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Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations
on Local Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Planning, Policy, and Design

by

Anaid Yerena

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Victoria Basolo, Chair
Professor Scott A. Bollens
Professor David L. Feldman
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2015

DEDICATION

To my family, friends, and mentors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to my advisor Professor Victoria Basolo. You have been a remarkable example of the School of Social Ecology's mission: "discover, engage and transform." You *discovered* me as a student, *engaged* me (as a member of your research team) in your research, and *transformed* me into a committed scholar. I thank you for encouraging my work and allowing me to grow as a research scientist. Your advice on both my research and career has been invaluable. I would also like to thank the rest of my committee members, Professor Scott Bollens, Professor David Feldman, and Professor George Galster for your comments, suggestions, and encouragement throughout the project and for making my defense an enjoyable moment. Thank you also to my research assistant Karen Thai; your help in the early data collection stages helped set a strong foundation for the rest of the project.

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Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations on Local Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

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Amenta, E., Gardner, B. G., Tierney, A. C., Yerena, A. and Elliott, T. 2012 "A Story-Centered Approach to the Newspaper Coverage of High-Profile Social Movement Organizations." *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change 33*: 83-107

Under Review

Yerena, A. and Perez, J.L. "Evaluating the Policy-Practice Gap in a Transitional Housing Program: An Innovation in Process Evaluation" (Revise and resubmit decision at American Journal of Evaluation)

Basolo, V. and Yerena, A. "Perceived and Actual Residential Quality: Explaining Residential Mobility of Subsidized Households"

Scheller, D. and Yerena, A. "Neighborhood Concerns and Mobilization Patterns of Homeowners and Neighborhood Associations"

In Preparation

Yerena, A. "Strategic Action for Affordable Housing: How Advocacy Organizations Accomplish Policy Change"

Kleit, R. G., Airgood-Obrycki, W. and Yerena, A. "Why do Some Public Housing Authorities Develop Non-subsidized Housing?"

Basolo, V. and Yerena, A. "Examining Public Service Online: An Analysis of Exchanges between Citizens and a Local Water District in Mexico"

Yerena, A. and Basolo, V. "Property Rights, Tenure and the Finance of Homeownership: Policy Transfers Between Mexico and the United States"

Publications (other)

Book Reviews

Yerena, A. 2011. Review of: Financing Low-Income Communities: Models, Obstacles, and Future Directions, edited by Julia Sass Rubin. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 77(3): 300-301

Reports

Yerena, A. 2009. Site Selection Standards for Extremely Low-Income Households in Long Beach, California. Professional Report, Department of Planning, Policy, and Design, University of California, Irvine

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"The Use of Social Media for Citizen Engagement: The Case of SAPAS in La Paz, Mexico" Digital Government Society Meeting, Aguascalientes, Mexico, 2014 (co-author: Victoria Basolo)

"Low-Income Housing Policies and Their Advocates" Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, San Antonio, TX, 2014

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"Determinants of Municipal Support for Affordable Housing," Annual Conference of the International Sociological Association RC43, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 2013

"Power in Numbers: A Comprehensive National Profile of Affordable Housing Advocacy Organizations," Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, San Francisco, CA, 2013

"The Future of Homeless Intervention Strategies: A Person-Program Approach," Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association, Pittsburgh, PA, 2012 (co-author: Jessica Perez)

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"Dramatic Action, Assertive Action, and Securing Demands: Newspaper Coverage of SMOs and the Townsend Plan," Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, NV, 2011 (co-authors: Edwin Amenta, Beth Gharrity Gardner, and Amber Celina Tierney) - Presented by co-authors

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Honors and Awards

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- Member, Digital Government Society, 2014-present
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations on Local

Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

By

Anaid Yerena

Doctor of Philosophy in Planning, Policy, and Design

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Victoria Basolo, Chair

Affordable housing competes with many other municipal priorities. This work seeks to explain the variation in support for affordable housing among U.S. cities with populations of 100,000 or more. This research employs mixed-methods to address two complementary research questions: 1) using multivariate statistical analysis, this research investigates political explanations for the level of city expenditures on housing and community development with a particular interest in the influence of housing advocacy organizations (AOs); 2) through a follow-up case study, this research explores how AOs exert influence on planning for affordable housing in four cities in Los Angeles County. Data for the model were gathered from secondary sources, including the U.S. Census and the National Center for Charitable Statistics. Data for the case study were collected from interviews with AO leaders and city officials, AO documents and websites, and each case city's housing element. Among other results, the analysis indicates that, on average, the age of local AOs has a statistically significant, positive association with housing and community development expenditures in a given city. The financial strength of local organizations also has a statistically significant, positive association with housing and

community expenditures in a given city. Finally, the age of the AOs in a given city's surrounding county has a statistically significant, negative association with local housing and community development expenditures. Furthermore, the findings of the case study suggest that the political opportunity AOs perceive plays a role in their approach toward the affordable housing policy issue. The strategies AOs employ, on the other hand, are chosen based on the resources of the given group. That is, this qualitative analysis found that AOs in the case study cities with more resources (Long Beach and Los Angeles) engage in both insider and outsider strategic actions (tactics) to achieve influence. Conversely, AOs in the case study cities with less resources (Pasadena and Pomona) favored using insider strategic actions to achieve influence.

INTRODUCTION

"...if planners understand how relations of power work to structure the planning process, they can improve the quality of their analyses and empower citizen and community action as well." - Forester, 1982

Affordable housing[1] continues to be a critical problem in the United States. The gap between the housing units needed and those available to lower-income Americans increases every year (Schwartz, 2010). The recent economic and foreclosure crises have led to a tight housing market that makes it difficult for the vast majority of Americans to meet their housing needs. Per the 2010 U.S. Census, 38% of renter and owner households pay more than 30% of their income on housing. Across the country, households have been affected by economic decline, resulting in wealth loss, behavioral changes around housing, and increased burdens on renters. According to the "U.S. Housing Market Conditions" report published by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) during the fourth quarter of 2012, the homeownership rate was 65.4 percent, down almost one percent from the previous year (HUD, 2013). According to another report, at the end of the second quarter of 2012, 22.3% of mortgaged residential properties had negative equity (CoreLogic, 2012). Moreover, many owner households who lost their homes to foreclosure have become renters, while others have been

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[1] Housing affordability is measured in various ways typically taking into account the regional housing market and regional household income. For homeownership, one measure is the percentage of homes that can be purchased by households earning the median income of the area being studied. For rental housing, the standard for government programs uses the cost of rental units in a particular market and median household income adjusted for family size (National Association of Realtors, 2011; National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2011). A detailed discussion of affordability calculations is available in the 2004 Census Bureau's report on Housing Affordability (www.census.gov/housing/affordability).

forced to "double-up" or move in with another household. Overall, there is a strong demand for rental units, rents are going up, and the number of severely burdened renter households has increased significantly. Perhaps most serious in terms of housing outcomes was a rise in first-time homelessness cases (HUD, 2010; Harvard Joint Center for Housing Studies, 2013; Wassmer, 2011; Iversen, Napolitano and Furstenberg, 2011; Gerardi, Ross and Willen, 2011).

Advocacy groups like the National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), the Affordable Housing Advocates, and the National Rural Housing Coalition address affordable housing needs by mobilizing public support and lobbying national policy-makers to influence federal housing policies. This mobilization is important not only because it can help address current affordable housing needs, but also because interest group competition intensifies during times of fiscal stress. Expenditure cuts are likely to be targeted at areas with beneficiaries only able to exercise weak influence over decision-making (Jimenez, 2009). Programs in these areas include redistributive expenditures, such as housing subsidies, and education assistance (Craig and Inman, 1986).

In recent history, mobilization around a range of policy issues has been on the upswing. Different ideologies and politics are represented in these grass-roots mobilizations aimed at affecting national policy. Two prominent examples of major mobilizations include the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street movements. The Tea Party, representing an ideologically conservative group, organized in 2010 to protest the Obama Administration's economic stimulus proposal, which included a plan to provide homeowners aid to refinance their mortgages (Karpowitz, Monson, Patterson, and Pope, 2011). The protest movement impacted the results of the mid-term election held in 2010 and changed the course of political history, with control of the House of

Representatives shifting to the Republican Party (Reuters, 2012).[2] Interestingly, in the following year, the Occupy Wall Street Movement was formed by various liberal collectives to protest corporate greed and abuses.

The Occupy Wall Street movement began September 17, 2011 in Manhattan's Financial District. It was formed to protest against the unbridled power of major banks, multinational corporations, and Wall Street and their roles in the current recession. The purpose of this movement was to call attention to the severe, growing economic inequality that plagues the nation. In the early stages of the movement, impacts were seen in media coverage, political campaigns, and broader awareness of economic inequalities. Change in media coverage occurred when news began to focus less on the national deficit and more on the unequal distribution of wealth in the country. The focus of President Obama's re-election political campaign became the hardship experienced by many Americans and the unfairness of the amassment of wealth by the richest sector of the population (Amenta, 2012). Awareness of the issue and support for the movement spread to over 1,000 cities in the nation and more than 1,500 cities worldwide (Occupywallst.org, 2012).

Political mobilization, such as that seen in recent and past movements, is often spurred by the ongoing efforts of members of the nonprofit sector, which I refer to as advocacy organizations or AOs. AOs work diligently in support of social and political issues, like civil rights and inequality, and may be national, state or local in terms of policy concern. These AOs

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[2] As a result of these elections, Republicans won the most House seats since the 1938 mid-term elections, when Democrats lost six Senate seats and 71 House seats. The advantage Republicans gained was strengthened by the support of a group of fiscally conservative democrats (known as the Blue Dog Coalition). In 2011, the Republican power base in Congress led to deadlocked budget negotiations. This process resulted in a lower long-term credit rating of the U.S. government to AA+ from AAA, supporting Standard & Poor's conclusion that "the effectiveness, stability, and predictability of American policymaking and political institutions have weakened at a time of ongoing fiscal and economic challenges" (Standard & Poor's Report, 2011, pg. 2). Budget delays continue to the present.

may be a part of a social movement and their activity, at times, paves the road for larger and more visible social movements.

This dissertation is concerned with advocacy organizations working to improve the provision of affordable housing.[3] While this work is carried out at the national, state and local levels, it is the local AOs that are particularly vital to planning for and producing affordable housing in communities. It is in communities that local land use decisions are made and plans concerning financial budgets of the community are determined. In these contexts, AOs exert pressure on city and county policymakers and participate in the decision-making process at the local level to increase affordable housing opportunities in these communities. One such example is the Kennedy Commission in Irvine, California, which works to increase visibility around the problem of the under-supply of affordable housing and the lack of resources to serve under-housed populations.

The primary purpose of the dissertation is to increase our understanding of the influence of AOs on local governmental budgetary decisions. To answer this question fully requires analysis of local budget decisions, as well as an examination of the type and effectiveness of efforts AOs undertake to affect local affordable housing policies.

This research draws upon theories of urban politics (i.e., public choice, regimes) and social movement theory (i.e., political opportunity and resource mobilization) to frame the investigation and analysis. It uses mixed methods to: 1) examine the influence of AOs on affordable housing policy decision making in U.S. cities with a population of 100,000 or more inhabitants, and 2) identify the strategies used to promote policy change. Literature from the

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[3] It is arguable whether there is an affordable housing social movement in the United States; some observers likely would consider affordable housing advocacy under a broader movement fighting poverty.

field of urban politics informed the development of a conceptual model. This model was used to test the study's main hypothesis: "Cities are more likely to support affordable housing programs as the capacity of affordable housing AOs to exert political influence increases." This model also includes alternate explanations, including intergovernmental influences, contextual factors, inter-city competition, and business interests.

The substantive variable, AO capacity, is based on the social movement theory of resource mobilization. Resource mobilization theory argues the emergence and persistence of mobilization depends on the resources available for the AO's activities. This theory attempts to move the analysis of collective actors away from the social psychology of its participants. In general, resource mobilization theory attempts to provide a more objective way of understanding social movements. This approach, therefore, emphasizes political sociology and political economy perspectives.

Finally, the qualitative analysis of this research is grounded in political opportunity theory. Political opportunity theory takes into account exogenous factors (government actions and policies) that may encourage or impede a social movement's prospects. This theory is relevant to the dissertation because it focuses on the public policy and social movement exchange that takes place within the context of institutionalized government-movement interactions within any given policy arena (here, affordable housing).

Political opportunity theory holds that for collective actors to take action, the group must have a degree of freedom for people and groups to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. In broader terms, this theory focuses on the political context in which the AOs exist and how they interact with these contextual conditions. More specifically, it considers the interplay between the political system, the sociopolitical conditions, and the way AOs interpret the

situation. Thus the case study method is the best way to understand the nuances of the contexts in which AOs function, as well as the advances these groups attempt through their claims. Through this in-depth inquiry, I will discover the tactics AOs employ and their deployment during perceived windows of opportunity.

To complete this research, I collected primary data through an on-line survey of local housing staff in 272 cities and in-depth interviews with city officials, staff, and AO leaders in four case study cities in California. I also used secondary data sources such as the 2010 U.S. Census of Population and Housing and the National Center for Charitable Statistics' database. The results from this research have both theoretical and practical implications. Within the urban politics literature, I propose a broader theoretical understanding of what accounts for the variation in affordable housing support across cities. Specifically, this work further tests the politics matters perspective supported by previous urban politics research (Basolo, 1997; Goetz, 1995; O'Connell, 2012), with a focus on advocacy organizations as key participants in the process. Most significantly, this research expands previous studies and provides detailed accounts of which strategies undertaken by these political actors (AOs) are effective in exerting influence over policy matters related to affordable housing.

Furthermore, this dissertation aims to understand and potentially expand the definition of legitimate movement actors and activities. I intend to lend support to other works that have highlighted the need to expand the definition of a social movement organization (SMO) to groups that use non dramatic/contentious strategies in their attempts to bring about social change (Meyer, 2009; Meyer and Tarrow, 1998; Fraser, 2005). This is critical given that "most of the social movements that have animated American life over the past century or more operated in and through the nonprofit sector" (Salamon, 2002, p. 10). As scholars interested in urban policy-

6

making and social movement theory, we must acknowledge and incorporate the contributions of AOs to social movements in our explanations. This will improve our understanding of the multiple actors that shape policy decisions.

Scholars need to better assess and evaluate the (often less obvious) activities these organizations undertake as part of mobilization. According to Kreisi (1995), social movements "can also turn into indirect forms of political representation, like parties or interest groups, or take on constituency/client-oriented activities that produce nonpolitical organizations, for either service or self-help purposes" (in Meyer and Tarrow, 1998, p. 19). This type of activism is critical to the understanding of poor people's political action (Fraser, 2005). Clearly, affordable housing is a suitable policy arena to test this relationship.

The policy contribution of this research lies in better understanding the dynamic relationship among parties involved in the provision of affordable housing. Given the complexity of financing housing development and partnerships, coupled with the ongoing national period of economic hardship, many cities are facing difficult housing problems in their communities. This policy environment and the decisions made during these times will have significant impact on the housing conditions in this country for many years to come.

AOs' support of affordable housing can help cities improve the lives of the most vulnerable city residents (low- and extremely low-income populations). Thus, the contribution of this dissertation is to empirically test urban politics theories and to examine AOs and their actions from a social movement theoretical approach. The remainder of this dissertation is organized into six chapters. Chapter 1 reviews literature from sociology, urban politics, and planning that provides the framework for this study's conceptual model and case studies. Chapter 2 sets forth the research design for this investigation. This chapter includes the conceptual model,

the study propositions and hypotheses, variables, survey methods, and case study design. Chapter 3 presents descriptive data and preliminary analyses. Chapter 4 contains the multivariate analyses that test the research hypotheses. Chapter 5 presents the case study results, including the outcome of the interviews with AO leaders and city professional staff; the review of AO documents; and the content analysis of the policy section of the housing elements in the four case study cities in California (Los Angeles, Long Beach, Pasadena, and Pomona). Finally, Chapter 6 provides a summary of the key elements of the dissertation, recapitulating the purpose of the research and the analytical results. This last chapter also discusses the theoretical and policy implications of the results and the relevance of this project to scholars, policy makers, AOs, and people in need of affordable housing in the U.S.

CHAPTER 1. Literature Review

The word governance derives from the Greek word κυβερνάω [kivernáo] that means to *steer…*

In democratic societies, government is the institution that is entrusted with the power to make decisions and enforce them. Its purpose is broadly defined as maintaining public order and facilitating collective endeavors (Stoker, 1998). It is this last task that has, as of the last twenty years, promoted the participation of varied relevant actors in the decision-making process. The organizing framework under which this process occurs is referred to as governance by social scientists.

In this chapter, I review theories of urban politics and policy-making, including public choice, intergovernmental influences, and political issues, as well as collective action theories that offer explanations of how AO's can exert their influence on a city's fiscal policy. I also review the literature on AOs and their history in the U.S.

A. The Policy-Making Process

i. Governance

According to Rhodes (1996), governance refers to "a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed" (p. 625). Governance, therefore, signifies a different way of making decisions; one in which the boundaries between public and private sectors become blurred and which produces outputs as the result of the interaction of multiple influencing actors (Innes and Booher, 2004). The effect of these interactions in the policy-making process is the interest of this study. That is, I examine the effect AOs have as one of the multiple actors involved in the provision of affordable housing at

the local level. Specifically, I ask how they influence budgetary decisions made by local authorities.

Governance recognizes the scope and responsibility of governing extends beyond government (Innes and Booher, 2004; Stoker, 1998). Governance also acknowledges the capacity to achieve things does not rest solely on the power of government. "Autonomous self-governing networks of actors" (Stoker, 1998, p. 18) participate actively in the process. Myriad organizations (i.e., public, private, AOs) interact with policy makers and other government officials. These dynamic interactions, for example, between AOs and local government, are a part of the current political sphere. The process of interacting is inherent in this new style of governing because no single actor has the knowledge and capacity to solve the issues at hand. There is a need for local government to share leadership, build partnerships, protect and regulate their milieu and foster opportunities (Stoker, 1998). The decision-making process will in turn become more effective when it supports and builds on the interactions among public sector agencies, non-profits, business organizations, advocacy groups and foundations (Innes and Booher, 2004).

Current shifts in responsibility, a stepping back of the state, and concern to push functions onto citizens (private and voluntary sectors) have supported this governing framework. The emerging consensus draws attention to the rights and responsibilities of citizens (Stoker, 1998). Under this framework's conditions, AOs and similar organizations have better access to influence the policy-making process. These organizations are the closest thing to a constituency of affordable housing. Unlike constituencies representing other interests (e.g., banks, real-estate agencies, insurance companies), affordable housing AOs are not the consumers of the "product," they are the groups that give voice to a population in need (Bratt and Keating, 1993).

The governance perspective identifies the increased involvement of these organizations as necessary to the provision of services and strategic decision-making. Under this organizing framework, one must identify and acknowledge the contributions of voluntary and third sector organizations, such as AOs, in tackling problems related to social issues (affordable housing). The scale and scope of AOs' contribution is yet to be studied and fully understood (Stoker, 1998).

ii. Public Choice and Inter-city Competition

How a community makes decisions and the normative justification for any choice made is the interest of Public Choice scholars. For the better part of the past century, economists and political scientists have studied why cities make the decisions they make and what motivates a city to provide more support for one issue rather than another (Mueller, 2008). More recently, political sociologists and planners have joined the conversation and contributed to our understanding of how and why policy decisions are made (Amenta, 2006; Basolo, 1997; Basolo and Lowery, 2010). The theories and empirical work generated by scholars in these fields are vast. In this section, I will review the literature related to public choice theory and its extensions.

Market competition theories are based on microeconomic principles, and in urban settings, on public choice theory. In short, they postulate that all cities seek to attract a population with specific socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., middle- to upper-income residents). As a result, cities compete with one another in their region for said potential residents. Cities affect this competition through the policies their elected officials enact, particularly in spending and service provision (Parks and Oakerson, 1989; Schneider, 1989; Lyons et al., 1993; Downs, 1994; Rusk, 1995; Basolo, 2003).

Charles Tiebout (1956) posited that individuals can choose (as rational actors) to live in a city that maximizes their utility (understood as preference) for local services. His theory contends that if a community does not satisfy the preference of an individual, the person will "vote with [his/her] feet" and move to another community within the region. Or as Milton Friedman (1962) explained it, if residents do not like what their local community does, be it in sewage disposal, zoning, or schools, they can move to another city, and though few may take this step, the mere possibility acts as a check to the city. Both of these economists understand municipalities as quasi-commercial corporations competing for residents, as Hayek posited in 1948. In turn, local (regional) population patterns reflect preferences for public goods much like the choice of private goods.

Critics of public choice theory point out that it tends to generalize mostly from the American experience, and is thus based on specific historical traditions and assumptions (Keating, 1995). Furthermore, critics argue this theory attempts to conceal the normative principles it holds behind its deductive principles and is based on highly restrictive assumptions. Nonetheless, scholars have concluded that even if these assumptions were less restrictive, residents still choose where to live based on the relative costs (taxes) and benefits (government services) in a community (Peterson, 1981).

Of course, the choice an individual makes on where to live depends on more than just the taxes and government services (Percy et al, 1995); however city officials do not have purview over other potential factors, such as household composition or place attachment. Yet local government officials do have control over decisions regarding local tax and spending policies, which in turn, can impact location choices. Peterson contends that local decision-makers will use this power to act in the city's economic interest and favor developmental policies while

discouraging the adoption of redistributive policies (1981). Peterson thus elaborates on Tiebout's theory by positing that intercity competition affects different policy domains in opposite directions. Peterson's approach marked a departure from the community power debate that considers the key issue of who holds the power in urban communities (discussed in the following section).

The Tiebout-Peterson hypothesis has influenced urban research over the past four decades (Stein, 1987; Weiher, 1991; Dowding et al., 1994; Downs, 1994; Longoria, 1994; Percy et al., 1995; Fischel, 2001; Basolo and Lowery, 2010). Since then, urban researchers have identified interjurisdictional competition within a regional market as a factor in public policy decisions (Aurand, 2007; Basolo, 2000; Basolo and Lowery, 2010; Campbell, 2004; Schneider, 1989). An example of this research was conducted by Basolo (2000). Basolo's work studies the effect of competition and other factors on expenditures for economic development versus affordable housing in a national sample of cities. The results show that inter-city competition increases the likelihood that a city would adjust its approach to affordable housing policy. The study finds that cities with higher inter-city competition are more likely to take a more limited strategy towards affordable housing. The analysis also finds that political variables influence policy decisions more than inter-city competition.

iii. Intergovernmental Influences

The intergovernmental system in the United States is comprised of myriad units (Christensen, 1999). These units are the multiple governmental organizations that exist at the different levels of government (national to local). Through their combinations and interactions, these interdependent units compose the governance system (as described in an earlier section).

The decisions local governments make are highly dependent on the rules and task arrangements set forth by the other levels of government.

Local policymakers in the U.S. are waging an uphill battle. The federal devolution of power that began in the late 1960s, long-standing citizen resistance to tax increases, and current economic crises together create a difficult decision-making environment for local leaders (Clark 1994; Wright 1988; Weber and Brace, 1999; Jimenez, 2009; Bowman and Kearney, 2012). Both federal and state policies have an effect on local policy-making. Several empirical analyses have been conducted to understand the effects of intergovernmental funds on different policy arenas, including affordable housing policies (Basolo, 1997; 2003), healthcare spending (Schneider, 1988; Mobarak, Rajkumar, and Cropper, 2011), land use decisions (Johnson, 1989), and education (Kirst, 1995; Jung and Kirst, 1986), among others. Housing policy, the focus of this research, is a policy domain in which both the state and federal government assist cities through the development of policies and support of programs. In turn, the relative amount of control a local government holds influences local affordable housing decisions.

a) Intergovernmental Influences.

Scholars have long been interested in the effects higher levels of government have on the local policy agenda (Krane, 1973; Gleason, 1988; Cuciti, 1990; Goetz, 1995). Federal and state mandates are of special concern because shifts in local priorities may occur due to requirements to generate and commit local funds to match monies from federal grants. The purposes of these mandates span a wide range of responsibilities for local governments: to provide pension benefits to city employees (Zelinsky, 1993), to promote affordable housing (Kinsey, 2008; O'Connor, 2011), or to prepare a comprehensive land-use plan (Bunnell and Jepson, 2011; Burby and May, 1997; O'Connell, 2012).

14

a) Federal Government Influence

The Housing Act of 1949 introduced a program of urban renewal intended to improve cities' physical conditions (Maxwell and Aronson, 1977). Critics of the program contend too many of its resources were placed on downtown commercial redevelopment, while housing construction generated by the program favored middle-income households and poorly implemented relocation efforts were disruptive and displaced the poor (Judd and Swanstrom, 2010). More than three decades later, in 1974, the Housing and Community Development Act was passed. One of the largest improvements to the previous act was the creation of block grants. Block grants consolidated the major program categories (i.e., urban renewal, neighborhood development programs, rehabilitation loans, neighborhood facilities, open space land, basic water and facilities, and model cities). Funds from block grants are allocated by a formula and do not require matching funds (Maxwell and Aronson, 1977). The formula used to distribute the funds is determined by three characteristics: population, poverty (weighted double), and housing overcrowding. All cities with populations of 50,000 and over, central cities of metropolitan areas, and urban counties are entitled to receive grants. Overall, this program increased decentralization and now the role of the federal government is to oversee and monitor community programs.

Project grants, another federal source of funds for state and local governments, are not calculated by formula. A project grant allotment is made among eligible recipients according to a plan established by a law or regulation. Eligible recipients with approved projects compete to draw down funds from the grand allotment. The objectives of project grants are closely defined. Critics of project grants argue they are: (1) many in number and variety, thus make it complicated for cities to know what is available, how to prepare applications, and how to lobby

for funding; (2) a threat to federalism because grant objectives sometimes conflict with responsible state and local priorities that may not be funded at the time; and (3) inflict horizontal inequity because certain geographical areas will fund services (through a grant) while other areas with similar situations do not receive the same services (Maxwell and Aronson, 1977).

b) State Government Influence

Two basic types of state to local intergovernmental transfers exist: grants (appropriated funds, as discussed above) and shared taxes (distribution of yields). Beyond the funds transferred, state mandates also cause shifts in local policy agenda priorities. Below, I provide two examples of how state government mandates influence local housing policy-making, specifically as it relates to affordable housing.

In 1969, California became the first state to promote the inclusion of affordable housing through law (Kinsey, 2008). According to the California Coalition for Rural Housing (2012), since then, only about a third of the state's cities have adopted the policy. This law has no mandatory program or minimum inventory thresholds to achieve, it is only a general state mandate for each municipality to designate and zone "sufficient vacant land for residential use... to meet housing needs for all income categories as identified in the housing element of the general plan" (Cal. Gov't Code §65913.1 et seq.).

In this state, another provision incorporated in California Redevelopment law in 1976 requires redevelopment agencies "to set-aside 20% of their tax increment revenue to fund the production of low- and moderate-income housing" (California Planning and Development Report, 2011). Yet, the law contained no provision of when these funds need to be spent. This law was eventually changed to include administrative rules requiring cities or regional development agencies to spend housing set-asides within a specific period or risk losing them. In

2011, Assembly Bill X1, 26 was signed into law by California Governor Jerry Brown. This bill dissolved more than 400 redevelopment agencies and called for the redistribution of redevelopment agency funds to local services and education. The passage of this bill resulted in the loss of more than $5 billion in annual redevelopment taxes, 20% ($1 billion) of which was reserved for low- to moderate-income housing production (National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2013).

Florida is another state with a housing policy history documented by state mandates to address housing affordability and future growth concerns (O'Connor, 2011). For example, the Growth Management Act enacted in 1985, requires every city in the state to develop a comprehensive plan complete with a housing element (Ch. 163, Part II, F.S.). Another example, the "State Housing Strategy Act" enacted in 1988, called for the following ambitious mandate:"[by] the year 2010, this state will ensure that decent and affordable housing is available to all of its residents" (Florida Statutes S. 420.0003[2]).

The revenues generated to support these two legislative pieces are funded through the William E. Sadowski Affordable Housing Act, enacted in 1992. This mandate imposes a documentary stamp tax on all commercial and residential real estate transfers that take place throughout the state (Fla. Stat. Ann. §§ 420.907 et seq.). The funds collected are then distributed 70/30 between local government and the state housing finance agency through the State Housing Initiatives Partnership program (SHIP).

As described above, the decisions made at the state level on policy issues, such as affordable housing, have a direct effect on the amount of resources and control city governments have to make decisions on local policies.

c) Federal and State Responsibility Shifts

Beyond the creation of specific programs, as detailed above, higher levels of government have a longstanding history of shifting responsibilities onto lower levels of government. Starting in the early 1960s, grassroots participation was encouraged through national programs such as the Community Action Program, as a source of innovation and responsiveness to issues "on the ground." The resulting organizational arrangement functioned through "antiroutine, antibureaucratic, flexible decision rules" (Christensen, 1999, p. 30). Over the years, these reformed governmental responsibilities, programs, and services have changed the governance structure of the United States, especially at the local level, where the responsibilities of service provision and program implementation rest. This resulted in a devolution of political power and was the historical beginning of consensus building and bargaining as paths to local policy-making.

Later in the 1980s, studies on intergovernmental relations recommended power be given to the local government. The studies cited several reasons: 1) it would make local governments more efficient and effective; 2) a "one size" state or federal policy may not work for every local government; and 3) states have other matters with which to be concerned (American Council on Intergovernmental Relations, 1998; Johnson, 1989). According to this view, local governments are more efficient once they have the authority to respond to local issues without having to wait for approval from state legislatures. Furthermore, cities can be more effective because they know more about local issues and thus are better prepared than the state to formulate policies.

Yet this "second-order" devolution (from states to local governments) has left localities in a vulnerable situation: it has further increased their responsibilities without providing them the corresponding fiscal capacity or authority to make policy, program, and service decisions

(National League of Cities, 2003; Watson and Gold; 1997). Furthermore, due to the current financial crisis, local governments are in a period of austerity and are trying to economize limited local funds. A simple way to maximize their resources is by using them to match federal grants. Urban scholars have studied the effects of this approach (Levine and Posner, 1981; Krane, Ebdon, and Bartle, 2004; Watson and Gold, 1997). Yet, by committing local funds to match federal grants, local governments increase their dependency on external resources and further lose control over policy, program, and service decisions. As a result, local budgets echo the federal government's domestic programs, and local decisions are affected by federal mandates and constraints. This trend also has structural implications, namely that it diminishes local government autonomy and the functioning of American Federalism. Pursuing these sources of funding "involves operating in an increasingly resource-constrained environment in which national government transfers are being reduced, state [and local] responsibilities are increasing, and the political costs of tax increases appear to be high'' (Weber and Brace, 1999, p. 11).

iv.   Contextual Factors

Empirical studies and theoretical approaches to city policy-making have a long-standing tradition in the social sciences. Each theory uncovers specific aspects of the complex processes of policy formulation. The policy-making process can be analyzed as a whole, like Robert Waste (1989) suggests, or in slices, by looking into particular policy domains. Examples of policy domains used to study policy-making processes are: local finance (Swartz, 1993), affordable housing (Basolo, 1997), waste management (Luton, 1996), and environmental-protection and land-use regulation (Sabatier and Mazmanian, 1980). Similar to Basolo (1997), my research focuses on the affordable housing policy domain.

Any way the analysis is approached, political scientists agree, policy differences between and among government levels are strongly influenced by "environmental" or contextual variables (e.g., economic conditions, community power structure, elected officials and professional staff policy preferences, measures of interest group influence) (Basolo, 1997; Blomquist, 2007; Dawson and Robinson, 1963; Dye, 1965; Waste, 1989). In recognizing the variety of contextual conditions that affect policy decisions, the field of political science has adopted the ecological model developed by Waste (1989) to study local policy-making. In this model, the policy environment is shaped by age, locale, growth process/rate, local political culture, personalities of city policy makers, the existence of political scandals and reform efforts, type of policy conflict, types of policies adopted, level of regulatory effort in a city, and exogenous factors or intergovernmental influences. These ten variables, Waste postulates, create "an ecology of city policy making" (pg. 126).

The following section discusses theoretical and empirical literature concerning city decision-making. This section describes political influences on city policymaking including the community's political culture, power structure, elected officials' and professional staff's policy preferences, and interest group influence.

a) Political Culture

Political decision-making can be influenced substantially by "environmental" or contextual variables (Basolo, 2000; Blomquist, 2007; Dawson and Robinson, 1963; Dye, 1965; Waste, 1989). Local political culture, for example, can affect policies adopted by cities. Research on urban political culture concerns the underlying beliefs or value system of a community. While some studies have found political culture is strongly correlated with city expenditures (Sharp, 2005), and has strong effects on the decisions city officials in the U.S. made

during times of financial stress (Clark and Walter, 1991), others have not shown an effect. These mixed findings may be due to the difficulty in measuring political culture quantitatively and the use of different measures by researchers. Clark and Ferguson (1983), for example, developed a political culture typology; identifying four basic types of urban political cultures; however, they acknowledge that pure types are rarely found in reality. In his study of city housing expenditures, Goetz (1995) employed Sharkansky's (1969) political culture scale, but he found no significant relationship between the measure and the dependent variable, local housing expenditures.

More recently, urban politics work has moved away from these, traditional ways of measuring political culture (i.e., using religion, race, and ethnicity), to employing measures under what is now termed "new political culture" (Clark, 1998; Sharp, 2005, 2007). These measures, such as women's current social roles or nontraditional household arrangements, reflect the cultural trends that emerged from the postindustrial, cultural divide. In the interest of developing better measures for this new political culture, Sharp (2005) tests the validity of several indexes, including the New Political Culture index (DeLeon & Naff, 2004), Index of Unconventional Culture (Sharp, 2005), Political Subculture (Elazar, 1966), and "Ruruban" Regional Subcultures (Lieske, 2010). Sharp's validation of these four composite measures finds that each has strengths and weaknesses; she points out that a practical benefit of using the Unconventional Culture Index over the New Political Culture Index is in the availability of the data through the U.S. Census.

An example of the new political culture measure can be found in Rosdil's (2011) case study of Las Vegas and Seattle, two cities with opposing new political cultures, and their ensuing development policy outcomes. Rosdil finds that Seattle's residents (unconventional culture (i.e., high percentage of nontraditional families and college educated population)) are likely to oppose

21

development policies (e.g., the construction of a 60-acre commercial and mixed-use project, infrastructure projects) and instead "favour progressive planning strategies" (p. 3481) (e.g., support higher floor-area-ratios when developers agree to build LEED-certified silver structures and provide affordable housing units). On the other hand, Las Vegas decision-makers (less unconventional political culture) are more supportive of development policies (e.g., the approval to build the $6 billion Union Park, as a new-downtown, next to the existing downtown, the support to increase highway construction). Decision-makers "eagerly embrace additional growth and make every effort to accommodate it with the necessary infrastructural support" (p. 3482). In another study, Horrigmo (2013) finds that political culture variables, such as women's participation and education level, can help explain local policy decisions, specifically choices related to the level of spending on cultural policies.

b) Community Power Structure

Early contributions to city policy-making literature include community power studies (for example, Hunter, 1953; Dahl, 1961; Bachrach and Baratz, 1962; Polsby, 1980). Scholars dedicated to this line of inquiry were interested in understanding which individuals or groups held power in a city. Community power scholars claim we can understand local policy-making by teasing out the power structures involved. I will discuss three theories from this camp: Elite theory, Pluralism, and The Two Faces of Power. Elite theory (Hunter, 1953) suggests that select groups of powerful members (the *elites*) hold the power in a city. Members of this group have power in the form of control over critical resources (e.g., property, money, legitimate use of violence, political influence, and scientific knowledge). As described by theorists, the elite is composed of individuals of high socioeconomic status, often wealthy businessmen. This view of the power structure can be visualized as a pyramid, the top constitutes the select few that hold

power, this power gradually decreases towards the bottom as the number of individuals increases, and finally, the base represents the mass of powerless individuals (Harding, 1995).

Floyd Hunter is well-known as the first scholar to apply elite theory to urban studies (Harding, 1995). In his research conducted in Atlanta (1953), Hunter found

> "institutions and the formal associations play… a vital role in the execution of determined policy… but the formulation of policy often takes place outside these formalized groupings. Within the policy-making groups the economic interests are dominant." (Hunter, 1953, p. 82).

This conception of power triggered the dispute between elite and pluralist theories that ruled the community power debate for the next 20 years (Polsby, 1980).

