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Mobilizing Social Capital: A Qualitative and Network Analysis of Human Service Organizations

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ABSTRACT

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Poverty and homelessness is a social problem that impacts all communities in the U.S. and globally. Social programs that address these issues often focus on mobilizing resources to provide opportunities to increase the social position of their clients and meet their basic needs. Sociological research into this problem, however, has emphasized the influence of social connections in the experiences of individuals in poverty. Social capital is the conceptual representation of actual or potential resources obtained through social network connections. Existing literature regarding social capital has demonstrated that social connections are a critical aspect of human social experience and the ability to overcome obstacles and obtain opportunities for upward social mobility, which may provide an opportunity for individuals to escape poverty. However, much of the literature connecting social capital to homelessness has been directed towards examining the social connections of individuals, and therefore, neglects an analysis of the mobilization of social capital in service organizations. This research addresses this lacuna by examining organizational practices and social network structures in a sample of homeless service providers. The purpose of this study was to analyze the practices of human service organizations that promote the development and utilization of their social network connections. This research thus provides a descriptive review of how organizations mobilize social capital in their community to the benefit of their clients.

To frame the analysis, I use sociological theories on social capital, resource mobilization, and social networks to investigate the question of how human service organizations leverage their social connections to the benefit of their clients. To investigate this question, I use a thematic analysis of 10 qualitative interviews, with a sample of organizational leaders from 7 organizations, and a sociometric analysis of the network connections between 83 organizations in the sample's community.

The results demonstrate that the organizations use practices that employ social capital to: a) mobilize collective community resources, b) develop trust and reciprocity between providers and clients, c) produce social solidarity between clients and the community, and d) develop social ties that provide social support and opportunities for upward mobility. The findings provide an outline for identifying social capital in organizations, which can be used in future research to evaluate the effectiveness of mobilizing social capital for individuals experiencing periods of poverty and homelessness. Additionally, the results review the challenges and potential benefits of developing organizational networks. This research contributes to sociological theory and academic literature by offering evidence of social capital in connections between entities other than individuals. In conclusion, this study informs social policy and encourages organizations to act as members of a connected network, as opposed to acting as individual service providers.

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INTRODUCTION

In the United States alone, it is estimated that over 550,000 individuals were experiencing homelessness in January of 2017 (Henry et al. 2017). One third of these individuals were experiencing homelessness as a family, and over one fifth were children (Henry et al. 2017). Given the magnitude of this problem, it is not surprising that homelessness is a common topic in sociological research. In a comparative analysis of existing literature, Fitzpatrick and Christian (2006) state that the most common themes in homelessness research include defining or identifying the homeless population and explanations and causes of homelessness. However, many social scientists are expanding the scope of homelessness research by centering social experience in their examination of poverty (Barman-Adhikari et al. 2016).

A key aspect of this trend in research on homelessness is a focus on the concept of social capital. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) describes social capital as the benefits and resources one obtains from their social network. In the literature on poverty and homelessness, social capital has been viewed as a solution, a source of social support, and even a limitation for individuals experiencing poverty (Briggs, Popkin and Goering 2010, Tanasescu and Smart 2010, Welty Peachey et al. 2011). Despite contention in academic literature regarding the value of social capital as a solution to poverty and

homelessness, both theoretical and empirical literature have demonstrated that social capital is a critical aspect of our social experience and ability to address social issues (Granovetter 1973, Portes 1998). However, much of the literature connecting social capital to homelessness fails to examine the role of service organizations in social networks, and how social capital facilitates organizational solutions to homelessness.

This thesis addresses this lacuna in body of literature through an application of sociological theory, using thematic analysis, to a sample of qualitative interviews with organizational leadership from service organizations aimed at addressing poverty and homelessness in a midsized city in the Rocky Mountain Region of the United States. This analysis seeks to develop an understanding of organizational networks and the benefits of network structure for individuals experiencing periods of poverty. In addition, this study supplements the qualitative analysis with a network analysis of the sample's organizational connections in the city. This study is framed using intellectual works on social capital and resource mobilization by Pierre Bourdieu, George Coleman, Robert Putnam, Xavier de Souza Briggs, and Mark Granovetter.

Social networks are complex and diverse social structures constituted in a series of relationships with varying levels of reciprocity and mutual interests (Coleman 1988). Based on this principal, this study examines the role of social capital in organizational networks and the mobilization of resources in homeless services. The purpose of this research is to examine how homeless service organizations leverage their positions within a social network to the benefit of the individuals they serve.

RATIONALE FOR STUDY

This qualitative study is important because research addressing the role of social capital in organizational practices may inform program development and public policy. While researchers have shown support for the use of social capital in addressing public issues, there is a need for research that identifies how practices develop social capital in organizational networks and the benefits they provide to both service organizations and their clients. This gap in the literature may be related to two issues that this this study had to address. First, it is inherently difficulty to operationalize social capital for research purposes. The results of this study address this issue by providing an outline for social capital in organizational practices based on the outcomes they provide. Second, researchers must choose between the development of theoretical support by studying the effects and details of a phenomena in select samples, or by sacrificing focus on contextual differences to obtain generalizable findings.

It can be seen in the literature review of this thesis that significant theoretical support already exists based on larger populations, or generalizations about a group of samples. This suggests that scholarly researchers have focused on attempting to gain generalizable findings. In her critique of existing explanations of homelessness, Fitzpatrick (2005) emphasizes the need for contextually focused research by discussing the use of individual and structural explanations of homelessness as the two dominant and polarized positions in homelessness research.

By focusing on a small sample of organizations, this study begins to fill this gap in the literature by building theoretical support, that is transferable to a broader set of experiences, through an in-depth analysis of the phenomena. This also provided the

opportunity to develop an understanding of how contextual differences in the community and local government influence the structure of the organizational network. Consideration for the contexts of the organization is critical in understanding how social connections can foster community solidarity around addressing a public issue. While this study focused on the specific contexts of the community and homeless service organizations, the findings can be applied to a broad spectrum of organizations and inform researchers interested in community relations and development.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The central research question that this study sought to investigate was, how do service organizations leverage their social connections to the benefit of their clients? In addition, the use of sub-questions allowed me to address broader aspects of social capital while maintaining focus on the organization's social connections. Therefore, the following sub-questions guided the research to encompass aspects of the research question that may not have immediately presented themselves, but were critical in developing a more complete understanding of social capital in organizational practices:

Q1   In what ways do service organizations build connections and
      networks within their local service community?

Q2   What challenges or obstacles do service organizations face when
      interacting with their community?

Q3   From the perspective of service organization employees, what are
      the benefits of community relationships for the organization and its
      clients?

OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

In this chapter, I have provided an introduction to the thesis by introducing the problem addressed in this research, the rationale for the study and use of qualitative methods, and an outline of research questions addressed by the study. In Chapter Two, I provide a detailed review of the theoretical and empirical literature that informed this investigation. In doing so, I also explain how using the theoretical framework provided by Bourdieu demonstrates that service organizations constitute a distinct social community. Then, I conclude the chapter with a review relevant literature on homelessness and service organizations.

Chapter Three provides a detailed review of the research design. This includes a description of the research participants, the organizations they represent, and the city in which the research was conducted. Then I provide a brief description of the data collection and analysis process and conclude the chapter with a review of the steps taken to ensure credibility in the research and to meet ethical considerations[1].

In Chapter Four, I provide the findings of my analysis of the collected data. This chapter is organized according to the theoretical and empirical literature discussed in Chapter Two. First, I provide the findings of the thematic analysis regarding social capital in organizations. Then, I provide the results of the network analysis and discuss its contribution to the study. Lastly, I provide the results of the thematic analysis regarding the development of social connections, mobilizing collective resources, and maintaining a social network.

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[1] This includes an overview of the review process of the University of Northern Colorado's Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendix A) and the role and background of the researcher.

Finally, in Chapter Five, I provide a summary and discussion of the findings presented in Chapter Four. This discussion is structured according to the research questions by connecting social capital to support services, discussing the challenges of social connections, and describing the benefits of community relationships. Throughout the discussion I tie the results of the study to the relevant literature discussed in the conclusion of Chapter Two. Finally, I conclude the thesis with a discussion of the study's limitations; contributions to sociological theory, research methods, and social policy, and make recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND THEORETCAL
PERSPECTIVES

This chapter offers an overview of the theoretical and empirical literature relevant

to the research questions proposed in this study. Specifically, this study is framed using

theories on resource mobilization, social organization, and social networks stemming

from the intellectual works of Pierre Bourdieu, George Coleman, Robert Putnam, Xavier

de Souza Briggs, and Mark Granovetter. Throughout this section, I will detail the

concepts and propositions provided by these theorists to describe how service

organizations, and the individuals they serve, constitute a distinct social community that

possesses its own culture, normative rules and regulations, and forms of capital. By

applying this theoretical framework to the practices of organizations that serve

individuals experiencing poverty and homelessness, I conclude that these aspects of the

social community form a set of dispositions that allow both the organization and its

clients to navigate the social structure created by the institution (Bourdieu 1977).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Pierre Bourdieu

Bourdieu (1977) explains that people have mental structures that guide

interactions, behaviors, and thoughts in ways that appears natural or commonsensical to

the individual actor. As an individual navigates their social world, all of their experiences and perceptions pass through mental filters that structure and organize what they do. Bourdieu (1977) refers to these mental filters as *habitus*, which include systems of dispositions, such as "a linguistic competence and a cultural competence" (80), that establish principles of regularity without any strategic intention of organizing (73). The habitus is formed through the experiences provided by one's position in their given social structure and determines behaviors and interactions. Therefore, habitus provides structure and predictability to interactions and allows one to navigate the diverse contexts of the social world without instruction or training, by learning the norms of behavior in a way that presents itself as natural; it acts as the organizing principle of the individual's actions (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu explains, however, even though individuals possess a particular habitus, it is not that individual's own production, but it is instead created, sustained, and reproduced through economic and class conditions. Therefore, the dispositions of the habitus, and the situations that create it, are formed by objective conditions of existence, such as, history, social interactions, and stratification systems; members of groups that share objective conditions are thus sharing in the production of similar subjective habitus (Bourdieu 1977).

Bourdieu (1977) refers to this homogenizing characteristic of habitus as one of its fundamental effects, because it allows interactions to become sensible and thus collective action becomes possible. However, since habitus becomes treated as nature, this collective action is never totally deterministic or totally coordinated (Bourdieu 1977:82). Instead, the action remains only an operation of the relationship between the dispositions/habitus and the material conditions that create them (Bourdieu 1977:78-80).

If this relationship is ignored, then, as Bourdieu (1977) describes, those conditions will be reproduced. Here, we can see a negative aspect of habitus when considered in terms of social class, as the economic conditions that prevent upward mobility are reproduced and maintained.

Bourdieu (1985) explains that social class is constructed based on *principles of differentiation,* which are defined as "the properties active within the social universe in question" that are "capable of conferring strength" on those who possess them (724). These "properties," as Bourdieu puts it, are constituted in various forms of capital that operate in *fields* of "objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter." (1985:724). Bourdieu's use of the term field refers to the general setting in which social positions exist and are exercised according to an internal hierarchy of power (Bourdieu 1984, Bourdieu 1993). Within these fields, individuals are organized according to the volume and composition of their capital—capital being whatever resources are most valuable in that field.

Bourdieu (1993) provides the example of art and literature as a particular field, in which social status is established and maintained according to the cultural prowess and capabilities of individuals who produce works that are defined as art. However, in order for the field to be defined, and by extension for art to be defined, there has to be a dialectical distinction of what is not art. This distinction, Bourdieu (1984) explains, is the "cultural competence" required to participate in the field of art. By understanding that this cultural competence is a resource, which is valued in the field and a determinant factor in its hierarchical organization, it can also be understood as a form of capital.

In "The Forms of Capital," Bourdieu (1986) discusses the concept of capital as it exists beyond its use in economic theory. Here, he defines capital as materialized or embodied labor that allows a person to appropriate social energy to achieve self-interests. Bourdieu describes four types of capital that control the distribution of life chances and define the structure of social class and social position: economic, cultural, symbolic, and social (Bourdieu 1977, Bourdieu 1985, Bourdieu 1986). These forms of capital are the principle influences of habitus differentiation (Bourdieu 1985). In describing these forms, Bourdieu critiques the view of capital in strictly economic terms and material exchange for narrowly focusing on only one form. While economic capital is characterized by the exchange of money and goods for profit, this form of capital is not exclusively possessed as money. In its material state, economic capital exists as any goods that can be directly converted to money, and in its institutionalized state, it is possessed through property or ownership rights and the control of resources (Bourdieu 1986).

Cultural capital, on the other hand, can exist in either the embodied, objectified, or institutionalized states as personal values, cultural goods, or qualifications (Bourdieu 1986). This form of capital can be, for example, possessed as educational or professional certificates, religious positions or offices, or even in physical goods of cultural importance, such as religious jewelry or clothing. These forms of cultural capital act as physical and symbolic marks of social position and dispositions (Bourdieu 1977). Here, the habitus is the product of individual and collective history developed by practices and beliefs, such as religion or language.

In many ways, these social marks also act as symbolic capital, which influences interactions through designations of honor or prestige (Bourdieu 1977). Symbolic capital

establishes, reinforces, and signifies social position and hierarchy. For example, if a

person owns a car, the object itself embodies economic capital as something that can be

directly exchanged for money. However, in our society the ownership of a car also

represents social status. Bourdieu states:

> Any difference that is recognized, accepted as legitimate, functions by that
> very fact as a symbolic capital providing a profit of distinction. Symbolic
> capital, together with the forms of profit and power it warrants, exists only
> in the relationship between distinct and distinctive properties, such as the
> body proper, language, clothing, interior furnishings (each of which
> receives its value from its position in the system of corresponding
> properties, this system itself being objectively referred to the system of
> positions in distributions), and the individuals or groups endowed with
> schemata of perception and appreciation that predispose them to recognize
> (in the twofold meaning of the term) these properties, that is, to constitute
> them into expressive styles, transformed and unrecognizable forms of
> positions in relations of force… There is not a single practice or property
> (in the sense of appropriated object) characteristic of a particular manner
> of living that cannot be given a distinctive value as a function of a socially
> determined principle of pertinence and thereby express a social position
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2013).

Here, Bourdieu explains symbolic capital is both a function of and an expression of social

position, which ties the individual to the social benefits and consequences of that social

position. By recognizing distinction, we become aware of social status, in both ourselves

and in others, which can be used to negotiate dynamics of power or to reaffirm existing

dynamics.

The conception of symbolic capital contributes to the study of poverty by

directing attention to the individual experience of social class distinction—that is to say it

draws our attention away from understanding poverty in terms of income brackets and

benefit thresholds, and instead towards understanding the individual experience.

Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2013) describes this by comparing two methods of

conceptualizing social classes: first, as a statistical or heuristic tool that introduces

discontinuity in a continuous reality, and second, to demonstrate that individuals

recognize the existence of social classes that differentiate them according to a level of

prestige and believe themselves to be a member of one of those classes. He argues that

the opposition between these methods stands as a dialectic between objective and

subjective forms. However, by recognizing signs of distinction as symbolic capital, we

can see that the subjective recognition of class distinction has real, objective, rewards and

consequences.

Since symbolic capital exists only in the relationship between the distinctive

property and the habitus that allows for its recognition, it is also an inherent feature of

social connections. The benefits of distinction become more visible when it distinguishes

an individual as a member of a particular network because it grants access to the

resources of that network. These resources constitute a form of social capital, the final

form of capital which Bourdieu draws attention to.

Social capital is described by Bourdieu (1986) as the durable network of

interpersonal connections an individual has that helps them to navigate their social field.

He explains, social capital can only be understood through its connection to the other

forms of capital because it provides the means to use economic, cultural, and symbolic

capital for personal interests. However, social capital is constituted by group membership

that provides its members with the "backing of collectivity-owned capital" in the various

forms possessed by that group (51). Through group membership, social capital provides

the benefits of actual or potential resources provided by one's social connections and

obligations, that would otherwise be unavailable or difficult to obtain. Thus, it is

measured by the volume of economic or cultural capital that is effectively mobilized

through one's social connections (Bourdieu 1986). While these social connections provide individuals with the ability to employ capital in their interactions to obtain desired ends, it also provides the potential for social mobility.

As Bourdieu (1977) explains, habitus is created based on the social and economic conditions of existence, such as social position and status. Each of these forms of capital influence habitus and social stratification. Various levels of economic, cultural, symbolic, and social capital place individuals in a social status order that impacts the life chances available to a given person. Since, as Bourdieu (1986) states, social capital allows an individual to mobilize collective resources through group membership, increasing social capital through network connections has the potential to increase access to other forms of capital that can provide upward social mobility.

However, since the resources provided by one's social capital is determined by the resources that are collectively owned by the group, social capital can inhibit mobility in some circumstances. If group membership provides resources that are devalued, or stigmatized, in other social groups, those resources may obstruct upward mobility. For example, criminal organizations, such as gangs, may provide access to significant social capital, but they fail to promote positive growth in the dominant society (Briggs 1998). Or, if the social capital provided by a group fails to provide resources for upward mobility, it may sufficiently provide other valuable resources. For example, in homeless or impoverished groups, the group may provide enough resources to maintain individual dependency on the group, which in turn can inhibit upward mobility. Research has demonstrated this in operation in homeless youth networks. Specifically, the network tends to provide a high level of emotional support to their members, but a low level of

instrumental support—support which provides tangible resources such as food or shelter—leading to a reliance and strong sense of identity with a group that does not have the resources that can be used for upward mobility (Barman-Adhikari et al. 2016).

The potential for social capital to either inhibit or promote social mobility demonstrates that it can exist in various forms. In order to examine how social capital can be fostered or developed by organizations, in a positive way, it is important to recognize these different forms and the associated risks and benefits of each. By focusing on the potential for upward mobility that is provided by social capital, this paper emphasizes the importance of social networks in the mobilization of community resources to address issues of poverty and homelessness. Bourdieu's theoretical contributions of habitus and social stratification, through various forms of capital, provide a strong foundation for this purpose.

James Coleman

Bourdieu's description of social capital is not the only conceptualization of the term and so it is important to explore other prevalent theoretical works on social capital. To Bourdieu (1986), social capital is linked to durable networks of relationships and the capital that one can leverage through them. This would suggest that the benefits of social capital only extend to group membership when the connections of individuals are longstanding and consistent. This view fails to include the benefits that may be obtained through more informal, or less durable, networks and social relationships that may be less visible or measurable. So, while social networks such as families, close friends, or even long-standing work groups can be viewed as durable, there are undoubtedly positive

benefits of social capital that come from less durable connection like acquaintances or temporary co-workers.

For example, imagine two individuals who have been working together for several years, but one of them is applying for a new job and the other offers to write them a strong letter of recommendation. This gesture strengthens the relationship and extends the cultural and symbolic capital embodied within that letter of recommendation. Now, as a separate example, imagine two individuals who are accessing the same temporary work agency. While waiting to meet with the agent, the two individuals have a casual conversation in which they tell each other about their work skills and experience. One of the individuals explains that he is an experienced chef and the other tell them about a chef position at a restaurant they recently worked for.

In both examples, the interaction provided one of the individuals with a valuable resource: one a letter of recommendation and the other information about a potential job. These examples illustrate social capital as an instrument of social interaction and the pursuit of personal interests; a view that is expressed by social theorist James Coleman (1988), who plainly states that "social capital is defined by its function" (S98). This function, as he explains, is to facilitate certain actions in a social structure. Therefore, like Bourdieu's use of the term, to Coleman social capital is not something that can be directly exchanged, but rather, it is a necessary component for facilitating exchange. In the examples above, social capital facilitated a particular interaction in favor of an individual interest. The individuals did not gain social capital, but rather they gained access to a valuable resource in an exchange that was made possible by the social capital of the interaction.

Coleman's theory suggests that the value of social capital is constituted by the outcomes it produces in an interaction. To demonstrate this characteristic of social capital, Coleman (1988:S98-S100) describes the various forms in which it can exist using examples of interaction types and the benefits provided by them. These examples include: market exchanges, where it provides trustworthiness through mutual interests; political action groups, where it produces a cellular organization of individuals; societies or communities, providing normative structure and regularity to interactions; and interpersonal communication, as diversity and access to information. Using these examples, Coleman describes three forms of social capital: 1) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures, 2) norms and effective sanctions, and 3) information channels.

First, as obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness, social capital provides members of a network with a standard of reciprocity that allows for relationships to be formed (Coleman 1988). The initial motivation to enter a relationship is to achieve personal interests[2] and therefore there must be reasonable expectation that those interests will be met. In a network of social organizations, this expectation is commonly ensured through mutual interests. Two organizations who work together to provide a particular service enter that relationship with a level of trust that is founded on a reciprocal exchange of resources. This form of social capital is the same for an organization's client as well; the client enters a relationship with the organization with the expectation that their own interests will be met. How this trust is communicated or formalized can vary, as either formal documentation or as informal assumptions for example. However,

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[2] Note, however, that personal interest is not synonymous with personal gain, although it may include it.

regardless of how it is communicated, it serves the same function: to facilitate a relationship founded in reciprocity.

Second, as norms and effective sanctions, social capital functions to solidify and ensure that obligations and expectations in a relationship are met. This function of social capital is distinct from that of basic trust however, because it is rooted in the collective backing of the social network; that is, one individual or entity can rely on the other members of the group to reinforce and establish the mutual interests of the relationship. Coleman (1988) explains that norms generally provide structure and stability to interactions, but also encourage group members to act selflessly in favor of collective interests.

This form of social capital, in terms of support organizations, facilitates several actions. It encourages collaboration, protects individual interests, and can give clients and providers alike a sense of security, by constraining certain behaviors. However, since norms and effective sanctions are also constraining, it also has the potential to prevent innovation. For example, if a community of organizations is highly competitive, or siloed, there may be norms and sanctions that prevent organizations from encroaching on the sectors of other service providers. So, in such a community one organization may be discouraged from implementing a hunger relief program if they are not already the primary provider of hunger relief, regardless of how potentially effective the new program may be.

