De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof (1999) originally used this concept to describe organizations' sensitivity to "steering signals" (p. 38) that align with their own frame of reference, while they dismiss those that are not. If a steering signal is contrary to the frame of reference, it will provoke active resistance, while if the steering signal is not related, it will simply be ignored. De Bruijn and Ten Heuvelhof (1999) argue that organizations must be closed to a certain degree, as a response to all signals would be overwhelming. Closed-ness can be problematic when organizations ignore beneficial steering signals that fall outside of their frame of reference. Building on McAdams (1982), the structural potential of HSMO networks to maximize ability to exploit political opportunities increases indigenous inter-organizational strength. Increased competition among organizations, however, could lead to increased closed-ness in 2010 compared to 2007 which would lead to an indigenous inter-organizational weakness in the housing movement.

The third characteristic used by Van Bortel and Elsinga (2007) is interdependency. Interdependencies occur between different players typically through the distribution of resources among a large number of players. Interdependencies can lead to lower transparency in a network, they can temper actions of conflicting players, and they can lead to important steering opportunities. Two parties are not always mutually dependent on dependencies; for example, in the hyperlink network, a tie might be one directional, but in the network of co-participation, each tie is labeled as reciprocal. These three types of characteristics in complex networks can be present in both the hyperlink network and the network of co-participation. Interdependencies can be characterized by

either a link between two organizations in a hyperlink network over time or two organizations that co-participate in Congressional hearings and rely upon one another. It is difficult to determine if interdependencies exist without directly asking the organizations; however, sustained contact between organizations or predominance of bonding ties (see Chapter 3) based on common attributes might indicate that interdependencies exist in the network.

As follows from the above review, political opportunity is a key to mobilization. That is, different political opportunities and a structural change in the environment will lead to different organizational activities. For example, the goal of pre-housing bubble politics for an ownership society differs from the post-housing bubble political climate, which focuses on financial education and loan reform (Becker, Stolberg, & Labaton, 2008; Hunnicut, 2009). Prior to the wave of foreclosures in the pre-housing bubble HSMOs held more resources in the form of government grants incentivizing construction of single-family housing. Then, due to economic recession, HSMOs found themselves with fewer resources during the post-housing bubble time period with a focus on financial institutions. Changes in the hyperlink network during the two different time periods indicates that organizations had no alternative, but to respond to the changing political environment. This calls for a need to examine how organizations and their network of hyperlinks mobilize resources in conjunction with external political changes. Based on the above background and literature review, examination of the hyperlinked network of national HSMOs both before and after the housing bubble burst should reveal changes in this network over time. Considering different political opportunities and discretionary resources in the time of the pre-housing bubble time period versus the post-

housing bubble time period, several research questions and hypotheses have been proposed.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

The following research questions explore changes structure in the policy community and the issue network due to the housing crisis.

RQ1. Do the same resources deployed produce the same resources gained in both networks and between periods?

Hypothesis 1. Due to multiformity (i.e. differences of age, type, and revenue of organizations) and agency to choose ties in the hyperlink network, the same resources deployed will not yield similar resources gained in both networks.

Hypothesis 2. Interdependencies (in the form of bonding ties) based on similarity in resources will exist in 2007 and 2010.

RQ2. Does having more alliances in one network correlate with alliances in the other and/or between periods?

Hypothesis 3. Due to multiformity in organizations and agency to choose in the hyperlink network, alliances in policy community will not correlate with alliances in the issue network, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 4. Due to differing political opportunities in 2010 and closed-ness in ability to choose ties in the policy community, resources deployed in 2007 will yield more links than those deployed in 2010.

Method

Data collection of issue network

This study adopts a hyperlink network analysis and networks of co-participation in Congressional hearings to examine and compare the network structures of housing movement groups during two political eras (pre- and post- housing bubble). Hyperlink network analysis maps the network structure of incoming and outgoing hyperlinks from websites. These network structures are often representative of offline interactions (or lack of interactions) among organizations, and through Web visibility hyperlinks, promote trust, prestige, credibility, and authority of organizations to Web surfers (Park, 2003; Park, 2006; Park, Bae, & Lee, 2005). The sample consists of 26 national housing organizations (see Appendix 3.1 for list). No comprehensive list is available of all national fair housing social movement groups. Thus, a sample was manually collected using a variation of a snowball sample with a crawl depth to redundancy (Kropczynski & Nah, 2011).

Specifically, beginning with a non-comprehensive list of national organizations found through a Google search for "Housing Organization," each organization's website was visited and all of the linked organizations were recorded. Each time an organization that was not on the list appeared in a link, the new organization was added to a matrix of their relationships to one another until no redundancy and no new organizations appeared. Housing organizations' websites were evaluated to limit the list to those organizations that could be defined as SMOs by excluding organizations that were not non-profit organizations (e.g., those that were government or profit-based). Limiting the sample to non-profit organizations eliminated for-profit non-bank lending agencies.

Outgoing links were collected from the individual websites themselves by visiting the website and links listed on a "links" or "resources" page were recorded; incoming links were identified using a tool on Google's search engine. Starting with Google's main page, each organization's name was entered into the search bar using Google's search for incoming links (e.g., LINK: "www.habitatforhumanity.com"). All websites that were either no longer active or listed with a file type (e.g., .doc or .pdf) were excluded from the list of incoming links.

Through a longitudinal hyperlink analysis, the hyperlink network and other website characteristics were recorded at two periods. Time one was 2007 pre-housing bubble and time two was 2010 post-housing bubble. The same list of 26 national housing organization websites were re-visited and the same information was recorded for the post-housing bubble time period of financial reform.

Data collection of policy community

Co-participation in Congressional hearings was collected using the same 26 national organizations used in the issue network. A sample of legislation was selected using the LexisNexis Congressional Search Database. A search was performed under the name of each of the 26 HSMOs, and all hearings[20] that the HSMO participated in in 2007 and 2010 were recorded. Participation in hearings was used to create a 2-mode[21] network with organizations/affiliations as one mode and hearings as the second mode. This matrix was then used to create a 1-mode matrix of organizations affiliated by hearings for each time period. Another way to state this, is that in the 1-mode network, the nodes are exclusively represented by HSMOs, which are linked directly to one another by ties of

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[20] This search was not limited to housing policy hearings, as it was in Chapter 2.
[21] A 1-mode network is typically based on an actor-by-actor matrix, whereas 2-mode networks are typically based on an actor-by-event matrix (or any two modes that comprise a network).

co-attendance. The 1-mode network is deduced from information in the 2-mode (actor-by-event) matrix[22].

Data collection of HSMO attributes

Several attributes were acquired using the National Center for Charitable Statistics online database of data that organizations report to the Internal Revenue Service. Variables assigned as network attributes are described below. The ruling date of an organization is the year that the organization first filed with the IRS. The National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) is a classification system of non-profit organizations. Most of the HSMOs were classified as community improvement, housing/shelter, or did not have an NTEE code. For this reason, two dummy attributes were created for the NTEE code: housing/shelter and community improvement. Total revenue is the total yearly revenue reported to the IRS in 2007 and 2010. The last attribute added is whether the organization is federated and is a national organization that encompasses regional/local organizations.

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Measurement, Analytical Techniques and Results

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Research question 1, asks if the same resources deployed will produce the same resources gained across networks and time periods. Incidence of multiformity (Hypothesis 1) and interdependencies (Hypothesis 2) is addressed by performing a regression of attributes in a random permutation test and testing for homophily. Testing for autocorrelation based on attributes of the network is the most effective way to test for homophily in each network. Moran/Geary statistics were used to account for continuous variables. The results in Table 4.1 show that homophily is present in the 2007 and 2010

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[22] Chapter 2 analyzed both the 2-mode and 1-mode networks. The research questions of this chapter only focus on the 1-mode network.

policy communities based on ruling date and having an NTEE code that categorizes the

organization as Housing/Shelter (as opposed to Community Improvement).

Table 4.1. Randomization test of autocorrelation using Moran/Geary Statistics (Data presented include mean ± 1 SE)

	2007		2010	
Variable	AC	x̄ ± SE	AC	x̄ ± SE
Issue Network				
Ruling date	1.003	.997 ± .160	1.120	.997 ± .228
Community Improvement	1.021	1.011 ± .348	1.392	1.002 ± .465
Housing/Shelter	1.142	1.005 ± .140	1.180	1.004 ± .198
Total Revenue	1.303	1.022 ± .584	1.127	.997 ± .802
Federated	1.135	.995 ± .351	1.430	1.005 ± .465
Policy community				
Ruling date	.099**	1.002 ± .313	.088***	.999 ± .273
Community Improvement	.820	.993 ± .682	.923	1.002 ± .603
Housing/Shelter	.420*	.989 ± .270	.442*	1.00 ± .225
Total Revenue	3.416	.993 ± 1.193	2.123	.987 ± 1.032
Federated	1.430	1.021 ± .681	1.335	1.003 ± .595

Smaller values indicate positive autocorrelation. A value of 1.0 indicates perfect independence.
AC denotes autocorrelation
x̄ denotes mean number of permutations
* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$
*** $p < .001$

The second hypothesis is tested using multiple regression of degree centrality

with permutation based significance tests. The coefficients are generated by standard

OLS linear modeling techniques and are based on comparing scores on independent and

dependent attributes of individual actors. What differs with this particular type of

regression calculated in UCINET is the recognition that actors are not independent;

therefore, estimation of standard errors by simulation, rather than by standard formula, is

necessary. The correlation matrix shows a very high collinearity between total assets and

total revenue. This suggests a possible difficulty in separating the effects of these two

groups. The variables in this model were therefore reduced to the ruling date of the

organization and the total revenue. The R-squared is rather low for both models (.342) for

2007 and (.274) for 2010; nonetheless, it is highly significant (p=.015) in 2007 and significant (p=.028) in 2010.

HSMOs that have a more current ruling date appear to have a higher degree centrality in the policy community in 2007 (.3347, p = .043) and even higher degree centrality in the policy community in 2010 (.4347, p = .012). This corresponds with these organizations mission statements based on advocacy, which may have led to increased political testimonies post-housing bubble. HSMOs that have a higher total annual revenue appear to have a higher degree centrality in the policy community in 2007 (.4206, p = .050), although this decreases in 2010 (.2202, p = .170); however, this result is not significant and may be random.

Research question 2 is addressed using quadratic assignment procedure (QAP) correlation and QAP regression. QAP correlation calculates measures of nominal, ordinal, and interval association between the relations in two matrices and uses quadratic assignment procedures to develop standard errors to test for the significance of association. Correlation between types of networks and two time periods were examined using QAP correlation. The results show significant correlations between types of networks during two different time periods, but no significant correlations between two different types of networks (the issue network and the policy community) during the same time period. A moderate correlation (.375) exists between the two time periods of the issue network (p = .0002), and a strong correlation (.781) exists between the two time periods of the policy community (p = .0002). The results between different networks during the same time period are not statistically significant and could be due to random error. A weak negative correlation (-.053) resulted between the 2007 issue network and

2007 policy community (p = .2841). A weak negative correlation (-.059) also exists

between the 2007 issue network and 2010 policy community (p = .1436). These results

show that the policy community has a higher correlation before and after the bursting of

the housing bubble than the issue network. No correlation exists between the issue

network and the policy community before or after the bursting of the housing bubble.

Rather than correlating one relation with another, predicting one relation knowing

the other might be preferable. That is, rather than symmetric association between

relations, asymmetric associations should be examined. The standard tool for this

question is a QAP regression, which might use more than one independent variable so

that both the two different types of networks and time periods can be examined more

closely. This analysis will test for increased open-ness to solidarities in 2007 (Hypothesis

4) using two models. The issue network of 2007 is the dependent variable of the first, and

the policy community of 2007 is the dependent variable in the second model.

In the first model there are two independent variables, the first independent

variable tests if the presence of a tie in the issue network in 2007 will increase the

likelihood of a tie in the issue network in 2010. Furthermore, the second independent

variable tests if the presence of a tie in the issue network in 2007 will increase likelihood

of a tie in the policy community in 2007. Quadratic assignment has been used again to

estimate standard errors for R-squared and for the regression coefficients. The 2007 issue

network model R-square (.222) indicates that knowing whether an organization has a

hyperlink tie in 2010, and whether the two organizations have a tie in the policy

community in 2007, reduces uncertainty of the tie having already existed in the 2007

issue network by only 22%. The significance level (by the QAP method) is .0001;

therefore, the observed result is non-random. The intercept indicates that if two organizations are not hyperlinked in 2010 and are not linked in the policy community in 2007, an increased probability exists that they were linked in the issue network in 2007 by .18. If the two organizations are hyperlinked in 2010, the probability of having been hyperlinked in 2007 increases by .594 (p = .0001).

The 2007 policy community model R-square (.611) indicates that knowing whether an organization co-participates in the policy community in 2010, and whether the two organizations have a hyperlink in 2007, reduces uncertainty in co-participation in the policy community before the housing bubble burst in 2007 by 61%. The significance level (by the QAP method) is .0001; therefore, the observed result is non-random. The intercept indicates that if two organizations are not hyperlinked in 2007, and they do not co-participate in the policy community in 2010, an increased probability exists that they co-participated in the policy community before the housing bubble burst in 2007 by .12. If the two organizations co-participated in the policy community in 2010, the probability of having co-participated in hearings in 2007 increases by 1.148 (p = .0001).

