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**Public Perception on Target Populations and
Homeless Policy Design in Seattle, WA**

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Abstract

This thesis tests a new theory about the role that public perceptions on target populations play in designing homeless policies — as demonstrated through the Homeless Policy Design Model. The theory and model present an expansion of theories on the target populations and policy design from Lowi (1972), Ingram, Schneider and Deleon (2007); and Schneider and Ingram (1993). The model is tested through a case study of homeless policy in Seattle, WA from 2007 to 2016 and the correlating perceptions of the homeless generated through the rhetoric of the political elite and the general public. The homeless policy design model indicates that the public's perceptions about homeless target populations will impact policy design choices. Through qualitative research methods, the thesis finds that there is a recognizable correlation between how the public views the homeless and what type of policy the Seattle City Council passed from 2007 to 2016.

Keywords

homelessness, housing, target populations, policy design, public perception, US

Range of thesis: 84 pages, 149,807 characters

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce testuje novou teorii o úloze, již při navrhování bezdomovecké politiky hraje veřejnost a její vnímání této cílové populace, a své poznatky demonstruje na modelu bezdomovecké politiky (Homeless Policy Design Model). Tato teorie a model představují rozšíření teorií o cílové populaci a model bezdomovecké politiky od Lowiho (1972), Ingrama, Schneidera a Deleona (2007) a Schneidera a Ingrama (1993). Model je testován prostřednictvím případové studie bezdomovecké politiky v Seattlu mezi lety 2007 a 2016 a její korelací s přístupem k bezdomovectví v rétorice politické elity i široké veřejnosti v témže období. Model bezdomovecké politiky naznačuje, že způsob, jakým veřejnost vnímá cílovou populaci bezdomovců, ovlivňuje vytváření konkrétní bezdomovecké politiky. Prostřednictvím kvalitativních metod výzkumu diplomová práce zjišťuje, že existuje rozpoznatelná korelace mezi tím, jak fenomén bezdomovectví vnímá veřejnost, a tím, jakou politiku uplatňovala rada města Seattle mezi lety 2007 a 2016.

Klíčová slova

bezdomovectví, bydlení, cílové populace, navrhování politiky, vnímání veřejnosti, US

Rozsah práce: 84 stran, 149 807 znaků

Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kelsey M. Beckmeyer', is centered on the page. The signature is written in a cursive style with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Prague, 19 May 20017

Kelsey M. Beckmeyer

*In loving memory of
Robert D. DeLappe*

*The man who taught me the importance of serving your community with dedication,
compassion, and perseverance.*

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This thesis would not be possible without the support and inspiration of multiple people. First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Olga Angelovská for her patience and guidance through the swamp of research and writing.

I am incredibly grateful for the constant encouragement from my family and friends, especially my parents and my parents-in-law. Above all, I must express extreme thanks to my wonderful husband and devoted editor, Max Babilon-Crockett – without you I would not know how to spell.

I must also acknowledge that this thesis would not be reality without a few very important things: the endless snuggles of two particular cats who loved to eat my notes, copious amounts of chocolate and more than a few glasses of wine.

Finally, I must thank all of the women I worked with and encountered while working at the STEP Women's Shelter in Walla Walla, WA. You inspired me beyond words.

Institute of Public and Social Policy

Master thesis proposal

Name: Kelsey Beckmeyer

Topic: Family Homelessness: Prevention, Reduction, and Housing Services

Key words: homelessness, housing, low income, prevention, chronic homelessness, US

Academic year: 2015/2016

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Supervisor: Olga Angelovska

Field of study: Public and Social Policy

- A. Research problem definition:** Provide links to other research studies - the current level of knowledge (more detailed information should be provide in Part D. Theoretical background) and formulation and justification of research problem. At the end of this paragraph, try to formulate a research problem in one sentence.

The prevalence of homelessness varies throughout the world and efforts to reduce or end homeless are just as varied. From shelters to encampments, criminalization to targeted prevention, countries address homelessness through a myriad of methods. But what actually works? What methods successfully reduce homeless and decrease the likelihood of someone entering (or re-entering) homelessness. Additionally, what does not work? What fails to reduce homelessness? What maintains homelessness? What increases it?

Studies looking at homelessness have been primarily focused on how various groups of people become homeless, the risk factors, mental and physical health, and viewing the culture of homelessness. Additionally, there have been recent studies on new methods to rapidly rehouse people. However, the few academic studies that directly examine how people (this study will focus on chronically homeless individuals) can successfully exit homeless and also fail to fully consider the role public and social policies to adequately address preventing and reducing homelessness.

B. Objectives (their direct link to the formulated research problem)

1. Understand the current state of chronic homelessness and policies to reduce it in the United States. The examination will include the legal, political, social and economic context of homelessness at a federal level.
 - Examine the scope of current policies addressing homelessness.
 - Examine the past and current methods to address homelessness.
2. Review past and current legislation regarding chronic homelessness and categorize based on the goal of the policy.
3. Review failures to address homelessness – what increases, maintains, and/or ignores homelessness. What past and present policies have been used or are still in use.
4. Formulate a theory on homeless policy development and its application.

C. Research questions

Objective 1: Current State

- How is homelessness defined and identified?
- What happens when a person loses stable housing?

- What is the prevalence of homelessness in the US and the EU? Additionally, what does family homelessness look like in each area?
 - How do family policies relate to the rate of family homelessness?
- Objective 2: Best Practices
- Who provides homeless and housing services for families in the US and EU – state, civic, private sector?
 - Which sector of society has most effectively worked to reduce homelessness among families? How and Why?
 - What methods have been successful in reducing and/or preventing family homelessness and why?
- Objective 3: Failures
- What methods have failed to reduce and/or prevent family homelessness and why?
 - Are there methods that maintain family homelessness? If so, what they and how does the public perceive them?
- Objective 4: Recommendations
- What does a successful reduction in family homelessness look like? What groups have been the targets of reduction? What groups have been overlooked?
 - Are models to address homelessness replicable in other countries?

D. Theoretical concept - You could also specify the conceptual framework, analytical models representing the main components of the research problem and its social, economic and political context.

Social Exclusion/Inclusion

Social exclusion from the hegemony of society will anchor the thesis. We will consider how poverty, identity, and access to resources have shaped the state of homelessness in the US and EU. Additionally, we will implement the theory of social exclusion to frame the definitions of homelessness in the US and the EU. A uniform definition of homelessness is not formally recognized internationally. Within the EU, a broad definition exists; however, member states still maintain their own interpretations. In the US, a national definition is in place, but has changed as recently as five years ago. It will be important to establish a clear definition in the thesis that aligns with the definitions in each country of focus.

Policy Change: Historical Institutionalism, Path Dependency, and Multiple Streams Theory

When formulating and presenting recommendations, I will depend upon these theories to guide the policy development for each region. Understanding the political make up and history of each focus country will be vital in the recommendation section as well as in evaluating what does and does not work.

E. Research plan -

1. Introduction
 - a. Problem overview and definition
 - b. Research question/s
2. Methodology
 - a. Literature review of theories and approaches
 - b. Quantitative and qualitative studies

- c. Comparison
 - d. Event Analysis
- 3. Background Information on Homelessness
 - a. Definitions
 - b. Demographics of on a global scale (describe general and set area of focus)
 - i. Statistics on entries, exists and re-entry
 - c. Family Homelessness
 - i. Frame as focus group
 - ii. US Statistics
 - iii. EU Statistics
- 4. US Approach to Homelessness
 - a. History
 - b. Political context
 - c. Legal framework
 - d. Economic factors
 - e. Social obstacles
 - f. Current policies
- 5. Best and worst practices
 - a. Current Practices
 - i. Shelter
 - ii. Prevention
 - iii. Housing Assistance
 - iv. Other Programs
 - b. What has worked based on established empirical evidence
 - c. What hasn't worked based on established empirical evidence
- 6. Results: Summary of key findings
 - a. What is working
 - b. What is not working
 - c. What could change
- 7. Discussion of implications within the US and EU
 - a. Recommendations – US
 - b. Recommendations – EU
- 8. Discussion of Further Research Areas

F. Literature:

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Ways into Homelessness:

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H. Signatures



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Glossary of Terms¹

Affordable Housing: The supply of housing that is affordable, based on a number of factors including income and the area’s median rental costs. Typically, this is housing where a tenant pays no more than 30 % of their income towards housing costs, which includes utilities. Some jurisdictions may define affordable housing based on other guidelines, determined locally.

Continuum of Care (CoC): A federal grant program for targeted homeless activities, including transitional housing, rapid re-housing and permanent supportive housing. Administered locally by a non-profit or governmental lead agency and overseen by CoC governing body or board. In Seattle/King County the CoC Lead Agency is All Home. A Continuum of Care (CoC) also refers to the overall system of shelter, housing and services available in a community to assist homeless people.

Coordinated Entry System (CES): CES is a standardized and streamlined process for entry into the homeless system and for matching households experiencing homelessness with appropriate housing on a system-level. In Seattle/King County the CES is called Coordinated Entry for All (CEA).

Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD): The federal department responsible for housing and community development policy and funding.

Diversion: Diversion is a practice of targeted prevention aimed specifically at those individuals and families who are seeking shelter. It is a strategy that aims to prevent entry into emergency shelter by helping households identify immediate alternate housing arrangements through problem solving, mediation and in some cases small amounts of direct financial assistance. Diversion programs aim to reduce the number of people entering homelessness, the demand for shelter beds, and the size of program wait lists.

Emergency Shelter: Any facility with overnight sleeping accommodations, the primary purpose of which is to provide temporary shelter for the homeless in general or for specific populations of the homeless.

Entry Barriers: Entry barriers are any restrictions or limitations in place that limit housing and/or services to homeless and chronically homeless people who otherwise meet eligibility criteria.

Fair Market Rent (FMR): Fair Market Rents (FMRs) are primarily used to determine payment standard amounts for the Housing Choice Voucher program, to determine initial renewal rents for some expiring project-based Section 8 contracts, to determine initial rents

¹ All definitions come from Focus Strategies Appendix A (Kurteff et. al 2016), as well as the US Department of Commerce (“PIT And HIC Guides, Tools, And Webinars” 2017; “Public Housing And Voucher Programs” 2017; “Public Housing Programs” 2017).

for housing assistance payment (HAP) contracts in the Moderate Rehabilitation Single Room Occupancy program (Mod Rehab), and to serve as a rent ceiling in the HOME rental assistance program. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) annually estimates FMRs for 530 metropolitan areas and 2,045 nonmetropolitan county FMR areas. By law the final FMRs for use in any fiscal year must be published and available for use at the start of that fiscal year, on October 1.

Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing Act (HEARTH Act): The HEARTH Act was signed into law by President Obama in 2009 and amends and reauthorizes the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act with substantial changes, including:

- A consolidation of HUD's competitive grant programs
- The creation of a Rural Housing Stability Assistance Program
- A change in HUD's definition of homelessness and chronic homelessness
- A simplified match requirement
- An increase in prevention resources
- An increase in emphasis on performance.

Homeless family with children: A family composed of the following types of homeless persons: at least one parent or guardian and one child under the age of 18; a pregnant woman; or a person in the process of securing legal custody of a person under the age of 18.

Homeless person: A youth (17 years or younger) not accompanied by an adult (18 years or older) or an adult without children, who is homeless (not imprisoned or otherwise detained pursuant to an Act of Congress or a State law), including the following: (1) An individual who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence; and (2) An individual who has a primary nighttime residence that is: (i) A supervised publicly or privately operated shelter designed to provide temporary living accommodations (including welfare hotels, congregate shelters, and transitional housing for the mentally ill); (ii) An institution that provides a temporary residence for individuals intended to be institutionalized; or (iii) A public or private place not designed for, or ordinarily used as, a regular sleeping accommodation for human beings.

Homeless Management Information System (HMIS): HUD requires that all communities receiving CoC funding must establish a dedicated database system to collect and analyze data on homeless people in the community, what housing and services they access, and the results of the assistance they receive. In Seattle/King County, the HMIS is managed by DCHS as of April 1, 2016. BitFocus provides System Administration for the HMIS through contract with DCHS.

Homeless Subpopulations: Include but are not limited to the following categories of homeless persons: severely mentally ill only, alcohol/drug addicted only, severely mentally ill and alcohol/drug addicted, fleeing domestic violence

Household: A person or group of people who live together in a dwelling unit. In the affordable housing field, a household refers to the group of people who occupy a housing unit. In the homelessness field, a “homeless household” refers to a single person or group of people who are staying together in the same location and, if housed, would occupy a housing unit. A homeless household can consist of a single homeless adult, two or more homeless adults, or a group including at least one adult and at least one minor child (also known as a “homeless family”).

Housing Choice Voucher (HCV): Formerly known as the Section 8 Program, the HCV Program is a federal housing assistance program overseen by HUD, providing tenant-based rental assistance to eligible households. The household pays 30% of their income towards rent and the program makes up the difference between the tenant portion and the unit rent. HCV programs are administered by Public Housing Authorities (PHAs). In Seattle/King County there are two PHAs: the Seattle Housing Authority (SHA) and King County Housing Authority (KCHA). SHA and KCHA both have a Moving-to-Work (MTW) Agreement with HUD which allows them to develop policies that are outside the limitations of certain HUD regulations and provides flexibility in how the HCV program is administered.

Housing First: Housing First is an approach to ending homelessness that centers on providing people experiencing homelessness with housing as quickly as possible – and then providing services as needed.

Housing First programs:

- Focus on helping individuals and families access and sustain permanent rental housing as quickly as possible without time limits;
- Provide services to promote housing stability and individual well-being on a voluntary and as-needed basis;
- Do not require that clients agree to participate in services or become clean and sober as a condition of occupancy;
- Adopt a “low barriers” approach to screening such that there are minimal entry requirements (e.g. no sobriety requirements, minimum income requirements, service participation requirements, etc.).

Housing Inventory Count (HIC): A community’s HIC is an inventory of housing conducted annually during the last ten days in January. HUD requires CoCs to compile and submit the HIC. The HIC reports the quantity of beds and units available on the night of the count by program type, including PSH and beds dedicated to serving those who are homeless/chronically homeless.

Long-term Shelter: Stayers LTS/ LTSS Long-term Shelter Stayers refer to individuals who stay extended durations of time and/or frequency in emergency shelter.

Low-Income Families: Low-income families whose incomes do not exceed 50 percent of the median family income for the area, as determined by HUD with adjustments for smaller and larger families, except that HUD may establish income ceilings higher or lower than 50 percent of the median for the area on the basis of HUD’s findings that such variations are

necessary because of prevailing levels of construction costs or fair market rents, or unusually high or low family incomes.

Middle-Income Families: Family whose income is between 80 percent and 95 percent of the median income for the area, as determined by HUD, with adjustments for smaller and larger families, except that HUD may establish income ceilings higher or lower than 95 percent of the median for the area on the basis of HUD's findings that such variations are necessary because of prevailing levels of construction costs or fair market rents, or unusually high or low family incomes. (This corresponds to the term "moderate income family" under the CHAS statute, 42 U.S.C. 12705.)

Mixed-Finance Public Housing: Mixed-Finance public housing allows HUD to mix public, private, and non-profit funds to develop and operate housing developments. These new developments are built for residents with a wide range of incomes, and are designed to fit into the surrounding community.

Moderate-Income Families: Family whose income does not exceed 80 percent of the median income for the area, as determined by HUD with adjustments for smaller and larger families, except that HUD may establish income ceilings higher or lower than 80 percent of the median for the area on the basis of HUD's findings that such variations are necessary because of prevailing levels of construction costs or fair market rents, or unusually high or low family incomes.

National Alliance to End Homelessness (NAEH): The National Alliance to End Homelessness is a U.S. organization that aims to address issues related to homelessness. NAEH conducts research and provides data and other information to inform public policy, elected officials, and individuals working within the social services field.

Other Permanent Housing (OPH): This term is used in Seattle/King County to refer to service-enriched affordable housing projects targeting homeless people, but with lower service intensity than in Permanent Supportive Housing (PSH).

Permanent Supportive Housing (PSH): Subsidized rental housing without time limits and with intensive supportive services offered on-site to assist tenants to maintain housing and meet their desired goals. In PSH, services are offered on a voluntary basis. Clients are not required to participate in services as a condition of being housed, but services are offered to them through a process of engagement. PSH is designed to house those individuals with the greatest housing barriers and highest service needs – typically people who have severe and persistent mental illness or other disabilities and who have long histories of homelessness.

Point in Time Count (PIT): The Point-in-Time (PIT) count is a count of sheltered and unsheltered homeless persons on a single night in January. HUD requires that Continuums of Care conduct an annual count of homeless persons who are sheltered in emergency shelter, transitional housing, and Safe Havens on a single night.

Public Housing Authority (PHA): Public Housing Authorities are the local agencies responsible for providing federal housing assistance (HCV and public housing) to their granted jurisdiction for eligible low-income families, the elderly, and persons with disabilities.

Rapid Re-Housing (RRH): A program model that assists individuals and families who are homeless move quickly into permanent housing, usually to housing in the private market. It does so by offering time-limited, targeted services and short-term rental assistance to help participants make the move from homelessness to housing.

Transitional Housing (TH): A program model, sometimes known as transitional shelter, that provides clients with a shared or private housing unit for a time limited period, usually between 6 and 24 months, during which the client receives supportive services to help with the transition to permanent housing.

United States Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH): A federal policy body tasked with coordinating the Federal response to homelessness. USICH includes representation from 19 Federal member agencies, including HUD, HHS, and the VA. In 2010, USICH published *Opening Doors, the Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness*. USICH is one of the major policy setting entities at the federal level.

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to test my theory involving the role that public perceptions about target populations play in designing homeless policies — as demonstrated through the Homeless Policy Design Model. The theory and model are developed from the target population and policy design theories of Lowi (1972), Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007); and Schneider and Ingram (1993). The homeless policy design model indicates that the public’s perceptions about homeless target populations will impact policy design choices. To test this model, the research looks at news representations of homelessness in Seattle, WA from 2006 to 2016 as well as public policy documents from the Seattle City Council relating to homelessness between 2007 and 2016.

The research takes a detailed look at the relationship between public perceptions of the homeless and the policies enacted in Seattle. As of 2015, Seattle has been under an officially-declared state of emergency directly stemming from concerns involving homelessness. The rate of homelessness in Seattle is higher than in any other city in the United States and it is one of very few cities where homelessness has increased rather than decreased in the previous five years. Only at the turn of the 20th century did federal and local governments begin formally recognizing homelessness as a social problem. At this point policies were first enacted to “to intervene to control, govern and ease” the problem (Ravenhill 2014, 38). As a distinct social and policy problem, it is pertinent to discuss both the public discourse surrounding homelessness, and Seattle’s formal approaches to addressing it.

As a means to anchor my research, I developed a list of questions to guide my data collection. Questions that the research investigates include the following: How does the public in general perceive the homeless? What is the elite political narrative on homelessness? How has public perception on homelessness changed between 2006 and 2016? And, what was the public perception on homelessness prior to policy updates or changes in Seattle and King County, WA? How has legislation relating to homelessness in Seattle, WA evolved from 2006 to 2016? In which policy category do legislative actions fall? Have any factors led to changes in homeless policy, and if so, why and how? What approach

does Seattle, WA currently use to address homelessness? Does the homeless policy design model match the actual policy outcomes? How does public perception influence policy design?