Third, social capital as information channels provides the means for collective action and resource mobilization through production and sharing of collective knowledge. Here, organizations can work together to better meet their objectives by

sharing knowledge and ideas about processes, funding opportunities, and client needs. Or, with client relations, organizations can act as an information hub, providing their clients with a wide variety of information. This information could be in regard to other services, advice, or opportunities, to provide just a few examples.

Due to the institutionalized nature of social organizations, they often have purposefully formed relationships with other organizations in different fields, such as businesses, non-profits, government agencies, and local entities (Small 2009). The individual organizations or agencies within these networks provide one another with a variety of resources that significantly influence their organizational outcomes (Arya and Lin 2007). In order for organizations to mobilize collective resources, the movement of information is an absolute necessity. Coleman (1988) states:

> Information is important in providing a basis for action. But acquisition of information is costly. At a minimum, it requires attention, which is always in scarce supply. One means by which information can be acquired is by use of social relations that are maintained for other purposes (S104).

This suggests that organizations either, 1) actively foster relationships which provide valuable information channels, or 2) rely on existing relationships to obtain such information. On the other hand, this would also suggest that clients approach organizations in the same way; either 1) seeking out new connections, with organizations or individuals, that can provide needed information, or 2) relying on their existing connections to provide that information.

With Coleman's work in mind, the benefits and constraints associated with social capital can be understood more clearly. While social capital can lead to opportunities, it can also establish a firm juxtaposition between individuals within a group and those outside of it. For instance, in the first form, group members are provided with structure

created by trust in an interaction while simultaneously producing the condition for mistrust toward non-members—limiting opportunities for change and mobility.

However, Coleman (1988) emphasizes that this trust, which is generated by norms of reciprocity, is a necessary part of interaction as it brings about changes in the relations that facilitate action. A lack of trust between organizations and their service population, or potential clients, could be amplified when individuals are tied to exclusive or segregated networks. This can be particularly harmful to homeless and impoverished individuals who are part of an already segregated network, because there is often a reliance on members of that network for information and resources. This pattern has been observed in racial minority and youth networks in particular (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014, Briggs et al. 2010, Netto 2006), suggesting that organizations serving homeless populations may have to overcome challenges associated with stigmatization to develop trust. However, Coleman's theory also suggests that when organizations have developed trust in these populations, that trust may be communicated to other members of their client's social networks.

*Robert Putnam and Xavier de
Souza Briggs*

In the book, *Bowling Alone,* Robert Putnam (2000) examines the characteristics of social capital to explain the modern degradation of American communities. In this work, he reviews and synthesizes contemporary theoretical work on social capital to understand the value of social networks. He explains that social capital is both a public and a private good that is connected to the reciprocity and trustworthiness that comes from social connections and networks of individuals. This is similar to Coleman's conceptualization;

however, Putnam focuses on two other types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital refers to the benefits and resources provided by social networks characterized by homogenous groups of closely connected individuals, such as family, neighborhoods, or close friendships; whereas bridging social capital refers to those benefits of social networks with more loose and diverse connections (Putnam 2000:23).

Like Coleman, Putnam (2000) recognizes the negative potential of social capital as well as the benefits. Bonding social capital provides substantial resources and creates a stronger sense of group loyalty and social cohesion, but can also create tension with others, or out-group antagonism. In contrast, bridging social capital, can provide individuals with the potential to leverage a broader set of resources, but does not facilitate social cohesion and group identity (Putnam 2000). However, these qualities of social networks have an influence on the overall productivity of individuals and groups, so it is important to have a detailed understanding of each to identify the effects of organizational practices and the forms of social capital they leverage.

An important aspect of this theory, emphasized by Putnam, stems from the work of sociologist Xavier de Souza Briggs (1997), who suggests two purposes of social capital for individuals: to get by, and to get ahead. Putnam (2000) explains that bonding social capital is used to get by, but bridging social capital is critical to getting ahead. Therefore, to change one's social position, or to move up in social class, bridging social capital is a necessary part of one's social network.

To demonstrate this, Briggs (1998:178) explains that it is easiest to see social capital in its "individual guise," that is, when a human relationship provides a clear and identifiable resource for individual action that accomplishes something. First, he gives

the example of when a mom asks for help with caregiving, and second, when a recent college graduate asks someone who they know is well-connected to put in a good word for a new job. In the first example, the individual is leveraging social capital as a form of social support. It provides the individual with a needed resource that helps them to deal with the challenges of life, or to "get by." In the second example however, the individual uses social capital as social leverage that will give them a life changing opportunity—it is a type of social capital that facilitates upward social mobility, or to "get ahead" (Briggs 1998).

Briggs (1998) concludes that social capital is merely a resource that is used to achieve an end, so a value judgement can only be attributed to the ends it achieves. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that neither bonding or bridging social capital is more or less important. This perspective emphasizes the importance of analyzing how organizational practices constitute or produce social capital as a resource, as opposed to evaluating it as an objective. An attempt to evaluate the production of social capital would only evaluate the outcomes of the program from a perspective of potentiality. Instead, researchers should focus on using social capital as a framework to describe the relationship between organizational practices, social networks, and social mobility.

Summary of Social Capital

Throughout this section, I have described four conceptions of social capital and seven forms which provide a framework for analyzing the functions of social capital. Using this framework, we can analyze organizational practices and programs to understand how they affect, and are affected by, social networks, and social mobility.

Table 1 provides a summary of social capital as it is discussed in this thesis. In the

following section, I build on this theoretical framework by discussing Mark Granovetter's

work on social networks and resource mobilization.

Table 1. Summary of Social Capital

Author	Definition and Forms
Bourdieu (1986)	Interpersonal connections that provide access to collectively owned resources, in the forms of economic, symbolic, or cultural capital. • Linked to durable networks of relationships and the capital that one can leverage through them. • Measured by the volume of capital that is effectively mobilized through one's social connections.
Coleman (1988)	An instrument of social interaction that is used to pursue personal interests which is defined by its function; what it facilitates in an interaction. 3 forms: 1) Obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures 2) Norms and effective sanctions 3) Information Channels
Putnam (2000)	A private and public good that is connected to the reciprocity and trustworthiness that comes from social connections and networks of individuals. 2 forms: 1) *Bonding Social Capital*: Closely connected homogenous social networks, which provide the benefits of social cohesion and group identity. 2) *Bridging Social Capital*: Loosely connected diverse social networks. Provides a broader set of resources.
Briggs (1998)	A resource that is used to achieve an end. For individuals, it serves two purposes: to get by, and to get ahead. 2 forms: 1) *Social Leverage*: Facilitates upward social mobility. 2) *Social Support*: Provides needed resources to overcome specific challenges.

Mark Granovetter: Social Networks
and Mobilization

Theories on social capital provides the foundation for understanding why connections and networks are important; because social capital provides resources and benefits that an individual would not have access to normally, it can be essential in times of need such as periods of poverty of homelessness. While these resources may include support systems that prevent or buffer homelessness they can also be seen in many other forms, such as knowledge of support services or opportunities transferred by word of mouth through social networks and connections. Mark Granovetter provides an example of this connection by examining why social connections are a crucial resource for both individuals and groups.

In "The Strength of Weak Ties," Granovetter (1973) analyzes the interpersonal relationships of an Italian community faced with an economic crisis to determine why some communities can organize and mobilize resources easily, while others struggle to do so even when faced with extreme threats. Through his analysis, Granovetter argues that the qualities of interpersonal relationships within a community have a profound impact on how information is communicated, which, in turn impacts the community's ability to respond to threats. Communities that have more avenues for developing social connections are more capable of mobilizing collective resources. Here, he introduces the concept of strong and weak ties as a means of distinguishing between levels of cohesion in social bonds. He explains that connections can be evaluated based on the strength of interpersonal ties, and measured by the amount of time, emotional intensity, intimacy, and reciprocity in the tie (Granovetter 1973).

Weak-ties, which are made up of loosely connected groups of individuals, such as acquaintances or coworkers, provide members of the group with limited resources, but collectively make up larger networks of individuals (Granovetter 1973). Strong ties, on the other hand, are made up of very close, tightly-knit, connections, and provide members with access to resources and a very strong sense of social solidarity; however, the opportunity for communication within these groups is limited. While Granovetter provides an extensive discussion on why this limitation occurs, he also provides a simplified explanation through the example of friendship groups;

> If an individual, *A*, has two close friends, *B* and *C*, then *B* and *C* are likely to be close friends as well, and collectively form a strong tie. If *A* provides information to *C*, that information will likely be provided to *B* as well, either through *A* or *C* (Granovetter 1973:1362-65).

In these connections, once all members of the strong tie receive the information, the diffusion of that information ends. And because the members of the group rely on the other members for communication, new information is not easily introduced unless one member is connected to someone outside of the group. Granovetter (1973) explains that weak-ties address this limitation by extending the previous example to include a weak-tie to another group;

> If friend *C* has a connection to a member of a second group, made up of *D*, *E*, and *F*, then the connection between *C* and *D*, provides a weak-tie for *A* and *B* to friend *D* and group two (Granovetter 1973:1362-65).
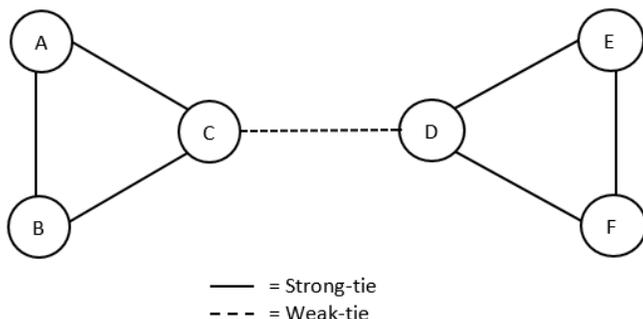
Figure 1. Granovetter (1973)—Sociometric Map of Example

This weak-tie, provided by the connection of *C* and *D*, creates a pathway for new information to be introduced to the group *ABC*. If this weak-tie is the *only* path for information to be transferred between the groups, then it is considered a bridge connection.

Since bridging connections provide a necessary pathway for information to travel between different groups of individuals, the presence of these connections, according to Granovetter (1973), is a key predictor of a community's ability to effectively mobilize collective resources against a threat. He explains, individuals "rarely act on mass-media information unless it is also transmitted through personal ties" (1,374), which he explains, is closely related to trust in leadership. As with both Coleman's (1988) and Putnam's (2000) descriptions of social capital, trust is developed and communicated through mutual interests and interpersonal connections. Granovetter (1973) shows here that fragmented, or segregated, social networks reduce the number of direct or indirect connections between individuals and social leaders. He explains that the social structure of communities is an integral feature of how these connections are formed, because communities with more avenues to develop ties are better able to adapt to challenges or threats and communities that are focused on maintaining strong ties, struggle to organize resources and unify efforts[3]. This suggests that communities which are characterized by bridging social capital, have a greater likelihood to collectively mobilize resources towards a common goal, since social capital provides trust in social structures from mutual interests, obligations, and expectations (Coleman 1988, Putnam 2000).

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[3] While strong interpersonal ties create higher levels of trust between individual members, having avenues for developing weak-ties is important because it provides the opportunity for bridging connections, which are essential to communication and structural trust.

It is important to recognize that the concepts of strong-ties, weak-ties, and bridging connections reflect the theoretical foundations of bonding and bridging social capital but are distinguishable through the focus on the transferal of information. In Putnam's (2000) discussion he describes groups characterized by bonding social capital as tightly knit and well-defined; much like the strong-ties discussed by Granovetter. On the other hand, bridging social capital is characterized in more ambiguous groups of loosely connected individuals, while bridging connections are weak-ties that connect different groups of strong-ties. And finally, while Putnam states that bonding social capital provides social cohesion and group identity, Granovetter suggests that it is weak-ties which provide trust. Therefore, the two terms are not interchangeable, because bonding social capital could exist in a network of weak-ties.

For example, this could be seen in a labor union, which is made up of individuals that are only loosely connected through work but share in a solidifying identity and common interest. The individuals have trust in the union's leadership only because there is a series of indirect connection, or bridges, between the leadership and the individuals. This gives a sense of group identity, or bonding social capital, to the network that otherwise may not exist.

Granovetter's work contributes to the theory of social capital, by providing an observable representation of the value and importance of social connections. The durable network of interpersonal connections, described by Bourdieu (1986), can be visualized and mapped as a network of strong-ties and weak-ties that demonstrates how different resources are connected to an individual. Or, the potential for upward mobility could be described through interpersonal ties across varying levels of social prestige, in order

represent social capital that helps one to get ahead. Granovetter's work demonstrates how the quality of interpersonal ties within a network influence information channels and how norms are communicated and enforced.

The Limits of Social Capital

While there is a variety of literature regarding the impact of social capital and the development of networks on homeless support services, it is important to consider the limitations of social capital. Briggs (1998:178) argues that growing enthusiasm has given social capital "a circus-tent quality" in which "all things positive and social are piled beneath" (178). This highlights a risk of viewing the idea of social capital as a simplified solution to complex problems.

Arya and Lin (2007) examined how participation in collaboration networks influences the organizational outcomes of 52 not-for-profit organizations. This study suggests that by emphasizing material resources, organizations fail to obtain structural resources that are derived from the organizational past and present network ties, and therefore organizations that are situated within a collaborative network have a competitive advantage. However, the authors show that organizations which are central to the network are more likely to be constrained in their use of resources, which negatively impacts their organizational outcomes. Such organizations dedicate more resources to the maintenance of network relations than towards organizational objectives. The negative impact of network centrality demonstrates that social capital can impede individual objectives and growth, since obligations and expectations may require some members to invest greater amounts of resources than other members of the network.

At the individual level, Tanasescu and Smart (2010) examined the limitations of social capital in a study of homeless immigrants in Calgary. The authors criticize the common explanation that immigrants are under-represented among the homeless population in Canada because community and kinship networks act as a buffer to absolute homelessness (2010). Using 292 surveys of immigrants, who self-identified as experiencing housing stress, the results of their study challenged this explanation, as only a small percentage of respondents lived with family members and less than half lived in shared housing arrangements. When related to theories of social capital, these findings suggest that connections characterized by bonding social capital may not provide sufficient support for individuals experiencing homelessness.

Finally, in the book *Moving to Opportunity*, Briggs et al. (2010) examined a social experiment of the same name conducted in 1994 by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Based on the idea of social capital, the experiment used government-provided housing vouchers to move families from highly impoverished communities to better communities. It was hypothesized that if the families were placed in neighborhoods with less poverty then they would develop social connections with higher social status and use this new social capital to escape poverty. However, despite failing to support the hypothesis, Briggs and colleagues were able to analyze various aspects of social capital and make valuable observations about the nature of social capital and social policy.

In their discussion, the authors refer to Mark Granovetter's work to draw attention to the specific risks and downsides that can come from strong social connections, what they refer to as *"the weakness of strong ties"* (Briggs et al. 2010:117). This is the

propensity of strong ties to limit opportunities to develop or maintain networks that provide social mobility. While strong ties can provide supportive resources, they typically come with enormous obligations, therefore maintaining those networks and relations sometimes impede efforts to create networks for social mobility.

This limitation of social capital was demonstrated in the Moving to Opportunity experiment in two ways. First, participants who had more kin ties in their community were less likely to relocate when offered. Second, those families who did relocate, frequently returned to previous social networks for social support, rather than seeking to develop opportunities in their new communities. And while it was not explicitly observed in the study, Briggs et al. (2010) argue that previous research has demonstrated that obligations to strong social ties, such as kin, can be draining on resources and savings that would otherwise contribute to getting ahead (c.f. Stack 1975).

Another issue highlighted by *Moving to Opportunity* is that social capital can have a profound impact on job networks, but not always a positive one. While theories on social capital suggest that well-connected social contacts may provide information on job openings, or offer references that help to get a job, in impoverished or segregated networks this can also provide "a quick route to bad jobs" (Briggs et al. 2010:197). Furthermore, the authors argue that living in socially isolated communities can undermine cultural capital and an individual's understanding of the social norms and expectations in the workplace.

Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus suggests that this is a lack of "cultural competence" that is the result of social class distinction. So, while social capital may provide the potential to connect with new jobs and social opportunities, there is still a

variety of social barriers to upward mobility that have to be addressed. Programs and social policy, such as Moving to Opportunity, that seeks to simply provide the opportunity to develop social capital in an effort to improve conditions fail to acknowledge the fundamental nature of social capital. Coleman (1988) and Briggs (1998) both describe social capital as an instrument that is used in interactions to facilitate a particular action or purpose. This suggests that social capital will exist in any given interaction, but the form it takes on can only be determined by its outcome.

Understanding social capital can allow policy makers to focus on providing resources that better equip individuals navigate their social networks for the purposes of improving their social position. Briggs et al. (2010:229) offer three broad strategies that would allow organizations to more appropriately influence the social relations of their clients: 1) offer healthy alternative to risky connections, 2) provide relationship management and support, and 3) provide ways for disadvantaged individuals to become less reliant on kin relationships. Organizations that provide services to impoverished or homeless individuals may provide services that reflect these strategies.

BACKGROUND

*The State of Research on
Homelessness*

In their comparative study of homelessness research, Fitzpatrick and Christian (2006) state that United States and Britain have the largest bodies of literature on homelessness in the English-speaking world; however, significant differences in methodology and social and economic contexts lead to divergent explanations of homelessness. Through an extensive review of existing literature, they identified common

themes in homelessness research including defining and identifying the homeless population, explanations and causes of homelessness, and research on intervention programs (Fitzpatrick and Christian 2006). While there are certainly many more topics of research in this field, these themes provide general categories for common subjects.

Programs that receive funding from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) categorize an individual as homeless or as chronically homeless. The amended McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act, 42 USC 11302 (2009) defines homeless as any individual or family who: lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence; uses public or private places or shelters not designed for human accommodation; or lives in a publicly operated shelter designed to provide temporary living accommodations.

In 2008, HUD set criteria for chronically homeless individuals to receive benefits funded by the Continuum of Care Program to include any unaccompanied individual with a disabling condition who has either been continually homeless for one year or more; or has experienced four or more episodes of homelessness within the past three years; however, in response to public concerns, this was later revised.

Zlotnick, Tam and Bradley (2010), cited and tested concerns over this definition regarding the exclusion of families from receiving assistance. In their study, the authors determined that a significant number of homeless women are excluded because they were accompanied by children or families. In their analysis, one-fifth of the sample met all criteria for chronic homelessness except for being an unaccompanied individual. In 2015, HUD released a final rule establishing changes to the definition of chronically homeless that excludes the term unaccompanied and specifies that the individual must be without

permanent residence for a total duration of twelve months or more in the past three years (2015).

In research, identifying the homeless population and correlated risk factors are frequent topics of debate. Nino, Loya and Cuevas (2013) examined possible risk factors for chronic homelessness by analyzing interviews conducted with 150 participants from June 2008 to June 2009. It was found that individuals who were considered homeless but did not meet the criteria for chronic homelessness were significantly less likely to report use of government support services such as food stamps or social security; however, individuals who were chronically homeless were more likely to report that access to these services were cut off after initially receiving them. Almost half of the sample was represented by individuals who were considered chronically homeless. The authors suggest that these findings show that homeless services do not effectively reduce periods of chronic homelessness.

The results of their study indicated that several variables were significantly associated with chronic homelessness, including educational attainment, emergency room visits, transportation, criminal record, physical or sexual abuse, and drug or alcohol use (Nino et al. 2013). These results were similar to a previous study of 377 individuals from a homeless shelter in New York City, which found that older age groups, arrest history, and substance abuse were associated with longer periods of homelessness; while shorter periods were associated with current or recent employment, and family support (Caton et al. 2005). However, McQuistion et al. (2014) studied the prevalence of drug and alcohol use in relation to chronic and recurrent homelessness in depth and found that associations with alcohol and substance abuse was only consistent when coupled with other risk

factors. The findings of these studies emphasize the complexity of determining the causes of homelessness. Even though the studies were consistent, there were numerous significant factors associated with homelessness.

Homelessness as a Public Issue

In a study of the perceptions of homeless individuals, Finley and Diversi (2010) take a critical stance on existing data on the homeless population. They propose that such datasets perpetuate distortions of public perspectives of homelessness because they are impersonal, decontextualized, and narrow the experience of homelessness to simple trends. In their study, they analyze a collection of public non-academic articles on homelessness to develop an understanding of societal perceptions and representations of homelessness. There findings are described in relation to three grand narratives or themes: poverty as individual trouble, personal choice, and charity (Finley and Diversi 2010). Through these themes the authors express concerns for a lack of representation of the experience of homelessness in the media and seek to encourage increased portrayal of views that situate homelessness as a public issue.

Belcher and DeForge (2012) discuss the historical perception of homelessness and the development of social stigma. They suggest, as society has focused on the faults of the individual as the cause of homelessness, rather than on social, economic, or environment conditions, homeless individuals have been categorized as nonproductive members of society. This stigmatization leads to a public view of homelessness as a societal problem, but by placing the blame onto those who suffer from it, the problem is not viewed as a failure of society (Belcher and DeForge 2012). They suggest that the

most productive way to address homelessness would be to develop programs that reduce the social stigma attached to being homeless.

Farrugia and Gerrard (2015) explored the field of homelessness research with an emphasis on the political influences that have shaped the representation of homelessness as a public issue. In the article, they argue that while research on homelessness has been focused on causes and explanations, political forces have driven homeless research to be disassociated from other topics of contemporary inequality. This view of homelessness as distinctly separate issue, they suggest, is characteristic of contemporary capitalist societies that view the problem as subjective to individuals who are unable or unwilling to participate in the normative role of productive members of society (Farrugia and Gerrard 2015). In conclusion, the authors propose alternative views of research that positions homelessness within structural the forces of modern society.