Pluralism provided the counter-argument to elite theory in the debate within community power studies. Pluralists reject the highly stratified view of power structures conceived by elite theory proponents. They concentrate their attention on the exercise of power, not the sources of it. Power to pluralists means "participation in decision-making" (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950, p. 75). Hence, proponents of pluralism are interested in studying key political decisions, identifying actors who took part in the process, and documenting the actors' behavior to understand the process and study outcomes (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). While not arguing against the notion that community decision-making may be in the hands of a small group of people, Dahl in his book *Who Governs?* (1961), asserts city elected officials are still significant in shaping local issues. Most importantly, in a democratic context, these elected officials are still subject to popular control. Therefore, the political system, as seen through the lens of pluralists, "remains open to groups who are active, organized, and want to be heard" (Dahl, 1986, p. 182).

The tenets of the general pluralist model described by Jordan (1990) are: (a) power is perceived to be fragmented and decentralized; (b) all groups have some resources to bring to the table, even if their pleas are not successfully addressed; (c) the dispersion of power is a desirable characteristic of a democratic form of government; (d) political outcomes will vary across policy sectors due to differences in processes, actors and distributions of power within these sectors; (e) political power is extended beyond formal institutional structures; (f) the resulting interactive process between actors will legitimize authority as it becomes a practical alternative to the "general will"; and (g) the uncertainty of the outcomes and the disaggregated nature of the process will bind actors together and encourage them to participate. According to Robert Waste (1986), this conception of community power is the "dominant paradigm used to explain the distribution of power in American Society" (p. 117). It is important to note that the pluralist approach recognizes the variation of outcomes across policy domains. Thus, when trying to explain particular policy outcomes, it is necessary to identify variables associated with the specific policy process and its actors.

A criticism of the pluralist approach is that it treats the public and private sectors as politically distinct and in doing so downplays the complex interrelationships between government and the economy (Stone, 1993). In later work, pluralists addressed this criticism by recognizing that the structural constraints of the capitalist economy need to be acknowledged and incorporated into pluralist theory (Dahl, 1986).

Pluralist scholars like Lowi (1967) and Lindblom (1977) proposed an amended theory to understand community power structures; this approach is termed neo-pluralism. Neo-pluralism no longer sees the state as a mediator between conflicting groups, but instead characterizes the state as a relatively autonomous actor with its own interests. Much like the pluralists, neo-

pluralists acknowledge there are multiple groups influencing the decision-making process; however, they posit business interests have more power over the political agenda than other actors. According to this approach, the diverse political culture in which decision-making takes place is the result of the uneven distribution of socioeconomic power. This in turn, creates political opportunities for some while limiting opportunities for others (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987).

Neo-pluralism is a major advance of pluralist theory because it acknowledges the existence of "non-observable power, the power of business, the lack of pluralism in some areas and the role of ideology" (Smith, 1990, p. 318). This theory recognizes unobservable power in two senses: (1) the power businesses have even if they do not take action and (2) the power in structures. Businesses, Lindblom asserts, prevent issues that threaten their interests from being discussed in the political agenda. This is achieved, in part, because businesses "indoctrinate" citizens to overlook the privileged position their group holds (Lindblom, 1977, p. 178).

A criticism of neo-pluralism is that it does not give sufficient importance to the autonomy of the state. As Vogel (1983) states, neo-pluralism underplays the power that western industrial states have by virtue of their resources. Government, Vogel explains, can enforce the policies it favors regardless of the requests of business groups. Vogel supports his argument through a cursory review of American politics during the decade of the mid-1960s to mid-1970s, a period that witnessed a significant decline (form the previous quarter century) in the political influence of business. During this time, "middle-class based consumer, environmental, feminist, and civil rights organizations influenced the political debate and policy outcomes in a direction antithetical to the interests of business" (Vogel, 1983, p. 20). Moreover, Vogel contends, pluralist and neo-

pluralist theories fail to explain how political agendas are formed – an issue critical to an assessment of the political influence different groups have.

The third and last approach to understanding community power I will discuss in this section comes from Bachrach and Baratz's piece "The Two Faces of Power" (1962). In this critique, the authors find weaknesses with both elite and pluralist theories. In the elitist approach to power, they argue the basic premise that all human institutions have a power structure is incorrect since it is possible no *one* dominates in a town. These authors also agree with pluralists that elitists wrongly assume the power structure tends to be stable over time. Instead, Bachrach and Baratz argue power can be tied to issues (fleeting or persistent), which can lead to coalitions among affected groups that may be temporary or become permanent. Finally, they take issue with the idea that reputed power, as measured by Hunter in Atlanta (1953), is indeed actual power.

Bachrach and Baratz identify several flaws with the pluralist perspective. They contend that the pluralist approach falls short in its ability to distinguish between important and unimportant issues that are considered during the decision-making process. Pluralists presuppose that every community has significant political issues, but Bachrach and Baratz are uneasy with such a strong assumption and consider the way pluralists define "key issues" as problematic. Finally, in what is arguably their major contribution to this literature, the authors assert that power cannot be measured only in concrete decisions or through activities directly related to the decision-making process. In their work, the authors introduce, the "second face" of power. This concept is meant to capture "mobilization bias" (Schattschneider, 1957). Mobilization bias refers to the actions undertaken by a person or group to consciously or unconsciously create or reinforce barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts (Bachrach and Baratz, 1962). The

26

authors argue that power can be manifested in less visible ways than by making public decisions. They point out the opposite can be true, an entity can have the power to keep an issue off the agenda so no public decision process occurs. Thus, in order to measure political influence, one also needs to consider the ability of an individual or group to limit discussion of a given issue. Bachrach and Baratz argue that researchers should not simply ask the elitist question, "Who rules?" nor the pluralist question, "What groups have the power?" but instead investigate the "mobilization bias" in the institution being studied. By doing so, the researcher will examine the dynamics of non-decision-making.

c) Regime Analysis

The community power debate has been further extended by the incorporation of network analysis and neo-Marxist theory, and the resulting approach is known as regime analysis. As I discuss in the current section, regime analysis adds to our understanding of the decision-making process by identifying the persistent collaboration of formal institutions and informal networks. These partners interact with each other and use their resources to reach a consensus over policy.

Regime analysis offers a nuanced approach to the study of power in urban politics. The founding premise of regime analysis is that "urban decision makers have a relative autonomy" (Stoker, 1997, p. 56). Regime scholars assert this framework emphasizes the interdependence of the public and private sectors to address economic and social issues. This approach "recognizes the fragmentation of authority and interdependence between the policy-making capacity of democratic institutions and the wealth-generating resources of the market economy" (Mossberger, 2009, p. 41). Scholars in this tradition focus attention on the cooperation and coordination that takes place between governmental and non-governmental actors. Regime analysis is thus interested in the form of power that enables diverse interests to blend their

capacities to achieve common goals. This line of inquiry is interested with understanding the conditions under which effective long-term coalitions are established in the interest of accomplishing public goals. Regime analysis moves beyond neo-pluralism by addressing some of the concerns brought up by the previous tradition (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). These issues include: the implications for urban politics of certain groups having systemic advantage over the decision-making process; the forms of power that dominate systems of urban governance; the role of disadvantaged groups and democratic politics in urban studies.

Regime analysis supporters believe government is a mobilizer and coordinator of resources (Stone, 1989). Regime analysis exalts the need to understand the cooperation between governmental and non-governmental actors to gain power and facilitate action in response to social change and conflict. As Stone (1989) defines it, a regime is "an informal yet relatively stable group with access to institutional resources that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions" (p. 4). Regimes are relatively stable arrangements that can endure administration changes (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). Keating (1991) describes it as "a set of arrangements through which policy decisions are made, encompassing formal structures and informal relationships, among political and economic elites comprising the governing coalition" (p. 94).

Regime analysts incorporate another form of coordination: the social network. By coordinating and cooperating through the established social network, actors acknowledge their mutual dependency. Governance, regime proponents assert, is about the production (not distribution) of benefits and achieving difficult and non-routine goals (Stone, 1993). Thus, it is evident that regime analysis is interested in who has and can maintain the capacity to act: "power to, not power over" (Stone, 1989, p. 229).

28

Many scholars from this tradition argue that the organization of politics leads to a government which is unresponsive to socially and economically disadvantaged groups. In recognizing this, they underscore "the structure of society privileges the participation of certain interests in coalitions" (Stoker, 1997, p. 60). For actors to be effective regime partners they must meet the following requirements: (1) they must have the capacity to act on strategic knowledge possessed by a select few; and (2) they must have control over resources needed to achieve the desired goal. Examples of groups regime scholars identify as qualified partners are elected officials, businesses, neighborhood organizations, and groups representing disadvantaged populations (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001).

An example of a study that employs regime analysis is Stone's (1989) account of Atlanta's politics between 1946 and 1988. In this setting, two groups dominate the regime, the downtown business elite and the political force represented by black mayors in the context of the postwar black electoral majority in the city. The common goal: a development agenda beneficial to both partners. Black political leaders mobilized their supporters while businesses presented a full-tilt development strategy that would bring economic success and expansion. This regime was thus able to position itself as indispensable for decision making in the city at the time (Stone, 1989). The main contribution of regime analysis is the emphasis on pre-emptive power or the power of social production. This power is a result of group interests capable of overcoming collective action problems that bring together a structure to perform the needed function (Stone, 1989).

Critics of this tradition cite the method to conduct a regime analysis, historical case study, as a weakness. This is largely due to an argument about the generalizability of a single case study. To address this concern, several recent cases of cross-national comparative studies have

been conducted. Skjærseth and Wettestad (2002) conducted a study within countries in the European Union applied regime analysis in a cross-national context. In this study, Skjærseth and Wettestad studied the effectiveness of transnational environmental policies. Another example is Moulaert, Martinelli, Gonzalez, and Swyngedouw's (2007) study comparing four international regime analyses focused on the effects of civic participation on political changes in cities across four countries (Spain, Austria, Belgium, and Italy).

In summary, regime analysis states that to understand the decision making process in an urban setting one must look at the actors and institutions that blend their resources, skills, and goals into a long term coalition; a regime. This regime assumes power in the community and once established, the regime's influence can be traced in the choices the locality makes.

d) Bureaucrats and Elected Officials

Political scientists argue that the preferences of bureaucrats and elected city officials influence local policy-making. Bryan D. Jones (1995) conceptualizes governments and their bureaucracies as "adaptive systems, responding to forces in their environments as they influence these forces" (p. 72). Public choice theories of bureaucracies claim that elected officials and bureaucrats seek to maximize their self-interests. To do so, these theories argue officials first identify their self-interest then they seek the conditions within government that will provide opportunities for such maximization (Jones, 1995).

An example of this line of study comes from the work of economist William Niskanen (1971). Niskanen contends bureaucrats maximize their objectives defined in terms of the agency's budget. In his formulation, the bureau or department of government is conceptualized as a profit-maximizing firm. While the motivation for a bureaucrat to profit-maximize may vary from cynical, self-serving to for non-material compensation (Bonchek and Shepsle, 1996),

30

economists agree Niskanen's assumption of budget-maximizing still holds. Migué, Belanger and Niskanen (1974) slightly modified Niskanen's model by arguing that department heads look to maximize their agency's *discretionary* budget. The discretionary budget is the difference between the agency's budget and the cost of producing an acceptable level of output (according to the authorities the agency heads report to). On the other hand, Miller and Moe (1983), chief critics of Niskanen's model, argue that "…the central determinants of governmental growth… are the legislature's decisions regarding mode of oversight and form of internal organization" (p. 297). Miller and Moe, thus conclude that Niskanen failed to include the legislature as a part of the model of policy-making. Both of these approaches represent static models; however, with a real world governance framework, the decision-making process is dynamic and more complex than is suggested by these models.

e) Business Interest Groups

Interest groups exist at all levels of government policy making. John Kingdon (1984) examined the impact of interest groups on federal policy making. He contends decision-makers at the federal level see these organizations as a "critical mass" of influence and found "business interests are indeed the most often important of the interest groups". According to this study, AOs at the federal level were politically influential "sometimes" (p. 51). Kingdon's work underscores the importance of groups' political influence in the policy-making process.

Other researchers have linked certain types of groups with particular policy arenas. For example, business interest groups are interested in influencing developmental policy (Hunter, 1953; Kantor and Kantor, 1995; Logan and Molotoch, 1987; Basolo, 1997); and civil rights, minority, and community advocates, work to promote redistributive policies (Clark and Ferguson, 1983; Caraley, 1977; Goetz, 1995; Wong, 1990; Gittell and Wilder, 2002).

31

v.   Advocacy Coalition

The policy-making process can be studied thorough the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) set forth by Paul Sabatier in 1988. This framework has four basic premises: (1) a time period of a decade or more is required to understand the process of policy change – and the role of policy-oriented learning; (2) "policy subsystems" are the most useful way to follow policy change over this time, policy subsystems are composed of actors and interactions from different institutions who monitor and seek to influence governmental decisions in a policy arena; (3) subsystems (at least for domestic policy) must involve actors/institutions from all levels of government; and (4) public policies (or programs) are to be conceptualized as belief systems, that is, "as sets of value priorities and causal assumptions about how to realize them" (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993, p. 16).

The first premise of the ACF framework, to understand the policy process one must look at time spans of a decade or more, involves following an issue from its emergence all the way through the implementation of policy to render a fair evaluation of a program's impact (Jung and Kirst, 1986; Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Furthermore, ACF treats the policy subsystem as the primary unit of analysis and specifies a model of the individual that is boundedly rational and has limited abilities to process stimuli. The ACF framework identifies beliefs as the "causal driver for political behavior" (Weible, Sabatier and McQueen, 2009, p. 2).

The main contributions of ACF to understand the policy process are that it: (1) considers the influence of a broader set of actors than the traditional "iron triangle" members (congressional committees, government agencies, and interest groups), thus it includes officials from all levels of government, scientists, and members of the media; (2) gives a central role to scientific and technical information in the policy process; (3) purposely avoids a linear depiction

of the policy process or policy cycle; and (4) distinguishes between a policy subsystem and the broader political environment. This fourth contribution stems from the need to distill the specific policy subsystem from the various topics discussed within the broader political system. By studying the policy process with this framework, scholars can better understand the specific parameters, opportunity structures, resources, and other events that the policy subsystem operates within (Weible, Sabatier and McQueen, 2009).

The current study, however, is not attempting to look at how a specific policy affected the creation of affordable housing, if specific actors brought about a change in policy that would otherwise not have occurred, or to what extent a policy enacted had an impact on local budgeting decisions. This work instead, endeavors to explain the effect of one of the many actors in the policy-making process, AOs; understand how their number and strength impact local fiscal policy decisions; and how these actors go about achieving their goals.

B.   Advocacy Organizations

The body of research reviewed in this chapter, thus far, recognizes the existence and importance of groups that play an active role in the governance of a city. Political scientists and economists have studied the effect those interested and active in the political process have on policymaking. As Stone (1976) and Campbell (1988) found, bureaucratic agencies involved in the policymaking process, are subject to influence by interest groups. The focus of this study, budgeting for affordable housing at the city level, is a part of the policy enactment process and is thus a target of the political influence these organizations wield.

In past studies, AOs have been identified by scholars studying different policy domains as actors that influence decision-makers (Prakash and Gugerty, 2010; Lucio and De la Cruz, 2012). However, the definition of an AO is not agreed upon across disciplines. The field of

political science equates an AO with an interest group; specifically a public interest or social issue interest group and therefore these two terms can be considered interchangeable. A public interest group, as defined by Mancur Olson in his book on collective action theory "The Logic of Collective Action" (1965), is a group that does not limit its lobbying efforts to policies selectively benefiting group members themselves. According to Olson, the policies these groups lobby benefit the larger public as a whole, or as is the case with affordable housing AOs, a disadvantaged and politically underrepresented segment of the population.

In order to define AOs, I begin by providing the definition of advocacy. For the purpose of this study, advocacy is any activity that a person or organization undertakes to influence policies. There is great latitude in this definition; it includes activities such as public demonstrations, the filing of friend of the court briefs, and lobbying[4]. So the focus of my definition is not on the actions, but on the purpose of said actions. Cohen and Watson's (2001) book titled *Advocacy for Social Justice: A Global Action and Reflection Guide* provide a more clear definition of the purpose of advocacy actions:

> "Using information as a key tool, it [advocacy] entails the ambition to change the course of human development by promoting equal power relationships in [policy] arenas… it is to organize the strategic articulation of information to democratize unequal power relations…[it] includes lobbying, development education and

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[4] According to Section 501(c)(3) of the IRS Tax code, organizations registered under this tax-exempt status are allowed to engage in lobbying as long as it is not a "substantial part" of their activities. 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations and 501(c)(6) trade associations may engage in lobbying activities without limits; in fact, that can sometimes be one of their main functions. As the "substantial part" definition is rather ambiguous, public charities that lobby should understand the monetary parameters for what constitutes "substantial." Political activity (i.e., campaigning in favor or against a candidate), on the other hand, is strictly prohibited for these organizations. A violation of the IRS regulations may result in the organization losing its tax-exempt status or having to pay excise taxes on the money improperly spent.

mobilizing, all aimed at strategically articulating information to democratize unequal power relations" *(Jordan and van Tujil, 2000, p. 2053)*.

According to Cohen and Watson, advocacy can seek impact at three levels: (1) towards specific policy; (2) governance gains; and (3) civil society gains. Advocacy, thus, can achieve law and program gains that benefit their constituency; open up channels of communication so their constituency can take part in the decision-making process; and build the capacity of their constituents to influence decision-makers and create democratic and accountable structures. This third level of impact (the most complex) involves building networks of civil society so excluded groups can articulate their interests. Pursuing civil society gains also involves building knowledge of substantive issues and processes useful to engage and influence decision-makers (Watson, 2001 in Cohen, 2001). The extent to which every AO aims to impact one or all of these three levels varies widely.

Andrews and Edwards (2004) conceptualize an AO, as a group or organization that makes public interest claims [advocates] to influence the course of social change (i.e., promote or resist social change). This conceptualization includes organizations that provide resources and facilitate or are drawn into political debates, social movements, or policy advocacy. More recently, MacIndoe and Whalen (2013) provided a concise definition of policy advocacy, as the activities organizations undertake to change or prevent change to the policies that affect the organizations and their constituents. These authors also note that while policy advocacy may not be the primary mission of some organizations, these organizations and the work they do still has "great potential to impact" (p. 120) policies.

For the purpose of this research, I adopt Andrews and Edwards (2004) conceptualization of AOs and McIndoe and Whalen's (2013) policy advocacy definition. This is an inclusive

definition, recognizing a range of AO activities, such as public demonstrations, the filing of friend of the court briefs, and lobbying. In other words, this conceptualization includes any activity a person or organization undertakes to influence policies.

The definition of claim I will use, on the other hand, is less inclusive and involves "pressure to get action by an official organization such as a city" (Basolo, 1997, p. 50). For example, citizens may wish to have healthier food options available in their community, so they contact a local health advocacy group to help them represent neighbors (AO) and request city officials incorporate community gardens in their planning agenda (a claim). In the same way a local citizens group will encourage participation from and organize local residents so they attend city council meetings in support of the construction of an affordable housing complex.

Affordable housing AOs mobilize public support for a variety of purposes related to their constituents' needs, including, but not limited to: 1) providing individuals or groups access to services, 2) protecting and expanding their constituents' rights, 3) calling for policy change, and 4) educating the broader public on their subject issue (Duncan, 2004). In the affordable housing policy arena, AOs are the closest thing to a core constituency for affordable housing. Unlike the constituencies representing other interests (e.g., banks, real-estate agencies, insurance companies), AOs typically are not the consumers of the "product," but rather are the groups that give a voice to a population in need (Bratt & Keating, 1993). This mobilization is particularly important now, in the context of ever-increasing state retrenchment (Newman and Ashton, 2013), because interest group competition for scarce resources intensifies during times of fiscal stress and public budget cuts tend to target programs that redistribute resources and serve beneficiaries with little influence on decision-making (Levine, Rubin & Wolohojian, 1981; Jimenez, 2009; Craig & Inman, 1986).

Jeffrey Berry's (1977) work on American public interest groups argues that these groups serve to represent the diffuse and widely shared interests that previous work has identified as difficult to organize (Olson, 1965; McFarland, 1983). This is due to the need for the poor to overcome the collective action problem (Olson, 1965) and because they lack the institutional bases to acquire the resources needed to organize (Salisbury, 1984). When these groups are formed, they exist in large part due to the sources of support provided by public policies and the programs mandated by them (e.g., food stamps, affordable housing, homeless shelters) as well as gifts and grants from patrons (e.g., individuals, foundations, corporations) and not membership fees other groups rely on (Walker, 1991; Berry and Arons, 2003). Once organized, these groups give a collective voice to a shared problem. The community advocates or public interest groups this research focuses on are devoted to the provision and support of affordable housing.

Although group power and influence is one of the most investigated aspects of interest group activity (Thomas, 2004), the work is highly lacking when it comes to defining an explanation of what leads to influence (Baumgartner & Leech, 1998). The lack of conclusive results that could generate a general theory of group influence on the political system is partly attributed to the dynamic process of policy-making. The policy-making process involves many variables, thus makes it difficult to identify all of them in each situation (Thomas, 2004; Baumgartner & Leech, 1998; Peterson, 1992).

According to Baumgartner and Leech (1998), these shortcomings in the literature stem from the inconclusive results of work of the 1950s and 1960s. The trend, since then, has been for scholars to focus on narrow case studies many of which are too specific to have general application in the broader context of the political system. Another factor that has affected the current state of this body of knowledge is the narrow definitions of "influence" employed in

these studies. An example of a limiting definition found in the literature is "the ability of a group to achieve its political objectives" (Thomas, 2004, p. 192). More recent work has used less narrow definitions of influence, for example Amenta, Gardner, Tierney, Yerena and Elliot (2012) employ a definition that measures influence in terms of favorable media coverage. Also Amenta's (2006) book on the Townsend Plan exemplifies how influence can be understood through the policy change that was indirectly brought about by a group's work.

Salisbury (1994) recommends the academic conversation on the influence of AOs on the decision making process move away from the "I win, you lose" story toward the more inclusive "everyone plays a role" perspective that understands AOs' influence in terms of their relation to the political decision-making process as a whole. This latter approach acknowledges the role of AOs in the governance of a city. For this study, I am therefore defining influence as the ability of a group to have an effect on policy outcomes; specifically the dollar amount budgeted for affordable housing and alternate regulations in support of affordable housing. Moreover, by using mixed-methods, this study provides a broader look at the effect of AOs in cities, while providing a more in-depth look at the specific situations of four-case cities.

AOs are highly visible in the political arena and have grown in number, acceptance, and influence in the political and planning processes since the 1960s (Lucio & De la Cruz, 2012; Schlozman & Tierney, 1986; Walker, 1991). The history of AOs' involvement in the support of affordable housing has been longstanding. This involvement was, in part, driven by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration during which major housing and finance legislation was enacted (e.g., the Housing Act of 1949; the Federal Home Loan Bank; the Federal Housing Administration, the Federal National Mortgage Association or Fannie Mae).

Support for affordable housing from the federal government and public opinion, which fostered the participation of affordable housing AOs in service delivery and policy implementation, continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s (Carliner, 1998; Field, 1997). For example, the first war on poverty programs: Community Action Programs implemented during President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration (Christensen, 1999). The *national consensus* of the "Poverty Movement," however, began to dissipate as the 1970s ushered in advocates with items other than social programs on the agenda of social movements. Environmental and peace issues took center stage (Meyer, 2009). The direct consequence for housing was restrictions on the availability of land to be developed, increased costs of construction, and increased processing time for new developments (e.g., wetland protections, the requirement of environmental impact reports, asbestos and lead paint were discovered to be hazardous materials). Energy advocates who aimed to reduce the country's reliance on foreign oil promoted more energy-efficient designs. The consequence was higher start-up costs of construction and ultimately decreased affordability for moderate- and middle-income households (Field, 1997).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, various AOs and their respective social movements continued to pursue protective regulations for construction standards and worker safety regulations. Advocates of historic preservation surged and began placing restrictions on what could be done to older structures. Advocates for the disabled successfully passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990. All these new regulations prompted additional costs for the design and construction of new homes. Compounded by these additional costs, the steady decline of housing affordability (which had been a problem since the 1980s) made matters worse in the country (Schwartz, 2010).

The AOs I have described thus far are engaged in numerous activities within the affordable housing policy arena. Some AOs, such as the National Low-Income Housing Coalition in Washington, D.C. or the Abode Communities of Los Angeles, conduct outreach to communities (e.g., educational campaigns) and develop affordable housing. Silverman (2008) observes that over the last few decades, the creation and implementation of affordable housing has become less the result of intergovernmental work, and more the outcome of cooperation involving the government, AOs, and private organizations.

i.   Community Development Corporations

Community Development Corporations (CDCs) were created in the 1960s, during the 1970s and 1980s they proliferated and established themselves as pivotal players in the provision of affordable housing. CDCs are non-profit organizations aimed at producing and rehabilitating housing for low-income households and sponsoring community economic development and social service programs (Bratt and Rohe, 2007). They currently make up a large portion of the affordable housing AO sector. CDCs are regarded as important and necessary agents of community change.

CDCs receive support from state and local governments and three national non-profit organizations (Local Initiatives Support Corporation, The Enterprise Foundation, and the Neighborhood Reinvestment Act) (Vidal, 1992; Goetz, 1993). The 1990s brought funding for CDCs from the federal Community Development Block Grants (CDBG), HOME, and tax credit programs that fostered their growth. The Community Reinvestment Act is yet another source of funding these AOs benefit from (Gittell and Wilder, 2002).

Bratt and Rohe (2007) assert CDCs are successful at "influenc[ing] local, state, and even national policies through national 'umbrella' organizations, such as the National Congress for

Community Economic Development" (p. 64). Gittell and Wilder (2002) attribute CDC's success to four key factors: mission, organizational competency, political capital, and funding. Furthermore, Gittell and Wilder conclude that by adequately incorporating contextual conditions and the political environment in the selection of strategies, organizations increase the likelihood of success (in achieving their goals). By stating these organizations are "community organizers,…catalysts for activity…[that] engage a larger set of persons and agencies in the well-being of [their] communities" (p. 360) Gittell and Wilder clearly identify these organizations as AOs.

ii.   AOs and Social Movement Organizations

This section expands on the reasoning behind using social movement theories as a framework to study AOs. AOs promote collective action to challenge the top-down approach of political decision-making (Squazzoni, 2009). Much like social movement organizations (SMOs), AOs: (1) seek to influence social and/or political change; (2) are independent organizations (i.e., select their own strategies, operate through their own resources); (3) require direct participation; (4) engage in a voluntary commitment to their constituents; (5) become involved in action to achieve their goals; and (6) pursue an overarching purposes. AOs achieve these goals through the use of strategic action. For the purpose of this study, a strategic action is defined as any premeditated and concerted mobilization effort an AO develops and undertakes to promote the creation, maintenance, and/or preservation of affordable housing.

Also as in social movement activity, some mobilization efforts are directed to oppose the efforts of other groups (e.g., abortion: anti-abortion SMOs; affordable housing AOs: Not-In-My-Backyard groups NIMBYs). Research shows continued and long-standing opposition to affordable housing by many local governments and their residents (Nguyen, Basolo, and Tiwari,

2012; Tighe, 2010; Yerena and Scheller, 2011). As a result, when pursuing the goal of proposing affordable housing, AOs have been involved in conflicts with local governments and *counter-movements* (e.g., NIMBYs, homeowner associations HOAs).

As a result, AO formation, does not guarantee political influence. In other words, the mere existence of a group does not establish its power over the decision-making process (Thomas, 2004; Baumgartner, Berry, Hojnacki, Leech and Kimball, 2009). Representation is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for exercising influence; other factors must be present for a group to have influence. These factors include the possession of resources (money, time, status, personal contacts, and so on), political knowledge and skills, the current political environment, and other intangible factors. Some groups possess the necessary traits to turn representation into influence while others do not. Thus, the relationship between the representation of interests and influence is a complex one.

iii. AO Strategic Actions

As described above, AOs' choice of strategic actions impact their effectiveness. Previous work distinguishes broadly between two types of AO strategies: insider and outsider strategies. Insider strategies encompass all concerted efforts undertaken by the AO to directly transmit their request(s) for policy changes to decision-makers. Outsider strategies, on the other hand, rely on indirect pressure, such as influencing public opinion and mobilizing the general public in favor of the AO's policy change (Betzold, 2013). Other terminology used to capture this dichotomy includes "access" and "voice" (Beyers, 2004) "direct" and "indirect" advocacy (Binderkrantz, 2005, 2008), "engagement" and "confrontation" or "politics of partnership" and "politics of blame" (Alcock, 2008). Table 1.1 contains examples of the types of strategic actions AOs employ as part of insider and outsider strategies.

Table 1.1 Insider and Outsider Strategic Actions

Insider	Outsider
Direct contact	Side event/conference
Information/research to policymakers	Information to the public
Member of a commission/advisory group	Parallel event
Participation in policy debate	Media interview/ Press release
Deliver input to Housing Department	Demonstration
Drafting of legal text	Letter writing campaign
	Documentary/film

Source: Adapted from Betzold, 2013

The complexities inherent in the relationship between political representation and political influence highlight the challenges both AOs and public policymakers face as well as foreground the need for research that investigates what makes certain groups effective in the political process. To incorporate these factors into the framework of this research, in the next section, I review work from sociology, specifically, two social movement theories: political opportunity and resource mobilization.

C.   Social Movement Theories

Finally, I review work from the field of sociology, specifically political opportunity and resource mobilization theories. While these theories were developed around social movements and social movement organizations (SMOs), they present relevant arguments to the study of AOs as another category of collective actors.

i.   Political Opportunity Theory

Recent literature has examined the iterative relationship between social movements (collective actors) and public policy (Amenta, et al., 2012; Snow, Soule and Kriesi, 2008; Fraser, 2005; Meyer, 1993; 2003). In these studies, specific phases of the public policy-making process were found to present political opportunities for social movement actors. In fact, Meyer (2003) argues that while in the past, "public policy was treated as a relatively minor part of the structure

of political opportunities that might spur social movements" (p. 5), work from the past two decades has begun to move away from this trend.

This dissertation research studies the public policy and social movement exchange that takes place within the context of institutionalized government-movement interactions such as AOs. Within the affordable housing policy arena, the federal government has created programs whereby the interplay between the government and the social movement has been institutionalized. As Jepperson (1991) claims, "[i]nstitutionalization is defined by the creation of a repeatable process that is essentially self-sustaining". This involves the routinization of collective action, the inclusion and marginalization of challengers and ultimately the threat of cooptation (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). It therefore makes sense to contend that institutional politics can attract some activists and keep others away.

Some social movement scholars view institutionalization as a way to stifle protest (Meyer, 1993; Piven and Cloward, 1977; Tilly, 1978). Government policies can also be intended to demobilize and disenfranchise some social movement actors more than others (Fraser, 2005; Mettler, 1998). Within the social movement literature, work on non-protest types of mobilization is understudied (Amenta, 2006). These activities are particularly salient in the case of affordable housing, because AOs focus on the development of the activities that benefit the affected community such as capacity-building, fostering of networks, policy change, and support for community-based research. Undertaking this type of research is challenging because participation to achieve the desired outcome of the institutionalized movement is not a national level protest; their efforts are more fragmented and take place at the local level.

Critics of studying institutionalized or formal organizations with social movement theories argue that when the poor are engaged in the political process, these groups tend to be co-

opted by institutional organizations or receive only symbolic benefits (Piven and Cloward, 1977; Smith and Lipsky, 1993; Schneider and Ingram, 1993). Many scholars contend that disruption is the most "effective political tool of the disadvantaged" (Lipsky, 1968; Piven and Cloward, 1977). However, recent scholarship recognizes that this sentiment was prevalent because historically, protest has been associated with the political change undertaken and achieved mainly by poor and minority communities (Fraser, 2005; Snow and Soule, 2010).

Past scholarship described protest and disruptive politics as the "only" effective strategies being employed by poor people to bring about social change (Piven and Cloward, 1977). From this view, institutionalized participation is a threat to achieving the policy goals they desire. This understanding of politics has guided many theories on low-income and minority political participation. The more recent trend, as illustrated by AOs in support of affordable housing, environmental justice, and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender rights arenas, is for groups to proactively participate and work with government institutions to attain their goals. These efforts present newer and perhaps more fruitful opportunities for low-income and other disenfranchised groups to make progress in the policy arena of their interest.

Meyer's (2004) review of the political opportunity literature discusses the capacity of external factors to "enhance or inhibit a social movement's prospects" (p. 126). These prospects include: mobilizing, advancing some claims rather than others, cultivating certain alliances instead of others, employing particular political strategies and tactics, and affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy. This suggests that exogenous factors such as government actions and policies can shape movement action in several ways. According to some movement scholars, the ability of the government to affect the quantity and quality of political mobilization is crystal clear (Amenta et al., 2012; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1995).

For collective actors to take action, political opportunity theory asserts, the group must have a degree of freedom for its members/representatives to express their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Social movement scholars see this freedom ranging from free press and free speech (Gamson, 2009) to the degree of openness or accessibility of the political system to collectivities' demands (Snow and Soule, 2010). In broader terms, this theory focuses on the political context in which the AOs exist and how they interact with these contextual conditions.

Political opportunity theory considers the interplay between the political system, sociopolitical conditions, and the way AOs interpret the situation. These conditions include the climate of governmental responsiveness, the level of community resources, and the nature of the chief executive, among others, which contribute to facilitate or prevent citizen activity in search of political goals. According to this theory, the more political opportunities AOs perceive, the more likely they will use insider strategies. A strategy is an insider or outsider strategy depending on whether the AO is seeking to impact policy directly (such as through providing input to city officials on proposed policies) or to generate pressure from the outside (through the media and or general public).

Previous work testing political opportunity theory has confirmed the capacity of external factors to "enhance or inhibit a social movement's prospects" (Meyer, 2004, p. 126). These prospects include: mobilizing, advancing some claims rather than others, cultivating certain alliances instead of others, employing particular political strategies and tactics, and affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy. This suggests that exogenous factors such as government actions and policies can shape movement action in several ways. According to some movement scholars, the ability of the government to affect the quantity and quality of political mobilization is crystal clear (Amenta et al., 2012; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi et al., 1995).

In broader terms, political opportunity theory focuses on the political contexts in which AOs exist and how they interact with these contextual conditions. More specifically, it considers the interplay between the political system, sociopolitical conditions, and the ways AOs interpret the situation. In this study, political opportunities are defined as "the institutional and political factors that shape [AOs'] options" (Meyer, 1993. p. 455). The "options" alluded to in this definition include communication strategies, protest tactics, and relationships with other AOs. These are relevant to this study because the group's interpretation its political context plays a key role in the AO's choice of strategies. The forthcoming subsections expand upon the three basic elements of political opportunity: the political system, the sociopolitical context, and the AO's interpretation of political opportunity.

a) Political System

The political system (local, state, regional, national, or international) varies in terms of the extent to which the system itself and its institutions are open or closed to participation and influence. Some factors to be considered regarding the political system are: decision-making structures, party or political orientation of office holders, and the relative status of the challengers to the authority. The decision-making structure refers to a government's configuration (e.g., highly concentrated, centrally coordinated, diffused among several branches and actors). Openness or access to challengers changes for specific groups in different times and places. Peter Eisinger (1973) explains this tendency in terms of a curvilinear relationship (see Figure 1.1), where collective action is more likely to occur when the political opportunity structure is neither completely open nor closed, but has a mix of characteristics. As with most social phenomena, this relationship does not hold invariably, therefore understanding the nuances of the following dimension, the sociopolitical context, is necessary.
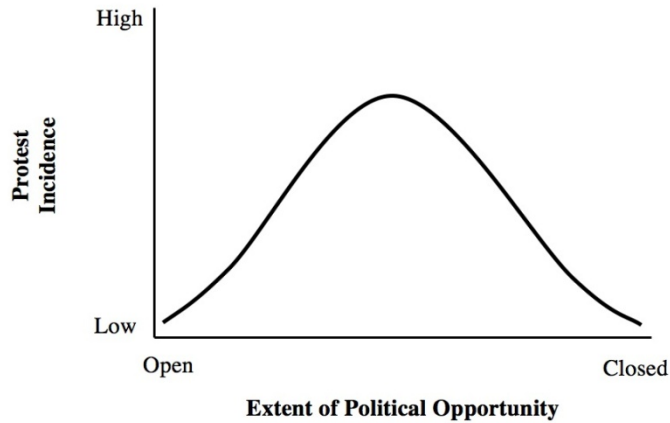
Figure 1.1 Political Opportunity Curve by Eisinger (1973)

b) **Sociopolitical Context**

The sociopolitical context encompasses the stability or shifting of political alignments within a system, the presence or absence of influential allies, and the repressive capacity or urge of the relevant political entity (McAdam, 1996; Tarrow, 1998). The political context in which policy-making takes place can thus be an opportunity for AOs (Meltsner, 1976).