The QAP regressions show an increased open-ness to social solidarities (in the form of network linkages) before the housing bubble burst. However, while there is a significant difference among time periods, none of the effects between the two types of networks (the issue network and policy community) during the same time period are different from zero at conventional (e.g. p< .05) levels.

Discussion

In essence, the results show that the answer to research question 1—which asks if the same resources (age, type, and revenue of HSMO) deployed produce the same

resources (age, type, and revenue of HSMO) gathered in both networks—is that they do tend to have more network linkages based on the age of the organization. The multiple regression of degree centrality across networks showed that in 2007 organizations with higher total revenue and more recent ruling dates were more likely to have increased links in the network. In 2010, only organizations with recent ruling dates were likely to have increased links in the network. This finding might be due, in part, to changing political environments. While organizations with higher total revenue had increased network linkages in 2007, the change in political and economic environments in 2010 changed the social structure of the network and created a more erratic distribution of total revenue.

When using the same test of autocorrelation, there were no significant attributes tested in the issue network. In the policy community, a tendency exists for the majority of ties to be based on similarity in ruling date and housing/shelter organizations. This showed a similarity across two time periods, but not across network types. This might be due to increased agency in the issue network that creates more unstructured patterning of networks. On the other hand, the structure of the policy community might lend itself better to homophily based on similar organizational attributes. Therefore, hypothesis 1, that multiformity among organizations in different networks does not yield similar resources gained, can be accepted. Hypothesis 2 can also be accepted; it states that interdependencies based on similarity in resources will exist in 2007 and 2010. This was only true of the policy community based on age of organization and housing/shelter mission.

Research question 2 asked if having more alliances in one network correlated with alliances in the other network and/or time period. While the QAP correlation and regressions showed strong similarities across time periods, it did not show similarities between the two types of networks (policy community and issue network). While similarities existed between time periods, the results of the QAP regression also showed a stronger tendency for HSMOs to have ties to one another before the housing bubble than after it. This tendency to no longer link to one another could be due, in part, to more competition for scarce resources in 2010, compared to 2007. Hypothesis 3—that due to multiformity in organizations and increased agency in the hyperlink network, alliances in one network will not correlate with alliances in the other—can also be accepted. Hypothesis 4, which states that due to differing political opportunities and increased closed-ness in 2010, resources deployed in 2007 will yield more network linkages in 2010, can also be accepted.

This analysis benefitted from the perspectives of both resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977; Zald & McCarthy, 1979) and the political process theory (McAdams, 1982). These theories were applied through the examination of individual organizations' abilities to network with each another to mobilize more network connections as well as the effect of the political context on overall network structure. Both the ability to mobilize network connections by individual organizations and the overall network centrality and density decreased from time one to time two. In sum, resource mobilization theory provided a useful framework as to how social movements groups can generate resources, which can influence their goals, missions, and practices. However, as Buechler (1993) noted, while resource mobilization theory rose to

prominence in explaining 1960s-era mobilization, changes in the ways that collective action takes place (given new forms of media and now the digital age) prevents the theory from being a stand-alone explanation for present and future trends. Chapter 5 will review these results in light of the theoretical model discussed throughout this dissertation which emphasizes political opportunity when it comes to mobilizing resources.

While the political opportunity for mobilization is present, issue network cohesion has decreased due to increased competition for resources. While it does not apply to any of the HSMOs in this sample, increased competition is evident by numerous SMOs that ceased to exist during this period (Erickson, 2009). Newly emerging digital communication technologies have become available for HSMOs to mobilize resources through new online tools that send messages to conscience constituents (and, to a lesser extent, to organizations). The hyperlink network is known to increase visibility and Web traffic. Moreover, it provides a method of maintaining relationships that exist offline, which can be considered a collective good gained from membership in the online network (Shumate & Dewitt, 2008). Because an organization can benefit just from incoming links (i.e., having indegree centrality) without reciprocating to the network with outgoing links to other organizations, organizations with only incoming links can be considered free-riding organizations within the issue network. In this case, an organization in a hyperlink network received the collective goods traveling through the hyperlink network without actively participating in any type of hyperlinking. However, Hindman, Tsioutsiouliklis, and Johnson (2003) described the Internet as having a few websites that receive the bulk of Internet traffic. Thus, organizations might continue to

interact regularly offline, so an organization that does not participate in hyperlinking is not necessarily a true free-rider within the wider movement. This might be another approach to the power-law distribution that Hindman, Tsioutsiouliklis, and Johnson (2003) discussed in their anti-egalitarian discussion of Web traffic; several organizations are gathering and/or creating the majority of hyperlinks. The analysis presented in this paper offers insight into the changing network structures in times of limited resources.

The social movement literature has documented the changing nature of social movements over time. Meyer and Tarrow (1998) found that SMOs in the United States have been increasing in professionalization over time, resembling profit-based institutions in strategy, structure, and competitive nature. Along with this trend, Meyer and Tarrow (1998) saw SMOs moving toward a negotiation type that is non-confrontational in nature. Piven and Cloward (1977) argued that these features of SMOs impeded protest activities and were not conducive of making demands on the part of the movement. In describing the difference between issue networks and policy communities, it is important to mention that HSMOs trying to work within a policy community may also have difficulty making demands due to the structure of the environment, while issue networks allow HSMOs more agency to express demands freely.

Although this study contributes to theoretical, methodological, and practical knowledge on this topic, several limitations exist. First, the transformation of the network could be due to factors other than the political opportunities of the pre- and post- bubble time periods. For example, physical collaborative ties might have transformed due to resource allocations and reconfigurations among HSMOs. Second, a comprehensive analysis of the presence of the housing social movement could include local, regional,

and federated SMOs as well as non-SMOs to paint a full picture of network influence. Third, it follows that an in-depth interview would allow for the comparison of the issue network to the policy community, which could be drastically different from what shows here. Lastly, a network analysis using information about these organizations on social networking sites could tell a story about the transition from Web 1.0 (e.g., the Internet/WWW/hyperlinks) to Web 2.0 (e.g., social networking and micro blogging). These additions would benefit future research in this area.

At present, little research has focused on how HSMOs adjust mobilization strategies in light of the scarcity of resources. While researchers tend to use resource mobilization theory (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, 1977; Zald & McCarthy, 1979) and the political process theory (McAdams, 1982) as contrasting theoretical approaches (McAdams, 1982), this study integrates the two theories for an in-depth understanding of mobilization using two types of network centrality as resources in different political climates. In addition to the theoretical contribution, given that hyperlink analysis has previously focused on cross-sectional data, this study also adds to emerging literature (Pilny & Shumate, 2012; Weber, 2012) on longitudinal analysis of hyperlink network structures. That is, the present study provides an initial assessment of mobilization strategies as political opportunities change through various administrative goals.

Chapter 5: The organizational state and the information provided by social media: Examining the changing social networks around social movement organizations

Abstract

This conclusion conceptualizes the results of the previous chapters within the context of social marketing strategies. The previous chapters reviewed the overall policy community, a portion of the issue network, and a comparison of both the policy community and the issue network. Pioneers in the research of networks based on Congressional testimony, Laumann and Knoke (1989) noted that, over time, an increasingly organizational state can be observed. A historical analysis of the housing policy domain in Chapter 2 showed that housing social movement organizations (HSMOs) have been key players in networks of Congressional hearings over time. To present the overall housing information network beyond HSMOs, this Chapter uses IssueCrawler to briefly illustrate the full information network. An examination of the entire network of online hyperlinks pertaining to housing reveals that social media sites, such as Twitter and Facebook, remain central to these networks. Comparisons can be drawn between the increasingly social-media-based information realm and the increasingly organizational state. Limitations of the dissertation and directions for future research are also presented.

Chapter 5: The organizational state and the information provided by social media: Examining the changing social networks around social movement organizations

Introduction

This dissertation has examined the housing social movement as a networked phenomenon, historically, online, and within policy communities. The proposed theoretical model in the introductory chapter emphasizes political momentum for mobilization by social movement organizations (SMOs) in order to gain resources in the digital age. SMOs in the same social movement have similar political opportunities; however, differences in resources deployed by these SMOs provide some organizations greater potential for gathering resources. The theoretical contribution of this research has been the examination of the on-going process of resource gathering in light of changing political opportunities. As described in the introduction, shifts in the political status quo (such as the bursting of the housing bubble) are changes in opportunity structure. These changes in opportunity structure represent diverse implications and do not guarantee that mobilization will occur. In addition to examining resource responses by HSMOs, this concluding chapter will examine the presence of mobilization, given the most recent political opportunity—the bursting of the housing bubble.

SMOs exist to serve many valuable societal purposes; resource gathering should not be the express purpose of any SMO. Although it is not the express purpose, resource gathering is integral to every SMO because without adequate resources, an SMO will cease to exist. This concluding chapter begins with a brief discussion of this dissertation's purpose and its overarching theoretical framework, provides a summary of the findings of each chapter, continues onto a brief analysis of social media demonstrating how new technology can be applied to practical applications and future directions in resource

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gathering in the digital age. The chapter will conclude with implications of the results and the author's reflections on the research process.

As discussed in Chapter 1, two major events reshaped the networked housing social movement: the enactment of the Fair Housing Law and the decentralization of funding for housing construction from the national to the state and local level. Chapter 4 presents the bursting of the housing bubble as a third major event changing the housing movement's network structure. Insight on the major events that shaped the housing movement network prior to the bursting of the housing bubble were based on the work of Saltman (1978) and Erickson (2009), who conducted copious research and analysis concerning the housing social movement organizations. Saltman (1978) observed 13 years of the fair housing movement, identifying the movement's transition from protests of powerfully organized, well-connected civil rights activists to oversight of the Fair Housing Law by institutionalized organizations. Saltman (1978) perceived this major change as potentially threatening to the social movement itself and hypothesized that the goals of the movement would dissolve once institutionalized. McCarthy and Zald (1977) specified that more resources are available beyond the members of a movement, and that resource mobilization theory (RMT) "emphasizes the variety and sources of resources; the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement organizations" (p. 1212). In some ways, McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1979) take an organization-centric perspective of social movements by suggesting that social movements might be more effective in mobilizing resources once formalized as SMOs. In this case, once formalized, some fair housing organizations began taking on affordable housing issues, leaving oversight of the fair housing law to

only be a small portion of organizational efforts. In developing political process theory (PPT), McAdam (1982) took a political perspective on RMT, stating that mobilization around social movements occurs due to political factors that are external to the movement. It follows that political situations create a foundation for the restructuring of mobilization efforts. Saltman's (1978) hypothesis that the goals of the movement would eventually dissolve once HSMOs are institutionalized may be the case to some extent, given that institutionalized organizations eventually took on affordable housing issues.

Today, few HSMOs (i.e., the National Fair Housing Alliance, the National Fair Housing Advocate, and Fair Housing Accessibility First) focus on fair housing missions and goals alone. Many incorporate oversight of the fair housing law (i.e., National Housing Law Program, Housing Assistance Council, Local Initiatives Support Coalition, National Housing Conference, National Low Income Housing Coalition, National Multi Housing Council, National Housing Institute, etc.) as one of their goals. The majority of activities and programs surrounding housing social concerns are managed by SMOs that are connected to one another through their work in the policy community and online information networks. As the results of Chapter 4 indicate, while HSMOs link to one another, these ties are susceptible to changing political opportunities, and they seem to disappear in times of increased competition for resources. Thus, the current network of institutionalized organizations could be considered much weaker compared to the stronger connections among protest groups that Saltman (1978) noted in her work.

The second major restructuring of the housing social movement was noted by Erickson (2009), who detailed the decentralization of funding for housing programs from the national to the local level. As funding decentralized, organizations dependent on

national funding sources also decentralized. Erickson's (2009) contribution to housing movement literature is the understanding of the rise of local networks that produce affordable (primarily rental) housing in the United States. He also detailed how provision of affordable housing moved from the federal government to a powerful and effective "social-service complex" which brings together public and private, state and local, and business and non-profit organizations; this process has been successful in spite of federal budget cuts in the 1970s and 1980s (Erickson, 2009). During this period, federated hierarchical organizational structures allowed HSMOs to provide local chapters with unified missions and goals to be determined at a national level. A federated organizational HSMO structure also allows outreach to local communities to best meet the needs of the populations they serve. The networked national policy domain in Chapter 2 reveals that many non-HSMO actors became less central to the policy domain over time, possibly due to increased involvement in state and local policy domains.

A review of the work of Saltman (1978) and Erickson (2009) reveals that certain political opportunities affect the existing housing social movement and have restructured the network of HSMOs in a way that creates differing opportunities for resource gathering and deployment. The patterns evident in these two works led to the idea that SMOs deploy resources in order to gather additional resources necessary to sustain themselves, but political opportunities that mobilize action are necessary to complete this cycle of deploying and gathering resources over time. The research questions of each chapter in this dissertation examine this pattern which is summarized in the next section. (For a summary table of all the research questions and results, see Appendix 5.1.)

This dissertation began by analyzing two events in light of a proposed theoretical model. To review, Chapter 1 described how the proposed theoretical model would be used to study the housing social movement using a combination of RMT and PPT. Investigating the prominent changes to the structure of the housing social movement allowed a context to use this model. As suggested by Kemney (1992), the housing movement is embedded in social structures that contain broader networks of sociability, approval, status, and power. The theoretical model presented in the introduction provided a framework for discussing strategic methods of resource gathering by HSMOs through social marketing.