Social Capital and Organizations

Barman-Adhikari and Rice (2014), analyzed the social networks of homeless youth to determine how networks affect the use and access of employment services. By interviewing 136 homeless youth, in Los Angeles, California, the authors developed a sociometric map of the interpersonal networks in the community (shown in figure 2 below). In this map, the red points are homeless individuals and the lines connecting each point provide a visual representation of their social network. As the map shows, the core network of this sample is made up of multiple interconnected individuals that form a single large group. This group constitutes the majority of the sample (approximately 56%) with 76 individual members (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014).
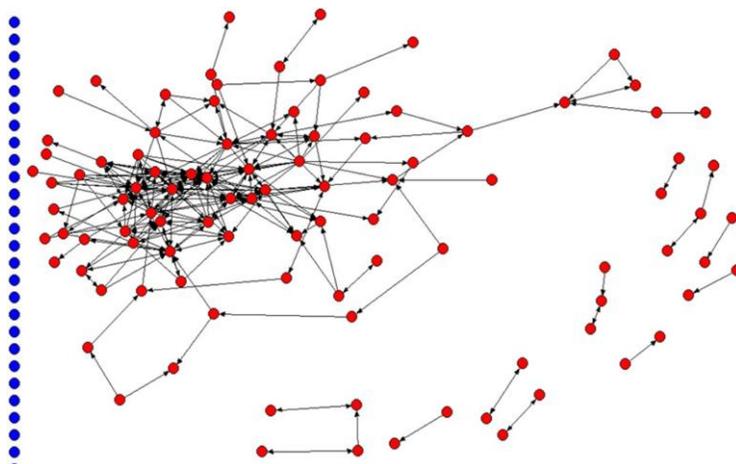
Figure 2. Sociometric Map of Homeless Youth Networks in Los Angeles, California (n = 136). Blue circles are isolates. Arrows indicate direction of nominations between youth. Note: All 36 isolates not visible in figure (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014).

Participants interviewed were asked about both their social networks and their patterns of access to employment services. Their findings suggest that social groups within homeless populations have a strong sense of social identity. The authors attribute this social identity to bonding social capital. For many respondents, the use of support services is viewed as oppositional to group identity and individuals who reported receiving instrumental support from homeless peers were less likely to report using services. However, individuals who reported receiving emotional support from homeless peers indicated that their network was more likely encourage the use of services. Barman-Adhikari and Rice suggest that this paradoxical finding may indicate a dependence on the "street economy" and a disaffiliation from mainstream society for individuals (99).

When considered alongside Granovetter's work, this study offers support for developing community connections to increase access to organizations and services. The groups and individuals that are not connected to this core network may be explained by a lack of bridging connections and information channels; which suggests that these individuals will have reduced access to knowledge of services or other social support

systems. Through practices that develop connections, organizations may be able to connect with service resistant individuals in their community.

An example of a program that is specifically designed to foster these connections in homeless communities is Street Soccer USA. This program focuses on building social capital in homeless communities through volunteering and sport-for-development initiatives, but also provides access to clinical, educational, and employment services. In a study analyzing Street Soccer USA, the authors found that the program improved social connections, enhanced awareness of poverty, and motivated work in social justice within the cities (Welty Peachey et al. 2011) To complete their study, the authors interviewed 36 volunteers from the organization in five different cities. The authors suggest that the program increases social capital for the volunteers, homeless participants, and the community at large. In the study, they found that the program develops a culture of understanding about homelessness in the volunteers, by enhancing awareness, and creates bridging social capital through friendships and relationships between the volunteers and the homeless individuals (Welty Peachey et al. 2011).

Identifying the Gap in the Literature

The study on Street Soccer USA, provides excellent support for the use of social capital in addressing poverty, but it also highlights a limitation to the body of literature. From the contributions to social capital theory made by Granovetter (1973), and the connection to homeless communities provided by Barman-Adhikari and Rice (2014), we can see that there is a clear and important connection between social networks and access to resources in the homeless population. However, despite this support for the

development of social capital as a way to address poverty, literature that analyzes

organizational practices is limited, while literature on the causes of homelessness is

significantly overrepresented.

CONCLUDING REMARKS
AND SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided a detailed review the theoretical and empirical

literature that informs this investigation. This review includes four conceptualizations of

social capital and an empirical examination of social ties and the mobilization of

collective resources. Then, I discussed relevant literature on poverty and service

organizations. Academic research has demonstrated support for the development of social

capital to address poverty, but limited research exists that explores the influence of

organizational practices on social networks and community resources. The present study

was designed to address this limitation. In Chapter Three, I provide a detailed description

of the research design and methods for this thesis.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

This chapter provides a detailed review of the research design, data collection,

and method of analysis used in this thesis. The goal of this study was to examine how

organizations leverage their social connections to the benefit of their clients. This goal

was achieved through an application of sociological theory, using thematic analysis, to a

sample of qualitative interviews and supporting documentation from a sample of

organizations. In addition, a network analysis was conducted to explore the

organizational connections of the sample's community.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study was informed by two qualitative research paradigms: phenomenology

and network analysis. Phenomenology provides the most appropriate approach to this

study because it emphasizes the experiences of the individuals involved in a process.

Creswell and Poth (2017:75) state that "phenomenologists focus on describing what all

participants have in common as they experience a phenomenon." This paradigm directed

this research to focus on the intentions of organizational leadership to understand the

patterns of interactions in their networks. Network analysis, on the other hand,

emphasizes the investigation of patterns and connections between individuals, groups, or institutions and the consequences of those patterns (Abbott 2004).

By viewing the social experiences of organizations, their employees, and their clients through these perspectives, this research focused on the shared characteristics and traits in an otherwise diverse community. Alternatively, this study may have used either a narrative inquiry or an ethnographic approach, and by merit may carry some similarities to these approaches. In narrative inquiry, researchers focus on collecting detailed stories from individuals and groups to understand their experiences, while ethnographies focus on building a complete description of the culture shared by members of a group (Creswell and Poth 2017).

This study used qualitative interviews that provide a view into the lives and experiences of the participants and their perspectives of organizational approaches to addressing poverty. This view gave the research a quality of understanding the independent interests of the organizations, but also recognized the similarities in those interests that constitute a shared culture. It is that shared culture, and the interactions it produces, that distinguishes these organizations as a community. This focus on what these organizations have in common, regarding both their interests and their practices, made a phenomenological approach the most appropriate, but the overlap of the other approaches did provide certain benefits.

Merriam and Tisdell (2016) contend that there are many combinations of research methods and that the design of qualitative research is determined by "both the theoretical framework of the study, and the purpose of study as shown in its focus and research questions" (41). The works of both Bourdieu and Coleman demonstrate that while

entering into a network is motivated by individual interests, the actions within that network are dictated by the cultural norms and demands of the group. Therefore, participation in such a network is both a cultural and an individual experience. To capture the essence of that experience, researchers must examine it first as a shared experience and then as a pursuit of individual interests.

RESEARCH SITES AND
PARTICIPANTS

This research focused on homeless service organizations in a city, given the pseudonym "Fall Arbor," located in the Rocky Mountain region of the United States. Fall Arbor is a midsized city with a population between 160,000 and 170,000 and a median household income of $55,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Additionally, the city reports that there are approximately 68,000 housing units and a 1.11% vacancy rate in 2017. Over the last several years, the city has seen increasing population growth; from 2013 to 2016, population estimates for the city increased by 7.04% (U.S. Census Bureau 2017). Point-in-time counts demonstrate an increase in homelessness as well; during the same period total counts of homeless individuals have increased by 16% and household counts have increased by 34% (City of [Fall Arbor] 2017). While the (U.S. Census Bureau 2017)reports 17.8% of the persons in the city were in poverty in 2017. The most recent census data shows that 88% of the city's population is white, and 6% is Hispanic or Latino (ibid).

Participating organizations were identified through a combination of selective and theoretical sampling methods. Selective sampling, or the calculated decision to sample specific participants based on a predetermined set of criteria prior to conducting a study,

was used initially (Strauss 1987). The first organizations were selected based on their community involvement, specifically organizations who participated in a collaborative homeless service connection project held annually. This project connects people who are currently experiencing homelessness, or are at risk of homelessness, with free resources and services available within the community. After initial interviews were conducted, a theoretical sampling method was used to identify potential organizations throughout data collection.

Strauss (1987) describes theoretical sampling as a means in which researchers select and identify what data should be collected next based on the analysis of the data already collected, allowing the researcher to control the collection of data in the context of emerging theory. Straus explains that this method comes naturally through directed inquiry, in which researchers ask interviewees to identify examples of whatever it is they are studying. Thus, theoretical sampling is similar to snowball sampling, but is driven by theoretical considerations rather than convenience. This sampling method was replicated throughout the data collection process in this study by allowing participants to recommend future participants they believed could provide valuable insight or contribute to the study. Many of these recommendations reflected the organizations I had initially identified and contacted, however there were some recommendations that directly led to interviews.

The interview participants were employees of the selected organizations and offered to participate based on their position and the amount of time they have spent with the organization. These selection factors were chosen to reflect the participant's ability to understand and discuss the objectives and strategies used by the organization when

interacting with the community. The sample includes ten individuals representing seven organizations in total. These organizations provide a diverse sample of services provided within the community. This includes food security, housing assistance, government agencies, childhood education, and wrap-around services[4].

The participants from each organization were key informants with significant experience and knowledge of their organization's practices, policies, and objectives. The individual participants included executive directors, program coordinators, program directors, and one intern. The number of participants selected from each organization was determined based on the size of the organization and the level of saturation obtained from interviews.

The first organization is the Fall Arbor Community Café; a privately operated non-profit restaurant that aims to address local poverty by providing meals and basic necessities to individuals in need. The café also houses and maintains multiple programs that are community developed, funded, and operated through volunteers. The restaurant provides healthy meals to all members of the community, regardless of ability to pay, by providing an inclusive environment and a discreet payment system to avoid concerns with stigma. In addition to the restaurant, these programs include two free food pantries, for both perishable and non-perishable foods, a community stocked library, and a free supply bank that provides household goods such as toilet paper, diapers, and clothing. The organization strives to provide these resources while simultaneously developing the community by creating a hub for social action, promoting local identity, communicating opportunities, and providing education and training through volunteerism.

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[4] The respondents frequently used the term wrap-around services to refer to combining practices that address multiple of their clients' needs.

The second organization was the Fall Arbor Food Bank. The food bank's primary goal is to provide emergency and supplemental food to individuals and families in need. However, additional objectives include public education about domestic hunger and poverty and supporting other service organizations serving the same population. The food bank provides these services at the county level, which includes rural, agricultural, and urban communities. They operate several programs in addition to their primary food distribution sites, such as a bi-monthly mobile pantry, senior and child nutrition, a satellite pantry, and a partner agency program that provides other non-profits with supplemental food.

The third participant organization was the Fall Arbor Hope Center, which is a community resource center that collaborates with several other independent service agencies to provide resources for individuals and families experiencing homelessness. The Hope Center provides over forty programs, ranging from quality of life resources, such as day shelter, lockers, mailboxes, and showers, to long-term supportive services like employment training, mental health and substance abuse counseling, and housing services. The center is managed by an independent organization, The Homeless Supply, which is also a service provider at the center.

Fourth, was the Fall Arbor Housing Authority, which develops, manages, and provides affordable housing within the city. They distribute federal housing choice vouchers and provide additional services on site at their properties. In addition to these services, the housing authority also focuses on providing public education on poverty and community housing sustainability, participating in community collaborations on housing.

Then, the fifth organization was the City of Fall Arbor's Community Sustainability Department. This department is one of three departments in the sustainable services area of the city government structure. Community Sustainability operates primarily as the city's grant funding agency for human service programs. This includes the distribution of federal funding through the Community Development Block Grant and city funds for affordable housing and human services. This funding is distributed through an annual competitive grant process. In addition to funding, this department is also charged with several public policy roles, such as emergency weather declarations, promoting and maintaining city-wide equity and inclusion policies, and monitoring and assessing human service needs in the community. The department also strives to develop community partnerships between agencies and social initiatives related to poverty and homelessness.

The sixth organization was the Fall Arbor School District's McKinney-Vento Program. This program is established under the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (PL100-77), which ensures equal access to free public education for children living in homeless situations. Therefore, the program at the Fall Arbor School District focuses on removing barriers to educational opportunities for students who qualify under the law. The program is run by two program specialists who identify students and families who qualify and provide resources and accommodations. In addition, the program specialist focus on developing connections with community partners to provide resources, assistance, and opportunities that are outside the scope of their program.

Finally, the seventh organization was the Fall Arbor Outreach Team[5]. This organization is a street-based outreach team that connects with individuals experiencing poverty or homelessness in order to connect them with the appropriate services and agencies in the community. In addition, the organization acts as a response team for disruptive behaviors and provides education on poverty, homelessness, housing, and other related community issues. Table 2 provides a brief description of the organizations in the sample.

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[5] Note, the Fall Arbor Outreach Team was created through a community initiative. Both the Fall Arbor Hope Center and the Community Sustainability Department were involved in its creation and are active members of the organizations board of directors.

Table 2. Description of Participating Organizations

Organization	Description	Service	Additional Objectives
Fall Arbor Community Café	A privately operated non-profit restaurant that aims to address local poverty by providing meals and basic necessities to individuals in need.	Food Provision	Develop community and supportive local identity. Provide a hub for social action. Provide education and training through volunteerism.
Fall Arbor Food Bank	Provides emergency and supplemental food to individuals and families experiencing food insecurity.	Food Provision	Support local non-profits servicing similar populations. Provide data on hunger and poverty in the community.
Fall Arbor Hope Center	Community resource center for homeless individuals housing multiple service organizations under one roof. Strives to provide a continuum of services in a single location. The center is managed by The Homeless Supply, which is also one of the service providers.	Multi-service	Operates day shelter and warming center. Connect individuals to appropriate services in the community. Coordinate with service providers to form collaboratives.
Fall Arbor Housing Authority	Public housing authority providing affordable housing. Distributes federal housing subsidies within the city.	Housing	Provide education and housing sustainability programs.
City of Fall Arbor, Community Sustainability Department	City government department overviewing social sustainability, economic health, and environmental services. Manages and distributes federal and city funding through competitive grant processes to human service programs and affordable housing.	Government	Develop community partnerships. Promote and maintain citywide equity and inclusion. Monitor and assess citywide human service needs. Provide leadership and direction on social issues, policies, and programs.
School District, McKinney-Vento Program	Ensures educational equality for homeless students. Protects the educational rights of children.	Childhood/ Education	Collaborate with community partners to provide clients with resources, assistance, job opportunities, etc. Promote community awareness and knowledge.
Fall Arbor Outreach Team	Community outreach program connecting service resistant individuals experiencing homelessness with appropriate community resources.	Outreach	Acts as a response team for disruptive behaviors in the downtown core. Provide education on poverty, homelessness, housing, and other related community issues.

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Qualitative interviews were conducted at agreed upon locations between the participants and the researcher. While the preferred location was at the site of the organization, if no controlled area was available the interview was conducted at an off-site location to reduce distractions and noise. All interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder in conjunction with brief notes by the researcher, allowing the researcher to have an open discussion with the participant without the distraction of writing responses. An interview guide (see Appendix B), developed by the primary investigator, was used to direct the interviews towards the research questions.

To supplement the interviews, the organizations were given the opportunity to provide additional documentation that would be pertinent to the study. The organizations provided 14 documents in total, which are used alongside publicly available information to inform the analysis. The Community Sustainability Department provided me with a local resource guide for individuals experiencing homelessness, which the department assisted in developing. This document provides a list of support service organizations within the city that provide services for impoverished individuals. This resource guide was used to identify the sample of organizations used for the network analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

Coding and Thematic Analysis

All data were transcribed for use with Dedoose (Version 8.0.31) qualitative data analysis software and analyzed to develop themes related to social capital and community building practices. These themes were used to examine social capital and the effects of

social networks in organizational practices. The analysis of data occurred throughout the

data collection process; allowing me to identify emerging themes both in and between

organizations. An open coding strategy was used initially, by adding annotations and

notes to interview transcripts. Strauss (1987) describes open coding as producing

concepts that fit the data and pertain to the research questions and hypotheses. This

process allowed me to identify important and relevant points of data to construct

categories that were used in the thematic analysis (Merriam and Tisdell 2016). Next, the

data was analyzed one category at a time to code the data into primary codes and

subcategories. This process is referred to as axial coding and allows for linkages between

codes to be discovered and emergent themes to be thoroughly scrutinized (Strauss 1987).

Network Analysis

A network map of the organizational community is provided to supplement the

qualitative analysis. The purpose is to supplement the findings of this study with a visual

representation and analysis of how information, as a form of social capital, may be

communicated through the structure of the network. The conceptual methodology used in

the process of constructing this map is informed by the work of Granovetter, as discussed

in Chapter Two. However, Christakis and Fowler (2011) provide a guiding statement for

this study, "When a group is constituted as a network, there is a particular pattern of ties

that connects the people involved… How we construct or visualize a network depends on

how we define the ties of interest" (16). For this study, the ties of interest were defined as

a reference or link to another organization or service that was provided for the purpose of

identifying other resources available to a client, or to recognize community partners, such as businesses or other non-profits.

The map was developed using SocNetV (Version 2.3), a social network analysis and visualization program, and was constructed using publicly available information from the websites of 58 organizations listed in the resource guide provided by the Community Sustainability Department. To analyze the network, SocNetV was used to generate a sociogram of the ties between organizations[6]. In the sociogram, each circle, or node, represents an individual actor in the network, and each arc connecting the nodes represents a reference to another actor. For this research, the network actors are independent organizations or services in Fall Arbor.

Two methods of placement were used in the analysis. First, the network was constructed overlaying a map of the city and then randomized to protect the confidentiality of the interview participants and location but maintains a representation of physical distance between organizations. Then, the network was restructured using Fruchterman-Reingold Force-directed Placement. In this method of placement, SocNetV gives each node attractive and repulsive forces, where all nodes repel other nodes but are attracted to nodes they are connected with (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991). Force-directed placement displays the network in a way that indicates the overall connectedness of each node and the density of the network.

SocNetV was then used to produce centrality measures for each member of the network. Two centrality indices are used in the analysis: degree centrality (DC) and

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[6] This process involved first making an adjacency matrix, which indicates the references and directions made by each organization to other organizations in the network. The program then produces a graph of the network using the adjacency matrix by identifying the rows and columns as nodes. In the matrix, a "1" is used to indicate a connection between the nodes and a "0" indicates an absence of a connection.

degree prestige (DP). In directed networks[7], the DC index quantifies the number of

outbound arcs for each node (Kalamaras 2017). Therefore, for this study, DC indicates

the total number of references made by each organization to other organizations in the

network. The DP index quantifies the number of inbound arcs for each node, or in this

study, the number of references received by each organization from others (Kalamaras

2017).

CREDIBILITY AND
TRANSFERABILITY

In any research, it is important to produce research that is trustworthy and

practical. Researchers commonly discuss these concerns in terms of validity and

generalizability, but there is some debate over the applicability of these terms in

qualitative research (Shenton 2004). Therefore, to address these concerns in this thesis, I

have chosen to use the terms "credibility" and "transferability" as suggested by Guba

(1981). Merriam and Tisdell (2016) explain:

> [Research results] are trustworthy to the extent that there has been some
> rigor in carrying out the study. Because qualitative research is based on
> assumptions about reality different from those of quantitative research, the
> standards for rigor in qualitative research necessarily differ from those of
> quantitative research.

In this research, credibility and transferability is obtained through triangulation, or the use

of more than one method of data collection, and the use of rich descriptive detail in the

participants' voices (Merriam and Tisdell 2016).

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[7] The sociogram produced for this research is a directed network; this means that if an organization A
provides a reference to organization B, a directional arc is created from A to B, but not from B to A, unless
B also references A.

This study provides a descriptive analysis of social capital and organizational networks through in-depth interviews with individuals who have substantial experience in their organization and the community. Therefore, validation of the findings must consider the subjectivity of those individuals. The philosophical basis of qualitative methods emphasizes the use of rich descriptive details to ensure the transferability of findings (Merriam and Tisdell 2016). This suggests that through an in-depth analysis of the narratives and perspectives of a diverse set of individuals who are involved in the organizations, researchers can produce findings that can be applied to a broad set of experiences.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW
BOARD

To ensure all ethical considerations were met, this research was reviewed and approved by the University of Northern Colorado's Institutional Review Board (IRB) prior to data collection. After receiving approval of the thesis research design, I applied for Exempt Status by submitting an IRB application detailing the study's purpose, research questions, methodology, and any potential risks or discomforts for participants, along with a copy of the consent form and interview guide (Appendix B). After the application and materials were reviewed, approval was granted to conduct the research (Appendix A).

THE ROLE AND BACKGROUND
OF THE RESEARCHER

Qualitative studies rely on the researcher as the key instrument in the data collection process as themes and trends are developed through interpretation of experiences with participants. While this interaction provides valuable information about the phenomena being studied, it requires that the researcher is aware of, and transparent with, the biases, values, and personal background that shape their interpretations of their experience (Creswell 2012). In many ways, the researcher's background may also be beneficial as it can help to establish trust between the researcher and the participants. Developing trust and ensuring mutual benefit for the participants was a critical concern for this project. To develop trust, it is important to express mutual interest and avoid biases that negatively frame the population being served.

Having grown up in an economically lower-class family, my own perceptions of poverty have been greatly shaped by my experience. This experience provided me a valuable perspective as a researcher and allowed me to express a common objective with the participants in seeking to reduce poverty and homelessness in our communities. Throughout my experiences with poverty, I have developed an understanding of how the causes of poverty are often multi-faceted and difficult to identify.

In my experience, the stigmatization of poverty stems from a lack of knowledge about the causes of poverty and assumptions that place blame on the individual. Therefore, my experiences have provided me with an understanding of the complexity of poverty as a social experience. Negative assumptions about the service population may alienate research participants, but more importantly, they are harmful to the community. In conducting this research, I believe that expressing my own beliefs and experiences,

allowed the research participants to feel more comfortable with providing open and honest information about their experiences without fear of stigmatizing the people they serve.

Through this research, it was my hope to provide a view of poverty that emphasizes the impact of social context and network connections in both public policy and public perception. This would encourage a transformative view of poverty as a public issue caused by economic, environmental, and contextual conditions. Second, I hope to improve the body of literature by focusing on an aspect of service providers that has been seldom studied. However, this study should be one of many that address organizational practices which influence the development of social capital. A collection of academic literature on these practices will serve to inform organizations on the impact of services in the social lives of their clients and the organizations themselves.

