## BUILDING ON COMMON GROUND Using community expressions of support to promote affordable housing developments in Ann Arbor, Michigan

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## **Abstract**

For decades, social scientists and practitioners have viewed public opposition to land-use change, including the development of affordable housing, through the lens of NIMBYism ("Not in My Back Yard"). Currently, there are two main limitations with research on the subject. First, much of what is understood about community opposition to affordable housing is investigated through the perspectives of third parties, such as developers and government officials, based on their experiences with the broader public. Second, there is relatively little qualitative research on what drives support from individuals and communities during the affordable housing development process. These constraints mean that knowledge of community reactions to affordable housing is both speculative and highly circumscribed.

Building on a "strengths-based" approach inspired by Kurt Lewin's force-field analysis framework, this research seeks to close these gaps by better understanding how community members describe their own support for affordable housing. To this end, I conducted 19 in-depth interviews with individuals connected to affordable housing issues in Washtenaw County, Michigan e.g. nonprofit leaders, current and former government officials, small business owners, and developers. Although my interview pool was similar to that of previous research, the analytical focus on personal support for affordable housing offers a fresh perspective to the field. I found that community leaders largely couched their support in the community-level benefits of affordable housing and in their own personal values, particularly those of equity and fairness. Looking to public education campaigns, I use these results to elaborate on untapped opportunities to advocate for affordable housing in Ann Arbor, MI, by centering campaign messaging on these themes. Overall, this study has demonstrated that we must look beyond merely responding to perceived "NIMBY" reactions and learn how to amplify the existing sources of support already existing in the community when advocating for affordable housing. This new approach to understanding and leveraging public support could be replicated in other contentious land-use change scenarios of public goods, including the siting of renewable energy generation and other human service facilities.

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## **Table of Contents**

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Figures and Tables	v
Introduction	1
NIMBY and opposition to affordable housing	1
Critiques of the "NIMBY" frame and implications for affordable housing	2
Current research limitations	3
Making the case for a strengths-based approach	4
Public education campaigns: A deficit-based approach	5
Study Setting	6
Data Collection and Analysis	7
Key Findings	8
Conceptualizations of community opposition	8
Conceptualization of community support	9
Conceptualizations of personal support	10
Conceptualizations of personal hesitations	12
Students and affordable housing	12
Discussion	13
Implications for a public education campaign in Ann Arbor	15
Conclusion	17

References	18
Appendix I - Final Report from Dow Sustainability Fellowship Project	
Appendix II - Interview Guide	
Appendix III - Coding Scheme	

## **List of Figures and Tables**

## **Tables**

Table 1: Participant Affiliations	7
Table 2: Summary of Campaign Recommendations for Ann Arbor	16
Figures	
Figure 1: Applying Kurt Lewin's force-field analysis to affordable housing in Ann Arbor	5
Figure 2: Campaign ads	6
Figure 3: Frequency of reasons offered to explain community opposition	9
Figure 4: Graphic representation of perceived reasons for community support	9
Figure 5: Frequency of values mentioned to explain personal support	11
Figure 6: Key study findings organized according to Lewin's force-field analysis model	13

## Introduction

For decades, social scientists and practitioners have viewed public opposition to land-use change, including the development of affordable housing, through the lens of "Not in My Back Yard" or NIMBYism (Scally, 2012; Tighe, 2010; Scally & Tighe, 2015; Scally & Koenig, 2012; Nguyen, et al. 2013; Pendall, 1999; Tighe, 2012). Here and throughout the paper, affordable housing refers to housing units developed and offered below the market rate to tenants with low and moderate economic means to ensure they spend no more than 30% of their income on housing (Scally & Tighe, 2015)1. Although previous studies have identified consistent community concerns regarding affordable housing developments that align with some aspects of NIMBYism, a growing body of literature both inside and outside of the housing realm has cautioned against employing NIMBYism due to the pejorative nature of the term that leads to discrediting community resistance as a whole (Burningham et al., 2015; Wolsink, 2012; Devine-Wright, 2009; Mannarini et al., 2015; Devine-Wright, 2011). This paper, however, moves past the common critique of "going beyond NIMBY" to question the overwhelming research focus on opposition to affordable housing and other land use changes. Instead, I make a case for a complementary "strengths-based" approach that draws on a deeper investigation of the drivers of community support for affordable housing developments, which can be leveraged through public education campaigns and other forms of advocacy to boost a more positive community response.

## "NIMBY" and opposition to affordable housing

Much of the scholarship on NIMBYism pulls from the work of Michael Dear, who summarized the concept as such: "NIMBY refers to the protectionist attitudes of and oppositional tactics adopted by community groups facing unwelcome development in their neighborhood" (Dear, 1992, p. 288). A central tenant in Dear's description of NIMBYism is the self-interested nature of the opposition rooted in irrational fears (Dear, 1992). In short, Dear characterizes NIMBYs as self-serving individuals unable to set aside their own interests for the greater good and who therefore refuse to shoulder any burden needed to maintain a community's infrastructure (Dear, 1992; Esaiasson, 2014). Based on the work of Dear and others, academics and practitioners have applied the NIMBY conceptualization of community opposition to land use changes to a wide variety of scenarios, including landfills, hazardous waste facilities, airports, low-income housing, and, more recently, renewable energy generation (Dear, 1992; Rabe, 1994; Kaufman & Smith, 1999; Burningham *et al.*, 2015; Wolsink, 2012; McLachlan, 2010).

Community resistance to affordable housing has been connected to NIMBYism ever since the term was coined and popularized (Dear, 1992). Common concerns raised by those resisting affordable housing developments include property values, crime, poor maintenance, and the aesthetics of the development (Tighe, 2010; Tighe, 2012). Although empirical studies have disproven some of these claims, these same issues continue to rise to the forefront of oppositional rhetoric towards affordable housing in across many contexts (Nguyen, 2005; Pendall, 1999; Tighe 2010).

Voiced community concerns often revolve around the physical implications of affordable housing. However, more detailed investigations have revealed that these worries are often rooted in prejudice surrounding the tenants of affordable housing developments (Tighe, 2012; Davison *et al.*, 2016; Goetz, 2008). For example, one study found that racial stereotyping was the single strongest predictor of resistance to affordable housing, suggesting that racial bias greatly influences attitudes towards these

<sup>1</sup> People spending more than 30% of their income on housing costs, which includes rent/mortgage as well as utilities, are deemed cost-burdened and often face challenges meeting other basic needs such as adequate food, transportation, and health care (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2016). Affordable housing includes housing developed both directly and indirectly by the government, ranging from publicly-managed housing facilities to privately constructed units made possible through tax incentives and subsidies (Scally & Tighe, 2015)

developments (Tighe, 2012). Other studied drivers of opposition to affordable housing include stereotypes against low-income communities (e.g. "the poor"), anti-government sentiment, and fear of community change (Tighe, 2012; Scally & Tighe, 2015).

The discrepancy between concerns raised by community members (e.g. poor maintenance) and other known driving factors of community opposition towards affordable housing (e.g. stereotypes) can make it difficult to accept oppositional concerns at "face value." This incongruity points to another fundamental aspect of NIMBYism that asserts individuals and communities will employ socially acceptable arguments, such as raising concerns about effects of affordable housing developments on property values or local traffic, to mask their personal fears (Dear, 1992; Tighe, 2010). With evidence showing that opponents tend to frame their concerns in publicly-minded ways whenever possible (Esaiasson, 2014), the tendency of practitioners to view seemingly rational concerns raised by community resistors as a "proxy for prejudice" has some legitimacy (Tighe, 2012, p. 963).

## Critiques of the "NIMBY" frame and implications for affordable housing

Opposition to affordable housing has been a focal point of many studies in urban development, in part because mobilized opposition has a strong track record for halting or delaying affordable housing developments (Scally & Tighe, 2015; Esaiasson, 2014). Through a survey of affordable housing developers in New York State, one study found that almost one in three developers had been denied necessary building permits or zoning changes as a result of community opposition (Scally & Tighe, 2015). Even if a project is not blocked in its entirety by opposition, developers must frequently scale back the number of affordable units planned in a development or change the types of units constructed (i.e. number of bedrooms) to meet the demands of neighbors (Scally & Tighe, 2015). Additionally, because funding for affordable housing often follows strict time schedules with limited flexibility, delays to the development process resulting from opposition can result in the loss of funding (Scally & Tighe, 2015). In housing markets where affordability is a central issue, strong and consistent community resistance can make it difficult to make meaningful progress in providing quality affordable housing for residents at all income levels.

Many of the studies investigating opposition to affordable housing draw on the idea of NIMBY (Scally, 2012; Tighe, 2010; Tighe, 2012; Scally & Tighe, 2015) but an emerging critique of NIMBYism casts doubt on the usefulness of the concept and cautions against characterizing community opposition through NIMBYism (Devine-Wright, 2011; Burningham *et al.*, 2015). Several researchers have noted that NIMBY is an ill-defined term, applied at a variety of scales (both single individuals and whole communities have been deemed NIMBYs) and is often used indiscriminately to characterize community opposition writlarge (Lucio & Ramirez de la Cruz, 2012; Burningham *et al.*, 2015). In particular, critics note that NIMBYism de-legitimizes the concerns of opponents by assuming their concerns are based mainly on self-interest and prejudice (Devine-Wright, 2009; Wolsink, 2012; Koebel *et al.*, 2004). Early depictions of NIMBY even anchored the term in a pathology of "NIMBY syndrome" (Dear, 1992), implying that concerns raised by community members to land-use changes were akin to a disease in need of curing (Burningham *et al.*, 2015).

In response to the pejorative nature of NIMBYism, some researchers have suggested alternative drivers of community opposition that legitimize rather that challenge community resistance. For example, some academics have argued that community opposition is an instinctual reaction to the disruption of place attachment, which builds on the idea that an individual's sense of self is connected to places. Changes in a place central to a person's identity, such as their neighborhood, can thus evoke a strong sense of anxiety and loss, triggering a negative reaction (Devine-Wright, 2009). Non-participatory community planning processes that restrict community input have also taken the blame for community opposition. Under this latter framing, community resistance to affordable housing developments is

characterized as primarily a response to local decision making processes perceived as excluding or ignoring community opinions as opposed to the development itself (Burningham et al., 2015; Rabe, 1994).

Under both of these alternative explanations, community opposition is viewed as a logical and legitimate reaction and thus should be expected, not condemned (Devine-Wright, 2009; Koebel *et al.*, 2004). Skeptics, however, have pushed back, noting that increased community involvement in the development process often provides *more* opportunities for NIMBYs to halt or slow progress (Scally & Tighe, 2015). Several studies support this claim, showing that affordable housing developments placed on the "fast track" for approval were significantly less likely to generate opposition (Pendall, 1999). Similarly, other research has shown that community resistance has a tendency to quickly de-escalate after developments are approved (Davison *et al.*, 2016). Taken together, these findings suggest that despite the attention given to debating the various sources of community resistance, the opportunity for public input itself can significantly enable community opposition.

In the face of the ongoing debate in the academic sphere about the usefulness and limits of NIMBY, practitioners still widely use the term in everyday discourse with little hesitation (Burningham *et al.*, 2015; Wolsink, 2012). This incorporation of NIMBY into the general lexicon of affordable housing has important consequences for how developers, government officials, nonprofit advocates and others approach and handle opposition to affordable housing. Ironically, just as community members may rely on stereotypes to inform their thinking on affordable housing developments, so too can developers and government officials fall back on the framework of "NIMBY" as a blanket term for community opposition (Kaufman & Smith, 1999; Koebel *et al.*, 2004). The term NIMBY provides an image of the resistance that serves as a tempting cognitive shortcut, granting permission for practitioners to opt for a simple analysis of the complex situations that result in community opposition (Kaufman & Smith, 1999). This tendency encourages officials to paint community resistance with a broad brush, permitting them to easily discredit and dismiss all opposition as inevitable NIMBY push-back (Pendall, 1999; Devine-Wright, 2009; Kaufman & Smith, 1999).

## Current research limitations

Despite the rich body of knowledge on community reactions to affordable housing, as well as the consequences of these reactions, there are two main limitations within current research on the subject. First, although numerous studies have sought to understand opposition to affordable housing—prompting a healthy debate regarding the root causes of community resistance explored briefly above—there is surprisingly little information on what drives community support for these developments. While some have tried to dispel common misconceptions of the effects of affordable housing, i.e., the negative impact on nearby property values (Nguyen, 2005), even this research occurs under an operating frame where addressing opposition, not support, is the focus.

Second, much of what is known about community reactions to affordable housing has been gathered via third party perspectives and is therefore somewhat speculative. For example, researchers often interview developers and government officials to learn more about community resistance to affordable housing and other land use changes, rather than speaking with those actually resisting these developments (Scally & Tighe, 2015; Davidson *et al.*, 2016; Burningham *et al.*, 2015; Pendall, 1999). Similarly, in instances where researchers distribute surveys directly to community members, they frequently frame questions around hypothetical scenarios instead of real instances that have sparked community controversy (Scally & Tighe, 2015; Esaiasson, 2014). As a result, there is limited first-hand knowledge regarding what prompts resistance or support for affordable housing.