Throughout the dissertation, two network structures were examined in precise detail: the policy community of HSMOs that co-participate in the policy domain and the issue network of HSMOs that chose to hyperlink to one another online. Utilizing the typology of networks by Marsh and Rhodes (1992), this dissertation refers to networks of co-participation in Congressional testimony as policy communities and refers to inter-organizational hyperlink networks as issue networks. Issue networks are described as having limited control over resources and are often faced with open contests with interest groups outside the network (Marsh, 1998). Issue networks are often created around emerging issues, membership is not limited, participation is often diverse, and contrasting opinions are permitted without a need for general consensus. Policy communities, on the other hand, are described by Marsh and Rhodes (1992) as communities involving powerful organizations that control key resources and tend to produce policy continuity. Moreover, policy communities are based on common understandings of problems within a particular policy domain (such as the housing policy domain). Ideas in a policy domain,

must conform to the normative orientation of the group and cases of conflict are solved through general consensus of the group.

The two types of network are examined in this dissertation in the following order: Chapter 2 addresses the policy community, Chapter 3 addresses the issue network, and Chapter 4 compares the policy community to the issue network. Chapter 2 examines the overall housing policy domain and the development of the networked movement around various political opportunities. The full policy community network analysis showed that in networks of Congressional testimony, HSMOs became key players over time. In the case of housing testimony, the organizational state[23] described by Laumann and Knoke (1989) was found to be increasingly present as time passed. The presence of HSMOs also increased over time, particularly as policies became more specific to the goals of these organizations. Chapter 2 emphasizes the placement of political opportunities in the theoretical model as a factor that influences SMOs' ability to gather resources. Although all actors in the policy domain have certain resources available, the types of political discussions taking place allowed the advancement of certain HSMOs in the network.

Previous research by Laumann and Knoke (1987) suggests that the main purpose of inter-organizational networks is to exert influence on the political process in order to shape policy and resource allocation decisions that affect various constituencies. Inter-organizational policy-centric networks have long been recognized as an important feature of political influence and action (Laumann & Knoke, 1987, 1989; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992). HSMOs with an interest in social marketing strategies to increase their position in the policy domain need only attend more hearings to advance their position. A limitation

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[23] In their study of networks of Congressional testimony over time, Laumann and Knoke (1989) found that organizations—as opposed to government bureaus, financial agencies, or other non-organizational entities—are increasingly present in the national policy domain.

of this dissertation is that interviews were not conducted with organizations; therefore, the benefits of having a central role in the housing policy domain remain unknown. The work of Marsh and Rhodes (1992) exhibits how networks' structures affect housing policy outcomes; therefore, while it is not known if HSMOs gain specific benefits for participation, clear benefits exist for the overall housing social movement. Assumed benefits to HSMOs involved in the policy community are identified by Marsh and Rhodes (1992), who state that policy communities involve powerful interests that control key resources and tend to produce policy continuity. Given previous research, this dissertation concludes that by attending hearings frequently, HSMOs stand to gain control of key resources. The analysis in Chapter 2 shows that while key players in the housing policy domain tend to be older organizations established in the 1930s, the Housing Assistance Council, an organization established in the 1970s, has gained a high betweenness centrality in the overall housing policy domain through frequent hearing attendance. An agency's prominence in the policy domain is understood to increase the presence of that agency's ideas in legislation (Laumann & Knoke, 1987, 1989; Marsh & Rhodes, 1992).

In Chapter 3, the types of interrelated resources deployed are examined in a hyperlink network. Although the analysis in this chapter only examined one point in time, it illustrates how numerous resources can be deployed and gathered through hyperlinked organizations. Park (2003) states that organizations central to hyperlink networks tend to have higher prestige, greater credibility, and increased authority. Results of this chapter indicate that the more bridging ties (i.e. links to organizations with differing mission statements and goals) an organization has, the more central it is to the hyperlink network.

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The labeling of links in a hyperlink network analysis is a unique contribution to this methodology that was not used previously in the literature. Further, this analysis found that by using bridging ties in the hyperlink network of 26 HSMOs, an HSMO stands to gain a higher Google Page Rank[24] and overall Alexa Internet traffic ranking. SMOs do not have much control over where incoming hyperlinks come from, but they are able to strategically place outgoing links on their website with the knowledge that increasing bridging ties might be beneficial to their network position. A high Google Page Rank and a strong overall Alexa Internet traffic ranking are certainly a resource that can be gathered through social marketing, but a simple increase of outgoing links will most likely not be enough to generate these results. HSMOs can improve their chances of being viewed by Web surfers through strategic hyperlinking, but they will not improve webometrics without relevant Web content. In order to gain resources, an HSMO website must be a resource itself.

Adding dimension to this discussion, Chapter 4 compares the hyperlink network to the same organizations' co-participation in Congressional hearings. Chapter 4 also examines the use of resources by HSMOs before and after a third major political opportunity—the bursting of the housing bubble. While the policy community and the issue network shared no structural similarities, the results showed a decrease in linkages in both networks after the bursting of the housing bubble. While similarities between the two networks would have shown clear patterns in the social movement, the lack of similarities clearly establishes the need for SMOs to have differing strategies when approaching each of these structurally different networks. When testing for homophily

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[24] Algorithm used by Google to determine priority of results in a search engine query. A higher Google Page Rank equate to higher priority in results.

between the two networks, the issue network showed no distinct patterns based on HSMO attributes, whereas the policy community showed additional ties based on the age and type of HSMO. Social marketing plans might be subject to more limitations in participation in the policy community (where similarity of organizations seems to be present) than in the issue network (where diverse links are more prominent).

The categories of resources examined (i.e. organizational characteristics, Internet and media presence, as well as network position and structure) are portions of broader systems power and class bias. Much of the social and economic inequalities that exist in the United States are examined within the context of work within organizations. Piven and Cloward's (1977) seminal work describing organizing strategy of occasions when people of lower socioeconomic status mobilize offers insight into inequalities among organizations. Piven and Cloward (1977) present a theory of the institutional structures that limits the emergence and success of the U.S. working class. This theory notes that the poor rarely mobilize and are typically suppressed when they do. It is only under exceptional circumstances, that poor people's movements are successful for their own class interests. When it comes to the three categories of resources presented in this dissertation, it is intuitive that having financial means will provide greater access to resources. A certain skill level is also required for access to technology. Due to ease of acquisition by those with greater income and skill, there is a power and class advantage when it comes to exploiting political opportunities.

A power and class advantage is also present when it comes to access to policy networks and issue networks. These networks are difficult to access without the financial means to do so. The HSMOs studied in this dissertation, represent beneficiaries of the

housing social movement. If beneficiaries of the movement are truly represented by HSMOs that manage the activities of the movement, then HSMOs may be considered an equalizing access point for disenfranchised beneficiaries. The nature and activities related to the relationship between HSMOs and their beneficiaries should be explored in future work. While financial attributes did not significantly influence network patterns examined in this dissertation, one can assume that HSMOs with more financial resources may have qualitatively different links with other HSMOs than those that do not.

These three studies examined a number of deployed resources, including attendance of Congressional hearings, outgoing bonding and bridging hyperlinks, website content and mission statements, and organizational demographics. The organizational demographics used in Chapter 4 included the following variables: age of the organization, total revenue, federated chapters, and type of organization. Given the presence of a political opportunity (such as those mentioned in the historical background and the bursting of the housing bubble) HSMOs were able to gain resources. Resources gained included central positions in the policy domain, incoming hyperlinks, improved Google Page Rank, improved Alexa Internet traffic ranking, and sustained activity and centrality in the network of HSMOs over time. Each of these structurally different networks offers a different strategy to resource gathering. HSMOs institutionalized in the 1960s (Saltman, 1978), decentralized in the 1970s giving rise to local networks (Erickson, 2009), and then found themselves in competition for scarce resources at the national level after 2008.

McAdam (1996) analyzed the rise and decline of the US Civil Rights Movement as a result of three factors included in his model: political opportunities (p. 40),

indigenous organizational strength (p. 43), and cognitive liberation (p. 48). McAdam's (1996) model states that shifts in all three of these factors account for the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, and also for its decline, as all three factors moved toward a negative shift in the late 1960s. HSMOs are still reacting to the bursting of the housing bubble, and changes in the ways that organizations relate to one another as a result of this major shift in the political status quo is still occurring. Although a political opportunity has recently presented itself in the housing social movement, indigenous inter-organizational strength in the form of ties in the overall network of HSMOs seems to have declined in both the policy community and issue network.

In place of cognitive liberation, some theorists refer to a movement's framing process. The framing process is the "collective process of interpretation, and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action" (p. 2, McAdam et al., 1996). Some evidence suggests that HSMOs engaging in strategic social marketing online tend to be more successful at gathering resources than organizations that do not. Social marketing may include framing messages that achieve resonance with conscious constituents online. Approaches and ability to engage in social marketing are different in the policy community than in the issue network. The major differences among these structurally different network types will be discussed in the next two sections, followed by a description of the issue network beyond hyperlinking.

SMOs and the Policy community

Examining who is most central to a network of co-participation in Congressional testimony allows researchers to understand whom the key players in policy decision making might be. While being central to this network is undoubtedly an advantage to some SMOs, it might not be a position that all SMOs are able to access. As discussed in

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Chapter 4, the hyperlink network and the policy domain can also be viewed as two networks influenced differently by structure and agency. While the hyperlink network is comparable to an issue network in which organizations can make independent choices about their connections, the policy community remains bound by the structure set in place by a relatively closed network. In the majority of Congressional testimonials that are recurrent and non-controversial hearings (or the majority of hearings), witnesses are usually recruited from a limited pool of accessible experts. Most hearings have relatively non-controversial discussions since only the most controversial of matters are selected for public dispute. Almost every hearing includes selected witnesses to answer subcommittee questions. When it comes to non-controversial testimony, participants in decision making processes are recruited from a narrow region of the policy domain, and the mode of decision making is expert and technocratic. Since a limited number of matters are selected for wider controversy, participants from outside of the typical network structure find this to be a difficult to understand processes whereby key actors come to contest the symbolic framing in which "routine" decisions had previously been made (Laumann & Knoke, 1987, 1989). Therefore, many of the key actors in the policy community are truly determined by the ways that Congress constrains participant network structure.

Network structure of the policy domain can differ by the type of policy considered. Laumann and Knoke (1989) examined a number of policies to determine the highest and lowest ranking actors in the network. By reducing the policy domain to housing policy alone, it is possible to find differing results. Laumann and Knoke (1989) found that one of the resources commonly associated with participation in policy-making in the theoretical literature—the size of staffs available to monitor on-going domain

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activities—proved unrelated in policy events. The highest-ranking organizations found by Laumann and Knoke (1989) in these networks were governmental actors, generalist trade associations, professional societies, and major corporations. The lowest-ranking organizations included specialist associations, public interest groups, and similar claimant organizations, which had either narrow or incidental interest in the domain. They also found an absence of a relationship between participation in the policy domain and individual organizational attributes. While attributes of organizations were not central to the social structure, Laumann and Knoke (1989) still identify the multiplicity of policy domains, arguing that the national policy domain is an instrumentally different structure at the local level and global level. Moreover, they suggest that organizations within these networks are created and sustained based on substantive similarities on issues regardless of similarities based on organizational characteristics.

The analysis in Chapter 4 indicated that while the total revenue of the organization remained unrelated to the majority of ties, the age of the organization and the type of organization had an influence on ties. The analysis of the overall policy domain in Chapter 2 showed that many HSMOs began appearing in the policy domain around the same time and became more central as time passed. The centrality of HSMOs in the whole network of the policy domain indicates that the network depends on an HSMO's participation and influence on the policy community at some level. The analyses of this dissertation have not yet discussed the full influence of HSMOs in the full issue network of organizations discussing housing topics. Given what we know about networks in the policy domain and the opportunities to be gained by SMOs participating

in these networks, the next section examines what is known about the issue network with regard to HMSOs alone.

SMOs and the Issue Network

As described in Chapter 3, a central position in a hyperlink network directly affects an HSMO's Google Page rank and overall Alexa Traffic rankings. Indirect effects of having a central position in a hyperlink network described by Park (2003) include increased credibility, authority, and prestige among comparable organizations. When organizations pay money to consultants to increase website metrics, they are often paying to increase these indirect effects. This study shows that simply hyperlinking strategies can be a cost-effective means to increasing these valuable website metrics. Chapter 4 further explores the hyperlink network during a time of limited resources. Organizations have found themselves competing for scarce resources given the current economic downturn. A recession creates a worthy point to study the how SMOs find new ways to mobilize resources on a smaller budget and how the competition for resources has changed the ways SMOs network with one another.

HSMOs approach the topic of housing in different ways. Some offer housing assistance directly; others focus indirectly on lobbying, research, oversight of the fair housing law of 1968, or other informative practices, such as housing financial literacy. SMOs often work on small budgets and are quite familiar with efficiently mobilizing within the confines of limited financial means. In the digital age, online networks and resources have become increasingly important means by which SMOs can engage in socio-political participation and achieve their goals and missions. Today, many people are familiar with websites that facilitate incorporation into pre-established social networks which are easy to join with no cost to the participants. Prior to social media

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sites, such as Facebook, LinkedIn, and Twitter, hyperlinks[25] were the only way to provide a description of connected organizations to conscience constituents seeking information about social movements. Today, hyperlink networks reflect qualitatively different network information that might be found on social media.