The first factor, the stability or shifting of political alignments within a system, refers to continuity or changes in party unity and/or leadership. A system experiencing party or leadership continuity allows for less opportunity for groups to challenge authority, while shifts in leadership increase the vulnerability of the system to challenges (Habermas, 1975).

The second factor, influential allies, refers to the presence or absence of actors or groups inside or outside of political institutions. These allies have standing within the power structure and are positioned to exert pressure on other actors within the structure. Mediation by these supportive actors has been found to aid collective action (Amenta, Carruthers, and Zylan, 1992; Amenta, Dunleavy, and Bernstein, 1994; Burstein and Linton, 2002).

The third and final factor, authorities' repressive capacity, signals the inclination to resort to repression. Instruments of repression include, but are not limited to, the legal system,

weapons, communication systems, and prisons. The use of these repressive instruments by social control agents (authorities) does not always succeed in ending movement protest; such extreme measures can also stimulate mobilization. While in the case at hand, repression is not the term I would use to describe the antithetical stance of certain localities on the issue of affordable housing, repression can manifest itself in their unwillingness to discuss affordable housing projects and/or programs.

c) **AOs' Interpretation of Political Opportunity**

Finally, political opportunity theory looks at a third element: the interpretation of political opportunity by collective actors. There is no automatic relationship between the previous two variables and mobilization. How social movements "read" the political opportunities in their sphere is the most crucial part of understanding AOs through this theory. The first two elements can be extensively studied and understood by researchers in somewhat objective terms, but understanding this last factor, essential to mobilization, requires more in-depth, qualitative analysis.

AOs assess the opportunities presented within a situation or context continuously. These opportunities are defined in terms of the openness of the system, the strength of their allies or opposition, and the "temperature" (passion or outrage) within their constituent base (activists and their adherents). Missed opportunities can result from one of the following two situations: 1) internal tensions, debates, or fragmentation within the movement, or 2) a misreading of the situation. However scholars agree that AOs more frequently exaggerate the degree of opportunity present. In their subjective interpretation of political opportunity and sociopolitical context, collective actors have been found to exhibit "systematic optimistic bias, exaggeration of opportunities and underestimating constraints" (Gamson and Meyer, 1996, p. 289).

An analogy provided by Snow and Soule (2010) is helpful to explain the relationship between these three elements. The first two, political opportunity and sociopolitical context are signals; while the third concerns the ability of a social movement to read or interpret these signals. The reception of signals is therefore subject to differential interpretation.

Exemplary works that use the political opportunity theory to understand social movements are Piven and Cloward's (1977) analysis of the Poor People's movement in the United States through the 1970s; Hanspeter Kriesi and his colleagues' (1995) research on the extent and form of movement mobilization in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands including a comparison of the differences in political structures of each country; Doug McAdam's (1996) account of the growing importance of the black vote during the development of the black civil rights movement in the 1950s; Dingxin Zhao's analysis of the relationship between the Communist General Party and the student movement of Tiananmen Square in China (2001); and Edwin Amenta's (2006) depiction of the Townsend Plan's influence in the United States' Social Security Act amid the Great Depression.

ii.   Resource Mobilization Theory

The second theory this dissertation uses to understand AO strategic action choice is resource mobilization theory claims the persistence of collective action and the subsequent choice of strategies depend on the resources available to the AO. This theory attempts to move the analysis of these groups away from the social psychology of their participants to provide a more objective way of understanding social movements by adding "…realism, power, and depth…" (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1213) to studies of why groups choose specific strategies. This approach, therefore, emphasizes political sociological and economic theories. Current research supports the proposition that the availability and ability to garner resources is

vital for the emergence and operation of these groups (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, 2002; Snow and Soule, 2010).

Resources can be material, human, social-organizational, cultural, and moral. This theory predicts that organizations with more resources will employ a wider variety of strategies to attain influence, while groups with fewer resources will focus on fewer types. Both the political opportunities and resources the organizations consider in their selection of strategic actions change over time, but exploring how the relationships between these variables change over time is outside the scope of this work.

Resource mobilization theory questions previous assumptions of a close link between grievances and the generalized beliefs (or goals) in the emergence of social movements. This theory considers deprivation and grievances as less important in the generation of collective action. Resource mobilization theory, instead, assumes there is always discontent in any society to supply support for collective action and can form a movement as long as it is organized and has the power and resources of some established elite group (Turner and Killian, 1972). Resource mobilization theorists also recognize that mobilizing grievances may be subject to manipulation by issue entrepreneurs and organizations (McCarthy and Zald, 2002).

Understanding the following underlying assumptions is necessary to proceed along this line of inquiry. First, since social movements "deliver" collective goods, there are not many individuals that are willing to bear the costs of working to obtain them on their own. Second, the selection of incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms, and career benefits are the "rewards" that account for individual and organizational involvement in advocacy work (McCarthy and Zald, 2002).

a) Organizational Framework

This theory defines the following hierarchy of social movement elements. Social movement organizations (SMOs) are either complex or formal organizations, such as AOs, which agree with the goals of a social movement and therefore attempt to achieve these goals. A social movement industry (SMI) is composed of SMOs that aim to attain the broadest preferences of a social movement; this concept emulates the definition of industry in economics. Finally, a social movement sector (SMS) is composed of all the SMIs in a society regardless of the movement to which they are attached. This last component becomes relevant in understanding the economic relationship between a society and the SMOs in it (McCarthy and Zald, 1977).

Furthermore, this theory categorizes the individuals and organizations of a society along three characteristics; (1) their role in the movement, (2) the size of the resource pool they control, and (3) the relation to potential benefits from the attainment of an organization's goals. First, the role of these actors (individuals and organizations) is considered in relation to the social movement, the SMIs, and the SMOs. *Adherents* are individuals and organizations that believe in the goals of the movement. *Constituents* are individuals and organizations that provide resources to an SMO. The *bystander public* is composed of actors who witness and observe social movements; they are also considered non-adherents. *Opponents* are organizations or individuals who counter the movement or its organizations. *Authorities* and *agents of social* control have the ability to frustrate or enable resource mobilization; their action affects the willingness of bystanders, adherents, and constituents to participate in social movements. These actors may or may not become adherents and constituents. In the present study, constituents are not limited to individuals and organizations that provide resources. As has been mentioned in previous

sections, affordable housing AOs do not depend on a wealthy constituency to support their activities; instead the constituent base of affordable housing AOs is formed by low-income population in need of the policies these organizations pursue (i.e., potential beneficiaries).

The second characteristic, the size of the resource pool, focuses on the resources controlled by the various actors. *Mass* constituents, adherents, bystander publics, and opponents control very limited resource pools. The most limited pool that these individuals may control is their own time and labor. *Elite* constituents, adherents, bystander publics, and opponents control larger resource pools. Finally, according to the third dimension, actors may be categorized in terms of their relation to potential benefits. *Potential beneficiaries* are those who will benefit directly from the AO(s) goal accomplishment. *Conscience adherents* are individuals and groups who are part of the social movement but will not benefit directly from goal attainments. Conscience constituents are direct supporters of the AO that do not benefit directly, for example city staff or a city council member.

The resource mobilization task, as explained by this theory, assumes the primary role of an organization is to convert adherents into constituents and obtain their continuous involvement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2009). A secondary task is to convert non-adherents or bystanders into adherents, but since resources are limited, strategic decisions for goal attainment must be made by AOs, thus allocating resources to mobilize constituents may be more beneficial to their goal attainment. This theory applies an economic model to the competitive process engaged by organizations within an SMI; to do so, it equates the organizations' goals to products. Moreover, the demand is elastic therefore likely to be heavily dependent upon AO advertising. Advertising is a strategic action related organizations engage in. The role of an AO within this scheme is to represent the interests of the group at any given opportunity.

McCarthy and Zald (1977) apply these elements in the eleven hypotheses they present about the interrelations between SMS, SMIs and SMOs. Here, I will describe the three hypotheses that relate to the emergence of these groups. The first hypothesis alludes to the "existing pool of resources" that can be obtained by a SMS: the greater the absolute amount of discretionary resources of mass and elite publics, the resources available to a sector increase. The second hypothesis focuses on SMIs and AOs and the "existing pool of resources" (controlled by the SMS) that can be mobilized. This hypothesis states: the greater the absolute amount of resources available for the sector, the more industries and organizations will develop to compete for these resources. Both of these hypotheses aim to account for the proliferation of SMOs and SMIs in the United States during the 1960s. The resources available at the time came from charitable giving among mass and elite adherents and government, church, and business giving among organizational adherents. The third hypothesis accounts for the relationship between social movement adherents, such as AOs, and the growth of a movement, and attempts to explain why wealth is made available for causes beyond the direct self-interest of the individual or organization that contributes resources. Regardless of available resources to potential beneficiary adherents, the more resources available to conscience adherents, the more likely AOs and SMIs will develop to respond to preferences for change.

b) **Types of Resources**

According to resource mobilization theory, almost anything organizations need to advance their interests is a resource. The typology used to describe the types of resources is organized in five categories: material, human, social-organizational, moral, and cultural (Edwards and McCarthy, 2009). Material resources include money, supplies, physical space, transportation, and employment; these resources are all under proprietary control and are the

54

most fungible (i.e., they can easily be converted into other resources). Human resources are comprised of generalized labor, specialized labor, and leadership; the first of the three is not under proprietary control, while the other two are, these resources are partially fungible. Social-organizational resources are infrastructures (e.g., sidewalks, streets, the postal service, parks), social networks, and formal organizations (e.g., extra-movement ties to individuals and organizations). Infrastructures are the most fungible resource of these three but cannot be privately controlled. Moral resources include legitimacy (i.e., positive public opinion, long standing participation within a community), solidarity, and celebrity support (e.g., artists supporting PETA). The importance of legitimacy to the ongoing operation of an AO can best be understood by observing the resources dedicated by counter movements and targeted authorities to discrediting the organization (Snow and Soule, 2010). Finally, cultural resources include repertoires and recipes for organizational, tactical and technical schemata or models as well as the literature, media, film, and Internet resources used to frame AO's interests and increase support (e.g., social media sites, the organization's website, documentary films) (Edwards and McCarthy, 2009; Cress and Snow, 1996; Williams, 1995).

The types of resources and where they are derived from, that is, how an AO gains access to them, are shown in Table 1.2. AOs rely on all five types of resources to succeed in achieving their goals and vary widely in how they access these resources. The categories presented in this table serve as an organizing framework to appraise the resources of AOs by city because the aim of this work is to understand the strategic actions these organizations employ to influence local policymakers.

Table 1.2 Resource Types and Means of Access

| Resource Type | Means of Access | | | |
	Self-produced	Aggregation	Co-optation/ Appropriation	Patronage
Material	Grassroots fund-raising events	Individual donations from non-members	Use of office space	Start-up grants Large donations Foundation grants Government grants Service contracts
Human	Mentoring and training community leaders Educating general public and decision-makers	Enlisting constituents Mobilizing large numbers of participants Recruiting activists with particular skills	Networked recruitment Having organizational members Drawing on members of coalition partners	Providing staff or volunteers Providing technical assistance
Social-organizational	Founding an AO Starting a task force Launching a website Maintaining social media page(s)	Building networks Forming coalitions	Recruiting local affiliates from existing organizations Gaining access to civic groups for recruitment	Being loaned the mailing lists or telephone lists of sympathetic individuals
Cultural	Social construction of collective identities Collective action frames [Conducting "reality tours"] Producing and preserving movement history, oral history	Movement-initiated summits or workshops where groups come together to share advice, information, strategy Working groups	Providing links on website to materials produced by someone else Links to someone else's page	Excellence awards aimed at recognizing competence or effectiveness Accreditation of fiscal procedures to enhance confidence of supporters and donors
Moral	Framing housing as a human right	Soliciting statements of support for specific projects or campaigns Listing advisory committee members on website Compiling lists of endorsers	Creating alliances with well-respected group(s) Hiring grassroots supporters to lobby policymakers	A widely respected person or organization recognizing a group or activist in order to call positive attention to their work

Source: Adapted from Edwards and Kane, 2014

Resource mobilization theory acknowledges AOs may not have complete freedom of

choice in making decisions. These groups may be constrained by preexisting organizations or

other segments of the social movement, the size and diversity of the industry the organization is

a part of, and the competitive position of the social movement sector in society. Moreover, historical events such as war, economic trends, and natural disasters may further limit the ability of any AO to garner resources. Finally, the relevance of where resources are derived from, internally or externally, varies by the resource base of a group's constituency, the objectives and tactical actions, and different points in the lifespan of a movement (Edwards and McCarthy, 2009). According to the literature, the effects of externally derived resources may lead to moderated goals and tactics (Piven and Cloward, 1977) or channel dissent into more professional and publicly acceptable forms (Jenkins and Eckert, 1986). While externally derived resources may affect the course and style of the AO, there is again, no automatic formula to determine the effect these resources will have on the receiving or appropriating group.

There are many examples of studies that use the resource mobilization theory to understand social movements. For instance, Obershall's (1973) study demonstrated the importance of communal associations to facilitate mobilization in tribal and peasant societies. These studies and several others have focused on understanding how political opportunities (see Eisinger, 1973; Jacques, Dunlap, and Freeman, 2008; Tilly, 1998; Kitschelt, 1986;) or resources (see McCarthy and Zald, 1977; Jenkins, 1983, McAdam, 1998; Edwards and McCarthy, 2004) play a role in the development of collective actions and strategic choices. However, no research has looked into the effects of the interactions of both, specifically on the strategic choices organizations make. This study fills this gap in the literature by simultaneously analyzing aspects of both theories. This work does not consider AOs' motivation for undertaking collective action an explanation for their choice of strategic action because all of the groups studied share a primary motivator: to positively impact affordable housing policies.

IN SUMMARY

As described in the literature, current state and local government decisions are made in an increasingly resource-constrained environment in which national government transfers are being reduced, local responsibilities are increasing, and the political costs of tax increases appear to be high (Jimenez, 2009). The outputs produced, in this context, are the result of the interaction of multiple influencing actors. The focus of this study is on the effect AOs have as one of the multiple actors involved in local policy decisions that promote affordable housing.

AOs are groups or organizations that make public interest claims to influence the course of social change. In addition to establishing and organizing themselves, other factors must be present for an AO to have influence. They must possess resources (e.g., money, time, status, personal contacts); political knowledge and skill; understand the current political environment and other intangible factors.

The political opportunity and resource mobilization social movement theories reviewed in this chapter, differ in the way they understand how organizations select their strategies and tactics. Strategies and tactics are the vehicle through which AOs exert political influence. For the political opportunity theory, the choice of tactics is influenced by prior history of relations with authorities, previous successes, and ideology. Furthermore, according to this theory, tactical choices are dependent on the degree of oligarchization (concentration of power) and institutionalization of the organization. Resource mobilization theory, on the other hand, is concerned with the strategic tasks that an AO undertakes in addition to goal attainment, such as mobilizing supporters, transforming bystander publics into supporters, and enlisting mass and elite publics into sympathizers. These aims may conflict with one another and have a direct impact on their tactics. Moreover, resource mobilization theory also expects inter-organizational

competition and cooperation to influence an AO's choice of tactics. Both theories will help me

adequately investigate what affects AOs' strategy selection and stated objectives.

CHAPTER 2. Research Design

In the previous chapter, I define AOs as groups and organizations that make public interest claims to influence the course of social change. This includes organizations that provide resources and facilitate or are intermittently drawn into political debates, social movements, or policy advocacy. In this section, I will describe the theoretical framework that undergirds this study and describe the research methods I employed to gather data and test the research hypotheses.

Public policy, the dependent variable of this research, is now recognized and studied as a large part of the structure of political opportunities that spur collective action. This dissertation explores how collective action undertaken by AOs influences local affordable housing budgeting decisions. I am defining influence in this study as the ability of a group to have an effect on a policy outcome. Myriad AOs may exist in any one city. Furthermore, the mix of claims and organizations tends to change with a particular type of policy. While organizations concerned with the poor may focus on redistributive concerns, businesses may be more interested in developmental issues. Given the scope of a sector of AOs, a study of local decision-making must match the groups to the relevant policy arena; this will in turn help better understand the influence the groups had on the policy issue.

This dissertation studies the public policy and AO collective action exchange that takes place within the context of institutionalized interactions. Scholars from both the political opportunity and resource mobilization approaches agree that by studying the outcomes of social movements, we will improve our analysis of the public policy-making

process (Kriesi, 2008). This study's purpose is twofold; to parse the effects of AOs'

capacity in exerting political influence on local policy decisions and to identify the tactics

through which they are more effective in doing so. I used mixed methods to achieve these

aims.

My project seeks to explain the variation in support for affordable housing

programs among larger U.S. cities. It concerns city decision-making, thus the unit of

analysis is the city. The population for the quantitative portion of the research is all cities

in the U.S. with populations of 100,000 (N=272) or more. I performed multivariate

statistical analyses to determine the influence of AOs on city dollars budgeted for

affordable housing. The qualitative part of this research focuses on a set of four cities in

Los Angeles County and the AOs that work to influence affordable housing policies in

these cities.

Before presenting the conceptual model, I will discuss two assumptions of this

study. First, the research assumes that affordable housing policies are redistributive. This

assumption has support in the policy literature. Basolo's (1997) study on the effects of

inter-city competition on affordable housing expenditures considers affordable housing a

redistributive policy. Peterson (1981) employs several affordable housing initiatives to

exemplify redistributive policies. Lowi's (1972) work on the typology of policies also

characterizes housing policies as redistributive. Second, as proxies for the capacity of

AOs to exert political influence, I use their number, age and financial strength.

A.   Conceptual Model

City policy-making literature is divided into two major camps: economic and

political determinists. Economic determinists (e.g., Schneider, 1989; Peterson, 1981)

postulate that cities are bundles of public services provided at a particular cost in a competitive environment. Public choice theorists argue that local decision makers will make decisions based on cost-benefit analyses to attract desirable residents and maintain fiscal health. In this section I will explicate the literature behind the conceptual model I developed to understand the effects of AOs on financial support for affordable housing (see Figure 2.1).
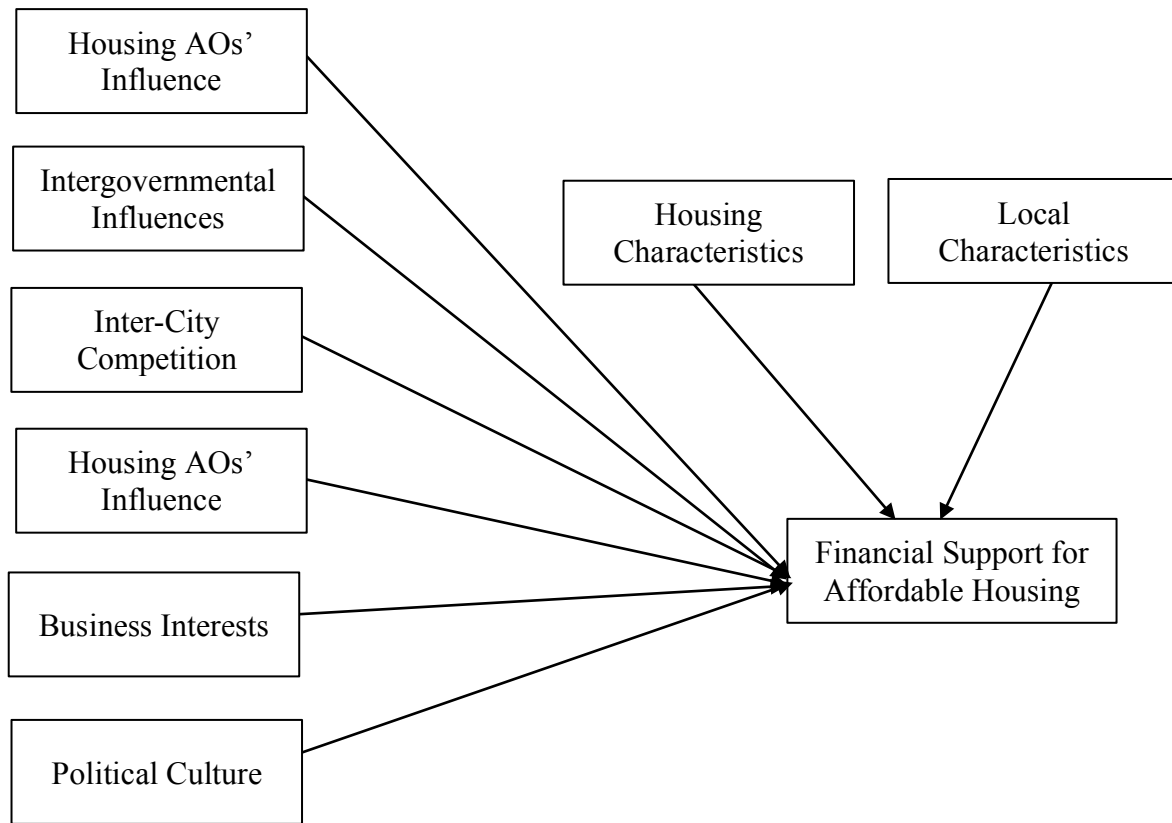
Figure 2.1 Conceptual Model

i.   **Economic Factors**

Economic determinists focus on cities' economic factors (i.e., socioeconomic base, primarily the degree of affluence) and the types of policies residents are more likely to support (Dawson and Robinson, 1963; Gray, 1976). According to Peterson (1981), cities focus on developmental policies, implement allocation policies as needed (without

conflicts), and tend to avoid redistributive policies. Peterson notes that redistributive policy-making is inherently conflictual and largely a role of the national government. He identifies a redistributive policy "by estimating whether those who pay for the service in local taxes are recipients of the service. Where there is no overlap at all, a pure case of redistribution is indicated" (Peterson, 1981, pp. 44).

Waste (1989; 1993) adds a third characteristic to this typology of city policy-making: conflict. Waste's policy-making model generates five levels or types of policy. Each policy type is organized according to the level of conflict associated with the policy. The continuum ranges from low to high conflict levels. The five major policy types are: autonomous, "pork barrel", routine or conventional, redistributive, and intrusive. I would like to highlight two of these policy types relevant to the policy issue this study focuses on: routine and redistributive.

Routine or conventional policies are policies in which the city stands to enhance its economic position and operational issues (thus Waste merges Peterson's developmental and allocational policies into one category). Waste's (1989) view on redistributive policy-making is the same as Peterson's; it includes issues of social welfare or efforts to help less fortunate city residents and involves a cost to the city (as opposed to the city administering a program mandated and funded by another level of government). Waste and Peterson agree that initiating rather than terminating or continuing a redistributive policy is the most controversial policy making endeavor. Lyon and Bonjean (1981) concur with Peterson and Waste's assessment that routine policies involve little conflict and maintain that these policy choices "are not related to the structure or the distribution of community power" (pp. 17). In other words, policies that

63

involve housekeeping services (e.g., fire protection, garbage collection) do not disturb the political environment, while policies seeking to selectively benefit disadvantaged community members can be expected to cause conflict.

Public choice theorists argue that cities will favor policies intended to maximize the local tax base and developmental policies. Proponents of this perspective argue variation in decision-makers' support for the various policy types is influenced by local conditions, such as city size, level of government aid, and the degree of competition in the local public market (Schneider, 1989; Peterson, 1981). The degree of competition in the local public market is driven by a city's desire to attract population with specific socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., middle- to upper-income residents). As a result, cities compete with one another in their region for said potential residents. Cities influence this competition through the policies their elected officials enact, particularly in their purview of spending and service provision domains (Parks and Oakerson, 1989; Schneider, 1989; Lyons et al., 1993; Downs, 1994; Rusk, 1995; Basolo, 2003).According to public choice literature, developmental policies will most likely preempt redistributive ones as the degree of competition in the area increases. This is why the proposed conceptual model includes inter-city competition as one of the influences on local support for affordable housing.

ii.   Political Factors

Political determinists, on the other hand, focus their attention on the effects of political factors in the policy making process (Break, 1993; Goetz, 1995; Basolo, 1997). These scholars propose that economic factors create the parameters for budgeting, but political variables play a very important role on policy emphases, budgetary allocations

and other non-budgetary decisions (Magill and Clark, 1975; Jennings, 1979; Winters, 1976). These variables include intergovernmental influences and local political characteristics. Intergovernmental factors encompass federal and state transfers to local governments and state regulations and mandates (Maxwell and Aronson, 1977; Markusen Saxenian and Weiss, 1981; Sylvester, 1993; Gamkhar and Shah, 2007). In addition to directly affecting expenditures, studies show intergovernmental monies "…create incentives and accountability mechanisms that affect the fiscal management, efficiency, and equity of public service provision and government accountability to citizens" (Shah, 2006, pp. 1).

Intergovernmental transfers can be for a general or a specific purpose. General purpose transfers are: (1) provided as general budget support, (2) typically mandated by law, and (3) intended to preserve local autonomy and enhance interjurisdictional equity. Alternatively, specific purpose transfers: (1) specify the type of expenditures that can be financed (i.e., capital, operating, or both), (2) may be regular/mandatory and discretionary/hoc, and (3) are intended to provide incentives for governments to carry out specific programs or activities. Some transfers may be conditional and require the grant recipient to match funds up to a pre-specified limit. According to Shah (2006), this encourages local ownership of the programs funded by the grants while ensuring the grantor retains some control over the costs of the program. Other times, conditional transfers do not require local funding to match the grant as long as the funds are spent for the specified purpose. These non-matched conditional transfers are mostly intended to fund local government activities prioritized by a higher level of government, ones that would not otherwise be given high priority by local governments (Shah, 2006). This

factor has an effect on what a city budgets for affordable housing (see Basolo, 2000), and therefore should be included in the model.

Political determinists also posit local political variables have an effect on the policy-making process. Community power, interest groups, regime, and social movement theorists all agree that coalition(s) or group(s) of individuals wield power in local policy making (Andrews, 2001; Petchey et al., 1998; Abers, 2001). Businesses have often been identified as pro-growth or development interests (Logan and Molotoch, 1987). Scholars of elite power theory, regime analyses, and other community studies recognize business, in general, as influential in local decision-making (Hunter, 1953; Elkin, 1987; Clark and Ferguson, 1983). The research suggests that when business interests are influential in cities, decision-makers will support policies that favor developmental policies over redistributive policies.

Policy scholars, including the pluralists, have concluded that other interest groups bear on the policy-making process besides businesses (Kingdon, 1984; Dahl, 1961). The notion that groups other than elites and government also affect redistributive policy occurs frequently in the policy-making literature (Clark and Walter, 1991; Waste, 1989; Greenstone and Peterson, 1976; Carter, 1997). Local advocacy organizations (AOs) are one type of group that participates in this process. For example, in Goetz's (1995) model of city housing expenditures, he includes a degree of housing activism by community-based advocates. Basolo's (1999) study of the effects of inter-city competition on local support for affordable housing identifies interest groups as influential in the decision-making process. Finally, Lucio and De la Cruz (2012) identify local non-profit

66

organizations as key actors in the affordable housing policy network in their case study in Phoenix, Arizona.

Another source of influence, political culture, is a determinant of city policy-making. Clark and Walter (1991) found political culture has strong effects on the decisions cities around the U.S. made during times of financial stress. Research along this line concerns the underlying beliefs or value system of a community. Clark and Ferguson (1983) put forth a political culture typology identifying four basic types of urban political cultures, however they acknowledge that pure types are rarely found in communities. In his study of city housing expenditures, Goetz (1995) employs Sharkansky's (1969) political culture scale yet finds no significant relationship between the measure and the dependent variable, local housing expenditures.

Competition among government units is yet another explanatory factor for public policy. The studies conducted in this vein of inquiry mostly use quantitative methods to understand the effects of intercity competition on the outcomes or decisions made by the public sector. They are interested in explaining the variation of city support for policies from different domains. These studies follow a public choice theoretical framework and spatially define the competitive regional market (Basolo and Lowery, 2010; Basolo, 1997; 2000; Parks and Oakerson, 1989; Schneider, 1989; Lyons et al., 1992; Downs, 1994; Rusk, 1995).

iii. Local Characteristics

The literature has found local characteristics other than political concerns to be influential in the policy making process. For example, the fiscal condition of a city (Clark and Ferguson, 1983), population, growth, geographic region, residents' income, poverty

67

level, and unemployment may also sway policy-makers in support certain city policies (Clark and Ferguson, 1983; Waste, 1989; Wong, 1990; Clark and Walter, 1991; Goetz, 1995). Given that my study is interested in affordable housing policy, the proposed conceptual model (see Figure 3) also includes local housing characteristics (i.e., cost, conditions, and vacancy rate). The effect of political regimes on local support for affordable housing is not included in this model, because it is better studied qualitatively; thus, it will be addressed during the case study design (discussed later in this chapter).

B.   Study Hypotheses

Two general propositions emerge from the literature review and conceptual model presented in the previous sections. These propositions explore the relationship between support for local affordable housing policies and AOs' political influence and inter-city competitiveness.

The general propositions (P) and corresponding hypotheses (H) for this research are:

P1. AOs' capacity to exert political influence will affect local support for affordable housing programs.
  H1: Cities are more likely to support affordable housing programs as the capacity of affordable housing AOs' to exert political influence increases.

P2. Jurisdictional economic competitiveness will affect local support for affordable housing programs.
  H1: Cities will be less likely to support affordable housing programs as the level of inter-city competition increases.

P3. Political culture of the city's residents will affect local support for affordable housing policies.

H1: Cities will be more likely to support affordable housing policies in cities with a more liberal political culture.

The research hypotheses provided above were tested and are presented in the models in Chapter 5. In addition to the quantitative analysis aimed at testing the hypotheses, I will also undertake four case studies. The purpose of these case studies is to describe and explain the approaches (or "tactics") used by affordable housing AOs, and how these organizations select their approaches to procure support for affordable housing. The qualitative portion of this study, detailed in Section E of this chapter, will also provide insights into the relationships uncovered by my quantitative analysis. Moreover, the case studies will render a better understanding of the efforts of cities, beyond direct budgeted expenditures (e.g., regulatory approaches), to foster affordable housing development and preservation.

C.   Study Variables and Measurement

In this section, I discuss the key variables used in the analysis and their measurement. The dependent variable is the financial support for affordable housing policy. Support for affordable housing policy is measured as: 1) city budget for all housing programs (not including funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority) in FY 2011-12, and, following Schneider (1989), as: 2) Housing and Community Development (HCD) dollars expended in fiscal year 2011-2012 (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Dependent Variables

Variable	Description
Local Housing Budgeted	Local dollars budgeted by cities for affordable housing programs in FY 2011-12 *(Survey)*
Housing and Community Development (HCD) Expenditures	Gross expenditures for urban renewal and housing projects[5] FY 2010-11 *(U.S. Census of Governments, 2012)*

The effect of AOs in the policy decisions made at the city level is the primary hypothesis in this study. This is why special attention was given to defining the organizations that would be considered to support affordable housing policies. Researchers have concluded that one of the most important roles of all non-profit organizations involved with affordable housing is to advocate for affordable housing policies. This means that non-profit organizations involved in any issue related to affordable housing (e.g., shelters, construction companies, management firms) also function as advocates for affordable housing (Salamon and Anheir, 1992; Goetz, 1995; Eikenberry and Kluver, 2004; Stone, 2010).

The number of AOs in each city and their individual organizational characteristics will be derived from the Urban Institute's National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS). The NCCS collects and maintains data on all non-profit organizations in the U.S. The NCCS has a database of all active organizations along with information about each individual organization (e.g., type, state, name, revenue). All the organizations are, furthermore, classified according to the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE)

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[5] Housing and Community Development as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau (2008) for publications on city government finances refers to city housing and redevelopment projects and regulation, promotion, and support of private housing and redevelopment activities. For cities in Arizona, Kentucky, Michigan, New Mexico, New York, and Virginia, generally includes data for municipal housing authorities. Housing authorities for other cities are usually classified as independent governments.

70

(Urban Institute, 2012). This taxonomy includes codes for the primary and secondary purpose of the non-profit organization. As Gronbjerg (1994) noted, the taxonomy focuses on the purpose rather than the economic activities the organization undertakes; this distinguishes the classification of this type of organization from their for-profit counterparts.

For this analysis, I used the NTEE taxonomy to include all non-profit organizations classified under the major group (broad subsector) "Human Services" within the activity area code "L – Housing and Shelter." This includes organizations involved in all types of activities within the housing and shelter activity area. The seven most common activity types (across all subsectors) are: alliances and advocacy organizations, management and technical assistance, professional societies and associations, research institutes and public policy analysis, single organization support, fund raising and fund distribution, and not elsewhere classified (N.E.C.). For example, organizations classified as alliances and advocacy organizations are groups whose activities focus on influencing public policy, including a variety of activities ranging from public education and influencing public opinion to lobbying national and state legislatures. A second type, management and technical assistance organizations, engage in consultation, training, and other forms of management assistance services to nonprofit groups. Finally, research institutes and public policy analysis groups, which have the primary purpose to conduct research and provide feedback to policymakers. All of the activities listed are conducted within the housing and shelter major group area. This means that the count of organizations is equal to all the organizations in a city that fall under the housing and shelter activity area.

I used this category and included all organizations within this activity area because previous work has shown that not only nonprofit organizations whose core mission is to advocate for policy carry out advocacy work, other nonprofit organizations, including those whose focus is on service provision, also play an important role in the advocacy process (see Kimberlin 2010; LeRoux and Krawczy 2014). For this research, therefore, I used all of the activity types identified within the housing and shelter major activity area. This measure, thus, includes advocacy groups as well as service providers.

It is commonly believed that non-profit organizations exempt under the Internal Revenue Code 501(c) 3 are not allowed to lobby policymakers. However, the aforementioned section of the Internal Revenue Tax code specifically states that these groups may lobby and/or advocate as long as this does not constitute the majority of their activities. The magnitude of their activities is measured according to monetary parameters; thus, the amount of financial resources an organization dedicates to lobbying cannot exceed the resources dedicated to carrying out its primary mission. Political activity, understood as campaigning in favor of or against a political candidate, is strictly forbidden.

AO size is also composed by data from the NCCS. The size of each organization is composed by the aggregate value of revenue and assets in 2011 dollars[6] the organization reported to the Internal Revenue Service in for fiscal year 2008[7]. Age is another piece of data used to determine the potential influence of an organization. Previous nonprofit organization research supports using age and size as proxies for the

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[6] 2008 dollars were converted to 2011 dollars using an inflation conversion factor available at: http://oregonstate.edu/cla/polisci/sahr/sahr.

[7] All organizations filing as 501(c) are required to file a 990 form where they disclose their financial information.

strength of an organization (see Crutchfield and Grant, 2012; Light, 2002). Support for these measures as a predictor of AO success in achieving political influence is well established in urban policy literature (Vidal, 1992; 1997; Gittell and Wilder, 2002; Clay, 1995).

Additional variables about AO activity are included in the models. I assume that that the influence of AOs is not limited to only the organizations in a city, but can also include AOs from surrounding areas. In other words, the analysis includes measures of AOs' strength, not only in the study city but also the strength of AOs within the county, to assess the influence of AOs in the rest of a city's region. I therefore, constructed separate variables to account for this possibility. For each city, I created a measure of AO mean age and an index of strength (using the same indicators discussed above) for similar organizations in the entire county, excluding the organizations in the city of interest. Thus, in the analysis, there are two pairs of AO variables, one at the city level and one at the county level.

According to the various theories discussed in the previous sections, several factors are considered to influence support for local housing policies. These factors include intergovernmental influences, business interests (elites), city ideology (political culture), inter-city competition, local housing characteristics, and demographic characteristics. Table 2.2 presents the variables used to capture the aforementioned concepts along with their measurement and data source.

Table 2.2 Independent Variables

Variable[8]	Description *(source)*
AO Capacity	
City AO Financial Index[9]	[Constructed by the sum of the equally weighted z scores of]: Number of exempt organizations registered in the city and classified as being involved in "housing and shelter" activities City's AOs' total revenue in 2008 City's AOs' total assets in 2008 *(NCCS)*
City Mean AO Age	Sum of years each organization has been active divided by the number of AOs in the city *(NCCS)*
County AO Financial Index[10]	[Constructed by the sum of the equally weighted z scores of]: Number of exempt organizations registered in the county minus the number of exempt organizations registered in the city and classified as being involved in "housing and shelter" activities County's AOs' total revenue minus the city's AOs' total revenue in 2008 County's AOs' total assets minus the city's AOs' total assets in 2008 *(NCCS)*
County Mean AO Age	Sum of years each organization has been active in the county minus sum of years each organization has been active in the city divided by the number of AOs in the county minus the number of AOs in the city *(NCCS)*

Continued…

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[8] Variables will be examined and transformed as appropriate.