Relying largely on third party sources to learn about community reactions has several weaknesses. For example, one study found large discrepancies between the types of community concerns recalled by local planners regarding housing developments and documented grievances captured in the public record (Pendall, 1999). According to the recorded concerns, the effects of housing developments on off-site

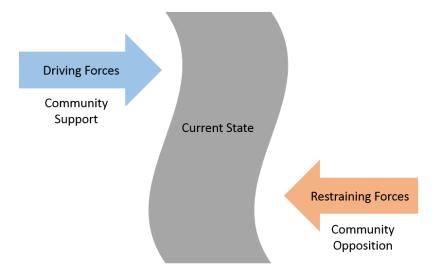
infrastructure (e.g. parking, traffic) were cited by over half of the citizens raising complaints, but planners only recalled this issue being raised about 12% of the time (Pendall, 1999). Such inconsistencies call into question the ability of third parties to accurately recall information about community resistance, particularly if those third parties view opposition through the NIMBY stereotype.

## Making the case for a strengths-based approach

In light of these flaws, this study seeks to take an alternative approach to affordable housing studies by intentionally focusing on the drivers of personal support as described by study participants. In particular, this study explores the following research questions: 1.) How is community opposition for affordable housing perceived by participants? 2.) How is community support perceived? 3.) How do the participants characterize their own support for affordable housing? 4.) How do the participants characterize their own hesitations? The methodology is inspired by "force field analysis," a group problem solving strategy pioneered by Kurt Lewin, which views the current state of affairs as existing between two competing forces: "driving forces" and "restraining forces" (Lewin, 1935; Johnson & Johnson, 2013). In viewing problems through this framework, Lewin encourages groups to think about how they can both curtail forces working against their desired outcome as well as how they can boost forces working towards the outcome's favor.

Looking at Lewin's framework in the context of affordable housing advocacy, it is apparent that practitioners and academics tend to direct their attention towards understanding and minimizing the restraining forces (i.e. opposition) working against these developments. Missing from this equation is the complementary strategy that focuses on better understanding and amplifying the driving forces (i.e. support) of affordable housing, including the sources of existing community approval (Figure 1). I refer to the former approach as "deficit-based" since it focuses on defects within individuals and the community (i.e. opposition) and addressing change-making by reducing or eliminating these deficiencies. I refer to the latter approach as "strengths-based" because it draws on perceived assets in order to make change and views individuals and their community as full of potential. Similar notions of a strengths-based approaches have been applied to a variety of areas, including resilience, health promotion, school reform, and community development, however, this framing is largely missing from affordable housing studies (Maton *et al.*, 2004; Israel *et al.*, 2013).

In taking a deeper look at community support, this research refocuses the conversation on the community assets that can be leveraged to make progress on affordable housing instead of becoming fixated on community deficits, such as opposition and NIMBYism. Drawing on this strengths-based approach, this study proposes a more holistic model that can broaden the set of tools available to practitioners when engaging with communities. Using the case of Ann Arbor, Michigan, this research applies findings from this strengths-based research to a public education campaign in order to better advocate for local affordable housing issues.



Less Affordable Housing → More Affordable Housing

Figure 1: Applying Kurt Lewin's force-field analysis to affordable housing in Ann Arbor

## Public education campaigns: A deficit-based approach

In terms of public education campaigns, advocacy around affordable housing to date has primarily taken a deficit-based approach that addresses perceived public apprehensions. In fact, studies from large, influential groups, such as the National Association of Realtors, have directly called for public education campaigns that highlight and challenge specific community concerns (Koebel *et al.*, 2004). Public education campaigns employing this strategy largely seek to address common stereotypes of affordable housing tenants and aim to reduce stigma against these residents (Tighe, 2010; Nguyen *et al.*, 2013). This approach falls back on the traditional, pervasive notion that oppositional NIMBYs operate primarily from a basis of prejudice. For example, the often cited public education materials from Housing Minnesota and the city of Fort Collins, Colorado depict images of individuals needing affordable housing that have positive connotations in the community, such as auto mechanics, firefighters, and teachers (Figure 2) (Minnesota Housing Project, 2014; City of Fort Collins, n.d.). Such campaigns target NIMBY opponents to affordable housing by countering the perceived negative images of these developments with individuals who are considered more acceptable and community-friendly (Nguyen *et al.*, 2013).

Another way communities have attempted to reduce the stigma associated with affordable housing has been to substitute the phrase "affordable housing" with other terms such as "workforce housing" and "lifecycle housing." These campaigns are deployed in order to conjure up stronger images of deserving beneficiaries (Goetz, 2008). Although there is evidence that these subtle changes in terminology can have a significant impact on how individuals respond to affordable housing in the short term, this approach has yielded a long list of synonyms, including the historical evolution in rhetoric from "public housing" to "subsidized housing" to "affordable housing." Since these each of these terms has steadily gone out of fashion as the public realizes what they refer to, however, this strategy may accomplish little more than delay a negative community response to government-supported housing (Goetz, 2008).

Despite these common types of campaigns for affordable housing, there is little evidence that this approach to advocacy has had a significant impact on changing community attitudes (Scally, 2012; Koebel *et al.*, 2004). Additionally, this approach treats the public as a homogeneous unit, without regard to the

nuances of local history and the multiple, complex drivers of support and opposition to affordable housing (Scally, 2012). Using the case of affordable housing in Ann Arbor, Michigan, I suggest that an alternative, strengths-based campaign that places support at the center may make better progress than these past campaigns that have employed a more deficit-based frame.





Figure 2: Campaign ads (left: Minnesota Housing Project, 2014 / right: City of Fort Collins, n.d.)

## **Study Setting**

This research emerged out of a partnership between graduate students and the University of Michigan and the Washtenaw County Office of Community and Economic Development (OCED) through the Graham Sustainability Institute's Dow Sustainability Master's Fellowship Program. Located in southeast Michigan, Washtenaw County has experienced severe income and housing segregation, with wealthier residents of the county clustering around the expensive urban center of Ann Arbor (where the University of Michigan is located) and less wealthy residents concentrated in the city of Ypsilanti (czb, 2015).

A Needs Assessment Report funded by OCED in 2014 forecasted that housing costs in Washtenaw County will continue to rise and outpace income gains, making housing affordability a significant, long-term challenge for the county (czb, 2015). In response to this report, in early 2015 Ann Arbor City Council set a goal to add 2,800 affordably priced rental units to the city by 2035 (Stanton, 2015). Based on past experiences with strong community resistance towards affordable housing units in Ann Arbor, OCED approached my team of graduate students to research how a public education campaign could be used to build public support for these much needed units in pursuit of the city's ambitious 20-year goal. The interview data presented here represents the component I spearheaded as part of a greater multipronged approach undertaken by the group to inform our recommendations. Our final report from this project is included in Appendix I.

Compared to Michigan as a whole, Washtenaw County is relatively wealthy. In 2009 the median household income for the county was \$56,126, nearly \$10,000 more than the state median of \$46,517. The average home value in the same year was \$212,812 compared to Michigan's median home value of

\$136,373 (Washtenaw County, 2017). The county is home to seven institutions of higher learning, including the University of Michigan (in Ann Arbor) and Eastern Michigan University (in Ypsilanti), comprising a total student population of roughly 80,000, although not all students live in the county. The total county population is just over 340,000 (Washtenaw County, 2017).

## **Data Collection and Analysis**

In summer 2016, 19 in-depth key informant interviews were conducted throughout Ann Arbor, Michigan. The participants included representatives from the local government and nonprofit sectors, but also featured three local housing developers, one local business owner, and one representative from a nearby university (Table 1). An initial group of participants for the study was recommended by the OCED, and additional participants were recruited using a snowball sampling technique. When soliciting interviewee recommendations from other participants, the importance of hearing different perspectives towards affordable housing was stressed in order to help include both community skeptics as well as community champions in the study. This research met all requirements for human subjects research as set out by the University of Michigan's Institutional Review Board.

Table 1: Participant Affiliations

Participant Role in Affordable Housing	# of Participants
Government	7
Non-Profit	7
Developers (private and non-profit)	3
Small Business Owners	1
Local University Representatives	1
TOTAL	19

The interviews followed a semi-structured format guided by an interview protocol, which was developed and tested through two full mock interviews in the spring of 2016. The interviews began by exploring the participants' encounters with public support and opposition to affordable housing in Ann Arbor then moved to inquiring about how a public education campaign could be used to boost community support for the issue. This protocol prompted participants to reflect on their own feelings about affordable housing and how they would communicate them to others. The full interview guide can be found in Appendix II.

Interviews were conducted in-person by the study author, and each interview lasted approximately one hour. With permission, all interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis, and detailed notes were taken during the interviews to supplement the transcripts. Participants were given the option to receive a copy of their audio-recording and transcript.

Using QSR International's NVivo 11 qualitative data analysis Software, the interview data was analyzed for emergent themes related to the proposed research questions (QSR International Pty Ltd, 2017). To ensure reliability, a second coder analyzed a subset of the transcripts and coding discrepancies were resolved via discussion. A comprehensive list of codes developed through the analysis is included in Appendix III.

## **Key Findings**

Although this paper focuses on personal expressions of support, participants also spent a great deal of time offering their perspectives on community resistance and approval of affordable housing, and reflected on their own hesitations on the subject. Below, key findings are explored under each of these themes, which will set the stage for a discussion surrounding a "strengths-based" approach to affordable housing advocacy grounded in the framework of Lewin's force field analysis (Lewin, 1935).

## Conceptualizations of community opposition

The participants overwhelmingly believed that stigma against affordable housing tenants lay at the root of community opposition, with 17 out of 19 participants connecting community opposition to some form of stigma (Figure 3). Stigma against poverty was the most common, but participants also mentioned stigma based on crime, race, and the perception of tenants as undeserving. Additionally, participants cited more technical community concerns, including property values, increased residential density, zoning changes, traffic and environmental issues. Almost half of the participants, however, expressed skepticism regarding the authenticity of these types of concerns, as exemplified in the quote below. Despite this pattern, surprisingly, the term "NIMBY" appeared rarely during the interviews and was mentioned only six times.

"There are technical reasons they may cite, such as, 'There are wetlands, or drainage issues on the site, and you'll cause problems for the people who live there, or you'll cause problems for the people who live around there.' That doesn't really hold water, because it's quite possible to handle all of those issues, but it's something they used."

In addition to stigma against affordable housing tenants, participants believed that fear often played a role in community opposition. Beyond fear surrounding new neighbors from affordable housing developments, participants also talked about community opponents reacting to more general fears of neighborhood change and the unknown. Of particular interest, over half of the participants legitimized certain community concerns, especially those around change and the uncertainties that come with new developments, as illustrated in the following quote. This tendency to find some legitimacy in perceived community concerns resulted in a general attitude to take raised concerns seriously.

"Again, I really can't highlight enough, when you own or rent a home, and that is where you live, you have a genuine right to want it as you want it. It doesn't mean you can always get it to stay that way. I just can't fault somebody for saying, I really like what I have, I'd like to keep it."

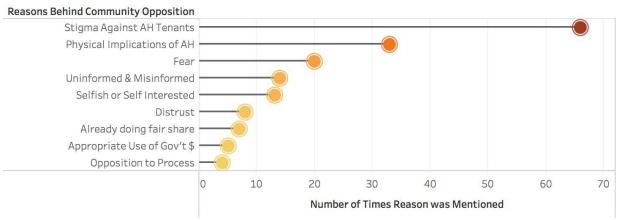


Figure 3: Frequency of reasons offered to explain community opposition

## Conceptualizations of community support

Participants most commonly viewed trust in local nonprofits working on affordable housing issues, particularly nonprofits who build and manage affordable units, as the primary driver of community support (Figure 4). Other reasons attributed to community support for affordable housing included empathy with tenants and community members recognizing how the issue may affect them.

The perceived conditionality of community support was often mentioned. Many participants remarked that community members may approve of the idea of affordable housing in theory, but are reluctant to support actual developments on the ground. In the words of one participant:

"It's always, people can be supportive at that very general level, and when it gets down to a site or a particular project, there can be opposition."

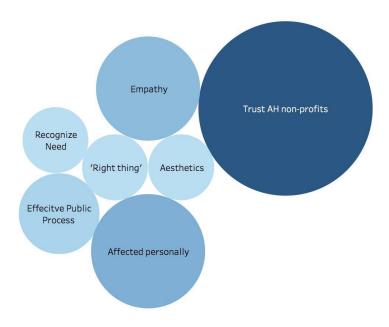


Figure 4: Graphic representation of perceived reasons for community support. Size and intensity of color correspond to number of mentions in the interviews.

## Conceptualizations of personal support

Participants partly conceptualized their own support for affordable housing by talking about the benefits of affordable housing at two distinct scales: individual benefits and benefits to the community as a whole. About half of the participants touched on the benefits affordable housing provides its tenants, making the argument in almost every case that affordable housing provides a foundation for stability in people's lives. In the words of one participant:

"Once you're stable in your housing, and it's not extremely too high rent, and you can have more money for food, or for shopping. For kids, new pair of shoes or something. Any more money we can keep in the hands of the community, the better off. Again, more food, more money you can put toward going to the doctor, and health care costs."

Many of the participants shared this belief that affordable housing allowed tenants to put more financial resources towards other necessities, such as food and clothing. Participants also noted that reliable housing could help residents address other issues preventing them from thriving, such as ill health, underemployment and low educational attainment.