With these questions in mind, Chapter 1 commences with an examination of how homelessness is defined internationally, nationally, and in Washington State, in order to understand the population in question. Defining homelessness works to illustrate the complexity of the target population and the need to further define homelessness into subgroups, which is further discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 1 concludes with an overview of current homeless programs and guiding philosophies in the US as a means of recognizing the status quo of policy design types.

The theoretical background on problem delimitation and policy choice (Vesely 2007; Dery 1984; Rochefort and Cobb 1994; Eden 1979), target populations, and policy design (Lowe 1972; Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007; Schneider and Ingram 1993) are then detailed in Chapter 2 in order to anchor the development of the Homeless Policy Design Model. The prevailing literature on target populations, as delineated based on positive or negative perception as well as perceived level of political power, is extrapolated onto the homeless in general and develops specific homeless target populations: *victim*, *dependent*, *deviant*, and *pathological*. I then present the homeless policy design theory and related model, which determines that the perception of target populations relates to, and impacts the homeless policy design choice.

The research for this thesis is conducted through a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. An in-depth analysis of Seattle through a case study provides means by which to test the Homeless Policy Design Model. This thesis adds to the literature on target populations and policy design, expanding on the work of Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007). Furthermore, it provides a basis on which to continue research into how homeless policy design develops.

The Master's thesis is presented in five chapters: Definition and Causes of Homelessness; Theoretical Background; Research Design and Methodology; The Current Situation; and Analysis and Findings. A macro and micro analysis of homelessness in the United States and Seattle, WA and the research findings are presented in the final two chapters. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the research findings based on the goals and questions.

1. Definition and Causes of Homelessness

This chapter will review the definitions and causes of homelessness in the United States in order to understand why there are different target groups and, subsequently, the various policy routes to address it. Formal and informal definitions of homelessness exist in the public rhetoric through official federal and state actions as well as public rhetoric of social constructs. The negative connotations of *homeless* further impact its definition within the public sphere, evoking an informal definition: lazy, smelly, addict, out-of-luck, victim, deviant, dependent, and pathological (DePastino 2010; Howard 2013; Kusmer 2001; McClendon and Lane 2014). This chapter will further examine the formal and informal views of *homeless* in order to understand how both impact the policies enacted to addressing it, as well as how the causes of homelessness impact public perception.

1.1 Definitions of Homelessness

The definition of homelessness varies across the globe. Developed and developing countries also maintain various definitions due to a wide range of economic, social, and infrastructural issues (Tipple and Speak 2005). For the purpose of this study, I look at the United Nations' definition, to situate homelessness globally, and also the definition in the United States, in order to clarify who we discuss when using the term *homeless*.

1.1.1 International Definition

According to the United Nations Demographic Yearbook Review recommendation, a *homeless household*² is one “without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them, sleeping in the streets, in doorways or on piers, or in another space, on a more or less random basis” (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Statistics Division, Demographic and Social Statistics Branch 2014, p. 41). Living quarters are loosely defined as spaces “such as a boarding house, a hotel or a camp, or may comprise the administrative personnel in an institution”

² The United Nation's definition of homelessness uses *homeless household* to indicate an individual or group of people previously housed together who are now experiencing homelessness. *Homeless household*, *homeless person* and *homeless* are used interchangeably in terms of defining homelessness on the international, national, and state level.

(United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs Statistics Division, Demographic and Social Statistics Branch 2014, p. 41).

1.1.2 United States Formal Definition

People experiencing homelessness cover a wide array of demographics, backgrounds, and life experience. They traverse gender, race, age, and economic boundaries (Neale 1997). The federal definition of homelessness is therefore quite complex in order to include all potential groups and individuals who may be homeless or at-risk of homelessness.

According to 24 CFR Part 578 – Continuum of Care Program (2015), the federal definition of *homeless* includes:

(1) An individual or family who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence, meaning:

(i) An individual or family with a primary nighttime residence that is a public or private place not designed for or ordinarily used as a regular sleeping accommodation for human beings, including a car, park, abandoned building, bus or train station, airport, or camping ground;

(ii) An individual or family living in a supervised publicly or privately operated shelter designated to provide temporary living arrangements (including congregate shelters, transitional housing, and hotels and motels paid for by charitable organizations or by federal, State, or local government programs for low-income individuals); or

(iii) An individual who is exiting an institution where he or she resided for 90 days or less and who resided in an emergency shelter or place not meant for human habitation immediately before entering that institution;

(2) An individual or family who will imminently lose their primary nighttime residence provided that:

(i) The primary nighttime residence will be lost within 14 days of the date of application for homeless assistance;

(ii) No subsequent residence has been identified; and

(iii) The individual or family lacks the resources or support networks, *e.g.*, family, friends, faith-based or other social networks, needed to obtain other permanent housing;

(3) Unaccompanied youth under 25 years of age, or families with children and youth, who do not otherwise qualify as homeless under this definition, but who:

(i) Are defined as homeless under section 387 of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (42 U.S.C. 5732a), section 637 of the Head Start Act (42 U.S.C. 9832), section 41403 of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (42 U.S.C. 14043e-2), section 330(h) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 254b(h)), section 3 of the Food and Nutrition Act of 2008 (7 U.S.C. 2012), section 17(b) of the Child

Nutrition Act of 1966 (42 U.S.C. 1786(b)), or section 725 of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11434a);

- (ii) Have not had a lease, ownership interest, or occupancy agreement in permanent housing at any time during the 60 days immediately preceding the date of application for homeless assistance;
 - (iii) Have experienced persistent instability as measured by two moves or more during the 60-day period immediately preceding the date of applying for homeless assistance; and
 - (iv) Can be expected to continue in such status for an extended period of time because of chronic disabilities; chronic physical health or mental health conditions; substance addiction; histories of domestic violence or childhood abuse (including neglect); the presence of a child or youth with a disability; or two or more barriers to employment, which include the lack of a high school degree or General Education Development (GED), illiteracy, low English proficiency, a history of incarceration or detention for criminal activity, and a history of unstable employment; or
- (4) Any individual or family who:
- (i) Is fleeing, or is attempting to flee, domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault, stalking, or other dangerous or life-threatening conditions that relate to violence against the individual or a family member, including a child, that has either taken place within the individual's or family's primary nighttime residence or has made the individual or family afraid to return to their primary nighttime residence;
 - (ii) Has no other residence; and
 - (iii) Lacks the resources or support networks, *e.g.*, family, friends, and faith-based or other social networks, to obtain other permanent housing (24 CFR Part 578).

The federal definition is extensive yet specific, in its efforts to encompass the wide variety of people experiencing homelessness while narrowing down exactly who the government sees as homeless. The full definition is included here to illustrate the complexity of homelessness and the variety of target populations that arise within the definition itself. Individuals, families, and youth are all included as well as individuals and families that may be at-risk of homelessness.

Any state receiving federal funding for homeless programs is held accountable to the federal definition of homelessness rather than the individual states' definitions. Therefore it is imperative to fully comprehend the full scale of this federal definition.

In addition to the basic definition of *homeless*, the federal government has created a separate definition for those who are chronically homeless to include people who have been without stable housing, continuously, for at least 12 months or has had a least four separate instances of homelessness within the previous three months. As defined in 24 CFR Part 578 - Continuum of Care Program (2015), *chronically homeless* means:

(1) A “homeless individual with a disability,” as defined in section 401(9) of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11360(9)), who:

(i) Lives in a place not meant for human habitation, a safe haven, or in an emergency shelter; and

(ii) Has been homeless and living as described in paragraph (1)(i) of this definition continuously for at least 12 months or on at least 4 separate occasions in the last 3 years, as long as the combined occasions equal at least 12 months and each break in homelessness separating the occasions included at least 7 consecutive nights of not living as described in paragraph (1)(i). Stays in institutional care facilities for fewer than 90 days will not constitute as a break in homelessness, but rather such stays are included in the 12-month total, as long as the individual was living or residing in a place not meant for human habitation, a safe haven, or an emergency shelter immediately before entering the institutional care facility;

(2) An individual who has been residing in an institutional care facility, including a jail, substance abuse or mental health treatment facility, hospital, or other similar facility, for fewer than 90 days and met all of the criteria in paragraph (1) of this definition, before entering that facility; or

(3) A family with an adult head of household (or if there is no adult in the family, a minor head of household) who meets all of the criteria in paragraph (1) or (2) of this definition, including a family whose composition has fluctuated while the head of household has been homeless (Washington State Legislature 2015).

The federal definitions, established in 1987 through the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, set the standard as well as financial incentives for each state to meet. This Act was the first piece of substantial federal legislation related to homelessness (Civic Impulse 2017). State definitions must meet the basic guidelines of the federal definition and are generally broader, or vaguer in language.

Washington State has more succinct definition of homelessness, which is used in the Revised Code of Washington (RCW) Title 43.185C.010. According to the RWC, a *homeless person* is:

... an individual living outside or in a building not meant for human habitation or which they have no legal right to occupy, in an emergency shelter, or in a

temporary housing program which may include a transitional and supportive housing program if habitation time limits exist. This definition includes substance abusers, people with mental illness, and sex offenders who are homeless (Washington State Legislature 2015).

This definition does not break down homelessness into as many distinct categories, but rather offers a broader definition, which can be applied to a broad range of groups. However, Washington does not include in the definition those individuals or families who are at-risk of homelessness, which may impact the types of policy enacted.

1.1.3 Informal Definition of Homeless

I consider the socially constructed definition of homelessness to be the stereotypes presented in media, literature, and popular culture. From the 1870s tramp to the 1930s hobo, images and ideas on who is homeless have persistently permeated US culture (DePastino 2010 and Kusmer 2001). The homeless are framed in myriad of ways – dangerous outsiders who disrupt social order to vulnerable victims who cannot care for themselves (DePastino 2010; Howard 2013; Kusmer 2001; McClendon and Lane 2014). It is important to note that this informal definition has evolved, perhaps in relation to visible homelessness – those who are seen in public and identified as homeless based on appearance and/or location (Hombs 1989). I would argue that people who are not visibly homeless, who present or pass as housed, do not significantly impact the social construction of homelessness. The definition, and cultural representations of homelessness, arise from what housed people see as ‘other’ and does not include people defined within the federal definition, such as those fleeing domestic violence or at-risk of losing housing within 14 days (Hombs 1989; 24 CFR Part 578).

While the formal, federal and state definitions consider the multivariate paths into homelessness, the informal, socially constructed definition narrows that path. It largely identifies some fault of the individual as the cause of homelessness (Neale 1997). It is important to understand the impact of both the formal and informal definitions on the public discourse surrounding homelessness. How both the public and the elite authorities on homelessness define, may impact the framing of the social problem and which policies are ultimately chosen to address it.

1.2 Causes of Homelessness

In the United States, the cause of homelessness cannot be identified with a single variable. Several An array factors contribute to the rate of homelessness and must all be considered to understand why people become homeless (Hombs 1989; “APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003). The causes of homelessness are generally divided into two categories: structural and individual (Gaetz et al. 2013 and “What Causes Homelessness?” 2008).

1.2.1 Structural Factors: Poverty, Employment, and Affordable Housing

Structural factors related to the larger systems in society, including economic and social factors that affect an individual or family (Gaetz et al. 2013 and “What Causes Homelessness?” 2008). Factors that can cause homelessness are poverty, employment and unemployment, and access to affordable housing.

Homelessness is unequivocally related to poverty (“APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003). Impoverished people often must decide on what to spend money – housing, food, health care, etc. (National Coalition for the Homeless 2009). According the National Alliance to End Homelessness (2016) report *The State of Homelessness in America*, approximately 48 million people were in poverty and at-risk of homelessness in 2014. The poverty threshold in the United States has changed significantly between 1986, when homelessness first became a national public policy issue, and 2016 (Civic Impulse 2017; US Census Bureau 1986; US Census Bureau 1996; US Census Bureau 2006; US Census Bureau 2016a).

| Figure 1: Average Annual Income to Meet the Poverty Threshold in the United States (2016-1986) | | | | |
|--|------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| | Individual | Two Person Household | Three Person Household | Four Person Household |
| 2016 | \$11,999 | \$15,900 | \$19,143 | \$24,670 |
| 2006 | \$10,294 | \$13,167 | \$16,079 | \$20,614 |
| 1996 | \$7,995 | \$10,233 | \$12,516 | \$16,036 |
| 1986 | \$5,572 | \$7,138 | \$8,737 | \$11,203 |
| Source: US Census Bureau | | | | |

While the average poverty threshold has increased substantially over the previous 30 years, the percent of people in poverty has not seen the same change; rather it has remained quite steady averaging around 13% (US Census Bureau 2016b). The largest burden on households in poverty is the annual cost of housing, which includes rent or mortgage and utility costs. For many living in poverty, entering homelessness is a single incident, or paycheck, away (National Coalition for the Homeless 2009). Losing a job or working less than full time may also lead to homelessness.

Unemployment and underemployment keep many people on the brink of homelessness and may not provide the income to afford adequate or stable housing (“APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003). The current federal minimum wage is \$7.25, and has not increased since 2009 (US Department of Labor 2017). In 2016, there was not a single state where a person working 40 hours per week at the minimum wage could afford a two-bedroom apartment (Misra 2016; Abbey-Lambertz 2016). The discrepancy between wages and housing costs places more and more people, even those above the poverty line, at-risk of homelessness.

Not only are stagnant wages impacting poverty and homelessness, the lack of affordable housing also affects the homeless rate. Low-rent units are being overtaken in the housing market due to increased costs in construction, conversion to luxury units, and gentrification (“APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003). Most low-rent or subsidized units that are available have a waitlist of anywhere from 2 to 33 months (National Coalition for the Homeless 2009). According to a survey conducted by the National Low Income Housing Coalition (2005), support for subsidized housing and rental assistance has decreased by 49% from 1980 to 2003. Additionally, the National Coalition for the Homeless (2009, p. 2) indicates that nearly “200,000 rental housing units are destroyed annually,” which further hinders homeless and impoverished individuals and families from finding viable housing without additional assistance.

Aside from rental assistance, families and individuals may also receive cash assistance in the form of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP); Temporary Assistance for

Needy Families (TANF); Supplemental Security Income (SSI); Woman, Infants and Children (WIC); Aging, Blind and Disabled (ABD); Housing and Essential Needs (HEN). Each program requires an eligibility screening and includes limitations of how much an individual can work while still receiving assistance (“Living Assistance” 2017). However, each program has seen both public support and funding decline, leading to more people who are unable to receive assistance and fall into poverty and risk homelessness (National Coalition for the Homeless 2009).

1.2.2 Individual Factors: Mental Health, Substance Use, and Domestic Violence

Individual factors are those which are more personal in nature, including: mental and physical health, substance use, domestic violence, education level, job skills, social support, debt, family background, and involvement in institutions such as the military or the prison system (Gaetz et al. 2013 and “What Causes Homelessness?” 2008). Often times, an individual will experience more than one of these factors which can lead to homelessness (“What Causes Homelessness?” 2008).

Mental illness and substance use are two of the most common issues and causes among many facing homelessness (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015). Barriers to obtaining treatment include lack of insurance, wait times, and few support service and outreach programs (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015; “APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003). Multiple rental and housing assistance programs also require recipients to maintain sobriety and mental health treatment, which creates a further barrier to exit homelessness for those with ongoing or undiagnosed struggles (“Living Assistance” 2017).

Domestic violence is another leading cause of homelessness among women in the US (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015). Women, and men, who face domestic violence, are often cut off from any financial resources as well as other support systems such as friends and family. In a survey conducted by the US Conference of Mayors,

46% of cities cite “domestic violence as a primary cause of homelessness” (“APA Policy Guide on Homelessness” 2003, p. 2).

In a 2015 study, Lindsay Phillips (2015) surveyed working adult undergraduate students and what causes they believe lead people into homelessness. The top responses of most likely causes included poor economic conditions, mental illness, problems with illicit drugs, limited availability of jobs, alcoholism. Probable causes leading to homelessness included social inequality, limited education, physical illness, and lack of affordable housing (Phillips, 2015, p. 6). Other factors participants mentioned were more subjective, such as laziness or not working hard. Even when we discuss the causes and pathways into homelessness, public perception factors into our beliefs and therefore may also impact how we address homelessness.

1.3 Homeless Programs and Philosophies

The homeless services and programs in the United States include a myriad of typologies and funding sources. Federal law and mandates developed by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) dictate best practices to reduce and prevent homelessness. The programs and policies developed on the state level reflect the directives of HUD. The following is an overview of the funding areas and homeless practices HUD supports and encourages as the status quo for homeless policy and program types.

1.3.1 Continuum of Care Programs

A Continuum of Care (CoC) is the geographical area delineated by the Department of Housing and Urban Development for said funding purposes. Smaller counties may be combined into one CoC whereas a large city may be its own CoC, separate from the county in which it is located. The purpose of the CoC Program is to “promote communitywide commitment to the goal of ending homelessness” through providing funding to both governmental and nongovernmental agencies in order “to quickly rehouse homeless individuals and families while minimizing the trauma and dislocation caused to homeless individuals, families, and communities by homelessness” (“CoC: Continuum Of Care Program” 2017, 1).

Under the auspices of the CoC is Coordinated Entry, a recently enacted process to streamline homeless services within each CoC's geographic area (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2015). Coordinated Entry requires low barriers by which to screen all households seeking homeless related services in order to ensure that each household in need receives proper assistance. In order to receive federal funding, every CoC must have a Coordinated Entry system in place. The system works to quickly fill vacancies in homeless shelter and housing programs through a referral process. This allows the CoC's participating homeless shelter and housing programs to work together in order to effectively utilize all available program beds, units, or funds (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2015).

Coordinated Entry also emphasizes a Housing First philosophy, which centers homeless prevention and reduction on first providing housing and focusing on services as a secondary measure (Tsemberis, Gulcur, and Nakae 2004). This orientation works to quickly house people "without preconditions or service participation requirements" as seen in previous housing programs such as transitional housing (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2015, 2).

1.3.2 Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing

The Homeless Emergency Assistance and Rapid Transition to Housing (HEARTH) Act is an amendment to the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act and a revision to the Emergency Solutions Grant Program ("HEARTH Act" 2014; "Emergency Solutions Grants Program" 2017). Programs funded under HEARTH include emergency shelters, transitional housing, rapid re-housing (RRH), permanent supporting housing (PSH) as well as social services such as food banks, day centers and hygiene, and prevention services such as rental assistance.

Emergency shelters are defined as "any facility with overnight sleeping accommodations, the primary purpose of which is to provide temporary shelter for the homeless in general or for specific populations of the homeless" (24 CFR 0.1, 553). Shelter programs offer short lengths

of stay from a single night to up to 90 days. A facility allowing a length of stay longer than 90 days is considered a transitional shelter (“HEARTH Act” 2014).

Transitional housing is a project “designed to provide housing and appropriate supportive services to homeless persons to facilitate movement to independent living within 24 months, or a longer period approved by HUD” (24 CFR 0.1, 555). Another transitional type housing program is RRH, a Housing First informed approach that quickly refers households experiencing homelessness “to permanent housing through a tailored package of assistance that may include the use of time-limited financial assistance and targeted supportive services” (US Department of Housing and Urban Development 2014, 1).

Offering the most intensive support services, PSH combines affordable housing for current and formerly homeless households with high barriers such as a mental or physical disability (“What Is Supportive Housing?” 2017). PSH programs do not implement a length of stay provision.

1.3.3 Other Permanent Housing Programs

Other permanent housing (OPH) options are those offered and managed through Public Housing Authorities (PHA),³ which are local agencies in each CoC “responsible for providing federal housing assistance ... to their granted jurisdiction” (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016, 68). Programs include housing choice vouchers (HCV), tenant-based rental assistance (TBRA), and mixed-finance public housing.