CONCLUDING REMARKS
AND SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the research design and methodology for this thesis study and defended their use. The analysis is conducted through a coding process to develop themes used to examine social capital and the effects of social networks in organizational practices. In Chapter 4, the findings of the analysis are provided in detail, followed by a discussion of their significance relevant to organizational practices and sociological theory.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter describes the findings of this study and applies theoretical insights to emergent themes gathered from the qualitative interviews. First, I provide a description of how social capital is expressed by the participants and how these descriptions may be informed by the theories of Bourdieu, Coleman, Briggs, and Putnam. This is followed by an analysis of the sample's social network using a sociometric model of the network. Finally, I analyze how the organizations in the sample develop social connections throughout their community by applying the concepts provided by Granovetter's analysis of social ties to themes in the participants' responses.

OVERVIEW

This analysis lent itself to a structure that follows the theoretical and empirical literature that informed it. During the coding process, the emergent themes began to align with the four conceptions of social capital discussed in the literature review. Therefore, I use three levels of coding to organize the discussion of the data in this chapter: 1) thematic categories, 2) themes, and 3) sub-themes. Six main thematic categories were used to organize the themes based on the theoretical and empirical literature discussed in

Chapter Two. Twenty-six themes were identified in the analysis in total[8]. Sub-themes were used to break down important aspects of the themes when appropriate. Finally, throughout this chapter I refer to the total number of references from the interviews tied to each level of coding.

Figure 3 provides a breakdown of the number of references to themes in each thematic category. These frequencies are provided to express how the themes emerged from the data. Each of the four conceptions of social capital were identified in the practices used by the organizations in the sample. The actual practices of each organization varied, but the participants expressed common themes in their descriptions of the objectives, motives, and perceived outcomes of each practice.
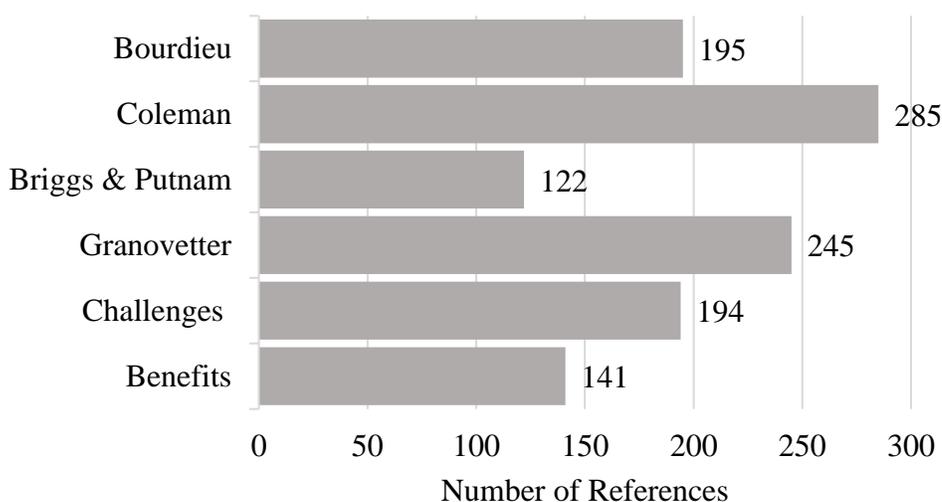
Figure 3. Overview of Thematic Categories

The first three thematic categories describe the organizational practices related to social capital. After discussing these themes, I provide the results of the network analysis and discuss the themes related to the social networks of the organizations and their

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[8] A full breakdown of the three-level coding scheme and all themes is provided in Appendix C.

clients. The thematic categories for Granovetter, challenges, and benefits describe the

organizational ties and opportunities to develop connections, along with the associated

challenges and benefits of network connectedness. In the following sections I explore the

themes in each category in depth and provide salient examples from the participants'

responses.

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Bourdieu

As discussed in Chapter Three, Bourdieu's (1986) conceptualization of social

capital is rooted in the networks of interpersonal connections which provide members

with access to collectively-owned capital that helps individuals to navigate their social

field. Therefore, social capital can be understood through its connection to actual or

potential resources that are mobilized through social connections (Bourdieu 1986). For

the service organizations in Fall Arbor, these networks included both formal and informal

connections between organizations, as well as connections between individuals within the

organizations and those they interact with, such as co-workers, volunteers, outside

connections, and clients.

This concept of social capital is represented in the analysis through themes related

to the mobilization of resources between organizations and their clients For instance, one

participant, Susan, the co-founder and Executive Director for the Fall Arbor Café,

described a program they run called "The Fall Arbor Freedge;" an outdoor refrigerator

that is stocked by members of the community and offers free perishable foods to people

in need.

> It's a place where people can bring fresh fruits and vegetables that they fear might go to waste. So, excess garden produce you have over-purchased at the grocery store… Or if you have a community-supported agriculture share … an apple tree that's just killing you with apples… We've had some pretty meager days… But, there have been companies that will bring in oranges throughout the winter to keep in there

Through this program, Susan described an exchange of actual resources between different members of their network. The café's connections to local businesses and members of the community provides them with resources that make the Freedge possible and help to support their other initiatives as well.

To Bourdieu (1986), social capital provides access to resources that would otherwise be unavailable or difficult to obtain. Susan, gave two examples that demonstrate this function of social capital. First, through the example of a relationship with a local grocery store: "They called me last week, and I went and picked up six cases of bananas! They were pretty ripe, but you know, a lot of those went into the Freedge," while the others went towards the meals provided by the café. Second, through the experiences of clients who gain resources that are otherwise unobtainable:

> I've seen people stand in front of the Freedge not knowing what something even was and going, 'well, let's take it home and see what we can do with it.' So, it allows people to take chances on ingredients that they might not otherwise see (Susan).

The Freedge offers an example of how the café receives resources from its network and extends those resources back out to other members of the network. For their guests, the café provides these resources in many other ways as well, but for the organization, obtaining these resources is indicative of a flow of resources throughout the community of organizations. When referencing the mobilization of resources through network connections three themes were identified: extending, obtaining, or combining resources (see Figure 4a).
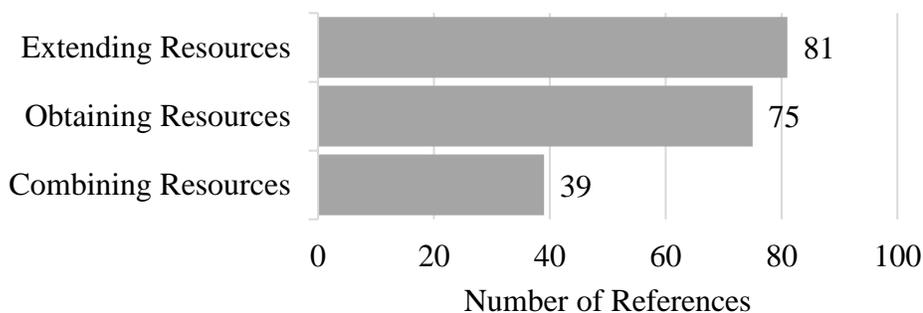
Figure 4a. Bourdieu—Social Capital Themes

When participants described practices in which organizations distribute resources, such as supplies, food, or funding, it was included in the theme extending resources. Additionally, sub-themes were used to identify the different ways participants described their resource extension. Figure 4b illustrates how the participants characterized their resource extension. When participants referenced extending network resources, it was more often extended towards clients, while their own resources were extended towards other organizations.
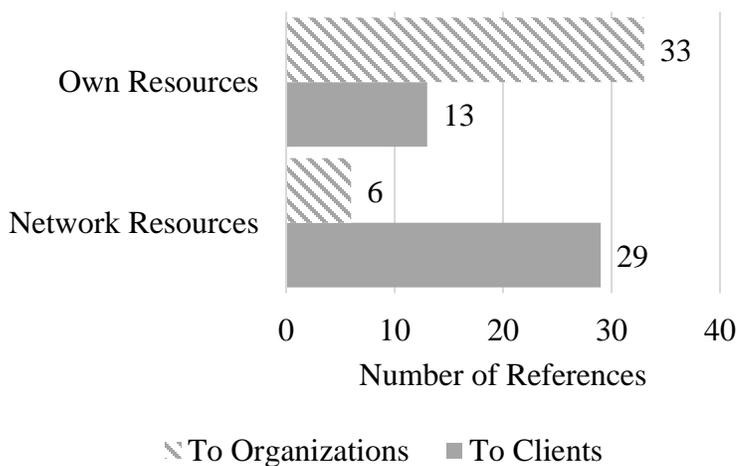
Figure 4b. Breakdown of Extending Resources Sub-themes

Similarly, when participants described obtaining resources, sub-themes were used to identify the source. Sources included businesses, individuals, and other organizations.

The majority of the references to obtaining resources were from other organizations (see Figure 4c).
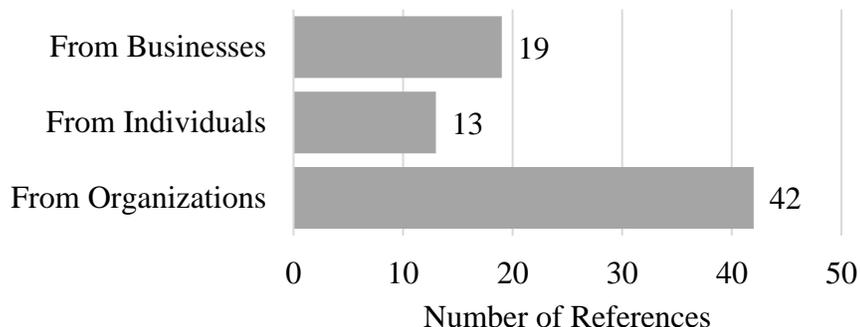
Figure 4c. Breakdown of Obtaining Resources Sub-themes

These findings suggest that the resources in the network flow between organizations but are directed towards individuals in need. This allowed the organizations to mobilize the resources they provide and extend their services to more clients. Organizations then provide their own resources to others in their network and rely on other organizations to provide resources that meet the diverse needs of their clients.

For example, the Fall Arbor Food Bank focuses on providing their resources to other organizations through their agency program. This program allows other non-profits, who serve similar populations, to shop with them and obtain food for their services. Daniel, the Operations Director at the food bank, explained that "through working with our agency partners, we can lessen the burden of providing food, so that their other services can also be sufficiently funded, or sufficiently resourced." This program allows the food bank to extend its resources to other organizations so that those organizations can focus more on their services.

Through these collaborations the organizations can address poverty in the community more efficiently. However, effective collaboration relied on the development

of a connection between both parties. When describing partnerships between

organizations, Daniel explained,

> How they form, and build, comes from an awareness, not only on our end
> of what we're doing, but also on their end of what we're doing, and what
> we can provide for them. We do our best to be very aware and very
> involved with what our agencies are doing, so that we can make them
> aware of the services we can provide, that can help with what they're
> doing—that can augment what they're doing.

At the Fall Arbor Hope Center, Steven, the Executive Director of The Homeless

Supply, emphasized this when describing their distribution program.[9]

> All of our programs need to be collaborative in different ways. When The
> Homeless Supply was started, our mission was just collecting and
> distributing gear. And the way we did that is by sending supplies to other
> agencies in the community and allowing them to distribute those supplies
> to the people they are serving... It was essential to our mission that we
> formed collaborative relationships with other agencies… I think those
> initial days of not just wanting, but literally needing other agencies, in
> order to fulfill our mission, created a culture of collaboration that I think
> has led to an emphasis on collaboration in all of our other programs.

Kathy, the Director of Program Development at the Fall Arbor Housing

Authority, also expressed the importance of organizations combining resources to meet

the needs of their clients. She stated,

> We're always looking for ways to bring more services to our residents. We
> are funded to provide housing, we're not funded to provide services, but
> we know that services are really necessary, and it helps us because people
> can stabilize more. We're not having [living] units turnover, we're not
> having to evict people… So, it's worth it for us to try and find ways to
> bring services to help families kind of stabilize… [It helps] to be able to
> say, 'well we don't get funded to do that, but I know Sunrise Health does.'
> So, I can call them and say, 'hey we have a family in crisis, can you guys
> come and provide some services?' And they'll say 'yes, that's what we
> do…' [And] If they're saying, 'we have a whole bunch of people that
> we're providing services to, but they don't have housing,' that's where we
> can kind of go back and forth and work together.

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[9] Note, The Homeless Supply is the managing agency at The Fall Arbor Hope Center. For more
information see Table 2: Description of Participating Organizations, in Chapter 3.

In these connections, social capital is constituted in the collective resources that the service providers can access for their clients. Bourdieu (1986) states that social capital provides the benefits of actual or potential resources; therefore, the mobilization of resources within a network is not passive. To effectively mobilize those resources, both the recipient and the provider must be sufficiently embedded in the network to obtain knowledge of what can be provided and where the need is.

Coleman

According to Coleman (1988), social capital is defined by its function; to facilitate action in a social structure. So, while Bourdieu (1985) states that social capital is measured by the value of the potential resources it provides, Coleman (1988) suggests that social capital is itself a resource that actors can use to achieve their interests. Therefore, its value is constituted by the outcomes it achieves in a social relationship. This premise shapes Coleman's framework for understanding social capital in terms of the benefits it provides. He describes three forms of social capital: 1) obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures, 2) information channels, and 3) norms and effective sanctions.

Each of these forms are represented in the analysis as themes (see Figure 5). The most prominent theme, in terms of frequency, was social capital as obligations, expectations, and trust, followed by information channels. For both themes, several sub-themes are used to express the different ways the participants referenced the theme.
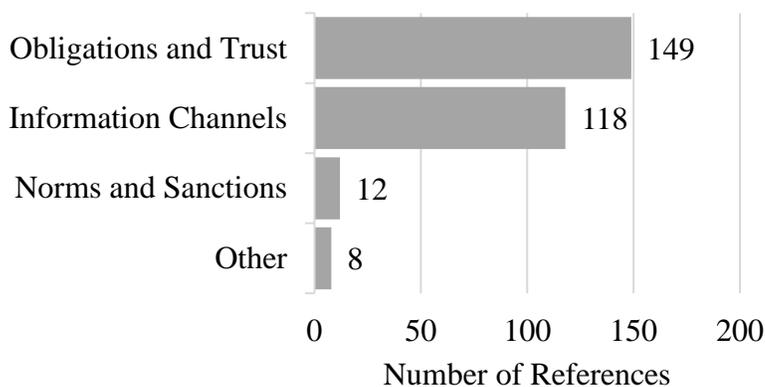
Figure 5. Coleman—Social Capital Themes

Obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness in social structures. For organizations and individuals alike, the development of social connections is motivated by personal interests or needs. As obligations, expectations, and trust, social capital facilitates relationships through reciprocity. This provides members of a network with reasonable expectation that those interests will be met. For clients, these interests may be as simple as obtaining resources to meet their basic needs, or as complex as seeking out long-term assistance with a diverse set of problems, however for the connection to be formed, there must be some trust that interest will be met.

When respondents referenced building trust with other organizations, they frequently expressed a feeling of being part of a community that is dedicated to addressing poverty holistically. These descriptions were included in the sub-theme trust through mutual interests. Throughout the interviews, each participant gave a small piece of a larger story about the Fall Arbor community.

> There are 19 agencies that operate out of this building, and all of those agencies have their own little pockets of service within a broader goal of reducing homelessness [and] reducing poverty. (Steven, Fall Arbor Hope Center)

You start to feel that you are a part of a collaborative effort to alleviate hunger, and our volunteers and our staff come face to face with the extent of the problem in our county, which seems to be recycled into a renewed drive to help solve it (Daniel, Fall Arbor Food Bank).

I've found that we have a really great group of organizations that impact hunger and poverty here in Fall Arbor, and they're pretty close knit. I really haven't run across things that you hear about in other communities, and that's the people who look at each other as competitors. I've only experienced that one time, which really-says a lot for our community and the people in it (Susan, Fall Arbor Café).

I think it's just consistently treating all of the resources as a pool, versus kind of siloed [sic] off into each agency. We all have to work together to make the impact that we're trying to make (Jeremy, Fall Arbor Outreach Team).

The sense of collective identity, expressed by the participants, demonstrates social capital in a different light. Instead of access to resources, here we see collective backing as a driving force behind the efforts of the individuals and organizations, which has a real impact on the actions and direction of the group. Kathy explained how this collective backing supported the Fall Arbor Housing Authority in a way that money and physical resources could not.

When we built [our newest affordable housing development], we had to go to planning and zoning, right? Well, we had quite a bit of neighborhood opposition. Fairly organized, vocal, neighborhood opposition. But when we went to planning and zoning, I bet we had 30 to 40 service agencies there. All stood up, all supporting the project, all said they're gonna participate, that their clients need this. The people who were opposed, most of them didn't even get up.

So, [that is] another example of where all our community service partners pulled together and said we need this resource and we're going to support you 100%. They helped throughout the whole development process. That makes it feel more like it's a community project, versus like we're out here on our own trying to do this crazy thing called supportive housing that nobody in Fall Arbor has ever heard of!

In these examples, collective interest not only supported the actions of individuals, but also served as a connecting force between the organizations. This shows that the organizations relied on social capital to both communicate trust with their clients and to establish connections to other services and organizations. Steven, from the Fall Arbor Hope Center, explained:

> Every one of our programs is about trying to leverage our connections to individuals and resources, to try to provide our clients with those resources and those connections… The Homeless Supply, and The Hope Center, have lots of relationships and connections with people in the community, lots of sort of levers we can pull at different times to try to influence whatever it is that we want to influence. [In our employment program] for example, we have relationships with businesses and basically, we're trying to leverage these partnerships into job opportunities for the people we're serving.

For clients, on the other hand, developing trust in social organizations can be difficult due to stigmatization and negative beliefs about poverty. However, when referencing this obstacle, participants often focused on discussing the ways their organization overcomes it. Through these references, two sub-themes were developed in the analysis: providing accurate services and placing value in individuals.

Respondents emphasized the importance of providing the right services for each individual and avoiding paternalistic assumptions. Susan explained that this is one of the core values of the Fall Arbor Café, where guests who are experiencing poverty are offered the opportunity to volunteer and contribute their unique skills to the organization.

> One of the things that really shocked me was that people would often thank us for letting them volunteer. I think that a lot of peoples' value is marginalized, just because of how much money is in their pocket. So, they're looked at very paternalistically, and people think they need to be taken care of (Susan).

Susan explained, at the café they are always focused on showing how every person is valuable to the community, and this is demonstrated in their approach to volunteerism. One goal of their volunteer program is to help people to develop skills, but Susan discussed many other benefits that come from it as well—such as self-satisfaction and the feeling of doing something for your community.

Steven echoed this sentiment as he explained how focusing on the value of individuals has benefits for the whole community.

> A lot of the people we work with contribute in meaningful ways to the community while they are experiencing homelessness. We have a huge population of people who are homeless that are working while they're homeless… So, I think there's a sense among the population that people who are homeless are sort of 'leeching off the system' and just costing the community a ton, without providing… But, the people we work with are full of talent, full of potential, and full of a desire to contribute meaningfully, or more meaningfully, to the community. So, when we connect, for example, a person who is homeless with an employer who is willing to give that person a chance, we're not just giving that person a chance, we're giving that employer someone who is talented and has the ability to contribute to the company. And that in turn has positive effects for the community at large (Steven).

These approaches help organizations develop trust with their clients through a foundation of reciprocity. While clients seek out a relationship with the organization in order to meet their needs, the organization expresses that developing a relationship is valuable to them as well. At the Fall Arbor Hope Center, Richard explained that after this trust has been established with a client, it is important that they provide accurate services to meet their diverse needs. When those needs cannot be met by the organization, they have an opportunity to extend trust in other organizations that can.

> We need to plug them in [to our network] in ways that are appropriate, and have meaning for that individual… So, the first step is really to sit down with that person and to listen well, to find out what is most important to them. Then, in a thoughtful way, to route them into a social network where

we've earned trust, mutual trust, with another service provider, and then we're taking them down that path of trust and we're leveraging our network, but in a way where there's a personal touch (Richard, Fall Arbor Hope Center).

Information channels. By extending trust in other services or agencies, the organization acts as an information channel for their client. As information channels, social capital both provides and produces collective knowledge. Coleman (1988) states that information can be acquired from social relations that are maintained for other purposes. In the analysis, references to information channels were organized into three sub-themes: gaining information, providing information, and providing referrals (see Figure 6).
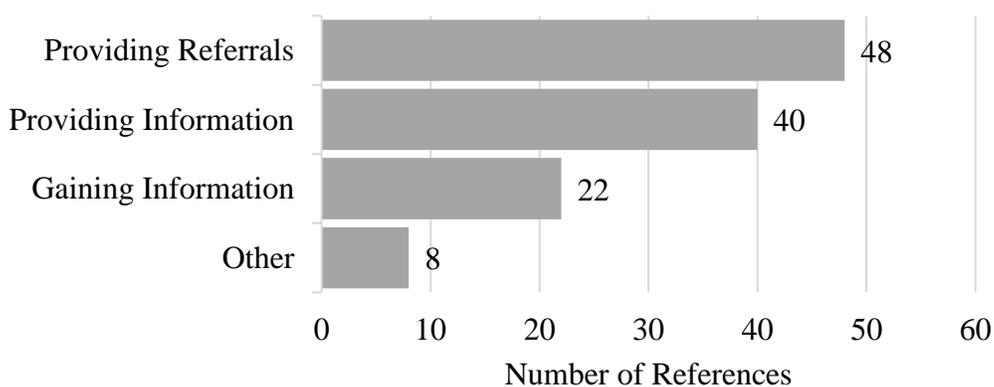
Figure 6. Breakdown of Information Channels Sub-themes

Providing referrals included references or descriptions of organization practices that connect clients or guests to outside services. The majority these references included dedicated practices to connect clients to appropriate services, however, seven references included were of less direct practices, such as information boards or fliers[10].For instance,

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[10] Note, all of the organizations had some form of an information board or resource book. This sub-code designates references to these being the primary method of referral for their clients.

at the Fall Arbor Food Bank, Daniel explained, "we do open up the possibility for some of our agency partners to have literature available on site here. But again, it's a very passive model… That's really the extent of the ways we that we direct people to different services."