In addition, roughly a third of the participants saw how they benefited directly or indirectly from the development of affordable housing. For example, participants mentioned wanting their parents and children to have the opportunity to live in Ann Arbor, but observed that young families and the elderly in particular are being squeezed out of the city's current housing market. As the following quote demonstrates, many participants also recognized that their quality of life depended on many people who are in need affordable housing, such as restaurant staff, child-care workers, and hospital personnel:

"If I want them...contributing toward my care, my education, the education of my child, contributing toward my pleasure, my leisure, my recreation, my nights at the restaurant, then there needs to be a fair compensation. And for them to be better skilled and well skilled at their tasks, or in their profession, then they want to stay in those professions, and therefore find housing, and have a quality of life that is comparable, and appropriate for their employment and skill level."

Although many participants touched on the benefits affordable housing brings to individuals, the majority of participants (17/19) talked also about the community-level benefits of affordable housing. Of particular interest, half of the participants connected affordable housing with the importance of making Ann Arbor a diverse place to live. Participants often linked diversity with community vitality and community identity, and many connected diversity with the authentic character of the city. As demonstrated in the quote below, several participants expressed concerns about the increasingly expensive nature of Ann Arbor, which makes the community feel artificial, as opposed to a genuine place where real people live.

"I'm just talking about a city that contains a real cross-section of people, of different backgrounds and incomes and races and just to bring more flavor to it to make it more cosmopolitan, to make it more gritty, to make it more real people dealing with all sorts of real life."

Over a third of the participants also touched on how constructing more affordable units would help boost the economy of the community. One common argument for this claim was that additional affordable housing can reduce the social services burden on the county, which currently supports those living in unaffordable situations. Participants similarly linked affordable housing with residents having more disposable income to inject in the local economy. In focusing on benefits experienced at the community level, such as economic growth and diversity, participants strongly suggested that affordable

housing resembles the common saying "a rising tide that lifts all boat" by helping support and maintain critical components of the community enjoyed by all residents of Ann Arbor.

In addition to highlighting the many benefits of affordable housing, participants took time to explain their personal motivations behind supporting affordable housing, teasing out how these developments align with their own core values. For participants that connected individual support to core values, by far the most common value mentioned was the idea of equity and fairness (Figure 5). Through equity and fairness, participants tended to focus on the importance of preventing the exclusion of people from the Ann Arbor community and how affordable housing in the city helped address the greater uneven distribution of resources in Washtenaw County and beyond, as seen in the following quote.

"I read this statistic the other day that if you took all of the bedrooms available in the entire country, that there's 1.4 beds available for every person. That's the ratio. There's more beds than people, but it's the distribution of those beds...Sharing the idea that we're all in this together on this world, and this planet. And to make it the best for everybody is that we all should be invested in the affordability of our communities."

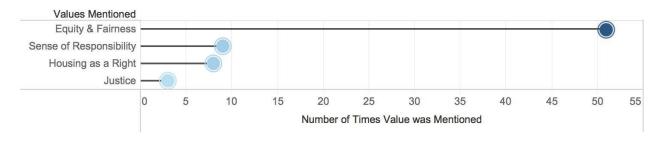


Figure 5: Frequency of values mentioned to explain personal support

Participants also mentioned a heightened sense of responsibility when it came to providing and supporting affordable housing in the community, including statements that connect support with the idea of being a good neighbor and community stewardship. Unlike other trends mentioned above, which were mentioned by roughly the same proportion of participants regardless of affiliation, this sense of personal responsibility was most often mentioned by those with government affiliations.

Over half of the participants also touched on how empathy affected their personal motivations to support affordable housing, as the two quotes below demonstrate. However, this did not play as central a role as core values.

"I don't know how successful I would be if I had ever had to do what many families have to do just to manage. To go to the grocery store by bus, to have to get up an hour early to take your children to childcare, which you can't afford, but you have to work, so your children have to be in childcare. These people have tremendous strength to be able to do what they do to manage well."

"The goal could just be to reduce demonization of people who are trying like the rest of us to just live their lives."

As illustrated by these quotes, empathy was usually expressed one of two ways: first, through references that recognized the difficulty that people living in unaffordable housing face, and second, by connecting the lives of those needing affordable housing to their own. Additionally, almost half of the participants mentioned having a personal connection to affordable housing through family members, work acquaintances, and some had lived or currently live in affordable housing themselves.

## Conceptualizations of personal hesitations

Despite the strong vocalizations of support for affordable housing, over half of the participants also touched on their own hesitations about these developments. As captured in the following quote, one of the main concerns raised by several participants was that affordable housing, although important, was not the most important issue facing the community:

"I mean I don't consider this to be one of the most pressing problems facing the city right now."

Participants also expressed skepticism that affordable housing needed to be dispersed throughout the city, often stating that public transportation systems can help connect affordable parts of the county to more expensive downtown areas that also serve as job hubs, as noted in this quote:

"If you got a really good public transit system...maybe you shouldn't be too obsessed about what share of your workforce works in Ann Arbor, lives in Ann Arbor."

Among other personal hesitations, some respondents thought that "affordable housing" as a term is used too broadly. These participants emphasized that the phrase encompasses a variety of unique community problems, ranging from chronic homelessness to workforce housing, each requiring a more tailored solution. Others expressed concerns that in an affluent community like Ann Arbor, the beneficiaries of so-called "affordable housing," particularly workforce housing, can have relatively high incomes compared to other parts of the state.

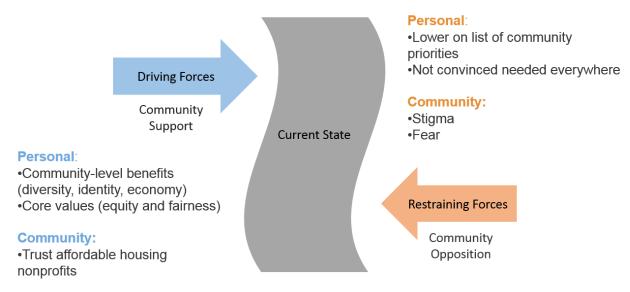
## Students and affordable housing

The context of Ann Arbor as a relatively small city that hosts a large University meant that participants commented on the student population frequently. Interestingly, participants perceived students as both victims and drivers of the lack of affordable housing. Some participants expressed sympathy with students paying such high rents to attend the University of Michigan, while others talked about students being subsidized by wealthy parents as seen below.

"I've, once again, on the anecdotal basis, heard indications from students...about the challenges that some students have in finding affordable rents within Ann Arbor..."

"Also, the idea that University folks with larger incomes, students with larger incomes, are pushing other folks out or are exacerbating this affordability issue, and I don't think that's ever acknowledged in public, or talked about from the University perspective. That this is sort of the good and the bad of having a University town, we have these jobs with better wages, and we have this institution here, but at the same time we are also creating some affordability issues."

Broadly speaking, there was more consistent sympathy shown towards the elderly and young families trying to navigate the city's expensive housing market than students.



Less Affordable Housing → More Affordable Housing

Figure 6: Key study findings organized according to Lewin's force-field analysis model

## **Discussion**

Key findings from the interviews clearly demonstrate the importance of employing a strengths-based approach to affordable housing research through methods that allow participants to draw on their own experiences and speak from their own perspectives. In particular, the difference between the perceived drivers of support and opposition for affordable housing at the individual level as compared to the community level in the interviews was particularly stark (Figure 6). Specifically, when comparing the ways in which participants described their own opposition and support for affordable housing as compared to how they characterized opposition and support at the community level reveals that participants attributed greater nuance to their own attitudes. For example, participants largely associated community resistance to affordable housing developments with stigma and fear but tended to focus on more complex facets of the issue when unpacking their own doubts, including wrestling with whether affordable housing is needed throughout the city given local transit options. Similarly, when describing community support, participants tended to conceive approval for affordable housing largely in terms of trust in affordable housing nonprofits, while explorations of personal support delved into a complex constellation that included benefits to the community as a whole, an individual's core values, and personal empathy.

This tendency, referred to as actor-observer attribution bias, is well-studied in the field of social and cognitive psychology. This idea suggests that individuals will couch explanations of their own behaviors and attitudes in terms of their unique situation (i.e. understanding the complex interaction between housing and transportation) but will couch explanations of the behaviors and attitudes of others to more personal attributes (i.e. stigma and fear) (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). Such bias often translates into individual actors viewing their own ideas and attitudes as nuanced interactions within complex situations, while boiling down the attitudes of others to greatly simplified personal traits, especially if those others are the general public (Maranta *et al.*, 2003). Taken together with past studies that illustrate the inability of third party actors to accurately recall the frequency of presented public concerns (Pendall, 1999), the

influence of actor-observer attribution bias shown here further demonstrates how there may be inaccuracies in the qualitative data on community reactions to affordable housing when gathered via third-party accounts.

Additionally, the consistency with which participants expressed both their support and hesitation for affordable housing challenges the notion that community members must strictly fall into dichotomous "opposition" or "supporter" roles as prior studies have often modeled (Scally, 2012; Tighe, 2010; Scally & Tighe, 2015; Nguyen, et al. 2013; Tighe, 2012). Instead, the interviews provide proof that most, if not all, individuals grapple with some level of internal support and hesitation when it comes to complex social issues like affordable housing, calling into question the continued broad application of NIMBYism to describe community reactions. This finding is underscored by the fact that regardless of whether participants were perceived as champions or skeptics, both groups shared their internal feelings of support as well as doubts related to affordable housing.

The interviews also revealed that students were largely perceived as one of the most unwanted populations in Ann Arbor neighborhoods, despite the student body at the University of Michigan being largely white and well-off (Majeed & Kaplan, 2016). This finding challenges the notion that prejudice against race and class is primarily responsible for community opposition and NIMBYism across communities (Tighe, 2012), highlighting how undesirability depends on community context. The fact that students were perceived as particularly undesirable neighbors in the context of Ann Arbor further strengthens the case for gathering information directly from participants when studying community perceptions of affordable housing instead of relying on past research conducted in different communities.

Finally, this research demonstrates that focusing on how participants express their own support for affordable housing can uncovered a complex mosaic of personal drivers. In particular, the interviews revealed a common understanding in Ann Arbor that affordable housing has deep connections to community benefits enjoyed by everyone, such as economic prosperity, diversity, and a sense of community authenticity. In addition, honing in on aspects of personal support brought to light how many people in Ann Arbor tied affordable housing to strongly shared values of equity and fairness that otherwise would have remained undiscovered. Drawing on Lewin's force-field analysis model, this great variety of aspects propelling community members to support affordable housing indicates that there are plenty of driving forces already existing in communities that have been historically overlooked because researchers have been preoccupied with diagnosing the sources of community opposition (Lewin, 1935).

For instance, had this study taken a more standard approach and only investigated the perceived drivers of community opposition, the results would have merely echoed prior research showing that participants perceived stigma against affordable housing tenants as the largest community barrier (Nguyen *et al.*, 2013; Davison *et al.*, 2016). Without understanding the richness that is also driving community members to support affordable housing, the pursuit of affordable housing research from a deficit-based model will only yield information about one side of the force-field analysis equation (Figure 6). This limited purview drastically affects the strategies that researchers and practitioners view as available to them when advocating for affordable options in communities. Regarding public education campaigns in particular, a deficit-based approach to this research likely would have made a case for advocacy efforts similar to those of Housing Minnesota and the City of Fort Collins that try to humanize affordable housing tenants in an attempt to remedy community stigma. The insights that can be gained through a more strengths-based approach, as utilized in this study, can be used by practitioners to tap into the current positive associations of community members and strategically leverage those associations to craft messaging that will ring true with existing community narratives.

## Implications for a public education campaign in Ann Arbor

Despite the fact that some the findings in the interviews overlapped existing studies, particularly regarding perceived drivers of community opposition (e.g. stigma and stereotypes), the rich perspective participants shared regarding their personal support provides new avenues for better affordable housing advocacy in practice. Since this research was originally conducted to inform the development of a public education campaign, I will apply key findings from the qualitative research directly to this particular type of advocacy. Although research on affordable housing has called for further exploration and evaluation of public education campaigns, studies directly linking their findings to this commonly used tactic are rare (Koebel *et al.*, 2004).

By focusing on what motivates community members to approve these developments, this strengths-based approach to a campaign would seek to amplify existing reservoirs of support within individuals. The fact that several of these internal motivations, such as valuing equity and fairness and recognizing community-level benefits of affordable housing, came up repeatedly across individuals with various affiliations and perceived views on the issue suggests that these drivers have strong resonance throughout the city and could be leveraged successfully in a campaign. I want to emphasize that although this *approach* is applicable to many different communities, the *details* surrounding the proposed public education campaign strategies are Ann Arbor specific and should be applied with caution to different contexts; Table 2 contains a summary of these recommendations.

Informed by the interviews conducted in this study, a strengths-based campaign in Ann Arbor would focus on the benefits that affordable housing offers the community at large, including the ways in which affordable housing contributes to community diversity and economic vitality. Both of these recommendations have been referred to previously in the literature, i.e., as community-level benefits that often get overlooked (Basolo & Nguyen, 2005; Tighe, 2012), however, the frequency with which these particular benefits came up in personal expressions of support suggests that they are especially salient in Ann Arbor.