Housing Choice Vouchers, formerly known as Section 8, are housing subsidies for very-low income families. HCVs can be applied to fair market rental⁴ units owned by the PHA, an NGO owned unit, or a privately own unit. HVCs are available for the duration that the household is financially eligible (“Public Housing and Voucher Programs” 2017; “Public Housing Programs” 2017). With a HCV, “the household pays 30% of their income towards

³There are both public and private businesses that offer low-income or subsidized housing that are not Public Housing Authorities, but it is not as common.

⁴See Glossary of Terms for definition of Fair Market Rents (FMRs)

rent and the program makes up the difference between the tenant portion and the unit rent” (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016, 68).

A similar voucher specifically for currently homeless households is a two-year program TBRA. Once the two years has elapsed, the household may transition to an HCV if they are still financially eligible – very-low to moderate-income (24 CFR 0.1). The availability of TBRA depends on the budget of each PHA as well as the number of people currently enrolled in the program (“Public Housing and Voucher Programs” 2017; “Public Housing Programs” 2017; “Homelessness and Housing” 2017).

Mixed-finance public housing makes up of housing units developed and managed by PHAs through the assistance of HUD. These are units funded through a combination of public, private, and NGO monies. Previously, public housing was concentrated in a single area and all units in the development were dedicated to very-low to low income households. New developments now consist of a mixture of units to attract residents with a variety of income ranges in order to bolster the surrounding community and mitigate financial segregation (“Public Housing and Voucher Programs” 2017; “Public Housing Programs” 2017).

2. Theoretical Background

Before implementing or reforming policy, stakeholders must clearly define where a problem exists – what do they aim to fix or improve? This is one of the most important phases in the policy cycle and depends on all actors having a comprehensive understanding of the issue at hand. A multitude of factors influence the conclusive definition of the problem as well as the identification of the root issue, which presents a challenge to many policy makers. Whose perspective is the most accurate? On who is the policy focused? What is the target population?

This chapter includes discussion on the theory of how target populations influence policy choice and policy design. It integrates theories put forth by Theodore Lowi (1972) with those developed by Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007). Within homeless policy, how the majority population perceives those who are homeless can greatly impact policy. Schneider

and Ingram (1993) identify four target populations and how those populations influence policy design. I apply their theory to the public perception of people experiencing homelessness and expand it into four groups: victim, dependent, deviant, and pathological, which are defined in section 2.2.3. The identified target population then impacts what types of policy governments are able to choose and implement, which limits innovation within homeless policy.

Finally, this chapter will introduce my theory on homeless policy design based on the work of Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007), Schneider and Ingram (1993), Dery (1984), Sidney (2007), and Kyle (2006). I will outline the categories of homeless policy as well as discuss the trajectory of policy based on target populations.

2.1 Problem Delimitation and Policy Choice

Social issues emerge when reality disrupts the perceived hegemonic state; there is a gap between reality and the ideal. A social issue, such as homelessness, becomes a public or policy problem when governmental measures can be implemented to address them (Vesely 2007). In order to them address the issue, policy makers must try to identify the root cause(s) for a new policy to effectively address.

Problem delimitation, or definition, is the process by which stakeholders and policy makers identify the core issues and root causes of a social, now public problem. It is a cyclical process; “a never ending discourse with reality” for the purpose of deciphering each dimension of the issue and develop paths toward a remedy (Dery 1984, p. 6). Furthermore, Rochefort and Cobb (1994) state that problem definition involves how the public and policy makers *choose* to view public issues – this implies subjectivity within how problems are therefore defined and solved. Opinion then plays a role in policy. Eden and Sims (1979) hold a similar view that opinion matters when it comes to problem definition. The opinion, in this case, is the ideal or objective reality that a policy strives for – whose formation of reality is the ideal and how do policymakers intend to bring their target group to such reality.

‘The homeless’ are many times seen as the unwashed, unwanted, unwelcome (Lee, Farrell and Link 2004; Fannie Mae 2007). There are two perceptions of why homelessness exists as

a social phenomenon— as a failure of the state or a failure of the individual. The majority perception influences how policy makers then delimit the problem, and therefore how to address the issue through policy. They must decide whether a policy should focus on improvements within the government such as pertaining to access and resource allocation, or whether policy should focus on those experiencing homelessness through mental health or job search services. This process then imposes what Dery (1984, p. 4) deems a “certain frame of reference on reality.” The claim made through problem definition then establishes a majority belief about the cause of the problem. For homelessness, this then lays blame on either the state or the individual.

Through carrying out problem situations, or scenarios, a hegemonic living standard also emerges which places stress upon remedying the status of ‘homeless.’ Certain values are also placed on housing status, which then influence what policies are considered for implementation. However, through brainstorming and scenario testing, unexpected causes may surface. This then leads to developing metaproblems—multilayered representations of the overall issue (Vesely 2007).

Once stakeholders and policymakers work through this stage of the policy cycle, they can then begin to develop various policy designs, or ways to address the issue through government. Policy design also plays an important role in shaping the target group at which the policy is aimed, while also informing that group about how important they are within the hierarchy of constituents (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007).

2.2 Problem Design and Target Populations

Theodore Lowi (1972) identifies four policy categories that governments tend to apply when designing policy: distributive, constituent, regulative, and redistributive policies. Distributive policies emerged in the 19th century through actions which gave land or government subsidies to individuals or organizations. These policies remain today in the form of tariffs or subsidies (Lowi 1972). Constituent policies include redistricting in states for more equitable government representation, the development of new agencies, and propaganda tactics. Regulative policies seek to gain control through developing product standards, eliminating

monopolies, and establishing rules companies must abide by. Finally, redistributive policies include progressive income taxes, social security, and financial controls aimed to even economic disparities (Lowi, 1972).

Lowi further theorizes “that policy creates politics through distribution of benefits and burdens that generate political activity on the part of groups” impacted (Lowi as cited in Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007, p. 95). Along with politics, policy also influences institutional stakeholders and public perception of the targeted population, reinforcing socially constructed hegemonic norms of behavior and power relations (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007). Citizens receive a message from their government through enacted policies; they are told which group is deserving and which is not -- who receives benefits and who is burdened (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

In addition to labeling the worthy and unworthy, policy design also assigns power to certain populations. Wrong (1975) defines power as the ability of a few to directly or indirectly affect others. Traditionally, power lies with the populations that have the access to the most capital – social, economic, and cultural. In the US, power is commonly concentrated among those with the most economic capital. Power also allows certain social groups to define how society operates, the hegemonic norms by which to abide (Domhoof 2004).

The combination of political power, worth, and policy then leads to the benefit/burden dichotomy. This dichotomy not only emerges within policies themselves, but also is also seen within the “rules, tools, rationales, and the causal logic” applied to implement and evaluate the policy (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007, p. 94). Schneider and Ingram (1993) further break down this dichotomy by specific target groups. They identify four groups based on how the public perceives them and how much power the group holds in politics.

Schneider and Ingram (1993) determine target populations based on whether established social constructions are positive or negative and whether their political power is strong or weak (See Figure 2). These groups are created through policy because of eligibility criteria,

which determines who is within the boundaries of a policy – which is targeted and may wither benefit or be burdened (Schneider and Ingram 1993). The strongest politically and positively viewed group is the *advantaged*. Strong political, but viewed negatively are the *contenders*. The politically weak and positively perceived group is the *dependents*. And finally, the weakest politically and negatively seen group is the *deviants* (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

Advantaged groups are considered deserving of benefits provided through either distributive or redistributive policies and represent accepted hegemonic norms in society – married couples, able-bodied persons, homeowners. When they receive a benefit through policy, it is perceived as both deserved and respectable, that the group earned the benefit through some contribution. The *advantaged* are directly included in both the problem delimitation and policy design phases, their needs and wants are considered by policymakers. Ample outreach strategies are involved in the policy implementation phase. Since this group is viewed positively within the majority of society, policies targeting this group are also seen as for the public good (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

**Figure 2: Social Constructions and Political Power:
Types of Target Populations**

| | | Constructions | |
|-------|--------|--|--|
| | | Positive | Negative |
| Power | Strong | Advantaged The elderly Business Veterans Scientists | Contenders The rich Big unions Minorities Cultural elites Moral majority |
| | Weak | Dependents Children Disabled | Deviants Criminals Communists Flag burners Gangs |

Source: Schneider and Ingram 1993

Contenders, on the other hand, are not viewed in a positive way; they are seen as “selfish, untrustworthy, and morally suspect” (Schneider and Ingram 1993, p. 102). This public perception impacts their ability to receive direct benefits through policy without receiving criticism from the majority. Instead, they are the target of regulative policies that seek to constrain both their economic and political power; however, due to their strong political power, burdens become more challenging to enforce upon *contenders*. Additionally,

their power position allows *contenders* to directly negotiate for policies that would administer benefits as opposed to burdens.

The *dependents*, a group which includes children and the disabled, tend to be perceived positively while maintaining political weakness (Schneider and Ingram 1993). This group typically receives benefits through policy, which are widely supported throughout the public majority because the group is seen sympathetically and therefore deserving of assistance (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007). When policymakers provide benefits to *dependents* they are often lauded for their generosity and support of a group that cannot fully provide for themselves. However, due to their political weakness, *dependents* do not have much influence over the extent or type of benefits allotted. Therefore, a risk arises that the policy, while on its face a benefit, will not address actual problems.

Finally, we have the *deviants*. This group consists of criminals, gangs, and moral outsiders. They are negatively viewed and hold very little political strength (Schneider and Ingram 1993). Benefits are rarely, if ever provided through policy. Rather, policymakers consistently place burdens on this group, which further weakens any political input. Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007, p. 103) argue that *deviants* have become “a kind of permanent underclass in the United States and are blamed for the many ills of society that might more accurately be attributed to the broader social and economic system.” *Deviants*, furthermore, are defined by their surroundings and how they do not meet a socially constructed norm.

Within the framework presented by Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon, I surmise that should policymakers consider family homelessness or youth homelessness, the group is considered *dependents*, and benefits are more commonly designed through policy such as housing subsidies, financial grants, or nutritional support. Whereas when the homeless group is single adults or chronically homeless individuals, who are typically framed as more *deviant*, then policymakers look at implementing more burdensome policy such as banning public actions or regulating activity such as panhandling or public food service. How target groups impact policy choices is significant as the purpose of policy is “to achieve goals by changing people’s behavior” (Schneider and Ingram 1993, p. 335). This is particularly important when

considering whether to impart benefits or burdens on a group that is consider both *dependent* and *deviant*.

Policy also helps in constructing how certain groups are people are not only perceived in public life, but also dictate what that group deserves and should expect from the government. Policy tools are the means by which governments implement their policies such as taxes, programs, or regulations (Howlett, Ramesh and Perl 2009). According to Sidney (2007) tools also connote behavioral motivations through either incentives or disincentives, which governments then employ to either promote certain behaviors, actions, and values, or reduce them. For example, incentives are implemented when behaviors, actions and values are a part of the dominant social structure and reinforce hegemonic power relations (Sidney 2007).

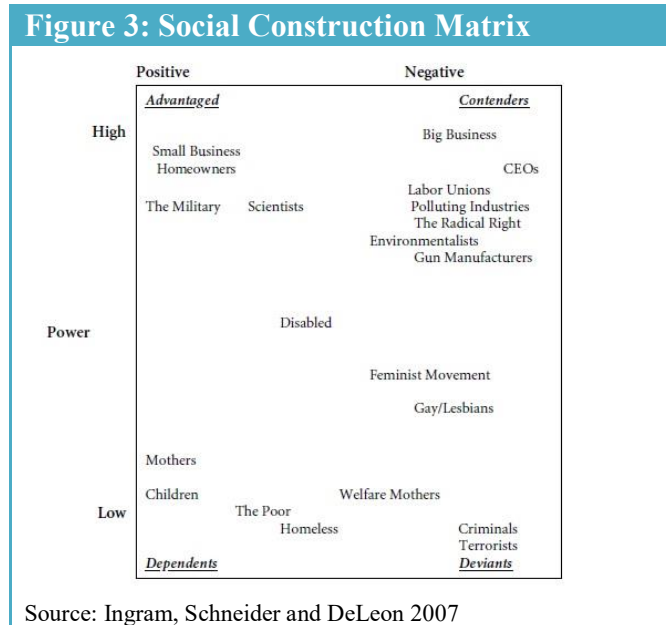
Policy tool choice also decides who is deserving or undeserving within both the political process and social development as well as reinforces how they target group is publically perceived (Sidney 2007, Schneider and Ingram 1993). For *dependents* to receive various subsidies, they must meet certain eligibility requirements and prove they are deserving of assistance. However, the programs for assistance rarely, if ever, seek out eligible persons. Rather, the person in need of intervention must find it by themselves and often rely on outside agencies to identify where to go for assistance. Such actions then reinforce this sense of dependency and powerlessness; that they cannot function without outside help (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

The most common tools for *deviants* include regulations and sanctions, which often times lead to fines or incarceration if they do not follow societal rules (Schneider and Ingram 1993). Implementation very rarely involves outreach or education; instead reactionary tactics such as arrests for violating a new law are more commonly employed. These tactics also act to reinforce political weakness and negative perceptions of the target group. Burdens further act as a rhetorical means to instruct the public that they need protection from *deviants*. The government implements such policies not to punish *deviants*, but rather to promote the public good (Schneider and Ingram 1993).

As the public perception of homeless people changes or oscillates between *dependent* and *deviant*, the policy design, goals, and tools change as well. Benefits and burdens are implemented for homeless groups depending upon the demographic makeup of the subgroup.

2.2.1 Categorizing Homeless Target Populations

According to Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007), the homeless can be *dependents* and *deviants*, largely depending on what sub-group of the homeless policymakers are focusing on within the problem delimitation phase (See Figures 2 and 3). People experiencing homelessness are a multifaceted group and represent a wide range of experiences and demographics. Individuals and families, men and women, young and old, the makeup of the target group in question impacts which category (and which type of policy) in the homeless are placed in (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007). Therefore, I expand on Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon's theory in relation to the homeless. I argue that there are four, rather than two, categories that emerge in public discourse when framing homeless target populations: *victim*, *dependent*, *deviant*, and *pathological* (See Figure 4 further below).



Homeless populations are historically more disenfranchised, viewed as *deviants* of a hegemonic norm, and hold less power within political institutions (“You Don't Need A Home To Vote” 2017). However, due to the multifaceted reality of homelessness, policymakers have been forced to refine the perception of those experiencing homelessness when trying to

define it. The federal definition of homelessness includes individuals, families, youth, women fleeing domestic violence, and those at-risk of losing adequate housing (24 CFR Part 578 – Continuum of Care Program 2015).

Policymakers have a history of subdividing target populations viewed as *dependents* in order to only serve those who fit social standards of the time. In fair housing legislation, black families, who have also been historically disenfranchised, were divided into distinct target populations: “black middle class,” who were framed as *dependents* and deserving, and “black urban rioters,” who were framed as *deviants* and undeserving (Sidney 2003). This allowed policymakers to not only clearly define subgroups, but to also justify to whom to provide benefits and whom to burden.

While over time, these subdivisions may seem antiquated and politically incorrect, they remain in order for policymakers and elected officials to cater to current social constructions and maintain public approval (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007). Over time, the public begins to expect policymakers to treat target populations in a predictable manner that tends to maintain the status quo. Policymakers take their cues from what the public deems important and needed change (Howlett, Ramesh and Perl 2009). Therefore, major policy changes, such as marriage equality, only occur after the public creates a social shift in the hegemony.

Social constructions can therefore alter the perception of target populations, which then creates a change in the deserving/undeserving and the benefit/burden dichotomies (See Figure 3). However, the institutionalization of policies remains to push against newly emerging perceptions, especially in the case of *deviants* (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007). This path dependency makes it much more challenging for policymakers to justify reframing a *deviant* from undeserving to deserving and even more challenging to justify implementing policies that provide a benefit.

Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon (2007) also argue that social constructions also impact the role of science and expertise when developing new policy design. Best practices and expert opinion do not play a strong role in changing policies aimed at target groups whose socially

constructed perceptions are deeply embedded within public discourse (Ingram, Schneider and DeLeon 2007).

When Ingram, Scheinder and DeLeon's target population framework to homeless policy, the policy goal is predicated on the subgroup of the target population and vice versa. Should a community wish to have fewer homeless people in public parks, the target group is *deviant*. However, if the community seeks to have fewer students facing homelessness, then the target population is perceived as *dependents*. The rhetoric of public opinion, as well as the framing of the identified problem, impacts the aim and design of policy.

The variation of public discourse and perception of the homeless as well as the myriad of lived experience of homelessness, I argue, complicates Ingram, Scheinder and DeLeon's framework of *dependent* and *deviant*. In order to have a more robust understanding of homeless target populations, I introduce a new framework (See Figure 4). Rather than categorizing homeless populations as either *deviant* or *dependent*, I identify four typologies or categories in which the homeless are framed due to socially constructed rhetoric via public perception and elite political narrative: *victim*, *dependent*, *deviant*, and *pathological*. Additionally, I surmise that a clear choice between benefit and burden does not apply to the homeless as a singular group; rather, policymakers now consider the subgroup of the homeless they are targeting within a problem scenario. The subdivisions also delineate between the deserving and the undeserving, with the former as receipts of benefits and the latter, burdens (Kyle 2006). Additionally, groups are separated into positive and negative typologies. A positive typology, I surmise, indicates that the homeless group is framed as experiencing homelessness due to external circumstances such as poverty, lack of affordable housing, or domestic violence, for example. A negative typology, on the other hand, indicates that a person's homelessness is due to internal circumstance such as drug use, mental health, or criminal activity. This is also to say, that a negative view indicates a level of choice in a person experiencing homelessness.

**Figure 4: Social Constructions and Political Power:
Types of Homeless Target Populations**

| | | Constructions | |
|---|------|---|---|
| | | Positive | Negative |
| Power | Fair | Victim The Elderly Fleeing Domestic Violence Unemployed Families* Veterans* | Deviant Criminals Substance Users ^{5*} Panhandlers |
| | Weak | Dependent Disabled Single Parent Youth* | Pathological Severely Mentally Ill Drug Addicts Chronic Alcoholics Chronically Homeless* |
| *Groups that may be included in more than one target group. | | | |

A *victim* is a person or group whose homelessness is seen as the fault of a structural factor – poverty, job loss, or other incident that is seen as the result of a systemic failure: the elderly, families and recently unemployed. A person who is homeless due to fleeing domestic violence is also seen as a *victim*. *Victims* are considered vulnerable and at-risk of potential harm and deserving of housing as quickly as possible. Although still homeless, and therefore not fitting into the hegemonic norm of social acceptability, *victims* are viewed with empathy and are portrayed more positively. Individuals and households in this group also hold some political power through advocates and organizations supporting them as well as through their own enfranchisement. As such, policymakers are more inclined to include the needs and wants of this group and to approve providing benefits. Similar to the *advantaged* of Schneider and Ingram, *victims* receiving benefits are more often supported by the majority of society as promoting public good.

A *dependent* is another positively viewed person or group whose homelessness is seen as caused by a systemic fault and who are unable to exit homelessness by themselves. For example, youth and single parents (primarily single mothers). The physically and mentally disabled are also included within this group. *Dependent* implies that the group needs or requires some type of assistance before they can enter housing, either job training, physical or mental health care. As in the framework of Schneider and Ingram, *dependents* maintain a

⁵ Substance users are people who occasionally engage in drug or alcohol use as opposed to chronic alcoholics and drug addicts who are dependent upon substances or in recovery

political weakness and are typically represented through a surrogate. Due to their perceived dependency and need for assistance to transition out of homelessness, policymakers and the public maintain a sense of sympathy. Benefits are provided to this group; however, the policy design is predicated on what the public and policymakers view as necessary rather than what may actually be needed to enter housing.