However, passive models such as what Daniel described are not less meaningful or beneficial to clients. In fact, Amanda explains that while the food bank does hope to eventually create a position dedicated to resources in the community, the passive approach can help to maintain trust in the organization from clients. She explains,

> I feel like with the previous positions that I've held, there is this assumption that… 'let me do everything for you!' And people don't often want that or need that. They just need something to get by for now and don't need you to bombard them with services, or resources, or what have you. I think sometimes that can be an affront to people. So, I've been really cautious to not discount someone's own autonomy. Or their own agency within themselves.

Amanda did explain, however, that the food bank does not currently try to serve as a connecting service for other resources in the community, but it recognizes its role in the community as social hub where connections can be formed, and information can be shared.

> One thing that we do inadvertently, is serve as sort of a social hub for individuals. We don't open until 12… and there is a group of individuals that come anywhere from between 9 and 10 am and socialize. They sit on our patio and socialize (Amanda).

In this way, the food bank, and its clients, use its position in the network as an information channel, without using additional resources, such as time or funding to facilitate it. From other responses, the analysis suggests that organizations who do dedicate additional resources to forming informative relations, do so as a primary objective, or as way to overcome particular obstacles.

Ashley, who is the McKinney-Vento program specialist for the Fall Arbor Public School District, explained that one of their challenges is clearing up confusion about what her program does. Therefore, she addresses this issue by dedicating time to visit other service agencies in the community.

> I think it's just getting out there and making sure that people know what McKinney is and how we help. And clearing up any confusion about us too, because a lot of people call us just because there is a family that's homeless. And I'm like, but I refer to you? Our resources are very school-based. So, anything outside of that, we're going to be referring to other places... (Ashley).

At the Fall Arbor Hope Center, on the other hand, Richard explained that the facilities primary objective is to serve as sort of a "one-stop-shop" for homeless individuals. So, to fulfill this role they dedicate time and resources to obtaining and providing information about services. However, for client referrals to be effective and meaningful to an individual, the respondents emphasized the importance of having a wealth of knowledge about both the client and the services in the community.

Jeremy, with the Fall Arbor Outreach Team, explained that building relationships, with both clients and service providers, is at the core of their program. "We try to really be at the top of understanding what services are available, who is appropriate for those services, and then trying to connect the appropriate people." As an outreach team, they dedicate their time and resources to developing these relationships because they know that they may serve as the only connection between providers and many potential clients. However, they also interact with many other community members as well.

> [We are] a community driven program working with homeless and at-risk individuals, local merchants in the downtown core, the district police, other community stakeholders, and our goal is pretty much two-fold… We are a connection point for folks that aren't aware of services, or may be service resistant... As a street team, we are able to communicate with a

number of individuals that don't have phones or might not be in the service
providers building… [And] we try and educate people on what it looks
like to be homeless (Jeremy).

This example shows how the nature of the organization, and its position within a

social network, acts as a form of social capital for the entire community. The social

relations they form act as a resource that can be used by service providers, homeless and

impoverished individuals, and even community stake-holders who otherwise would not

be connected to the network.

Norms and effective sanctions. The final form of social capital described by

Coleman is norms and effective sanctions. Like trust and reciprocity, norms and sanctions

facilitate social relations by reinforcing the mutual interests of all members of a social

network (Coleman 1988). Group identity and consistent interactions produce a standard

of social behavior that is upheld and maintained by members of the group. The analysis

showed that organizations obtain this form of social capital in three ways.

First, by establishing expectations for partnerships and interactions, norms allow

organizations to streamline the partnership process. Alice, who works for the City of Fall

Arbor's Community Sustainability Department, explained that they hold special training

sessions to help organizations know what to expect, while Amanda, at the Fall Arbor

Food Bank, explained how long-standing partnerships let the organizations work together

with ease:

[Before the grant cycle, we do] a grantee training, it just talks through
what is going to be required in the application process that is used, so
people can just get an idea. Because, sometimes grant processes can be a
little bit intimidating. We want to make it as understandable for people as
possible (Alice).

>Organizations that are a little bit newer to us, that we're going to start programming with, have gotten more formal with that process… There's a written memorandum of understanding... a meet with leadership… rules and responsibilities of either side… Then for organizations to engage with us, to become shoppers, there's a whole list of things they have to do." On the other hand, "programs that we've run for a pretty long period of time, they are fairly casual relationships. That's like an email, a phone call, or a text message that I can send and say, 'hey are we doing this again? (Amanda).

Second, the community maintains expectations of cooperation and support. Richard, from the Fall Arbor Hope Center, reflected on the community and the supportive environment within Fall Arbor.

>There are some communities that aren't really known for that degree of cooperation between agencies, and I think Fall Arbor is definitely on the other end of the spectrum. We have a reputation of kind of working through the obstacles and trying to cut through the red tape to provide better services for people who are in need… It doesn't really take that many people who really are community minded to have a huge impact, and really create an atmosphere where it's a community that thrives, a community that deals well with its issues.

When asked how communities form such a culture, Richard explained that it comes out of the community's response to adverse events, such as natural disasters, that force people to work together.

>A lot of it is how well a community responds with adversity, and in Fall Arbor, just because of the natural elements of disasters—fires, major fires, major floods, hailstorms... I don't know what all else, but the city has been tested in a lot of different ways... If you're going to recover quickly and well, from disasters, you really have to have cohesive networks.

Finally, a few respondents discussed how group membership can sanction disruptive behavior. At the Fall Arbor Café, Susan described how their guests have come to advocate for the café. First, she gave the example of when two people attempted to steal equipment from the café after closing.

One of our friends, who's in the homeless community, was bringing a friend to show him the café, and as they were walking up they saw these guys trying to lift [the hydroponics] table out of there, and he goes 'hey, is Calvin around?' And the guys kind of looked at him, and he goes 'how bout Greg?' And then they just kind of put it back down and ran!

This was one of many examples Susan gave regarding the community that has formed around the café, but the incident stood out to her. She continued to explain,

I think we have people kind of sticking up for the café. That's what happens… One day, someone came inside and said there was a couple of guys that appear to be getting kind of aggressive with each other, and so I walked outside and there was, again, one of our in-need guests going, 'hey this is not a place for this.' You know, so they're like advocating for the café… People take ownership of it.

Jeremy, from the Fall Arbor Outreach Team, shared this sentiment as he discussed the issue of stigma. He explained that one aspect of their program is to address disruptive behavior in the downtown area, but only a small percentage of the people they interact with are being disruptive. So, when these behaviors do occur, Jeremy explained,

What we've seen in our work, is by treating people like members of the community, and showing them that people care about them, they respond positively, and those disruptive behaviors tend to decrease. I think, that feeling like you are part of a community makes you feel accountable for your actions a bit more, and so that accountability effects behavior.

In each of these examples, social capital is a resource that exists within the relationships. This characteristic is what distinguishes the forms of social capital described by Coleman from that of Bourdieu. For Coleman, social capital is the aspect of interaction that facilitates social relationships.

Briggs and Putnam

For this analysis, themes related to the final two conceptualizations of social capital, by Briggs and Putnam, are reviewed together. This is done to recognize the

connection between these concepts expressed in the literature[11]. Evidence of these forms

of social capital is organized into four themes in the analysis: bonding social capital,

bridging social capital, social support, and social leverage. References to these themes

represented 19% of the overall references to social capital (122 of 631). Within the

thematic category for Briggs and Putnam, none of these themes were more prominent

than the others (see Figure 7).
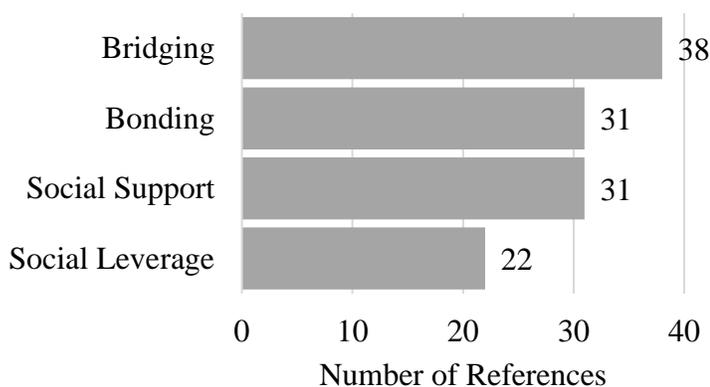
Figure 7. Briggs and Putnam—Social Capital Themes

Putnam (2000) describes bonding social capital as the benefits and resources

provided by networks of closely connected, homogenous groups. These networks work

provide its members with a sense of social cohesion and group identity. In the analysis,

this theme was identified as many respondents expressed an affinity for closer, well-

established, relationships. Many respondents, expressed that intimate connections provide

greater benefits to both the organizations and their clients.

> You know, we're a fairly small town still and so I think it's well-
> established relationships... I don't know if it would be casual or formal, but
> they're already pretty deep, well-established, relationships (Amanda).

> One of the best things about the Fall Arbor community is that it is a
> community, and I've never seen more collaboration with agencies, and

---

[11] Note, as discussed in Chapter 3, the concepts of social capital described by Putnam build upon the
concepts described by Briggs.

partners, and the community at large, in trying to address the issues of homelessness and poverty (Jeremy).

I really find that there's institutional relationships, and then there's informal relationships… I think, at a personal level is where there's more efficacy… I'm really not attuned to the culture of, say the health center up the street, but I know there's a social worker there who I've developed a relationship with through thick and thin… I know I could pick up the phone and we could work together with that person, whether it be at the hospital, or the health clinic, or wherever it might be, to the benefit of the person we're both concerned about. I think that those informal social networks are really kind of the glue in social networks (Richard).

Many of the respondents also discussed how their organizations seek to build a sense of social identity and community. For example, Kathy, explained, at the Fall Arbor Housing Authority, "we do quite a few community events at our properties, to get people out to meet their neighbors, to talk to each other, so that they can rely on each other as a support system." And Daniel explained, "I think that… by making our donors publicly known, [we are] creating a feeling that our guests are living in a community where the community is supportive of them."

The respondents often described the social objectives pursued by their organizations. In the analysis, these references were organized into three sub-themes: building community, social and political involvement, and supporting other organizations (See Figure 8). By promoting an inclusive environment, these practices demonstrate how service organizations can facilitate the development of bonding social capital for their clients.
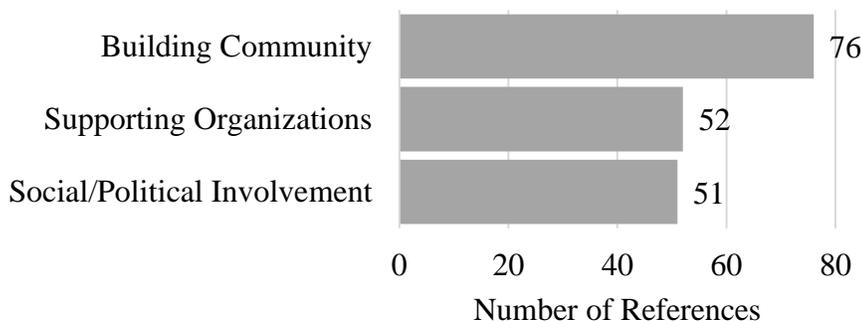
Figure 8. Social Objectives Sub-themes

Bridging social capital, which Putnam (2000) describes as the benefits of diverse, loosely connected, networks, is identified in the analysis as participants expressed the importance of diversity and opportunities for new connections. While bonding social capital can provide strong connections between individuals and organizations, bridging social capital can provide flexibility and significantly increase access for clients.

Bridging social capital provides members of the network with a diverse range of resources and opportunities. Throughout the analysis, participants referenced how the organizations connect their clients to vast web resources, services, and non-service organizations. These practices ranged from connections to job opportunities, domestic violence resources, and mental health services, to name a few.

> For youth, in particular, working with the workforce center and knowing about job opportunities, and internships, paid internships, and unpaid internships, whatever it is… That's huge for them. Especially our unaccompanied youth, who really need help, because they're not only going to school, they have to figure out how to meet their basic needs (Ashley, Fall Arbor Public School District).

> There are a lot of other resources in the community that our guests, you know our clients, can benefit from. And part of our intake process is connecting those people with those resources in the community. [We have guests who are escaping domestic violence, and] we help connect that person with safe houses. The safe houses don't have a presence here, but they are a valuable resource to someone that's in that situation… We have this really solid relationship with [Sunrise Health], well they have the

broader relationships with the behavioral hospitals locally, the detox facilities, and addiction treatments… Building strong support networks with these outside agencies really has a lot of benefits for our guests… We are, basically paving the road for them, for greater connectedness in the community around the services they need, by establishing those relationships and lines of communications, before that person walks in our door (Richard, Fall Arbor Hope Center).

On the other hand, many participants expressed the benefits that they receive from diverse networks as well. A few of these participants explained how having a variety of individuals and agencies backing the organizations efforts provides a level resilience that they wouldn't otherwise have. Steven explained, "you just meet people who are sort of doing different things in the community, and you can call on those people, and they can call on you." Alice shared this perspective as well, by explaining "relationships are everything… There is no value—it's priceless… I think about last winter; we only had a few emergency weather situations, but the people I already had a relationship with I was able to call on, and count on, and got help."

The different forms of social capital provide benefits to both organizations and their clients. Putnam (2000) explains that bonding social capital provides the resources which help people to get by, while bridging social capital helps them to get ahead. This connection is borrowed from the works of Briggs (1998), who describes two other forms of social capital: social support and social leverage. Briggs identifies these forms by the resources they provide. As social support, it is the needed resources that one obtains through their social connections to overcome specific obstacles. As social leverage, it is the resources and opportunities one obtains through their connections to achieve upward mobility and improve their situation.

The organizations in the sample all offered a mixture of services that are focused on social support and services focused on social leverage. Many of these services have already been discussed in this analysis, but they include the direct provision of survival and quality of life resources, housing, emotional support, job training, rehabilitation, and financial education. For instance, Steven explained that the Fall Arbor Hope Center seeks to provide "everything from short-term services, to long-term services… Everything from helping people who need a coat, all the way up to helping people with employment, support, and housing assistance." These services extend the organization's social capital to their clients by mobilizing the resources they obtain from social connections such as donors, funding agencies, or collective knowledge about the community.

The participants described several ways in which their organization's programs provide social support. Some of these examples are easy to recognize, such as food and physical resources provided by the Food Bank, the Hope Center, or the Fall Arbor Café. Jennifer described three community projects at the Fall Arbor Café:

> There's the giving tree, which you can put in anything like, items, clothing... we have the kindness cupboard that's for non-perishable items… And the Freedge, which is for fresh produce. Anyone is welcome to put stuff in and stuff out… All of these are open a bit before opening hours and a bit after closing hours, because we want to make sure that everyone feels comfortable getting whatever they need.

In other examples, respondents described how their organization helps people to overcome specific obstacles in direct ways, but that may be less apparent. For example, Ashley explained,

> We know that if a kiddo were to switch schools in the middle of the year, they are automatically about six months back… [So,] say you have a kiddo who is in a certain housing situation, and then they move to a shelter outside of their neighborhood. They have a right to stay in their neighborhood school. So, we would provide transportation.

At the Fall Arbor Hope Center, Steven explained,

> [We have] volunteers here every day, to help people with really basic
> things. So, it might be helping them connect to a service provider on the
> other end of town, it might be helping them fill out a form to try to apply
> for an apartment, or try to get an ID, or whatever it might be.

And, in many of the other references in this theme, the respondents described how they

fill in the gaps, by working with other organizations to address needs that they do not

provide.

> We have a volunteer whose taken it upon herself to form her own 501(c)3
> when she identified diapers as being an issue. She's a previous social
> worker and knows that neither SNAP nor WIC will pay for diapers, and
> we don't distribute those regularly. So, she's taken it upon herself to make
> that a distribution effort in both of our locations (Amanda).

> We don't have a presence of the health department here, but a couple
> weeks ago through more of an informal relationship, we had about five
> nurses in here inoculating our guests for Hepatitis A, which is a health
> concern among the homeless population (Richard).

These programs help to ensure individuals and families can overcome the variety

obstacles that they may experience while going through poverty, while also directing

services to the organization's main objectives.

When referencing social leverage, the participants often described programs that

give people new skills or help them to overcome things that prevent upward mobility. At

the Fall Arbor Café, Susan described how they help people to overcome the most

pressing issues for each individual by developing skills through volunteerism. However,

she explained that this requires a personal touch, and provided an example of a client who

was struggling with a heroin addiction.

> His first day of volunteering, we didn't know him at all and he had to
> leave because he had a panic attack. He came back the next day and he
> goes, 'I love what you guys do here, I want to help, I want to volunteer,

but I can't work in the dining room. It's too much for me…' So, what we did was we had him work outside in the gardens all the time, and then slowly but surely, we would start sending people out to him, for him to give them work to do in the gardens and outside. Then over time he started working more inside, and ultimately now when he comes in he plays guitar and sings (Susan).

At the food bank they took a similar approach to volunteerism. Daniel explained,

We work really hard to create meaningful volunteer opportunities… we're always training our volunteers and staff on skills that are cross-applicable. So, if you volunteer in the kitchen, you are going to learn knife skills, you are going to learn cooking in a commercial setting...

In each of these examples, the participant described how the organization sought to extend resources to its clients. Many of these resources are shared between organizations as both material resources and as social resources, such as collective knowledge, reciprocal support, and a shared identity.

D. Summary of Social Capital

Social capital is represented in theoretical works as the patterns of interactions and connections between individuals that provide a variety of benefits to those involved (Coleman 1988). As demonstrated throughout this analysis, social capital is present in the interactions of organizations, in addition to the interactions of the individuals who make up those organizations and their clients. By recognizing organizations as individual agents in a diverse social network, researchers, organizational leadership, and city officials can identify patterns of interactions within a community to better understand the resources they provide and benefits they provide.

Thus far, I have outlined and described the themes identified in the analysis related to social capital. These themes have been organized into thematic categories

based on the conceptions of social capital that they represent. Table 3 outlines the

thematic categories, themes, and sub-themes related to social capital. To review, this

analysis has identified social capital in organizational practices related to the mobilization

of resources, developing trust, facilitating information channels and connections, and

promoting a shared identity. In the following sections of this chapter, I provide the results

of the network analysis, and connect those results to the qualitative analysis and

theoretical framework.

Table 3. Social Capital Themes and Sub-themes

Thematic Category	Theme	Sub-theme
Bourdieu	Extending resources	• own resources: *to clients*, *to organizations* • network resources: *to clients*, *to organizations*
	Obtaining resources	• from: *organizations*, *businesses*, *individuals*
	Combining resources	*all references were from organizations*
Coleman	Obligations, expectations, and trust	• with organizations: *trust through mutual interest* • with clients: *providing accurate services*, *placing value in individuals*, *extending trust*
	Information channels	• providing referrals: *active models, passive models, client-to-client connections* • providing information • gaining information
	Norms and sanctions	• streamline the partnership process • shared/local identity • collaborative culture • sanction disruptive behavior
Briggs and Putnam	Bonding	• closer connections provide greater benefits: *more collaboration* • social identity/cohesion
	Bridging	• creating social space • connecting clients: *job opportunities, other services/resources, education*
	Social support	• resources: *quality of life, food, rental assistance, housing,* emotional support • personalized support
	Social leverage	• training/counseling • rehabilitation • education
	Practices/Social objectives	• building community • supporting organizations • social/political involvement

ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORKS

In this section I provide the results of the analysis and visual representation of the organizational ties in Fall Arbor. Then, I continue the thematic analysis and discuss the relevance of organizational ties to sociological theory and the research questions. The network map, or sociogram, was constructed to provide a visual representation of how services are situated within a network of independent agencies. The analysis of the sociogram is provided to support the findings of this study, and therefore it should not be construed as a complete map of the organizational network. However, it provided the opportunity to analyze the network in terms of organizational connections. The network analysis represents how an individual client may discover other resources through a direct connection to one of these organizations. Specifically, if a potential client were to access the website of one organization, they would be able to discover the other services in the network through the references made on that website.

While this is not the only way organizations provide information on other organizations, it does demonstrate how the network structure can either limit or aid in the dissemination of information. As discussed in Chapter Two, social fields are organized according to the volume and composition of capital held by the individuals within it (Bourdieu 1993). This analysis supports this theory by demonstrating that information is a valued form of capital in the field of human service organizations, and the structure of organizational networks influences the availability of information channels for clients.

Network Analysis

        The network consists of 83 nodes and 327 directed arcs. Each node represents a service or organization in Fall Arbor, and each arc represents a tie to another organization in the network. If an organization referenced another that was not one of the original 58 organizations identified in the Fall Arbor Homeless Resource Guide the referenced organization was included in the network map, but it was not analyzed for connections. This allowed for the map to include outbound references but maintained focus on the city of Fall Arbor and the qualitative sample. In total 82 outbound references were identified, adding 25 organizations to the analysis.

        The sociogram shown in Figure 9 displays the organizations placed according to their approximate physical location. In Figure 10, the same network is mapped, but is restructured using Fruchterman-Reingold force directed placement (Fruchterman and Reingold 1991). This method of placement displays the network in a way that indicates the overall connectedness of each node and the density of the network. Each node is given attractive and repulsive forces—all nodes repels other nodes but are attracted to nodes they are connected with (ibid).