In particular, participants emphasized that affordable housing is entwined with community identity through its contributions to diversity. This included how affordable housing helped the community retain long term residents that otherwise would be priced out and allowed an increasingly expensive city to still feel accessible and authentic. One striking trend among interviewees was the tendency to compare Ann Arbor's trajectory to other cities in Michigan with more exclusive reputations, such as Bloomfield Hills and Birmingham. Participants shared a strong sense of dread at the thought that Ann Arbor's character would fundamentally change as housing prices continue to climb. These sentiments suggest that a campaign linking affordable housing to retaining the authenticity of the city and its unique identity may have strong traction in the community.

As noted above when comparing the differences between how participants characterized their own support for affordable housing versus their perceptions of what drove the community support, despite the tendency of individuals to list several community benefits of affordable housing (e.g. diversity, economic vitality), they did not discern that the community at large recognized these benefits. Larger overarching narratives around the community-level advantages of affordable housing thus appear to be largely absent in Ann Arbor and may offer an as-of-yet untapped opportunity for a strengths-based campaign.

In addition to highlighting the community benefits of affordable housing, participants firmly couched their support in terms of their own core values, suggesting that an effective strengths-based campaign should link closely to these values, particular those of equity and fairness. Specifically, participants emphasized that providing more affordable housing in the city could help reduce other disparities, leading to a more equitable quality of life outcomes of those living throughout Washtenaw County. Many participants expressed unease and even guilt that these small-scale geographic associations, neighborhood, zip code, or school district, had such strong impacts on residents' well-being

in the county and felt compelled to support affordable housing initiatives that would address some of these stark inequities.

The fact the participants drew on their sympathies and values to anchor their narratives of support is particularly interesting given traditional views on NIMBYism that have discredited NIMBY reactions to land-use changes in part because they are seen as based on emotional, as opposed to rational, arguments (Burningham *et al.*, 2015). Nonetheless, as noted in the literature, values can be particularly powerful guides of public opinion because people tend to rely on their values for direction when they have little information about an issue (Alvarez & Brehm, 2002). Studies have also demonstrated that values orientation tends to be stable and resistant over time, meaning that establishing a convincing connection between an individual's core values and affordable housing could build long term support for the issue in the Ann Arbor community (Johnson & Eagly, 1989).

Some practitioners in the housing policy realm have called on more campaigns that appeal to arguments of equity, highlighting "fairness" as a commonly-held core value in many communities (Viveiros & Cohen, 2013). As other studies have demonstrated, however, context matters when drawing on community values so images in a campaign drawing these values should be selected with caution (Viveiros & Cohen, 2013). For example, given the mixed sentiments expressed regarding University students in the housing market, a campaign highlighting the importance of community inclusivity depicting only young people may not resonate as strongly as one that includes images of young families and the elderly, who are perceived as suffering more from increasing costs-of living in the city.

It is worth noting that a strategy linking its messaging to values has its limits. For example, certain studies note that although individuals may respond positively to broad value-based statements, that support can diminish when proposed policies have an impact closer to home, a phenomenon known as the principle-implementation gap (Alvarez & Brehm, 2002; Tighe, 2012). In order to combat this tendency, a campaign using values should shy away from making generalized statements suggesting affordable housing promotes equity writ-large. Instead, a campaign integrating these values should highlight how specific developments will ensure the community remains inclusive by using *concrete* examples.

Finally, in addition to carefully crafted messaging, community acceptance of an affordable housing campaign will also depend on the community's ability to trust the campaign's source (Tighe, 2010). Since trust in affordable housing nonprofits is relatively high in Ann Arbor, these organizations may be the best positioned to disseminate materials related to a public education campaign, as opposed to city or county government. Past studies on campaigns have also recommended implementing them as proactive measures instead of in response to emerging opposition (Tighe, 2010). Thus, an effective strengths-based approach to a campaign should have a presence in the community as affordable housing units come online, instead of being activated retroactively to counteract negative community reactions towards a particular development.

Table 2: Summary of Campaign Recommendations for Ann Arbor

	Basic Strategy	Strategy Applied to Ann Arbor	Considerations
Strengths- Based Approach	Enhance underlying <i>sources</i> <i>of support</i> for affordable housing	- Highlight community-level benefits, particularly around economic vitality, diversity, and Ann Arbor's unique identity	- Link resonant community values to <i>specific developments</i> using <i>concrete examples</i>
	(Boost "driving forces")	- Connect affordable housing to core community values, especially equity and fairness	- Campaign will be better received if coming from a <i>trusted source</i>

## Conclusion

Although studies of community reactions to affordable housing often focus on community opposition through the lens of NIMBYism, the results of this study suggest that successfully advocating for affordable housing will require a more nuanced approach that actively investigates the drivers of community support via information gathered first-hand. Through interviews focusing on internal support for affordable housing, this research identified promising reservoirs of personal support ready to leverage in a public education campaign in Ann Arbor that have been largely unrecognized by other research on community reactions to affordable housing. These included emphasizing ties to community benefits and identity, as well as linking affordable housing developments to core community values around equity and fairness. By harnessing strong internal motivations driving personal support around these issues, a strengths-based campaign would seek to tap into the drivers of support already existing at the individual and community level to foster positive reactions to much-needed affordable housing developments in the city.

The main purpose of this research was to demonstrate that the approach to building community support around any land-use change issue will shape the viable solutions we see as available to us. When we view reactions to issues like affordable housing through a deficit-based model that focuses on the perceived sources of community opposition, then we will continue to prescribe the same limited number of solutions. In communities like Ann Arbor, diagnosing perceived stigma against tenants as the primary driver of opposition typically results in campaign recommendations that seek to challenge these stereotypes. Although this strategy has been used in other communities such as Fort Collins, Colorado and the state of Minnesota, it only focuses on half of the equation. When attention is given to the other side of Lewin's force field analysis model—namely, opportunities to amplify existing drivers of support among community members—new and creative options emerge regarding affordable housing advocacy. In addition, grounding a campaign in *personal* reflections on affordable housing can help highlight messages of strong resonance in the community that would otherwise go unrecognized through standard approaches based on "third-hand" knowledge.

Through in-depth investigations of community reactions to affordable housing that have as their guiding purpose a deeper understanding of both opposition *and* support, we add important tools to our toolkit for advocating for resources needed to build strong, resilient communities applicable far beyond the realm of housing. Given the tendency to approach various community issues through a deficit-based lens, there are ripe opportunities to apply this more comprehensive, strength-based model to a variety of other land-use planning scenarios including renewable energy generation and other human service facilities in the future.

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Appendix I: Final Report fron	n Dow Sustainability Fe	ellowship Project

Promising Practices for a Public Education Campaign

## Advocating for Housing Affordability in Ann Arbor







8 KEY FINDINGS: CAMPAIGN EXAMPLES
Web-Based Research
Phone Interviews

12 PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN APPROACHES

Humanizing Community Economic

- 19 FOCUS GROUP FEEDBACK
- 21 RECOMMENDATIONS
- 24 NEXT STEPS
- 25 ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

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Images in this report came directly from the following sources: Mlive, Ann Arbor District Library archives, OCED, photos taken by team members

## Design by Susan Ackermann

## **Executive Summary**

Washtenaw County's housing costs are on the rise, which will result in a county decreasingly affordable and out of balance and, eventually, unsustainable.

# Pictofield Pypilland Township

Figure 1

UN-AFFORDABILITY IN WASHTENAW COUNTY, 2012

TARGET AREA CENSUS TRACTS

% PAYING > 30% OF INCOME ON RENT, 2012

0-24.9%

50-74.9% 75-100%

1. CZB report, "Affordable Housing and Economic Equity - Analysis: Washtenaw County, Michigan," last modified, January 2015, http://www.ewashtenaw.org/government.departments/community-and-economic-development/plans-reports-data/housing-and-infrastructure/2015/washtenaw-county-affordability-and-economic-equity.pdf, 4.

2. Ryan Stanton, "Millions of Dollars Worth of Public Housing Renovations Underway in Ann Arbor," MLive, last modified February, 22, 2015, http://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/02/ann\_arbor\_public\_housing\_renov. html#incart\_river\_index.

## INTRODUCTION

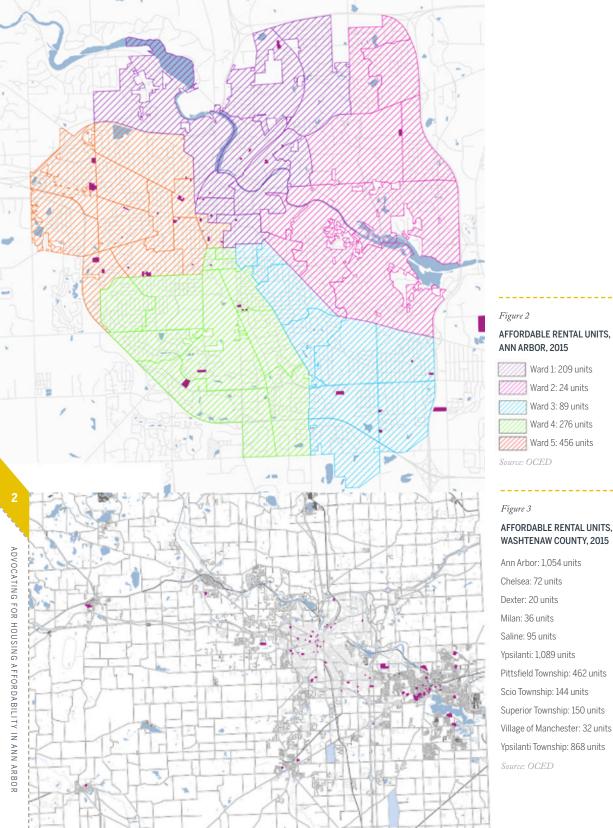
Washtenaw County's housing market is becoming increasingly unaffordable for both owners and renters. According to a 2014 Needs Assessment Report funded by the Office of Community and Economic Development (OCED), housing costs in Washtenaw County are on the rise and are expected to continue to increase and outpace income gains, making affordability a significant challenge for the county. The result, according to the report, will be "a county decreasingly affordable and out of balance and, eventually, unsustainable." In response to the 2014 county report, in early 2015 Ann Arbor City Council adopted 20 year affordable housing (AH) goals, voicing their commitment to working with partners to create nearly 2,800 new affordably priced rental units in the city by 2035.

Despite the demonstrated need for more affordable housing in Ann Arbor and general support for the idea of AH among city residents, there has been significant opposition and backlash against specific affordable housing projects when it is proposed in people's neighborhoods. With this context, the Office of Community and Economic Development identified that a public education campaign could be an effective strategy to address the community on the topic. Based on extensive research, our team proposes the recommendations outlined within this report for a public education campaign advocating for housing affordability in Ann Arbor.

## **BACKGROUND**

Over the past 30 years, Washtenaw County has seen numerous AH projects and developments get underway, to varying degrees of success. According to the City of Ann Arbor, there are currently a total of 15 AH and apartment complexes, 40 rental housing properties accepting section 8 vouchers, and 260 Avalon affordable residential apartment units in the city. Despite reports that Ann Arbor is investing millions of dollars in public housing renovations, 2 the city still faces a massive AH shortage. Figures 2 and 3 (on page 2) illustrate that there is a shortage of affordable rental housing in the City of Ann Arbor, as compared to the county as a whole.

Many Washtenaw County residents employed in Ann Arbor cannot afford to live in the city, including those holding jobs that are critical to the economy and well-being of Ann Arbor, such as



nurses, teachers, childcare workers, firefighters, and police officers. According to the U.S. Census, the median household income in Ann Arbor in 2010-2014 was \$56,835 as compared to nearby Ypsilanti, where it was \$32,148. The median home price in Ann Arbor was double that of Ypsilanti (\$231,700 and \$114,700, respectively). These figures demonstrate the tremendous need for more affordable options within the City of Ann Arbor to help house the city's growing workforce, ease congestion, and ensure the diversity, vitality, and social equity of Ann Arbor.

## **PURPOSE**

Ward 1: 209 units

Ward 2: 24 units

Ward 3: 89 units

Ward 4: 276 units

Ward 5: 456 units

The purpose of this document is to be a communication tool that provides accessible resources for the OCED and other affordable housing partners in Ann Arbor to help launch a public education campaign around affordable housing, by providing:

- 1. Resources and informed recommen*dations* to engage affordable housing allies in designing a public education campaign that will tap into latent public support for affordable housing; and
- *Information* that can be used by affordable housing advocates when proposing new affordable housing developments or policies that are likely to face opposition from NIMBYs ("Not In My BackYard" folks) or others.

## **METHODOLOGY**

To inform our recommendations, we examined both Ann Arbor's AH context and AH campaigns from across the nation to learn about best practices that could be applied to Ann Arbor.

- Local Research: We performed 19 key informant interviews and conducted extensive research on the city's historical context using library archives, online articles, geographic data, and local policy.
- Campaign Examples: We conducted an online search to identify model AH campaigns that have been implemented

## Figure 4 PROJECT METHODOLOGY LOCAL RESEARCH **CAMPAIGN EXAMPLES** · Web-Based Research Interviews Historic Context Phone Interviews **CAMPAIGN APPROACHES** Humanizing • Community • Economic **FOCUS GROUPS** RECOMMENDATIONS

elsewhere, including at the local, state, and national levels. We followed up with five campaigns through phone interviews to better understand their context, strategy, metrics, successes and failures, and lessons learned.