Next, there is the *deviant* group. A *deviant* is a person or group whose homelessness is framed as their own fault due to a social or moral failing such as criminal activity, personal debt, or substance use. Not adhering to or maintaining socially constructed norms of public good further frames *deviants* in a negative light. Similar to the *contenders* of Schneider and Ingram's theory, *deviants* within homeless policy are unable to receive a direct benefit without public criticism. Their actions and behaviors are, rather, subjected to regulatory policies in order to constrain their ability to gain political power. However, this group does have some by-proxy political power as especially seen through advocates and organizations supporting social inclusion such as the Western Regional Advocacy Project and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration ("California Homeless Bill Of Rights" 2017; Boden 2014; and "Homelessness and Housing" 2017).

Finally, we have the *pathological* group. A *pathological* is a person or group whose homelessness is considered innate due to both structural and individual factors that are viewed as unchangeable such as severe mental illness, chronic substance abuse, or chronic unemployment. A *pathological* is negatively framed as choosing to be homeless and/or unable or unwilling to exit homelessness. This group is the most similar to the *deviants* in Schneider and Ingram's model, who hold weak, if any, political power. They are rarely provided benefits and more often are the target of burdens, which dictate their movements and activity such as bans on sleeping in public spaces and aggressive panhandling (Bauman et al. 2014).

2.3 Homeless Policy Design Theory

Homeless policy design, I argue, is predicated on the public and elite political narratives and perception of the target population. That is, how the public perceives the homeless will

impact what policies are implemented to address the identified problem. Public perception, that influences policymakers, emerges from rhetorical discourse in local news as well as comments in public forums such as City Council meetings. Once a positive or negative view on the target population, the homeless and each sub-group within, dominates, people within the group are then categorized as either *victim*, *dependent*, *deviant* or *pathological*.

With consideration to the identified target groups, I argue that four categories of homeless policy have emerged: erase, delimit, transition, and house. Homeless policy, additionally, tends to follow a predictable path in the US depending upon the public perception of the homeless. The following sections outline each category and the corresponding target population.

2.3.1 Erase

To *erase* means to nullify, remove, or delete something (“Erase” 2017). Homeless policies that fit into this category, I argue, are policies aimed to remove or erase people experiencing homelessness from public spaces, therefore causing them to be invisible to the general public. Such policies include bans on camping, sleeping or begging in public, loitering or loafing laws, bans on sitting or lying down in public, living in vehicles, and bans on publically sharing food or storing personal belongings in public (Bauman et al. 2014).

Each of these policies criminalizes visible homelessness, especially when a fee is associated with its violation (Bauman et al. 2014). Through burdens to remove homeless people from public spaces, policymakers are essentially erasing the presence of homelessness. I surmise that such *erase* policies most likely occur when the target population, in this case, individuals or households experiencing homelessness who are unsheltered or in some way visually homeless, is framed as *pathological*. Additionally, *erase* policies are likely to occur when the target population is framed as *deviant* in order to once again push visible homelessness away from the public eye.

2.3.2 Delimit

According to Merriam-Webster, to *delimit* means “to fix or define the limits of” or “to officially set or state the limits of (something)” (“Delimit” 2017, p. 1). In homeless policy, I

assign policies relating to encampments – either formal or informal tent cities or villages – and shelters to this category. Such policies are meant to set aside specific spaces for homelessness. As opposed to *erasure* policy, *delimiting* allows visible homelessness in designated spaces – both public and private.

The target population for delimiting policies is the most encompassing. All target populations are recipients of *delimiting* policies. *Delimit* policies are most likely enacted for *deviants*, likely for *dependents* and *pathological* target groups, and somewhat likely for *victims*. However, policies for the target groups of *victims* and *dependents* are often framed as a benefit, with shelters dedicated to their specific subgroup. *Deviant* and *pathological* groups are more commonly subjected to burdens. For example, special requirements are implemented for youth and women fleeing domestic violence while felons, most notably sex offenders, are not allowed in some homeless shelters and many encampments. Furthermore, chronically homeless individuals, who are more likely to stay in an encampment, must move every 30-40 days (King County Council 2017). Other burdens may include barriers to shelter such as sobriety rules, time limits, and gendered separations in addition to the burden of space delegation. Additional benefits may include services connected to shelter such as a safe place to sleep, the ability to leave your belongings in one place, and case management or other services provided through the encampment or shelter (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015; Seattle Human Services Department 2011).

2.3.3 Transition

As a verb, to *transition* means “to make a change from one state, place or condition to another” (“Transition” 2017, p. 1). In homeless policy, I define *transitioning* policies as those aimed at altering behaviors or making improvements in an individual or family. Policies within this category include transitional housing programs, job training, mental health services or requirements, and other homeless housing programs that require behavioral changes prior to obtaining housing (“Continuum Of Care (CoC) Program Eligibility Requirements” 2016).

The most likely target population for *transition* policies is *dependent*, those who are considered in need of outside assistance (Schneider and Ingram 1993). Therefore the policies are framed as providing a benefit rather than a burden to recipients. *Transition* policies will also likely be focused on *victims* as a means of empowerment, such as case management services and job training for women fleeing domestic violence (“Empowerment and Economic Advancement” 2017). *Deviants* are somewhat likely to benefit from specialized *transition* policies with programs specifically designated for felons, most commonly sex offenders.

2.3.4 House

To *house* means to provide living quarters (“House” 2017). For homeless policy, these are the policies or programs aimed at providing housing or rental assistance that are not predicated by initial behavioral changes or barriers. This would include Housing First approaches, permanent supportive housing (PSH), rapid re-housing, and various housing subsidy programs like HCV and TBRA (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015).

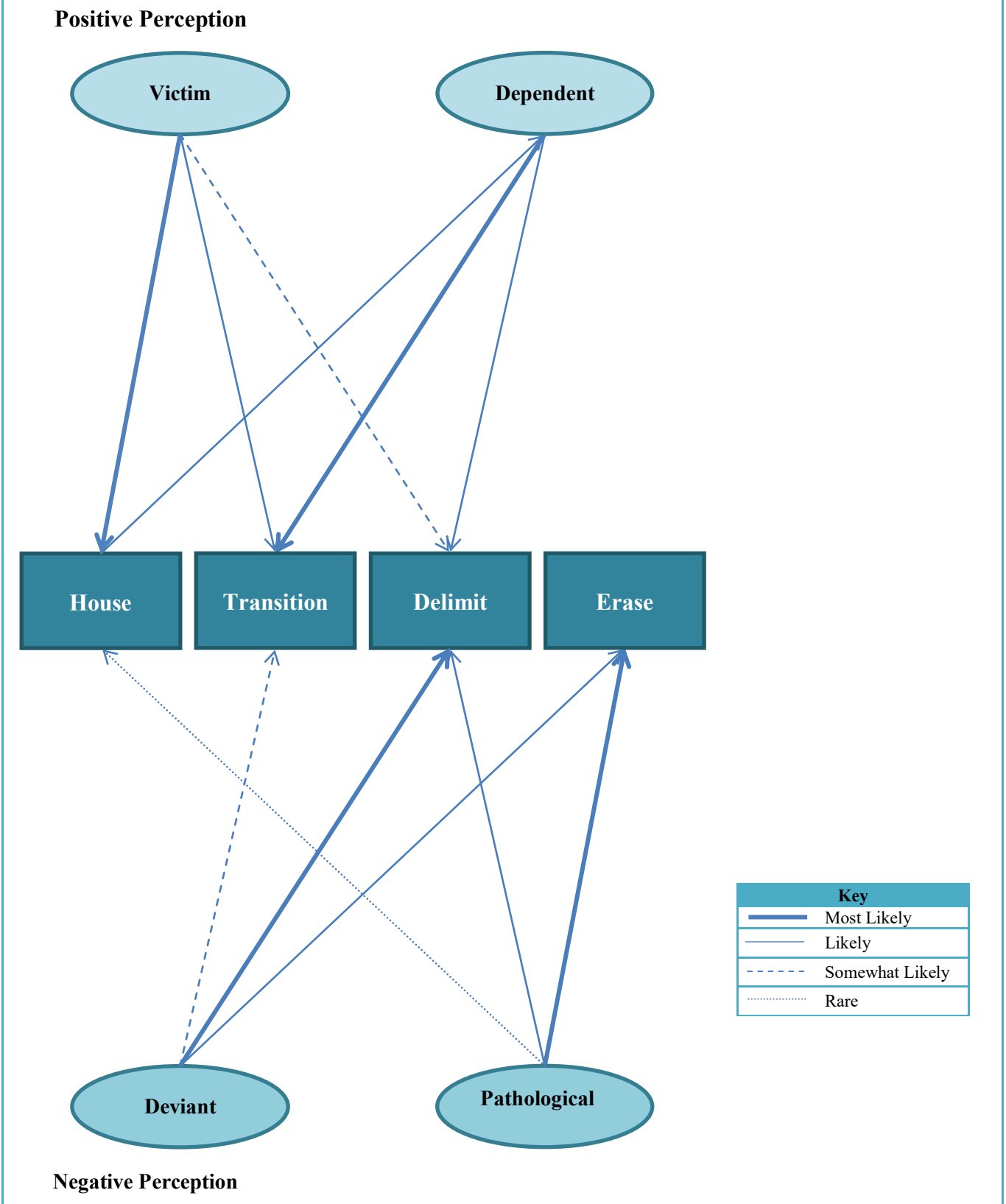
The most likely target populations for housing policies are *victims* whose receipt of benefits from governmental policy is generally supported by the majority of the public (Schneider and Ingram 1993). *Dependents*, who are also framed positively may also receive housing benefits, but the likelihood is less than the *victim* population due to this group’s lower level of perceived political power. Framing *victims* and *dependents* as in need of assistance allows policymakers to justify more generous benefits such as publically funded housing. Finally, on a rarer basis, *pathologically* framed groups of homeless may be targeted for *housing* policies, specifically Housing First and PSH programs which are discussed in section 5.3.

2.3.5 Homeless Policy Design Model

The Homeless Policy Design Model seen below (Figure 5) demonstrates the role of target populations on homeless policy design. Policy design choice is predicated on the public perception – both political elite and general. The identified perception indicates what policy choice governments may enact. Due to the complexity of homelessness as demonstrated in the nuanced definition, the policy types may be applied to various target populations, but to

varying degrees. In the model the bold solid arrow indicates the most likely policy design for the given target population. The solid arrow indicates the likely policy design while the dashed arrow means the policy design is somewhat likely for the target population. Finally, the light, dotted arrow identifies that the target population will rarely be the recipient of the policy design type.

Figure 5: Homeless Policy Design Model



3. Research Design and Methodology

This chapter will provide an overview of the research design, data collection methods and analysis methods applied throughout this thesis. I employ a constructivist approach throughout the research and analysis, which considers the subjective nature of public opinion to shape perception of a target population (Mills, Bonner and Francis 2006). Constructivism is useful when studying social problems as it allows us to critique the role of power in identifying and defining the problem as well as the methods applied to address it (Ravenhill 2014). Furthermore, according to Haas (2004), the constructivist approach relies on the support of legitimate experts in the field to inform policymakers' decisions. Through a constructivist approach, I apply my own interpretations based on gathered empirical data in order to test the relationship between the images of the homeless developed through public discourse and the policies implemented through legislation.

3.1 Main Goals of the Research

The main goal of this thesis is to test the impact of public perception of target groups on homeless policy design. As outlined in Chapter 2, I have developed a theory based on Ingram, Scheinder and DeLeon's (2007) target population and policy design framework, that depending upon how the homeless target population is perceived, certain policy typed will be considered and/or implemented. My research for the thesis focuses on the public perception of the homeless in Seattle, WA and legislative actions taken from 2006 to 2016.

3.2 Research Design - Case Study

The research design of this thesis is a case study. According to Robson (2009) case studies are a beneficial strategy when applying multiple sources of data for both qualitative and quantitative research on a contemporary phenomenon in a particular place. A case study depends on an in-depth analysis of the research subject that is bound by both region and topic (Yin 2014). The criteria for a case study is aptly applied to this thesis, which is time bound (2006-2016) and regionally-bound (Seattle, WA).

Employing the research design of a case study presents both advantages and challenges. First, a case study is quite flexible and therefore may be applied to a variety of issues (Yin,

2014). The research design of a case study does not adhere to a strict methodology, but rather allows for a variety of both qualitative and quantitative methodological processes to inform the research. The purpose of this thesis is to test how public perception impacts homeless policy design in Seattle, WA, which requires statistical data, legislative data, and a review of public discourse on homelessness in the city.

I chose to focus my research on Seattle, WA because the city currently has the highest rate of homelessness in the United States (See Figure 12). Seattle provides a unique case as the economic viability in the city has increased from 2006 while the homeless population has increased (Sanburn 2016). Additionally, Seattle is generally thought of as a progressive and social policy-friendly city, which makes it a rich environment for policy research (Webley 2013; “Denver Vs. Seattle: Socio-Political Climate” 2011).

3.3 Research Questions

As a means to anchor my research, I developed a list of questions to guide my data collection. First, I developed questions relating to public perception of homelessness in Seattle, WA: How does the public in general perceive the homeless? What is the elite political narrative on homelessness? How has public perception on homelessness changed between 2006 and 2016? And, what was the public perception on homelessness prior to policy updates or changes in Seattle and King County, WA?

Second, I generated questions on the legislative actions in both Seattle, WA: How has legislation relating to homelessness in Seattle, WA evolved from 2006 to 2016? In which policy category do legislative actions fall? Have any factors led to changes in homeless policy, and if so, why and how? What approach does Seattle, WA currently use to address homelessness?

Finally, I ask how public perception and policy design correlate in Seattle, WA. Does the model I presented in Chapter 2 match the outcomes? How does public perception influence policy design?

Figure 6: Research goals and questions

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Main Goal: Test theory on the role of public perception of target population on homeless policy design. | Sub Goal 1: Discover how the public perceives homelessness from late 2006-2016. | How does the public in general perceive the homeless? |
| | | What is the elite political narrative on homelessness? |
| | | How has public perception on homelessness changed between 2006 and 2016? |
| | Sub Goal 2: Understand what legislation regarding homelessness was approved between 2007 and 2016. | What was the public perception on homelessness prior to policy updates or changes in Seattle, WA? |
| | | In which policy category do legislative actions fall? |
| | | What approach does Seattle, WA currently use to address homelessness? |
| | | How has legislation relating to homelessness in Seattle, WA evolved from 2007 to 2016? |
| | | Have any factors led to changes in homeless policy, and if so, why and how? |
| | | |

3.4 Data Collection Methods

The data for the thesis was collected between January 2017 and March 2017. Throughout my study, I applied both qualitative and quantitative research techniques in order to develop a case study of homeless policy design in Seattle, WA. For this thesis, I collected both primary and secondary data through various data collection methods of public, open documents and statistical information from various studies on homelessness.

3.4.1 Primary Data

Primary sources are considered a more accurate means by which to gather a thorough “representation of occurrences in terms of both the memory of the author (time) and their proximity to the event (space)” (May 2011, p. 196). May (2011) further emphasizes the importance of primary documents in understanding how and why social practices occurred within a given timeframe. Therefore, in order to construct an accurate understanding about the role of public perception on homeless policy design, I rely on primary documents to piece together the events impacting legislation. For this thesis, I gathered data from online news archives as well as legislative data from the State, County and City level.

Online News Archives

The primary source for public perception information came from the online archives of *The Seattle Times*, the top circulated newspaper in Seattle, WA with an average weekday circulation of 236,929 and 346,589 for the Sunday edition (The Associated Press 2012). I

chose this newspaper as my primary source for public perception data due to the extensive readership, which stands at nearly 1.5 million people per year (“Our Audience” 2017).

To find relevant articles, I went into the archives and searched for all articles with the keyword 'homeless.' I narrowed the timeframe for the search to the three months prior to the month of legislation as well as the days leading up to the Seattle City Council passing or enacting the piece of legislation in question. I reviewed articles from 2006 to 2016. With those parameters in place, I reviewed a total of 1,092 articles.

Figure 7: Reviewed Online News Archives

| Year | Number of Articles Reviewed | Year | Number of Articles Reviewed |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 2006 | 50 | 2012 | 74 |
| 2007 | 97 | 2013 | 83 |
| 2008 | 119 | 2014 | 122 |
| 2009 | 113 | 2015 | 125 |
| 2010 | 104 | 2016 | 119 |
| 2011 | 86 | Total | 1,092 |

Public Policy Documents

The public policy documents included in my data collection came from the State, County and City levels of government in Washington State, King County, and Seattle respectively. At the State level, I searched and reviewed the Revised Code of Washington and the Washington Administrative Code for all laws pertaining to homelessness with the keyword 'homeless.' In total, I collected information on 21 pieces of state legislation from the Washington State Legislature. For county level legislation, I used the King County Code and records from the King County Council. I searched for all pieces of legislation using the term “homeless” to find and review 126 codes and enactments between 2007 and 2016. Finally, at the city level, I relied on the Seattle City Council archives and the Seattle Municipal Code where I again searched for any legislation with the keyword 'homeless.' From 2007 to 2017, I found 177 ordinances, Executive Orders and resolutions pertaining to homeless services, programs, and funding (See Appendix 1 for a list of all legislation).

3.4.2 Secondary Data

To contextualize my primary data, I relied on secondary sources to further inform the state of homelessness and public perception in Seattle, WA. I gathered statistical data on the number of people experiencing homelessness from the official Point in Time Count records through both the Washington State Department of Commerce and the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development as well as from the 2016 Annual Homeless Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress. Further, I relied on data from studies and reports compiled by United Way of King County, the City of Seattle, and King County, Focus Strategies, the National Alliance to End Homelessness and the Homelessness Research Institute for further information on homeless from 2006-2016.

3.5 Data Analysis Methods

As previously stated, this thesis was developed through both qualitative and quantitative research. Qualitative research involves a process of understanding where “[t]he research builds a complex, holistic picture, [and] analyses words” in order to gain in-depth knowledge of a social problem (Creswell 1998, 15). The qualitative analysis methods applied in this thesis include:

- *Discourse Analysis and Narrative Inquiry* of 1,092 local news articles found through an archival search using the keyword ‘homeless’ from the Seattle Times between 2006 and 2016⁶.
- *Content Analysis* of legislative data using the keyword ‘homeless’ between 2007 and 2016 at the city, county, and state level from the Seattle City Council, Seattle Municipal Code, the King County Council, the King County Code, the Revised Code of Washington, and the Washington Administrative Code (See Appendix 1).

I also gathered statistics from secondary sources on homelessness nationwide and in Seattle, WA in order to provide an accurate description of the situation. Information included numbers of people experiencing homelessness from 2006 to 2016 as reported by the U.S.

⁶ The article timeframe is 2006-2016 while the public policy documents timeframe is 2007-2016. The discrepancy here is due to the choice to review news articles published three months prior to the month of legislation as well as the days leading up to enactment or passage. Therefore, for a policy passed in January 2007, I reviewed articles from October 2006 to January 2007.

Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Washington State Department of Commerce (See Chapter 4).