Key: Service type by color
● Multi-Service/Resource Center ○ Housing Services ● Healthcare & Behavioral Health ● Shelter ● Food Assistance ● Education
● Government ● Veteran Services ● Employment ● Clothing/Resources ○ Other Resources ● Business/Non-service Organization
◇ Indicates Participant Organizations
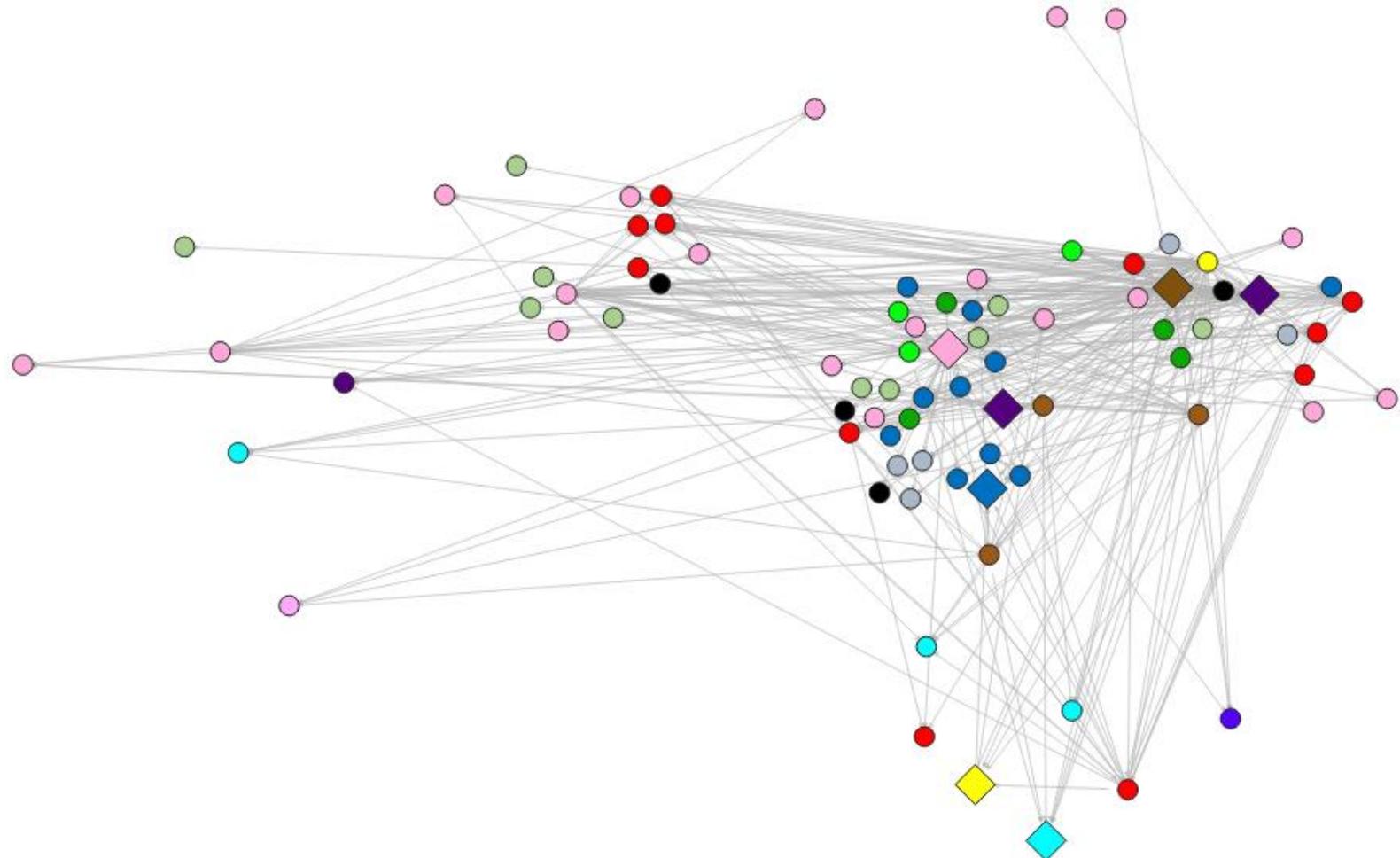
Figure 9. Network Map of Organization References by Approximate Physical Location
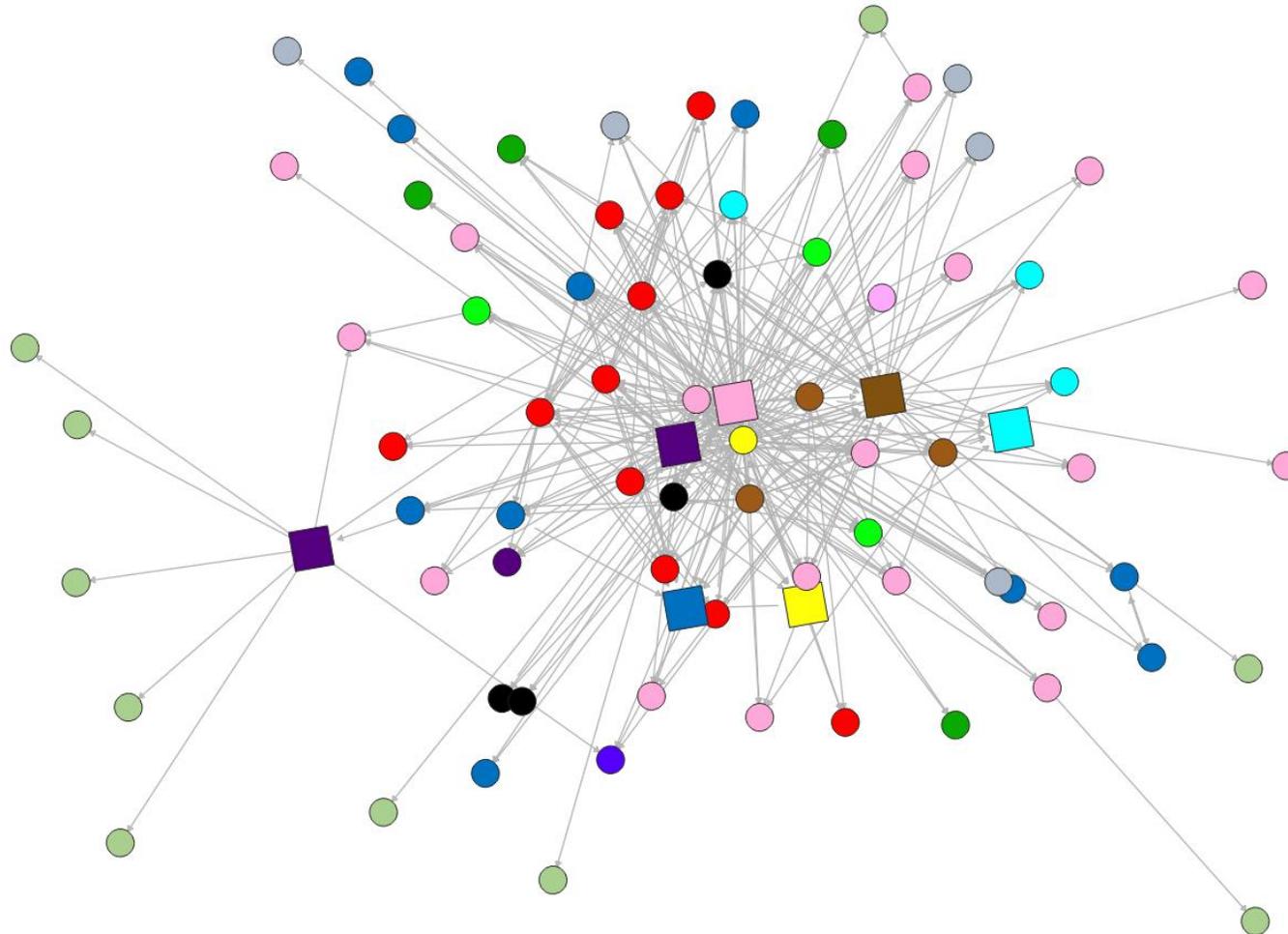
Figure 10. Network Map of Organization References by Fruchterman-Reingold (1991) Force-directed Placement

Table 4. Social Network Characteristics

Network Structure	n	%
Total Organizations	83	
Inactive (DC = 0-1)	58	69.88%
Active (DC = 2-58)	25	30.12%
Periphery (DP = 1-2)	26	31.33%
Core (DP = 2-11)	57	68.67%
Total ties	327	
Strong ties	26	7.95%

Table 5. Sample Statistics

Name	DC	DP
Community Café	8	1
Food Bank	32	9
Hope Center	33	4
Housing Authority	3	4
Community Sustainability	0	9
McKinney-Vento Program	0	7
Fall Arbor Outreach Team	55	2

Tables 4 and 5 provide descriptive statistics, for the network, and centrality scores

for the organizations in the sample. By ranking each node by degree centrality[12], Figure

11 demonstrates which organizations have the highest number of ties to other nodes in

the network. Then, by ranking each node by degree prestige[13], Figure 12 demonstrates

which nodes have the highest number of inbound ties.

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[12] Degree centrality (DC) is the sum of all outbound edges from a node. See appendix D for the compete
Degree Centrality Report output from SocNetV.
[13] Degree prestige (DP) is the sum of all inbound edges from a node. See appendix E for the compete
Degree Prestige Report output from SocNetV.

Key: Service type by color
● Multi-Service/Resource Center ● Housing Services ● Healthcare & Behavioral Health ● Shelter ● Food Assistance ● Education
● Government ● Veteran Services ● Employment ● Clothing/Resources ● Other Resources ● Business/Non-service Organization
◇ Indicates Participant Organizations
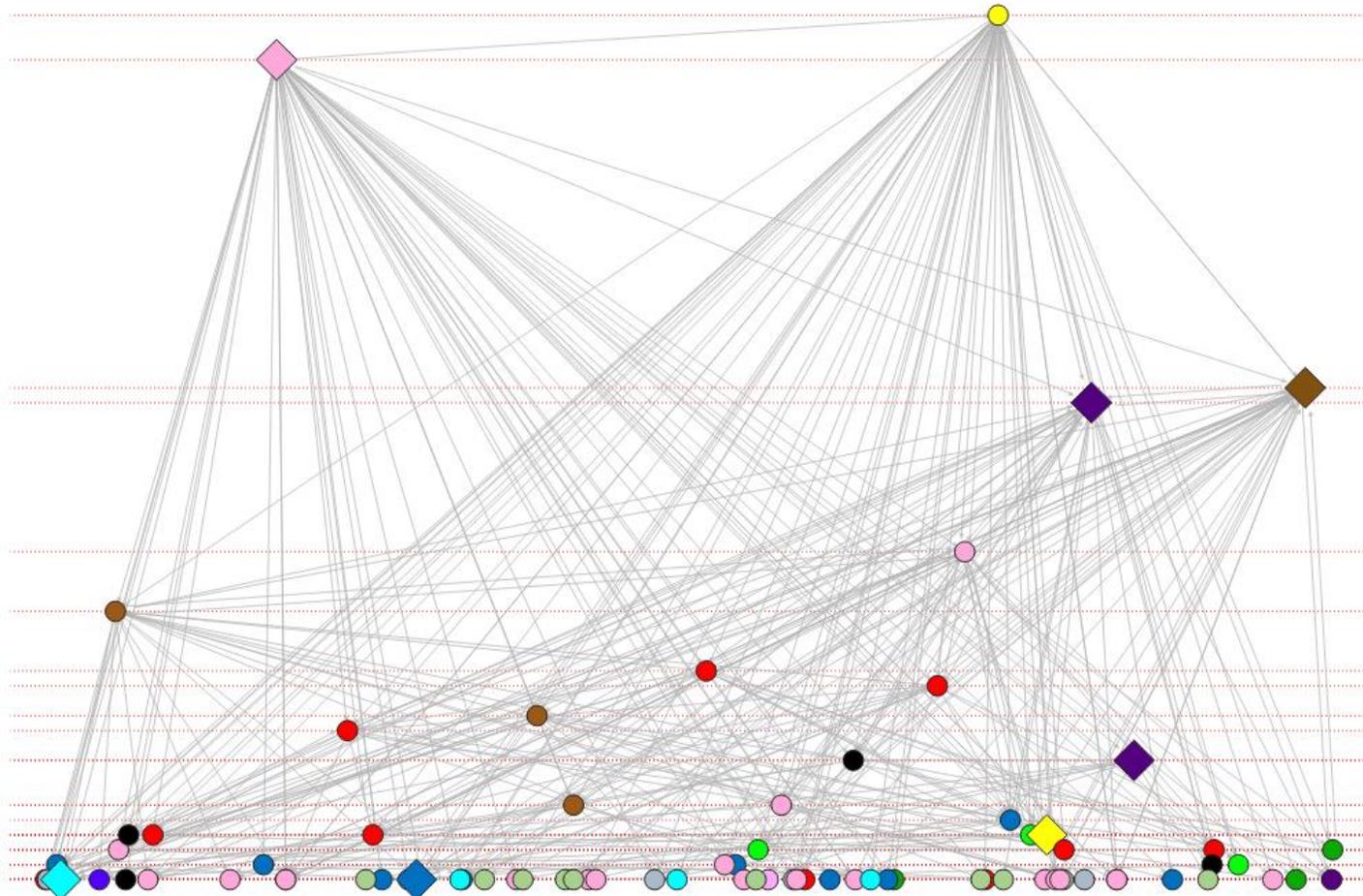
Figure 11. Network Map of Organization References by Degree Centrality

Key: Service type by color
● Multi-Service/Resource Center ○ Housing Services ● Healthcare & Behavioral Health ● Shelter ● Food Assistance ○ Education
● Government ○ Veteran Services ● Employment ● Clothing/Resources ○ Other Resources ○ Business/Non-service Organization
◇ Indicates Participant Organizations
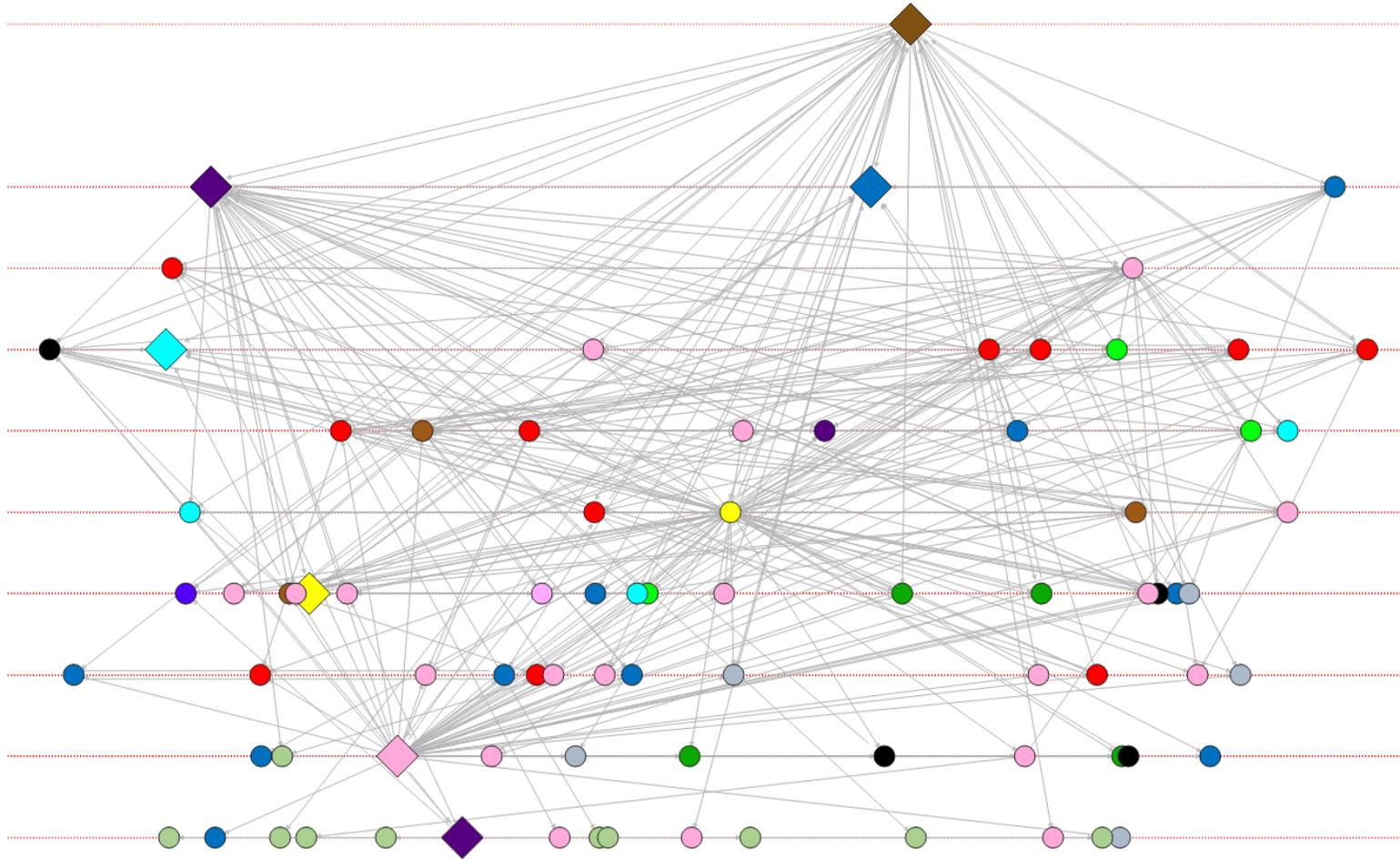
Figure 12. Network Map of Organization References by Degree Prestige

Each tie represents a potential information channel as referrals for services and recognition of partnerships. Therefore, if an individual in need were to seek out information, this sociogram demonstrates connections that might be made based on which organization they began with. There are two prominent organizations that refer to almost all other organizations in the network. This shows how many potential connections can be made from that organization to others.

The organization with highest degree centrality ($DC = 58$) is a sustainable housing services agency, given the pseudonym Home Together, that provides an extensive list of resources in the community. This list encompasses a wide variety of services in Fall Arbor and includes resources for individuals experiencing poverty, county-wide resources for renters, and specific resources for seniors.

Resource guides such as these are used by both individual clients and other organizations who are seeking to inform their own clients. Ashley, from the Fall Arbor Public School District, mentioned Home Together when talking about how these guides help her to find resources for her clients when they express a need. She explained,

> Home Together has worked on making a whole book of all the resources… I use that a lot. Those things are helpful, I mean, we're not reinventing the wheel. [We] have a couple of agencies that have made those resource books for what's in the community… And that's really helpful to give families (Ashley).

Alice, from the Fall Arbor Community Sustainability Department, also mentioned Home Together as she described the homeless resource guide, developed in part by her organization—which was the one used in this network analysis. The organization with the second highest degree centrality is the Fall Arbor Outreach Team (DC = 55), which distributes the homeless resource guide. Alice stated,

> We [created] this earlier this year to really narrow down services
> specifically for people who are at risk of, or who are experiencing
> homelessness. So that they could have something that's easy at hand, and a
> map, so they could find things that they might need here in town.

Alice explained that the homeless resource guide was produced in collaboration with the Fall Arbor Outreach Team and other organizations in the community, to make referrals and client outreach easier for organizations who work with the homeless population. She explained that the purpose of this guide is to help bring all of the community services together for those in need.

> We do know that many of the organizations listed on there are really good
> about making their services known to people out there, but they usually
> are just making their own services known… We know that [Home
> Together] has a really comprehensive list of services that are available to
> people, but it's literally a big book... So, this was a way that we could help
> kind of bring it all together… To identify the primary needs of people
> experiencing homelessness, what they could need, and in a way that
> it would be helpful to hand out to people (Alice).

Therefore, the organizations with the highest degree centrality each have dedicated time and resources to providing substantial information channels. The next highest organizations are The Fall Arbor Hope Center ($DC = 33$) and the Fall Arbor Food Bank ($DC = 32$), both of which are prominent figures in the community. This was evidenced by both the qualitative interviews and the network analysis. For instance, the Hope Center, or its managing agency, were mentioned by nearly every participant during interviews, or as a recommendation for recruiting study participants.

Then, ranking each node by degree prestige, represents the number of references each organization received from other agencies in the network. The organization with the highest degree prestige was the Fall Arbor Hope Center ($DP = 11$), followed by the food bank, the Fall Arbor Community Sustainability Department, and the County Department

of Human Services at equal levels (*DP* = 9). These organizations both provide direct

assistance to clients and are able to provide referrals to other services to address

individual needs.

Analyzing the network by both centrality and prestige, indicates that

organizations act in distinct roles for the community. As shown by the analysis of degree

centrality, some organizations act as facilitators of communication and collective

knowledge. They provide a wide breadth of available information to both clients and

service providers to, as Alice put it, "bring it all together." When analyzing by degree

prestige however, the highest organizations are those that provide substantial services to

clients, such as food and physical resources, or those who act as central leadership within

the community. For instance, the Hope Center provides resources directly to clients, and

facilitates collaborations throughout the community.

Steven explained that on top of providing services directly, "we operate six

programs, in addition to The Hope Center, [that are] collectively designed to provide a

continuum of services, in collaboration with other agencies." Steven then went on to

explain that, in addition to these programs, the Hope Center works with other

organizations in collaboratives groups.

> Just to give you a few examples, the collaborative that we are most active
> in is called [working families] and it's a collaborative of 10+ agencies that
> are all working on issues around employment and housing… We sit on the
> board of, and are active participants of, the initiatives related to [the city's
> plan to end homelessness]… I sit on the board of an organization called
> The Fall Arbor Outreach Team. I was part of the task force that created
> that organization (Steven).

Similarly, Daniel explained that the Fall Arbor Food Bank provides a direct resource to its clients and acts as a prominent figure in the community for other services providers.

> The primary way we [address hunger and poverty] is by the distribution of food to qualifying individuals, families, households… [We serve] roughly eight-to-nine hundred individuals a day through our two facilities, and that's roughly seven million pounds of food a year. We also have an [agency] program, which is a partnership between the food bank and 80 to 100 partner agencies, that are all distributing food themselves out through their own programs… (Daniel).

Given how these organizations operate programs that extend beyond their own agency, it is not surprising to find that the network analysis also shows they are central to the network when measured by organizational referrals. Analyzing the network in this way provides a visual representation of how organizations can replace individuals in an analysis of social connections.

Developing Connections and
Mobilizing Resources

Granovetter's (1973) analysis of social networks and resource mobilization shows that interpersonal connections can be analyzed based on the strength of interpersonal ties. He describes social connections in terms of strong and weak ties and the avenues people have to develop those ties. This framework compliments theories on social capital at a micro level by explaining how the qualities of individual relationships influence communication in a network. As with social capital, this analysis applies the concepts given by Granovetter to organizational networks by identifying themes in the participants responses. These themes include avenues for developing ties, mobilizing resources, and interpersonal ties.