Focus Groups: From the above research, we distilled three campaign approaches which were shared with local AH stakeholders in the form of two focus groups, which helped our team to assess how well each resonated with key AH advocates in Ann Arbor.

Plan Strategically. Defining the project goals and scope from the outset, and ensuring they are consistent with available funds and resources as well as effectively shared with partners and stakeholders, is an important early step in the campaign planning process. Work plans ensure that 1) the goals of the campaign are

## RECOMMENDATIONS

This document captures specific key findings from the breadth of our research demonstrating promising practices to consider. Condensing these into themes, we broadly recommend:

clearly identified and consistent with the resources available; 2) the scope and timeline is realistic; 3) the target audience is being reached effectively; 4) the communication channels are clear; and 5) the outcomes are defined and measurable. A work plan will help ensure a smooth campaign rollout, prevent potential disagreements down the road, and ultimately improve the overall efficacy of the campaign.

- Build Partnerships—such as Coalitions to Boost the Signal. Broad, diverse, inclusive coalitions are critical but they are difficult to sustain. It is important to consider creative ways to engage a coalition to sustain collaboration throughout the lifecycle of a campaign and beyond.
- Invest in Visuals. It pays to hire an expert. Professionals add a great deal of value and expertise to the project and high quality visuals helps the audience take the content more seriously.
- Measure and Evaluate. Formally measuring and evaluating the process and outcomes of a public education campaign is critical to determining whether the small steps taken early on were effective and how to improve those efforts on a larger scale as well as assessing the overall success of the campaign. It is critical that metrics of success are built into an AH campaign plan from the outset. Precise measurement tools and strategies will vary based on the goals and activities of each AH campaign. For difficult to measure metrics, engaging local topic-specific experts about their perceptions of campaigns before and after can be a good way to gauge change.

## CONCLUSION

There is potential for Ann Arbor to benefit from a well-planned, collaborative, multidimensional public education campaign. The crucial campaign components include organizing collaboration, taking time to strategically plan the campaign process, and aligning scope with available funding and resources. Messaging and planning that results from coordinated collaboration has a higher potential for impact. Coalescing a campaign coalition with representation from some of the more than 70 AH stakeholders in Washtenaw County could leverage the community support to advance Ann Arbor toward the city's goal of creating nearly 2,800 new affordably priced rental units in the city by 2035.

## Key Findings: Local Research **COMMUNITY INTERVIEWS**

## Figure 5

## INTERVIEWEE AFFILIATIONS

Total Official Interviews	19
University of Michigan	1
Local Business Owners	1
Developers	2
Grassroots Advocacy	2
Non-Profits	3
Government Employees (current or former)	3
Elected Officials (former)	3
Elected Officials (current)	4





During the summer of 2016, we interviewed 19 stakeholders in Ann Arbor's affordable housing arena about their experiences with public support and opposition to affordable housing developments or policies as well as their thoughts on how a public education campaign could help boost support for affordable housing initiatives. A summary of our findings is below.

## **SUMMARY OF SELECT KEY FINDINGS**

BREAK DOWN THE TERMINOLOGY: Tackling "affordable housing" will be difficult without first helping the public to unpack that term. This includes better, consistent communication about the different tiers of society that all need housing affordability, including those 30% or below area median income (AMI) (very low income/ homelessness), those earning less than 60% AMI (low income), and those earning between 50%-120% AMI (low to moderate income, workforce housing).

"[S]omebody at 60% of AMI of \$35,000 has a whole different set of problems than someone who is earning \$20,000. We all strive for happiness and our families to do well, but with different incomes or different times in our lives... If I'm 30 and earning \$35,000, or if I'm 80 and I'm earning \$20,000, there's just different needs all encompassed within 'affordable housing."" –An interviewee

EDUCATION FEELS EMPTY WITHOUT ACTION: A successful campaign will challenge the public to do something if they want to support housing affordability in Ann Arbor. This could range from signing on to a public statement of support, giving money to related nonprofits, showing up for public meetings about the issue, or voting for a relevant ballot initiative. In short, make sure the campaign is linked to some sort of action step.

"What can the average person actually do?' It's fine awareness of it but if there isn't anything anybody can do, then it makes you feel... bummed out. You're like, 'I really want to do something about this but I have nothing I can do.'...It just becomes a hard sell."

-An interviewee

## CAPITALIZE ON ANN ARBOR'S UNIQUE IDENTITY

AND VALUES: Ann Arbor prides itself as a community that is open-minded and welcoming. A successful campaign for affordable housing could draw upon these core community values of diversity and inclusion.

"It makes for a more interesting, diverse community and community experience. I do think that a lot of folks in Ann Arbor appreciate that. They don't just want...people all cut from a very specific economic slice all together.

You can learn a lot from everyone and everyone's experiences. It's a real resource, having that all in the community." —An interviewee

## BUILD PARTNERSHIPS TO BOOST THE SIGNAL:

Over 70 groups were mentioned by the interviewees as having a stake in more housing affordability in Ann Arbor. Done well, a campaign could be spread by many different allies across the county who may not focus on affordable housing themselves, but could see how it ties into their mission and interests. Figure 6 summarizes a subset of these groups. The size the group name roughly corresponds to how often they were mentioned in the interviews with regards to affordable housing.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In addition to interviews, we reviewed over 20+ years of local archives on AH from the Ann Arbor Observer and other community resources to learn more about how AH projects have been developed and received in the community. This research underscored the following aspects regarding Ann Arbor's unique context when it comes to AH:

## ANN ARBOR'S TARGET AND AT RISK POPULATIONS:

Ann Arbor's primary focus since the 2000s has been citizens at or below 60% AMI, with a large focus on those below 30% AMI. Although low-income and homeless individuals and families are targeted, the homeless population and "workforce" citizens, who make 50-120% of the AMI, remain at high risk for unaffordable housing.

Figure 6: WORD CLOUD OF AH STAKEHOLDERS MENTIONED IN THE INTERVIEWS.



PRAISE FOR LOCAL NONPROFITS: Articles from the 1990s suggest that the Ann Arbor community greatly supports the affordable housing development and maintenance from the nonprofits, such as Avalon Housing. One prime example mentioned in the 2014 county report is Carrot Way, an Avalon project, which is identified as a good model of affordable housing in Ann Arbor.

## LACK OF MAINTENANCE AND REPAIRS HAVE BEEN PROBLEMATIC: In 1990, the

Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) found that 41 of Ann Arbor's affordable housing units were vacant due to lack of maintenance. In the early 2000s, the city tried to preserve the YMCA's 100 units. However, the city chose to demolish these units due to high repair costs. These examples demonstrate that the lack of maintenance and repair of units have reduced Ann Arbor's affordable housing in addition to the lack of affordable housing.

## DORMANT ALLY OF THE UNIVERSITY: Despite

its strong presence in Ann Arbor, the University of Michigan has yet to weigh in as an institution on AH issues. However, there has been some historical involvement on affordability issues by individual faculty members. For example, in 1994, an architecture professor, Kurt Brandle, had his students design sustainable affordable housing projects. From 1992-2008, Kurt served on the board of Washtenaw County Affordable Housing Corps, an organization that strived to help people help themselves



into homeownership. More recently, through the University of Michigan's "Telling It" program, students volunteered to create a sculpture in a year long after school project and unveiled it at Carrot Way Apartments in 2015, depicted in the image above.

## THE VARIED PERSPECTIVES OF AFFORDABLE

HOUSING: In Ann Arbor, there are contrasting views related to affordable housing. For example, some neighbors of Platt Road believe the Platt Road project will increase the concentration of low income housing and will increase rates of crime in this neighborhood. In contrast, other neighbors of Platt Road advocate for this affordable housing project because they believe the mixed housing project will cause little harm to property values or neighborhood safety. Additionally, the mayor is a proponent of this project because of the infrastructure that exists at this site and the job opportunities nearby. This example demonstrates the importance of knowing the stakeholders and their issues of interest when developing a public education campaign.



## .....

Key Findings: Campaign Examples

## **WEB-BASED RESEARCH**

We conducted web-based research on best practices for conducting an AH campaign and examined over 45 national, state, and local campaigns from across the country to learn more about their goals, audience, action plan, and lessons learned. From this research, we identified the following best practices:

## A GOOD CAMPAIGN STARTS WITH GOOD

PLANNING: Strategic planning from the outset is critical to developing a successful AH campaign. Proactively and collaboratively formulating a concrete, written work plan at the beginning of the campaign development process will help ensure that: 1) the goals of the campaign are clearly identified and

consistent with the resources available; 2) the scope and timeline is realistic; 3) the target audience is being reached effectively; 4) the communication channels are clear; and 5) the outcomes are defined and measurable. A work plan will help ensure a smooth campaign rollout, prevent potential disagreements down the road, and ultimately improve the overall efficacy of the campaign. See *Additional Resources* on page 25 for a list of campaign planning tools.

## BUILD A BROAD AND COMMITTED COALITION:

Just as important as the message of an affordable housing public education campaign is who is involved in disseminating that message. Complex, wide reaching issues like AH cannot be tackled singlehandedly by

Figure 7

TABLE OF EVALUATION
TYPES FROM HARVARD
FAMILY RESEARCH
PROJECT, 2002

EVALUATION TYPE	DEFINITION/PURPOSE	EXAMPLE QUESTIONS
FORMATIVE	Assesses the strengths and weaknesses of campaign materials and strategies before or during the campaign's implementation.	How does the campaign's target audience think about the issue?     What messages work with what audiences?     Who are the best messengers?
PROCESS	Measures effort and the direct outputs of campaigns—what and how much was accomplished. Examines the campaign's implementation and how the activities involved are working.	How many materials have been put out?     What has been the campaign's reach?     How many people have been reached?
OUTCOME	Measures effect and changes that result from the campaign. Assesses outcomes in the target populations or communities that come about as a result of grantee strategies and activities. Also measures policy changes.	<ul> <li>Has there been any affective change (beliefs, attitudes, social norms)?</li> <li>Has there been any behavior change?</li> <li>Have any policies changed?</li> </ul>
IMPACT	Measures community-level change or longer-term results that are achieved as a result of the campaign's aggregate effects on individuals' behavior and the behavior's sustainability. Attempts to determine whether the campaign caused the effects.	Has the behavior resulted in its intended outcomes (e.g., lower cancer rates, less violence in schools)     Has there been any systems-level change?

http://www.hfrp.org/evaluation/publications-resources/public-communication-campaign-evaluation-an-environmental-scan-of-challenges criticisms-practice-and-opportunities

any one individual or organization. Rather, coalitions, or groups of individuals and/or organizations with a common interest who agree to work together toward a shared goal, are a critical foundation of a successful AH campaign. Coalitions also greatly benefit from having a core group of individuals who can consistently convene. It is important to establish realistic meeting times and expectations early in the coalition-forming process. Building local coalitions with broad support, including stakeholders, local opinion leaders, and policy makers, is an important first step in the campaign planning process. Generally, the broader and more committed the membership of the coalition, the better.

IMPLEMENT IN PHASES: A public education campaign surrounding an issue as complex and wide reaching as AH is most likely to be successful using a phased approach for engaging different audiences to achieve different goals at different time points. Phasing allows a campaign to evolve and grow strategically, over time, through varied modes of communication and multilevel strategies and tactics. For example, a campaign whose ultimate goal is policy change may start at the local level with general public education (PHASE 1), then proceed to grassroots outreach (PHASE 2), and ultimately work its way up to the city or state level to engage in policy advocacy (PHASE 3).

START SMALL AND SCALE UP: AH is a large, complex issue that can easily overwhelm the public. In developing an AH campaign, it is critical that people feel they have an active role to play and that their contribution can and will make a difference. To enhance public engagement, a campaign must carefully manage the scale of the activity it is asking people to participate in. For example, it may be most effective to start with one or more small "asks" and build up to larger ones.

MEASURE AND EVALUATE: Formally measuring and evaluating the process and outcomes of a public education campaign is critical to determining whether the small steps taken early on were effective and how to improve those efforts on a larger scale as well as assessing the overall success of the campaign. It is critical that metrics of success are built into an AH campaign plan from the outset. Precise measurement tools and strategies will vary based on the goals and activities of each AH campaign. See figure 7 for a summary of tools.

DON'T FORGET TO FOLLOW UP: Building credibility, trust, and relationships with a diverse set of stakeholders is important to the success of any AH campaign. When a stakeholder expresses interest in an AH project or effort, effective and timely follow-up is critical. By having follow-up materials ready (e.g. a handout ready to be mailed, a presentation ready to be shared, a training/service that can be offered immediately, etc.), a campaign can reach potential supporters quickly and effectively.