Organizational and educational websites generally devote one page of their site to these links to other resources. A person reviewing a website can utilize their hyperlinks page to find links to explanatory articles or instructions to acquire resources or point to similar organizational websites. Academics have also used hyperlinks pages to cite sources that support the validity of claims made on academics' personal websites. Today, hyperlinks remain crucial to increasing the web presence of an organization because search engine algorithms use hyperlinks to rank search query results. Although online linkages through social networking have become commonplace, these hyperlinks are relevant to data gathering on movement groups in different ways. For example, a broad Google search for "housing" often returns results for home improvement projects or volunteer organizations, but with very few results focus on research and advocacy organizations, and even fewer discuss the network structure of these organizations.

Hyperlink networks have implications for shaping online discussions of social issues, but for the housing social movement in particular, the use of hyperlinks remains an imperative tool in seeking out movement groups that are overshadowed by larger organizations and, therefore, do not appear in top search results. Hyperlinks are also considered an endorsement of the usefulness of a target page, which is why Google currently uses them to tabulate the order of search results (Google, 2008). These types of

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[25] A hyperlink is a word, phrase, or image that acts as a "link" from a hypertext file or document to another location or file, typically activated by clicking on a highlighted word or image on the screen.

endorsements are similar to the way that academics endorse particular articles through citations, as discussed in Chapter 1. The more often an article or website is used, the more significant it is considered to be. The number of times a website is hyperlinked is a more accurate indication of the importance of the website than its web traffic count (Kropczynski & Nah, 2011; Park, 2003; Thelwall, 2009).

This section on SMOs and the issue network argues that hyperlink networks aid in the understanding of issues relevant to HSMOs, especially given that many of these organizations can easily be buried in a web search for housing issues. Chapter 2 of this dissertation provided the network of actors in the housing policy domain in order to deduce what types of actors are most central to the policy community. However, when describing the issue network, the hyperlink networks in Chapters 3 and 4 were limited to a list of 26 HSMOs. A comprehensive list of actors in the hyperlink network was not discussed. The description of the interactions among HSMOs is more useful in answering the research questions than an analysis including the vast array of actors. While an analysis of all the types actors in the issue network was not necessary in previous chapters, they are discussed in the comparison of new technology and the policy domain in the following section. In addition to the full issue network, this section frequently refers to the use of social media by HSMOs, although this resource is previously unmentioned in this dissertation. To round out the understanding of the housing social movement in the digital age and make suggestions for future research, this chapter will describe the larger issue network beyond HSMOs, pose research questions, and report findings.

Background on Issue Network Beyond Hyperlinking

Digital technologies, such as websites and social media, have allowed many SMOs to think more strategically about how messages are deployed to target audiences. People are now familiar with Web 2.0 (user-generated content, such as social networking sites, blogs, wiki sites, and more) pre-established social networks that are easy to join with no cost to the organizations (Andriole, 2010). The major difference between these two versions of the Web is the level of interaction; Web 1.0 is described as "read-only," while Web 2.0 allows users to interact and collaborate with one another (Andriole, 2010). Prior to the development of Web 2.0 social media sites, Web 1.0 networks of hot links (i.e., where users retrieve information but do not necessarily interact) were integral for organizations to inform conscience constituents seeking information about organizational members of social movements.

Over time, digital communication technologies have advanced the ability of SMOs to maintain direct contact with interested audiences and like-minded organizations through Web 1.0 (non-interactive websites) and Web 2.0 (interactive social media) technologies. McCarthy and Zald (2001) indicate that availability for participation has sometimes been stressed, by academics and practitioners, over incentive for participation (see also McAdam, 1988). As noted in Chapter 1, Snow, Zercher, and Eckland-Olsen (1980) found that one of the most important predictors of collective action was through opportunities for joining within a potential participants' social network. Snow et al. (1980) expect that through actively supplying opportunities for membership, various forms of activism might arise. Availability for participation and forms of membership developed new meaning with the introduction of new technologies. An example of this theory's application to new technologies is Facebook.com, where organizations can form

online groups that members can "join" or organizational pages that users can "like."
These low-effort memberships might stimulate future involvement with the organization
and awareness of the organization could travel through a user's online friendship
network. Research shows that "liking" is only a gateway to organizational involvement
for a small percentage of social media users (Weisbuch, Ivcevic, & Ambady, 2009). It
typically reflects established offline involvements and serves as a valuable
communication tool to established members. Using social media as a gateway to
involvement varies however depending on the dynamic strategies employed by
organizations. Extending RMT, resources in the present study refer to human resources
(e.g., members, supporters, and networks, among them), financial resources, and media,
especially digital communication technologies such as Web 1.0, Web 2.0, and hyperlinks.

The effect of social media in protest movements became apparent in June 2009,
when the U.S. State Department requested that Twitter reschedule its system maintenance
in the interest of Iranians who were using the site to protest the presidential election
(Grossman, 2009). This free service allowed Iranians to make personal messages quickly
without government intervention; this was also useful to international audiences tracking
the events. When the Iranian government removed the protests from traditional forms of
media, Twitter continued broadcasting the stories. For this, Mark Pfeifle, a former
national security adviser to the Bush administration, stated that Twitter should be
nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize (Gladwell, 2010). In his recent article on this issue,
Gladwell (2010) reminds us that Twitter is a valuable tool for maintaining and mobilizing
weak ties to action as well as a cause of new revolutions.

The online world offers new opportunities for social movements to mobilize. Fortunately for academics, it also offers new opportunities to record and collect data on interactions related to mobilization. Researchers suggest that online networks can often be the best way to conduct preliminary social inquiries, as well as discover underlying explanations for already well-established phenomena. While the assumed goal of many social media sites is to facilitate interaction between strangers, studies suggest that Facebook has been primarily used to support already existing offline relationships (e.g., Lampe, Ellison, & Steinfield, 2006; Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2011). This could also be true for organizations using social media; Pilny and Shumate (2012) come to this conclusion in their own research of hyperlink networks among organizations. This characteristic distinguishes the first wave of virtual communities from social media, suggesting that social networking is used primarily to further strengthen and provide support for social networks that already have something in common in a particular social movement.

Only a small number of studies (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009; Greenberg & MacAulay, 2009; Nah & Saxton, 2012; Waters et al., 2009) have examined aspects of non-profit organizations' social media use. This brief analysis will increase the understanding of the effect of social media use on non-profit organizations' hyperlink networks with one another. The broader goal of this chapter is to round out the reader's understanding of resources deployed and gathered by HSMOs in the digital age. Nah and Saxton (2012) used data from the 100 largest U.S. non-profit organizations to examine which types of organizations are adopting social media accounts. They found that non-profits that focus strategically on obtaining revenue from market-based program-delivery,

rather than grants or donations, were positively associated with social media adoption and volume of updates. The 26 national HSMOs examined in this study individually thrive on a variety of revenue streams (i.e. grants, private-investors, donations, etc.); however, many would fit a market-based program delivery structure in that the programs and services that they supply are paid for at cost by members and created according to demand.

The use of Web 2.0 technologies by organizations became more prevalent during the two time periods observed in Chapter 4. The results of the longitudinal hyperlink network analysis points to decreasing density[26] between the two periods. Specifically, Chapter 4 examines national housing organizations in 2007 (Figure 5.1) one year before the housing bubble burst, and in 2010 (Figure 5.2) in an era of financial reform. Figure 5.1 is the sociogram of the hyperlink network of the site-by-site matrix gathered in 2007. There are seventy-nine ties in the network, which are highly centralized (40.54% outdegree; 33.41% indegree), and higher in density in 2007 (density = 0.0908). It is not possible for the 2007 network to have any isolates because the sampling method required each node to have at least one indegree. Less than 20% of the organizations contain reciprocating ties. Figure 5.2 displays the 2010 hyperlink network, which differs in that even fewer hyperlinks are present and four isolates have appeared. It is less centralized (26.64% outdegree; 23.07% indegree) and has less density (density = 0.0529) due to increased competition in the network and increased closed-ness to solidarities which is consistent with the results in Chapter 4.
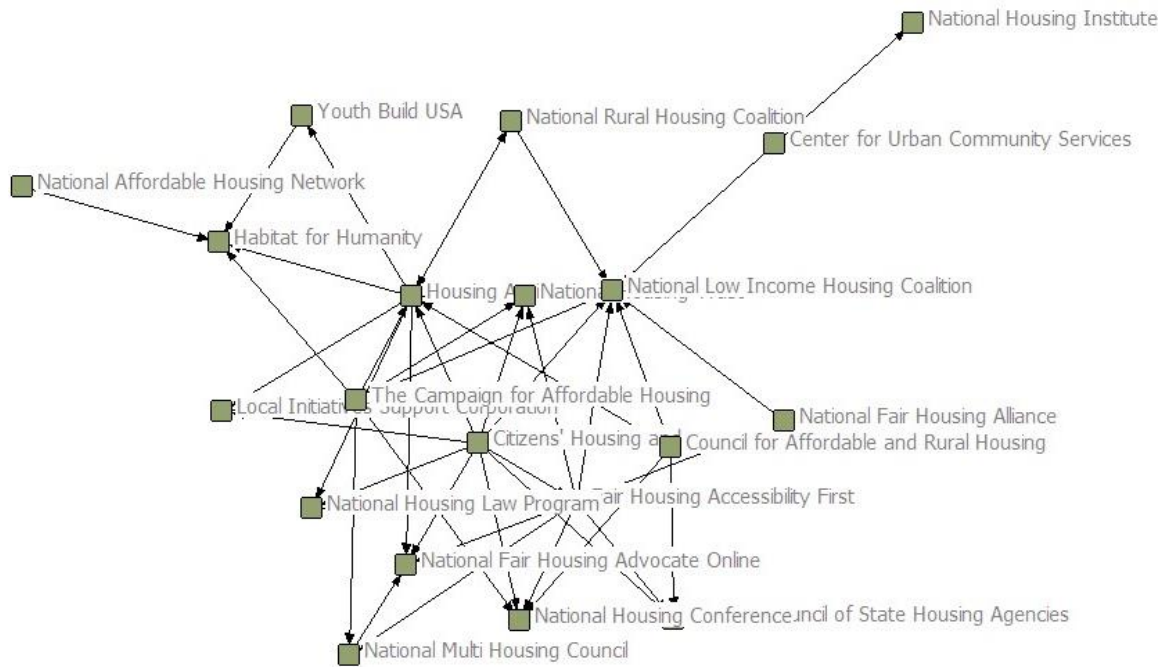
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[26] The density of the network is the total number of ties divided by the total number of possible ties.

Figure 5.1. Sociogram of 2007 Hyperlink Network with Isolates Removed
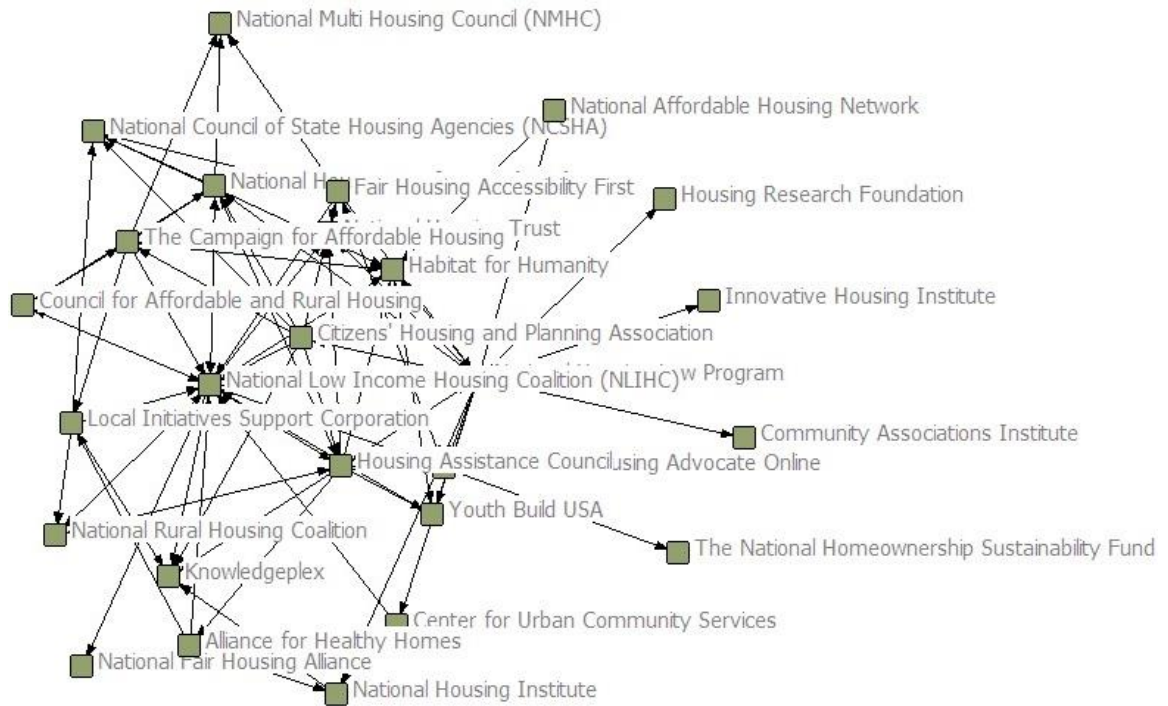
Figure 5.2. Sociogram of 2010 Hyperlink Network with Isolates Removed

This dissertation has described political opportunities in great detail, but technological opportunities that aid organizations in their ability to deploy resources have also been present. As a new way to deploy resources and also a new way of gathering resources, the adoption of social media by HSMOs should be explored further.