Avenues for Developing Ties — 128
Mobilizing Resources — 65
Interpersonal Ties — 52

Number of References (0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140)
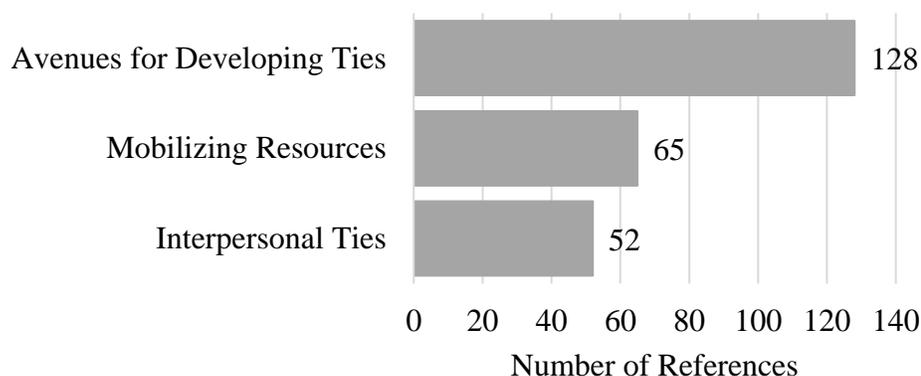
Figure 13. Granovetter Themes

In avenues for developing ties, two sub-themes were identified: ties between organizations and clients, and ties between organizations and the greater community. When describing their social connections, many of the participants reflected on the support they receive from donors. For instance, at the food bank, both participants explained that a large portion of their funding comes through private donations, but they specifically mentioned that there are a few philanthropic organizations and business that are heavily involved in supporting them. This was common in many of the interviews—frequently mentioning a specific local business, whose name is omitted to maintain confidentiality.

Daniel explained that the food bank also works with these organizations to provide volunteer opportunities to their employees.

> We reach out to corporate partners within our area to encourage them to utilize volunteering with us as an opportunity for team building, as an opportunity for a reward for performance, and there are a lot of them that do that that really find a lot of joy and pride in offering that to their employees as an option (Daniel).

And Richard, from the Fall Arbor Hope Center, explained how these relationships with businesses are long-standing and reciprocal. First, he gave a few examples of businesses who serve on their board of directors and of how the organization's building is owned by

a local business. Then, he explained that business involvement in organizations helps to

promote the businesses' own image by contributing to the betterment of society.

> There's a general sense in the business world that if you are focused just on the bottom line, it'll only get you so far, but there is more awareness now that businesses work in the context of the community. So, there's all these lists of good places to work, [and] it's coveted for businesses to end up on those lists because they can attract the intelligent, loyal, employees. So, there is this whole third sector that is about, how are we really contributing to the betterment of society? And part of that is through their philanthropic activities (Richard).

These references provide an example of how organizations have ties to the

community. These ties are valuable because they connect the organization to the various

interests in the community and by being a connected to these interests, the organization

can serve as a bridge between their clients, the community, and other resources.

According to Granovetter (1973), the presence of ties that provide connections between

groups are a key predictor of a community's ability to effectively mobilize resources. He

explains that communities with greater avenues to develop these ties are better able to

adapt to challenges or threats.

Throughout the interviews, the respondents discussed how their organizations

develop ties in a variety of ways. Some of the respondents brought up their personal

connections to individuals in other organizations, some discussed the collaborations and

groups the organizations were a part of, and others discussed how they developed

relationships for their clients. Through these descriptions, the analysis reveals how both

the dynamics of the community and organizational practices can provide avenues for

developing ties.

When asked in the interviews to discuss working with other organizations, many

of the participants referenced participation in groups. These references include any

discussion of organizations working together in a formal setting. The respondents each used a variety of verbiage to describe these groups, such as, committees, action teams, collaboratives, alliances, and multi-agency meetings. Other times, the participants explained that their opportunities to develop connections often come out of the dynamics of their community.

Many of the participants explained that since Fall Arbor is a smaller city, it is much easier to just "know" who to contact and when. Alice explained, "some of it is probably a little less structured as far as, you know… We are aware of what exists, so we can do referrals and that kind of thing, just by knowing what's going on." And Kathy, from the Fall Arbor Housing Authority, shared this sentiment but compared Fall Arbor to larger cities.

> I think there's maybe a little more competition and, not turf wars, but just you know, like 'well our line stops here.' While in Fall Arbor, we're it for the whole city. So, some of it might just be size, and it will be interesting to see as we grow if we can kind of maintain those close relationships (Kathy).

Daniel on the other hand, explained that being established in the community allows the food bank to form connections with ease, because other organizations already know about them. This, of course, comes from the size of the community, but it also stems from the social atmosphere and culture in Fall Arbor. He explained,

> The food bank has been around for about 30 years, and so we've been around longer than most of our partner agencies… So, for the most part our agency partners will come to us and say here's what we're doing, we meet your qualifications for becoming an agency partner, and we would like to get food from you for our programs X, Y, and Z (Daniel).

In these statements, the participants expressed that there is a culture of collaboration in the city of Fall Arbor that helps organizations to achieve their goals and

helps the city respond to various concerns. This was expressed in both the themes of

developing ties, and in the theme of norms and effective sanctions. As quoted earlier in

this chapter, Richard believed that such a culture comes from a community's response to

adversity. He continued to explain, "a community that goes through those disasters and is

able to meet the challenges and rebuild, then the community as a whole builds confidence

in its ability to meet future challenges."

Jeremy and Ashley, from Fall Arbor Outreach Team and the public school district

respectively, both expressed that the community is motivated to address the issue of

poverty in Fall Arbor and this drives organizations to partner together. Jeremy stated,

"one of the best things about the Fall Arbor community is that it is a community, and I've

never seen more collaboration with agencies, and partners, and the community at large, in

trying to address the issues of homelessness and poverty." Ashley reflected this view but

added a caveat by saying that the community still has a lot of need.

> I do think that, with the people we have in Fall Arbor, that are working
> with families and youth, and just the homeless population in general,
> there's a lot of heart. [However], I think we have a pretty high need, that I
> don't think a lot of people recognize, but we are also very rich in
> resources. And because of the uniqueness, and kind of how small our
> community is, we have a lot of people that go to meetings where we
> connect. We have different community meetings, where a lot of people
> from different organizations all come together so we can all connect and
> brainstorm. And you can't get that larger communities (Ashley).

In each of these examples, the dynamics and culture of the community operates as

an existing avenue to develop ties. This hearkens back to Bourdieu's concept of habitus,

as the individuals in an organization develop a cultural disposition that helps them to

navigate the community. Therefore, the organizations themselves have been developed

within this disposition, which as Bourdieu (1977) describes, allows for collaboration to occur without strict or determined coordination.

By understanding both Granovetter's analysis of social ties and Bourdieu's theory of habitus, organizations and community development leaders can understand how culture facilitates or inhibits social connections. This analysis demonstrates that the culture within Fall Arbor facilitates collaboration. However, the participants also expressed that organizations must actively foster that culture to develop more meaningful partnerships. Relating back to the concept of trust in social relationships, Daniel explained that meaningful partnerships start with trust, and larger organizations, like the food bank, are in the position to establish a foundation of trust in their community. He explained,

> There has to be a willingness among some of the larger organizations, ours included, to be the first to extend that trust. And that's something that I'm actively working towards with partner agencies in terms of giving them access to our resources or giving them access to our donors (Daniel).

However, Granovetter (1973) argues that communities struggle to mobilize resources and unify their efforts when they are too focused on maintaining strong ties, because networks rely on bridging connections for widespread communication. Therefore, having multiple avenues to develop ties allows the community to create and maintain a more diverse network, which, as shown in social capital theory, can provide members with access to more resources and opportunities. In the city of Fall Arbor, multiple organizations recognized this need and have created initiatives that focus on creating these avenues.

Alice, with the Fall Arbor Community Sustainability Department, has the role of mobilizing and organizes the community's resources to address issues related to poverty

and homelessness. She described a number of programs they use to strategically direct

resources to areas of need. However, she explained that there is rarely enough resources,

so to meet these needs, her organization has to foster collaboration in the community.

> Here in Fall Arbor we see a lot of collaboration and working together, which is great, but that's not always the case. So, I think it is just continuing to help and foster that collaborative environment and reinforce that the funding process doesn't have to be super competitive. You can understand how that can happen, when people are trying to do what they're trying to do, but they all see the value in each other, so it's a really very friendly environment. So, we just have to continue to foster that and make sure we're helping to fill in the gaps by bringing people together (Alice).

Alice described several ways her organization does bring the community together.

These included both formal events that are designed to facilitate connections, such as

organized meetings and strategic groups, and events that facilitate connections indirectly,

such as grant funding ceremonies. These events are an example of how an organization's

practices can provide an indirect avenue for developing ties.

In fact, Susan, from the Fall Arbor Café, also expressed this when she described

how developing partnerships can be particularly challenging as a small non-profit; but,

she explained that community events provide an opportunity to do so.

> You have to strive for it... You know, we have three employees. Two full-time, one part-time. So, you get your head down, and you're working hard, and sometimes it's hard to lift your head up for a moment to see an opportunity for partnership. It's easier to do it within the structure that you already have, than to go out and try to build a partnership. [So], it's really nice when you do get out, to like awards ceremonies for grants, because you see people that you haven't seen for a while and a lot of times that's where those partnerships happen.

As Alice discussed the role of the Community Sustainability Department, she

explained that they are responsible for organizing resources in the community to respond

to emergency situations and solve issues related to housing and homelessness. This has

required her and her team to organize new ways to strategically use the resources

available in the city.

She explained that they are the newest department in the city government's

structure, and so they have had the opportunity to implement new initiatives to address

poverty. As Alice discussed these initiatives, she explained that the department acts as a

facilitator and a partner with service providers.

> We tend to work a lot with other agencies in the community, because a lot
> of the work we do is not just the city municipal government type issues...
> We sit on different boards and work groups, [such as] the county mental
> health and substance use alliance… We work with inter-interagency
> groups… We also have the policy role of emergency weather shelter
> declaration. So depending on the situation, we go a little bit into that
> service provision role, but it's still more about bringing that collaboration
> and coordination together (Alice).

One initiative that Alice described was working with community partners to

establish the Fall Arbor Outreach Team. This team is dedicated to building connections

with service providers, government agencies, local businesses, and community action

groups, in order to provide information about resources to individuals in need. When I

interviewed Jeremey, the program director for the outreach team, he explained that the

team focuses on working with these community stakeholders to appropriately connect

people who are experiencing homelessness to services. However, through their

connections, the team is able to communicate issues of poverty to various groups who

otherwise may not have the opportunity to hear about them.

> A big piece of what we do is outreach to the community at large, around
> education and advocacy for individuals experiencing homelessness, or at
> risk of experiencing homelessness. Pieces of that include statistics around
> rental rates, available housing, available services dedicated towards
> housing, things like that. It is challenging, but I think ultimately, we just
> try and bridge those gaps—try to make what resources that are available

more efficient, and then trying to advocate for appropriate resources where they are needed the most (Jeremy).

As an organization that is dedicated to forming connections, the outreach team has a unique position within the social network to act as a bridging connection. By building personal connections first, Jeremey explained that they can provide information to members of the community and bring awareness the issues that cause poverty and homelessness. Throughout the interviews, the respondents expressed that a lack of knowledge about their organization is an obstacle. As Granovetter (1973) explains, individuals rarely act on information they receive, unless it is received through personal ties. By investing in the outreach team, the organizations in the city have begun to work proactively to develop ties that can transfer information throughout the community.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have provided an extensive explanation of the results of the analysis in this study. This included a qualitative analysis and description of themes related to theories on social capital and social network relations. In addition, a sociometric diagram and subsequent analysis was provided. Chapter 5 provides a review of this study and a discussion of the key findings and their significance to organization practices and sociological theory.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this study, I have sought to explore how organizations leverage their positions within a social network to the benefit of the individuals they serve. This study was informed by theories on social connections, resource mobilization, and communication through individual connections. The results of this study show support for the application of social capital to organizations in addition to the individuals who make up those organizations. This chapter provides a more detailed discussion of these findings, the limitations of the research, and recommendations for future research. The discussion of the findings in this chapter will also answer the sub-questions related to building organizational connections, the challenges of interacting with the community, and the benefits of community relationships for organizations and their clients. I conclude with an overview of the contributions made by this thesis to sociological theory, as well as the practical applications for research methods and program policy for human service organizations.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Connecting Social Capital and
Support Services

In order to understand how organizational practices build social capital in the community, I had to identify the forms of social capital that were expressed by the participants. Four prominent conceptions of social capital informed this research: Bourdieu's (1986) interpersonal connections, that provide access to collectively owned resources; Coleman's (1988) instrument of social interaction, that is used to pursue personal interests; Briggs' (1998) social resource, that is used to achieve an end; and Putnam's (2000) private and public good that facilitates varying levels of social cohesion. The results support each of these conceptions as the respondents described how their organizations are situated within a distinct social network that possesses its own culture, normative expectations, and shared resources.

In the analysis, Bourdieu's conception of social capital is demonstrated through the exchange of resources throughout the community. The results indicated that resources flow between organizations, allowing the agencies to extend services to more clients, or individuals in need of that particular service. This allows the organizations to provide their own resources to their network connections and rely on other organizations to provide resources that meet the diverse needs of their clients. These findings address the question: how do homeless service organizations leverage their social positions to the benefit of their clients? However, Bourdieu (1986) expressly states that the collective resources, or capital, provided by one's social connections are not explicitly economic but can be cultural or symbolic as well.

For instance, Bourdieu (1993) gives the example of cultural competence as a resource in the field of art. Though it is only one example of a field, art and literature provides a conceptual idea of knowledge and information as a resource. By using the framework of fields, set forth by Bourdieu, it becomes possible to analyze the resources that are valued in a given social setting as a form of capital.

By analyzing service organizations as operating within a distinct field, the results demonstrate that there are many examples of capital that individuals may leverage to establish their position or achieve their own ends. For instance, a person who is experienced in grant-writing possesses a skill that is valued and sought after, and so it represents a cultural competence that can be used to leverage their social position. Therefore, since Bourdieu's theories of capital encompass such a diverse set of resources, the collective resources described throughout many of the other thematic categories identified in Chapter 4 also demonstrate the various forms of capital he described.

For example, in the theme obligations, expectations, and trust, many of the respondents described the sense of collective identity and support that comes from being a part of the non-profit community; this is, of course, an example of the obligations and trust that comes from being part of a group, as described by Coleman (1988), but it is also an example of symbolic and cultural capital being accessed through social connections. Additionally, this sense of collective identity demonstrates how the dynamics of social connections between organizations reflects the dynamics of social connections between individuals.

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research demonstrates that social groups within homeless populations often have a strong sense of social identity and group

solidarity (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014). In their study, Barman-Adhikari and Rice found that many respondents reported that the use services is oppositional to this group identity. However, in many instances, social networks also encouraged the use of services, as many of respondents reported learning of resources or services from networking with their "street peers" (92), suggesting that that social networks can also act as facilitators for the use services. In their conclusion, Barman-Adhikari and Rice (2014) state that their results support interventions that focus on building trust and reciprocity between clients and organizations.

To Coleman (1988), this trust and reciprocity in relationships is a key function of social capital. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, this study suggest that the practices employed by the sample of organizations build trust by focusing on providing accurate services, avoiding paternalistic assumptions, and placing value in individuals. These practices help organizations develop trust with their clients by maintaining obligations and reciprocity. While clients seek out a relationship with the organization in order to meet their needs, the organization expresses that developing a relationship is valuable to them as well.

When considered alongside the theme of social capital as information channels, the results show how these practices can also increase client accessibility—as established trust between organizations and their service population can be communicated through social networks. In a few instances, the participants described this as their clients spreading the word about their services, but more commonly they described how their organization extends the trust they have built with other service providers to their clients.

On the other hand, Barman-Adhikari and Rice (2014) also indicate that since the networks in their study are characterized by a strong sense of solidarity and group identity, there is also a sense of out-group antagonism. Putnam (2000) describes this as the negative potential of social capital, because it can maintain social stratification. He explains this is a characteristic of bonding social capital, but that the diversity within networks provides bridging social capital, which can promote collaborative efforts.

By promoting bridging social capital, service organizations can both recognize and embrace the diversity of the populations they serve. Organizational practices create bridging social capital by connecting clients to a diverse network of connections. The results show that the organizations develop their networks strategically; meaning that they try to recognize their client's needs, and actively pursue new connections that will help to address those needs.

For example, one participant described how their organizations often works with victims of domestic violence so, they developed a connection with the local safehouses and victim's advocacy agencies; however, developing a meaningful connection involves more than getting the information to make referrals. The same participant explained that they take the time to truly understand the organizations, their intake processes, the length their waitlists, and the individuals who work there. By developing this deeper level of understanding, the service providers can provide an information channel, develop trust, and bridge the gaps between providers and potential clients.

Through these practices, there can be a positive development of bonding social capital as well. Through public education, community collaboration, and recognition of individual poverty as collective concern, the community develops a greater feeling of

sameness, despite the distinct differences in groups. In Fall Arbor, there is a clear effort, expressed by all the participants, to bring the community together to address the issue of poverty holistically.

Challenges and Obstacles

Bourdieu's theories of habitus play an important role in creating this sense of community awareness. While trust and reciprocity are the key factors of Coleman's (1988) and Putnam's (2000) conceptions of social capital, Bourdieu (1977, 1985) focuses on the roles of economic, cultural, and symbolic capital in social structures and interaction. In this framework, social capital provides the means to mobilize the resources and capital of others to improve one's own social standing. This is not to suggest that the use of social capital is wholly motivated by self-interest or individual desire, but rather it is an operation of one's habitus in response to the objective and material conditions of one's existence (Bourdieu 1977). Therefore, the organizations naturally seek to leverage their social connections to mobilize the community's resources; that is to say, it is not a strictly determined process, but an action that is motivated and directed by habitus.

Individuals who are impoverished, homelessness, or experiencing housing stress, and individuals who work in and support service organizations, each have a unique and particular habitus. This habitus informs and structures interactions as these individuals navigate their diverse social fields. For instance, homeless individuals rely on habitus to understand the norms of behavior and organizing principles of "street-life" (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014). In this way, street-life constitutes a distinct social field, with its own norms, culture, and capital in its varying forms (Bourdieu 1985). When interacting

with organizations, these individuals enter a different social field with its own norms. In both of these fields, social capital functions to establish and enforce these norms through social interactions (Coleman 1988). However, if an individual does not possess the cultural competence, or habitus, to recognize those norms, they will still be subject to sanctioning by those who do.

The results of this study demonstrate how habitus, formed through the structure and dynamics of the social network, can be a challenge for organizations when interacting with their community. The organizations themselves have a particular habitus as well; one that structures and facilitates interactions with both their clients and other organizations, such as, sponsor companies, partner organizations, and local government agencies. When organizations or clients lack the cultural competence or knowledge that normally guides the interactions in the community, the organizations struggle to mobilize resources.

With clients, the participants gave examples of times where disruptive behaviors strained the trust between the organization and its clients.[14] In developing connections to other services, the analysis identified many different challenges and obstacles faced by organizations. The most common obstacles expressed by the participants were limitations related to social capital. This included a lack of social capital, in some form, or the loss of existing social capital due to turnover and changes in the community. Other challenges included negative public perceptions, such as stigma and stereotypes that reduce community buy-in, and consequently the ability to access or mobilize resources. These

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[14] Note, however, the participants emphasized that such incidents were not common, but multiple participants described how these isolated instances of disruptive behaviors have lasting effects on their interactions with clients.

findings draw questions regarding the limits of social capital; even though the participants all expressed numerous ways that the Fall Arbor community is rich in social capital, it still struggles to mobilize its resources at times.

Benefits of Community Relationships

Existing literature has demonstrated that social capital and being well-connected is not a simple solution to complex problems (Arya and Lin 2007, Briggs 1998, Briggs et al. 2010, Tanasescu and Smart 2010). However, by identifying how the practices of organizations can develop social capital and the benefits it provides, the results of this study demonstrate how networks can benefit from certain practices.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Arya and Lin (2007) explored how network centrality can negatively impact organizational outcomes in collaborative networks. This is because social obligations require central organizations to devote greater resources toward the maintenance of the network than to their own objectives. In Fall Arbor however, the organizations central to the network are designed to maintain network connections, and therefore other organizations are able to devote resources to fulfilling their objectives more efficiently. Because of these practices, the network as a whole benefits from being niche-centric as organizations act in distinct roles for the community. This was shown in the results of thematic analysis and supported by the network analysis.

Throughout the interviews, the participants described how certain organizations, such as The Fall Arbor Outreach Team and Home Together, dedicate their resources to maintaining social connections and providing information, so that other organizations do not have to. One participant explained that they do not have to "reinvent the wheel,"

because other organizations have already created those resources for the community. The results of the network analysis illustrate this by showing that organizations with the highest degree centrality—those who are making the most outbound references—are those same organizations: The Outreach Team and Home Together. Then, by analyzing the network by degree prestige, the results show that the organizations receiving the most references are the organizations providing the most substantial services and resources to both clients and the network.

For clients and individuals, the limits of social capital are similar, but the organizational practices that develop it vary. Tanasescu and Smart (2010) explain that for individuals experiencing poverty, the benefits of social capital are limited by the volume of resources possessed by the individual's network connections. In addition, Briggs et al. (2010) highlights how kinship ties can even reduce opportunities to develop connection that provide social leverage. The results of my analysis show that the organizations' practices vary between providing social support and social leverage. By providing a mixture of these services, the participants explained that clients benefit from being linked to a network of service providers that can both meet their needs and provide the opportunity for upward mobility.