## **PHONE INTERVIEWS**

We performed semi-structured phone interviews with representatives from five different AH campaigns from across the country, including: Maine Affordable Housing Coalition<sup>3</sup> (Portland, ME); HousingMinnesota Campaign<sup>4</sup> (St. Paul, MN); Faces and Places of Affordable Housing<sup>5</sup> (Fort Collins, CO); East Bay Housing Organizations<sup>6</sup> (Oakland, CA); and the Housing for All Campaign<sup>7</sup> (Washington, D.C.). The goal of the interviews was to enhance our perspective on different campaign methods and their outcomes to inform our own recommendations and aid in the development of an effective campaign in Ann Arbor. Interviewees were asked questions about their campaign's goals, outcomes, takeaways, funding, and partnerships, among others. A summary of our findings is presented on pages 10 and 11.

- 3. "Maine Affordable Housing Coalition," accessed October 23, 2016, http:// mainehousingcoalition.org.
- 4. Chip Halboch, "Affordable housing...On billboards?: A grassroots coalition shapes a media campaign on the value of affordable housing," National Housing Institute, last modified April 2002, http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/122/organize.html.
- 5. City of Fort Collins, "'The Faces and Places of Affordable Housing' Poster Campaign," last modified March 2003, http://www.fcgov.com/ socialsustainability/facesplaces-posters.php.
- 6. "East Bay Housing Organizations," accessed October 23, 2016, http://www.ebho.org
- 7. Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development, "What is the Housing For All Campaign?" accessed October 23, 2016. https://www.cnhed.org/ housing-for-all-campaign/.

CAMPAIGN EXAMPLES

### CAMPAIGN PLANNING

- Need a good match between objectives and available resources. Defining the project goals and scope from the outset, and ensuring they are consistent with available funds and resources and effectively shared with partners and stakeholders, is an important early step in the campaign planning process.
- Multidimensional communications campaigns are most influential. Multi-level campaigns that reach different target audiences through different communication channels can provide an opportunity for enhanced engagement.

The Maine Affordable Housing Coalition's interactive video web page offered visitors an opportunity to send an email directly from the site to the state legislator. After watching the video, viewers could email the legislator to voice their support for increasing the number of section 8 housing vouchers from the state.

- When it comes to visuals, it pays to hire an expert. Media—whether print, video, web, or otherwise—must be of very high quality. Working with a professional firm, agency, or production company adds a great deal of value and expertise to the project and helps consumers take the content more seriously.
- Empower and equip community members and organizations to engage in AH issues. When planning a campaign, include opportunities for leadership, advocacy, and/or media training. This will make the campaign more sustainable over the long-term, and is the right thing to do.

The Housing for All Campaign engaged
Washington, D.C. residents who were impacted
by D.C.'s housing programs in capacity building
to develop their leadership skills. Engaging
residents was a key strategy of the campaign
and many training opportunities were offered
that prepared community members to be
active in advocacy, build relationships with
peers, and feel confident participating in the
AH conversation.

## COALITION BUILDING

- Coalitions are critical, but they are difficult to sustain. Coalitions that are built at the outset of a campaign risk falling apart over time. It is important to consider creative ways that engage a coalition and can be sustained throughout the lifecycle of a campaign and beyond.
- Broad coalitions are best. It is critical that
  coalitions/partnerships are as diverse
  and inclusive as possible, engaging
  stakeholders from across the political
  spectrum and various economic sectors
  (e.g. housing, construction, business,
  faith groups, etc.). By casting a wide net
  and including everyone in the conversation, the coalition will be taken more
  seriously and its campaign efforts will
  be better received.

The Maine Affordable Housing Coalition attributes much of the success of their campaign efforts to the fact that they are perceived as centrist. They cast a wide net when assembling their coalition, which ultimately included not only stakeholders from within the housing community, but also perceived outsiders who have a vested interest in AH, such as construction companies, banks and "middle of center" community members.

• But...coalition members also need shared interests. Coalition members must have some common interest(s) that is supported through membership (e.g. interest in addressing the needs of low-income people). To achieve this, the coalition should be clear about what its objectives are and seek to draw in those groups/organizations that support those objectives.

### MESSAGING

- Share success stories. Highlight how
   AH helped people and/or how an AH
   development improved or enhanced a
   community. This helps harness support
   for AH by dispelling fears and myths,
   demonstrating that public engagement
   can make a real difference, and showing
   opponents that AH projects and programs can work.
- Test campaign materials with outsiders.
   When developing the campaign, solicit feedback and input from people outside of the AH community. An outside perspective on campaign materials may provide valuable improvements to campaign imagery, tone, and language that would not have been possible from insiders.
- Diversity is important in campaign imagery. By including the stories and images of a diverse range of people affected by AH (e.g. different races, incomes, employment sectors, life stages, etc.), a campaign is more inclusive, reaches a wider audience, and reduces the risk of making any one person the "definition" of AH housing issues.

The Faces and Places of Affordable Housing and the City of Fort Collins, CO consider all the benefits of AH for everyone in the community through a "triple bottom line" approach to sustainability (economic health, environmental services, and social sustainability) and present AH as a natural triple bottom line solution.

## MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION

- Identify clear metrics at the outset of
  the project. Good measurement and
  evaluation practices are critical to understanding the impact of a campaign.
  A campaign that establishes concrete
  goals, objectives, and metrics for
  measuring outcomes prior to launching
  will be much stronger in its ability to
  identify successes, make improvements,
  and demonstrate impact to funders and
  the public. For example, one goal could
  be to achieve 1,000 likes on Facebook
  for a particular event or cause. See figure
  7 on page 8 for additional ideas.
- Change in public perception is best measured by asking an expert. Because a change in the general public's understanding of AH is difficult to quantify, it may be best to ask knowledgeable people in the community if they perceive any difference in the way AH is being perceived in the community, both before and after an AH campaign.

HousingMinnesota opted to understand
and measure changes in public perception
before and after the campaign by asking
knowledgeable experts in the community if
they perceived any difference in the way AH
was being perceived by community members.

 Long term policy change is a worthy goal, but is difficult to measure. Because it is hard to make direct connections between campaign activities and specific policy changes, campaigns seeking to influence policy should also consider using other more short-term and quantifiable metrics to define success.

KEY FINDINGS: CAMPAIGN EXAMPI

# ADVOCATING FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY IN ANN ARBOR

## Public Education Campaign Approaches

Taking what we learned from campaign examples, local research, and focus groups we distilled the following three AH campaign approaches as potential launching-points for an AH campaign in Ann Arbor—Humanizing, Community, and Economic.

After briefly describing each approach, we have featured some concrete examples of AH campaigns from across the country that have successfully utilized each in their materials via various platforms. We have also included a list of potential allies who would be logical partners in spreading each type of approach in Ann Arbor, as well as a list of potential audiences that could be targeted. Finally, we have compiled feedback on each approach from the focus groups on the three approaches and how could they could be adapted in Ann Arbor.

## **APPROACH 1 HUMANIZING**

FOCUS: This approach is focused on individuals and families.

"We can appeal to people's emotion, not by saying you should take care of these poor people, ...[but by] showing them real people's lives, and look—they're thriving! They live here. They're successful. This is a person that's like your brother or your uncle or vour nephew." -An interviewee

**SUMMARY**: A humanizing approach captures the stories of those who are affected by housing affordability issues. This could include those who have lived or currently live in affordable housing, those who live in unaffordable housing, neighbors of affordable housing, businesses whose employees need affordable housing or others. The purpose of this approach is to help the general public "put themselves in the shoes" of others and draws on a sense of morality and fairness.

POTENTIAL ALLIES: Those who might be interested in *spreading* materials that use this approach

- Faith-based groups, including churches and Religious Action for Affordable Housing (RAAH)
- Non-profit advocates
- Civil Rights groups such as NAACP
- · Unions, including Huron Valley Labor Federation
- University students

- Faith-based organizations
- City Council
- The well-to-do
- Not In My BackYard folks (NIMBYs)
- Students

### EXAMPLE #1

The Places and Faces of Affordable Housing<sup>8</sup> Fort Collins, CO, 2002

## Platform: Traditional Poster

This campaign primarily used the platform of posters and ads to spread its message. The posters showed different individuals who are included in affordable housing, such as children, families, and survivors of domestic violence to communicate that "those" people are these people. The poster on the right focuses on a person in the community that is excluded by unaffordability but plays an important role in the community where he cannot live.

## Focus Group: Specific Feedback

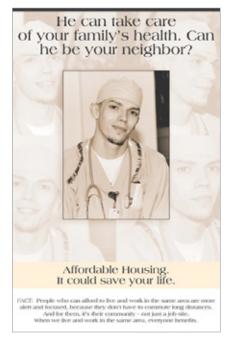
In general, focus group participants liked that the posters use visuals of different populations of real people in need of or impacted by affordable housing. At the same time, there was some concern about whether the approach objectifies or exploits people and one participant observed that he would feel better using the faces and names of people who had agreed to be part of the AH campaign.

## EXAMPLE#2

I Can't Wait Campaign 9 National, ongoing

## Platform: Website Testimonials

People can use the campaign's website to share testimonials of their struggles to find affordable housing and the burdens this places on them and their families. By having real people share their real stories, the Can't Wait list is both empowering and lends its stories an extra layer of credibility.





## Focus Group: Specific Feedback

While some participants praised this platform for being easily accessible, others worried that the "digital divide" would discourage certain groups without a computer or computer literacy (e.g. older populations) from visiting. The question was raised regarding how you go about getting the people you are trying to persuade to visit the site since a website requires someone to actively choose to engage with it. Others wondered how you would go about grabbing people's attention via a website, how to measure impact, and if maintenance would be a significant barrier.

8. City of Fort Collins, "'The Housing' Poster Campaign. http://www.fcgov.com/

PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

List," accessed November 6,

# PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN APPROACHES

#### FOCUS GROUP IDEAS FOR HUMANIZING:

Tell Stories of Success, Don't Forget an "Ask" Focus group participants liked the concept of using storytelling as a means of connecting Ann Arbor residents with AH issues and people they might know in the community who are affected by AH. Ideas about ways to do this varied, with the most prominent and promising suggestion being to highlight successful people in the community who started off in poverty and tell the stories of how AH helped them get where they are today. In doing this, it is important that materials include a specific "ask" to connect people with next steps and/or larger ways of engaging with the issue/campaign.

# Other ideas for conducting a humanizing campaign in Ann Arbor included:

- Profile local workers in fast-growing, low-wage jobs who do not earn enough to live in Ann Arbor.
- Work with local employers (e.g. UMHS and U-M) to highlight employees/jobs that need AH.
- Work with local artists on an AH mural project downtown to help spread the word.
- "This is What a Renter Looks Like" campaign to dispel stereotypes/myths.
- Play to residents' self-interest by citing ways they can benefit from more AH (e.g. "X # of people drive into Ann Arbor for work—traffic will be better if they can live here.")

#### **APPROACH 2**

## COMMUNITY

FOCUS: This approach focuses on the type of community the people of Ann Arbor want to see, and where affordable housing fits into this vision.

"Every single person should feel like Main Street in Ann Arbor is someplace they could walk or State Street, or Kerrytown Shops, or the farmer's market....If we've missed an opportunity to find a way to keep people in our community of all stripes, we will become Bloomfield Hills and Birmingham. I really dread that. That would be my campaign, if I had one. That would be it."

-An interviewee

SUMMARY: A community approach looks at how housing affordability underpins the broader community where people live, work and play. It draws on people's sense of their civic duty as well as their values about what type of community they would want to live in.

POTENTIAL ALLIES: Those who might be interested in *spreading* materials that use this approach

- Transit Authority
- Downtown Development Authority
- Environmental groups
- Ann Arbor Community Foundation
- · Convention and Visitor's Bureau
- Unions, including Huron Valley Labor Federation
- Small businesses

POTENTIAL AUDIENCES: Those who would be *receptive* to this approach

- Business
- University
- NIMBYs
- Environmentalists

#### SAMPLE PLATFORM #1

Housing Awareness 10
Vermont, ongoing

#### Platform: Website

Vermont's campaign is community focused, with "housing is the foundation of Vermont communities" as their tagline. It serves as a centralized resource for educating Vermont on AH.



#### SAMPLE PLATFORM #2

Affordable Housing Village <sup>11</sup> Germany, ongoing

#### Platform: Renderings

Some campaigns have also taken advantage of renderings, which envisions what a community or space could look like. Above, a Dutch company demonstrates what affordable housing could look like after transforming it from old US barracks.

#### Focus Group: Specific Feedback

There was a general lack of enthusiasm regarding the use of renderings. While most participants agreed that renderings provide a useful visual to counter stereotypes regarding the appearance of AH, others questioned whether the barrier to more AH is what the units will look like. Participants also observed that renderings are too academic in nature and limited in reaching the general public. There was concern that renderings are narrow, site-specific, expensive, and inviting of criticism.



#### SAMPLE PLATFORM #3

Housing for All <sup>12</sup>
Washington, D.C., ongoing

#### Platform: Action Step

This campaign identifies ways for community members to get involved, show support, or take action. D.C.'s "Housing for All" asks people to support investment in affordable housing, and gives a brief description: "By signing as a supporter of the Housing For All Campaign we ask that you work with us to promote affordable housing solutions that D.C. desperately needs."

#### Focus Group: Specific Feedback

Most participants strongly favor a campaign platform that is more "actionable," but many don't believe a simple sign-on is enough to compel people to take action. Rather, as several participants noted, the campaign needs offer ways for people to engage, and the call to action needs to be specific in terms of how someone's support will help.