[9] I ran a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) to define the weights of each component in the index at the city level.

[10] I ran a second factor analysis to define the weights of each component in the index at the county level.

Table 2.2 Independent Variables (continued)

Variable	Description *(source)*
Competing Hypothesis	
Inter-city competition[11]	For each city, the sum of all incorporated cities plus counties in its MSA; for cities outside an MSA, the sum of all incorporated cities plus the county in the city's county *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
City Ideology (option 1 to measure political culture)	Percentage of people in the city who voted Democrat in the 2008 Presidential election. *(Alderman et al., 2009 and city.data.com)*
Index of Unconventional Culture (option 2 to measure political culture)	[Constructed by the sum of the z scores of]: % of households not married with children present % of women in the labor force Same-sex partner households per 1,000 households % of age 25+ population with a B.A. or higher educational attainment Inverse of church adherents as percentage of population % of working population in scientific, technical, professional, or education occupation categories. *(Sharp, 2005; U.S. Census, 2010 and U.S. Religious Census, 2010)*
Intergovernmental Influences	
Federal Dollars	Federal dollars budgeted or received by cities for affordable housing (Including: CDBG & HOME Grants) [logged for positive skewness] *(Housing Survey)*
State Dollars	State dollars budgeted or received by cities for affordable housing (Including: CDBG & HOME Grants) [logged for positive skewness] *(Housing Survey)*
State Mandated Set-asides	1 If city is required by state to set-aside local dollars for affordable housing 0 If city is not required by state to set-aside local dollars for affordable housing *(Housing Survey)*

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[11] Inter-city competition is a measure based on Census boundaries of the county to define the local market or region. This is based on previous work that defines the area affected by competition to the jurisdictions within the local market (Basolo, 1997; Basolo and Lowery, 2010; Schneider, 1988; Zax, 1989). See Basolo and Lowery (2010) for a discussion of the validity and reliability of this measure in comparison to the others examined.

Table 2.2 Independent Variables (continued)

Variable	Description *(source)*
Housing Planning required by the State	1 If city is required by state to have a plan for housing 0 If city is not required by state to have a plan for housing *(Housing Survey)*
Contextual Variables	
Housing Characteristics	
Median Household Value	Median value of owner-occupied housing in 2010 *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Cost-burdened Households	Percent of households paying more than 30% of their income on housing (owners and renters) *(ACS, 2010)*
Vacancy Rate	Percent of total housing units vacant in 2010 *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Demographic Characteristics	
Population	Total city population in 2010 *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Median Household Income	Median household income [logged for positive skewness] *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Percent Poverty	Percentage of persons below poverty line *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Percent Unemployment	Percentage of working age population not currently employed *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Percent Poverty	Percentage of persons below poverty line *(U.S. Census, 2010)*
Economic Conditions Index	[Constructed by the sum of the z scores of]: Median Household Income Minus Percent Poverty Minus Percent Unemployment *(U.S. Census, 2010)* *(Basolo and Huang, 2001)*
Fiscal Characteristics	
Fiscal Conditions	The ratio of each city's revenue to expenditures *(U.S. Census of Governments, 2012) (Maher and Deller, 2007)*

D.   Questionnaire Design and Response Rate

The data used in this study were derived from several sources. The U.S. Census of

Population and Housing (2010) and the U.S. Census of Governments (2012), for

76

example, provided a portion of the data, while the dependent variables and some of the substantive independent variables were collected through an online survey of city housing staff. The survey methods I used to gather this primary data determined, in part, the reliability and generalizability of the findings from my analysis. Therefore, this section is dedicated to the description of the survey procedures used in the study.

i.   Questionnaire Development and Pretest

This study involved developing a housing policy and programs questionnaire that was sent to housing professionals in each of the target 272 cities. This survey instrument included attitudinal questions and also requested detailed factual data. I designed the survey on an online platform called Survey Monkey to make participation easier for respondents and to control for human error when transferring survey responses.

Before designing the online interface, I carefully prepared the questionnaire. Developing the questionnaire was an iterative process of writing-pretesting-rewriting. Once I completed the first draft of the housing policy and programs questionnaire, I requested two local housing practitioners in cities within California (outside the study population) to review the questionnaire. Comments by these professionals indicated necessary modifications to the instrument.

I then conducted a pretest of the survey in February 2013. The intent of this endeavor was to determine how feasible it is to collect programmatic and budgetary information, while testing the clarity of the questions. A link to the online survey was emailed to housing staff members in 25 cities in California that have a population between 75,000-99,000. This pretest helped uncover any problems with questions, online interface, or questionnaire structure. Informed by the results from the pretest, I revised

and finalized the online survey questionnaire and implemented the final version with the study's target population: the 272 cities in the U.S. with a population of 100,000 or more.

Respondents within the city were selected based on the following criteria: whenever the city had a Housing Director, the survey was sent directly to this person. If there was no contact information for the Housing Director or the city did not have a housing division, the survey was sent to the Housing and Community Development Director. In less than 15% of the instances, the survey was sent to the City Manager. In all cases, the invitation to participate asked the recipient to forward the survey to the person within the city, whom he or she found most appropriate to answer the questions.

ii. Optimization of Survey Response

Understanding that the survey response would likely be less than 100%, I decided to survey the entire population of cities in the U.S. with over 100,000 residents. A low response rate for the online survey has the potential to introduce statistical and external validity issues (Fowler, 1993; Foreman, 1991). A response rate of 60% was attained, even though the statistical analyses to test the study hypothesis were feasible with a 40% response rate if certain independent variables were clustered in an index. This section discusses the methods I used to optimize the response rate of the questionnaire.

According to Fowler (1993), a low response rate can potentially lead to two important complications for the researcher. First, a small final sample (n) may lack the statistical power to capture significant effects on the dependent variable. Second, if there is a systematic non-response, the results will be biased. For example, if southern cities fail to respond, the results of the study will not be generalizable to all large American

cities. This is why it was important for me to make every effort to optimize survey response and to afterwards test for systematic non-response.

To increase the response rate of the survey, I used several of Dillman, Smyth and Christian's (2009) well-established online survey techniques and non-response follow-up procedures. The authors recommendations to optimize response rate are to: (1) pretest questionnaires, (2) pretest survey interface with the finalized questionnaire, (3) use reliable contact information source(s), (4) stress to participants the importance of their participation in solving a problem they are affected by, and (5) contact non-respondents through several methods with follow-up invitations to encourage them to participate.

As mentioned earlier in this section, I pre-tested the on-line survey with professional staff from a subset of cities in California (outside this study's population). I did this to test question clarity, to detect any issues with the online platform, and to identify the appropriate length for the instrument. I used three sources to obtain contact information for housing professional staff at the cities. The first source is usa.gov's "American hometowns" directory of local governments; this source gave me access to the city's websites and contact information. The second source was Carroll Publishing's online database of current decision-makers by name, position title, and office or metro area at the Municipal level of government. Finally, the third source was directly from a city's website when the other two sources failed to generate the contact information I needed. I compiled the information from these sources to create a contact list of the relevant staff at the cities covered by my study. The contact list contained the city's housing professional staff member's name, phone, and email. To stress to participants "…that a problem exists that is of importance to a group with which they identify"

(Dillman et al., 2009, p. 162), the invitation to participate included the following

message:

"*As you know, due to the complexity of financing housing

development, coupled with the current national period of economic

hardships, cities are facing difficult housing issues in their communities.

This policy environment and the decisions made during these times will

have significant impact on future housing conditions in the country*."

The final survey went live in February 2013 (see Appendix A). In the first email

sent out, I reached out to every professional on the contact list (compiled from the

sources described earlier) with a brief introduction to the project[12] (see Appendix B).

Each email was addressed to the housing professional staff member personally. Each

email also contained a personalized link to the online survey. The benefit of using a

personalized link was that participants were able complete the survey in several sittings.

Giving participants this option allowed them the flexibility to work on the survey

whenever they had time and to have an opportunity to check the information (specifically

budget) they provided. Within two weeks, I sent non-respondents a participation

reminder email; I repeated this process for the first two months, sending out a total of

three reminders (see Appendix C and D for reminder messages). Two months after I sent

the initial email, I called non-respondents to urge them to participate and give them the

option to respond the survey over the phone[13]. Along with the phone call or voice

message, I sent non-respondents a participation reminder email, so they did not have to

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[12] All email communication took place at 6:00 am Pacific Time to ensure participants receive the
message first thing in the morning (Dillman et al., 2009).

[13] Phone calls were made over the course of one week. First non-respondents were sorted into the
four time-zones and phone calls were made over four consecutive hours to make sure that all
calls were received at 9:00 am local time (Dillman et al., 2009).

go and search for the survey link in their email. Finally, two months after the previous

phone call (four months after the survey was initially sent out), I called the remaining

non-respondents again and asked them if they would prefer I mail them the survey along

with a prepaid return envelope for their completed survey. None of the respondents chose

this option. The survey was closed in July 2013. To ensure all participants that wished to

answer the survey were able to, even after the survey was closed, if a respondent clicked

on the survey link, he/she was directed to a website with my contact information. Two

additional responses were submitted and received within a week after the survey had

closed.

iii.   Response Rate

This section relates the response rate to the Local Housing Policies survey. Of the

two hundred and seventy two surveys sent out to city housing managers, one hundred and

sixty five (61%) completed the survey. The region with the greatest number of responses

and highest response rate was the West (67%). Table 2.3 shows cities' responses by

region[14].

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[14] The survey sought the perspective of housing department managers or directors, however, some cities did not have a one. For this reason, the survey requested the name and title of the person who responded to the survey. The responses to this query revealed 149 housing managers, directors or coordinators (89%) completed the questionnaire. 17 (11%) identified themselves as housing planners or administrative analysts. I am treating all responses the same, regardless of what city staff/member responded to it. I have two reasons to support this decision. In the invitation email, I specifically asked respondents who thought they were not the appropriate person to answer the questions to refer me to someone else in the city the person thought was better informed to respond to a questionnaire on this topic. Second, for the most part, the questions requested objective data that could be found in a budget report, therefore any person with access to that information could provide reliable responses to the survey. Regarding the few questions that elicited an opinion (e.g., how active are advocacy organizations in your city?), any city staff member working on housing issues, including the city manager, would have an informed opinion on this matter since he/she interacts with these groups directly and indirectly.

Table 2.3 Survey Response by Region

Region	Number of Responses
Northeast	10
	(38%)
Midwest	26
	(55%)
South	59
	(63%)
West	70
	(67%)
Total	165

Note: Response rates by cell in parenthesis

iv. Non-Response Bias

The purpose of contacting all 272 cities with a population of 100,000 or more is to obtain responses that apply to larger cities across the country. The table above shows that response rate was not uniform across the regions of the country. Furthermore, respondents may differ from non-respondents and therefore, the results derived from models using this dependent variable will not be generalizable to the entire population of larger cities. To further investigate this possibility, a logistic regression using response as the dependent variable (1=responded, 0=did not respond) was run in SPSS using city-wide characteristics derived from the U.S. Census. The population of concern is the 272 cities with 100,000 or more residents in the country. The response bias test model used population and region dummies as controls.

The independent variables for the logistic model reflect the substantive matter for the survey. That is, the model involves a set of housing-specific variables as well as more general population variables. These independent variables include median housing value,

housing vacancy rate, percent of households paying more than 30 percent of their income on housing (owners and renters) median income, percentage below poverty, unemployment rate, and dummies for the region (see Table 2.4).

Table 2.4 Logistic Regression for Survey Response Bias

Variable	Parameter Estimate	p-value
Median Housing Value	1.00	.085
Percent Paying >30% on Housing (Owners & renters)	.446	.762
Percent Vacant	1.016	.589
Percent Under Poverty Line	1.00	.282
Unemployment Rate	.976	.667
Region 1	2.454	.066
Region 2	1.103	.830
Region 3	.882	.746
Constant	.620	.644

TI performed a logistic regression to ascertain the effects the contextual variables described above on the likelihood that cities would respond to the survey. The logistic regression model was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(8) = 13.67$, $p < .05$. The model explained 7.2% (Nagelkerke R^2) of the variance in response and correctly classified 60.6% of the cases. The estimate for none of the city-wide variables, was statistically significant (p=.05). Therefore, the results of this study (based on the survey data) are representative of all cities with a population of 100,000 or more.

E. Case Studies

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, I conducted four case studies as a second phase of my research. This section describes, in detail, the data gathering methods and

sources used to complete the case studies. The analytical goal of the qualitative portion

of the research is to find suitable cases to compare the high AO capacity/low AO

capacity stories of similar cities and the strategies they employ to pursue support of

affordable housing at the local level. I used case study methodology, including

interviews (with AO leaders and city officials) and document review. I triangulated

interview responses with data gathered through document review of AO materials and

performed content analysis of each city's housing element. The combination of data

sources and methods enhanced the validity and reliability of the results generated by

this portion of the research.

The intent of these case studies is to describe and explain the approaches (or

"tactics") used by affordable housing AOs in a city and how and when they are effective

in gaining local support for affordable housing. The research questions this portion of the

dissertation addresses are: 1) "What are the strategies and tactics used by AOs to

influence city affordable housing policymaking?" and 2) "Why do advocacy

organizations (AOs) in some cities favor some actions over others when attempting to

influence affordable housing decision-makers?" The cities will therefore continue to be

the units of analysis for the case studies, while the AOs in each city provide illustrative

scenarios as embedded units. These embedded units (subunits of analysis) helped focus

the inquiry of the case studies (Yin, 2009; Carroll and Johnson, 1990) (see Figure 2.2).
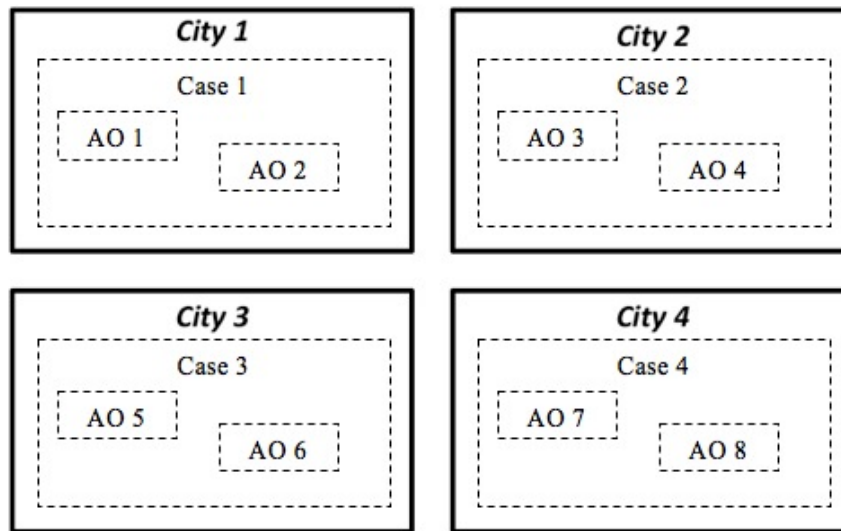
Figure 2.2 Multiple-case (embedded) design

Source: Adapted from Yin, 2009.

The study propositions for this portion of the research include the following:

P1: Specific AO tactics have been identified by AOs as effective in exerting political influence.

P2: Resource acquisition and source(s) influence the AO's selection of tactics.

P3: The outcome of AOs' efforts is reflected in the amount of support for affordable housing a city adopts, including a range of local regulatory strategies.

P4: AOs interpretation of the political opportunity available to them in the city influences the AO's selection of tactics.

This research method was chosen for this portion of the project because it meets three conditions: (1) the questions are interested in the "operational links needing to be traced over time" (Yin, 2009, pp. 9); (2) I do not have control over the actual behavioral events; and (3) the focus is on contemporary events. I conducted case studies, furthermore, because this research framework provided a more compelling variety of data (evidence) to answer my questions and ultimately develop a more robust study.

i. Case Selection

The qualitative research considered four case cities in one California county. The rationale for the selection of the cities in: a) one state is to control for state level law (mandates from the state concerning affordable housing) and state sponsored housing programs; and b) one county to control for the regional housing market. Within this geography, the cities were purposefully sampled to reflect a range of AO capacities and affordable housing support levels based on the results from the quantitative analysis.

The cases selected depict varying situations on the independent variables: AO strength index and affordable housing support. Table 2.5 presents the characteristics that were considered in the selection of the cases. The variation occurs along the independent variables local AO strength index (as measured in the quantitative portion of the research). The rationale for selecting varying cases is that the analytic conclusions that will surface from these case studies will be more robust than the results from a single case (Hanna, 2005).

Table 2.5 Case study selection criteria

Variable	City 1 *Los Angeles*	City 2 *Long Beach*	City 3 *Pasadena*	City 4 *Pomona*
Support Affordable Housing	*High*	*Low*	*High*	*Low*
AO Capacity	*High*	*High*	*Low*	*Low*

The data collection and analysis tasks included: 1) content analysis of the policy section of housing elements in the four case cities to determine the range of regulatory

and other strategies employed by the case jurisdictions to foster affordable housing; 2) review of AO organization documents (e.g., mission statement, newsletter, website, informational flyers); and 3) completion of semi-structured interviews with local housing staff and officials in each case city and AO leaders in the county (between 6 – 10 interviews in each city).

ii. Sampling Strategy

Within each of the four case cities, I sampled the organizations I contacted. Proportionally sampled organizations in the three cities with the most organizations (Long Beach, Los Angeles, Pasadena) and contacted all the organizations in Pomona. From the 130 AOs in the city of Los Angeles, I contacted eight AOs; in Long Beach, I contacted eight of the 95 AOs; in Pasadena I contacted four of the 17 AOs; and in Pomona I contacted all four existing AOs. This sampling strategy, however, was ineffective in procuring interviews with AO leaders. I thus resorted to snowball sampling starting with an AO in the city of Long Beach with which I was familiar and that served as a key informant to contact other AOs working the county of Los Angeles.

iii. Interviews

A total of 24 interviews were conducted to provide context and they contribute a more complete picture of what happens at the city level and why. The rationale for conducting interviews with AOs and city staff in each of the case-study cities was to understand the tactics used by local advocates within the affordable housing policy domain and how these tactics are perceived by both the AOs and policy-makers. Furthermore, the questions were intended to reveal why certain tactics are deemed effective while others are not. Interviews are a research method that is aimed at

understanding "…themes of the lived daily world from the subject's own perspective" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, pg. 24) and as such serve as a source about information on the perceptions of the participants and the reasoning behind the decisions they make. The rich data regarding the perceptions of the political opportunities and resources available to the AO which lead to the choice of tactics obtained through the interviews could not have been gathered by other data collection methods. Finally, the interviews were semi-structured to provide the flexibility to pose follow-up questions based on the information that surfaced during the interview (Merriam, 2009). The interviews included a predetermined set of questions that addressed the selection and perceived effectiveness of advocacy tactics. The interview questionnaire followed when interviewing AO leaders is included in Appendix E. The questionnaire that was used during interviews with city officials is included in Appendix F.

a) Interviewee recruitment

All subjects were 18 years of age or older; gender was not a selection criterion; they were all English-speaking, city officials, staff, and AO leaders in the four case study cities. To invite potential interviewees to participate in this study, I first contacted them via email (see Appendix G). In this message, I invited the person to be interviewed. I offered the participants the option of conducting the interview in-person or over the phone, whichever was more convenient for them. I also asked potential participants to refer me to someone else if they thought another person would be a better source of information. After one week, I sent out a follow-up email to remind them of the study (see Appendix H). On the third week, I called non-respondents' and requested to speak with an AO leader to invite him/her to participate in the study.

b) Interview process

As mentioned above, interviews took place face-to-face at the AO city official's offices (5) or over the phone (19). During the interview, in following with the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) requirements, I began by reading the participant a consent form (see Appendix I) and again asking the participant if he/she agreed to participate. If the individual agreed to participate, I asked them again on the recording to document his/her agreement to participate in the study. Once the recording session began, I read the study information sheet (see Appendix J). If the participant wished to have a copy of the study information sheet emailed to him/her, I sent the participant the IRB-approved document via email. The questions I asked during the interviews (see Appendices E and F for interview guides) inquired about the themes central to this portion of the research. These themes are: strategies or tactics employed by the AO, regulatory outcomes achieved by AO's work, and AO resource allocation and sources. Since the interviews were semi-structured, on occasion, I would ask follow-up questions on information provided by the participant.

During the interviews, I took thorough notes of the respondent's answers. Once I asked the participants all the questions, I thanked them for their time and gave them a business card in case they wished to contact me again. After each interview, I made an entry on a log of how the interview went and noted the tactics and any prominent stories the respondent discussed in his/her responses.

c) Interview data analysis

All interview recordings were transcribed within one week of being conducted. Once all the interviews had been completed and transcribed, they were coded for AO tactics and why these tactics were considered effective or ineffective. The aim of the

analysis was to produce a detailed account of the themes and issues addressed in the interviews and to link the two together through an iterative and exhaustive process. The result of this process was a comprehensive category system of tactics and their effectiveness. Furthermore, similar categories were collapsed into broader categories, combined once again, and are presented as the subheadings in the results chapter of this dissertation (For more on this method see Burnard 1991; Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

iv.   Content Analysis

Social sciences, such as sociology, political science, communication, psychology, and anthropology, regard content analysis as a valuable research technique (Woodward, 1934; Krippendorff, 1989; Allport and Faden, 1940). In this study, city plans – specifically the policy section of housing elements – were analyzed due to the valuable information these documents contribute to the research.

As a method of inquiry, content analysis has been defined as a series of specialized procedures that allow for both "…replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 21). Moreover, content analysis has been characterized as a systematic and objective technique (Berelson, 1971; Krippendorff, 1989; Lindzey, 1968; Stone, 1966). These attributes are necessary to qualify content analysis as a reliable method of inquiry. Finally, it is expected content analysis will take place relative to the context of the data and be justified by it as well. Thus, I conducted content analysis of the housing elements in each of the four case study cities, looking for ways in which the cities addressed affordable housing issues.

The coding scheme I used is called *a priori* coding. When coding *a priori,* the categories are established prior to the analysis based upon some theory. I used political opportunity theory to determine the categories I coded for. Professional colleagues agreed

90

on the categories, and the coding was then applied to the data. Revisions were made as necessary, and the categories were tightened up to the point that "…maximizes mutual exclusivity and exhaustiveness" (Weber, 1990). All qualitative analysis and coding was done using NVivo software.

A housing element (as described in the previous chapter) is one of seven conventional parts of a city's General Plan. In California, Assembly Bill 2853 requires cities to draft a housing element plan and update it every five to eight years. The resulting document must:

(a) identify existing housing needs of all income levels, including

each locality's share of the region's housing needs, as determined

by a region's Council of Governments; and (b) establish goals,

policies, quantified objectives, and schedule programs for the

preservation, improvement, and development of housing (Baer,

1988, pg. 264).

As a part of the effort the city puts into drafting a housing element, a city must: (a) identify sites that can be developed in to a variety of types of housing for all income levels, (b) assist in the development for housing for low- and moderate-income households, (c) remove constraints to maintenance, improvement and development of housing, (d) make a commitment to conserve and improve existing affordable housing, and (e) promote housing for all, regardless of race, religion, sex, ancestry, marital status, national origin or color (California Government Code §65882 [c]).

The categories I coded in each of the housing elements of 2008 were the following: (a) how the city frames the need for affordable housing, (b) alternative

measures taken by the city to promote the production/availability of affordable housing, (c) mention of the work of advocacy organizations in the drafting of documents or work initiatives, and (d) degree of openness to collaboration between the city and AOs as expressed in the document. The empirical results of these case studies were used to generate analytic generalizations about the effective and ineffective tactics used by AOs to influence local affordable housing policies. This portion of the research helped me further understand the relationships uncovered by my quantitative analysis.

v.   AO documents and websites

The qualitative data gathering procedures also included reviewing AO documents from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Specifically, reviewing the organization's 990 forms for Fiscal year 2012. These forms were reviewed to understand the organizations' three largest program services.[15] These forms were also reviewed to identify the number and title of key employees the organization has and is required to provide the IRS.[16] The organizations' 990 forms were also reviewed to gather information from their Statement of Functional Expenses[17]. Finally, to identify the source(s) of financial support for each organization, information from the support schedule was collected[18].

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[15] As defined by the IRS, the expenses the organization dedicated to this activity measure the size of the program. Per the IRS' Tax Code, organizations are required to report the amount of grants and allocations to others, the total expenses, and revenue, if any, for each program service reported.

[16] The IRS requires that al officers, directors, trustees, key employees, and highest compensated employees be listed, the title of each individual, the average hours per week the individual dedicates to organization-related work, the position the individual holds within the organization (i.e., individual trustee or director, institutional trustee, officer, key employee, highest compensated employee, former), and the reportable compensation the individual receives from the organization.

[17] Per the tax code, functional expenses include grants and other assistance to governments, organizations or individuals within the U.S. or outside the U.S., benefits paid to members, compensation of current officers, directors, trustees, and key employees, lobbying, advertising and promotion, accounting, office expenses, travel, occupancy, conferences, payments to affiliates, insurance, and any other expense not listed in the categories above. Program service,

The organizations' websites were reviewed in search for information pertaining to other types of resources the organization has. The websites were downloaded and coded for: community partners or allies, volunteering opportunities, link(s) to AO's social media account, annual report, meeting information, description of campaigns, and opportunities for web users to make donations to the organization.

The next chapter describes the data and discusses its limitations. The chapter reports descriptive statistics for all the variables used in the study, including results from the survey. Based on these results, the chapter also offers preliminary analysis of local housing policy-making.

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management and general, and fundraising expenses are the subcategories into which the functional expenses must be divided.

[18] The support schedule requires organization to provide the amount and source of support for the previous five years (including the Fiscal Year in question). The two major categories of this schedule are public support and total support. Public support includes: 1) gifts, grants, contribution, and membership fees revived, 2) tax revenues levied for the organization's benefit and either paid to or expended on its behalf; and 3) the value of services or facilities furnished by a governmental unit to the organization without charge. Total support includes: 1) gross income from interest, dividends, payments received on securities loans, rents, royalties, and income from similar sources, 2) net income from unrelated business activities, whether or not the business is regularly carried on, and 3) other income excluding gain or loss from the sale of capital assets.

CHAPTER 3. Data and Preliminary Analysis

In this chapter I present a detailed look at the data used in the dissertation research. The first section of the chapter, describes the variables used in the analytic models. Within this section, I present descriptive results from the online survey and I provide a preliminary analysis of local affordable housing policymaking. The second section describes the data gathered for the four case study cities.

A.   Quantitative Data

I compiled the data from various sources. These sources include an online survey of city officials, the 2010 U.S. Census of Population and Housing, the National Center for Charitable Statistics (2013)[19], a report on the election results for cities across the U.S. (Alderman et al., 2009), the website city-data.com, and the U.S. Census of Governments (2010). All these data were entered into a comprehensive database that combined the survey responses, secondary data from government sources, and data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics. A set of variables from this comprehensive database is used in the analytical models.

Descriptive statistics for the study variables were obtained using the statistical program Statistical Product and Service Solutions[20] (SPSS). The descriptive statistics report generated by SPSS included information regarding the range of values for each

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[19] I purchased the 2008-2011 Business Master Files all entities, no addresses. These files contain descriptive information on 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(other) organizations that had obtained recognition of their tax-exempt status as of the year indicated on the file. Financial data in the file are primarily from the previous fiscal year.

[20] Prior to 2010, the software was known as Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Sachdev, 2009).

variable and summary statistics such as the mean and variance. The following section presents a detailed report of the variables used in the multivariate analysis.

A. Descriptive Statistics

Using SPSS, I tested the study's hypotheses with two analytical models. The dependent variable for one of these models is the budget amount for affordable housing reported by city officials via the online survey. The dependent variable for the other model is a city's Housing and Community Development (HCD) expenditures as reported in the Census of Governments.

The population for the study is all U.S. cities with 100,000 or more residents in 2010. The sample size in the first model is 106 due to the response rate for the online survey; in the second model, the sample size is 231[21]. The independent variables used for each model are the same. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present the descriptive statistics for all variables. The cases for these tables range from 97 to 272, depending on the data source of each variable.

Using SPSS, I ran descriptive statistics and probability plots for each variable and inspected them for potential problems. I began by examining the range of values to ensure that they were plausible. Then, I evaluated each variable's distribution both visually (see Appendix K) and according to the skewness and kurtosis statistics. Some of the independent variables, as well as the dependent variables, appear positively skewed. I transformed these variables by logging them using base ten (see Table 3.3 for the descriptive statistics after transformation).

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[21] The Census of Governments only has HCD expenditures for 249 cities in the study's population; of these cities, 18 do not have any active AOs in the "L – Housing and Shelter" category according to the NCCS's database.

Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Housing Survey Variables

Variable	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
City Only Budget for Affordable Housing	96	0	44,500,000	1,423,613.39	5,191,674.25	6.71	51.97
All Source Budget for Affordable Housing	97	0	156,200,000	9,542,383.40	21,224,789.10	4.762	26.717
Are there active AOs	97	0	1	.97	.174	-5.504	28.895
Population	97	103,190	1,526,006	260,286.27	265,892.81	3.187	10.933
Median Housing Value	97	68,600	708,000	221,848.45	151,363.05	1.644	1.895
Unemployment Rate	97	4	19	11.23	3.395	-.089	-.274
Poverty Rate	97	6	33	19.09	6.807	.064	-.688
Economic Conditions Index	97	-3	3	-.17	1.103	.139	2.195
Competition							
Median Household Income	97	25,434	93,836	48,846.22	15,306.67	1.116	.737
Housing Need	97	2	12	4.32	1.991	1.515	2.195
% Liberal Vote	81	0	90.28	55.1252	14.8841	-.432	1.539
Active Housing AOs	97	0	1	.97	.174	-5.504	28.895
Housing AO Activity	93	1	7	5.54	1.529	-.874	-.048
AO Capacity	93	2	7	4.51	1.501	.009	-.993
AO Influence	93	1	7	4.34	1.448	-.208	-.664
AO Effectiveness	93	2	7	4.77	1.352	-.170	-.634
AO Outreach	93	1	7	4.70	1.465	-.328	-.329

Table 3.2 Descriptive Statistics for Variables from Secondary Sources

Variable	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Standard Deviation	Skewness	Kurtosis
HCD Expenditures	231	197,000.00	3,717,105,000	46,333,714.29	284,403.27	14.89	209.83
AO Strength 12.5K	249	-3	33	0	3.239	5.125	42.457
AO Strength Index 20K	249	-2	32	-.05	2.992	6.259	56.168
City Mean AO Age	249	0	42.94	15.2411	8.3429	.022	-.132
City AOs	249	1	483	32.82	58.30	4.227	22.83
City AO Index	249	-.6405	3.7956	-.4584	.4083	6.149	52.259
City AO Assets (sum)	249	0	3,350,000,000	77,717,316.50	253,351,790	9.178	107.248
City AO Income (sum)	249	0	903,561,522	27,851,741	79,426,938.60	6.735	60.123
Surrounding County AO Index	249	-.6654	1.9099	-.2524	.6854	1.99	2.92
Surrounding County Mean Age	249	0	37.99	12.9771	8.7	-.016	-.489
Surrounding County AOs	249	0	402	50.26	86.894	2.82	8.191
Population	272	100,097	8'175,133	307,434.51	599,855.13	9.565	114.379
Median Housing Value	272	46,100	719,800	220,514.34	136,925.76	1.63	2.226
Vacancy Rate	272	3	95	9.41	6.775	7.889	93.681
Unemployment Rate	272	4	30	11.4	3.544	.999	3.566
Poverty Rate	272	3	40	18.98	7.218	.190	-.250
Economic Cond. Index	272	-10	8	0	2.603	-.028	.843
Competition	272	1	121	19.95	21.705	2.318	5.369
Median HH Income	272	23,830	110,131	49,500.96	15,242.93	1.136	1.421
Housing Need	272	2	12	4.30	1.84	1.42	2.023
Unconventional Culture	249	-7.414	12.09	.0	2.7225	.947	2.508
% Liberal Vote	272	14	93.96	55.5960	14.5516	.283	-.221
Fiscal Conditions	249	.71	11.43	2.6337	1.4957	2.492	9.515

The first model (see Table 3.3) was run using the variable collected through the online housing survey: local housing budgeted (standardized by population). As expected, the age of AOs and their strength have a positive influence on the amount a city budgets for affordable housing per capita. Also, as expected the amount of inter-city competition has a negative influence on the dependent variable. Finally, as the theory predicts, unconventional political culture, has a positive effect on the dependent variable. While all of these substantive variables (i.e., AO variables, inter-city competition, and unconventional political culture) present the expected signs, none of them is statistically significant. This is most likely due to the low sample size (n=106) and number of variables in the model.

Table 3.3 Multiple Regression Analysis of Local Housing Budgeted Amount Per Capita[+]

Variable	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Standardized Coefficient
Governance (AO Capacity)			
City AO Strength Index [+]	.695	.579	.161
City Mean AO Age	.066	.059	.132
County AO Strength Index [+]	.331	.347	.143
County Mean AO Age	-.05	.045	-.124
Political Economic			
Inter-city Competition [+]	-.003	.428	-.001
Unconventional Culture Index	.061	.160	.047
Contextual Variables			
Housing Affordability			
Percent HH >30%	-.016	.066	-.034
Percent Vacant [+]	-.576	.811	-.081
Fiscal Conditions [+]	1.131	.701	.163
Economic Conditions Index	-.380	.219	-.276

$R^2 = .373$, Adjusted $R^2 = .139$

$F = 1.539$

$N = 106$

Notes: [+] Logged for positive Skewness

* p=0.05 ** p=0.01

Given that the model using the local budgeted amount (Table 3.3) likely lacked statistical power, I also ran a model with the housing and community development (HCD) variable obtained from the Census of Governments, which allowed for a larger sample size. As defined in the previous chapter, this variable includes expenditures for

purposes other than just affordable housing (i.e., redevelopment projects). To ensure that the variable collected through the survey (local budgeted amount for housing programs) and the variable obtained from the Census of Governments were measuring similar concepts, I ran a two-tailed Pearson's correlation test. The test revealed there was a moderate (.529), statistically significant (p=.01) correlation between the local housing budgeted amount and the HCD expenditures variables. I also ran a two-tailed Pearson's correlation test for housing budgeted amount for housing programs (from any source) and HCD expenditures. The test revealed there was a strong (.761), statistically significant (p=.01) correlation between housing budgeted amount and HCD expenditures. These results suggest that HCD expenditures are a reasonable proxy for local housing budget figures. Therefore, I used HCD expenditures as the dependent variable in my final model (see Chapter 4).

B. Qualitative Data

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the qualitative data used to address research questions involving the description and explanation of the approaches (or "tactics") used by affordable housing AOs in a city and how and when they are effective in gaining local support for affordable housing, were gathered from three sources: 1) interviews with city officials, staff, and AO leaders; 2) content analysis of the housing elements (plans) for each city (and a plan evaluation); and 3) a review of AO documents and websites. These data were use iteratively throughout the analysis and triangulated to validate the ensuing conclusions. The following sections provide an overview of these data. I start by providing basic demographic characteristics for each of the case study cities; in these subsections I also mention some descriptive statistics related to the AO capacity measures developed in the quantitative phase. I follow these data with an overview of the plan evaluation for each city.

i. Plan Evaluation

In order to understand the functionality of a plan and how the plan aims to improve housing in its home city, the plan needs to be evaluated on a comprehensive level. Using the Plan Evaluation Protocol adapted from Bunnell and Jepson (2011) (see Appendix L), I evaluated the 2008-2014 housing elements for all of the case study cities. This particular evaluation protocol is designed to determine a plan's quality and effectiveness. The evaluation of the plan is divided into four main categories: 1) Standardization and Rigidity; 2) Acknowledgement of Uncertainty; 3) Understanding of Alternatives Conveyed; and 4) a Compelling Narrative Storyline.