The Full Issue Network

The full issue network includes entities which hyperlink to HSMOs, as opposed to the exclusively HSMO-to-HSMO perspective of the issue network presented in Chapters 3 and 4. Two questions guide this brief investigation of the full issue network in order to fill in the gaps that were not addressed in other chapters of this dissertation. First, are national HSMOs using social media as a way to deploy and gain resources? Second, given the absence of perspective of the issue network in Chapters 3 and 4, who are the most central actors in the housing issue network?

The first research question is answered by visiting popular social media sources, Facebook and Twitter, and using the search functions on each of these websites to search for an account for each of the 26 national HSMOs. Similar to the analysis in Chapter 3, the Alexa Traffic ranking of the website for each of the 26 organizations is also recorded to analyze if the addition of social media use has increased web presence of the organization between 2007 and 2010.

The second research question is answered using IssueCrawler, which is an outlink gathering software that crawls the web finding networks of issues. Due to the expansive nature of the web, a full network is far too large to be meaningful; however, this software is utilized to compile a list of websites most central to discussions involving the 26 national organizations used in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. The input of the crawl is the websites of the 26 national organizations and the parameters are a crawl depth of three

outlinks, with up to 10,000 outlinks crawled for each website. The resulting matrix is then reduced to the most central organizations for identification of key players.

Of the 26 national HSMOs, 19 have a social media presence[27]; 12 have Facebook profiles (prominent examples include Habitat for Humanity and The National Fair Housing Alliance); four do not have a Facebook membership but have registered their location for Facebook users to "check-in" using smart phones (such as Youth Build USA); and three national organizations do not have a national Facebook membership but do have one or more regional chapters of their organization with a Facebook membership. Only one organization had its own Twitter account, although several were mentioned on Twitter through members, housing activists, and mentions in headlines of news stories from media on Twitter, such as *The New York Times*.

Chapter 4 found a decreasing density of ties between the two networks. Changes in the hyperlink network structure could be due to tighter financial times and the competition for scarce resources or the introduction of Web 2.0 technologies that allow forms of interaction other than the use of hyperlinks. The adoption and use of social media by HSMOs might explain, in part, the transformation of hyperlink network structure along with the decreased number of hyperlinks. While 19 of the organizations sampled are using social media, traffic on the websites of the organizations seems to be decreasing for the overall network. To analyze web traffic, the Alexa Internet Traffic Rank was collected for 20 HSMOs at both time periods. Of those, over half (14 organizations) had a lower traffic rank in 2010 than they did in 2007. These results imply that decreased hyperlinking has led to decreased density of the online network, which is true by definition. However, a decreasing Web presence of the overall movement also be

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[27] Social media presence recorded in October of 2012.

caused by hyperlinking. These findings show a decrease in hyperlinks and consequently, a decrease in Web presence and the presence of social media links in its place. Future research should explore the costs or benefits associated with trading hyperlinking for social media presence.

From these findings, one might argue that while Web 1.0 and 2.0 technologies can function as useful resources for SMOs, Web 2.0 technologies can supplement and/or replace the roles that Web 1.0 technologies used to serve for SMOs. Given the political context, it is interesting that Web traffic has decreased for organizations offering assistance for obtaining affordable housing. For example, Youth Build USA experienced a drop in Web traffic (a drop in overall online traffic ranking by 1,218,955) although it offers a variety of housing services and volunteer opportunities. Decreases in rank varied from a maximum drop of 12,108,788 (Center for Urban and Community Services) to a minimum drop of 57,734 (National Fair Housing Advocate Online), with an average rank change by all organizations of 1,861,226 (decrease in rank).

To address research question 2, IssueCrawler was used to gather information about key players addressing the issue of housing on the web. Figure 5.3 displays the resulting sociogram. Unlike the policy domain, HSMOs are not present among key players. The actors with the highest degree of centrality are all social media giants: Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. By type of website, .coms were most central, followed by .gov, then .net, and least prevalent were .orgs.

Figure 5.3. Sociogram of top results of IssueCrawler (nodes are sized by degree centrality; red indicates .com website, green indicates .gov, light green indicates .net, yellow indicates .org)
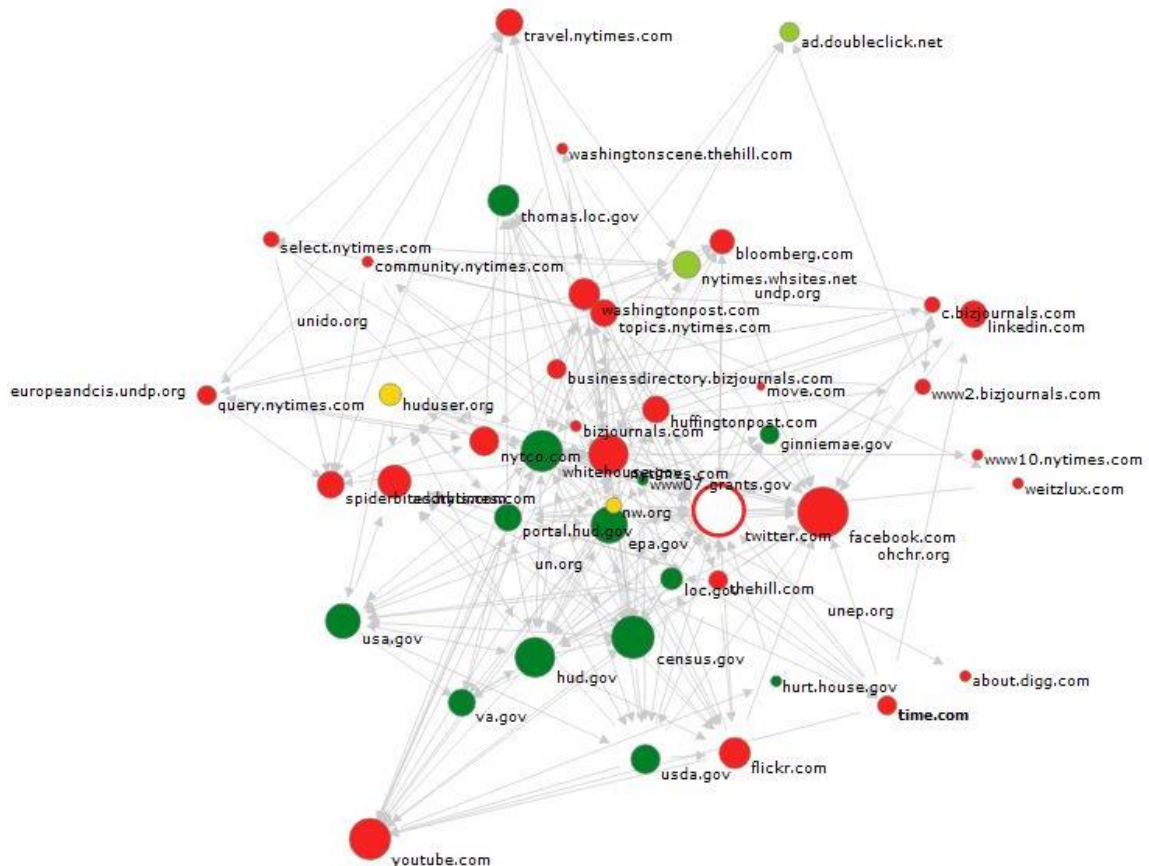
These results indicate that within the housing social movement, while an increasingly SMOs dominated organizational state exists, the issue network is increasingly social media bound. Although an HSMO presents the same organizational characteristics in both networks, they do not result in similar network position and structure in the two networks. This occurs primarily because any website is challenged to compete with social media for primacy in information distribution. Fortunately, HSMO websites need not compete with social media websites when they can utilize them directly. The question was posed: Are national HSMOs using social media as a way to

deploy and gain resources? The above review shows that HSMOs have, indeed, begun

utilizing social media as a way to deploy resources in recent years. The Housing

Assistance Council has integrated their website with their Twitter account by

encouraging readers to participate in conversations about topics online. The following are

two examples of content found on the Housing Assistance Council website:

Discuss or comment on the budget on HAC's rural housing listserv or

on Twitter (use hashtag #ruralhousing)

Register now for HAC's webinar on the rural housing budget, to be held

Tuesday, February 21, 2:00-3:00 eastern time.[28]

This is an example of how organizations have more agency to act within in an issue

network rather than in the policy community. Online, organizations can launch their own

guerilla marketing campaigns to harness the power of target audiences to mobilize

quickly. Prior to the digital age, centrality might have been more dependent on the

policy-making domain, but today there is more transparency in the policy-making

domain, and social media has become a major vehicle for social marketing.

While social media increases potential for reaching out to potential members of a

social movement, the level of participation in social media is also rather low. As

discussed in the introductory chapter, there is more potential for slacktivism than

activism through social media. An example of this is Facebook Pages, which allow

organizations to form online groups that members can "join" or organizational pages that

users can "like" at the click of a button. This type of low-effort membership is one that

the HSMO hopes will stimulate future involvement with the organization and create

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[28] http://www.ruralhome.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=467:fy-13-rd-budget&catid=45:announcements

further organizational awareness which might travel through users' online friendship networks. This type of low cost, minimal effort activism is what is referred to as "slacktivism" (Morozov, 2011) recognizing that there are both potential positive and negative outcomes from such participation. A prominent scholar that has taken issue with slacktivistic forms of participation in social movements is Clay Shirky who maintained the blog "From Activism to Slacktivism" (Shirky, 2012). In response to growing criticism of slacktivism, socio-technical scholars formed a research group to explore to potential of the reverse, titling the group "From Slacktivism to Activism[29]" analyzing effectiveness and participation in high-risk, high-cost social participation as a result of online participation and campaigns. Shirky responded to these research efforts stating that, "[s]lacktivism is necessary as our tools are changing. We must learn how to adapt rather than fight against it" (Shirky, 2012). While many agree that slacktivism may lead to traditional forms of activism, the term is still a very accurate way for describing a great deal of online social movement activities.

Further, as an investment, SMOs must be aware that the outcome of creating a Facebook Page may not have high yield due to slacktivism. Elan Dekel, contributor to Forbes Magazine found that for some small businesses, a Facebook page can be an unproductive investment (Dekel, 2013). This is Dekel's observation in light of paid promotions to garner more 'likes' for a brand new small business. Dekel writes "Our biggest disappointment was our misunderstanding of how Facebook Pages work. Instead of building a database of users that you can contact at will, you are essentially paying Facebook to build a list of people that you can then advertise to" (Dekel, 2013). He goes on to say, that while reaching target audiences was quite costly for this new small

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[29] http://yardi.people.si.umich.edu/pubs/Yardi_CHI11_SIG.pdf

business, this model of advertising works for Facebook Pages that can build up followings organically (Dekel, 2013). For this reason, reaching out through social media may not work for all SMOs. Those with an established group of members may be able to reach out to those members in a more efficient way and potentially go beyond member groups, for new and/or unknown SMOs, it may an unproductive effort. Another concern that is often expressed when it comes to social media is privacy.

> *Facebook is a personal vault that can contain photos of your firstborn, plans to bring down your government and, occasionally, a record of your indiscretions. It can be scoured by police officers, partners and would-be employers. It can be mined by marketers to show tailored advertisements. And now, with Facebook's newfangled search tool, it can allow strangers, along with "friends" on Facebook, to discover who you are, what you like and where you go.* (Sengupta, 2013)

A New York Times article regarding February 2013 updates to Facebook privacy settings by Somini Sengupta cautioned users to be aware of personal information that would soon be even easier to find. Sengupta specifically stated that individuals should consider when becoming users: how they would like to be found, what they would like the world to know, consider if they mind being tracked by advertisers, and who is appropriate to befriend (Sengupta, 2013). There are also considerations for SMOs as users, although in many instances, SMOs may be considered an advertiser that does not wish to restrict its information, but rather to use Facebook as a tool to expand their reach of information. There are still several considerations that SMOs should consider before opening an account. First, organizations should have an explicit purpose for joining the

site and internally discuss what types of communications and information sharing will help the SMO further goals. Similarly, they should discuss what types of information should not be shared using Facebook and may be more effectively or privately shared by utilizing other means of communication. Next, SMOs should have a plan for how to moderate, or deal with negative feedback that may be posted to their page. Some organizations chose to address negative feedback directly through carefully worded clarifications or justifications of actions, while other organizations chose to simply delete negative statements from their site. A social marketing plan should not only consider the positive benefits of increasing their web presence, but also have a plan for dealing with negative press through social media.

Nonprofits must be quite dynamic in their approach to using social media platforms that were originally designed for the use of individuals and later adapted by use of for-profit corporations. Seeing a need for a new platform that specifically meets the needs of non-profits, one of the founders of Facebook developed a new platform to inspire collaborations among individuals and non-profits in a way that facilitates activities beyond slacktivistic "liking" of the organization. The website is Good.is, and is headquartered in Los Angeles, CA. The platform allows individuals, or social entrepreneurs, to identify organizations and corporation that have accounts on GOOD based on a particular interest or geographical area. It specifically facilitates actions between users and organizations by encouraging users to engage through specific activities or providing donations. As more non-profits and SMOs become active online, the future of resource mobilization online may move further in the direction of platforms such as this one.