#### FOCUS GROUP IDEAS FOR COMMUNITY

t Speak to Values, but Question Assumptions
Focus group participants thought a
community-focused AH campaign approach

community-focused AH campaign approach in Ann Arbor should speak to residents' values and vision of Ann Arbor as an open and accessible community. Residents are happy to praise Ann Arbor for its diversity, yet the reality is that the city is unaffordable for many. A community approach would ask residents to question their assumptions about Ann Arbor's inclusiveness and speak

10. Vermont Housing Finance
Agency, "Vermont Housing
Awareness Campaign,"
accessed November 17, 2016,
http://www.housingawareness.
org.

11. Dezeen, "MVRDV to transform old US Army barrack in Germany into affordable housing," accessed November 17, 2016, https://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/14/mvrdv-us-army-barracks-mannheim-germany-traumhaus-affordable-low-cost-housing/.

12. Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development, "What is the Housing For All Campaign?" accessed October 23, 2016, https://www.cnhed.org/ housing-for-all-campaign/.

ADVOCATING FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY IN ANN ARBOR

to people's deepest values surrounding what kind of community they want to live in. As one participant noted,

"Many of us observe with alarm that we couldn't afford to move into our neighborhoods now

(versus even 10 years ago) —so, remind us of the reasons we live here, moved here, want to stay here and connect with the private fear and moral outrage that these things are shifting, not for the better. It can't be 'last one in, lock the door' anymore."

Other ideas for conducting a community campaign in Ann Arbor included:

- Educate residents about the challenge of finding AH, since many may be
- Create an online "sign-up" campaign that would publicly identify the general location of people in Ann Arbor who support AH.
- Show how people are affected by Ann Arbor's construction of luxury housing (e.g. eliminating YMCA site for high end apartments).

#### **APPROACH 3**

### **ECONOMIC**

FOCUS: This approach focuses on the economic impact of affordable housing.

"Then affordable housing is also an economic development imperative. And for me, I look at this as both how we develop resilient communities. So making sure that people of all incomes can live and thrive in each of our communities. So if you are a wealthy person living in Ann Arbor, in this downtown space, I would argue that you should care about affordable housing because that economic diversity inside your boundaries helps to keep your city strong and healthy.

There's also, on the flip side of it, this idea that we don't want to concentrate poverty because when we compound those challenges they become expensive to resolve as a society."

-An interviewee

**SUMMARY**: An economic approach brings forth the economic benefits of affordable housing, ranging from the avoided tax-payer costs in social services that stable housing provides to increasing disposable income to be spent in the community. This approach appeals to people's self-interest and rational thinking.

POTENTIAL ALLIES: Those who might be interested in *spreading* materials that use this approach

- Chamber of Commerce
- Ann Arbor SPARK
- Banks
- Developers
- Small businesses

POTENTIAL AUDIENCES: Those who would be receptive to this approach

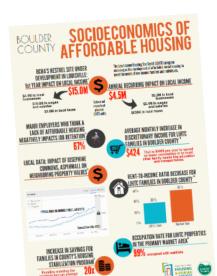
- Business
- University
- NIMBYs

#### EXAMPLE #1

Our Boulder County 13 Boulder, CO, 2015

#### Platform: Infographics

This infographic demonstrates the monetary value of a particular housing project in wages and taxes, both in the development process and annually after construction



is complete. It also highlights the value of affordable housing to businesses and demonstrates how this project positively impacts its residents by accounting for how much their housing-cost burden is reduced.

#### Focus Group: Specific Feedback

While a number of participants responded favorably to infographics, noting that they are highly informative, adaptable (e.g. offer the ability to be used and developed, as needed, on various topics), visually appealing, easily distributed (e.g. via Facebook and Twitter), and good for many different audiences, others worried that they are "cluttered," "static," "passive," and only appropriate for younger audiences (too narrow).

# because what you're doing is lowering long term costs by getting people in a position to be successful and contributing to the economy."

From Maine Affordable

Housing Coalition video

"These are smart

investments to make

#### EXAMPLE #2

Maine Affordable Housing Coalition 14 Maine, 2013

#### Platform: Videos

The Maine Affordable Housing Coalition video demonstrates the economic impact of affordable housing. About 1,000 people are employed by affordable housing projects through building, contracting, and material companies. It also captures the benefits to tenants in having affordable housing options. Videos can be a powerful platform for sharing complex, multi-stakeholder stories.

#### Focus Group: Specific Feedback

Participants noted that people love videos and that they give a good overview of the issue. It was noted that videos can capture "real and raw" emotions of people impacted by affordable housing and that one video can potentially portray all three campaign approaches—humanizing, economic, and community. Potential negatives surrounding the video platform were mixed—concerns and questions were raised about length (e.g. videos can be too long in our "30 second sound bite world"), metrics ("what is the return on investment and do you actually get the support?"), the cost (perceived as high), distribution, and reach/effectiveness of the video format.

13. (Our Boulder County

14. "Maine Affordable Housing Coalition," accessed

PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

ADVOCATING FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY IN ANN ARBOR







#### FOCUS GROUP IDEAS FOR ECONOMIC

#### It's About More than Money: It's Also Personal

Focus group participants had many different ideas about what an economic campaign approach to AH in Ann Arbor might look like. Beyond simply sharing information about the financial impact of AH on major businesses and employers in the county (e.g. "high cost housing keeps out creative talent"), participants thought a more personal and broad approach to "economics" would be most persuasive. The proposed idea is to play to people's self-interests by demonstrating how everyone is affected in some way economically by the lack of AH in Ann Arbor, whether due to increased time spent in traffic, congestion, and/or air pollution in the area.

Other suggestions for conducting an economic AH campaign in Ann Arbor included:

- Use economic equity argument: diverse communities are economically more stable and prosperous, and supporting AH supports a prosperous economy and community.
- Turn the county's report into an infographic for the general public to understand AH issues in the county.
- Include a specific ask for contributions from U-M, local businesses, and government to do something about affordability issues in the county.
- Be cautious with the economic approach because there is some division around the "growth" mentality in Ann Arbor.

# Focus Group Feedback on Campaign Approaches

We conducted two focus groups with a total of 11 individuals to test out the three different campaign approaches and platforms outlined above with stakeholders in Washtenaw County, including staff members from the OCED and members of the Affordable Housing Leadership Team. As part of this process,

we presented each group with the Humanizing, Community, and Economic approaches and provided opportunities for feedback and discussion about each approach. We also solicited more general ideas and suggestions for conducting an AH campaign in Ann Arbor. Our results are summarized below.

Figure 8: TABLE SYNTHESIZING FOCUS GROUP FEEDBACK BY CAMPAIGN APPROACH				
APPROACH	RECURRENT THEMES	DIRECT QUOTES		
<b>HUMANIZING</b> Likes	Personal	"Opens eyes to who is affected and how that is different from perceptions"     "Made it seem more real, people can relate"     "Makes the issue feel personal—people might be motivated by a story"     "Stories are compelling way: you know someone who needs affordable housing"		
	Compassion	• "Using 'real' people plays on people's compassion" • "Folks can relate—empathetic"		
<b>HUMANIZING</b> Dislikes	Objectifying	"Difficult to get people to volunteer their stories and object them to scrutiny and criticism"     "Does it objectify folks? If folks agree to be part of campaign that feels much better"     "Can feel exploitative in putting local faces to the issue"		
	Lack of action	"Humanizing is easy; connecting to behavioral change, resource investment can still be difficult"     "Individual stories may not address root causes. I can donate to help a person, but doesn't help connect to policy, government change"		
COMMUNITY	Communal	• "Collective approach" • "300 foot view, focus on system, not only individual"		
Likes	Speaks to Ann Arbor's (A2's) values	Think it's a good idea to tap into A2's big ego—put \$ where mouth is'  "We definitely see ourselves as 'progressive' and are proud of our quirky localism (businesses, etc.)—play to these qualities"		
COMMUNITY	Vague	• "Could get blurry" • "Seems a little undefined"		
Dislikes	Lack of inclusiveness	"Do you risk alienating folks more because they can't relate in some way?"     "May be challenging to help everyone feel 'community' based"		
ECONOMIC Likes	Evidence-based	"Consistent with CZB report"     "A2 is a pretty data-lovin' town"     "Using data can be very compelling"		
	Reaches critical audience	"Really important for policy makers and business community" "Can get business/construction community involved" "What about local units of government as target? Employers?" "Needs to be part of any campaign"		
<b>ECONOMIC</b> Dislikes	Narrow audience	"Economic argument may be too obtuse for those that are wealthy and don't work for government"     "Resonates with a very specific group—folks who hold the NIMBY attitude most likely won't be swayed by this"     "May only target a more business-minded audience and could miss other people who may be interested in an issue"		
	Emphasis on money	"De-humanizes it a little: is it just about economics or that children have a safe space to live?"     "It sucks it is always about the money"		



#### **IDEAS FOR CONDUCTING A CAMPAIGN IN ANN ARBOR**

When asked for more general (non-approach specific) feedback about conducting an AH campaign in Ann Arbor, the following key themes emerged from focus group participants:

#### USE MIXED APPROACHES

The three campaign approaches were viewed as not mutually exclusive and participants expressed interest in creating a hybrid AH campaign for Ann Arbor that mixes approaches and platforms.

#### MAKE IT ACTIVE

Many of the campaign messages were viewed as far too passive and participants were adamant that an AH campaign in Ann Arbor should be active, participatory, and include a specific call to action to mobilize people.

#### ASK. "TO WHAT END?"

It is necessary to consider to what end you would use each approach, given that a different approach or platform may be needed to accomplish different end goals or reach different audiences.

#### LANGUAGE IS IMPORTANT

Terminology, such as "affordability," and concepts, such as poverty, mean different things to different people and must be clearly defined and understood as part of an AH campaign in Ann Arbor.

#### **EVERYONE IS IMPACTED**

It is important to consider all the ways people are affected by the lack of AH in Ann Arbor, including traffic, congestion, and air pollution.

# Recommendations

The promising practices we found and the key findings we highlighted from our local research, campaign examples, and focus groups capture specific components to consider for a public education campaign. In addition to these, we broadly propose the following recommendations to help guide AH stakeholders in a long-term public education campaign that can help engage support to move Ann Arbor toward its goal to create nearly 2,800 new affordably priced rental units in the city by 2035.

#### **CREATE OR BUILD OFF OF EXISTING COALITIONS**

Partnerships are identified as a foundational piece of successful public education campaigns. Engaging stakeholders across the spectrum of affordability, from homelessness to workforce housing, establishes a cohesive front from which a comprehensive long-term affordability public education can be sustained and short-term topic-targeted initiatives can be launched as needed. Coalitions are difficult to sustain. It is important to consider creative ways that engaging a coalition can be sustained throughout the lifecycle of a campaign and beyond.

#### CONSIDER MODELING AFTER

East Bay Housing Organizations<sup>15</sup> is a membership-based organization that includes developers, architects, contractors, consultants, faith-based organizations, residents, and many others. EBHO brings this diverse set of AH stakeholders together for Affordable Housing Week, an annual event in which members share their work, spread awareness of the benefits of AH, and stay engaged with one another throughout the year.

#### DON'T RECREATE THE WHEEL

There is a wealth of resources on the subject of affordable housing of which we have referenced compelling practices and successful examples. Modeling when possible and learning from other campaigns' lessons is an excellent starting point when designing Ann Arbor's affordability campaign messages and strategies. National AH campaigns also have a plethora of resources to use and events from which to piggyback. Consider building an affordability frame into existing Ann Arbor events to link it with demonstrated community values.





15. "East Bay Housing

16. Homes for All/Right to the

City Alliance, "The I Can't Wait

Housing...On billboards?: A

April 2002, http://www.nhi.org/

#### CONSIDER MODELING AFTER

The **Can't Wait List**<sup>16</sup>, a website of testimonials through the national campaign Homes for All. People share their struggles to find affordable housing and the burden this places on them and their families. This is both empowering and lends its stories an extra layer of credibility while being active and interactive.

#### IMPORTANCE OF THE PROCESS

Public education campaigns take time and can be approached in phases. Inclusive conversations to cultivate stakeholder investment are integral to establish a strong foundation for a sustained campaign. Planning is a constant process of coordination, delegation, design, production, implementation, assessment, and revisions—over and over again.

#### **CONSIDER MODELING AFTER**

HousingMinnesota<sup>17</sup>, which was implemented in three phases: Phase 1 was

reaching out to the public to develop campaign materials; Phase 2 was engaging a diverse set of stakeholders impacted by the AH issue (e.g. labor, business, and faith communities, among others); and Phase 3 was focused on research, community organizing, and legislative activities that supported AH.

#### START SMALL, SCALE UP, SHARE,

Tackling small targets intentionally will provide an opportunity to experiment and track impact. This could take the form of different stakeholders grouping together around topics, such as homelessness or workforce housing, or setting an annual campaign theme for everyone to work toward from their respective frames. The understanding gained from starting small will inform strategies for and quality of scaling up. This evidence-based lesson learning should be shared with other stakeholders and allies as well as other communities. Ann Arbor could become a nationally leading community addressing affordability by tracking and communicating campaign strategy impact and the evolution of lessons learned.