Quantitative techniques were used in order to quantify and code the meaning of newspaper articles and legislation. I applied a coding process to convert my collected data into a standard based on the homeless policy design theory discussed in Chapter 2. Both manifest and latent content was evaluated to code the news articles and the legislation. The following sections detail both the coding process and methodological analysis of the collected data.

3.5.1 Discourse Analysis and Media

News media is a critical medium for public discourse and the stories appearing in global, national, and local media influence the public agenda as well as the discussions among both politicians and policy makers (Cotter 2015). Analyzing the news media therefore informs what issues may shift from social to policy problems. Additionally, discourse analysis of the media presents a means to evaluate the representation of various social groups within a certain medium (Cotter 2015). For the purpose of this thesis, media discourse analysis and narrative inquiry provide a means to understand the public views on homelessness by considering word choice and syntax in articles regarding homelessness in Seattle, WA.

3.5.2 Political Discourse Analysis

Within this thesis, I focus on two elements of discourse analysis in regard to public policy documents and legislation – institutional analysis and political discourse. Institutional analysis considers the language “used to create and shape institutions and how institutions in turn have the capacity to create, shape, and impose discourses on people” (Mayr 2015, 755). Within this framework, we consider the elite commentary on homelessness from the Mayor’s office in Seattle, WA as well as the actions of the Seattle City Council that frame the issue of homelessness in the city and the people experiencing homelessness themselves.

In conjunction with an institutional analysis, a political discourse analysis of legislation further informs how the issue of homelessness is politically operated (Wilson 2015). Political discourse considers the rhetoric applied in verbal and non-verbal political communication in addition to written legislation and policy documents. A discourse analysis

of policy and legislation will provide information about the current situation of homelessness in Seattle and the unspoken means by which politician and policy makers frame homeless populations.

Wilson (2015, 777) emphasizes the importance of language within political discourse, stating that “[l]anguage is the vehicle for expressing our system of thought ... [that] language and thought are inextricably intertwined ... and [o]ur world is not given to us directly but is continually mediated by language.” Therefore the power of language to define a specific target group is vital to understand; word choice and syntax become crucial tools. Wilson (2015) provides a clear example of this through a breakdown of how a rape victim might be represented:

“A woman

A young woman

A young woman who is a mother of three

A divorced exotic dancer and mother of three

An unemployed party girl and single mother of three” (2015, 782)

The choice of words influences how both the author and the reader depict the individual. Exercise can be applied to a homeless person as well. Take for example, a comparison of the following representations:

A homeless person

A homeless woman

A woman fleeing domestic violence

A homeless veteran with PTSD

A chronically homeless drug addict

Each phrase and each word choice develops a different image of a person experiencing homelessness and influences how both the author and the audience then view that individual. This reliance on word choice and syntax applies not only to political discourse analysis, but to the analysis of media sources as well. I employ this method of discourse analysis throughout the analysis of the data collection for this thesis.

3.5.3 Online News Archives

Coding

Between March 2017 and April 2017, I read and coded the 1,092 articles from *The Seattle Times* online archive. The articles were used to gather data on the public perception of homelessness within the conceptual framework the homeless policy design theory. Articles were coded based on how the content of the story framed the homeless. This qualitative method of coding was necessary before any comparison between public perception and policy type could occur. Each article was read for content and meaning in order to then be accurately coded. This process involved reading and rereading the 1,092 news articles for both manifest and latent content regarding the perception and framing of homeless populations.

The initial coding stage involved dividing articles into typological categories of positive or negative perception. From there, the articles were thematically coded based on a more in-depth review of the article as well as keywords or phrases such as 'help,' 'needy,' and 'transient,' for example. The actual coding process occurred in 2 stages:

Figure 8: Coding Stages for News Articles

| | Coding stage | Examples of Codes | Description and Use |
|----------------|--|--|--|
| Stage 1 | Typology building (the first stage of theory building) | Positive perception, Negative perception | Articles were divided into positive and negative perceptions |
| Stage 2 | Thematic coding | Victim, Dependent, Deviant, Pathological | Broad categories that break the information into sections. These can be filtered so that, e.g. all coded information relating to perception in can be analyzed |

Source: Ravenhill 2014 and Author

Stage 1 involved relying on commonsense knowledge while stage 2 focused more on the content of each article to generate the codes. The process of coding the news articles took around 3 months in total and were then applied to the homeless policy design theory to inform the relationship between public perception and policy design, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 (See Appendix 2 for a more detailed view of the coding by year).

Once coded by typology and theme, I used the data to first determine the overall public perception on homeless – whether it was positive or negative and then, more specifically, which target population type was dominant. I analyzed the public perception within various

timeframes including: the three to four months leading up to passed legislation, annual average perception and overall perception from 2006-2016. This allowed for a more nuanced understanding of public perception as well as the ability to identify any significant changes in the public narrative.

With the perception data coded and broken down into periods of time leading up to legislation approved by the Seattle City Council, I then created a prediction for policy design choice based on the homeless policy design model outlined in Chapter 2. For example, on April 12, 2007, the Seattle City Council enacted Ordinance Number 122373 to lease a facility with the Goodwill Development Association for housing for homeless teens engaged in employment training (Seattle, Washington Ordinance 122373). According to the homeless policy design model, this policy would be considered *transition*. In order to develop a prediction for the policy design based on public perception, I took the following steps:

1. Determine the timeframe for perception analysis.
2. Count the number of articles coded based on both typology (*positive* and *negative*) and theme (*victim*, *dependent*, *deviant*, and *pathological*).
3. Calculate the percent of articles within the given typology and theme.
4. Identify the typology and theme with the greatest percent of representation within the timeframe.
5. Based on the greatest percent of representation, predict which policy design type would be chosen according to the homeless policy design model.
6. Compare the predicted policy type to the actual policy type.

Based on these steps, between January 8, 2007 and April 11, 2007, the most common typology was positive (85%), with *dependent* having the greatest percent of thematic representation (46%). Using this information, I predicted that the policy type would be *transition*. I then compared this prediction to the actual policy type, which was *transition*. In this example, the policy typed enacted matched the homeless policy design model. However, this process is imperfect and did lead to some discrepancies between policy type prediction and actual policy type.

As a means of comparison, I also made policy predictions based strictly on the number of articles that framed the homeless within the homeless policy design themes of *victim*, *dependent*, *deviant*, and/or *pathological*⁷. This allowed for a means of checking data and comparing whether raw numbers or percent of representation lead to more accurate predictions. Tables demonstrating a sample this process can be viewed in Figures 9 and 10. For a more exhaustive view of the process see Appendix 4.

⁷ Articles that portrayed homelessness in more than one way were coded as such. For example, an article that depicted a homeless person as the perpetrator of a crime while the victim was also homeless was then coded as both *deviant* and *victim*.

Figure 9: Policy Prediction based on Typology and Theme Representation, %

| Date of Legislation | Period of Article Review | % Victim (Positive) | % Dependent (Positive) | Total % Positive | % Deviant (Negative) | % Pathological (Negative) | Total % Negative | Policy Type Prediction | Actual Policy Type |
|---------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 13-Apr-07 | 8.1.07-11.4.07 | 38 | 46 | 85 | 33 | 3 | 36 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-8.8.07 | 26 | 22 | 48 | 57 | 0 | 57 | Delimit/Transition | Transition |
| 22-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-21.8.07 | 27 | 27 | 54 | 54 | 0 | 54 | Delimit/Transition | Transition/House |
| 11-Oct-07 | 1.7.07-2.10.07 | 24 | 33 | 57 | 48 | 0 | 48 | Transition/Delimit | Delimit/Transition |
| 16-Nov-07 | 1.8.07-11.11.07 | 43 | 52 | 96 | 35 | 0 | 35 | House/Transition | Transition |
| 13-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-12.12.07 | 50 | 50 | 100 | 36 | 0 | 36 | House/Transition | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 67 | 71 | 138* | 57 | 0 | 57 | House/Transition | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 67 | 71 | 138* | 57 | 0 | 57 | House/Transition | Erase |

Figure 10: Policy Prediction based on Theme Representation, #

| Date of Legislation | Period of Article Review | # of Articles: Victim | # of Articles: Dependent | # of Articles: Deviant | # of Articles: Pathological | Total Number of Articles | Policy Type Prediction | Actual Policy Type |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 13-Apr-07 | 8.1.07-11.4.07 | 15 | 18 | 13 | 1 | 39 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-8.8.07 | 6 | 5 | 13 | 0 | 23 | Delimit | Transition |
| 22-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-21.8.07 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 0 | 26 | Delimit | Transition/House |
| 11-Oct-07 | 1.7.07-2.10.07 | 5 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 21 | Delimit/Erase | Delimit/Transition |
| 16-Nov-07 | 1.8.07-11.11.07 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 0 | 23 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-12.12.07 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 0 | 28 | Transition/House | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 0 | 21 | Transition | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 0 | 21 | Transition | Erase |

Narrative Inquiry and Content Analysis of Online News Archives

In order to accurately code each article, I applied a contextual analysis reliant on narrative inquiry (May 2011). Narrative inquiry is a method of studying people and perceptions based on written materials such as diaries, news articles, books, and other forms of storytelling (May 2011). These documents are able to bring forth a deeper understanding of society's views and perceptions of particular events within a specific timeframe. While personal narratives such as diaries or a biography may present a particular bias, media sources such as news articles are able to developed a more nuanced point of view (May 2011).

Qualitative content analysis requires the researcher to be “a self-conscious actor addressing an audience under particular circumstances” and complete the task of analyzing and reading text based upon predetermined symbols (May 2011, 211). The qualitative content analysis of the news articles considered the rhetoric of each article as well as the use of particular keywords such as *needy*, *crime*, *panhandle*, *unsheltered*, and *transient* (See Figure 11 for a comprehensive list of words/terms). The rate at which certain words occurred in an article informed how to code it.

Figure 11 : List of Keywords by Perception Category

| Victim | Dependent | Deviant | Pathological |
|---------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Youth | Youth | Crime | Panhandle |
| Domestic | Family | Unsheltered | Transient |
| Violence | Needy | Drug Use | Addiction |
| Hungry | Support | Drinking | Alcoholic |
| Fire | Mental | Sex | Severely Mentally |
| Death | Health | Offender | Ill |
| Assault on | Veteran | Squatter | Chronic |
| Evicted | Unsheltered | | |
| | Help | | |
| | Women | | |

Furthermore, content analysis of each article provided insight into patterns of rhetoric in The Seattle Times to decipher how the homeless population was framed. May (2011) states that the method of deconstruction and interpretation allows the researcher to have a prime advantage in developing meaning for each text; through such deconstruction of syntax and word choice, I was able to interpret each article to develop a system of identifying how the target population (the homeless) was presented.

3.5.4 Public Policy Documents

Coding

Between January 2017 and March 2017, I read and coded 172 pieces of legislation from the Seattle City Council between 2007 and 2016. The ordinances, resolutions, and executive orders were gathered to collect data to inform the framework of the homeless policy design theory. Documents were coded based on the content and purpose of the legislation, for example, whether the legislation was to simply extend funding or whether it was aimed at providing housing for a certain homeless population. Again, this qualitative method of coding was necessary before any comparison between public perception and policy type could occur. Each document was read and reviewed for content and meaning in order to then be accurately coded. This process involved reading and rereading the 172 policy documents primarily for manifest content regarding how it addressed homelessness.

The initial coding stage involved identifying whether or not the legislation was strictly related to funding or funding sources for previously existing programs related to homelessness. From there, the policy documents were thematically coded based on a more in-depth review of the purpose. The actual coding process occurred in 2 stages:

| Figure 12: Coding Stages for Policy Documents | | | |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| | Coding stage | Examples of Codes | Description and Use |
| Stage 1 | Typology | Funding Non-Funding | Articles were identified as funding-only or non-funding only. |
| Stage 2 | Thematic coding | House, Transition, Delimit, Erase | Broad categories that break the information into sections. These can be filtered so that, e.g. all coded information relating to theme in can be analyzed |

Source: Ravenhill 2014 and Author

Stage 1 involved relying on a review of funding aims while stage 2 focused more on the content of each piece of legislation to generate the codes. The process of coding the legislative actions took around 3 months in total and were then applied to the homeless policy design theory to inform the relationship between public perception and policy design, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 (See Appendix 3 for a detailed example of the policy coding for each year).

As mentioned in section 3.5.3a, I used the coded legislation first identify a timeframe for analysis of news articles and then compared the actual policy type to the predicted policy type. For the purpose of the comparison, I only used ordinances enacted in Seattle and did not include resolutions or clerk file documents. This allowed me to focus on legally enforced legislation that was enacted to address homelessness versus documents that were not legally binding.

Documents were coded as *house*, *transition*, *delimit*, and/or *erase*, the code determination was predicated on the aim of the legislation as well as type of program enacted, if applicable. For example, if a piece of legislation was enacted to develop housing programs for the homeless, it was coded as *house* whereas an ordinance to increase health services to the homeless was coded as *transition* because the aim was to offer a benefit, but not housing. Furthermore, legislation related to emergency shelter or homeless encampments was coded as *delimit* because the enacted policies provided guidance on where the homeless target population could stay. Finally, policies that place restrictions on actions such as sleeping, laying or removed activity from public spaces such as panhandling or closing an encampment were coded as *erase*. Figure 13 provides an example of the coding of legislative documents from a section of 2007. For a full examination of the legislative coding, see Appendix 3.

Figure 13: Example of Public Policy Document Coding

| Date | Title | Summary | Policy Type | Notes |
|------------|---------------------------|---|---------------------|--|
| 4/13/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122373 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the Fleets and Facilities Department, authorizing the execution of a lease with Goodwill Development Association, a Washington State non-profit corporation, for the residential home for teen parents located at 339 22nd Avenue East, Seattle, Washington. | Transition | Lease with Goodwill for housing for homeless teens engaged in employment training |
| 8/22/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122459 | AN ORDINANCE relating to property at Sand Point, authorizing the Housing Director to consent to the assignment by Sand Point Community Housing Association to Sand Point Community Connections LLC of the lease of City of Seattle land authorized by Ordinance 118770, as amended; authorizing an Amended and Restated Lease between Sand Point Community Connections LLC and the City; authorizing the Housing Director to consent to the transfer of title to buildings and other property on such land in connection with the assignment of the lease; and authorizing related actions. | Transition/House | Declares property must be used for housing and homeless related services |
| 10/11/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122528 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the Seattle Building Code, amending Section 22.100.010, and adopting by reference Chapters 2 through 28, Chapters 31 through 33, and Chapter 35 of the 2006 International Building Code; and amending certain of those chapters; and adopting a new Chapter 1 for the Seattle Building Code related to administration, permitting and enforcement, a new Chapter 29 related to plumbing systems, a new Chapter 30 related to elevators and conveying systems, and a new Chapter 34 related to existing structures; and repealing Sections 3-150, 152, 153, 155, 158, 160-165, 167-189, 191,192, 194- 203 of Ordinance 121519 and Sections 1-39 of Ordinance 122049. | Delimit/Transition | Related to building codes for transient lodging |
| 10/29/2007 | Clerk File Number: 308987 | Documents related to Civic Center Plaza Project. | Erase | Indicates that specific land cannot be used for a shelter |
| 12/21/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122610 | AN ORDINANCE amending the Seattle Comprehensive Plan to incorporate changes proposed as part of the 2007 Comprehensive Plan annual amendment process. INCLUDES: 22. Amend Human Development Goal 6 as follows: Create a healthy environment where all community members , including those currently struggling with homelessness, mental illness and chemical dependence, are able to practice aspire to and achieve a healthy life living, are well nourished, and have good access to affordable health care. 27. Add new Human Development Policy 24.5, as follows: Support increased access to preventive interventions at agencies that serve the homeless, mentally ill and chemically dependent populations. Pursue co-location of health services at these and other agencies serving those disproportionately affected by disease. | Transition/Rhetoric | Amends policy goals for human development and health environments to include homeless. Also groups homeless with mentally ill and chemically dependent -- traditionally groups identified as deviant |
| 12/21/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122612 | AN ORDINANCE related to the sale and redevelopment of the former Public Safety Building block; authorizing the execution of a Purchase and Sale Agreement, Project Agreement and other related documents necessary to implement the sale and redevelopment of such property; and exempting the sale of such property from the requirements of Resolution 29799 as amended by Resolution 30862. INCLUDES PROHIBITING: H. Homeless shelters, needle exchanges and food distribution programs | Erase | Prohibits a shelter from being built in the Civic Square Retail Space |

Policies with more than one code had more than one aim or program within the policy. For example, Ordinance Number: 122459, which authorized the transfer of leased of city land from Sand Point Community Housing Association to Sand Point Community Connections LLC, allowed for the development of homeless housing. The ordinance also stated that the property in question must be used for homeless services in addition to housing (Seattle, Washington, Ordinance 122459). With the inclusion of both housing and services for homeless population, I coded the ordinance as both *house* and *transition*.

Discourse Analysis of Public Policy Documents

In order to accurately code each public policy document, I applied political discourse analysis as discussed in section 3.2.5 (Mayr 2015). Discourse analysis within a political framework is a method of understanding the aim of public policies such as laws, ordinances, resolutions and executive orders (Mayr 2015; Wilson 2015). Each of these documents shed light on the goals and priorities of the political institution and administration in power during a specific timeframe.

The qualitative analysis of the policy documents focused on the manifest content including stated purpose of the legislation. In order to determine which code to apply to each document, I applied the homeless policy design model discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, the documents were also read and reviewed to gather any latent content related to target population perception in order to gather information on the elite political narrative on homelessness.

3.6 Public Perception and Policy Prediction Steps

The gathered data on public perception was applied to inform what policy type the Seattle City Council would make. In order to develop my policy predictions based on public perception data, I took the following steps (See Figures 9 and 10):

1. Identify the majority typology within the given timeframe.
2. Identify the perception code with the greatest frequency.
3. Compare identified highest frequency with the other perception codes.
4. Based on the homeless policy design model, identify the most likely policy type for the perception code with the highest frequency.
 - a. If the second most frequent code is within 10% of the first perception, then policy type will be the likely option. (For deviant perception, the majority

typology will inform whether the likely policy is *transition* (positive) or *erase* (negative)).

- b. If the second most frequent code is over 10% of the first perception, then policy type will be the most likely option.
- c. If the third most frequent code is within 10% of the first perception, then the policy type will be the somewhat likely option.

Appendix 4 provides a more detailed look at the calculations and policy prediction process.

3.7 Research Limitation and Reflections

When I initially began the research for this thesis, I planned to make a comparison between public perception of the homeless and policy design type in Seattle, WA and Denver, CO. However, during the data collection stage, the Denver City Council was in the process of digitizing all legislative archives and I was only able to access legislative data up to April 2010. Due to this obstacle, I redesigned my research into a more thorough case study of Seattle, WA. While this limitation allowed for a deeper analysis of one city, it does impact the validity of the homeless policy design model to other cities.

4. The Current Situation

The following chapter analyzes the current state of homelessness as well as the political climate and public perception based on data from surveys, polls, news articles and legislation. I apply my research to develop a snapshot of the situation on a national level and then further elaborate on the particular phenomenon in Seattle, WA.