Defining what these four categories capture in the context of the housing element is essential to determining the quality of the plan and its success in conveying its purpose. The first category, *standardization and rigidity*, focuses on assessing how the plan expresses its vision. Determining if the plan has certain components such as creativity and imagination, rather than strict guidelines, is important to assess whether or not the vision within the plan can expand with the changing needs of the community. It is also useful in determining if the plan provides a guideline to use innovative ideas that will be effective in the future. The second category, the *acknowledgment of uncertainty*, considers whether the plan presents information about trends and how to respond if these trends continue or if they change. It is important for the document to accept that different scenarios are a possibility and to offer alternative courses of action to best suit the situation. The third category, which is the *understanding of alternatives conveyed*, assesses whether or not the plan addresses that changing policies and procedures may affect future development outcomes. Including different scenarios and the reactions to those scenarios is imperative to the success of housing development in every city. The final category, the presence of *a compelling narrative storyline*, is intended to evaluate whether or not the city expresses a unique identity that sets the city apart from other cities. Including unifying themes in the plan is also important in assessing if the plan maintains its identity throughout. Evaluating the housing element with these four categories is the standard for determining if the plan is successful and likely to improve the process of housing development in the city.

a) Long Beach

Long Beach is a large metropolitan area in the South Bay region of Los Angeles County. According to the 2010 Census, Long Beach is a city of nearly 500,000 residents. The city experienced little population growth (1.5 %) since the previous decennial Census. As is the trend in the U.S. population, from 2000 to 2010, the city's population aged, with residents 50 years or older increasing from eight to nine percent over the same period, the ethnic composition of the city has pretty much remained the same with the exception of Hispanic residents, an increase of five percent (from 35 to 40%); white non-Hispanic residents decreased proportionally. Family households, as defined by the Census, experienced a one percent decrease over the ten-year period. The average household size has also remained the same at two point seven persons per household. In 2000, the median household income was $47,493 dollars in 2000, which was lower than the Los Angeles County average. In 2010, the median household income had only risen to $52,711. Unemployment in Long Beach was six percent in 2000 (1 % greater than the average for Los Angeles County). The unemployment rate more than doubled (13%) by 2010. The median home price in Long Beach in 2000 was $198,600 and in 2010 it was $395,000, nearly doubling (in nominal dollars). Further, in 2000 the vacancy rate was about five percent while in 2010 it had increased to seven percent; the vast majority of the vacancies were rental units.

The economic conditions index (as defined in Chapter 2) in Long Beach, as of 2010, was .25 standard deviations below the average of other large cities. The economic conditions were, therefore, worse than the average large city in the U.S. The percent of vacant housing units (owner and renter combined) was .38 standard deviations below the

national average of similar size cities, indicating there were fewer units available than in other large cities across the nation. The percentage of cost-burdened households (renters and owners combined that pay more than 30% of their income on housing) was one standard deviation above the mean for similarly sized cities, indicating there are more housing cost-burdened households in Long Beach. These last two variables highlight the difficult housing conditions low- and extremely low-income households face in this city.

The mean age of Long Beach's AOs is close to the national average of large cities. As of 2008, the AOs in Long Beach had the highest AO Index of the four case study cities (1.57 standard deviations above the mean). All the case study cities were selected within the same state and county to control for regulatory variations and inter-city competition, as measured in this research (see Chapter 2), is the same in all four cities[22]. All case study cities share another commonality; their Housing and Community Development expenditures per capita were above the mean of other large cities (see Figure 3.1). Specifically, in fiscal year 2011, Long Beach, spent one standard deviation above the mean on HCD per capita.

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[22] In the Los Angeles region, inter-city competition is 1.1 standard deviations above the mean of all other U.S. regions; making it a highly competitive area.
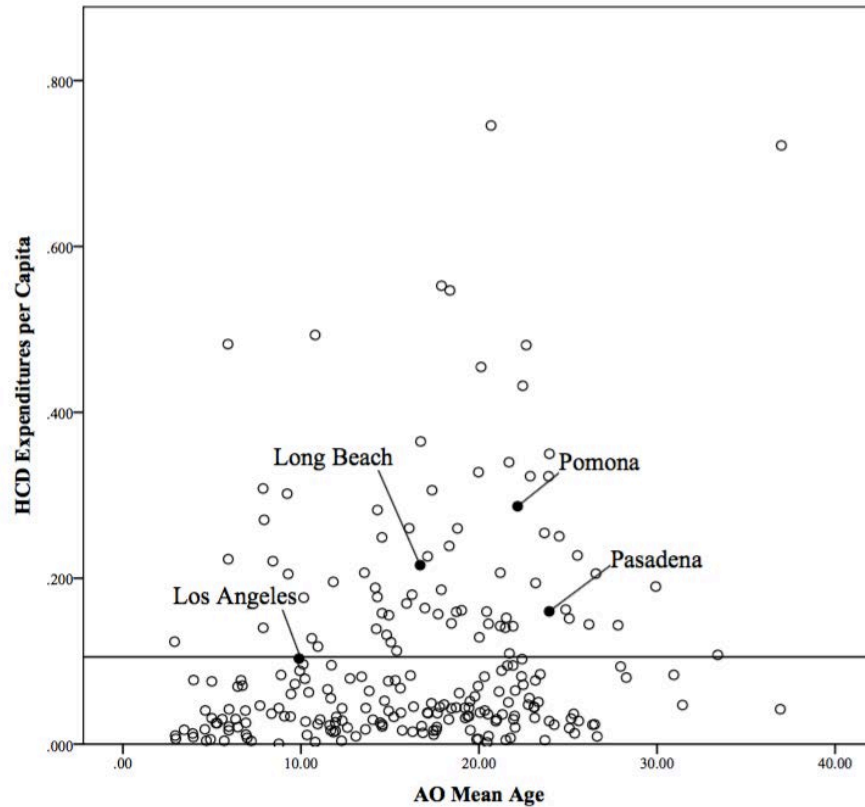
Figure 3.1 HCD Expenditures per Capita by AO Mean Age in Case Study Cities

The housing element of the city of Long Beach for 2008 contains no indication of the entities or organizations (governmental or non-governmental) that are expected to undertake the policies in order to achieve the plan's goals. Thus the plan proceeds without any inherent accountability or flowchart of how the process will advance from person to person or department to department to achieve the creation and/or preservation of affordable housing set forth in the document's goals. Furthermore, the plan does not make any concerted call to action to its readers. It presents data in a tedious manner, which fails to create a compelling narrative or storyline. It is nearly impossible to inspire action from a factual presentation of data, which represents the bulk of the housing element. The plan is missing an important "human element," which relates the plan's

goals to the real-world needs of community members. This could help residents see how achieving these goals could positively impact their quality of life and the quality of the community in which they live.

b) Los Angeles

Los Angeles is the second largest city in the United States and the seat of Los Angeles County. According to the 2010 Census, Los Angeles is a city of over 3.5 million residents. The city experienced almost three percent population growth since the previous decennial Census. As is the trend in the U.S. population, from 2000 to 2010, the city's population aged, with residents 60 years or older increasing from 12.8 to 14.9 percent. Over the same period, the racial composition of the city changed slightly; Hispanic or Latino residents, increased to 48 percent (from 47%) and white non-Hispanic residents decreased two percentage points. The average household size, as defined by the census, remained the same at two point eight persons per household. In 2000, the median household income was $36,687 dollars, which was lower than the Los Angeles County average. In 2010, the median household income rose to $46,148, which was also lower than the County's average ($55,476). As of 2010, the percentage of people living under the federal poverty line in the City of Los Angeles was 21.2 percent (2 percentage points higher than the average for Los Angeles County). The median home price in Los Angeles in 2000 was $221,600 and in 2010 it was $438,300, nearly doubling (in nominal dollars). Finally, from 2000 to 2010, the vacancy rate increased from five to seven percent; the vast majority of these vacancies were rental units.

The AO economic conditions index in the city of Los Angeles was .37 standard deviations lower than the national average. Los Angeles has a vacancy rate almost .5

standard deviations below the mean of other large cities in the country. The average age of AOs in the city of Los Angeles is almost one standard deviation (.8) below the national average of large cities. AOs in Los Angeles also have a combined AO Index 1.48 standard deviations above the mean.

The city of Los Angeles' 2008-2014 housing element does an excellent job of clearly stating the main goals of the plan along with the programs and policies that will help everyone involved achieve these goals. The plan's goal is to improve the community's housing development in the future through: 1) more housing availability; 2) more affordable housing; 3) neighborhood and housing preservation; 4) more equal housing opportunities; and 5) better code enforcement and monitoring. All of the plan's programs have objectives, a deadline, targeted groups, geographic areas, and funding source(s).

For example, according to the plan, the Fair Housing Program will conduct outreach and education activities, distribute literature, provide housing vacancy listings, and publicize the availability of air housing services through various media; the program targets residents, rental property owners, and housing professionals. This program is to be carried out by the Community Development Commission along with the Housing Rights Center and it is to be funded through a Community Development Block Grant each year.

The rationales behind the recommended courses of action are effectively presented by providing facts from research conducted prior to drafting the plan, current and projected demographic data, and input from residents. For example, based on the findings generated by these three sources, the plan concludes there will be an increase in demand for affordable housing units. This conclusion is reached due to the increase in

population and less land available for new development. Thus, the plan recommends higher density for all new housing developments. The plan further defines the goals of its programs by setting up intermediate goals and suggesting alternate courses of action (for the various programs). The plan offers solutions and actions (policies, programs) to affordable housing issues and gives explanations and justifications (i.e., data, trends, graphs) of why it is recommending each course of action. By providing reasonable justifications for the recommended actions and alternate courses of action, the plan supports and motivates people to act.

c) **Pasadena**

Pasadena is located in the center of Los Angeles County. According to the 2010 Census, Pasadena is a city of 137,122 residents. The city experienced a two point four percent population growth since the previous decennial Census. As is the trend in the U.S. population, from 2000 to 2010, the city's population aged, with residents 60 years or older increasing from 15 to 19 percent. Over the same period, the racial composition of the city remained the same; Hispanic or Latino residents, comprised roughly 33 percent of the population and white non-Hispanic residents made up 38 percent. The average household size, as defined by the census, remained almost the same at two point four persons per household (down from two point five persons per household in 2000). In 2000, the median household income was $46,012 dollars, which was just under the Los Angeles County average ($42,189). In 2010, the median household income rose to $65,422, which was higher than the County's average ($55,476). As of 2010, the percentage of people living under the federal poverty line in the City of Pasadena was 11.6 percent (5 percentage points less than the average for Los Angeles County). The

median home price in Pasadena in 2000 was $288,400 and in 2010 it was $601,000, more than doubling (in nominal dollars). Finally, from 2000 to 2010, the vacancy rate increased from four to seven percent; the vast majority of these vacancies were rental units.

In Pasadena, the economic conditions index was 1.2 standard deviations above the mean for larger cities. However, Pasadena's vacancy rate is .35 standard deviations below the national average, meaning the city's housing market is tighter than the average; this is relatively lower than Los Angeles and similar to Long Beach. AOs in Pasadena are, on average, one standard deviation older than the nation's average. The AOs in this city have an AO Index equal to the national mean of other large cities.

The city of Pasadena's housing element goes into detail about how several housing committees encourage local residents (their constituents) to constribute their ideas and housing concerns for this plan. The plan identifies the city's Housing Affordability Task Force (HATF) created in 2002 "...to examine the City's housing needs, review current housing programs, and propose new initiatives to improve housing opportunities" (Pasadena Housing Element, 2008, Pg.11). According to the plan, the committee consists of an exceptionally broad range of participants, including residents and local community groups. Following the creation of the HATF, other community-designated committees were started, one such committee is the City of Gardens committee, which dates back to 2005 and the Second Unit Community Meetings both of which foster citizen participation. As part of the housing element plan, the city also describes the public workshops it held in the months prior to the drafting and adoption of the plan. These public workshops further involved the public in the process by asking

residents about their concerns related to the housing element and housing needs throughout the city. The product of these workshops included discussions on several major housing issues and themes that were later incorporated into the plan and its programs.

Furthermore, Pasadena's housing element puts forward a compelling vision of what the city's future will be like once the plan and its programs are implemented. The vision set forth by the plan expresses Pasadena's residents right to safe and affordable housing and elaborates on the city's desire to maintain Pasadena as a socially and economically diverse community. The plan presents several programs and/or policy changes aimed directly at improving the provision and protection of affordable housing. For example, "although few condominium conversions were taking place in 2004, the City Council felt that additional protections were needed to address the displacement of residents when condominium conversions would occur." (Pasadena Housing Element, 2008, p. 45). To serve this aim, the City Council will enact a range of regulatory measures widely modeled after state law. The plan further lists potential modifications to other regulations that will improve local housing outcomes.

d) Pomona

The city of Pomona, situated between the San Gabriel Valley and the Inland Empire, is the seventh largest city in Los Angeles County. According to the 2010 Census, Pomona is a city of just under 150,000 residents. The city experienced a slight decline in population (0.3%) since the previous decennial Census. As is the trend in the U.S. population, from 2000 to 2010, the city's population aged, with residents 60 years or older increasing from nine to eleven percent. Over the same period, the racial

composition of the city changed slightly; Hispanic or Latino residents, increased to 70 percent (from 64%) and white non-Hispanic residents decreased proportionally. The average household size, as defined by the census, remained the same at three point eight persons per household. In 2000, the median household income was $40,021 dollars, which was five percent lower than the Los Angeles County average ($42,189). In 2010, the median household income rose to $50,497, which was nine percent lower than the County's average ($55,476). As of 2010, the percentage of people living under the federal poverty line in the City of Pomona was 22 percent (4 percentage points higher than the average for Los Angeles County). The median home price in Pomona in 2000 was $137,700 and in 2010 it was $259,900, nearly doubling (in nominal dollars). Finally, from 2000 to 2010, the vacancy rate increased from four to five percent; the vast majority of these vacancies were rental units.

The city of Pomona's economic conditions index was .4 standard deviations lower than the mean of large U.S. cities. Pomona's AOs are .84 standard deviations older than the national average of other large cities in the nation. AOs in the city as a whole have an AO Index of .88 standard deviations below the national mean; the lowest of all four case studies.

Similar to the Los Angeles housing element, the city of Pomona's 2008 housing element's "purpose" (as stated throughout the document) is to satisfy the requirement made by California state law. The document thus indicates that the mandate serves as, at least in part, the motivation behind its drafting. This notion is also demonstrated in a later section of the document that states that the plan is organized to address the topics that California state law requires a housing element to address. In other words, the plan

provides that which is minimally required by law and does not make any effort to expand upon any aspect. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the purpose of Pomona's 2008-2014 housing element is to meet legal obligations. Furthermore, it does not describe any community participation efforts made to obtain input from local residents.

Pomona's housing element does not explicitly provide an overall vision of what the city's future will be after the successful implementation of its goals. The plan kept the same goals from the previous plan with minor changes to a few of the policies set forth to achieve the goals. This is the case even though, on several occasions, the plan identifies problems that are increasing and becoming more pervasive throughout the city (e.g., overcrowding). The document does not present compelling arguments for the recommended course of action.

The plan focuses its efforts on assessing the currents needs for housing and the cooperation of regional agencies, rather than seeking input from its residents. The programs included in the document describe what the city would like to achieve and but does not describe how the plan will be followed through. The plan states what department(s) is/are involved in the implementation of each program, but fails to propose a timeframe and rationales for the recommended courses of action. Overall, there is an absence of a sense of urgency to address the issue of affordable housing in the city, which in turn contributes to this being an uninspiring plan.

ii.   Housing Element Content Analysis

As mentioned above, I completed a content analysis of the housing elements in each case study city to determine the level of recognition and engagement these official documents exhibit toward local AOs. Coding of text required identifying key concepts

such as, collaboration, consultation, ongoing effort, and joint responsibility. Examples of

the types of wording coded to measure the openness of the system are provided in Table

3.5 under the column titled "Excerpts from Housing Elements." Second, I completed

open coding of interview transcripts searching for AO leaders' perception of the openness

of the system in which they were working. This open coding focused on the way they

described their interactions with city officials around issues of affordable housing. This

served as a validity check for what I found in the housing elements.

Table 3.4 Operationalization of Open vs. Closed Political Opportunity

Political Opportunity	Quotes from AO Leaders	Excerpts from Housing Elements
Open	"The city (Pasadena) is more than any other city in the San Gabriel Valley, committed to ending homelessness and also doing something about affordable housing… MR. Y, who is the Head of the Department of Housing at this point… is working very hard to make sure we end homelessness in the next ten years. The city council, generally speaking, will fund affordable housing"	"…work with dozens of nonprofit and for-profit organizations to build affordable housing, rehabilitate and preserve housing, and provide an extensive menu of supportive housing…." – *Pasadena Housing Element*

"In drafting the Housing Element,…[the City] interviewed more than 30 nonprofit organizations, housing, and planning staff; community advocates; developers; City Council; residents; and other stakeholders. This process concluded in March 2007." – *Pasadena Housing Element*

continued… |

113

Table 3.4. Operationalization of Open vs. Closed Political Opportunity (continued)

Political Opportunity	Quotes from AO Leaders	Excerpts from Housing Elements
Closed	"[the] mayor we have is very powerful and very opposed to affordable housing. He says we have enough and we don't have to do more… [C]ity staff in Long Beach are a huge problem around affordable housing. There is a very strong, dogmatic opposition to affordable housing."	"Contact nonprofit housing organizations by the end of 2009 to solicit interest in preserving at-risk housing projects."– *Los Angeles Housing Element* "[provide] the addresses and building management contact information of affordable housing units… to community and housing organizations." – *Pomona Housing Element*

The AOs' interpretation of the political system and the sociopolitical context in which they are hoping to make change was consistent across AOs within each case study city. According to AO executive directors, elected officials and staff (the political system) in their city could be categorized as providing open or closed political opportunities. On one end of the spectrum are cities completely against affordable housing (closed political opportunity) while on the opposite end are cities that foster collaboration in the creation and implementation of affordable housing policies and programs (open political opportunity).

In summary, according to the cities of Long Beach and Pomona's housing elements, the political opportunities available to AOs working in these two cities are

limited. These cities do the bare minimum to fulfill their requirements to comply with AB 2853 (as described in Chapter 2). What these plans lack the most is earnest and concrete encouragement for participation of relevant stakeholders and this leads to plans that offer limited and uninspiring affordable housing policies.

On the other hand, the housing elements for the cities of Los Angeles and Pasadena explicitly articulated their intention to collaborate with AOs during the drafting and implementation of the plans. AOs working in these two cities clearly identified this process as an opportunity to provide the city input on its programs and become involved in the policymaking process. The efforts of AOs in these cities ranged from educational campaigns to organizing community meetings prior to the adoption of the plans. The resulting plans, thus, motivate readers to action, and were adopted with broader community support.

I also coded interviews for the tactics or strategies AOs and city officials mentioned. I employed techniques from Glaser's (1965) constant comparative method to compare the properties of each open code to each other and to collapse and expand codes based on the initial research question and the themes identified during content analysis. The resulting collapsed and expanded codes were used to conduct a focused coding of interviews and housing elements. All sources of data were analyzed iteratively following the recommendations of Yin (2009). The entire process of data coding and analysis took approximately six weeks.

iii.   AO documents and websites

Through the review of AOs websites and 990 reports to the IRS, I was able to identify the types of resources possessed by organizations. I measured the presence of

these resources at the city level. Table 3.6 summarizes these results by resource type. The

data show that organizations in every city regardless of whether they have a high or low

level of resources overall, are strongest in human resources. Human resources are

comprised of generalized labor, specialized labor, and leadership. Even more interesting

is the fact that cities with organizations with lower material resources have relatively

higher social-organizational resources (i.e., launch a website, maintain a social media

presence) compared to their counterparts, while organizations with higher amounts of

material resources, exhibit more cultural resources (i.e., document AO history, host their

own summit or conference).

Table 3.5 Type of AO Resources by City (Percentage)

Resource type	*High Resources*		*Low Resources*	
	Los Angeles	**Long Beach**	**Pasadena**	**Pomona**
Material	19%	22%	11%	12%
Human	27%	27%	30%	31%
Social-organizational	17%	16%	30%	27%
Cultural	21%	22%	16%	15%
Moral	16%	13%	14%	15%

The next chapter presents the quantitative results of the research. Also, it

describes the mean characteristics of the cities in the sample. Finally, it contains the

results of the model and an interpretation of the coefficients.

CHAPTER 4. Quantitative Results

The research question that motivates the quantitative potion of this dissertation is: "Why do U.S. cities vary in their expenditures on housing and community development (HCD), specifically, what is the relative influence of local housing AOs on support for HCD expenditures?" To answer this question, the research examines U.S. cities with a population of 100,000 or more, using data from multiple secondary sources and statistical regression analysis.

The cross-sectional regression model includes nine independent variables. The descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables are shown in Table 4.1. While the descriptive statistics for the composite or index variables are not particularly meaningful, the means for the per capita housing and community development expenditures, age of AOs, inter-city competition, and some contextual variables are of some interest. The mean per capita expenditures for large cities is 105.02 dollars. The average AO age for cities in the analysis is 16.33 years, while the average AO age for the larger county area is 13.98 years. These averages indicate that cities in the surrounding county, on average, have younger AOs than the larger cities. The mean value for inter-city competition reveals that larger cities have an average of 62.99 competitors in their region.

The means for the variables that account for the housing conditions in larger U.S. cities highlight the housing affordability crisis large U.S. cities are experiencing. That is, almost 42 percent of the owner and renter households in large U.S. cities pay more than 30 percent of their income on housing. In all U.S. cities, the percentage of owner and

renter households paying more than this proportion of their income on housing is a much lower 29 percent. Finally, among the cities in the study, the average vacancy rate for all housing is 9.45 percent, 5 percent lower than the national vacancy rate.

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics for Variables Used in Model[23]

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
<u>Dependent Variable</u>		
Housing and Community Development (HCD) Expenditures Per Capita	105.02	123.55
<u>Independent Variables</u>		
Governance		
City AO Strength Index	-.46	.41
City Mean AO Age	16.33	6.93
County AO Strength Index	-.25	.69
County Mean AO Age	13.98	8.70
Political Economic		
Inter-city Competition	62.99	62.47
Unconventional Culture Index	.00	2.72
Contextual Variables		
Housing Affordability		
Percent of HH > 30%	41.78	7.51
Percent Vacant	9.45	6.87
Fiscal Conditions	2.63	1.50
Economic Conditions Index	-.08	2.57

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[23] The measurement of all variables is described in Chapter 2.

The regression analysis examines the influence of AOs, inter-city competition, and a set of contextual variables, on city support for affordable housing. Table 4.2 shows the results from the OLS regression analysis.

Table 4.2 Multiple Regression Analysis of HCD Expenditures Per Capita[+cd]

Variable	Unstandardized Coefficient	Standard Error	Standardized Coefficient
Governance			
City AO Strength Index [+]	.225*	.111	.159
City Mean AO Age	.042**	.012	.237
County AO Strength Index [+]	.081	.070	.094
County Mean AO Age	-.022*	.009	-.154
Political Economic			
Inter-city Competition [a+]	-.025	.080	-.021
Unconventional Culture Index	.042	.033	.096
Contextual Variables			
Housing Affordability			
Percent HH >30%	.063**	.013	.375
Percent Vacant [+]	-.411*	.199	-.149
Fiscal Conditions [+]	.096	.156	.037
Economic Conditions Index [b]	-.031	.046	-.062

R^2 = .277, Adjusted R^2 = .244

F = 8.412

N = 231

Notes: [+] Logged to address positive Skewness   * p=0.05   **p=0.01

[a] In the U.S., the variation of number of cities in a MSA is very large, I therefore, also ran the model with cities in the county and the coefficient for the competition variable was not significant in either one.

[b] I ran the model with a single indicator of poverty instead of the economic conditions index and the coefficient was not significant. I kept the economic conditions index for substantive reasons and because as a composite measure, is a more robust reflection of the economic characteristics of the city.

[c] I verified the homogeneity of the error term of the model by regressing the unstandardized residuals on city population and found the coefficient of the latter to be insignificant.

[d] All variance inflation factor (VIF) values were under 2.5, indicating there is no collinearity issue in the model.

The regression results confirm the initial expectation that the political maturity (age) of the organizations doing advocacy work in a city (measured as mean age) has a statistically significant association to per capita HCD expenditures. Specifically, on average, one extra year in AO mean age within the city is associated with a 4.2 percent increase in HCD spending per capita, all else being equal. Interestingly, the mean age of the organizations in the larger area around the city has a significant, negative association to HCD expenditures per capita. This finding is consistent with Mancur Olson's (1965) finding of the "free rider" problem. In other words, a county with older AOs outside the study city is associated with less HCD expenditures in the study city because other neighboring cities may be influenced by these regional AOs and assume a portion of the study city's affordable housing burden. The AO strength index for city based AOs was also statistically significant; on average, every 10 percent increase in the city based AOs' financial strength index, is associated with a 2.25 percent increase in per capita HCD expenditures. However, the strength index for the countywide (minus the city-based) AOs is not significant.

Combined, these results may be due to the existence of AOs as long standing institutions *in* the community. This embeddedness may allow urban AOs to better navigate a city's political and institutional structure as well as placing them in more direct contact with their constituents. In comparison, AOs beyond a city's boundary are most influential due to longevity, which may translate into larger networks of relationships and political maturity. Thus, these AOs can exert influence on the city despite their location outside of the jurisdiction.

The inter-city competition coefficient is not statistically significant which is contrary to expectations. Basolo (1999; 2000) found inter-city competition influenced city expenditures on affordable housing, but she considered only locally generated funds in her analysis. It may be that the dependent variable in this study, which captures per capita HCD expenditures using revenue from all levels of government (federal, state, and local), operates differently than anticipated, because pass through or entitlement dollars from higher levels of government may be targeted to certain activities and may not be seen as *local* expenditures by city officials. Furthermore, this finding may be influenced by the choice of city size of the studied population. Peterson (1981) argued that larger cities would do some redistribution; however, no clear city size threshold for this type of spending has been established in the literature.

Only two of the four contextual factors produced statistically significant results. Increasing the percentage of owners and renters that are housing cost-burdened by 1 percentage point in the city is associated with a 6.3 percent increase in HCD expenditures per capita. An increase in the percentage of units vacant by 10 percent is associated with a 4.1 percent decrease in HCD expenditures per capita. These findings are consistent with previous work on housing needs and availability. Finally, the coefficients for political culture, fiscal conditions and for economic conditions have the expected signs, but are not statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Overall, it is interesting to observe that the standardized coefficients indicate that the percentage of owner and renter households paying more than 30 percent of their income on housing, a contextual factor, has the strongest association to HCD expenditures per capita, and city AO mean age is a close second followed by the city AO

strength index. Therefore, while housing needs are clearly related to HCD expenditures, AO characteristics also are associated with higher levels of spending in this domain. In terms of explanatory power, the model performs reasonably well. The R^2 for the model indicates that 27.7% of the variation in HCD expenditures per capita is explained by the independent variables in the model.

In summary, the regression analysis predicts that AOs influence the support for affordable housing in cities. In the next chapter, using qualitative data, I examine the ways AOs achieve this influence. I also examine why they chose certain strategic actions over others.

CHAPTER 5. Qualitative Results

The research questions that motivate this portion of the research are: 1)"What are the strategic actions used by AOs to influence city affordable housing policymaking?" and 2)"Why do advocacy organizations (AOs) in some cities favor some types of actions over others when attempting to influence affordable housing decision-makers?" I drew from social movement theories (political opportunity theory and resource mobilization theory) to frame the corresponding investigation and analysis.

To identify and explain the strategies AOs employ to influence local affordable housing policymaking, I used a case study methodology. This approach involved in-depth interviews, document reviews, and content analysis. I triangulated interview responses from AO leaders and city officials with data gathered through document reviews of AO materials and a content analysis of each case city's housing element (plan). The following three sections contain the results from the analysis. The first section describes the types of AO strategic actions and provides corresponding examples uncovered through the analysis. The second section presents the results from testing the political opportunity theory, while the third includes the results from testing resource mobilization theory.

A.   AO Strategic Actions

For the purpose of this study, a strategic action is defined as any premeditated and concerted mobilization effort an AO develops and undertakes to promote the creation, maintenance, and/or preservation of affordable housing. The multiple strategic actions AOs employed to influence policymakers were categorized according to Betzold's (2013) classification. The distinction between the two major categories involves whether the AO

strategic action was aimed at achieving influence through direct contact with decision-makers or not. In the following paragraphs I describe each of the subcategories of insider and outsider strategic actions and present data from interviews with city officials or AO leaders depicting an AO's use of the strategic action in question.

i. Insider Strategic Actions

Insider strategic actions are "…based primarily upon close consultation with political and administrative leaders, relying mainly upon their financial resources, substantive expertise, and concentration within certain committees as a basis for influence" (Walker, 1991, p. 9). These strategic actions thus involve firsthand interaction between an AO and the corresponding decision-maker(s). An example of an insider strategic action is an AO leader calling or meeting with a city council member to discuss an affordable housing issue.

For the current dissertation research, I organized all insider strategic actions in one of six categories. These categories are: 1) direct contact, 2) providing information (research) to policymakers, 3) participating as a member of an advisory group, 4) taking part in a policy debate, 5) delivering input to policymakers, and 6) drafting of legal text. In the following paragraphs, I define all insider strategic actions and provide specific examples within each category mentioned by AOs during the interviews.

a) Direct contact.

Direct contact consists of actions such as meetings, phone calls, emails, or conversations between the AO and policymakers or city staff. All of the organizations in this study engaged in at least one of these types of direct contact. For example an AO leader in Pasadena noted the organization has *"met with each of the individual planning*

commissioners, as well as city councilmen" to discuss a proposal to create a housing

commission in the city. Similarly, an AO leader in the city of Long Beach described, "I

met with the director for the program and explained what the Federal and State

requirements were for language access for limited English proficiency speakers."

b) **Providing information (research) to policymakers.**

Providing information to policymakers consists of actions that involve conducting

research or gathering information (related to the AO's policy issue) with the express

purpose of delivering the product of this effort to the pertinent city officials and staff. For

example, an AO leader in the city of Pomona stated, the organization *"did a 100,000*

home campaign. That was basically where you go beyond a head-count, where you do a

vulnerability index, and from there you identify the most vulnerable members of the

homeless population." The organization then provided this information to the city's

Housing Authority. An AO leader in the city of Long Beach described how during every

housing element comment period, the organization conducts *"research about the sites*

identified [in the housing element] and whether they were acceptable;" these findings are

then forwarded to local housing staff.

c) **Participating as a member of an advisory group or committee.**

Participating as a member of an advisory group or committee involves member(s)

of the AO taking part in a group that meets to discuss affordable housing and deliver the .

As a Pomona AO leader explained, "*we currently participate in the Housing and*

Economic Development technical advisory committee of the San Gabriel Valley Council

of Governments." In the city of Pasadena, an AO leader recalled, *"there was an*

affordability task force, that we were a part of. During that time, we were trying to

advocate for rent control."

d) Taking part in a policy debate.

Taking part in a policy debate consists of formal participation in forums where policy is being discussed and/or voted on (e.g., city council meetings). For example, a Pomona-based AO leader noted the organization has *"gone to council meetings to speak on behalf of [affordable housing] developments."* As an AO leader in Long Beach commented, the organization tries to achieve influence by "*providing testimony and showing that we are an expert on the issue and that they [city councilmembers] can rely on us*."

e) Delivering input to policymakers.

Delivering input to policymakers consists of providing feedback on local policies to housing officials and/or city council members. For example, an AO leader in the city of Pasadena described the organization's recent effort in "*comb[ing] through details and a lot of the language, in [a draft of] the housing element. We were able to strengthen this language so low-income people were more represented."* Another example came from an AO in the city of Long Beach, the AO's leader noted "*hav[ing] open cases for all my policies, so I am constantly checking in to see how things are going and talking to community residents about what is happening*." The leader then relays this information to policymakers during compliance hearings.

f) Drafting of legal text.

Drafting of legal text involves the AO collaborating with a lawyer to write text that can be used in legislation or regulations. An example comes from an AO leader in

126

the city of Long Beach who recalls *"drafting a big 60-page legal submission, but then knowing they [city officials] won't read that, so creating a really pretty, one to two page fact sheet that kind of boils it down."*

ii.   Outsider Strategic Actions

As previously defined, "[outsider] strategies are based upon appeals to the public through the mass media and efforts at the broad-scale mobilization of citizens at 'grass roots'" (Walker, 1991, p. 9). Their defining characteristic is that the approach involves indirect contact with decision-makers through the broader public. An example of an outsider strategic action is an AO working with the press to shed light on a particular affordable housing issue.

For the current dissertation research, I organized all outsider strategic actions in one of six categories. These categories are: 1) hosting a side/event or conference, 2) providing information to the public, 3) heading a letter writing campaign, 4) speaking to the media through an interview or press release, 5) leading a demonstration, and 6) filming a documentary In the following paragraphs, I define all outsider strategic actions and provide specific examples within each category mentioned by AOs during the interviews.

a) Hosting a side/event or conference.

Holding a side event or conference involves the AO organizing and making the arrangements for a group to assemble, learn about, and discuss a topic related to affordable housing. For example an AO leader in the city of Pomona indicated the organization *"has a yearly summit."* Also, a couple of Los Angeles-based AOs get together to host a housing conference.

b) Providing information to the public.

Providing information to the public consists of disseminating educational materials related to affordable housing via interpersonal, print, or electronic media. For example, an AO leader in the city of Pomona explained that the organization "*educates our members and partners about different pieces of legislation and things that are of value to them in relation to [affordable] housing.*" Another organization in the city of Pomona mentioned "*[the organization] attends community meetings to help residents understand the value of affordable housing and also try to help them understand the differences between the myths of affordable housing and the realities of affordable housing.*"

c) Heading a letter writing campaign.

Heading a letter writing campaign consists of an AO organizing the effort to have a group contact a city official(s) within an agreed upon period via phone, email or written media. An example of this strategic action came in the form of phone calls led by a Los Angeles-based AO, the leader of this AO referred to the strategic action as "*call-in days.*" Another example described by an AO leader, also from the city of Los Angeles, related an occasion when the AO "*threw up a canvasing operation and collected however many hundred cards from that district in support and delivered them to the council member's office.*"

d) Speaking to the media through an interview or press release.

Speaking to the media involves the AO initiating contact between the organization and a member of the press (i.e., print, radio, television, and/or internet journalists) to transmit information relevant to affordable housing issues. For example, an

AO leader in the city of Long Beach mentioned the AO *"work[s] with reporters to have stories done about [our] work, and work[s] with the editorial boards at newspapers, to gather positive editorials (on housing issues)*." An AO from the city of Los Angeles mentioned using *"media pieces"* when seeking to shift the long-term affordable housing policy priorities within the city.
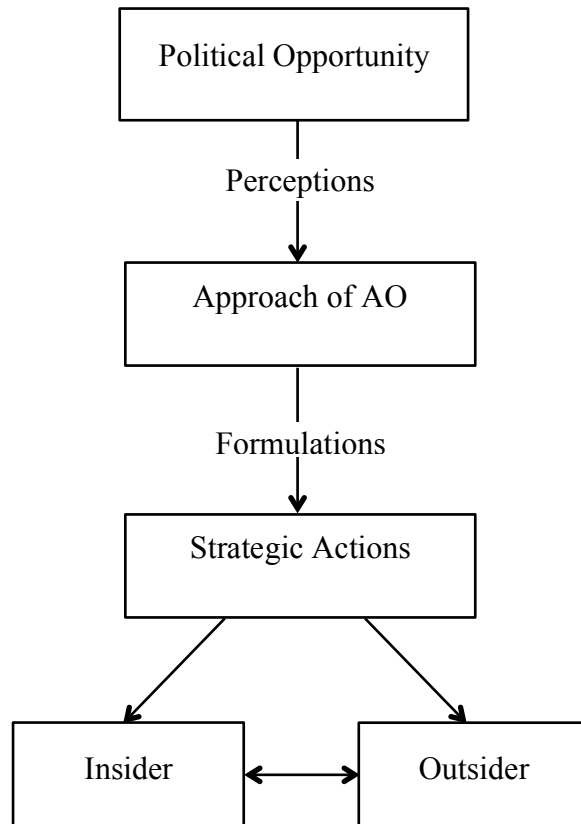
e) Leading a demonstration.

Leading a demonstration consists of the AO initiating and coordinating an effort to show *en masse* support for affordable housing. For example, an AO in the city of Pasadena recalled an occasion when the AO *"had 100 people come out to city council. We did an excellent job of bringing in powerful voices to speak. We filled up the city council."* On another occasion, an AO in Los Angeles *"had council members sign a pledge publically -in front of a big group of people- to support the policy*."

f) Filming a documentary.