#### MAKE AND MEASURE METRICS OF SUCCESS

Being successful means having the intended impact. Setting metrics of success and designing systems for measuring must be implemented to track actual impact. This is an unsubstitutable part of the planning process. Resources and capacity should be allocated accordingly. Depending on the approach, it may be more or less difficult to measure. Consider asking local experts before and after campaigns to gauge their perception of change. See the Harvard Family Research Project table on page 8 for evaluation ideas.

THE MAIN INTERCONNECTED PROCESS COMPONENTS of planning a public education campaign that we distilled from our research are:

MESSENGERS are as important as message. Relevance and social perception should be considered. As we found in our Ann Arbor context research, there has been praise for local nonprofits such as Avalon. Such positively perceived organizations could leverage messages.

PLATFORM can and should be multidimensional, active, and ideally allow for an action step. Understanding which platforms reach different audiences most successfully in Ann Arbor will take a concerted effort to measure impact.

AUDIENCE will determine messenger, message, and platform and should ideally be engaged post campaign approach to gauge the level of impact from a specific campaign. Monitoring and evaluating will help to further understand and refine approaches.

Figure 9

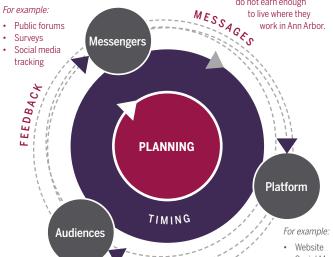


#### For example.

- · Businesses with vested interested in employees living closer to work
- Prominent community members who have used and are now out of affordable housing
- Faith-based organizations

#### For example:

- · Diverse communities are economically more stable and prosperous, and supporting AH supports a prosperous economy and community.
- Local workers in fastgrowing, low-wage jobs do not earn enough to live where they



· Social Media IMPLEMENT Video

- For example: NIMBYs
- Environmentalists
- University

FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE doing these types of campaigns, are there any words of wisdom in terms of what to watch out for or things to be cautious of?

"...Not spending enough time in the planning process.

Really putting a plan together and giving yourself a good six months to a year to say, 'Okay. This is when we're going to do this event.'

Finding a time to say, 'This is when the plan's going to be done so we can't change from this. We're not going to like all of a sudden decide to do this other event and being able to stick to that,'so that there's a lot of time that you people feel confident of."

-An interviewee

# ADVOCATING FOR HOUSING AFFORDABILITY IN ANN ARBOR

# Next Steps

Public education campaigns are not speedy endeavors and success lies in effective planning, collaboration, and tracking. Here are the initial steps we recommend moving forward.

#### STEP 1

Use this document as a conversation starter and an opportunity to engage with AH stakeholders about impressions, feedback, and vision for moving forward.

#### Consideration

There are many community collaborations in Ann Arbor/Washtenaw County working on various housing-related issues in the area. It is important not to confuse or overwhelm the landscape. Consider creating a new coalition to house all groups/individuals/organizations involved in AH issues OR expanding the breadth of an existing group (e.g. Washtenaw Housing Alliance).

#### STEP 2

Form a coalition. Select representatives from stakeholder groups who can commit time and capacity to designing and disseminating a public education campaign.

#### **Considerations**

- 1. Include a broad, diverse, and inclusive set of stakeholders.
- 2. Collectively determine whether the coalition's name/branding should be focused on Ann Arbor (e.g. A3: "Affordable Ann Arbor") or the larger county as a whole.
  - · As projects/issues/proposed developments arise, the public can see that they are housed under the umbrella group of the broader campaign/coalition and may be more likely to support said project/ proposal.
  - Consistent campaign branding is important so individual projects can be easily recognized as part of broad campaign but can be manipulated as needed for specific projects/needs.
- 3. Seek committed coalition members and establish a realistic meeting schedule.
  - Interest is nothing without commitment. It is important to have a core group of people that are committed to the coalition.

#### STEP 3

Assess funding needs and opportunities.

#### **Considerations**

- 1. Campaigns may look very different depending on the political climate at the time.
- 2. Assess strength of match between campaign objectives and available resources, and adjust accordingly.
- 3. The majority of funding may go toward the cost of professional services (e.g. advertising, PR, marketing, and/or video), as well as to the development and production of collateral.
- 4. Funding can come from a wide range of one or more sources, so pursue many avenues.
- Other campaigns have received funding from charitable and corporate foundation grants, corporate donors, banks, and public housing associations, among others.

#### STEP 4

Start the planning process. Reference the campaign approaches and examples in this document. Reach out to other allies in the community.

#### Consideration

The research collected and distilled for this document is not comprehensive nor should it be the sole determinants in planning a public education campaign. This document is a conversation tool and a starting point.

#### STEP 5

Continue to meet and evaluate.

#### Consideration

Establishing sub-committees of people interested in different process areas could prove valuable for sustainability and consistency (e.g. evaluation committee).

#### ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Community Tool Box provides a library of tools to help take action, teach, and train others in organizing for community development. Check out their guide for starting a coalition: http://ctb.ku.edu/en/table-of-contents/assessment/promotion-strategies/ start-a-coaltion/main

Non-profit Housing Association of California prepared Affordable Housing Campaiging Toolkit: http://nonprofithousing.org/the-original-nph-toolkit/

"Communication Campaign Professional Development Resource Guide" https://www.prevention.org/resources/sapp/documents/CommunicationCampaign.pdf

The National Association of Realtors offers a toolkit for "Making Affordable Housing Work" that includes federal resources and homeownership programs consumer edcation and counseling resources, and AH research and statistics: http:// www.realtoractioncenter.com/for-associations/housing-opportunity/toolkits/ HOP-Toolkit/wholetoolkit.pdf. For a short version of their suggestions: http://www. realtoractioncenter.com/for-associations/housing-opportunity/toolkits/HOP Toolkit/2publicawareness.pdf

"Building a Year-Round Communications Campaign" by North Carolina Housing Coalition focuses on communication aspects of campaigning: http://www.nchousing. org/research-data/nchc research publications/nchc-housing-comm-manual/ Building%20a%20Year%20Round%20Communications%20Campagin.pdf

"Public Communication Campaign Evaluation" investigates evaluation challenges, criticisms, and practices and includes sections on useful methods for designing evaluations: http://www.hfrp.org/evaluation/publications-resources/publiccommunication-campaign-evaluation-an-environmental-scan-of-challenges-criticisms practice-and-opportunities

National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC) offers a wide range of tools and publications to strengthen AH advocacy: http://nlihc.org/library/publications





#### **Interview Guide**

#### **OPENING: GENERAL INFO**

So first, I think it would be helpful to hear a little bit more about you and your organization.

- 1. Tell me about your role in the the organization.
- 2. In what (other) ways have you crossed paths with affordable housing issues in Ann Arbor through your work?

#### TRANSITION: PUBLIC RESPONSES TO AFFORDABLE HOUSING INNTIATIVES

Now that I have a better understanding of your background and your work in the organization, I want turn to your thoughts to how you have seen members of the public respond to local affordable housing initiatives.

- 3. From you experiences, in what ways have you seen members of the public respond to affordable housing projects in the community?
- 4. Can you tell me about a time where you witnessed **public support** for affordable housing?
  - a. What most struck you about this situation?
  - b. Can you think of any other examples?
- 5. Can you tell me about a time you witnessed **public resistance** towards affordable housing?
  - a. What most struck you about this situation?
  - b. Can you think of any other examples?
- 6. What do you think are some **common characteristics** between those that support affordable housing? Resist affordable housing?

#### TRANSITION: PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

So now that we have talked a bit about how you have seen the public respond to affordable housing initiatives, I want to turn towards your thoughts on the role a public education campaign could play in supporting affordable housing. Again, this is a **broad concept** at the point and we are **seeking ideas** to help flesh it out.

- 7. **Terminology:** One thing we've heard is that there is a lot of confusion about what the term "affordable housing" means. How would you explain it to someone?
  - a. How do you think a public education campaign could make "affordable housing" less confusing?
  - b. What other terms might be used instead of "affordable housing"?
    - i. What are the benefits for using those terms instead?
    - ii. What are the drawbacks?
- 8. **Messaging:** Another thing we are considering in a public education campaign is how to build messaging around affordable housing.
  - a. What value do you see in having affordable housing?
  - b. What compels you to be involved on this issue?

- 9. Audience: What audiences do you think a public education campaign is best suited for?
  - a. What are your thoughts on a general campaign versus a targeted campaign at a specific group?
- 10. **Benefits:** What could be some benefits of a public education campaign on affordable housing?
  - a. How could a public education campaign capitalize on these benefits?
  - b. In what ways could a public educational campaign complement the work of your organization?
- 11. **Drawbacks:** What could be some drawbacks of a public education campaign on affordable housing?
  - a. How could a public education campaign minimize these drawbacks?
- 12. **Policies:** What needed policies do you think a public education campaign could help lay the groundwork for?

#### WRAP UP

Thank you so much for sharing your thoughts and insights. It's been incredibly helpful. I just have a couple final questions to ask regarding the interview itself.

- 13. **Interview:** Is there anything we didn't touch on that you think I should ask other interviewees?
- 14. **Other resources:** We are hoping to get a variety of perspectives on affordable housing through these interviews. Who else do you think we should to talk to?
  - a. What resources should we look into?

Thank you so much, again, for your time today. I really enjoyed talking with you!



# Appendix II: Full Coding Scheme

**THEME 1: Community Opposition** 

Sub-Theme	Code	Sub-Code	# Sources	# References
Extent of Opposition			14	38
	Conditional Opposition		7	11
	How Many People Oppose		8	9
	How Often Opposition Occurs		8	14
	Strength of Opposition		4	4
Mention NIMBYism			6	6
Questioning Authenticity of Presented Concerns			8	13
Reasons for Opposition			18	171
	Already doing fair share		4	7
	Appropriate Use of Gov't \$		5	5
	Distrust		7	8
	Fear		9	20
		Fear of neighborhood change	5	6
		Fear of the unknown	4	4
	Opposition to Process		3	4
	Physical Implications of AH		10	33
		Aesthetics	3	5
		Codes and Zoning	3	3
		Density	5	6
		Locational Siting	3	4
		Other	1	1
		Parking	2	3
		Property Values	6	8
		Traffic	3	3
	Selfish or Self Interested		6	13
	Stigma Against AH Tenants		17	66
		Crime	6	11
		General Stigma	9	9
		Mental Health	4	4
		Misc	1	1
		Poverty	13	24

		Race	4	5
		'Those people'	4	4
		Undeserving Beneficiaries	6	8
	Uninformed & Misinformed		9	14
Validating Opposition's			12	39
Concerns	Attitude to take concerns seriously		8	20
	Empathy with Opposition		2	3
	Good Intentions		1	2
	Validating specific concerns		6	14
Who is opposing			12	40
	Developer Hesitation		8	18
	Lack of Government Commitment		7	21

# **THEME 2: Community Support**

Sub-Theme	Code	Sub-Code	# Sources	# References
Extent of support			16	53
	Conditional Support		11	25
		Conceptual but not actual support	7	13
		For certain populations	5	9
	How Many People Support		6	6
	How Often Support Occurs		2	3
	Strength of Support		14	19
Reasons for Support			12	34
	Aesthetics		2	2
	Affected personally		5	6
	Effective Public Process		2	3
	Empathy		4	5
	Recognize Need		2	2
	'Right thing'		1	2
	Trust AH non-profits		5	14
Types of Supporters	•		4	4
71	Activists, social justice		7	9
	Business Community		3	6
	Local Government		5	6
	Non-profits		6	8
	Religious Institutions		4	11

**THEME 3: Personal Support** 

Sub-Theme	Code	Sub-Code	Sub-Sub Code	# Sources	# References
Benefits to AH Tenants				9	13
	Housing as Foundation for Stability			9	11
Benefits to Community				17	137
	Community Cohesion			6	7
	De-concentrate Poverty			7	10
	Diversity			11	28
	Eclecticness and Authenticity of A2			7	21
	<b>Economic Development</b>			8	19
	Fill Missing Need			10	24
	Keep People Here			7	13
	Tide that lifts all boats			7	14
Conditional Support				2	2
Personal Motivations				19	134
	Benefits Self			6	10
	Core Values			17	72
		Equity & Fairness		13	51
			Addressing Disparities	10	15
			Preventing Exclusion	9	14
			Promoting Inclusion & Belonging	4	7
			Use term Equity	7	8
			Use term Fairness	3	7
		Housing as a Right		5	8
		Justice		2	3
		Sense of Responsibility		8	9
	Empathy			11	25
		Connection to AH Tenants 'Like Us'		7	13
		Recognize difficulty of situation		8	12
	Personal Connection			9	21
	Religious Inclinations			3	5
	Seems Solvable			1	1

**THEME 4: Personal Hesitations** 

Sub-Theme	# Sources	# References
Abstract	3	5
AH not needed everywhere, transit	5	7
Call it what it is	1	1
Monetary Need of AH Tenants	3	4
Not an Essential Priority	6	11
Powerlessness	2	5
Who is responsible	1	1

**THEME 5: Specific Populations** 

Sub-Theme	# Sources	# References
Elderly	8	12
Ppl with disabilities	4	9
Students	11	25
Young Families	6	15