4.1 Homelessness in the United States

Prior to 1987, there had been no “large-scale federal response to homelessness” (Hombs 1989, p. 57). Tent cities and shanty towns had emerged throughout the 1870s to the 1940s, but not systematic programs were enacted to prevent and end homelessness on a national level (Kusmer 2001; Kyle 2006). The Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act implemented emergency services such as shelters, health services, and job training programs to meet the needs of the homeless and granted over \$1 billion for 1987 and 1988. In subsequent years; however, Congress failed to fully fund programs. For example, in 1989 only \$365 million of the authorized \$634 million was applied toward services (Hombs, 1989). It is important to also note that the McKinney Act only focused on emergency services rather than truly preventative services. Programs enacted to address eviction from housing were set up as a last resort measure and did not address the underlying issues of pervasive poverty (Hombs 1989).

4.1.1 National Political Context

The actions in Congress are largely influence by the stance of the current President. In the mid-late 1980s, then President Ronald Reagan promoted the idea that people were homeless and living on the streets by choice, the majority had mental health issues, and that unemployment was also a choice (Hombs 1989). In opposition to this stance, former President H.W. Bush supported fully funding McKinney and his appointment as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Jack Kemp, altered the rhetoric of homelessness. Rather than call homelessness a choice, he declared it a “national tragedy” (Hombs, 1989, p. 58).

In the 2000’s, then President Bush endorsed a Housing First method, placing high barrier, chronically homeless individuals into housing while offering case management services (Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae 2004). This methodology change and support for not only

emergency services, but ongoing case management, resulted in nearly a 30% decrease in chronic homelessness between 2003 and 2005 (Lurie 2013). Unfortunately, Bush era policies later lead to the financial crisis of 2008 and an exponential uptick in foreclosures and homelessness (Lurie 2013).

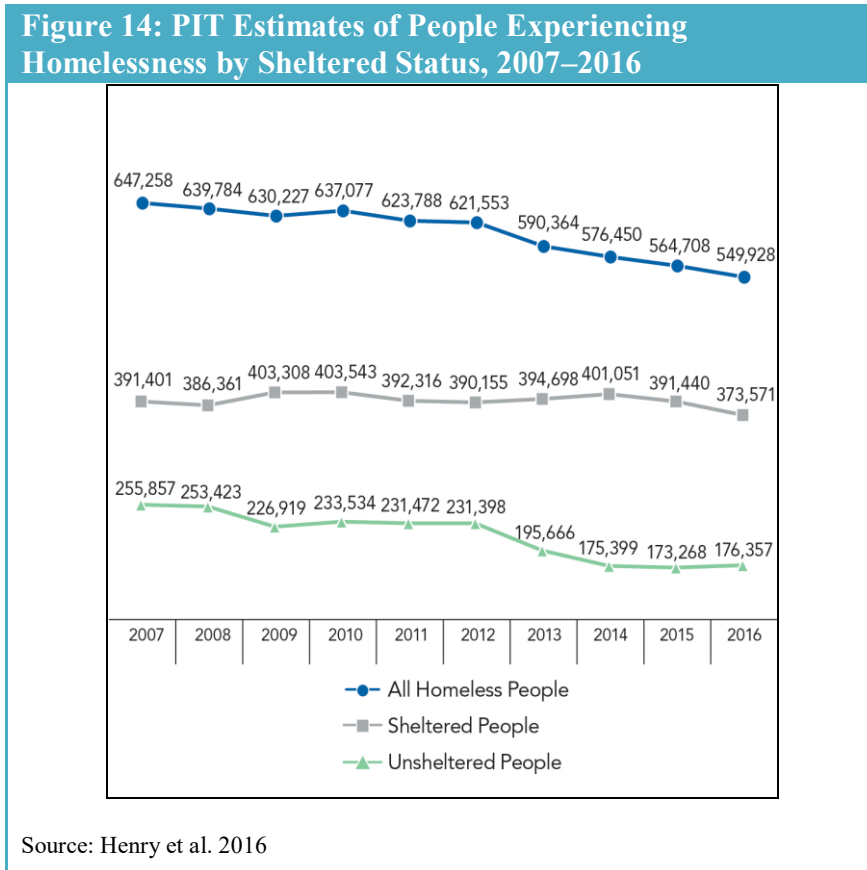
The federal government, led by former President Obama, reignited support for preventing and ending homelessness through the Homeless Prevention and Rapid Re-Housing Program of 2009, and implementing a 10-year plan to reduce homelessness introduced in 2010 (Lurie 2013; United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015). While the federal government many identify best practices and incentivize their adoption in states via funding requirements, homelessness is also a policy issue on a local level (Welch and Thompson 1980).

Approaches to address homelessness through policy differ depending upon the make-up of local and state social policymakers. The conservative side tends to view homelessness as an individual issue and that programs funded through government cause dependency rather than incentivize people to exit homelessness (Wizner 1991). They contend that without shelters, food assistance programs and emergency housing, people would be able to use their social networks to find and maintain housing. Some staunch homeless advocates, on the other hand, view homelessness as socio-economic issue (Wizner 1991). Both sides are right and wrong, they both identify potential causes of homelessness; however, I argue that they fail to see the nuance within each unique experience. More and more social policymakers have begun to express the importance of combining services and support with persona choice – that some people experiencing homelessness may need more assistance than others (Wizner 1991; Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae 2004).

4.1.2 Current Statistics and Demographics

Starting in 2007, the US has conducted an annual count of homeless people in the country (Henry et al. 2016). While this count may not include every single person who experiences homelessness at any given time, it gives an overall picture at what homelessness in America looks like. According to *The 2016 Annual Homeless Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress*, between 2007 and 2016, homelessness decreased by 15 percent (97,330 people) (Henry et al. 2016; See Figures 14, 15 and 16). The most recent Point-In-Time (PIT)

Count⁸, from January 2016, indicates that 549,928 people were homeless on a single night in January.



The PIT count also looks at the demographics of all the people included in the survey. The chart below, Figure 15, indicates the number of individuals and people in families who were both sheltered and unsheltered. This graphic speaks to the makeup of the homeless population by household type, indicating the majority of those experiencing homelessness in 2016 were individuals. It also indicates that going unsheltered is more common among individuals in comparison to families. This, I surmise, means that there are fewer resources dedicated to sheltering and housing individuals versus resources to provide shelter and housing to homeless families.

⁸ See Glossary of Terms for definition of Point in Time Count.

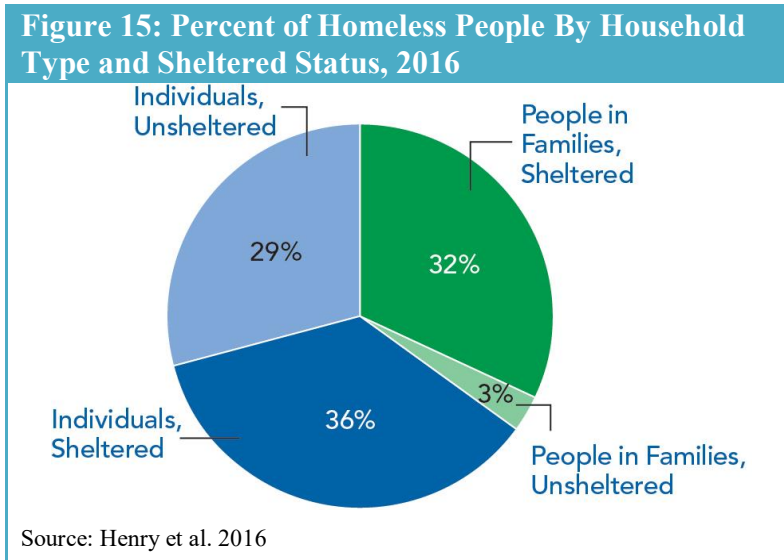


Figure 16 breaks down the demographics of homelessness on gender, ethnicity, and race. In 2016, the majority of homeless people identified as White, non-Hispanic, males. However, it also shows that a disproportionate number to African Americans experience homelessness. While only 13.3% of the US population identifies as African American, 39.1% of the homeless population reported as African American (United States Census Bureau 2017; Henry et al. 2016). Additionally, the overall majority of homeless people are non-White, which speaks to the racial disparities and inequalities in the United States.

Figure 16: Demographic Characteristics of People Experiencing Homelessness, 2016

| Characteristic | All Homeless People | | Sheltered People | | Unsheltered People | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------|------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| Total | 549,928 | 100.0 | 373,571 | 100.0 | 176,357 | 100.0 |
| Gender | | | | | | |
| Female | 217,268 | 39.5 | 165,780 | 44.4 | 51,488 | 29.2 |
| Male | 330,890 | 60.2 | 206,999 | 55.4 | 123,891 | 70.3 |
| Transgender | 1,770 | 0.3 | 792 | 0.2 | 978 | 0.6 |
| Ethnicity | | | | | | |
| Non-Hispanic | 428,629 | 77.9 | 286,430 | 76.7 | 142,199 | 80.6 |
| Hispanic | 121,299 | 22.1 | 87,141 | 23.3 | 34,158 | 19.4 |
| Race | | | | | | |
| White | 265,660 | 48.3 | 163,881 | 43.9 | 101,779 | 57.7 |
| African American | 215,177 | 39.1 | 168,623 | 45.1 | 46,554 | 26.4 |
| Asian | 5,603 | 1.0 | 3,476 | 0.9 | 2,127 | 1.2 |
| Native American | 15,229 | 2.8 | 7,880 | 2.1 | 7,349 | 4.2 |
| Pacific Islander | 8,734 | 1.6 | 4,499 | 1.2 | 4,235 | 2.4 |

Source: Henry et al. 2016

The PIT Count also compares homelessness in each state, in order to see where the greatest need lie. They break down the data by state, as well as Continuums of Care, to provide a

more thorough understanding of homelessness and the changes from year to year. For example, although homelessness in the US has decreased overall, there are states where homelessness actually increased such as Colorado and Washington (Henry et al. 2016). The top five states with the largest changes in homelessness as well as the CoCs with the largest homeless populations are shown below in Figures 17 and 18.

| 2015-2016 | | | 2007-2016 | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------------|--------|-------|
| California | 2,404 | 2.1% | New York | 23,751 | 37.9% |
| Washington | 1,408 | 7.3% | Massachusetts | 4,481 | 29.6% |
| District of Columbia | 1,052 | 14.4% | District of Columbia | 3,030 | 57.0% |
| Colorado | 597 | 6.0% | Hawaii | 1,851 | 30.5% |
| Oklahoma | 330 | 8.7% | Idaho | 498 | 28.5% |

Source: Henry et al. 2016

As indicated above, Washington State has seen a significant increase in the homeless population between 2015 and 2016 at 7.3% overall. Figure 18 below, shows that Seattle/King County, WA has one of the highest homeless populations in the US (Henry et al. 2016). This is significant to the purpose of this thesis and informs why I chose to focus on Seattle, WA.

| CoC | Total Homelessness | Percent of Total Population |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| New York City, NY | 73,523 | 0.86% |
| Los Angeles City & County, CA | 43,854 | 0.43% |
| Seattle/King County, WA | 10,730 | 1.57% |
| San Diego City and County, CA | 8,669 | 0.26% |
| District of Columbia | 8,350 | 1.22% |
| San Francisco, CA | 6,996 | 0.81% |
| San Jose/Santa Clara City & County, CA | 6,524 | 0.34% |
| Boston, MA | 6,240 | 0.93% |
| Las Vegas/Clark County, NV | 6,208 | 0.29% |
| Philadelphia, PA | 6,112 | 0.39% |

Source: Henry et al. 2016; City of New York 2016; United States Census Bureau 2017 (emphasis mine).

4.1.3 National Perceptions on Homelessness

Public views on the homeless impact not only how they are treated socially, but also influence the social agenda on homelessness and the view of who is responsible for addressing the issue (Phelan et al. 1997). Perception, stereotypes and stigmas about the homeless develop through a narrative on the national and local level from public comments from politicians, advocates and experts all shape the general discourse about homelessness.

This subsection will look at how the homeless have been framed on a national scale through both the political elite and the general public.

Elite Political Narrative

In the United States, the views of the President significantly impact the policy choices of their term in office (Manza and Cook 2002). During the George W. Bush's years in office (2000-2008) the President maintained the belief that the homeless were *pathological* and *dependent* on the work of homeless shelters, food pantries and religious-based organizations (Rove 2010). This led to increased decentralization of homeless services, a focus on Housing First policy for the chronically homeless, and a reliance on religious organizations to take the lead in providing services and programs (Frum 2013; Bush 2000). Bush's personal beliefs about how to best assist the homeless also translated into his economic policy, which expanded the Earned Income Tax Credit and increased tax incentives for charitable donations (Bush 2000; Lurie 2013).

The Bush Administration's focus on the chronically homeless, who are framed as *pathological*, supported a targeted effort on Housing First, which led to a 30% reduce in chronic homelessness between 2005 and 2007 (Lurie 2013). This impact on homelessness was unprecedented given the Administration's overall conservative policies and economic missteps.

During his two terms in office (2008-2016), President Obama continued to support Housing First for the chronically homeless while expanding efforts to reduce homelessness for specific target populations – families and veterans. Obama framed homeless families as *victims* of the Great Recession of 2008 and veterans as both *victims* (due to mental and physical health repercussions of active duty) and *dependents* (deserving aid because of the service they provided to the nation) on US support (Covert 2017).

In official statements, Obama emphasized the responsibility of the government to provide for both families and veterans. A 2016 press release stated that housing homeless veterans “is not a responsibility that can be shirked by offering empty words belied by policies that would leave veterans to fend for themselves,” furthering the narrative that veterans are dependent upon government assistance (The White House Office of the Press Secretary 2016, 1). Framing homeless populations in this way led to policy initiatives which increased

access to housing and support services. This included allocating nearly \$11 billion for programs aimed at homeless families as well as expanding Housing First to homeless veterans (Covert 2017; Parkinson 2017).

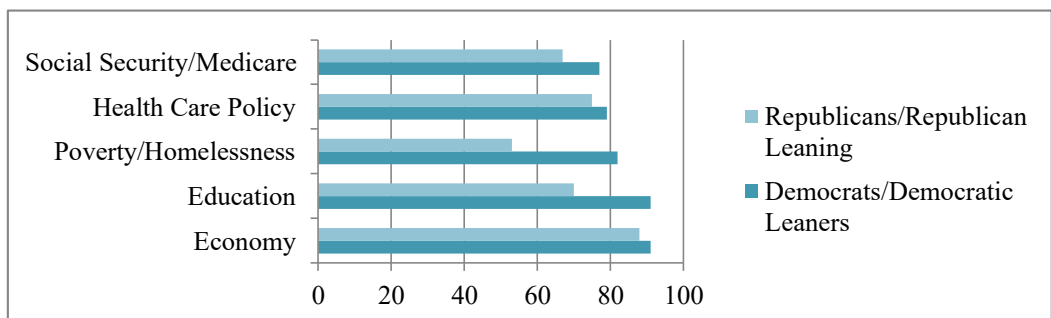
Perception within Political Parties

While the President’s views help shape the national rhetoric and policy choices, how the two major political parties in the US – Democrats and Republicans – also significantly impact public perception of target populations. Within US politics, the majority party holds substantial sway in policy design predicated on developing a strong hegemonic narrative to justify policy choice (Manza and Cook 2002).

A 2016 survey conducted by the Los Angeles Times and the American Enterprise Institute found that, “[r]oughly a third of self-described conservatives say that the poor do not work very hard” in contrast to the belief of surveyed liberals and moderates (Lauter 2016, 2). As the homeless are included as poor, this perception labels the homeless as *deviant* to conservatives.

The level of support to reduce inequality and homelessness also informs how political parties perceive homeless groups. A 2014 Gallup poll indicates that Democrats and Republicans differ as to whether or not homelessness is a pertinent issue in the US. The poll found that 82% of Democrats believe homelessness very important while only 53% of Republicans hold the same idea (Gonzalez and Rivers 2014). Figure 19 demonstrates that Democrats and Republicans most significantly differ in regards to whether or not poverty and homelessness should be a top priority.

Figure 19: Social Issues of High Importance by Political Leaning by Percent



Source: Gonzalez and Rivers 2014

Additionally, Republicans are more likely to support tax breaks on the wealthy to reduce poverty and inequality rather than provide social services to the poor and/or homeless (Horowitz 2014). In 2014, 78% of conservative Republicans indicated that “government aid to the poor does more harm than good by making people too *dependent* on the government” while 40% of moderate to liberal Republicans believe aid has a negative impact (Horowitz 2014, 3; emphasis added).

Democrats, both liberal and centrist, are more cohesive in the belief that government aid “does more good than harm because people can’t get out of poverty until their basic needs are met” (Horowitz 2014, 3). While this sentiment indicates a willingness to provide benefits to the homeless and poor, it also frames the target population as *dependent* upon aid.

Perception within the General Population

Numerous polls and surveys have attempted to understand how the general public in the United States views homelessness; these methods inform the national discourse on homelessness and impact the level of stigma and stereotyping on the target population. However, the views on homelessness and poverty vary greatly throughout the US. While the majority of Americans (89%) believe that homelessness is a serious issue in the country, the beliefs about homeless people and on why people are homeless differ.

For example, a 2005 questionnaire distributed by the Associated Press in conjunction with the think tank IPSOS-Public Affairs found that when asked: “Do you think that Americans who are homeless for long periods of time are victims of circumstances beyond their control, or responsible for their situation” (IPSOS-Public Affairs 2005, 1)? Out of the 1,001 adults questioned, 56% percent of respondents answered that people experiencing homelessness are *victims* of circumstance, 38% said the homeless are the ones responsible for their situation, and 6% were unsure (IPSOS-Public Affairs 2005).

Additionally, a 2007 Gallup Inc. poll found that 85% of 5,200 respondents believe that drug and alcohol abuse is a major factor as to why someone is homeless and 67% cited mental illness as a major factor (Gallup Inc. 2007). Both of these factors frame the homeless as either *pathological* or *deviant* according to my homeless policy design model. In the same poll, 66% of respondents indicate that insufficient income is a significant factor, framing

the homeless as *victim* or *dependent*, while 65% say a major factor for homeless is unemployment or job loss, characteristics of a *victim* target population (Gallup Inc. 2007).

A decade later, US public perception on the poor and homeless remains divided across both racial and economic lines. Black and Latino people are more likely to support government aid programs while White people express more skepticism toward aid, indicating that benefits “make poor people *dependent* and encourage them to stay poor” (Lauter 2016, 4; emphasis added).

When asked about welfare programs and whether recipients would “prefer to stay on welfare” or “earn their own living,” 61% of Americans responded that poor people would prefer to earn a living (Lauter 2016, 4). However, working class White people are more divided, 52%-44%, about how they view welfare recipients. Further data gathered found that half of the participants view the poor as hardworking (*victim/dependent*), only around 25% see those in poverty as lazy (*pathological*), and few people believe the poor have “some innate defect” (Lauter 2016, 13).

4.2 The Current Situation in Seattle, WA

Seattle, WA currently has one of the highest rates of homelessness in the US at nearly 1.57% of the population (Henry et al. 2016; United States Census Bureau 2017). In 2016, Focus Strategies conducted a system performance analysis on the homeless system in Seattle and King County in order to 1) understand the complexity of the situation and 2) provide recommendations for system improvement in order to effectively reduce and prevent homelessness (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). This subsection will describe the political environment in Seattle, review statistics on homelessness between 2006 and 2016, and analyze the public discourse on homelessness.

4.2.1 Political Context

In American cities, the policy climate is guided by the Mayor and the City Council. The Mayor will lay out their political agenda for the year, which is then reliant upon approval by the City Council. Therefore the public comments and beliefs held by the Mayor then shape the policies implemented during their term in office.