The first section of this chapter explored the many ways in which digital technologies are influencing how organizations gather and deploy resources and respond to political opportunities. It also raises the question of how digital technologies shape perceptions of social challenges and imperatives. Digital technologies, and their use by individuals, organizations and governments, are interesting objects of research to scholars across the social sciences (Andriole, 2010). The time spent in front of a screen or peering intently at a smaller mobile device affects not only how people interact with technology and with one another, but it also influences the development of identities and the ways that individuals relate to organizations. Concerns are expressed about declining attention spans and changes to the wiring of the brain (Putnam, 1993). On the other hand, academics and practitioners now have access to an enormous range of information and strategy-based material that was unattainable a generation ago (Barbules & Callister, 2000). These changes are meaningful to the ways that social movements operate. Online interactions facilitate the possibility to target audiences in multiple domains and become more integrated in the lives of target audiences.

Strategic Socio-technical Networking and Social Marketing of Social Movement Organizations

This dissertation uses relational data to structure knowledge of HSMO activities. Given these activities, HSMOs can make rational choices about network and marketing plans. In chapter 4, income data is a variable in the analysis. HSMOs with high incomes tend to have a large construction or monetary assistance budget to the populations they serve an organizational operations tend to be very lean, relying on voluntary members. While these organizations do not intend to turn a profit from a marketing plan, income

and other resources are essential to supporting their missions. While strategic plans for networking and social marketing might seem time consuming for an organization struggling to provide shelter for the poor, the loss of income or volunteers can lead to a crisis in organizational operations.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation indicates that organizational longevity in the policy domain requires an ability to adapt to a changing political environment. The implicit goal of HSMOs that are active in the policy domain is to be a change-maker of that environment. As discussed in chapter 4, the policy domain is a rather closed network that is even limited to invited participation at times. A central position may lead to policy influence, to gain this valuable resource, HSMOs must carefully consider marketing how they are framed in their mission and goals, and also online and in their media presence. Successful frame alignment with those selecting hearing witnesses will lead to a more central position in the housing policy domain. For organizations focused on advocacy and lobbying, having a structure that allows for the adaptation of organizational frames to resonate with relevant policy issues is one way that established HSMOs have become central to the policy domain. HSMOs that perform oversight of the Fair Housing Law may find that many housing policy issues fall outside of the scope of their mission and do not require a central position in the housing policy domain to successfully gain resources. The mission statement of the Housing Assistance Council, however, is to improve housing conditions national-wide for a diverse population. They require a very large operating budget and policy support in order to meet their goals and having a central position in the policy domain allows for more certainty in gathering necessary resources.

Strategic socio-technical networking plans can take the form of very simple activities, but HSMOs must understand the value of these activities before they will be willing to invest in even this small amount of effort. The results of chapter 3 show that HSMOs which engage in increased hyperlinking with organizations with dissimilar missions and goals may be rewarded with an increased web presence. The examination of the full issue network in this chapter suggests that networking directly with constituents via social media may lead to similar gains. A challenging aspect of carrying out socio-technical plans with community groups is that they tend to treat the need the need for new technology as a crisis, not a standing concern (Merkel, Farooq, Xiao, Ganoe, Rosson, & Carroll, 2007). This is a typical paradox for civic organizations which depend on the motivation of volunteers, but lack the time or skills necessary to participate in the realm where people are actively searching for opportunities to be a part of a community. Carroll (2012) has done extensive work involving community partnerships; one community partner wondered why on Earth he would join Habitat for Humanity to maintain a database. All of the data collected for this dissertation is publically available online to HSMOs should they chose to perform their own webometric analyses in order measure increases in web presence based on changes made to their outgoing hyperlinks or social media presence. Given that this is a rather time-consuming undertaking, a simplest recommendation is that HSMOs make a concerted effort to participate in the realm that potential members of the social movement dwell based on findings that many low effort activities lead to tangible resource gains.

Concluding Thoughts

Social media is a primary source of information about the housing social movement. Fortunately, HSMOs have responded to this shift in information flow by

utilizing this resource themselves. Twitter and Facebook were not as heavily used by organizations at the time of initial data collection in 2007, which might account for websites that previously had a links page pointing to other organizations that then switched to a "Social Media Links" tab, pointing to social networking sites to which the SMO maintained a profile. Of these 26 organizations, none directs traffic to other organizations' social media sites from their website, and they did not have connections to one another via social media. Further longitudinal studies might show whether increased hyperlinks or social media use has a greater influence on incoming traffic for HSMO websites.

This dissertation contributes to current literature both theoretically and empirically. Overall, this dissertation provides more information about a specific understudied topic—the housing social movement. Also, each of the three studies has contributed new scholarship to the field of sociology and social network analysis methodology. Specifically, Chapter 2 builds upon Laumann and Knoke's (1989) work on the policy domain by applying their method of analysis to a different topic of political testimony. This type of longitudinal study of relationships between key players in the housing policy domain has not been conducted previously and contributes to the historical and political knowledge on this issue. From the perspective of housing social movement organizations (especially those found to be most central to the network), this research provides empirical evidence that their organizational activities have earned the HSMO a position of power in the policy domain.

The major contribution of Chapter 3 is the labeling of links within a hyperlink network analysis as either bonding or bridging ties. While social capital is often used as a

theoretical framework for network studies, networks of hyperlinks had previously expanded forms of data aggregation, but had not qualitatively explored the nature of hyperlinks in this way. Labeling hyperlinks contributes to both theoretically and methodologically to research on hyperlink networks. Compared to previous literature comparing online and offline networks, Chapter 4 takes a novel approach to examining key players within different networks that they actively participate in. Through the comparison of the issue network to the policy community it is clear that organizations that frequently co-participate in Congressional testimony do not necessarily link to one another online and vice versa.

In reflecting on this research, new developments shaped the way that data was collected and also formed my own understanding of this social movement as the research progressed. My research on housing policy started as a result of having worked with the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government on opportunities to expand affordable housing in the local area. In searching for affordable housing alternatives, I first explored existing structures, which led me to local non-profit housing organizations. Each of these housing non-profits had very different missions, goals, and strategies for framing the topic of affordable housing. Some organizations collaborated one another, some were highly active with the mission of a specific grantor, and others were connected by federation to larger umbrella organizations (such as Habitat for Humanity). With an interest in the choices that housing non-profits make to coordinate with one another I began work on the hyperlink network analysis of national organizations described in Chapter 3.

Understanding missions and goals of national organizations through websites provided both simplicity and complication by comparison to discussions with community partners. While websites delivered brief statements about organizational missions and goals that could be easily categorized for purposes of analysis, the history of the organization or other stories that allow context to these missions and goals were not easily found. After reading the work of Saltman (1978) and Erickson (2009), there was a need to contextualize HSMOs within this larger history of changing networks among HSMOs. The network analysis of co-participation in housing testimony developed out of the process of reviewing housing policy. Originally, I read several pieces of testimony from each decade in order to use the history of housing policies to frame the present day relationships among HSMOs. It became evident through the review of policy that many organizations appeared jointly for testimony in a way that could be meaningful in a network analysis. This provided a transition of the review of Congressional testimony from background material to support an analysis, to an analysis of its own in Chapter 2.

This dissertation is not only shaped by its review of the past, but also by changes in policy and technology in the present. The hyperlink network analysis in Chapter 3 was collected analyzed in 2007. A short time after Chapter 3 was written, the housing bubble burst and the economy in the U.S. changed dramatically. The second hyperlink network analysis in 2010 was intended to capture these political changes to the network; however it also captured changes in adoption of Web 2.0 technologies by HSMOs. Rapid changes in technology create challenges when attempting to observe and record online phenomena. While some elements of online relationships at a slice in time may be common place at a given moment, the history of online phenomena changes so quickly

that a readers understanding of the topic may be very different only months later. For example, the format and capabilities of a Facebook Page will have one meaning at the time I am writing this, but can have a very different format and function by next Tuesday. A few years from now, this platform may be completely defunct. I recommend providing screen captures of website observations along with research papers describing online relationships, not only to explain functions to the reader, but to help situate the contribution historically. The information presented in this dissertation does not delve into social media platforms in depth, but research going forward on this topic may explore how HSMOs connect with beneficiaries through these platforms.

A limitation of this dissertation was that in-depth interviews or surveys were not conducted with HSMOs. A survey was launched in January 2012, but received a very low response rate, precluding the generalization of results to a greater audience. Future research of HSMOs should integrate knowledge of these organizations and their use of available social marketing. The theoretical model would be best used to explain further research on specific resources deployed and gathered. Several categories of interrelated resources were described in Chapter 1, and while some variables used in the analyses highlight these categories, a comprehensive analysis of types of resources (e.g. further measures of the three categories of resources, for example organizational characteristics which include scope of organization, geographic location, revenue including funding sources, or number of paid staff; and internet media variables including media presence and degree to which social media is utilized) is necessary to deepen the understanding of the benefits of particular resources (e.g. media presence or degree to which social media is utilized). While this dissertation does not reflect these levels of analysis, Figure 5.4

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shows possible hypotheses using this theoretical model integrating hyperlink network analysis or social network analysis.

Figure 5.4. Hypotheses of HSMOs based on Network Position
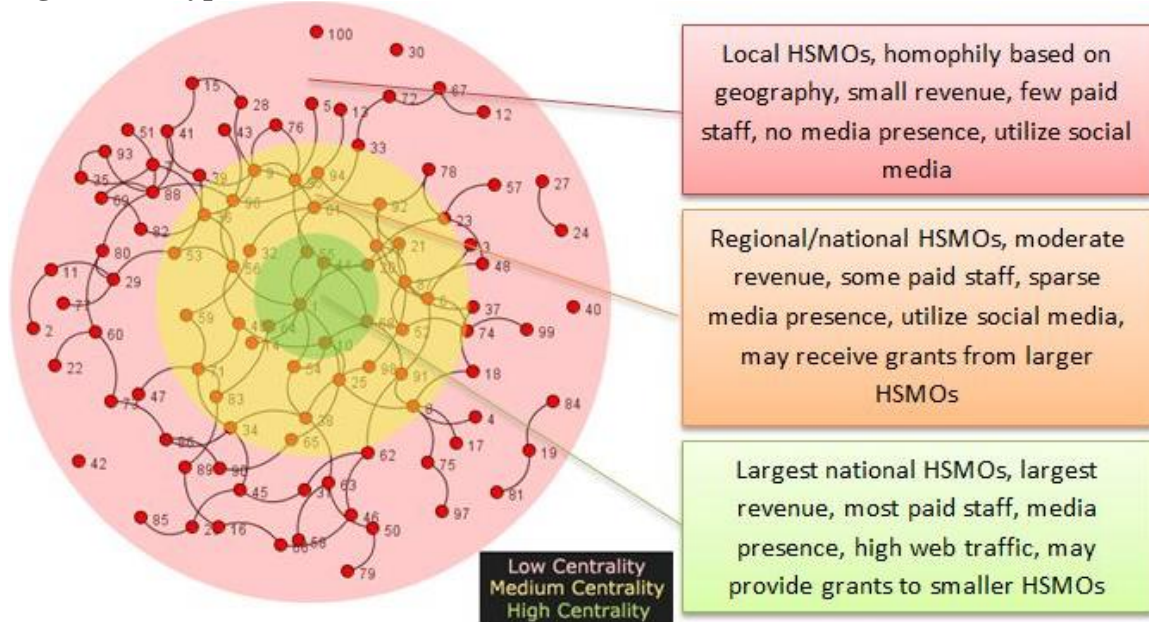
In addition to examining interrelated research, examining the use of social media and other new technologies would strongly benefit future research in this area. New technology enhances the ways in which the availability of large-scale data, immense computational power, and collaborative tools all affect the ways that scientists and scholars relate to each other, to their data and sources, to publishers and libraries, to funders, and to the wider public. Social media is both generative and challenging for different forms of knowledge production and the authority it commands. Digital technologies allow new fields and research practices to emerge. They offer fascinating new ways to represent data and outputs, resulting in new forms of peer review, enhanced publications, and new ways of communicating with stakeholders. To take advantage of the many opportunities offered, social scientists find themselves working across the

disciplines more frequently, particularly with computer scientists and information specialists. Digital technologies also offer new ways for researchers and practitioners to be evaluated and monitored. Webometrics have become important markers of the late 20th century's transition to what many see as a new economic regime. Digital technologies have become essential not only to the ways in which people live their daily lives, but also to the ways in which information is collected, stored, analyzed, and distributed in different policy domains. The production of data is important not only for the production of formalized, but also for the general knowledge of economic and political systems.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Below is a list of common terms and acronyms used throughout this dissertation.