The connection between the range of theories regarding social capital, and Bourdieu's theory of habitus, interaction, and social stratification, suggests that the benefits of organizational connections come from a cultural disposition formed through connection of individual agents and their organizations. A fundamental effect of habitus is to allow interactions to become commonsensical, or natural; as it is an essential component of collective action (Bourdieu 1977). This allows the organizations and

individuals to work together without strict or determined coordination because they are

"engendered by the objective structures" of the social formation they are a part of (82).

By emphasizing homogeneity, through a common objective, the organizations

produce mutual reciprocity that creates natural support systems and the means to

mobilize collective resources. Here, the connection between habitus and social capital

becomes apparent: habitus acts as a mechanism for the operation of social capital in the

pursuit of improving social, economic, and material conditions. Social capital allows

individuals and organizations to mobilize the resources available through their

interpersonal connections to pursue personal and collectively held interests.

For individuals experiencing poverty or homelessness, these personal interests

include improving one's objective conditions to meet their basic needs to improve their

quality of life. For service organizations, such as food banks, shelters, or housing

services, there is also a need for the development of information channels that

communicate the availability of services. Granovetter's distinction between strong-and-

weak interpersonal ties, provides a critical link in understanding how these channels are

dependent on the presence of bridging connections. With Coleman's description of the

forms of social capital, we can identify how these connections can provide resources in

addition to the diffusion of information.

Applying these theories to poverty and homelessness relies on a recognition that

these issues are not merely an individual condition, but part of a social experience.

Understanding that organizational trust and representation is communicated through the

interpersonal networks of clients demonstrates the importance of developing and

supporting these networks in client outreach. Practices such as these are especially

important in encouraging service utilization in isolated or marginalized communities where trust may be strained by economic and social class distinctions that create a sense of differentiation.

Identifying Social Capital in
Organizational Practices

This study used information provided by individuals and organizations from the Fall Arbor community to describe the composition of social capital in non-profit organizations. It is my hope that by expressing the benefits of social capital, described by both the participants and existing literature, that this study will emphasize the importance of developing a strong network of connected organizations in any community. The organizations in the sample provide an example of how organizations can, and do, strategically mobilize social capital to provide opportunities and resources to their clients. Therefore, the qualities of Fall Arbor's organizational network provided the opportunity for this research to describe these practices and their connection to sociological theory.

In summation, the results of this study provide an outline for identifying social capital in organizational practices based on the outcomes they provide. This outline is informed by a synthesis of theoretical and academic literature on social capital. The results of this research suggest that organizational practices can be viewed as developing social capital when they: a) mobilize resources through connections between independent organizations to provide or extend services to clients, b) develop trust between clients and service providers, c) reinforce mutual interests between members of the organization's network, or d) provide avenues to develop connections for support or upward social

mobility. In the following section, I provide a specific list of recommendations for organizations in each of these practices.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR
ORGANIZATIONAL
PRACTICES

To increase client access to services, organizations should mobilize resources through connections between independent organizations to provide or extend their services. Community leadership, such as grant commissions, political figures, business authorities, and prominent service organizations, should employ practices that promote the sharing of resources when it improves access to clients in need. This includes practices that are focused on collective impacts or that create secondary locations for organizations to provide their services. As an example, The Fall Arbor Food Bank collaborated with other organizations[15] to create a satellite food pantry and a bi-weekly mobile food pantry to improve their access to clients throughout the city. As a second example, The Homeless Supply, distributes physical supplies to other organizations so that those organizations can provide the resources to their clients experiencing homelessness.

There are, of course, countless ways that these practices could be replicated in other support services though—rather than just in food and supplies. Community leadership should therefore encourage organizational leaders to develop partnerships that distribute the services or resources they provide through connections to other organizations. This can be done through favoring collaborative grants, or through

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[15] Respectively, these organizations are a local healthcare facility and a local religious organization.

facilitating opportunities for representatives from different organizations to connect, share stories, discuss challenges, and brainstorm solutions. In Fall Arbor, the participants described how their community is rich in these opportunities because the community leaders actively strive to create them through developing collaboratives and hosting social events.

To develop trust between clients and service providers, organizations should implement practices that attest the value of individuals in the community. These practices include actions, such as, providing volunteer opportunities for clients or publicly demonstrating how the organization receives support from the community. The results of this research showed that these practices promote a sense of social identity and inclusion within the community for clients. Additionally, organizations can develop trust with clients through practices that accurately identify their clients' needs, such as collecting data about the service population and avoiding assumptions about the clients. However, these practices build trust by expressing reciprocity between the clients and the organizations; so, it is important for the purpose of these practices to be made clear to the clients.

To reinforce mutual interests between members of the organizational network, community leaders and organizations should employ practices that create and maintain information channels. These information channels allow for the needs and interests of the network to be expressed by its members. This study's focus on the context of the Fall Arbor community indicated that communities with a strong sense of social solidarity may already have more existing avenues to develop and maintain social ties, and therefore, may be more capable of addressing the limitations and challenges that have been

demonstrated in previous research[16]. However, communities should also use practices that facilitate connections directly and create avenues to develop new social ties.

This was demonstrated through the practices implemented by the Fall Arbor Outreach Team and the Fall Arbor Community Sustainability Department. In these organizations the city government was actively involved in identifying needs and enabling connections between service organizations and the rest of the community. This demonstrated how city governments can promote a shared identity and a culture of collaboration by being invested in the interests and initiatives of service organizations.

To provide avenues to develop connections for support or upward social mobility for clients, organizations must recognize their own role and the role of their clients in the dissemination of information about available services and client outreach. This study has shown that organizational practices often have latent effects on the social capital of clients. Organizations can use these findings to inform policy creation by considering the forms of social capital their practices create. Therefore, practices that develop social capital vary between active and passive models.

To actively develop social capital, organizations should employ practices that are designed to facilitate social connections for clients; this includes creating social events and service fairs, directly connecting clients to other resources[17], connecting to job opportunities, and programs that connect clients to volunteers or other clients. These practices are associated with information channels, access to resources, and social

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[16] Challenges, such as, communication of problems (Granovetter 1973), the negative impacts of network centrality on organizational outcomes (Arya et al. 2007), and distrust between service providers and the homeless population (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014).
[17] One participant described the idea of having a position called a "service concierge" to fulfill this role (Amanda, Fall Arbor Food Bank).

leverage. Organizations may also implement practices that passively develop social capital, such as providing a social space or indirect referrals through information boards. These practices provide the opportunity for clients to form connections and can provide clients with information channels as well, but are associated with developing trust, social cohesion and group identity, and social support.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The primary limitation of this study is that it does not provide an evaluation of organizational practices or programs. My analysis has focused on identifying social capital in organizational practices. To maintain this focus, I had to use theories of individual interactions and determine how they can be applied to interaction within and between organizations. Therefore, the results of this study indicate support for this application but cannot be taken as evidence of the effectiveness of these organizational practices in addressing poverty. Instead, this study relies on the existing literature regarding social capital to speak to its value in both communities and individual lives. In its conclusion, this study offers an extension of the theories of social capital to organizational networks, which can provide valuable insight for organizations in developing their programs. An investigation of the effectiveness of these practices is the logical next step for future research.

Other limitations of this research are related to the data collection process. First, the sample size of the study was small, which limits the ability to generalize these findings to all homeless service organizations; however, the analysis benefitted from having access to a select sample of key informants, ensuring the results are trustworthy

and transferable. The sample included organizational leaders, such as agency directors, program coordinators, and department heads, who all had a vast knowledgeable of both their own organizations and the dynamics of the community. With more time and resources, it may have been possible to develop a larger sample that included such key informants from multiple localities.

Second, this study included an analysis of the sample's organizational network. How the data was collected limited this analysis. The organizations in the analysis were identified using a resources guide provided and created by the city in collaboration with service providers. Then, the ties of interest in the analysis were identified using publicly available information from the organizations' websites. Therefore, this network analysis cannot be considered comprehensive, or a complete analysis of all organizations in the city.

RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS

The results of this study make contributions to sociological theory and research methods. First, my study offers evidence of social capital in connections between entities other than individuals. In each of the theoretical works on social capital, the unit of analysis is the individual. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as the actual or potential resources provided by one's social connections. And Coleman (1986) states that social capital is defined by its function as an instrument of social interactions used to pursue personal interests. In this study, I used these theoretical works, in conjunction with leading literature on social capital by Briggs (1998) and Putnam (2000), to structure my analysis and demonstrate how the same patterns of interaction are present in the

interactions of social organizations. Therefore, in addition to the recommendations for organizational practices, this thesis also provides a thorough synthesis and review of sociological theories related to social capital.

This synthesis connects Bourdieu's (1977; 1986) theory of habitus differentiation to his theory of capital in its various forms in a novel way. First, I have explored the connection between habitus and the mobilization of social capital. Additionally, I have connected these theories to Coleman's (1986) theories of social capital to elucidate the many conceptualizations of social capital. Coleman's (1986) description of social capital demonstrates the abstract forms of resources that are transferred through social connections. By applying Bourdieu's theory of habitus to Coleman's description of these resources, I have demonstrated that habitus informs and structures the mobilization of social capital in organizational networks; however, this understanding of habitus and social capital can be applied to other forms of networks as well.

Then, these findings also have implications for researchers who are examining social interactions because it indicates that organizations can be used in analytical methods that traditionally examine individuals. This is demonstrated in the supplemental network analysis. Brandes and Erlebach (2005) state that network analyses are used to examine relational data in a vast number of potential applications. Granovetter (1973) and Barman-Adhikari and Rice (2014) use sociometrical maps to visualize social connections between individuals, and in my analysis, I use organizations to provide a visual representation of the connections between services and examine the centrality of organizations to demonstrate the roles that the services play in the community. Through this analysis, I have proposed an innovative method of examining the composition of

organizational communities. Again, this method can be applied to other forms of social connections between organizations other than human service providers, such as businesses or educational institutions.

FUTURE RESEARCH

As previously discussed, the limitations of this research suggest that future investigation is needed to evaluate of the impact of organizational practices that develop social capital. In conclusion, the results suggest an outline for identifying social capital in organizational practices based on the outcomes they provide. Future research should therefore consider identifying practices which promote social capital and determine their impact on client experiences of poverty and homelessness.

Additionally, future research should be considered to conduct a network analysis investigating the availability of avenues for communication in organizational communities. This study provides a theoretical framework for conducting such an analysis but was limited by the availability of data. In future studies, researchers might choose to allow study participants to identify ties of interest instead. This would allow the researcher to develop a more accurate description of the network connections.

CONCLUSION

For nearly forty years, the concept of social capital has been a popular topic in social science literature (Portes 1998). More recently, the relationship between social capital and the experience of poverty and homelessness has been explored by researchers in an effort to understand and address poverty (Barman-Adhikari and Rice 2014, Briggs

et al. 2010, Tanasescu and Smart 2010, Welty Peachey et al. 2011). However, much of this research explores how social capital influences the lives of individuals in poverty and little attention is given to determining the role of social capital in non-profit organizations. The present study contributes to this literature by exploring the concept of social capital in organizational networks. In conclusion, this research identifies practices that develop social capital within these networks and demonstrates the benefits it provides to both service organizations and their clients.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

Institutional Review Board

DATE: March 2, 2017

TO: Ethan Adams, B.A.
FROM: University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [978453-1] Addressing Poverty with Social Capital: A Qualitative Study on
                                Building Connections Through Organizational Practices
SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: APPROVAL/VERIFICATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE: March 2, 2017
EXPIRATION DATE: March 2, 2021

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The University of Northern
Colorado (UNCO) IRB approves this project and verifies its status as EXEMPT according to federal IRB
regulations.

**Your patience with the UNC IRB process is much appreciated. Thank you for submitting your well
written IRB application for this study. There are no requests for modifications, amendments or
additional materials. Your protocols and documents are verified/approved exempt and you may begin
participant recruitment and data collection.**

Best wishes with this interesting and relevant research.

Sincerely,

Dr. Megan Stellino, UNC IRB Co-Chair

We will retain a copy of this correspondence within our records for a duration of 4 years.

If you have any questions, please contact Sherry May at 970-351-1910 or Sherry.May@unco.edu. Please
include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of
Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB's records.

Generated on IRBNet

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Questions
Note: [Your organization] will be replaced with the associated organization's name.

1. Can you describe the objectives of [your organization]?

2. How does [your organization] address poverty in your community?

3. Aside from this, what other ways does [your organization] benefit the community?

4. Describe how [your organization] helps to connect people with other services or organizations in the community.

5. Describe how [your organization] works with other organizations to provide access to more resources for your clients.

6. What are the biggest challenges, or obstacles, that [your organization] faces when trying to meet its objectives?

7. How do these challenges affect [your organization's] efforts to interact with the community? Are there other challenges that affect this interaction?

8. Social capital is described by sociologists as the benefits and resources one obtains from their social network. This can be both actual, or potential, benefits such as information about resources, job opportunities, or even places to go for help. With this description in mind, can you tell me about anything [your organization] does that would increase the amount of social capital a person has?

9. Do you feel like there are unexpected benefits that volunteers or workers, such as yourself, gain from their participation or service?

10. How has your experience changed your own perceptions of poverty, if at all?

11. Can you identify any additional organizations that I should speak with?

12. Thank you for your time. Do you have any questions for me?

APPENDIX C

COMPLETE CODING SCHEME

Coding Scheme	References
Social Capital	631
Bourdieu	195
Combining Resources	39
Extending Resources	81
Network Resources	35
To Clients	29
To Organizations	6
Own Resources	46
To Clients	13
To Organizations	33
Obtaining Resources	75
From Organizations	61
Support from Businesses	19
From Individuals	13
Coleman	287
A means to an end	7
Information Channels	118
Gaining Information	22
Providing Information	40
Providing Referrals	48
Information Boards	7
Norms and Effective Sanctions	12
Obligations, Expectations, and Trust in Social Structures	149
Building Trust	98
Providing Accurate Services	17
Trust w/other organizations	25
Value in individuals	15
Extending Trust	4
Mutual Interests	21
Formal Relationships	15
Reciprocity	33
Putnam & Briggs	122
Bridging S.C.	38
Bonding S.C.	31
Social Cohesion and Group Identity	12
Social Leverage	22
Social Support	31
Practices	27
Active	24
Passive	3

Coding Scheme	References
Theory and Literature	302
Bourdieu	
Cultural Capital	16
Habitus	37
Perceptions of Poverty	14
Symbolic Violence	5
Granovetter	245
Avenues for Developing Ties	128
Network Centrality	7
Existing Avenues	14
Developing Connections	41
For Clients	15
Facilitating Connections	32
Participation in Groups	34
Mobilizing Resources	65
Communication	35
Facilitating/Organizing	12
Strength of Ties	52
Bridging Connections	16
Strong Ties	14
Weak Ties	22
Social Objectives	179
Building Community	76
Creating Social Space	28
Safe/inclusive space	16
Shared Identity	17
Local Identity	8
Volunteerism	15
Social/Political Involvement	51
Education/Advocating	21
Environmental Impact	12
Housing Market	5
Supporting Organizations	52
Guidance/Advisory	7
Provide data/knowledge	13
Providing Resources	10
Time/Volunteering	3

Coding Scheme	References
Benefits	139
Benefits to Clients	53
Connect w/other clients	14
Improved access	27
Improving Self Image	7
Upward mobility	5
Benefits to organizations	52
Diverse backing	33
Resilience	15
Diverse ideas	8
Improved utilization	9
Niche centric	10
Benefits to volunteers/employees	34
Awareness	12
Advocating	3
Improved social capital	12
Self-Image	10
Challenges/obstacles	192
S.C. Limitations	67
Lack of Soc. Capital	50
Information Channels	19
Data/Research	9
Lack of referral system	3
Lack of Avenues to develop ties	17
Communication Lines	10
The loss of existing S.C.	4
Trust/Reciprocity	10
Norms and Sanctions	5
Othering	9
Affiliation	2
Public Perception	53
Community Buy-in	7
Misconceptions about org	16
Opposing Values	5
Stigma/Stereotypes	20
Bureaucracy	13
Legal	7
Regulations/rules	4

Coding Scheme	References
Service Limitations	59
Client Accessibility	6
Funding/Resources	35
Uncertainty	4
Housing	8
Mental health/vulnerable population	6
Youth/Family Shelters	4

APPENDIX D

DEGREE CENTRALITY REPORT

Actors: 83
In undirected networks, the DC index is the sum of edges attached to a node u.
In directed networks, the index is the sum of outbound arcs from node u to all adjacent
nodes (also called "outDegree Centrality"). DC' is the standardized index (DC divided by
N-1 (non-valued nets) or by sumDC (valued nets).

DC range: $0 \leq DC \leq 82$
DC' range: $0 \leq DC' \leq 1$

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Centrality
1	Shelter		2
2	Shelter		1
3	Shelter		3
4	Shelter		2
5	Shelter		0
6	Multi-service/Resource Center	Fall Arbor Hope Center	33
7	Multi-service/Resource Center		11
8	Multi-service/Resource Center		18
9	Multi-service/Resource Center		5
10	Housing Services		58
11	Housing Services	Fall Arbor Housing Auth.	3
12	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		0
13	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		2
14	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		3
15	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		10
16	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		0
17	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		0
18	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		13
19	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		14
20	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		3
21	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		2
22	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		0
23	Employment		0
24	Employment		0
25	Employment		1
26	Employment		2
27	Food Assistance	Fall Arbor Food Bank	32
28	Food Assistance		0
29	Food Assistance	Fall Arbor Café	8
30	Government		4
31	Employment		0
32	Government		0
33	Government		1
34	Government		1

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Centrality
35	Government		0
36	Government		0
37	Government		0
38	Government		0
39	Government		0
40	Veteran Services		0
41	Veteran Services		0
42	Veteran Services		0
43	Veteran Services		0
44	Veteran Services		0
45	Physical Resources/Clothing		1
46	Physical Resources/Clothing		3
47	Physical Resources/Clothing		8
48	Physical Resources/Clothing		0
49	Other Resources		0
50	Other Resources		22
51	Other Resources		0
52	Other Resources		0
53	Other Resources		0
54	Other Resources		1
55	Other Resources		5
56	Other Resources	Fall Arbor Outreach Team	55
57	Other Resources		0
58	Other Resources		0
59	Education	Fall Arbor School District	0
60	Business/Non-service		0
61	Education		0
62	Education		0
63	Food Assistance		0
64	Business/Non-service		0
65	Other Resources		0
66	Government	City of Fall Arbor	0
67	Other Resources		0
68	Other Resources		0
69	Other Resources		0
70	Education		0
71	Business/Non-service		0
72	Business/Non-service		0
73	Business/Non-service		0
74	Other Resources		0
75	Other Resources		0
76	Other Resources		0

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Centrality
77	Business/Non-service		0
78	Business/Non-service		0
79	Business/Non-service		0
80	Business/Non-service		0
81	Business/Non-service		0
82	Other Resources		0
83	Other Resources		0

DC Sum = 327.000

Max DC' = 0.707 (node 10)
Min DC' = 0.000 (node 5)
DC' classes = 17

DC' Sum = 3.988
DC' Mean = 0.048
DC' Variance = 0.016

Degree Centrality report,
Created by Social Network Visualizer v2.2: Sat, 03.Feb.2018 13:16:34
Computation time: 16 msecs

APPENDIX E

DEGREE PRESTIGE REPORT

Actors: 83

The DP index, also known as InDegree Centrality, of a node u is the sum of inbound edges to that node from all adjacent nodes.
DP' is the standardized index (DP divided by N-1).

DP range: $0 \leq DC \leq 82$
DP' range: $0 \leq DC' \leq 1$

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Prestige
1	Shelter		7
2	Shelter		4
3	Shelter		6
4	Shelter		2
5	Shelter		3
6	Multi-service/Resource Center	Fall Arbor Hope Center	11
7	Multi-service/Resource Center		4
8	Multi-service/Resource Center		6
9	Multi-service/Resource Center		5
10	Housing Services		5
11	Housing Services	Fall Arbor Housing Auth.	4
12	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		3
13	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		7
14	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		3
15	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		6
16	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		3
17	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		7
18	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		6
19	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		7
20	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		7
21	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		5
22	Healthcare & Behavioral Health		8
23	Employment		2
24	Employment		2
25	Employment		6
26	Employment		4
27	Food Assistance	Fall Arbor Food Bank	9
28	Food Assistance		6
29	Food Assistance	Fall Arbor Café	1
30	Government		9
31	Employment		4
32	Government		4
33	Government		3
34	Government		3

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Prestige
35	Government		2
36	Government		3
37	Government		1
38	Government		2
39	Government		4
40	Veteran Services		2
41	Veteran Services		3
42	Veteran Services		4
43	Veteran Services		1
44	Veteran Services		3
45	Physical Resources/Clothing		2
46	Physical Resources/Clothing		4
47	Physical Resources/Clothing		7
48	Physical Resources/Clothing		2
49	Other Resources		4
50	Other Resources		8
51	Other Resources		4
52	Other Resources		3
53	Other Resources		4
54	Other Resources		3
55	Other Resources		5
56	Other Resources	Fall Arbor Outreach Team	2
57	Other Resources		3
58	Other Resources		4
59	Education	Fall Arbor School District	7
60	Business/Non-service		1
61	Education		6
62	Education		5
63	Food Assistance		4
64	Business/Non-service		1
65	Other Resources		1
66	Government	City of Fall Arbor	9
67	Other Resources		7
68	Other Resources		1
69	Other Resources		4
70	Education		4
71	Business/Non-service		1
72	Business/Non-service		4
73	Business/Non-service		1
74	Other Resources		2
75	Other Resources		1
76	Other Resources		6

Node	Service Type	Name	Degree Prestige
77	Business/Non-service		4
78	Business/Non-service		1
79	Business/Non-service		1
80	Business/Non-service		1
81	Business/Non-service		1
82	Other Resources		1
83	Other Resources		3

DP Sum = 327.000

Max DP' = 0.034 (node 6)
Min DP' = 0.003 (node 29)
DP' classes = 10

DP' Sum = 1.000
DP' Mean = 0.012
DP' Variance = 0.000

Degree Prestige report,
Created by Social Network Visualizer v2.2: Sat, 03.Feb.2018 14:58:35
Computation time: 0 msecs