Filming a documentary consists of the AO leading the effort to produce an audiovisual product that conveys information related to affordable housing and/or advances the AO's policy agenda. An example of a film being used as a strategic action came from an AO leader in the city of Long Beach. The AO leader explained the organization "*did a great story-telling project where we did a film screening. An hour long film, where we did these very great… we hired a film-maker to interview residents and really show who are the people living in affordable units or who are the people that need it and how they are these really hard-working members of the community."*

B.   Political Opportunity

Political opportunity theory asserts that an AO will consider the degree of political freedom (i.e., free press, free speech, degree of openness or accessibility of the political system to collectivities' demands) that is available to them when selecting the strategic actions the group will employ. Political opportunity theory considers the interplay between the political system, sociopolitical conditions, and the way AOs interpret the situation. In turn, an AO's perception of the political opportunities influences its approach to affordable housing policymaking. This approach is the proactive or reactive decision-making stance the organization takes vis-à-vis the political opportunity it perceives. The conditions the organization assesses include the climate of governmental responsiveness, the level of community resources, and the nature of the chief executive, among others, which facilitate or prevent citizen activity in search of political goals. According to political opportunity theory, the more political opportunities AOs have (*open political opportunity*), insider strategies are more likely to be used. As mentioned earlier, these strategies seek to impact policy directly. Conversely, outsider strategies are more likely to be adopted when an AO perceives less political opportunities (*closed political opportunity*). As was also mentioned earlier, outsider strategies aim to generate pressure, that may impact policy from the outside (through the media and or the general public). The influences upon AOs when deciding which strategic actions to choose, as described above, are depicted in Figure 5.1.

```
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│     Political Opportunity   │
└─────────────────────────────┘
               │
          Perceptions
               ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│        Approach of AO       │
└─────────────────────────────┘
               │
          Formulations
               ▼
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│       Strategic Actions     │
└─────────────────────────────┘
          ╱           ╲
         ▼             ▼
┌─────────────┐   ┌─────────────┐
│   Insider   │◄─►│   Outsider  │
└─────────────┘   └─────────────┘
```

Figure 5.1 Influences Upon AOs' Choice of Strategic Actions

For the purpose of this research, I operationalized political opportunity according
to the three elements explained in Chapter 1: 1) the openness of the political system, 2)
the sociopolitical context, and 3) the AOs interpretation of political opportunities. I
determined the openness of the political system according to the level of collaboration
between AOs and city officials/staff. I ascertained the level of collaboration from each
city's housing element and corroborated it during interviews with city officials. I
determined the sociopolitical context according to the presence or absence of allies within
the city, and the repressive capacity or urge of the relevant political actors (i.e., local
staff, city council, mayor) in relation to affordable housing. I gathered this information
from interviews with AO leaders and triangulated it with city officials' responses.

131

Finally, I captured the AOs interpretation of the political opportunities and sociopolitical context through their description of the sociopolitical context in which they operate. I distilled these interpretations from interviews with AO leaders. These elements, their source(s), and corresponding measurements are summarized in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Assessment of Elements of Political Opportunity

Element	Measurement	Source(s)
Openness of political opportunity	Degree of collaboration fostered between AOs and local authorities	Housing element Interview with city official [*Corroborating sources*]
Sociopolitical context	Presence of city allies (i.e., local staff, city council, mayor) and backing of affordable housing issues	Interview with city official Interview with AO leader [*Corroborating sources*]
AOs interpretation	Assessment of how affirming the current context is	Interview with AO leader

In the following paragraphs I present some examples of how I assessed each of the elements according to quotes and excerpts from the various data sources. I first note the element being assessed followed by quotes exemplifying and corroborating low presence (or absence) of the element; this is contrasted with an example of high (or positive) presence of the element. I conclude each paragraph by stating which cities exhibited either scenario.

In measuring openness of the political opportunity in the city of Long Beach, the city's housing element notes:

> "Public study sessions were held with the Planning Commission,
>
> Redevelopment Agency and Long Beach Housing Development Company
>
> in May and June of 2008…meetings were attended by both Long Beach

132

residents and representatives from various nonprofit organizations"

(Long Beach housing element, 2008, p. v).

This quote exemplifies the city's effort to solicit input from AOs, denoting intent to collaborate. However, these efforts happened only a couple of months prior to the final drafting of the plan. The resulting timeline provided limited time for AOs (and other stakeholders) to participate in the process and for their input to be incorporated into the plan. This was corroborated during an interview with an AO leader also in the city of Long Beach who articulated the situation as follows:

> *"[W]ith the housing element, they [the city] gave three months, and that is*
>
> *not enough time to organize the community to get their input, so we*
>
> *understood the timeframe they were on, we were not pleased, but we*
>
> *worked with what we had"*

Due to these and several other instances where limited collaboration was observed, the City of Long Beach, was categorized as fostering a low degree of collaboration with AOs on affordable housing policy issues. Similar excerpts and quotes were compiled from sources in the City of Pomona; this city was also characterized as fostering a low degree of collaboration.

On the other end of the degree of collaboration spectrum, is the City of Pasadena. According to the city's housing element, the following step was taken to ensure AOs (and other relevant stakeholders) participated in the policymaking process:

> *"In drafting the Housing Element,…[the City] interviewed more than 30*
>
> *nonprofit organizations, housing, and planning staff; community*

advocates; developers; City Council; residents; and other stakeholders.

This process concluded in March 2007."

As noted in this quote, the community input effort concluded well in advance of the

plan's adoption, giving AOs ample time to take part in the process and ensuing policies.

This was corroborated during an interview with an AO in the City of Pasadena. This AO

leader described the experience as follows:

> *"We had time to do additional public engagements. I offered one with the*
>
> *churches and another one with John Smith[24], our principal planner, who*
>
> *came and spoke, our housing director [also] came and spoke. They [city*
>
> *staff] were supporting those public engagements and we were very*
>
> *pleased to see our effort. They really listened to what we had to say. I*
>
> *think we had about 15 to 20 specific changes that we wanted in the*
>
> *housing element, and they listened to every one of them."*

These are just two of several other occasions where mentions of a high degree of

collaboration between the City of Pasadena and local AOs were observed. The

City of Pasadena was thus categorized as fostering a high degree of collaboration.

Similar evidence was gathered for the City of Los Angeles; this city was also

categorized as fostering a high degree of collaboration.

The second element, sociopolitical context, was determined based on the presence

of allies within the city and the corresponding backing these actors give affordable

housing policy issues brought forth by the AO. In the city of Long Beach and Pomona,

AO leaders failed to identify a specific ally within the city. On the contrary, several AO

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[24] Pseudonyms were used for all city staff and officials, as well as all AO groups named during
the interviews.

134

leaders in this city described finding an ally as a recurring task for their organizations.

Furthermore, one AO leader expressed the difficulty of garnering enough backing from

city officials, specifically votes from city council members, to support their efforts:

> *"On any campaign we need to identify a champion on city council, and so,*
>
> *at any given time, our champion is a different person. We always have at*
>
> *least one champion sort of steering the ship and introducing our*
>
> *legislation and things like that, the hard part has been building a coalition*
>
> *of 5 to 6 votes on the city council… We have ongoing meetings with*
>
> *council members about a variety of issues and campaigns... Even if we*
>
> *don't have their support, we still meet with them and try to educate them*
>
> *and try to neutralize them."*

Furthermore, several staff members, from both cities, contacted for an interview declined

to participate in the study. One of these city officials further stated that the City of Long

Beach is not an advocate for affordable housing[25].

On the other hand, AOs in the City of Los Angeles and Pasadena clearly

identified a handful of allies within the city. For example, an AO in the city of Pasadena

listed the following city staff as being supportive of affordable housing issues:

> *"[T]he first person that comes to mind is Bob Jones, he was the previous*
>
> *Head of Affordable Housing in the City. Carl Smith, who is the Head of*
>
> *the Department of Housing at this point, is working very hard to make*

---

[25] A housing staff member from the city of Long Beach declined to participate citing "The city of Long Beach is not an advocate for affordable housing" (personal communication May 1, 2014). After this response, I further explained the purpose of the study in understanding the process of establishing affordable housing policies and the roles myriad actors, city staff being one of them, have in the process. The staff member then clearly indicated that the city did not wish to participate in the study. No further contact was attempted.

sure we end homelessness in the next ten years. The city council, generally

speaking, will fund affordable housing… like I said, the housing

department has been very supportive."

City officials in these two cities similarly expressed interest in backing affordable

housing policies brought forth by AOs. Los Angeles and Pasadena City officials were

furthermore able to identify specific AOs they work with during affordable housing

policymaking. As a city official for the city of Los Angeles described:

"For affordable housing we can always hear from the Advocates for

Housing group. Then depending on the policy or something that may be

going on, we hear from the Los Angeles AO, the Wilshire AO, or another

one of those types of organizations who is looking into something very

specific or is concerned about something very specific. Really what they

[AOs] are is a voice and a way to hear the community, a way to hear

residents' concerns. We [AOs and the City] are trying to do and get at the

same goal, so if you've got a plan and you've got an idea, you want to talk

to them because you want their members to comment on what it is you're

doing… they [AOs] provide a great deal of feedback as we try to tune

programs to help create what we need, which is affordable housing. You

see us [the City] doing outreach and having meetings when we have a

policy change."

Finally, I discuss the AOs interpretation of the openness of the political system

and the sociopolitical context in which they operate. While the interpretations varied

slightly from organization to organization, within a city there were certain patterns that

emerged from these interpretations. I present general descriptions of these patterns at the city level.

AO leaders in the cities of Pomona and Long Beach described their sociopolitical context as less affirming to their cause. As one of these AO leaders explained:

"[the] mayor we have is very powerful and very opposed to affordable housing. He says we have enough and we don't have to do more… [C]ity staff in Long Beach are a huge problem around affordable housing. They honestly think that we have enough money and they don't support inclusionary housing or linkage fees. They say that we have enough money even though we don't have any permanent dedicated local sources and redevelopment money has dried up. There is a very strong, dogmatic opposition to affordable housing."

An AO leader from Pomona depicted the situation not as opposed to affordable housing as in Long Beach noting:

"[In the City of Pomona] silo-ing is a big issue. So we are trying to still influence the elected officials in Pomona for some of the things that we would like to see happen, but we need some political will to back us up, to get us going. We would also like to influence the elected officials there, that is, influencing the council members. Staff, I don't think we have to influence, they are "housing people," "homeless people," the staff I think has bought in. I don't think we need to go after them, but there is a need to go after the political and elected officials."

Conversely, AOs in the City of Los Angeles and Pasadena characterized the willingness of city officials and the general context to further improve affordable housing matters as more affirming. For example, an AO leader in Los Angeles described it in the following manner:

"So we have built working groups and little mini-coalitions in each of the city's districts. Those will help in terms of going to the county level too. We have one council member who is an advocate and an ally. To continue building the coalition, we have started talking to the staff. We talked with the staff who would be allocating the money and they seem supportive of funding affordable housing. I think that certainly affordable housing is a bigger issue, well ... I don't know if it is a bigger issue, but it is a more accepted issue in the city of L.A. So we [AOs] are just more visible here, there are more tenant groups. Affordable housing is just an issue that is more visible and more highlighted in the city of L.A., so the context is more favorable and ideas such as high density are certainly more accepted in the city."

I summarize the findings for all three of the aforementioned political opportunity elements in Table 5.2 in each of the four case study cities. The last row of the table denotes the classification of each city as open or closed political opportunity contexts.

Table 5.2 Political Opportunity in Case Study Cities

Element	Long Beach	Los Angeles	Pasadena	Pomona
Political System	Low degree of collaboration	High degree of collaboration	High degree of collaboration	Low degree of collaboration
Sociopolitical Context	No allies	Yes allies	Yes allies	No allies
AOs Interpretation	Less affirming	More affirming	More Affirming	Less Affirming
Political Opportunity	Closed	Open	Open	Closed

Influenced by the interpretation of the political opportunities in their city, AOs further reflected how their choice of insider or outsider strategies changed in each context. AO leaders realize they must shift their choice of strategic actions according to their political environments. For example, an AO leader from Long Beach, describes the insider strategic actions it employed to change a housing policy:

> *"At least a decade ago, instead of filing a law suit or trying to do a law, I met with the director for the program and explained what the Federal and State requirements... I just explained it to them, I did [direct] "informal" advocacy, and basically got them to understand the importance of the changes so that their programs were in compliance with Federal and State... In that instance, I was able to convince them [local officials] that they needed to change their procedures, and I didn't have to confront them with a lawsuit or write legislation, it was a matter of educating, meeting, advocating and showing that I can be a helpful partner to make this transition."*

More recently, under the current mayor, the strategic choices made to influence a similar policy change involved both insider and outsider strategies and were depicted as follows:

> *"The campaign included lots of media work, press conferences, op-eds, meetings with council members, meetings with staff, testifying at hearings*

and study sessions, educating residents, working on other AOs' steering committees, working with the State Department of Housing and Community Development and using them as leverage to get the city to make revisions. Also, working with some outside experts who provided some support to our organization [direct and indirect]."

AOs working in cities with closed political opportunities go to great lengths to make the smallest amount of difference in the wording of plans. Their job to promote the adoption of policies/programs that create and preserve affordable housing is an uphill battle. Even getting these cities to agree to have a conversation about policies that support the creation of affordable housing is difficult and met with resistance. An AO leader from Long Beach recounted a recent experience:

"We were trying to get the city to make some commitment to consider inclusionary housing in the 2014 housing element. [W]e hired a very well-known economists to do an economic analysis, so we could make inclusionary housing recommendations in terms of what is economically feasible. [W]e raised the money for that, he did the study, and we included it in our policy platform for the housing element. [W]e worked with all sorts of partners on the campaign and with the council members. Our ask was quite strong, we asked the city to adopt an inclusionary housing ordinance by 2014 with 10% very low-income units; it was very specific. When it became clear we didn't have support for that, it weakened into: well, why don't you at least consider it in 2014? Based on what we were hearing, the push-back we were getting from the city attorney, city council, and city staff, we changed what we were asking for and by the time we went to the final hearing, we were just saying, include language in the housing element that in 2014 the city will consider inclusionary housing, which is so weak and broad, but it just gave us an opening. [W]e just wanted a "launch pad" of language in there so we could have an easier opening to bring it up this year, but ultimately, staff and the city

attorney said some really damaging things on the record and we weren't able to include the language in the housing element. Now that doesn't mean that we can't ask this year, or that the fight is over and that the study is useless, it just means that we can't use the housing element as a launch pad."

This finding confirms previous research that links group access and choice of tactics to changing electoral alignments and individuals in power (Jenkins, 1983). AOs engage in a variety of tactics over time and shift their strategic choices in response to changing political opportunities. This process of recalibration and adaptation confirms previous results that suggest that the age (political maturity) of the AOs operating in the city is associated with favorable affordable housing policy outcomes (Yerena, 2015).

Cities that present open political opportunities to create and implement affordable housing policies and programs acknowledge the role local officials and city staff play in advancing affordable housing policies and programs. The finding that government support influences the choice of AO strategies is consistent with Meyer and Minkoff's (2004) study on what accounts for successful policy outcomes through collective action.

AOs working in cities with more political opportunities are more likely to see their strategic actions pay-off in the form of policy changes. These changes still require a lot of effort, coordination, and resources, but the willingness of the corresponding jurisdictions to have a conversation and to deliberate about the affordable housing policy/program in question lead to very different results. For example, an AO described an interaction with the city of Los Angeles. The AO identified a need to make a policy change in affordable housing units requiring guests to pay fees for staying overnight. The AO dedicated its downtown committee, co-director, and a lead housing organizer to head the campaign that included coordinating petitions, delegation visits, public testimony and

meetings with landlords. The AO worked closely with the Los Angeles city housing department and it initiated the conversation by bringing the issue to the attention of the local Housing Authority. In the end, the policy was changed and residents are no longer charged a fee for having overnight guests in their affordable housing unit.

However, even AOs in cities with more open political opportunities can, at times, fail to achieve policy change. The difference lies in that the failure of their efforts cannot be traced back to a lack of collaboration with the city, but to the strength of the opposition. As another AO in the city of Los Angeles described:

> *"We didn't get a mixed income inclusionary ordinance adopted, there were a lot of great things about our campaign, but still we didn't get it. We invested many resources…When there was one councilmen we couldn't get, [one of our allies] threw up a canvasing operation and collected however many hundred cards from that district in support and delivered them to the councilmember's office… We attribute the failure to the opposition, that is the market rate developers and statewide opposition… We were working most closely with the L.A. city council… In the end, it was the court case, the Building Industry Association's fight against inclusionary housing that has been around forever that prevented the ordinance from being adopted."*

Open political opportunities, thus, are a necessary but not sufficient condition in the policy outcomes AOs can bring about. Furthermore, based on the study's results, the range of strategic actions AOs in these contexts use can include both insider and outsider types. As seen in Table 5.3, political opportunity theory was not predictive of the type of tactics used by the AOs under study. However, this theory does explain the approach AOs working in a city have towards policy change in the affordable housing domain. As

several AO leaders in closed political opportunity contexts described it, their approach is

reactive. Below is an example of how one Long Beach AO leader explained it:

> *"Our campaigns are defined by the opportunities we identify, a lot of our*
> *campaigns have been reactive because, they arise from something the city*
> *is moving forward with and we take the opportunity to try to re-shape it*
> *[the project]. We haven't had as many campaigns where we defined the*
> *issue."*

In contrast, AOs in open political opportunity contexts described their approach as

proactive. AOs in these contexts tend to identify issues, put them on the city's agenda and

propose potential solutions. Below is a quote from an AO leader in Pasadena that was

echoed by several other AO leaders in the city:

> *"We are now in the midst of a campaign to get an affordable housing*
> *commission for the city of Pasadena because we found that without a*
> *commission… although people acknowledge that affordable housing needs*
> *exist, there is no one group within the city that is really honed in on the*
> *question of how to preserve and produce affordable housing on a routine*
> *basis."*

Another AO leader in this city described a proposal that was incorporated into the city's

housing element drafting process; the idea involved:

> *"[A]dding an educational element, for both the planning staff and for the*
>
> *whole community to learn about best practices and what affordable*
>
> *housing is and what can you learn from other cities that are doing it. This*
>
> *way we can we bring experts and really begin to develop a working*
>
> *knowledge of affordable housing."*

The city staff member I spoke to concurred with the description provided by local

AOs. According to the city's representative, local advocates brought up the idea of an

affordable housing commission and were supporting the effort in various ways. He further explained:

> *"[T]he advocacy groups are proposing a housing commission. They've been going before city council during public comment session, going around talking to groups and individuals to try to get them to send-in letters in support of it, talking to the League of Voters, talking to neighborhood councils and meeting with council members."*

Furthermore, upon review of the City of Pasadena's 2014-2021 housing element, under Program #24's primary activities, the following is clearly stated:

> *"Community/Commission Education. Housing policy, programs, state and federal mandates, and funding sources are intricate in detail. Moreover, housing programs often change in response to market cycles. In an effort to enhance and inform the decision-making process for housing matters, the City will implement a more formal education process. This process will include educating elected leaders, city staff, and stakeholders, both individually and/or collectively, about Pasadena housing issues"* (pp. 39).

The quotes above also exemplify the types of strategies Pasadena's AOs use to influence policymakers to support the creation of this affordable housing commission and incorporating an education component in the housing element. The strategies employed by AOs in Pasadena, to promote these two policy changes, are primarily insider strategic actions. The city representative's view of how the AOs in Pasadena are going about gathering support for this idea concurred with the accounts described by the local AOs interviewed for this study.

Table 5.3 Insider and Outsider Strategic Actions by Political Opportunity

	Closed Political Opportunities		Open Political Opportunities	
	Long Beach[a]	Pomona[b]	Los Angeles[a]	Pasadena[b]
AO Insider Strategic Actions				
Direct contact	X	X	X	X
Information/research to policymakers	X	X	X	X
Member of an advisory group	X	X	X	X
Participation in policy debate	X	X	X	X
Deliver input to Housing Department	X	X	X	X
Drafting of legal text	X			
Outsider Strategic Actions				
Side event/conference	X	X	X	
Information to the public	X	X	X	X
Letter writing campaign	X	X	X	X
Media interview/press release	X		X	
Demonstration	X		X	X
Documentary/film	X			

[a] More AO resources
[b] Less AO resources

C.   Resource Mobilization

Resource mobilization, based on this research, offers a better framework to understand why AOs select insider and/or outsider strategic actions. Resource mobilization theory claims the choice of strategic actions will depend on the resources available to an AO. This theory attempts to move the analysis away from the social psychology of its participants and provides a more objective way of understanding AOs' choices of strategic action. Resources can be material, human, social-organizational, cultural, and moral. This theory predicts that organizations with more resources will employ a wider variety of strategies to attain influence, while groups with fewer resources will focus on a limited type of strategies. Of course, both the political opportunities and resources the organizations consider in their selection of strategic actions change over time, but since I am using cross sectional analysis, I will not explore

how the relationships between these variables change over time. Instead, I focus on one point in time in the AOs' histories.

The type of strategic actions AOs chose in both open and closed political opportunity environments were more closely linked to the resources available to the AOs. Cities with AOs that have higher levels of resources exhibit a far wider range of strategic actions. AOs in these cities have the necessary resources to diversify the types of strategic actions they use. This holds for AOs in open and closed political opportunity environments such as Los Angeles (open) and Long Beach (closed). Moreover, cities where the AOs have lower levels of resources, such as Pasadena (open) and Pomona (closed), exhibit the use of insider strategic actions regardless of the political opportunities available.

Below is an AO leader's description of the type of strategic actions the organization uses to influence policymakers in the city of Pomona, where AOs have fewer resources:

> *"[W]hen things come up, what we have been trying to do is trying to meet with the staff, if it is planning staff that is promoting it [the issue], then we are meeting with them, if it is the housing staff, we are meeting with them. And then follow that progression, because a lot of things wind up before the planning commissioners, and we are trying to meet with them individually around various issues, and same thing with city council. We try to meet with them individually and then as a body."*

In cities where AOs have higher levels of resources, the strategic actions the groups undertake include a much wider range of insider and outsider strategies. For example, an

AO leader in Long Beach explained the strategies the group used in one of their recent campaigns as:

> *"[F]undraising to get the study/economic analysis, our professional network, we met with council members, we testified at hearings, we created fact sheet. Fact sheets are for the community and for the elected officials to summarize why this is important, what other cities have done, what are we asking for, and just to clarify some of the more complex concepts like inclusionary housing. We worked with the media and I worked with my community allies."*

This pattern was consistent across case study cities and AOs. The pattern can more easily be noted in Table 5.4. The more resources the organizations in the city possess, as a group, the more varied their strategic actions are.

Table 5.4 Insider and Outsider Strategic Actions by Resources

	More Resources		*Less Resources*	
	Los Angeles[a]	**Long Beach**[b]	**Pasadena**[a]	**Pomona**[b]
Insider Strategic Actions				
Direct contact	X	X	X	X
Info/research to policymakers	X	X	X	X
Member of an advisory group	X	X	X	X
Participation in policy debate	X	X	X	X
Deliver input to Housing Dept.	X	X	X	X
Drafting of legal text		X		
Outsider Strategic Actions				
Side event/conference	X	X		X
Information to the public	X	X	X	X
Letter writing campaign	X	X	X	X
Media interview/Press release	X	X		
Demonstration	X	X	X	
Documentary/film		X		

[a] Open Political Opportunity
[b] Closed Political Opportunity

I now describe how the availability of resources had an influence in the AO's choice of strategic actions. Several AO leaders indicated the vital role resources have in

their choice of strategic actions. The types of resources organizations highlighted, varied depending on whether they had more or less resources.

For example, a leader of an AO with high levels of resources explained how the AO prepared in the months leading to the comment period for the city's 2014-2021 housing element. The AO's goal was "to get the city to make some commitment to consider inclusionary housing in the 2014 housing element." To do so, the AO employed all of the different types of resources previously described (i.e., material, human, social-organizational, moral, and cultural).

First, the AO leader noted the organization had to secure *material resources* to complete relevant research the AO intended to deliver to policymakers. Thus, the AO leader described, "[w]e went and raised the money to hire an economist [to conduct a study]. Throughout the campaign, the AO employed *human resources* in the form of generalized labor (e.g., AO personnel who lead the fundraising effort), specialized labor (e.g., the economist hired to conduct the research), and leadership (e.g., AO leader met one-on-one with city officials). The AO also used its *social-organizational resources* in the form of social networks and ties to other organizations. As the AO leader explained, "…we worked with all sorts of partners, on all elements of the campaign." Furthermore, the AO used *moral resources*, including legitimacy, "[w]e hired Mr. Mark Adler, a very well-known economists who works all over the nation – including for the Obama administration– to complete an economic analysis." Finally, the AO used *cultural resources*, such as, their social media site and website. The AO used its social media site to reach out to its supporters and post updates on their effort or invite them to volunteer

for the campaign and the AO's website to encourage the general public to make a donation and to disseminate information to the general public.

In contrast, a leader from an AO with low levels of resources described how the organization prepared for the 2014-2018 housing element comment period, mainly through the use of its human and social-organizational resources. The AO's aim was for the city to include a new goal in its housing element dedicated to the preservation of affordable housing. The organization applied its *human resources* in the form of generalized labor (e.g., volunteers to provide input to housing staff) and leadership (e.g., AO leader met one-on-one with several city officials). For example, as the leader recalled, "we met with each one of the city council and planning department people." Finally, the AO also used its *social-organizational resources,* as the leader described:

> *"...we worked with our allies. It wasn't just the usual suspects that were*
>
> *coming before City Hall and the Planning Department."*

An AO leader from another organization with low levels of resources summarized the matter with the following statement:

> *"...we [the AO] are just a tiny group... we are not big, there is like 4 or 5*
>
> *of us, but I think all of us are incredibly passionate and we understand*
>
> *enough about how to organize, by meeting one on one, I mean that's what*
>
> *we consider the power of organizing. So we learn enough about the issue*
>
> *so that we sound intelligent when we meet with people and we are aware*
>
> *that even the little bit we learned, that tells us that we know more than*
>
> *most of them."*

All these quotes exemplify the way the AO's resources have a high influence in the groups' choice of strategies. AOs with high levels of resources are able to combine within a single campaign insider and outsider strategic actions, while AOs with low levels of resources focus their resources on insider strategic actions.

In summary, the analysis presented in this chapter concurs with previous studies that suggest AOs' strategic choices are closely related to the resources the AO possess. This study also coincides with work that has found organizations consider the "temperature" of their environment when determining the types of challenges or claims they will make.

In the next chapter, I recapitulate the findings of the overall dissertation research. I also assess and list the limitations of this work and propose future lines of inquiry. Finally, I discuss the theoretical and practical relevance of these results to scholars, policymakers and affordable housing advocates.

CHAPTER 6. Conclusions

This dissertation is concerned with advocacy organizations working to improve the provision of affordable housing at the local level. AOs exert pressure on city and county policymakers and participate in local decision-making processes to increase affordable housing opportunities in these communities.

The primary purpose of the dissertation is to increase our understanding of the influence of AOs on local governmental housing budgetary decisions. To answer this question fully required a two-pronged approach: an analysis of local budget decisions, as well as an examination of the types of efforts AOs undertake to effect local affordable housing policies. Thus, the research used mixed methods to: 1) examine the influence of AOs on affordable housing policy decision making in U.S. cities with a population of 100,000 or more inhabitants, and 2) identify the strategies used to promote policy change, and their use in different contexts.

Literature from the field of urban politics informed the development of a conceptual model and subsequent quantitative analyses. The qualitative analysis is grounded in social movement theories. Specifically: 1) political opportunity theory, which takes into account exogenous factors (government actions and policies) that may encourage or impede an AO's prospects and strategic decisions; and 2) resource mobilization theory, which accounts for the characteristics internal to an AO that affect its strategic choices.

This research examined the factors affecting city support for affordable housing. Specifically, it sought to better understand the influence of advocacy organizations (AOs) on city affordable housing spending decisions (using HCD expenditures as the dependent variable). Theories related to urban governance, including hypotheses about interest group effects, suggest that AOs, as stakeholders in local decision-making processes, will use their resources and experience to influence local policymakers, and that their age and strength will predict their degree of influence on city decision-making. The quantitative analysis in this dissertation provides support for these perspectives. This study suggests that older AOs in a given city and in the larger region tend to exert more influence on local public policy, compared to younger, similar organizations. This finding is likely due to older AOs having longstanding and more mature networks of relationships in the community.

The study also showed that contextual factors are important to city spending decisions. Cities were more likely to exhibit increased spending on affordable housing in cities where housing was less affordable, and they were less likely to spend more when there was an ample supply (or higher vacancy rate) of housing. Thus, this finding shows a direct connection between needs and spending. This connection also may reflect the source of HCD funds. If the funding for HCD expenditures comes primarily from the federal government, then it may be calibrated to need by federal formula, and have use restrictions that direct the money to areas of HCD need.

The first portion of the study used quantitative analysis to provide a broad picture of the influence of AOs on local HCD expenditure decisions in larger U.S. cities. However, such an approach allows only a limited analysis of AO activity supporting

152

affordable housing in cities. For example, it does not provide insights about the strategies and tactics employed to affect the policymaking process. More intensive, qualitative research was necessary to understand the complexities, such as political context and available resources, involved in advocacy work.

The second phase of this research aimed to identify and explain the strategies AOs use to influence local affordable housing policymaking. To do so, I used a comparative case study methodology. This approach involved in-depth interviews, document reviews, and content analysis. I triangulated interview responses from AO leaders and city officials with data gathered from document reviews of AO materials and a content analysis of each case city's housing element.

Results from the case studies indicate that an AO's choice of strategic actions depends on the resources the organization possesses, and to a lesser extent on the political context in which the group acts. AOs with higher levels of aggregate resources within a city employ a wide range of insider and outsider strategic actions in their attempts to influence policy change. AOs in cities with fewer aggregate resources, on the other hand, focus on using insider strategies to shape policymakers' decisions.

AOs in closed political opportunity contexts are likely to be *reactive* to policymakers' affordable housing decisions. AOs in these settings focus their efforts on counteracting local decisions. In contrast, AOs in open political opportunity contexts use this opportunity to be *proactive* in their affordable housing policy changes. AOs in these settings look for new policies that will promote the preservation and creation of affordable housing and openly discuss them with policymakers. Through this process,

AOs are able to build long-standing relationships with city leaders. These relationships more easily turn into partnerships that preserve and create affordable housing.

A. Study Limitations

There are several limitations associated with this research that should be considered in interpreting the results. While the results support the theoretically-driven hypothesis that AOs impact spending on affordable housing in cities, the analysis is cross-sectional, and therefore it cannot definitively establish direction of causality; it could be that HCD spending went to building AO capacity, and thus influenced AOs' strength. In other words, while theory is helpful in interpreting the direction of the relationship, the study is not designed to empirically prove that the relationship flows in one particular direction (it could, in fact, be bi-directional). This study used HCD expenditures from all levels of government as the dependent variable. This measure may not be ideal to test for the effects of inter-city competition. Locally generated funds may be considered less restricted and generally more valuable than federal funds, and therefore may reveal a competition effect. Furthermore, the case studies took place in Los Angeles County, California, in the cities of Los Angeles, Long Beach, Pasadena and Pomona. All cities have populations of over 100,000 residents, and are thus considered larger cities. Data collection took place over the course of a year from October 2013 to November 2014; the iterative analysis of the data occurred between December 2014 and April 2015. Interviews were conducted at AO and City offices and/or over the phone, depending on the interviewee's preference. All these conditions make the findings highly contextual and applicable only to the political environment of the period preceding the data collection effort.

B.   Future Research

Future research can expand on the findings of this work by completing a longitudinal study that will allow for a better appreciation of shifting strategic choices based on changing political opportunities and resource availability. The time period recommended by previous work (Sabatier, 1988) ranges from ten to fifteen years, depending on the specific policy arena. For affordable housing a useful timeframe would follow the drafting of housing element plans. For example, in California this happens every five to eight years. Another valuable inquiry would look into the types of resources a given AO has and whether these resources make a difference in the strategies the organization undertakes. This investigation should be conducted at a disaggregated level, so individual AO choices can be studied.

C.   Theoretical and Policy Contributions

The research provides evidence that AOs are important players in affordable housing policymaking within U.S. cities. AOs are agents that make claims and take action (in the public interest) to influence policymaking. Ultimately, these organizations seek to achieve lasting social change. In addition to establishing and organizing themselves, other factors must be present for AOs to wield influence. They must possess personal contacts and political knowledge and skill, as well as understand the current political environment and other intangible factors, all of which may be achieved through the age/experience of the organization. The finding, therefore, that the mean age of AOs both within cities and within the larger region influenced HCD expenditures per capita is consistent with the literature. The finding that the strength (assets and revenues) of AOs within the city impacted per capita HCD spending in the city also resonates with the

literature. The finding that the mean age of AOs in the surrounding county has a negative

effect on the HCD expenditures per capita in the city in question lends support to

previous work that prescribes regional collaboration to deal with the need for affordable

housing. Finally, open political systems were conducive to proactive AO approaches and

more AO resources allowed a greater diversity of AOs' strategic actions.

The contribution of this study to planning scholarship is to improve our

understanding of urban governance around the issue of affordable housing. This

understanding may serve as a guide for future directions in planning literature concerning

local policy theory and practice, especially for planning scholars, practitioners, and

students focused on housing and community development issues. More specifically, the

current study contributes to the literature on planning and implementing affordable

housing programs, and will offer a more nuanced understanding of the actors involved in

city housing planning and policy-making processes, particularly the role of AOs in civic

participation.

D. Implications

The results presented in this dissertation have several planning and policy

implications. First, planning and delivering affordable housing in communities involves a

process with multiple actors who are negotiating a complex political environment. Within

this environment, AOs are central to informing elected officials and the public about the

need for affordable housing and potential ways to meet the need. Cities should open the

process by inviting AOs to participate in meaningful ways to plan for affordable housing.

Planners working for the city, therefore, should be *advocates for the advocates*. In other

words, planners should encourage an open environment for idea exchange and dialogue

on affordable housing issues. In these open political systems, AOs can take on a more proactive role with the promise of a more innovative and progressive housing policy agenda.

Second, when it comes to the issue of resources available to a given AO, it is challenging to discuss policy and planning prescriptions, especially because the primary sources of budgetary support for AOs are private (e.g., foundations, individual donors). Given that individual private donations to AOs are already deductible on federal and (most) state income taxes, it is difficult to conceive of additional public policies that would encourage such charitable giving to AOs. However, it is also clear that all levels of government currently support AOs, directly in some cases, and often indirectly when an AO produces affordable housing and provides other housing or related services to the community. AOs use governmental funds for housing development, but also to support their own administrative and overhead expenses, thus giving them the capacity to advocate for affordable housing beyond the direct delivery of affordable housing units and services. If federal, state, and local governments committed substantial and consistent flows of funds for affordable housing programs, AOs would benefit from these resources and could strengthen their capacity to participate in policymaking, program development, and the production of affordable housing to meet the needs of communities.

The sustained participation of AOs in affordable housing service delivery will improve interaction between the organizations and local officials. These interactions may lead AOs to support local officials in the pursuit of broader state and federal legislation to secure more permanent sources of funding for affordable housing. Finally, the education campaigns AOs undertake will lead to more successful civic engagement efforts. These

improved efforts may result in: 1) collective decision-making, 2) consensus-based policy

adoption, and 3) broader support for affordable housing programs.

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164

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178

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APPENDIX A. Housing Survey

Local Housing Policies and Programs

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey, as part of UCI's research process, I am required to provide you with the following information sheet on the study. If you have any questions regarding this information, please feel free to contact me. You may click Next to proceed to the next page at any time.

University of California, Irvine
Study Information Sheet

Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations on Local Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

Lead Researcher
Anaid Yerena, Ph.D. Student
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Faculty Sponsor
Victoria Basolo
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- You are being asked to participate in a research study to increase our understanding of the influence of AOs on local governmental support for affordable housing.

- You are eligible to participate in this study if you are at least 18 years of age or older; a city official, staff, or Advocacy Organization (AO) leader, and speak English.

- Participation in the study will include one on-line survey or an audio-recorded semi-structured interview to ask about alternative support for affordable housing. Participation will take a total of about 20 minutes to complete.

- Possible risks/discomforts associated with the study are risk of potential reach of confidentiality, because I am obtaining personally identifiable info (ie, name, phone number, email address). The risk will be minimized by incorporating adequate safeguards into the research design to protect the confidentiality of the data (e.g., encryption, codes, and passwords). Pseudonyms will be used for both the participant and the city being studied to minimize the breach.