Seattle, WA is one of the more liberal cities in the US, and the members of the Seattle City Council, consisting of nine people, have been center-left to socialist over the previous decade (Webley 2013; Beekman 2015). Between 2006 and 2016, the city has had three Democratic mayors, Greg Nickels, Mike McGinn, and Ed Murray who all addressed homelessness during their tenure (“Mayors, 1948-Present” 2017). Former Mayor Nickels is the namesake of the infamous homeless encampment, Nickelsville, due to his controversial homeless policies, which focused on sweeps to clean the city of such encampments (Goodman 2009). Similar policies to erase homelessness from the public eye were previously implemented in the 1990’s when the then City Attorney Mark Sidran worked to reduce panhandling, sitting on sidewalks and even park access (Demirel 2016b). Coincidentally, Sidran lost the 2002 mayoral race to Greg Nickels in part due to his harsh policy toward homelessness (Demirel 2016b; “Mayors, 1948-Present” 2017).

The rhetoric of the Mayor does not go unnoticed and impacts the overall perception of the homeless. Each mayoral administration established rhetoric about the homeless through public policy documents such as ordinances, resolutions, and mayoral addresses. The wording within these documents informs how homeless groups are perceived. Wilson (2015) indicates that how an individual or institution refers to a group in policy documents is not a neutral act, but rather a way to manipulate the overall public discourse.

In general, the majority of public policy documents in Seattle have framed the homeless as *dependent* followed by *deviant* (See Figure 20). The Nickels administration is the only one to have equally portrayed the homeless as both *dependent* and *deviant*, aligning with the findings that policies under Nickels were more burdensome for the homeless than under either McGinn or Murray (See Figure 21).

| Mayor | Victim | Dependent | Deviant | Pathological |
|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Nickels | 25 | 42 | 42 | 17 |
| McGinn | 18 | 47 | 24 | 18 |
| Murry | 38 | 75 | 13 | 0 |
| Overall | 24 | 51 | 27 | 14 |

While all three Mayors between 2006 and 2016 saw more house and transition policies, passed under their guidance, Nickels tenure saw 15.2% of all policies targeting the

homeless aimed at erasing. During McGinn’s time as Mayor, 8.5 percent of his homeless policies focused on erasure whereas Murray had zero erasing policies (See Figure 21). Over the previous decade, while erasure policies have been prominent, the actual majority of policies to address homelessness have been aimed at housing. However, despite the prevalence of housing aimed policies, the rate of homelessness has risen since 2006 (See Figure 15; Department of Commerce 2006; Department of Commerce 2016).

Figure 21: Policy Type by Mayor, 2006-2016

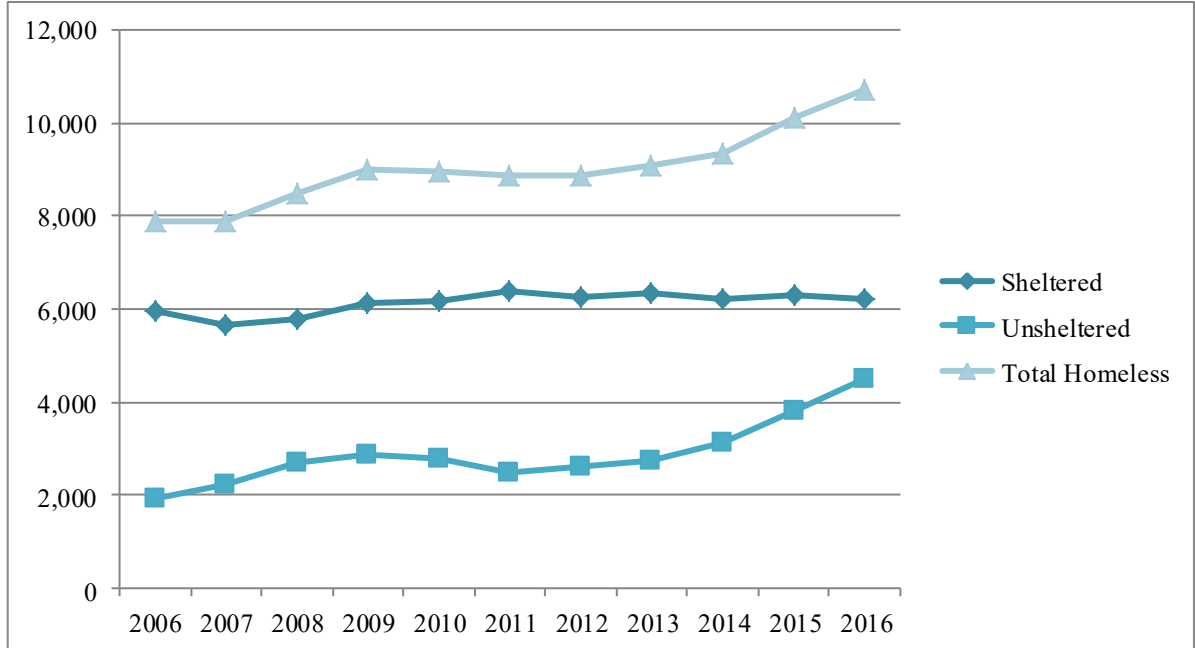
| Policy Type | Nickels (2006-2009) | | McGinn (2010-2013) | | Murray (2014-2016) | | Total | |
|--------------|------------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|----|------------------|------|
| | # | % | # | % | # | % | # | % |
| House | 17 | 51.5 | 17 | 36.2 | 11 | 44 | 45 | 42.9 |
| Transition | 10 | 30.3 | 18 | 38.3 | 8 | 32 | 36 | 34.3 |
| Delimit | 1 | 3.0 | 8 | 17.0 | 6 | 24 | 15 | 14.3 |
| Erase | 5 | 15.2 | 4 | 8.5 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 8.6 |
| <i>Total</i> | 33 | | 47 | | 25 | | 105 ⁹ | |

4.2.2 Current Statistics and Demographics

The annual PIT Count in Washington State estimates the number of people experiencing homelessness on a single night in January (Washington State Department of Commerce, 2016). This snapshot of homelessness provides evidence that homelessness in Seattle/King County has increased by 35.6% since 2006 (See Figure 22). Most notably, the number of unsheltered homelessness has increased by 132%. This substantial increase has led to a number of tent cities and homeless encampments throughout Seattle and the surrounding metropolitan area in King County.

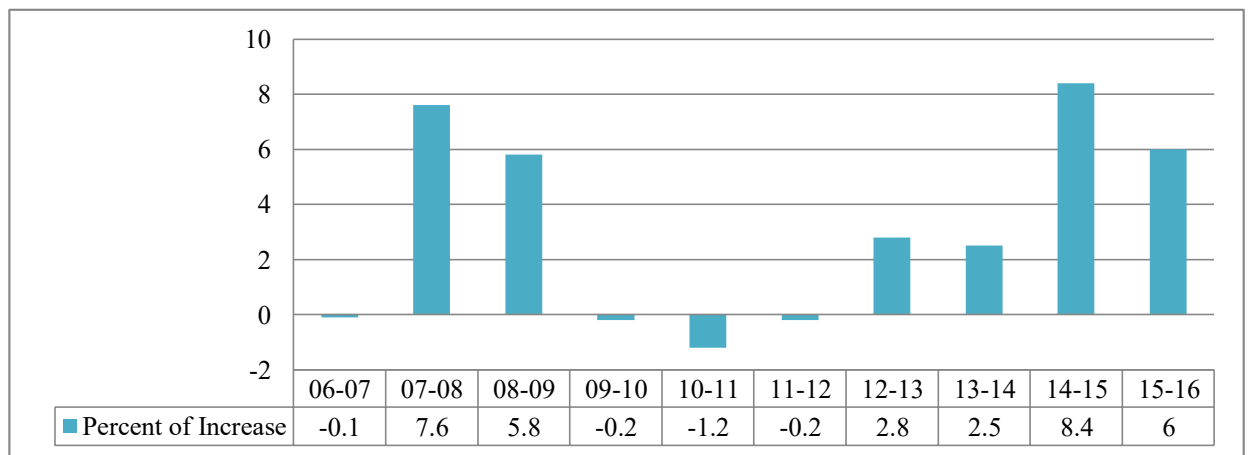
⁹ Only policies strictly related to the homeless policy design typology are included in this number. Some of the counted policies were coded as multiple policy types, i.e. house/transition or delimit/transition/house. A total of

Figure 22: Rate of Homelessness in Seattle/King County, Sheltered and Unsheltered, 2006-2016



Source: Washington State Department of Commerce

The rate of increase in homelessness per year (Figure 23) shows a significant shift in the numbers of people experiencing homeless as well. From 2007 to 2009, the homeless population increased each year. This is interesting due to the 2008 financial crisis that led to substantial foreclosures on housing and an uptick in family homelessness in Seattle (All Home 2015). The financial crisis, I surmise, had a clear immediate impact on the number of homeless people in the city. Between 2009 and 2012, the rate of homelessness decline, while in 2012 we see the number increase once again without any remission.

Figure 23: Percent of Increase of Homelessness Per Year, 2006-2016

By 2014, the Seattle economy was on the rebound, having “replaced all the jobs lost in the recession” (All Home 2015, 7). However, despite the job stability, poverty increased and only 5% of households in Seattle/King County earned between \$35,000 and \$125,000. Stagnant wages along with increased rental costs due to rising fair market rent (See Figure 24) led to the greater increase in homelessness from 2014 to 2015 because those at-risk of homelessness became even more burdened financially (All Home 2015; Office of Policy Development and Research 2014). Increasing the burden on households at-risk of homelessness, Washington State sees the highest tax rates on the poor than in any other state in the nation (All Home 2015)

Figure 24: Final Fair Market Rents in King County, Washington By Unit Bedrooms

| | Efficiency | One-Bedroom | Two-Bedroom | Three-Bedroom | Four-Bedroom |
|------|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 2006 | \$612 | \$698 | \$840 | \$1,187 | \$1,450 |
| 2007 | \$623 | \$710 | \$854 | \$1,207 | \$1,474 |
| 2008 | \$687 | \$783 | \$942 | \$1,331 | \$1,626 |
| 2009 | \$720 | \$820 | \$987 | \$1,395 | \$1,704 |
| 2010 | \$770 | \$878 | \$1,056 | \$1,492 | \$1,823 |
| 2011 | \$857 | \$977 | \$1,176 | \$1,662 | \$2,030 |
| 2012 | \$800 | \$912 | \$1,098 | \$1,551 | \$1,895 |
| 2013 | \$758 | \$897 | \$1,104 | \$1,627 | \$1,955 |
| 2014 | \$771 | \$913 | \$1,123 | \$1,655 | \$1,989 |
| 2015 | \$972 | \$1,150 | \$1,415 | \$2,085 | \$2,506 |
| 2016 | \$1,049 | \$1,225 | \$1,523 | \$2,220 | \$2,617 |

Source: Office of Policy Development and Research, emphasis mine.

The 2016 PIT Count found the highest rate of homeless seen in Seattle/King County with 10,730 people without a stable place to live. Of those 10,730 people, 89% were single adults while 841 were chronically homeless (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). Data from the homeless service providers and volunteers indicate that over 4,400 households were unsheltered and living in vehicles or encampments during the count (See Figure 25).

| 2016 Homeless Populations | Sheltered | | | Unsheltered | TOTAL |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | <i>Emergency</i> | <i>Transitional</i> | <i>Safe Haven</i> | | |
| All Households/All persons | | | | | |
| Number of Persons (Children under 18) | 474 | 1,200 | 0 | 29 | 1,703 |
| Number of Persons (age 18 to 24) | 229 | 404 | 0 | 334 | 967 |
| Number of Persons (Adults) | 2,497 | 1,379 | 42 | 4,142 | 8,060 |
| <i>Total Households</i> | <i>2,666</i> | <i>1,488</i> | <i>42</i> | <i>4,477</i> | <i>8,673</i> |
| <i>Total Persons</i> | <i>3,200</i> | <i>2,983</i> | <i>42</i> | <i>4,505</i> | <i>10,730</i> |

Source: Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016

With the highest rate of homelessness the city has ever seen, Seattle officially declared a homeless state of emergency in November 2015 and again in January 2016 (Seattle, Washington, Clerk File 319509; Seattle, Washington, Clerk File 319558). This declaration recognized the fault of the city to effectively address and reduce homelessness with their current methods and policies. Additionally, the emergency declaration aligned with the publication of the *All Home Strategic Plan 2015-2019* to end homelessness, an update of the Seattle's 10-year plan to prevent and reduce homelessness.

4.2.3 Public Views on Homelessness in Seattle, WA

According to the 2016 election results in King County, registered voters are more liberal and consistently voted for the Democratic Party, which according to previously discussed political views, indicates that residents would be more in favor of supporting the homeless through policy and government aid ("King County Elections" 2017; Public Policy Polling 2015). For example, when asked about the community's efforts toward dealing with homelessness in 2007, 49% of respondents stated that Seattle was going a good job, but that more effort was needed to effectively support homeless populations while 29% responded that the city was doing a poor job and needed to increase its effort (Gallup Inc. 2007, See Figure 26). From this poll, we can speculate that residents agree that the homeless deserve assistance through government aid of some type.

Figure 26: Opinion of Community's Efforts in Dealing With Homelessness

| | Very Good Job/Everything it Can % | Good Job/More Effort Needed % | Poor Job/Much More Effort Needed % |
|----------------|--|--|---|
| Seattle | 14 | 49 | 29 |

Source: Gallup Inc. 2007

In the same poll, participants were asked that group should take the lead in addressing homelessness (See Figure 27). Seattleites¹⁰ responded that the lead entities to address homelessness should be the federal and state governments ahead of local city government (Gallup 2007). In line with this hierarchy of responsibility, in 2016, when asked the open-ended question: "Which challenges facing Seattle would you most like to see the Mayor and the City Council address?" only 27% of people answered with homelessness (Strategies 360 2016). These two polls, I surmise, conclude that traditionally Seattle residents have not expected the city government to take a proactive policy stance in order to address homelessness, but rather relied on both the State and Federal policies to inform how the city dealt with homelessness through services and housing programs.

Figure 27: Roles of Various Groups in Addressing Homelessness, % Lead Role

| City | Atlanta % | Boston % | Charlotte % | Dallas % | Denver % | Los Angeles % | Seattle % | Wash DC % |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| The Federal Government | 31 | 40 | 34 | 33 | 29 | 34 | 34 | 37 |
| Your State Government | 26 | 26 | 29 | 23 | 23 | 31 | 25 | 34 |
| Your City or Local Government | 28 | 18 | 31 | 22 | 19 | 24 | 19 | 30 |
| Community Groups/Charitable Groups | 22 | 14 | 22 | 16 | 18 | 16 | 19 | 19 |
| The Business Community | 14 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 6 | 8 |
| Private Citizens | 11 | 3 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 8 |

*Based on approximately 400 interviews. Source: Gallup Inc. 2007 (emphasis on Seattle, mine)

The same 2007 Gallup Inc. poll also provides insight into how Seattleites view the issue of homelessness in the city (See Figure 28). Compared to seven other cities, Seattle had the least support for banning the homeless from public spaces, while also believing that the city is safer when people do not live on the streets. Although both of these views would lead to believe that residents think the city should provide benefits rather than burdens to the homeless, only 48% completely agreed that they "want to live in a community that provides for the care of its homeless citizens" (Gallup Inc. 2007, 35).

**Figure 28: Agreement with Statements Concerning Communities and Homelessness
(Percent Completely Agree)**

| (City) | Atlanta % | Boston % | Charlotte % | Dallas % | Denver % | Los Angeles % | Seattle % | Wash DC % |
|--|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Communities are safer when people do not have to live on the streets.</i> | 52 | 50 | 55 | 47 | 46 | 54 | 53 | 54 |
| <i>I want to live in a community that provides for the care of its homeless citizens.</i> | 45 | 52 | 46 | 44 | 42 | 46 | 48 | 50 |
| <i>People who are properly housed used fewer public services and reduce burdens on police and hospitals.</i> | 28 | 35 | 32 | 32 | 30 | 30 | 33 | 26 |
| <i>Communities should enforce laws to prohibit the homeless from public areas such as parks and libraries.</i> | 19 | 15 | 15 | 25 | 12 | 21 | 13 | 16 |
| <i>Many homeless people could get back on their feet and become self-sufficient if only they could receive proper housing.</i> | 23 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 19 | 29 | 21 | 24 |
| <i>Communities should construct more affordable housing to serve all of its citizens.</i> | 33 | 42 | 38 | 37 | 34 | 45 | 51 | 46 |

*Based on approximately 400 interviews. Source: Gallup Inc. 2007 (emphasis on Seattle, mine)

The public perception of homelessness in Seattle, overall, has been more positive than negative with approximately 56% of news articles discussing homelessness from 2006-2016 portraying the homeless in a positive typology¹¹ (See Figure 29). This would indicate that the general public in Seattle would agree that homelessness is caused by more external factors than internal ones. For example, that lack of affordable housing plays a larger role in homelessness than substance use.

¹⁰ Seattlites is a demonym for people who live in Seattle.

¹¹ See Chapter 2 for more elaboration on positive and negative typologies.

Figure 29: News Article Typology of the Homeless, %

| Year | Positive | Negative | Both |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 2006 | 54 | 10 | 36 |
| 2007 | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| 2008 | 52 | 18 | 30 |
| 2009 | 63 | 23 | 14 |
| 2010 | 58 | 19 | 23 |
| 2011 | 60 | 23 | 16 |
| 2012 | 55 | 26 | 19 |
| 2013 | 49 | 29 | 22 |
| 2014 | 55 | 32 | 13 |
| 2015 | 58 | 26 | 15 |
| 2016 | 53 | 19 | 28 |
| Total % | 56 | 24 | 20 |

This framing of homelessness as an external and structural issue then helps to frame the problem definition for the political agenda. As Zahariadis (2014) concludes, agenda setting mirrors not only public opinion polls, but the general mood or attitude in society toward a particular issue. In this case, how the public perceives homelessness as indicated through polls and the news will influence how the problem of homelessness is presented once on the political agenda.

According to Kingdon's problem stream within multiple streams theory, the focus of both the public and policy makers also influences the means by which policy will address the problem (Zahariadis 2014; Howlett, Ramesh and Perl 2009). Yet, it is also important to note that discrepancies between how serious the public perceives an issue and the amount of attention it is given by policy makers does occur (Vesely 2007). That is, the public could view addressing homelessness as a low priority (which may be the case in Seattle with only 27% of respondents listing it as an issue for the city to address in the 2016 Strategic 360 poll) while policy makers and politician place higher priority on the issue. In Seattle, while the issue is certainly a much discussed topic, the public is still hesitant to identify the City of Seattle as a largely responsible party to address while city officials hold a different view (See Figure 27).

4.3 Current Homeless and Housing Programs

A range of homeless housing and shelter services are currently in place in Seattle/King County including temporary and permanent housing programs (See Figure 30). This subsection serves as an overview of all current homeless and housing programs in Seattle/King County in order to gain a better understanding about what current methods to reduce and prevent homelessness currently exist. It is important to note that the programs in Seattle are not all managed or mandated by official city policy. Nongovernmental organizations and charities play a large role in serving homeless populations in Seattle, but an analysis of their specific policy types is outside the scope of the research of this thesis. However, it is still necessary to include such programs in this overview.

4.3.1 Types of Homeless Programs and Services in Seattle, WA

The homeless services and programs in Seattle include a myriad of typologies. Services range from outreach and engagement to day services such as food banks, drop-in centers, and hygiene services such as laundry and shower facilities (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). Outreach and engagement involves teams of people seeking out currently homeless and at-risk populations who are not otherwise enrolled or involved in any type of homeless service. Other services available include diversion and prevention programs. Such programs are aimed at-risk populations through identifying alternative housing options and/or offering financial assistance to remain in housing so that they do not enter the homeless system (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016).