Alexa Internet Traffic Ranking	Alexa (www.alexa.com) is a web information company that provides webometrics. One metric that it provides is a rank of individual websites compared to the traffic all websites globally.
Associative State	Based on associationalism, a concept derived from Alexis de Tocqueville (Kaufman, 1999), the associative state is a partnership between firms and the government to achieve a common goal (Pirani, 2005).
Betweenness Centrality	While degree centrality is a count of the number of ties an organization has, betweenness considers advantageous positions in a network. An example of this type of an advantageous position is that of a "gatekeeper" that has the capacity to broker contacts among other actors or, in contrast, to isolate actors or prevent contact. So while the actor with the highest degree centrality might have the most ties, the actor with the highest betweenness centrality is calculated by identifying the actor that lies between other actors in such a way that it has the power to connect or isolate the most people in the network. To paraphrase from Hanneman and Riddle (2005), organizations that do not lie between any pairs have no brokering power, while organizations that lie closer to the middle of a network lie on more pathways among pairs and are in an advantageous position.
Conscience Constituents	The term "conscience constituent" refers to direct supporters of a movement who do not stand to benefit directly from its success (McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983).
Degree Centrality	The simplest measure of centrality, defined as a simple count of links connected to a node.
Density	The density of the network is the total number of ties divided by the total number of possible ties.
Framing Theory	Frames are a type of shared meaning that may take the form of a message, belief, or value.

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Social movements construct meaning for participants through the framing process (Snow, Zurcher, & Peters, 1981; Snow & Benford, 1988). The framing process is the "collective process of interpretation, and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action" (p. 2, McAdam et al., 1996). The framing process leads to successful mobilization when the frames projected by a movement align with the frames of their participants to produce frame resonance between the two parties (Snow & Benford, 1988). Snow and Benford (1988) characterize three framing tasks as (1) diagnostic framing for the identification of a problem and assignment of blame; (2) prognostic framing to suggest solutions, strategies, and tactics to a problem; and (3) motivational framing that serves as a call to arms or rationale for action.

Google Page Rank	Algorithm used by Google to determine priority of results in a search engine query. A higher Google Page Rank equate to higher priority in results.
HNA	Hyperlink Network Analysis, a term used to describe social network analysis as it is applied to networks of hyperlinks (links) connecting websites (nodes).
HSMO	Housing Social Movement Organization, term used in this dissertation to describe social movement organizations with mission statements and goals specific to housing.
Hyperlink	A hyperlink is a word, phrase, or image that acts as a "link" from a hypertext file or document to another location or file, typically activated by clicking on a highlighted word or image on the screen.
Indegree	Direct links flowing into a node from other nodes in a network.
Inter-Organizational Network Structure	Patterns of interactions among a group of organizations.
Issue Network	This dissertation refers to inter-organizational hyperlink networks as issue networks. Issue networks are described as having limited control over resources and are often faced with more open contests with interest groups outside the

network (Marsh, 1998). Issue networks are often created around emerging issues, membership is not limited, participation is often diverse, and contrasting opinions are permitted without a need for general consensus.

Organizational Characteristics   The term organizational characteristics is used in this dissertation as a broad term to describe organizational demographics, such as the mission-based type of organization (determined by frames and goals), number and types of volunteers and constituents, and the resources that they mobilize.

Organizational State   Knoke and Laumann (1989) found that, over time, the policy domain has been dominated by organizations (rather than corporations or government bureaus), which they termed an organizational state.

Outdegree   Direct links flowing outward from a node into other nodes in a network.

Policy Domain   Inter-organizational network around a particular policy issue.

Policy community   Described as communities involving powerful organizations that control key resources and tend to produce policy continuity (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992). Moreover, policy communities are based on common understandings of problems within a particular policy domain (such as the housing policy domain.) Ideas in a policy domain, must conform to the normative orientation of the group and cases of conflict are solved through general consensus of the group. This dissertation refers to networks of co-participation in Congressional testimony as policy communities.

Political Opportunity   Political opportunities are operationalized in this dissertation as events necessary for mobilization, although their presence does not guarantee that mobilization will occur. These events can be described similarly to collective action events established by Sampson et al. (2005) which are events that are civic and protest alike which bring individuals together in public to realize a common purpose. Established SMOs may respond to a newly emerging common purpose through some organizational restructuring while established social movements may respond through frame transformation or alignment.

PPT	Political process theory, this dissertation uses this theory as a theoretical perspective which describes the role of political opportunities in social movements. It was originally introduced by McAdam (1982) to describe mobilizing environmental factors internal and external to a social movement.
Resources	This dissertation refers to three categories of resources which include: organizational characteristics, Internet/media presence, and network position/structure.
Resources Deployed	Organizations deploy resources with the intention to continue a cycle of resource gathering in order to sustain the organization and remain active in serving its particular mission statement and goals.
Resources Gathered	Organizations gather resources (which may also include organizational characteristics, Internet/media presence, and network position/structure) in order to sustain the organization and remain active in serving its particular mission statement and goals.
RMT	Resource Mobilization Theory, McCarthy and Zald (1977) state that RMT "emphasizes the variety and sources of resources; the relationship of social movements to the media, authorities, and other parties; and the interaction among movement organizations" (p. 1212).
SMO	Social Movement Organization, according to McCarthy and Zald (1977) "Social movements are voluntary collectivities that people support in order to effect changes in society. Using the broadest and most inclusive definition, a social movement includes all who in any form support the general ideas of the movement. Social movements contain social movement organizations, the carrier organizations that consciously attempt to coordinate and mobilize supporters" (p. 2).
SNA	Social Network Analysis, the methodological analysis of social networks
Social Marketing	The field of social marketing uses standard commercial marketing practices to achieve non-

	commercial goals, such as creating social awareness, philanthropy, or charity.
Social Media	Social networking sites, including, but not limited to: Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn
Web Presence	Visibility of a website based on priority in a search engine query or other methods of increasing Web traffic
Webometrics	Metrics that measure the World Wide Web through examination of hyperlinks, usage patterns, content, and other artifacts.
Web Traffic	The number of unique visitors to a website.

APPENDICIES

Appendix 1.1 2010 Organizational Characteristics of HSMOs used in Dissertation

Name	Location	Ruling Date	NTEE	Total Revenue	Feder-ated	Mission-Based Category
Alliance for Healthy Homes	Washington, DC	1990	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Advocacy
Campaign for Affordable Housing	Los Angeles, CA	2007	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Education
Center for Urban Community Services	New York, NY	1994	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Assistance
Citizens' Housing and Planning Association	Baltimore, MD	2009	Community Coalitions (S21)	$325,969	No	Assistance
Community Associations Institute	Falls Church, VA	1979	Neighborhood & Block Associations (S22)	$11,246,163	Yes	Advocacy
Council for Affordable and Rural Housing	Alexandria, VA	1982	Professional Societies & Associations (L03)	$1,001,680	Yes	Advocacy
Fair Housing Accessibility First	Chicago, IL	2003	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Education, Oversight
Habitat for Humanity	Americus, GA	1987	Housing Development, Construction, & Management (L20)	$284,020,422	Yes	Assistance
Housing Assistance Council	Washington, DC	1974	Housing Support (L80)	$15,052,766	No	Assistance
Housing Research Foundation	Norwood, MA	1992	Housing & Shelter (L99)	$0	No	Research
Innovative Housing Institute	Baltimore, MD	1996	Homeowners & Tenants Associations (L520)	$852,798	No	Education
Knowledgeplex	Burbank, CA	2007	Support (L19)	$29,279	No	Research

Local Initiatives Support Corporation	New York, NY	1980	Community & Neighborhood Development (S20)	$101,675,234	Yes	Assistance
National Affordable Housing Network	Butte, MT	1995	Low-Income & Subsidized Rental Housing (L21)	$367,267	No	Education
National Council of State Housing Agencies	Washington, DC	1975	Alliances & Advocacy (L01)	$5,038,259	No	Advocacy, Education
National Fair Housing Advocate Online	Nashville, TN	1998	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Education
National Fair Housing Alliance	Washington, DC	1990	Support (L19)	$4,238,060	No	Advocacy, Education, Oversight
National Homeownership Sustainability Fund	Washington, DC	1990	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Assistance
National Housing Conference	Washington, DC	2000	Housing & Shelter (L99)	$2,523,653	No	Advocacy
National Housing Institute	Montclair, NJ	1985	Housing Support (L80)	$234,235	No	Education
National Housing Law Program	San Francisco, CA	1968	Does Not File	Does Not File	No	Advocacy, Assistance, Oversight
National Housing Trust	Washington, DC	1986	Community & Neighborhood Development (S20)	$3,020,339	No	Assistance
National Low Income Housing Coalition	Washington, DC	1979	Professional Societies & Associations (L03)	$2,295,205	No	Research
National Multi Housing Council	Washington, DC	1978	Alliances & Advocacy (L01)	$10,651,091	No	Advocacy, Education
National Rural Housing Coalition	Washington, DC	1972	Professional Societies & Associations (L03)	$254,516	No	Advocacy
Youth Build USA	Somerville, MA	2001	Youth & Development Programs (O50)	$19,309,817	Yes	Assistance

Appendix 1.2 Definitions of National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) Codes Matching HSMOs

L01 - Alliances & Advocacy

Organizations whose activities focus on influencing public policy within the Housing, Shelter major group area. Includes a variety of activities from public education and influencing public opinion to lobbying national and state legislatures.

Key words: Fair Housing Advocacy; Fair Housing Promotion; Housing Alliances; Housing Coalitions; Housing Discrimination Lobbying; Public Awareness

L03 - Professional Societies & Associations

Learned societies, professional councils, and other organizations that bring together individuals or organizations with a common professional or vocational interest within the Housing, Shelter major group area.

Scope notes: *Includes:* Accreditation Boards

L19 - Support N.E.C.

Organizations that provide all forms of support except for financial assistance or fund raising for other organizations within the Housing, Shelter major group area.

L20 - Housing Development, Construction & Management

Organizations that build, rehabilitate, manage and/or provide rental housing for low-income individuals and families, older adults and people with disabilities; or which make purchasable housing available to low or moderate income families by offering lower priced housing and/or affordable payment plans, by arranging for interest or mortgage subsidies or by involving eventual owners in the construction process (sweat equity). Use this code for organizations that provide housing services for a wide range of individuals or for those that offer housing options for low income tenants that are not specified below.

Key words: Accessible Housing; Affordable Housing; Barrier-Free Housing; Habitat for Humanity; Housing Construction; Housing Cooperatives; Housing Development; Housing Management; Inexpensive Housing; Low Cost Housing; Low Income Housing; Low to Moderate Cost Housing; Low to Moderate Income Housing; Mobile Home Parks; Moderate Income Housing; Rooming Houses; Shared Housing; Single Room Occupancy; SRO Hotels; SRO Housing; SROs; Sweat Equity; Urban Homesteading

L21 - Low-Income & Subsidized Rental Housing

Organizations that develop, rehabilitate, manage and/or provide rental housing that is available to people who qualify on the basis of income, age or disability for publicly subsidized housing e.g., HUD housing or housing assistance under Section 8 of the Housing and Urban Development Act.

Key words: Farm Labor Housing Program; Federal Leased Housing; FMHA 515; Government Subsidized Housing; Housing and Urban Development Housing; Housing Authorities; HUD Housing; Leased Housing; Low and Moderate Income Housing; Low Income and Affordable Housing; Public Housing; Rent Subsidies; RHS Programs; Rural Housing Service; Section 202; Section 231; Section 236; Section 8; Section 811, Section 221(d)(3); Section 221(d)(4)Subsidized Housing; Subsidized Rental Housing

L50 - Homeowners & Tenants Associations

Organizations that serve the interests of the community as a whole and provide services which meet the needs of people who own or rent apartments, condominiums, townhomes, mobile home parks or other housing complexes who are their members. Also included are complexes that are owned collectively by the people who live there.

Key words: Community Improvement Associations; Condominium Owners Associations; Cooperative Housing Ownership; Cooperative Ownership Associations; Co-ops Owners Associations; Home Owners Associations; Homeowners Associations; Housing Owners Associations; Renters; Tenants Associations

L80 - Housing Support

Organizations that provide supportive services which help people obtain and remain in suitable housing. Use this code for organizations that provide multiple supportive services or for supportive services specified below.

Key words: Home Purchase Counseling; Homeowner Purchase Counseling; Homeownership Counseling; Homeownership Education; Homeownership Training; Household Goods Storage Assistance; Housing Counsel; HUD Counseling Services; Mortgage Counseling; Moving Assistance

L99 - Housing & Shelter N.E.C.

Use this code for organizations that clearly provide housing or shelter services where the major purpose is unclear enough that a more specific code cannot be accurately assigned.

O50 - Youth Development Programs

Programs that provide opportunities for children and youth to participate in recreational, cultural, social and civic activities through membership in clubs and other youth groups with a special focus whose purpose is to help youngsters develop their potential and grow into healthy, educated, responsible and productive adults. Use this code for youth development programs not specified below.

Key words: Afterschool Programs; After-School Programs; After School Programs; Character Development for Youth; Future Homemakers; Future Leaders of America; Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation

S20 - Community & Neighborhood Development

Organizations that focus broadly on strengthening, unifying and building the economic, cultural, educational and social services of an urban community or neighborhood. Use this code for community and neighborhood improvement organizations other than those specified below.

Key words: Business Districts Revitalization; Central Business Districts Revitalization; Central Business Districts; CDCs; Civic Centers; Community Action Agencies; Community Building; Community Capacity Building; Community Development; Community Development Block Grants; Community Development Corporations; Community Improvement; Community Renewal; Community Revitalization; Downtown Revitalization; Healthy Communities; Main Street Programs; Public, Private Initiatives; Riverfront Development; Slum Clearance; Urban Development; Urban Redevelopment; Urban Renewal; Urban Revitalization; Waterfront Development

S21 - Community Coalitions

Organizations that are designed to increase citizen participation in local policy issues and thereby improve the overall quality of life in a particular state or community.