- There are no direct benefits from participation in the study. However, this study may explain the influence of AOs on affordable housing policy decision-making in U.S. cities The results will be directly translatable to stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of affordable housing including policy makers, AO leaders, and people in need of affordable housing.

- You will not be compensated for your participation in this research study.

- All research data collected will be stored securely and confidentially. Research data will be maintained in a secure location at UCI. Only authorized individuals will have access to it. The audio recordings will also be stored in a secure location and transcribed within 2 weeks of the interview. The recordings will be retained with the other research data and destroyed within a year of completion of the study.

- The research team and authorized UCI personnel may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare. Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law.

HS# 2012-9264   Approved by IRB on: 01/11/2013

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eAPP # 6585   1 of 2

Local Housing Policies and Programs

- If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research please contact the researchers listed at the top of this form.

- Please contact UCI's Office of Research by phone, (949) 824-6662, by e-mail at IRB@research.uci.edu or at 5171 California Avenue, Suite 150, Irvine, CA 92617 if you are unable to reach the researchers listed at the top of the form and have general questions; have concerns or complaints about the research; have questions about your rights as a research subject; or have general comments or suggestions.

- Participation in this study is voluntary. There is no cost to you for participating. You may choose to skip a question or a study procedure. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time. **If you decide to withdraw from this study you should notify the research team immediately**.

Local Housing Policies and Programs

This online survey will provide valuable information about local housing policies and programs. By answering this questionnaire, you contribute to our understanding of housing efforts in cities across the United States. Your responses to every question are VERY IMPORTANT! Please answer all of the questions by selecting or filling in the appropriate responses. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Local Housing Policies and Programs

For the purposes of this survey, very-low income is defined as below 50% of your area median household income (AMHI), low-income is defined as 50% above your AMHI but below 80% of your AMHI, and moderate income is defined as above 80% of AMHI but below 120% of AMHI.

*1. Please enter the following information about the city where you work

City/Town:

State:

*2. What is your job with the city?

Department

Position/title

*3. Which of the following plans did your city have in fiscal year (FY) 2011-12? (Select all that apply)

☐ Consolidated Plan

☐ Local Housing Plan (sometimes called a Housing Element)

☐ We did not have any formal housing plan in FY 2011-12

☐ Other type of housing plan (please specify)

*4. Is your city required by State regulation to have a plan for housing?

○ Yes

○ No

*5. How active are banks in your city in fulfilling their Community Reinvestment Act responsibilities? (Select the appropriate answer)

Not active at all	A little bit active	Moderately active	Very active
○	○	○	○

*6. In your opinion, are there groups advocating housing opportunities for very low- and low-income households in your city?

○ Yes

○ No

Your responses to the next set of questions are CRITICAL to this study, they are the central focus of this survey and involve the budgeted figures for FY 2011-12. Please provide the total budgeted amount for FY 2011-12 in each category. Please do NOT include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority. I appreciate you checking last year's budget to obtain these figures. It is very important that these questions be answered. Thank you for your cooperation. (Round to the nearest $100; if none, please enter 0 - please enter numbers only, no commas or $ signs)

*7. How much did the city budget for all housing programs in FY 2011-12? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority) Please enter the number as 1000000 (no commas).

Total Budgeted amount................$

Local Housing Policies and Programs

For the purposes of this survey, very-low income is defined as below 50% of your area median household income (AMHI), low-income is defined as 50% above your AMHI but below 80% of your AMHI, and moderate income is defined as above 80% of AMHI but below 120% of AMHI.

8. How much did the city budget for housing programs for extremely low and low-income households in FY 2011-12? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority) Please enter the number as 1000000 (no commas).

Total Budgeted
amount..................$ [   ]

9. How much did the city budget for housing programs for moderate-income households (incomes 80% to <120% of area median household income) in FY 2011-12? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority)

Total Budgeted
amount..................$ [   ]

＊10. How much of the funds budgeted for housing in your city during the FY 2011-12 came from the federal government? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority)

Actual dollar
amount.................$ [   ]

＊11. How much of the housing funds budgeted by your city in FY 2011-12 came from the state government? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority)

Actual dollar
amount..................$ [   ]

＊12. How much of the housing funds budgeted by your city in FY 2011-12 came from the county or other sources? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority)

Actual dollar
amount..................$ [   ]

＊13. How much of the housing funds budgeted by your city in FY 2011-12 came from city only (i.e., local revenue sources)? (Please do not include funds budgeted under a Local Housing Authority)

Actual dollar
amount..................$ [   ]

Local Housing Policies and Programs

*14. Has your city operated/implemented any of the following housing programs during the last three years (FY 2009-10 to FY 2011-12)? If so, please check the appropriate funding source(s) listed next to each program. (You may select more than one funding source for each program)

	Local	State	Federal
Rent control	☐	☐	☐
Rent subsidy (i.e., Housing Choice Voucher Program)	☐	☐	☐
Developer subsidy or land write down (affordable multi-family development)	☐	☐	☐
Developer subsidy or land write down for affordable ownership (single-family or condo development)	☐	☐	☐
Down payment assistance	☐	☐	☐
Housing rehabilitation (i.e., weatherization assistance)	☐	☐	☐
Home ownership Counseling/Training	☐	☐	☐
Homeless Assistance	☐	☐	☐
Utility Assistance Programs	☐	☐	☐
Senior Housing	☐	☐	☐

Other (Please list all other housing programs and name the appropriate funding source)

[   ]

*15. Has your city implemented any housing program that does not require direct expenditures? (E.g., density bonus, fast tracking, reduced parking requirements)

☐ Yes

☐ No

*16. Please list the housing program(s) implemented by your city that do not require direct expenditures

[   ]

Local Housing Policies and Programs

17. Please rank the following community organizations serving your city according to their level of activity as advocates for affordable housing opportunities for local residents? (Use numbers 1-4: 1 for the organizations that do the highest level of advocacy and 4 the lowest level)

[▼]	City Housing Staff
[▼]	Non Profit HOUSING ORGANIZATIONS
[▼]	Non Profit CHURCH GROUPS
[▼]	Local Business Associations

*18. Who operates the Local Housing Authority (administering vouchers, public housing, etc) serving the residents in your city? (Select the appropriate option)

○ City

○ County

○ Other (please describe)

[   ]

*19. Please estimate the percentage (%) of funds budgeted by your city on the following housing activities: (If none, please enter 0)

a) Programs aimed at new homeownership or the improvement of owner-occupied units	[ ]
b) Programs aimed at rental assistance or the improvement of rental units	[ ]
c) Programs assisting the homeless	[ ]
d) Other	[ ]

20. If a percentage (%) was entered under other for the previous question, please list the programs funded under the "other" category.

[   ]

*21. Are there active nonprofit housing organizations operating within your city?

○ Yes

○ No

Local Housing Policies and Programs

*22. In general, how active are these nonprofit housing organizations in advocating for affordable housing opportunities in the community? (Select the number that corresponds to the level of activity)

(1) Hardly Active at All	2	3	4	5	6	(7) Very Active
○	○	○	○	○	○	○

*23. In thinking of the non-profit housing organizations in your city as a whole, how would you assess the following characteristics? (Select the number that corresponds to your rating)

	(1) Low	2	3	4	5	6	(7) High
Capacity	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Influence on housing decisions	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Effectiveness achieving their goals	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Familiarity with local housing issues	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Community outreach and engagement	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

*24. Please provide the names of as many active non-profit housing organizations in your city as you can recall

[   ]

*25. Are financial institutions in your community actively marketing their loan products to low-income individuals?

○ Yes

○ No

*26. Are financial institutions in your community delivering loans to low-income individuals?

○ Yes

○ No

Thank you for your help with this survey. We ask that you provide us with any comments about the questionnaire and/or additional information on any of your responses to our questions. This information is completely voluntary and confidential. Once again, we sincerely thank you for your participation.

27. Additional Comments/Information:

[   ]

THANKS AGAIN FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

APPENDIX B. Survey Invitation Email

Subject: Local Housing Policies and Programs Survey conducted by the University of California, Irvine

Dear [FirstName] [LastName],

[City, ST]

I am writing to invite you to participate in a study conducted by the University of California, Irvine on the role of organizations in affordable housing policies. This research aims to better understand the dynamic relationship among cities, developers, organizations, etc. working on affordable housing in your city. The study involves an online survey that will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Please note you do not need to complete the survey in one sitting; you may come back to it where you left off at any time.

Your participation in this study is very valuable because it will increase our understanding of affordable housing policies and partnerships. As you know, due to the complexity of financing housing development, coupled with the current national period of economic hardships, cities are facing difficult housing issues in their communities. This policy environment and the decisions made during these times will have significant impact on future housing conditions in the country.

To help in this study, please click on the link to the survey [SurveyLink]. I truly

appreciate your willingness participate by taking this survey. Please do not forward this

message; the link is uniquely tied to your email address. If you believe I should contact

someone else in your department or city, I would sincerely appreciate you please

providing me with his/her contact information at the email address provided below.

Thanks in advance for your participation! Once the results of this survey are available, I

will send out an email notice with a web link to these results so you can access them.

I appreciate your time and thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Anaid Yerena, PhD Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(XXX) XXX-XXXX
XXXXX@uci.edu

Victoria Basolo, PhD, Faculty Sponsor
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design

APPENDIX C. Survey Invitation Reminder Email

Subject: REMINDER: Local Housing Policies and Programs Survey conducted by the University of California, Irvine

Dear [FirstName] [LastName],

I am contacting you again because we have not received your response to our survey yet. I would like to encourage you to participate in this study conducted by the University of California, Irvine on the role of organizations in affordable housing policies. This research aims to better understand the dynamic relationship among cities, developers, organizations, etc. working on affordable housing in your city. The study involves an online survey that will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. Please note you do not need to complete the survey in one sitting; you may come back to it where you left off at any time.

Your participation in this study is very valuable because it will increase our understanding of affordable housing policies and partnerships. As you know, due to the complexity of financing housing development, coupled with the current national period of economic hardships, cities are facing difficult housing issues in their communities. This policy environment and the decisions made during these times will have significant impact on future housing conditions in the country.

To help in this study, please click on the link to the survey [SurveyLink]. I truly appreciate your willingness participate by taking this survey. Please do not forward this message; the link is uniquely tied to your email address. If you believe I should contact someone else in your department or city, I would sincerely appreciate you please providing me with his/her contact information at the email address provided below.

Thanks in advance for your participation! Once the results of this survey are available, I will send out an email notice with a web link to these results so you can access them.

I appreciate your time and thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Anaid Yerena, PhD Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(XXX) XXX-XXXX
XXXXX@uci.edu

Victoria Basolo, PhD, Faculty Sponsor
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design

APPENDIX D. Survey Invitation Final Reminder Email

Subject: REMINDER: Local Housing Policies and Programs Survey conducted by the University of California, Irvine

Dear [FirstName] [LastName],

[City, ST]

During the last month and a half I have sent you several messages about an important research study I am conducting on large cities across the U.S. Its purpose is to help local policy-makers, like you, and affordable housing organizations get a sense of the support for affordable housing in cities throughout the country.

The study is drawing to a close, so I am contacting you again to encourage your city to weigh in on the results. If you are one of the cities that has already responded to the survey, thank you for your input and please feel free to disregard the rest of this message. We are sending this message because of our concern that affordable housing policies in cities that have not responded to the survey differ from those who have. Hearing from every large city in this nationwide study helps assure that the results are as accurate as possible. Please find your personalized link to the survey here: [SurveyLink].

I would also like to assure you that your response to this study is voluntary, and if you prefer not to respond that's fine. If you are not someone within your city with access to the information the survey requests, please let me know by replying to this message (and

potentially referring someone else). This would be very helpful.

Finally, we appreciate your willingness to consider our request as we conclude this effort

to better understand local affordable housing polices in the U.S. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Anaid Yerena, PhD Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(XXX) XXX-XXXX
XXXXX@uci.edu

Victoria Basolo, PhD, Faculty Sponsor
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design

APPENDIX E. Advocacy Organization Interview Questionnaire

The purpose of this study is to examine Advocacy Organizations' activities and impacts around the affordable housing policy domain. Specifically, the research asks the following descriptive and explanatory research questions: 1a) What are the approaches ("tactics") used by affordable housing AOs and 1b) How and when are they effective? And, 2) To what extent have affordable housing AO's influenced city decision making related to affordable housing?

I thank you in advance for participating in this interview.

Are you ready to begin with the interview?

1. What is your role within the organization?

2. According to your website, the purpose of your AO is to….

   a. Why was the AO formed?

   b. What does the AO do to achieve this purpose?

   c. How is AO working toward achieving policies favorable to the organization's agenda? (for example: education campaigns; by commenting or responding to draft regulation)

   d. What actions does your AO take in promoting the creation of affordable housing? (probe: education campaigns, mobilization, letter writing, lobbying, contacting local elected officials, participating in "issue" conferences, bargaining/negotiating with elected officials or local jurisdictions, consensus building)

   e. Why did your organization locate in the city of [City]

3. In your work, who do you consider (individuals or organizations) the AO's allies?
   a. Can you please tell me about a particular occasion when an elected official or city staff member was supportive to your organization's goal? (probe: When did you realize they had been influential? Why were they influential?)

b. How do you identify your organization's allies?
      i. Within government
      ii. Across the AO sector
   c. Where do you derive funding from? (probe: financial support)

4. Who benefits from your AO's work?

5. In what ways do you know the AO has made a difference through its work?

6. Thinking about decision makers and policy makers, who is your organization trying to influence the most? (probe: housing and community development staff; city council…)

   a. In what ways does your organization go about influencing people you think are important to achieve your goals?

7. When thinking about the affordable housing policy process, how does your organization become involved in the city's agenda setting?

   a. How much access does your organization have to local decision-making arenas and can you tell me a little bit about it? (probe: city council meetings, planning commission meetings)

   b. As policies move forward, how does your organization get involved in monitoring and shaping the implementation of these policies?

   c. Once a policy is in place and implementation is underway, how does your organization attempt to shift the long-term priorities and resources of the cities you work with?

8. Are there particular affordable housing policies in the cities that you work with that your organization is interested in changing? Which are they?

   a. What changes would you like to see?

9. Please tell me about a recent policy success the AO has achieved.

   a. What resources did your AO put to work to achieve this success? (Ex., professional networks, funds, volunteer work, letter writing campaign)

   b. What government jurisdiction did you work most closely with?

   c. In what part of the policy making process did your AO become involved in the issue?

10. Please tell me about a recent failure of your AO.

a. What resources did your AO put to work in this occasion? (Ex., professional networks, funds, volunteer work, letter writing campaign)

b. What government jurisdiction did you work most closely with?

c. In what part of the policy making process did your AO become involved in the issue?

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX F. City Official Interview Questionnaire

The purpose of this study is to examine Advocacy Organizations' activities and impacts around the affordable housing policy domain. Specifically, the research asks the following descriptive and explanatory research questions: 1a) What are the approaches ("tactics") used by affordable housing AOs and 1b) How and when are they effective? And, 2) To what extent have affordable housing AO's influenced city decision making related to affordable housing?

I thank you in advance for participating in this interview.

Are you ready to begin with the interview?

1. What is your role within the city?

2. Could you please provide me some examples of the actions your city takes to promote the creation of new AH or improvement of existing AH?

3. What actions does your city take in promoting the creation of affordable housing? (probe: education campaigns, mobilization, participating in "issue" conferences, consensus building)

   a.   How did these policies come about?

4. Who are the most important organizations influencing the city's affordable housing decisions? (where are these organizations based?)

5. Are there any other organizations that are trying to influence the city's affordable housing decisions, but are not on the list you provided above? (maybe because they have not been successful)

6. In your work, who do you consider (individuals or organizations) the city's Housing Department allies?

   a.   How do you identify your allies?

b. In what ways does your city reach out to these people you think are important to achieve your goals?

7. Can you please tell me about a particular occasion when an AO influenced the city's expenditures or policies for affordable housing? Why? (probe: When did you realize they had been influential? Why were they influential?)

a. How did the AOs attempt to exert their influence?

8. Can you please tell me about a particular occasion when an AO failed at influencing the city's expenditures or policies for affordable housing? Why?

a. How did the AOs attempt to exert their influence?

9. Are there any AOs that your city works with that you may have not mentioned earlier in the interview? Could you provide me a contact person I can reach out to?

Thank you for your time.

APPENDIX G. Invitation to be Interviewed

Subject: University of California Study on Advocacy Organizations

Dear [FirstName] [LastName] advocacy organization president,

[organization/title]

I am writing to invite you to participate in a study conducted by the University of California, Irvine on the role of your organization in promoting affordable housing. This research aims to better understand the dynamic relationship among cities, developers, organizations, etc. working on affordable housing in [city]. The study involves an audio-recorded phone or in-person interview (whatever is more convenient for you) that will take approximately 1 hour.

Your participation in this study is very valuable because it will increase our understanding of affordable housing policies and partnerships. As you know, due to the complexity of financing housing development, coupled with the current national period of economic hardships, cities are facing difficult housing issues in their communities. This policy environment and the decisions made during these times will have significant impact on future housing conditions in the country. The work organizations like [organization] do to promote affordable housing is critical in the creation of more affordable housing opportunities in your community.

To help in this study, please reply to this message with the date(s) and time(s) that work best for you and whether you prefer a phone or in-person interview. I truly appreciate your willingness participate by agreeing to be interviewed. If you believe I should contact someone else in your organization, I would sincerely appreciate you forwarding this message to the individual and copying me at the email address provided below.

Thanks in advance for your participation! Once the results of this study are available, I will send out an email notice with a web link to these results so you can access them.

I appreciate your time and thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Anaid Yerena, PhD Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(XXX) XXX-XXXX
XXXXX@uci.edu

Victoria Basolo, PhD, Faculty Sponsor
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design

APPENDIX H. Interview Invitation Reminder

Hi [FirstName] [LastName],

I am writing to kindly remind you of the invitation below.

I appreciate your time and thank you in advance for considering my request for an

interview.

Best,

Anaid Yerena, PhD Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
University of California, Irvine
300 Social Ecology I
Irvine, Ca 92697-7075
Phone (XXX) – (XXXX)

Forward previous message:

APPENDIX I. Institutional Review Board (IRB) Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE
CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN RESEARCH SUBJECT

Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations on Local Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Participation is completely voluntary. Please read the information below and ask questions about anything that you do not understand. A researcher listed below will be available to answer your questions.

RESEARCH TEAM
Lead Researcher
Anaid Yerena, Ph.D. Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(626) 502-6243 anaid.y@uci.edu

Faculty Sponsor
Victoria Basolo
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(949) 824-3521 Basolo@uci.edu

WHY IS THIS RESEARCH STUDY BEING DONE?
The purpose of this research study is to *increase our understanding of the influence of AOs on local governmental support for affordable housing.*

HOW MANY PEOPLE WILL TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
This study will enroll approximately 275 participants. All study procedures will be done via an online survey and/or telephone interview.

WHAT PROCEDURES ARE INVOLVED WITH THIS STUDY AND HOW LONG WILL THEY TAKE?
1. *Online survey to all U.S. cities with a population of 100,000 or more.*
2. *Semi-structured interviews with city officials in 4 cities in one county, to ask about alternative support for affordable housing.*
3. *Participation in the study will include 1 survey questionnaire and/or a semi-structured interview and take a total of about 60 minutes to complete.*

You must meet the following requirements to be in the study: *Be 18 years of age or older.*

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISCOMFORTS OR RISKS RELATED TO THE STUDY?
There are no known harms or discomforts associated with this study beyond those encountered in normal daily life. The possible risks and/or discomforts associated with the procedures described in this study include: *none*

ARE THERE BENEFITS TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?
Participant Benefits
You will not directly benefit from participation in this study.

Benefits to Others or Society
To better understand the influence of AOs on affordable housing policy decision-making in U.S. cities
The results will be directly translatable to stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of affordable housing including policy makers, AO leaders, and people in need of affordable housing.

WILL I BE PAID FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
You will not be compensated for your participation in this research study.

Reimbursement
You will not be reimbursed for any out of pocket expenses, such as parking or transportation fees.

WHAT HAPPENS IF I AM INJURED BECAUSE I TOOK PART IN THIS STUDY?
If you elect to withdraw or are withdrawn from this research study, the researchers will discuss with you what they intend to do with your study data. Researchers may choose to analyze the study data already collected or they may choose to exclude your data from the analysis of study data and destroy it, as per your request.

HOW WILL MY PERSONAL INFORMATION BE KEPT?
Subject Identifiable Data
Subject identifiers will not be linked to the data/answers you provide

All identifiable information collected about you will be removed at the end of data collection.

Data Storage
Research data will be maintained in a secure location at UCI. Only authorized individuals will have access to it.

The *audio recordings* will also be stored in a secure location and transcribed. The recordings will be retained with the other research data.

Data Retention
The researchers intend to keep the research data in a repository indefinitely. Other researchers may have access to the data for future research. Any data shared with other researchers, will not include your name or other personal identifying information.

WHO WILL HAVE ACCESS TO MY STUDY DATA?
The research team, authorized UCI personnel and regulatory entities such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP), may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare.

Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law. Study records provided to authorized, non-UCI entities will not contain identifiable information about you; nor will any publications and/or presentations without your separate consent.

While the research team will make every effort to keep your personal information confidential, it is possible that an unauthorized person might see it. We cannot guarantee total privacy

ARE THERE OTHER ISSUES TO CONSIDER IN DECIDING WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY?

No one on the study team has a disclosable financial interest related to this research project.

WHO CAN ANSWER MY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY?

If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the research team listed at the top of this form.

Please contact UCI's Office of Research by phone, (949) 824-6662, by e-mail at IRB@research.uci.edu or at 5171 California Avenue, Suite 150, Irvine, CA 92617, if you are unable to reach the researchers listed at the top of the form and have general questions; have concerns or complaints about the research; have questions about your rights as a research subject; or have general comments or suggestions.

HOW DO I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY?

You should not sign this consent form until all of your questions about this study have been answered by a member of the research team listed at the top of this form. You will be given a copy of this signed and dated consent form to keep. **Participation in this study is voluntary.** You may refuse to answer any question or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. Your decision will not affect your future relationship with UCI or your quality of care at the UCI Medical Center.

_____ Yes, I agree to allow the research team to audio record my interview.
_____ No, I do not agree to allow the research team to audio record my interview.

Your signature below indicates you have read the information in this consent form and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about this study.

I agree to participate in the study.

_____   _____

  Subject Signature   **Date**

_____

  Printed Name of Subject

_____   _____

  Researcher Signature   **Date**

_____

  Printed Name of Researcher

APPENDIX J. IRB Study Information Sheet

University of California, Irvine
Study Information Sheet

Advocacy in Action: Understanding the Influence of Advocacy Organizations on Local Affordable Housing Policy in the U.S.

Lead Researcher
Anaid Yerena, Ph.D. Student
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(626) 502-6243 anaid.y@uci.edu

Faculty Sponsor
Victoria Basolo
Department of Planning, Policy, and Design
(949) 824-3521 Basolo@uci.edu

- You are being asked to participate in a research study to increase our understanding of the influence of AOs on local governmental support for affordable housing.

- You are eligible to participate in this study if you are at least 18 years of age or older; a city official, staff, or Advocacy Organization (AO) leader, and speak English.

- Participation in the study will include one on-line survey or an audio-recorded semi-structured interview to ask about alternative support for affordable housing. Participation will take a total of about 60 minutes to complete.

- Possible risks/discomforts associated with the study are risk of potential reach of confidentiality, because I am obtaining personally identifiable info (ie, name, phone number, email address). The risk will be minimized by incorporating adequate safeguards into the research design to protect the confidentiality of the data (e.g., encryption, codes, and passwords). Pseudonyms will be used for both the participant and the city being studied to minimize the breach.

- There are no direct benefits from participation in the study. However, this study may explain the influence of AOs on affordable housing policy decision-making in U.S. cities The results will be directly translatable to stakeholders involved in the production and consumption of affordable housing including policy makers, AO leaders, and people in need of affordable housing.

- You will not be compensated for your participation in this research study.

- All research data collected will be stored securely and confidentially. Research data will be maintained in a secure location at UCI. Only authorized individuals will have access to it. The audio recordings will also be stored in a secure location and transcribed within 2 weeks of the interview. The recordings will be retained with the other research data and destroyed within a year of completion of the study.

- The research team and authorized UCI personnel may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare. Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law.

215

- If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research please contact the researchers listed at the top of this form.

- Please contact UCI's Office of Research by phone, (949) 824-6662, by e-mail at IRB@research.uci.edu or at 5171 California Avenue, Suite 150, Irvine, CA 92617 if you are unable to reach the researchers listed at the top of the form and have general questions; have concerns or complaints about the research; have questions about your rights as a research subject; or have general comments or suggestions.

- Participation in this study is voluntary. There is no cost to you for participating. You may choose to skip a question or a study procedure. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time. **If you decide to withdraw from this study you should notify the research team immediately**.

215

APPENDIX K. Descriptive Statistics and Transformations

Figure K. 1. Housing & Community Development (HCD) Expenditures per Capita Before Transformation
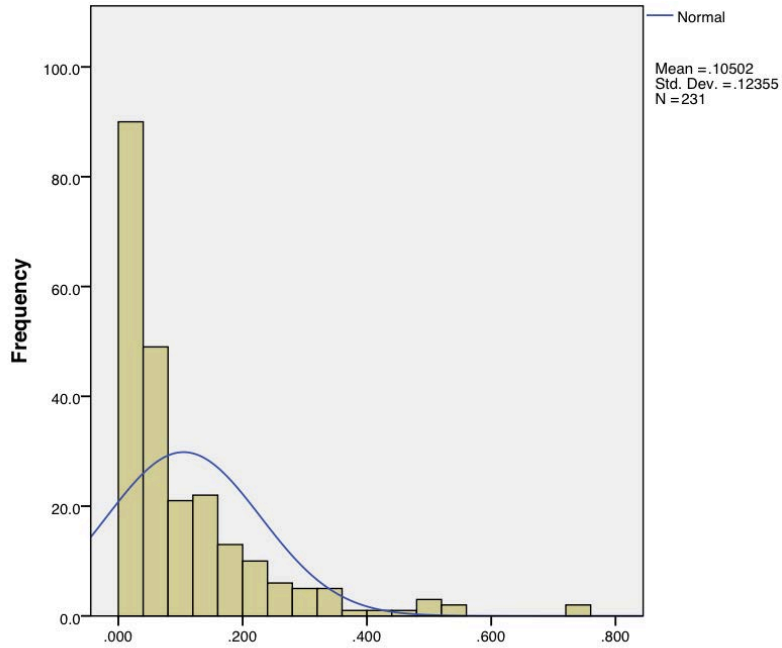
Figure K. 2. HCD Expenditures per Capita After Transformation
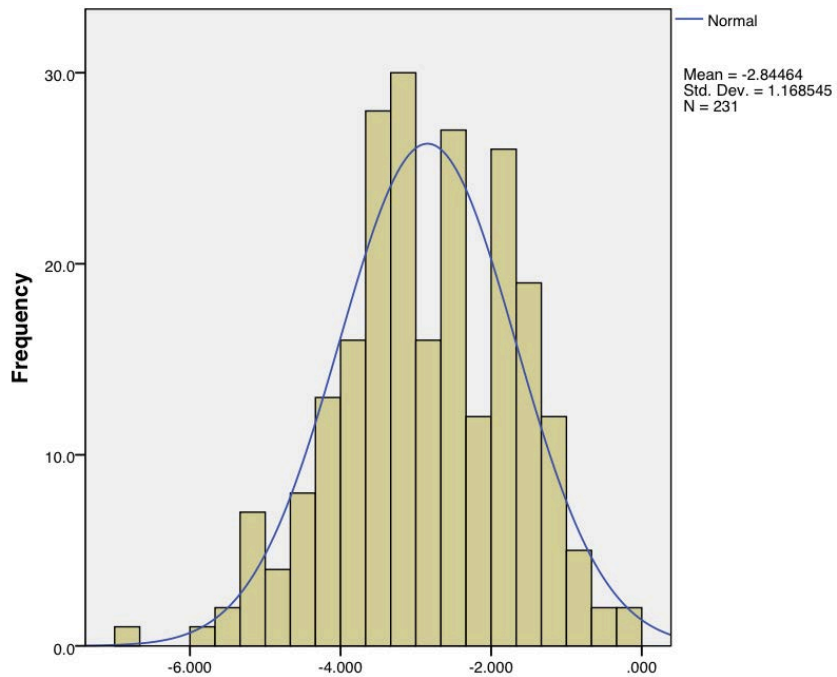
Figure K. 3. Budget per Capita for Housing Before Transformation
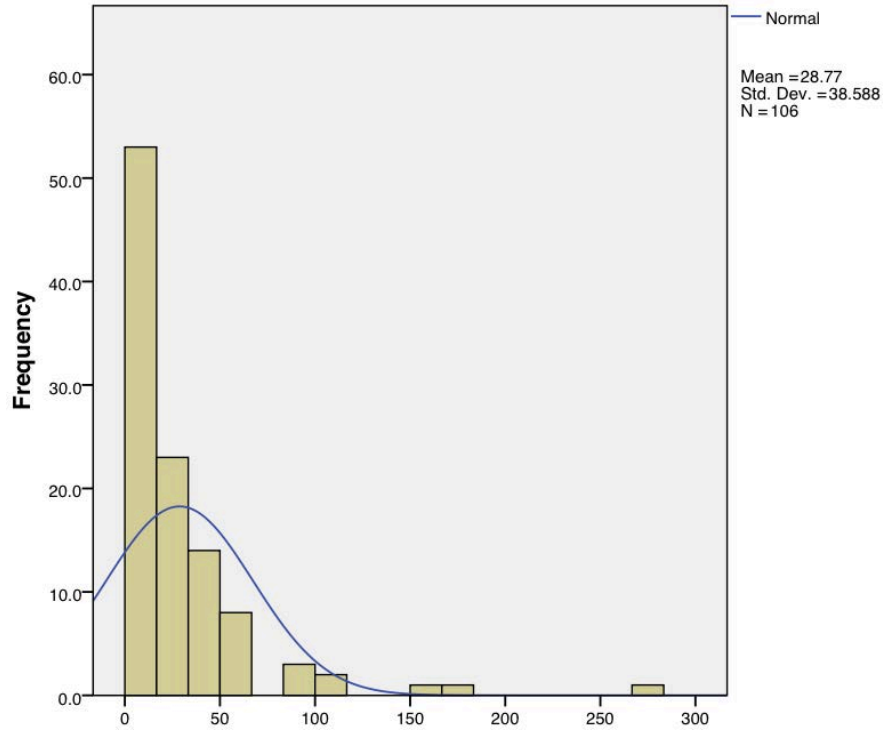
Figure K. 4. Budget per Capita for Housing After Transformation
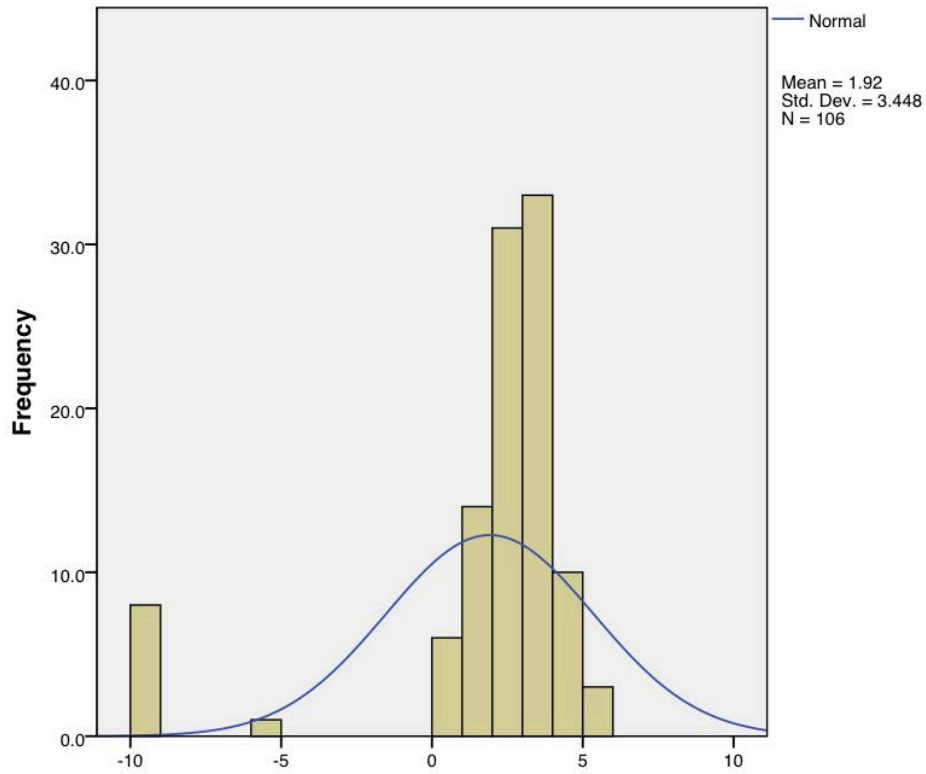
Figure K. 5. Competition Variable Before Transformation
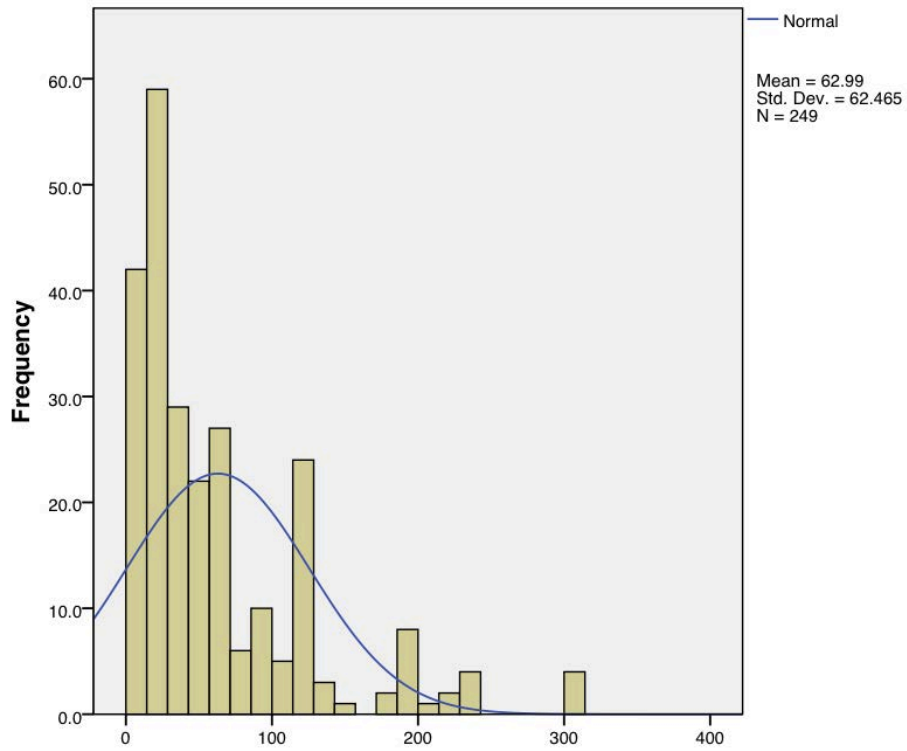
Figure K. 6 Competition Variable After Transformation
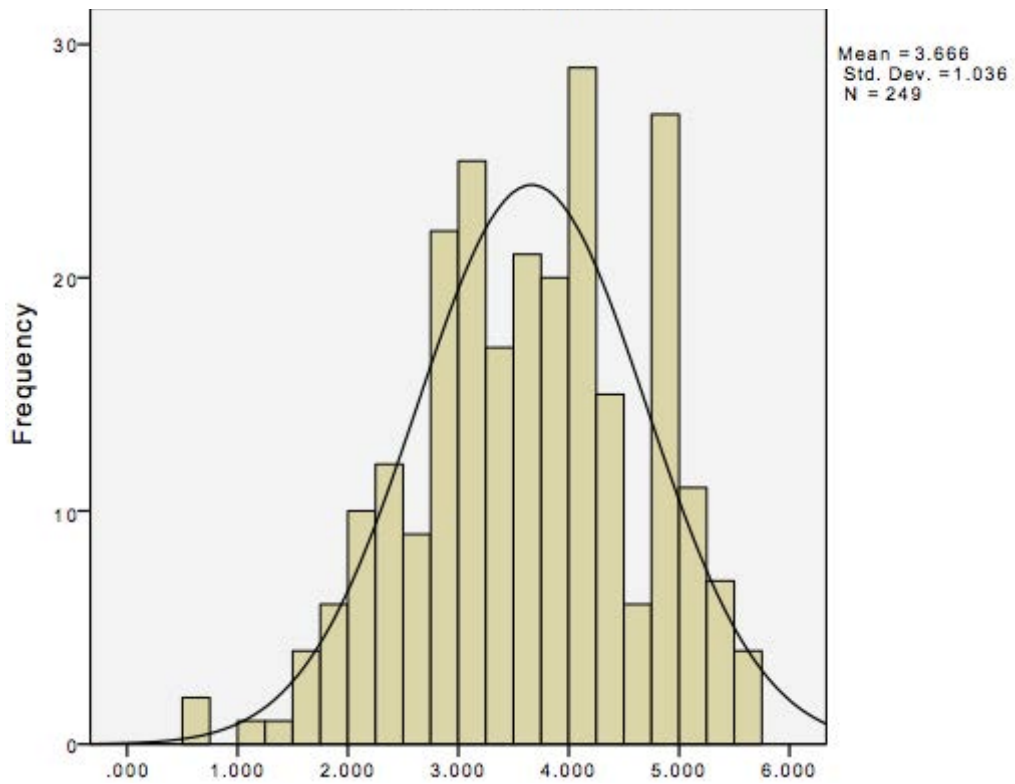
Figure K. 7. Unconventional Culture

Mean = 9.01E-15
Std. Dev. = 2.723
N = 249
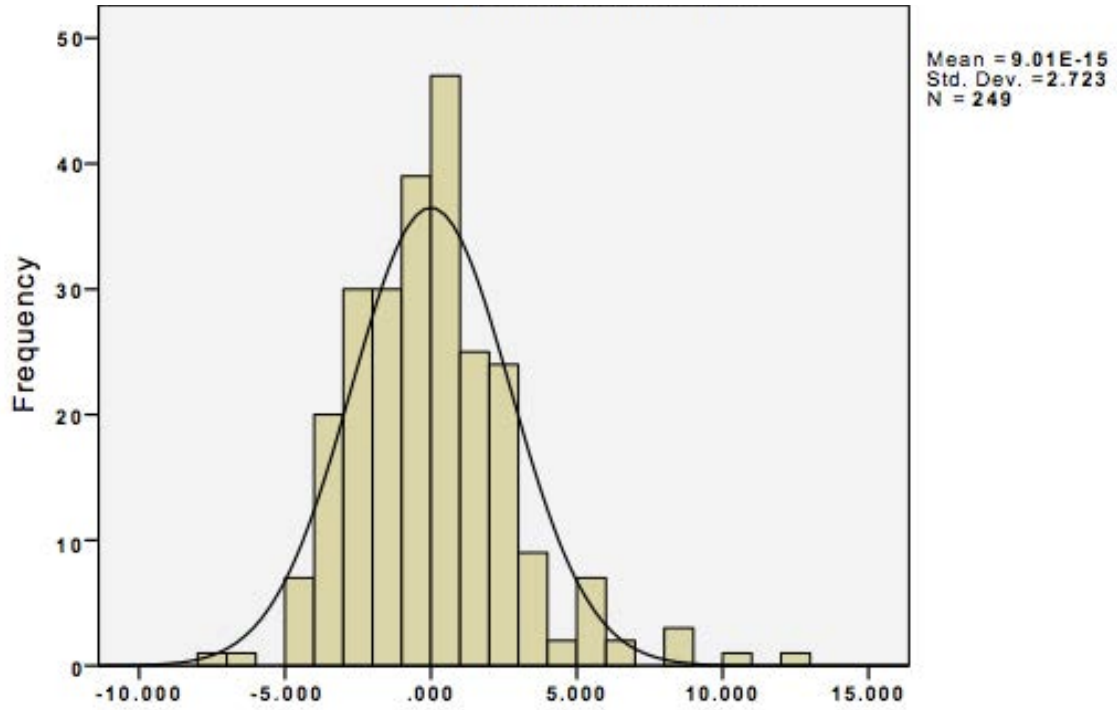
Figure K. 8. Percent Owners & Renters Pay > 30 Percent

Mean = .4178
Std. Dev. = .0752
N = 249
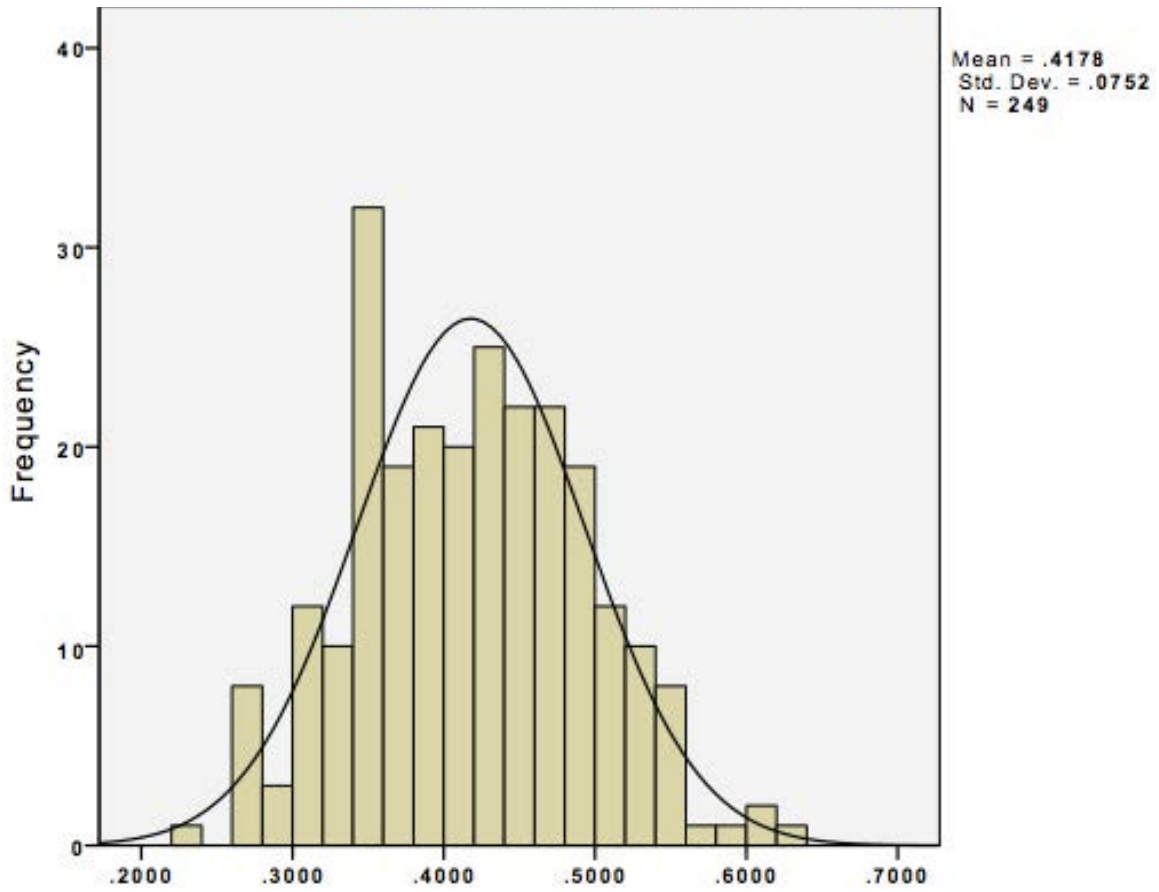
Figure K. 9. Percent Vacant Before Transformation
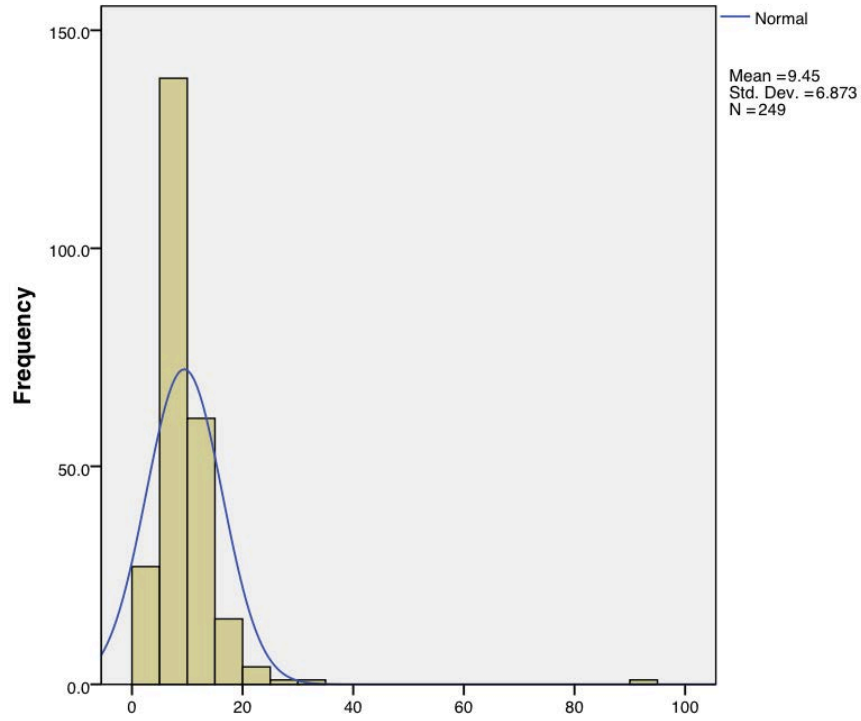
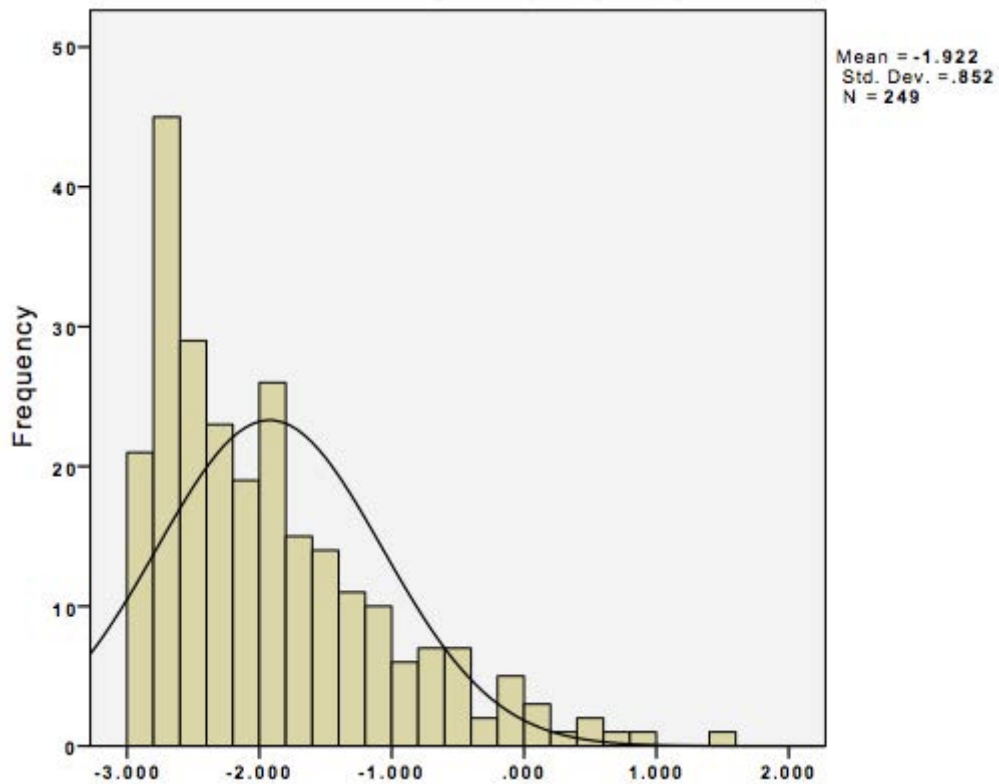**Figure K. 10. Percent Vacant Units After Transformation**
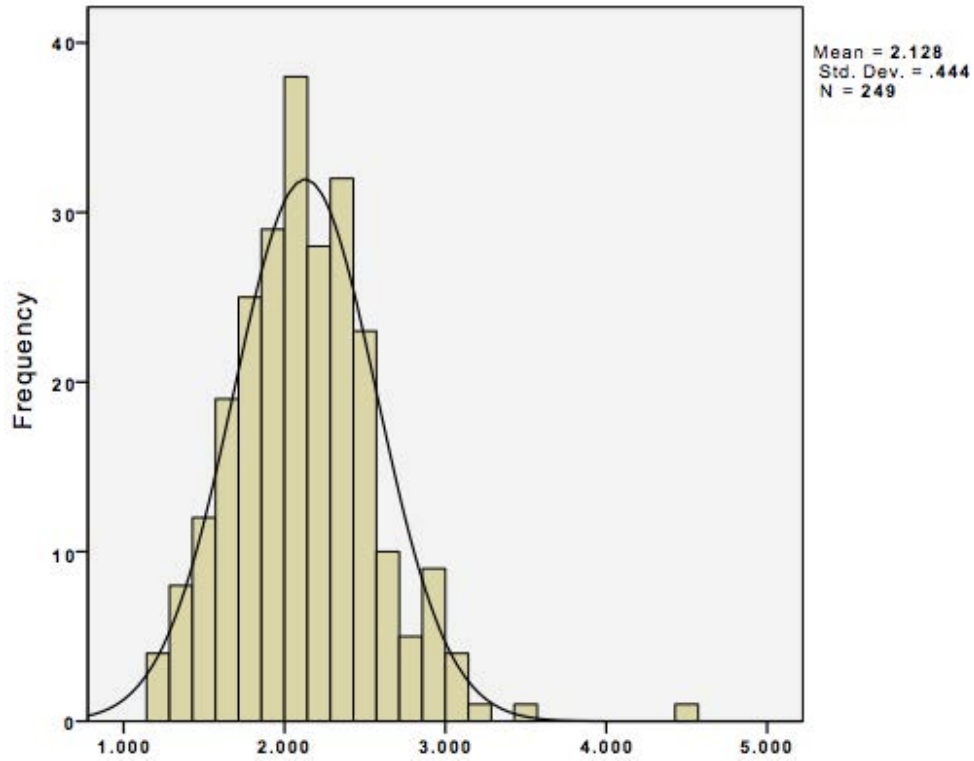
Figure K. 11. Economic Conditions Index

Mean = -.082
Std. Dev. = 2.575
N = 249
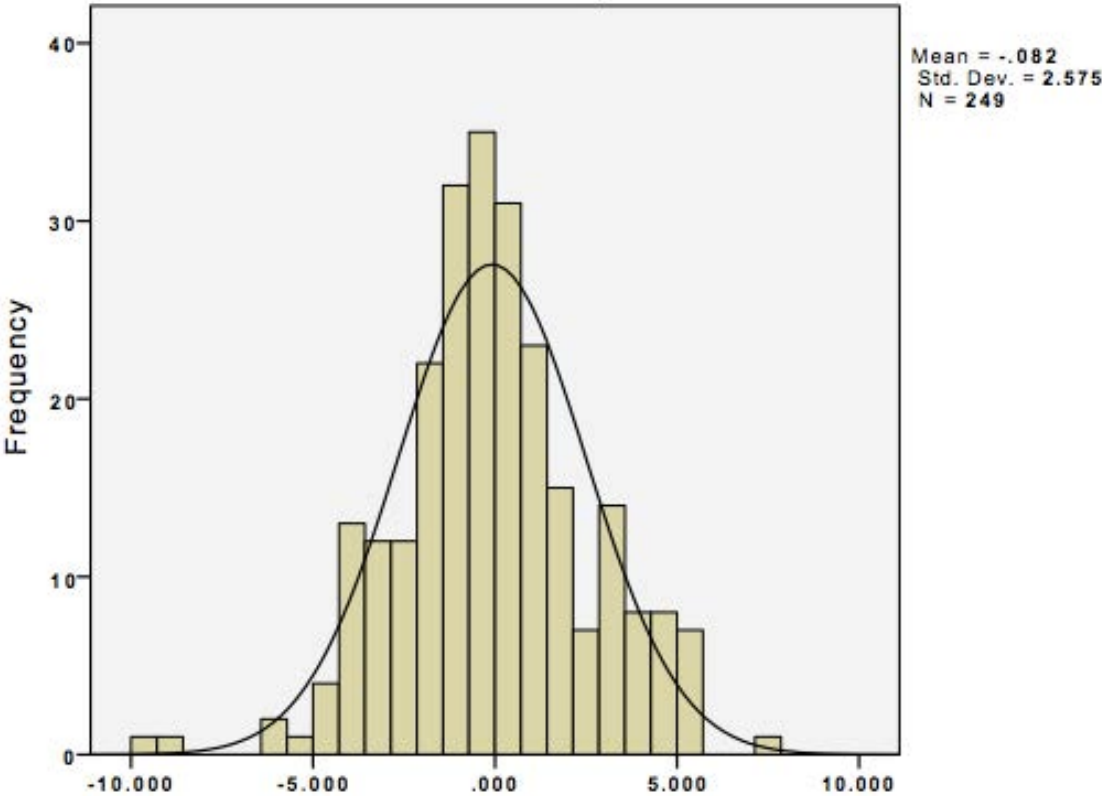
Figure K. 12. Mean AO Age (City Level)

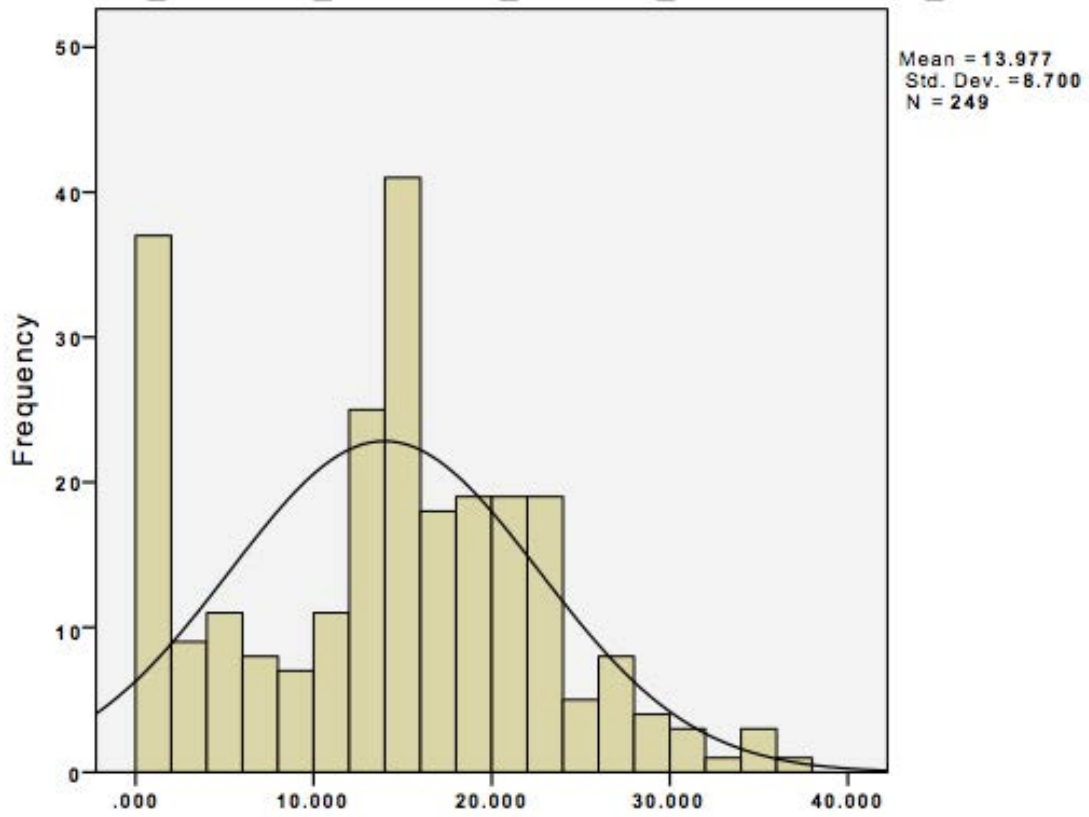

Mean = 16.33
Std. Dev. = 6.929
N = 249
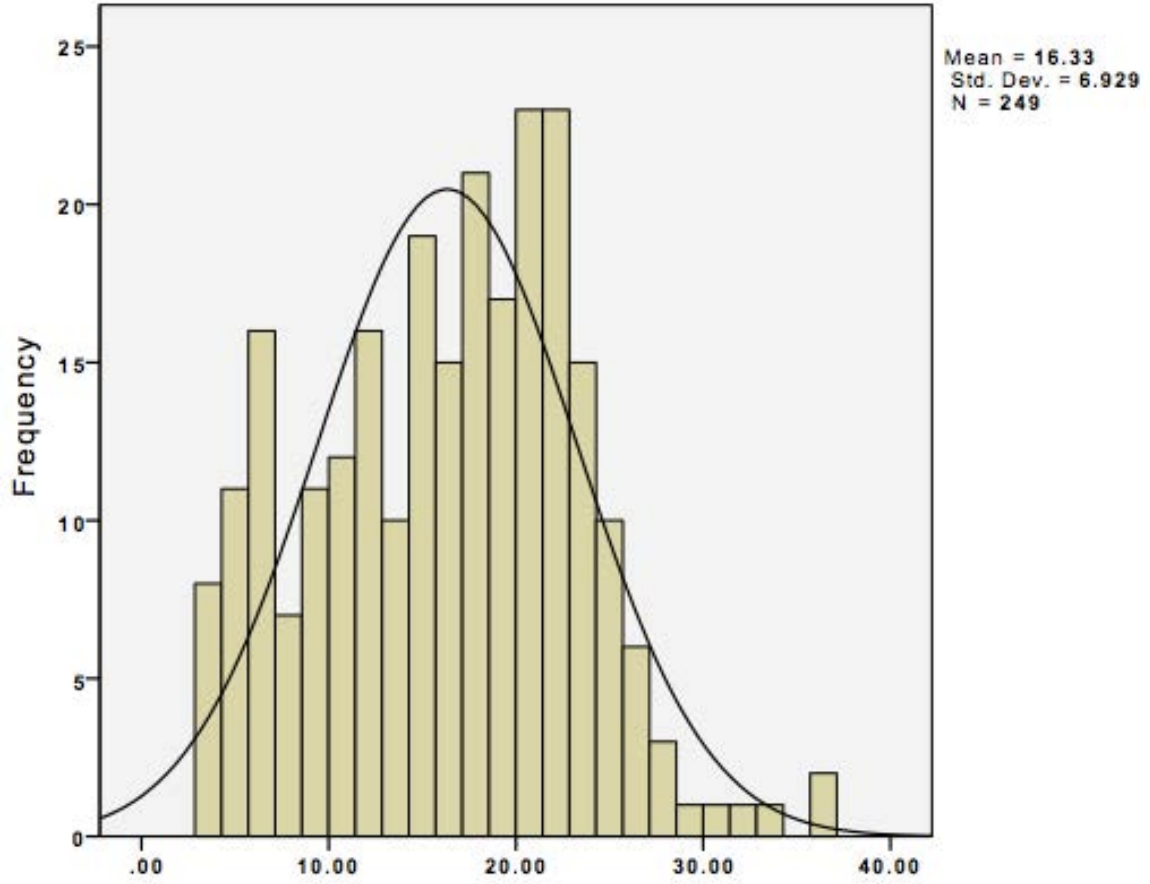
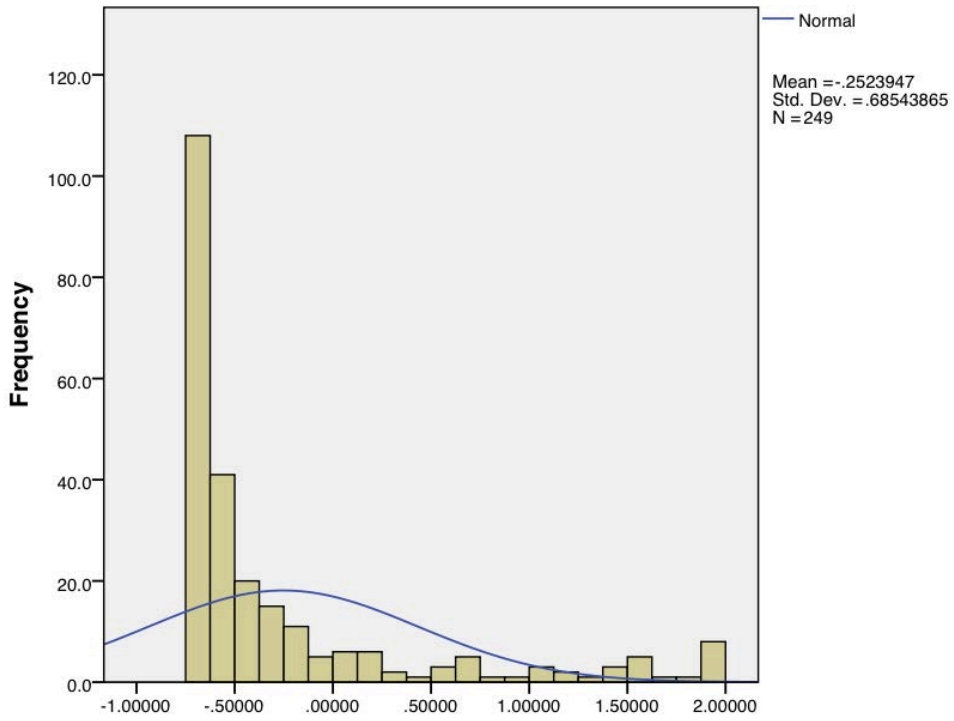**Figure K. 13. AO Index (City Level) Before Transformation**
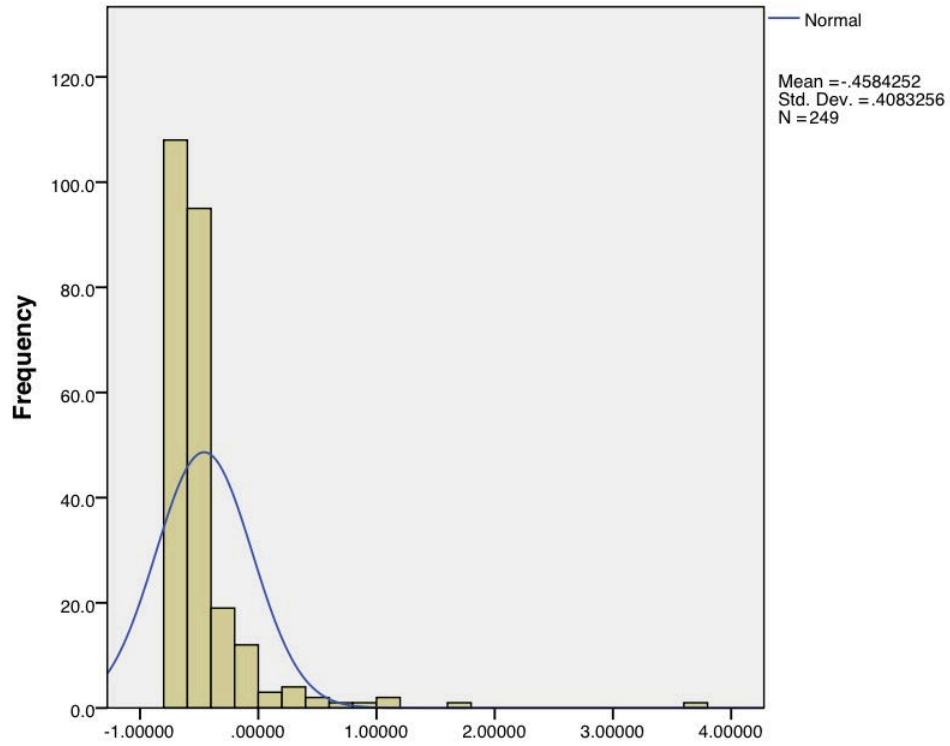
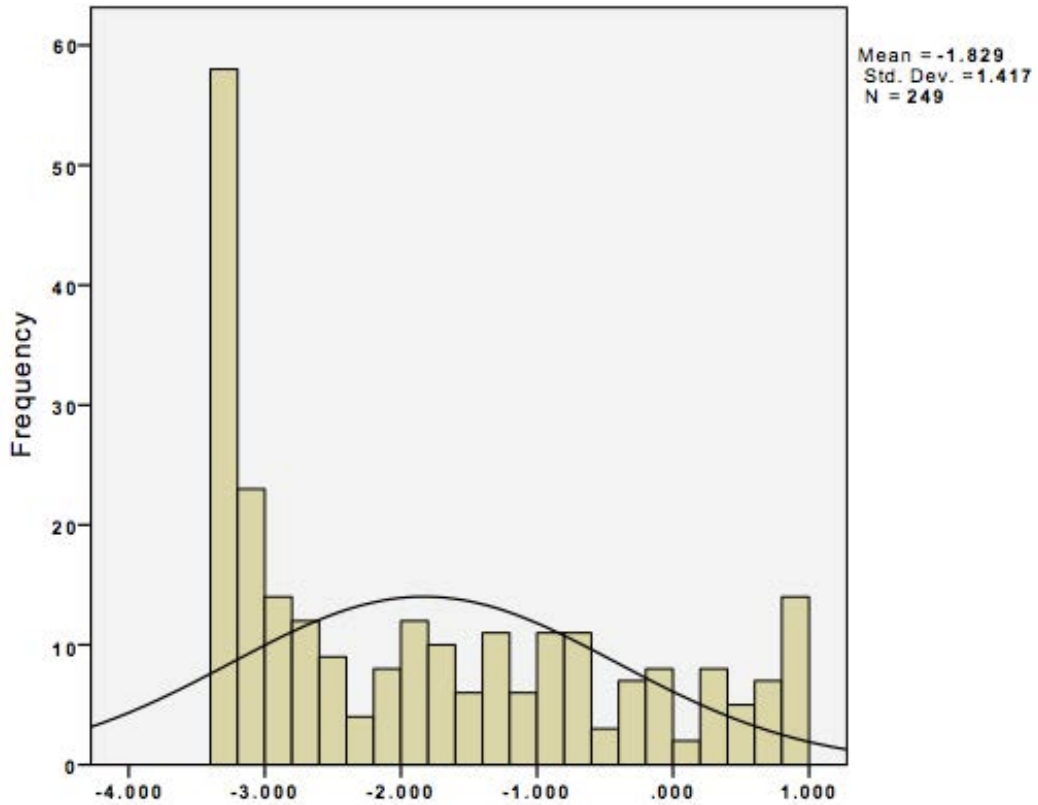**Figure K. 14. AO Index (City Level) After Transformation**

Figure K. 15. AO Mean Age (Surrounding County Level) After Transformation

Figure K. 16. AO Index (Surrounding County Level) Before Transformation

Figure K. 17. AO Index (Surrounding County Level) After Transformation

Descriptive Statistics After Transformations

Variable	n	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.	Skewness	Kurtosis
HCD Expenditures per capita (log)	249	5	15	9.32	1.51	.086	.370
Local Budget per capita (log)	106	-9	6	1.92	3.45	-2.602	5.932
AO Capacity Index (12.5K) (log)	249	-2.822	1.503	-1.922	.85	1.222	1.261
Population (log)	249	11.514	15.9917	12.27	.72	1.655	3.557
Vacancy Rate (log)	249	1.222	4.552	2.13	.44	.841	2.987
Competition (log)	249	.694	5.71	3.67	1.04	-.227	-.398
Housing Need (log)	249	.66	2.513	1.40	.38	.522	-.358
County_City AO Index (log)	249	-3.365	.959	-1.83	1.42	.552	-1.025
Fiscal Conditions (log)	249	-.34	2.44	.85	.48	.321	.448

APPENDIX L. Plan Evaluation Protocol

Adapted from Bunnell and Jepson, 2011

PLAN QUALITIES CODE (shown at the end of the questions):

R: Rigidity, Standardization, Lack of Creativity/Imagination (3 questions)
U: Acknowledges Uncertainty, Alternative Scenarios (3 questions)
P: Conveys Understanding of how Policies and Actions might contribute to Different
   Outcomes (4 questions)
N: Contains a Compelling Narrative Storyline (4 questions)

Name of Municipality: _____

Plan Term: _____

Type of plan:

___ Goal oriented

___ Problem/issue oriented

___ Vision oriented

___ Blueprint plan (picture of desired land use)

___ Policy plan

___ Strategic (SWOT)

State funding received toward the cost of the comprehensive plan? ___Yes ___No

The plan was developed

___ by a consultant
___ in-house
___ by a Regional Planning Commission (RPC)

I. Criteria Related to Readability, Synthesis and Quality of Presentation of Information, Narrative Quality, Persuasiveness and Realism of Plans (No = 0; Somewhat = 2; Yes = 4, unless indicated otherwise).

    1.   **Does the plan identify, describe and discuss previous plans?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

  2. **Does the plan consciously embrace or reject previous plans or planning strategies?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

3. **Does the plan squarely place the community in its regional context, including analysis of extra-territorial and other driving forces (opportunities and threats)?**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

4. **Does the plan provide historical perspective through extensive narrative of its history and how it has changed over time? (N)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

5. **Does the plan reinforce the community's unique identity and sense of place by conveying an understanding of its unique geography, history, economy, political culture, etc.? (N)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

6. **Does the plan establish its legitimacy by explaining the process followed preparing the plan, and steps taken to obtain wide-ranging participation and input from citizens and stakeholders? "Procedural validity" (Baer, 1997)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

7. **Is the plan *imaginative and creative* (extent of commitment to preparing a meaningful, effective plan)? (R)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

8. **Is the plan more than a collection of separate plan elements (what I call the "check-box" approach to plan making)?**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

9. **Does it contain a unifying narrative storyline that tells an engaging story? (N)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

10. **Does the plan put forward a compelling vision (through illustrations, photographs, maps, and words) of what the future could be like? (R)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

11. **Is there a vision statement that conveys the essence of what the community wants to be and look like in the future? (R)**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

12. **Are goals *clearly* stated, and are they a meaningful guide to action and decision making (i.e. are the goals more than "motherhood and apple pie"?**
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

13. **Does the plan focus attention on a limited number of unifying themes (<10)? (Yes = 4, No = 0) (N)**
Yes (4pts) _____   No (0pts)_____ Points: _____

14. Does the plan present a limited number of goals:
            Number: _____
            <12 (4pts) _____   12 –24 (2pts) _____   >25 (0pts) _____   Points: _____

15. Does the plan present more than one forecast of future population and/or job growth, and in so doing recognize uncertainty? (U)
Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

16. Does the plan present alternative scenarios, or at the very least compare the Desired Scenario vs. Trend Scenario? (U)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

17. "Does the plan provide clear explanations of alternative courses of action that enhance com- munity flexibility and adaptation in dealing with complex situations?" (Berke et al., 2006) (U)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

18. Does the plan communicate how future out- comes are likely to be shaped by different policies and courses of action? (P)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

19. Does the plan convey an understanding of the consequences of different courses of action? (P)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

20. Does the plan present compelling arguments for the recommended course of action? (P)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

21. Are rationales for the recommended course of action effectively presented? (Baer, 1997) (P)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

22. Does the plan exhort and inspire people to act?
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

23. Are maps included in the plan clear, relevant and comprehensible? (Berke et al., 2006)
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

24. Well written, clear and concise, with a mini- mum of technical jargon, so that citizens will want to read it?
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

25. Is there a distinctive and recognizable branding element, such as a logo, trademark or title?
    Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

II. Format, Style, and Appearance (No = 0, Somewhat = 2, Yes = 4, unless indicated otherwise).

1. **Does the plan contain photographs and illustrations that support the text and add visual interest?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

2. **Does the plan have a visually attractive format and page layout (e.g., columns not too wide; adequate line spacing, so that it is easy to read)?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

3. **Are tables and other data presented in the plan relevant to the argument that is being made and plan recommendations?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

4. **Does the plan explicitly underscore the importance of implementing the recommendations contained in the plan by laying out a clear path to plan implementation that specifically identifies what, who, when (implementation dates or prioritized), and how they will be funded:**
   ___ All four aspects (4 pts)
   ___ Three of the four aspects (2 pts)
   ___ No implementation program or < three aspects (0 pts)
                                                          Points: _____

5. **Is the plan not overly bulky; that is, is it compact and easy to carry?**
   Number of pages (not including appendices): _____
   ___ 1–99 (4 pts)   ___ 100–166 (2 pts)   ___<167 (0 pts)   Points: _____

6. **Does the plan include an attractive, highly readable, and informative executive summary?**
   Yes (4pts) _____   Somewhat (2pts)_____   No (0pts)_____   Points: _____

                                        TOTAL SCORE: _____