Key words: Citizen Interest Groups; Citizens Leagues; Collective Action; Community Action; Grassroots

S22 - Neighborhood & Block Associations

Organizations whose members are residents of a particular community or neighborhood who have joined together to remedy deficiencies in existing neighborhood conditions or to enhance conditions that are currently satisfactory.

Key words: Block Associations; Community Improvement Associations; Neighborhood Associations; Neighborhood Development; Neighborhood Improvement; Neighborhood Redevelopment; Neighborhood Revitalization; Residential Neighborhood Redevelopment

Appendix 1.3 Full Mission Statements of 26 National HSMOs Used in Dissertation

Name	Mission
Alliance for Healthy Homes	The Alliance seeks to protect children from lead and other environmental health hazards in and around their homes by advocating for policy solutions and building capacity for primary prevention in communities throughout the United States.
Campaign for Affordable Housing	Public education efforts to change the mindset of Americans who continue to believe the myths about affordable housing.
Center for Urban Community Services	CUCS' mission is to end homelessness for as many people as possible and to provide opportunities for low income individuals and families, particularly those living with disabling conditions, to be productive members of the community.
Citizens' Housing and Planning Association	Citizens' Housing and Planning Association's mission is to encourage the production and preservation of housing that is affordable to low and moderate income families and individuals and to foster diverse and sustainable communities through planning and community development.
Community Associations Institute	Our mission is to inspire professionalism, effective leadership and responsible citizenship—ideals reflected in communities that are preferred places to call home.
Council for Affordable and Rural Housing	CARH provides a respected voice for the concerns of all major participants in the affordable rural housing industry.
Fair Housing Accessibility First	Fair Housing Accessibility FIRST has been contracted by HUD to provide information, materials, and technical assistance to all relevant stakeholders about the accessibility design and construction requirements of the Fair Housing Act as amended in 1988.
Habitat for Humanity	Habitat for Humanity works in partnership with god and people everywhere, from all walks of life, to develop communities with people in need by building and renovating houses, so there are decent houses, in decent communities in which every person can experience god's love and can live and grow into all that god intends.

Housing Assistance Council	The exempt purpose is to improve Housing conditions for the rural poor, with emphasis on the poorest of the poor in the most rural places. HAC helps local public, private and nonprofit organizations build affordable homes in rural America by providing below-market financing, technical assistance, research, training and information services.
Housing Research Foundation	HRF was organized to operate exclusively for charitable and educational purposes by undertaking Research, designing and implementing programs of training and technical assistance, and serving as a clearinghouse of information pertaining to federal assistance.
Innovative Housing Institute	The Innovative Housing Institute promotes providing quality affordable housing in communities throughout the nation, primarily through the policies and practices known as Inclusionary Housing. The Innovative Housing Institute offers a great depth of knowledge and experience in the variety of Inclusionary Housing tools and strategies used in different local jurisdictions and states.
Knowledgeplex	KnowledgePlex® is designed to support the efforts of practitioners, grantors, policy makers, scholars, investors, and others involved or interested in the fields of affordable housing and community development.
Local Initiatives Support Corporation	As noted in its form 1023,Local Initiatives Support Corporation ("LISC") was formed in 1979 to "assist Local community development on a national level" LISC carries out this charitable purpose through the provision of financial assistance (in the form of loans, lines of credit, loan guarantees, grants)
National Affordable Housing Network	In all of our projects and products, we strive to represent the consumer in low-cost housing design by providing technical assistance, designing detailed house plans, and other educational materials to ensure that resource efficiency features are included in the design of low-income housing in the United States.
National Council of State Housing Agencies	To advance through advocacy and education the nation's state Housing Finance Agencies' efforts to provide affordable housing to those who need it.
National Fair Housing Advocate Online	The National Fair Housing Advocate Online is a resource designed to serve both the fair housing advocacy community and the general public with timely news and information regarding the issues of housing discrimination.

National Fair Housing Alliance	Works to eliminate Housing discrimination and to ensure equal Housing chance for all people through leadership, education and outreach, membership services, public policy initiatives, advocacy and enforcement.
National Homeownership Sustainability Fund	To increase fair & equal access to credit, capital, and banking services/products for low- and moderate-income communities, because discrimination is illegal, unjust and detrimental to the economic growth of underserved communities in the United States and around the world.
National Housing Conference	Since 1931, the nonprofit National Housing Conference (NHC) has been dedicated to helping ensure safe, decent and affordable housing for all in America.
National Housing Institute	The National Housing Institute (NHI), founded in 1975, is an independent nonprofit organization dedicated to fostering decent, affordable housing and a vibrant community for everyone.
National Housing Law Program	Our mission is to advance housing justice for poor people by: Increasing and preserving the supply of decent, affordable housing, Improving existing housing conditions, including physical conditions and management practices, Expanding and enforcing low-income tenants' and homeowners' rights, and Increasing housing opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities.
National Housing Trust	To preserve the existing stock of federally assisted Housing for long-term low-income use.
National Low Income Housing Coalition	To gather, compile, interpret, and share information on Low Income Housing issues.
National Multi Housing Council	NMHC is a national association representing the interests of the larger and most prominent apartment firms in the U.S. NMHC's members are the principal officers of firms engaged in all aspects of the apartment industry, including ownership, development, management, and financing.
National Rural Housing Coalition	In 1969 a group of concerned rural community activists, public officials, and non-profit developers formed the National Rural Housing Coalition (NRHC) to fight for better housing and community facilities for low-income rural families. Today, NRHC works daily to promote and defend the principle that rural people have the right, regardless of income, to a decent place to live or an affordable home, clean drinking water, and basic community services.

Youth Build USA	Youth Build USA works to increase the number of youth transitioning out of poverty by supporting local youth build programs where unemployed young adults work toward their GEDs OR high school diplomas while learning job skills by building affordable housing .

Appendix 2.1. Hearings included in analysis

National Housing Act 1934-House of Representatives
National Housing Act 1934-Senate
Housing Act of 1936
Housing Act of 1937
Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946
Housing Act of 1949
Housing Act of 1952-Senate Hearing Part 1
Housing Act of 1952-Senate Hearing Part 2
Housing Act of 1954
Housing Act of 1955
Housing Act of 1956
Housing Act of 1957
Housing Act of 1958-House of Representatives
Housing Act of 1958-Senate
Housing Act of 1959-House of Representatives
Housing Act of 1959-Senate
Housing Act of 1961
Fair Housing Act of 1967
Housing and Urban Development Legislation 1973
Veterans Housing Act of 1974 and Miscellaneous Bills
Emergency Housing and Housing/Energy 1975
Emergency Housing Assistance 1975
Rural Housing Act of 1977
Indian Housing Act of 1982
Housing Act of 1985-Part 1
Housing Act of 1985-Part 2
Housing Act of 1985-Part 3
Housing Act of 1985-Part 4
National Affordable Housing Act 1988
Affordable Housing Act of 1989
US Housing Act of 1995-Senate Hearing Part 1
US Housing Act of 1995-Senate Hearing Part 2
Saving America's Rural Housing Act of 2006

Appendix 3.1. List of 26 Housing Social Movement Organizations

Name	Website
National Fair Housing Advocate Online	www.FairHousing.com
National Fair Housing Alliance	www.NationalFairHousing.org
National Housing Law Program	http://www.nhlp.org/
Housing Assistance Council	http://www.ruralhome.org/
Knowledgeplex	http://www.knowledgeplex.org/
Local Initiatives Support Corporation	http://www.lisc.org/section/resources
National Council of State Housing Agencies (NCSHA)	www.ncsha.org
National Housing Conference (NHC)	www.nhc.org
National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC)	www.nlihc.org
National Multi Housing Council (NMHC)	www.nmhc.org
Fair Housing Accessibility First	http://www.fairhousingfirst.org/
The National Homeownership Sustainability Fund	http://fairlending.com/
Center for Urban Community Services	http://www.cucs.org/
Citizens' Housing and Planning Association	http://www.chapa.org/
Community Associations Institute	http://www.caionline.org/
Habitat for Humanity	http://www.habitat.org/
Housing Research Foundation	http://housingresearchorg.blogspot.com/
Innovative Housing Institute	http://www.inhousing.org/
National Affordable Housing Network	http://www.nahn.com/
National Housing Institute	http://www.nhi.org/
National Housing Trust	http://www.nhtinc.org/
Youth Build USA	http://www.youthbuild.org/
National Rural Housing Coalition	http://www.nrhcweb.org/
Alliance for Healthy Homes	http://www.afhh.org/
Council for Affordable and Rural Housing	http://www.carh.org/
The Campaign for Affordable Housing	http://www.tcah.org/

Appendix 5.1 Summary Table of Dissertation Results

Research Questions and Hypotheses	Results	Key HSMOs
Chapter 1 RQ1. How do HSMOs continue to engage in socio-political participation given changing political opportunities?	RQ1. HSMOs utilize political opportunities by deploying resources, utilizing political opportunities as mobilizing events, and then gathering resources necessary to sustain the HSMO.	
Chapter 2 RQ1. Under what political opportunities have HSMOs experienced increased centrality in the housing policy domain? RQ2. What are the characteristics of the most central actors to housing policy?	RQ1. HSMOs have experienced increased centrality when political opportunities are focused most on social welfare. RQ2. The most central actors to housing policy are older organizations based in Washington, D.C.	High Degree Centrality: National Association of Home Builders, the National Housing Conference, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment, and the Mortgage Bankers Association. High betweenness centrality: Housing Assistance Council, the National Association of Home Builders, the National Housing Conference, AFL-CIO, and the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment
Chapter 3 RQ1. With regard to the mission statements, what hyperlink network structure do HSMOs form through hyperlinks? RQ2. To what degree does the number of incoming hyperlinks influence the placement of the organization within the network of linked HSMOs?	RQ1. Highly centralized, although less than 20% of the ties are reciprocating. RQ2. Increased number of incoming ties increases degree centrality in the hyperlink network.	High Outdegree: National Housing Law Program, National Low Income Housing Coalition, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Housing Assistance Council High Indegree: National Low Income Housing Coalition, National Association of Home Builders, Habitat for Humanity, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Knowledgeplex

Chapter 4

RQ1. Do the same resources deployed produce the same resources gained in both networks and between periods?

Hypothesis 1. Due to multiformity (i.e. differences of age, type, and revenue of organizations) and agency to choose ties in the hyperlink network, the same resources deployed will not yield similar resources gained in both networks.

Hypothesis 2. Interdependencies (in the form of bonding ties) based on similarity in resources will exist in 2007 and 2010.

RQ2. Does having more alliances in one network correlate with alliances in the other and/or between periods?

Hypothesis 3. Due to multiformity in organizations and agency to choose in the hyperlink network, alliances in policy community will not correlate with alliances in the issue network, and vice versa.

Hypothesis 4. Due to differing political opportunities in 2010 and closed-ness in ability to

RQ1. HSMOs tend to have higher network linkages based on ruling date.
H1. Can be accepted.
H2 Can be accepted but was only true of the policy community based on age of organization and housing/shelter mission.

RQ2. While the QAP correlation and regressions showed strong similarities across periods, it did not show similarities between the policy community and issue network. While similarities existed between periods, the results of the QAP regression also showed a stronger tendency for HSMOs to have ties to one another before the housing bubble than after it. This tendency to no longer link to one another could be due, in part, to more competition for scarce resources in 2010, compared to 2007.
H3. Can be accepted.
H4. Can be accepted.

HSMOs more densely connected overall in 2007 than in 2010.

choose ties in the policy community, resources deployed in 2007 will yield more links than those deployed in 2010.		
Chapter 5 RQ1. Are national HSMOs using social media as a way to deploy and gain resources? RQ2. Given the absence of the full perspective of the issue network, who are the most central actors in the housing issue network?	RQ. Yes, some HSMOs are currently utilizing Facebook and Twitter. RQ2. The most central actors in the overall housing issue network are Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube.	

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CURRICULUM VITA

Jessica Kropczynski

Education:

2006	Masters of Public Administration Martin School of Public Policy and Administration, University of Kentucky
2004	Bachelor of Arts College of Communications, University of Kentucky

Professional Experience:

2012-	Postdoctoral Research for Dr. Jack Carroll and Dr. Guoray Cai, Penn State College of Information Sciences and Technology
2007-12	Graduate Research Assistant for Dr. Patricia Hyjer Dyk, Department of Community and Leadership Development,
2010	Instructor, SOC 101: Introduction to Sociology (summer semester)
2010	Teaching Assistant for Dr. Patrick Mooney, Department of Sociology, SOC 304: Classical Theory (spring semester)
2009	Graduate Research Assistant for the Appalachian Research Center, Developing NSF Grant Proposal for the Growing Local Economies Network
2006-07	Research Internship for Lexington-Fayette Urban County Government, Affordable Housing Survey of Local Agencies
2005-06	Co-op Internship for Kentucky State Government, Kentucky Arts Council, Lead and Conducted External Communications Audit of the Kentucky Arts Council
2004-07	Hall Director, Department of Residence Life, University of Kentucky
2003 Fall	Teaching Assistant for Dr. Anthony Ralph, Department of Residence Life, EDP 518: Mental Hygiene

Publications:

Johnson, J., Kropczynski, J., & Lacki, M. (2013) "Investigating Sociality in Bats: A Methodological Review" *Acta Chiropterologica, 15, 1,* 1-17.

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