Emergency shelter programs offer short lengths of stay, typically up to 90 days, with the exception of domestic violence shelters which are not legally allowed to limit the number of days a person can stay (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). Some shelters also offer case management services to help shelter residents develop a plan to obtain stable housing; however, this is not available at all emergency shelters. In addition to emergency shelters, Seattle has numerous official and unofficial homeless encampments, or tent cities, around the greater metro area (“Homelessness Response: Unauthorized Encampments” 2017). These encampments have been the subject of continuous controversy over the last decade.

Housing programs in Seattle come in a range of types. Transitional housing is program offering a length of stay up to two years; however, most programs in Seattle are designed for only 12 to 18 months (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). Such programs provide housing

through subsidized housing-units or graduated rental assistance while also providing the program participant with case management services. Case management is aimed at helping the participant address potential barriers they may face to gain stable housing such as a lack of job training, mental health difficulties or substance use. Once the program ends, the goal is to transition the participant into self-sustained permanent housing.

Seattle has recently added rapid re-housing (RRH) to its homeless housing inventory. This type of program offers short term rental assistance to homeless households. Households may be assisted for up to six months, after which they are expected to take on full responsibility for their rent. Case management is also offered within this program type to help households locate housing and develop a housing stability plan to maintain housing once the program ends (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016).

The most intensive housing programs in Seattle are the permanent supportive housing (PSH) programs that provide income-based rental housing and intensive support services such as case management, mental health counseling, and addiction support (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). PSH programs do not have a time limit regarding length of stay.

Finally, Seattle has other permanent housing (OPH) options including public housing and low-income housing projects (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016). Both programs provide housing assistance in the way of units owned and/or managed by a government or nongovernmental agency whose rent is subsidized by government funding or through a rental subsidy voucher that may be applied any fair market rental unit (Wizner 1991). There is no time limit for these programs, but the household must meet means tested eligibility requirements that are reevaluated every.

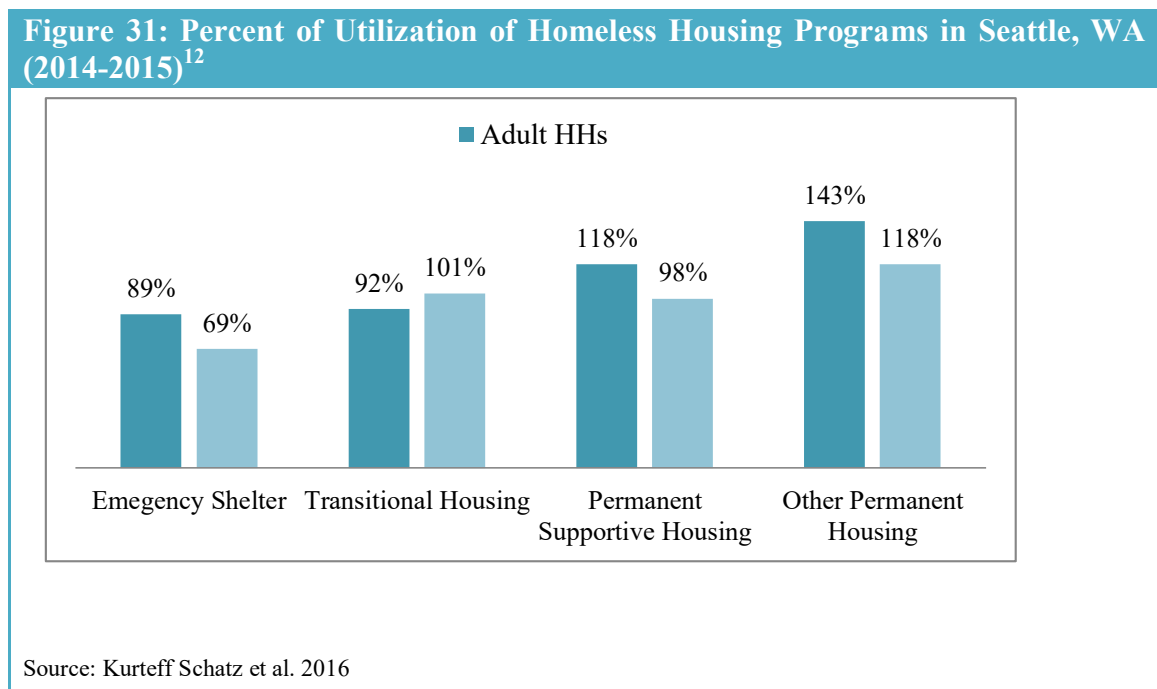
The following table, Figure 30, summarizes the homeless Housing Inventory Count (HIC) in Seattle. The information is based on data from the Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) that tracks the use of homeless services including number of people served per program (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016).

Figure 30: 2015 Housing Inventory Count for Seattle/King County

| Program Type | Number of Providers | Number of Programs | Number of Beds | Number of Unduplicated People Served in 2013 and 2014 |
|------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------|---|
| Emergency Shelter | 32 | 89 | 3,691 | 23,428 |
| Transitional Housing | 44 | 119 | 3,358 | 5,666 |
| Rapid Re-Housing | 13 | 29 | 2,503 | 2,012 |
| Permanent Supportive Housing | 25 | 90 | 5,939 | 6,186 |
| Other Permanent Housing | 14 | 27 | 1,411 | |
| TOTAL | 128 | 354 | 16,902 | 34,227 |

Source: Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016

In relation to the homeless HIC, Figure 31 demonstrates the utilization rate for emergency shelter, transitional housing programs, PSH, and OPH programs in Seattle. Utilization indicates the average percent of beds filled in each program type. Of particular interest for this thesis is the lower utilization rate of emergency shelter beds, which may help explain the increase in unsheltered and more visible homelessness in Seattle as well as the increase in 2014 and 2015 in number of news articles framing the homeless as deviant (this will be further discussed in the following chapter).



¹² “The utilization rate for some PSH and OPH is above 100%, which is not unusual given that voucher programs sometimes over-lease, or lease more units than the contracted capacity. These results are not a cause for concern” (Kurteff Schatz et al. 2016, 25).

5. Analysis and Findings

The following chapter reviews the results of the analysis on public perception, the legislative documents, and the comparison of the two to develop the policy predictions based on the Homeless Policy Design Model. The chapter will conclude with answers to the stated research questions.

5.1 Public Perception, Legislation, and Policy Prediction

This section will review the findings of my data analysis regarding public perception, legislation, and the comparison of perception to policy design. In order to understand how I developed the policy predictions, I must first review the information regarding public perception and the legislative choices of the Seattle City Council.

5.1.1 Public Perception

The average public perception in *The Seattle Times* between 2006 and 2017 framed the homeless positively as *victims* with 52% of all articles including such rhetoric. Eight out of the eleven years included saw the majority of news articles frame the homeless as *victim*, while one year saw equal perception of *victim* and *dependent*. Only two years deviated from a majority perception of *victim* (2007 and 2011 saw a majority of *dependent*); however, both years the typology remained positive while the perception shifted to *dependent*.

The second most common perception, overall, was positive and *dependent*. Six of the eleven years followed this pattern while three years, the second most common typology was negative with a perception of *deviant*. The remaining two years, *victim* was the second most common perception. If a negative typology ranked second, it was always as the perception of *deviant*.

The *pathological* perception was the least frequent overall. However, the frequency of the perception saw a significant increase in 2010, when it jumped from 4% to 12%. The subsequent years saw this perception code increase, reaching a maximum of 24% of articles in 2016. Figures 32 summarizes the yearly and overall public perception in Seattle by number of perceptions in the news articles.

Figure 32: Overall Public Perception by Number of Articles

| Year | Victim | Dependent | Deviant | Pathological | Total # of Articles |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 2006 | 30 | 20 | 19 | 5 | 50 |
| 2007 | 35 | 41 | 40 | 1 | 97 |
| 2008 | 74 | 48 | 55 | 7 | 119 |
| 2009 | 63 | 44 | 40 | 4 | 113 |
| 2010 | 60 | 47 | 38 | 12 | 104 |
| 2011 | 41 | 41 | 30 | 16 | 86 |
| 2012 | 33 | 36 | 25 | 12 | 74 |
| 2013 | 41 | 35 | 39 | 13 | 83 |
| 2014 | 63 | 38 | 51 | 17 | 122 |
| 2015 | 59 | 57 | 45 | 17 | 125 |
| 2016 | 69 | 56 | 44 | 24 | 119 |
| Total | 568 | 463 | 426 | 128 | 1092 |

Figure 33 demonstrates the overall and annual public perception data from 2006 to 2016 based on the percentage of perception groups represented in the news articles from *The Seattle Times*.

Figure 33: Overall Public Perception by Percent

| Year | Victim | Dependent | Deviant | Pathological |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| 2006 | 60 | 40 | 38 | 10 |
| 2007 | 36 | 42 | 41 | 1 |
| 2008 | 62 | 40 | 46 | 6 |
| 2009 | 56 | 39 | 35 | 4 |
| 2010 | 58 | 45 | 37 | 12 |
| 2011 | 45 | 48 | 35 | 19 |
| 2012 | 45 | 49 | 34 | 16 |
| 2013 | 49 | 42 | 47 | 16 |
| 2014 | 52 | 31 | 42 | 14 |
| 2015 | 47 | 46 | 36 | 14 |
| 2016 | 58 | 47 | 37 | 20 |
| Average | 52 | 43 | 39 | 12 |

5.1.2 Legislative Data

The legislative data was analyzed from 2007-2016. Figure 34 shows the policy type of all policies related to homelessness, including policies strictly related to funding and funding sources. Overall, the majority of all policies related to homelessness were aimed at establishing and identifying funding and funding sources, which were renewed each year. In

total, the Seattle City Council passed 160 pieces of legislation regarding homelessness between 2007 and 2016.

Figure 34: Total Annual Policy by Design, Including Funding

| Year | House | Transition | Delimit | Erase | Other | Total |
|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 2007 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 20 |
| 2008 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 18 |
| 2009 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | 22 |
| 2010 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 13 |
| 2011 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 19 |
| 2012 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 16 |
| 2013 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 8 | 20 |
| 2014 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 11 |
| 2015 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 13 |
| 2016 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| Total | 43 | 35 | 16 | 9 | 76 | 160 |

When considering only policies within the homeless policy design model, *house*, *transition*, *delimit*, and *erase*, the Seattle City Council enacted a total of 84 policies in the given timeframe. Of those policies, the majority were aimed at *housing*, followed by *transition*, *delimit*, and finally *erase* policies which were the least common, consisting of only 10% overall. Six of the ten years evaluated saw *house* policies as the majority. *Transition* was the most common policy type in three of the years and only one year saw the most common policy type as *delimit*.

Figure 35: Overall Policy by Type

| Year | House | Transition | Delimit | Erase | Total |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| 2007 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 11 |
| 2008 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 7 |
| 2009 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 9 |
| 2010 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 2011 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 11 |
| 2012 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| 2013 | 4 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| 2014 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 2015 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 10 |
| 2016 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Overall | 43 | 35 | 16 | 9 | 84 |

Figure 35 above shows the overall number of policies by type in 2007 through 2016, demonstrating that *house* and *transition*, overall, made up the majority of policies enacted.

Below, Figure 36 demonstrates the percent of policy type by year as well as the average overall percent of each policy type.

Figure 36: Percent of Policy by Type

| Year | House | Transition | Delimit | Erase |
|----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| 2007 | 27 | 64 | 9 | 18 |
| 2008 | 57 | 29 | 0 | 29 |
| 2009 | 89 | 0 | 0 | 11 |
| 2010 | 43 | 57 | 0 | 0 |
| 2011 | 55 | 27 | 36 | 9 |
| 2012 | 67 | 17 | 50 | 17 |
| 2013 | 33 | 83 | 8 | 17 |
| 2014 | 67 | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| 2015 | 30 | 40 | 70 | 0 |
| 2016 | 80 | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Average | 55 | 39 | 17 | 10 |

5.2 Homeless Policy Design Model Predictions

I curated predictions for each policy within the homeless policy design model that was enacted between 2007 and 2016. As mentioned in section 4.6, I applied the public perception data to develop predictions on what policy type the Seattle City Council would potentially enact based on the homeless policy design model. I then compared the prediction to the actual policy type passed. When based strictly on the raw number of articles, the homeless policy design model had 63% accuracy. 2009 was the most significant outlier, with only 11% accuracy followed by 2008 and 2014 with 43% and 50% accuracy, respectively. 2016 was the most accurate at 100%, while 2007 and 2015 saw 82% and 80% accuracy in policy prediction (See Figure 37).

Figure 37: Policy Prediction Accuracy by Year

| Year | Total Policies | Prediction Match | Prediction Non-Match | Percent Accuracy |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 2007 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 82% |
| 2008 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 43% |
| 2009 | 9 | 1 | 8 | 11% |
| 2010 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 71% |
| 2011 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 73% |
| 2012 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 67% |
| 2013 | 12 | 9 | 3 | 75% |
| 2014 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 50% |
| 2015 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 80% |
| 2016 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 100% |
| Overall | 84 | 55 | 29 | 65% |

The homeless policy design model is the least applicable for 2009. The prediction method indicated that the majority of policies would be *transition* based on the public perception data. However, nearly all of the policies enacted in this year were aimed at *housing*. This could be related to the 2008 financial crisis that saw an uptick in homeless in 2008 and 2009. In both years, news articles regarding homelessness framed the homeless as both *victim* and *dependent*. The discrepancy in the 2009 predictions may indicate a fallacy in the methodology.

2015 is another key year to consider as it saw not only *delimit* as the majority policy type, but also the most *delimit* policies than any other year within the timeframe. This may be due to the sudden increase of homelessness in 2014 and subsequent increase in news articles framing the homeless as *deviant* and/or *pathological* (See Figures 32 and 33). The increase in homelessness in the city may have led to greater animosity, or even compassion fatigue, therefore impacting the overall perception of the homeless to become more negative than previous years.

5.3 Analysis Conclusions

When considering the overall public perception and policy type prediction; however, there is a recognizable correlation between how the public views the homeless and what type of policy the Seattle City Council passed. The overall target group perception of the homeless was victim while the overall average policy type was house. This relationship follows the Homeless Policy design model outlined in Chapter 2, which indicates that when the homeless are framed as victim, then the most likely policy type is house while the next likely policy is transition. This relationship is once again outlined in the homeless policy design and confirmed in the overall data from the Seattle City Council legislation.

Furthermore, it is also notable that the increase in public discourse perceiving the homeless as both *deviant* and *pathological* from 2010 onward, correlates with increase in *delimit* and *erase* policies even when the overall dominate narrative is positive. Looking once again at 2015, for example, *delimit* policies made up significant majority of all homeless related policies that year, with 70% including some aim at *delimiting* homelessness. Yet, in the same year, the primary perception of the homeless was positive.

Conclusion

In order to analyze whether this thesis achieved its main goal (to test the theory of the role of public perception of target populations on homeless policy design as outlined in Chapter 2), I will review each sub-goal and the respective research questions. The following subsections summarize the sub-goals and answer the related research questions with consideration to the data.

Sub-goal 1: Discover how the public perceives homelessness from late 2006-2016

The aim of this sub-goal is to not only understand how homelessness is viewed in the US in general and Seattle in particular, but to also generate data on the target population types within the public narrative. In order to meet this goal, I consider both the elite and general public discourse on homelessness through opinion polls, surveys, and the media. The following questions inform this first sub-goal.

What is the elite political narrative on homelessness?

Between 2006 and 2016, the elite narrative on homelessness developed based on the target group the President chose to focus on. Former President Bush¹³ focused primarily on chronically homeless populations, therefore framing the target population as *pathological* (Lurie 2013). This perception continued into the Obama Administration from 2008 to 2016. However, over the course of his two terms in office, President Obama began to shift the narrative from *pathological* to both *dependent* and *victim* through his decision to focus on reducing homelessness among families and veterans (Covert 2017). Additionally, within broader national politics, the two major political parties both tend to frame with homeless as *dependent*. Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.3 provide further information on this question.

How does the general public perceive homeless populations?

Within the timeframe, on a national level, the public views the homeless as either *victims* or *pathological* depending on the perceived cause of homelessness. However, more people view the homeless as *victims*. Refer to section 4.1.3 for a more detailed description relation to this question.

¹³ President Bush's term ended in 2008

How has public perception on homelessness changed between 2006 and 2016?

Prior to 2006, the general perception was that the homeless were *victims* of circumstance. While in 2007 a high percentage of people viewed drugs and alcohol as a primary cause of homelessness and therefore framed the homeless as *pathological*. However, the 2008 Great Recession influenced this perception, placing the blame for homelessness on economic factors. This change in blame once again shifted the narrative to view the homeless as *victims*.

The *victim* perception remains the majority perception in the US; however, nearly of quarter of people still view the homeless as *pathological*. Among minority groups, the homeless are more commonly perceived as *victims* or *dependents* while White people are more likely to frame the poor and/or homeless as *dependent*. See section 4.1.3 for more details relating to this question.

What was the public perception on homelessness prior to policy updates or changes in Seattle, WA?

Among the policy elite in Seattle, the homeless are framed as primarily dependent. In general, the public perception on homelessness in Seattle discourse was positive, framing homeless target populations as primarily *victim* and *dependent*. See section 5.1.1, Figures 9 and 10 as well as Appendices 3 and 5 for a more detailed breakdown on the public perception prior to policy changes or updates.

Sub-goal 2: Understand what legislation regarding homelessness was approved between 2007 and 2016.

Sub-goal 2 seeks to gather information on the policy changes between 2007 and 2016 in order to compare the policy types to the public perception data. The following questions inform the second sub-goal.

In which policy category do legislative actions fall?

The Seattle City Council passed 160 pieces of legislation regarding homelessness between 2007 and 2016. The overall majority of these policies relates to funding and funding sources. However, of the policies aimed at more than just funding, the majority were

housing (55%), followed by *transition* (39%), *delimit* (17%), and finally *erase* (10%). See section 5.1.2 for a more detailed analysis.

What approach does Seattle, WA currently use to address homelessness?

According to the All Home (2015, 1) *Strategic Plan for 2015-2019*, Seattle's goal is to make homelessness "rare, brief and one-time." This goal is multifaceted, employing a myriad of policy types, but emphasizing on *housing* and *transitioning*. The Strategic Plan also includes ensuring efficient use and potential increase in emergency shelter beds, which is a *delimit* approach. As of the end of 2016, the most common policy type was *house* (80%) followed by *transition* (40%). See sections 4.2 and 5.1.2 for more details related to this question.

How has legislation relating to homelessness in Seattle, WA evolved from 2007 to 2016?

The majority policies in 2007 were *transition* (64%) while in 2016 the most common policy type was *house* (80%). Throughout the timeframe, the majority policies by year most often fluctuated between *house* and *transition*; however 2015 saw a majority of *delimit* policies. *Erase* policies were enacted most frequently under Mayor Nickels (2007-2009). Mayor McGuinn (2010-2014) enacted fewer such policies while Mayor Murray (2014-2016) did not have any *erase* policies within the given timeframe. For more details on this question, see sections 4.2.1 and 5.1.2.

Have any factors led to changes in homeless policy, and if so, why and how?

The most significant factor leading to changes in homeless policy is the increase in homelessness in 2014 and 2015. Homelessness substantially increased these years due in large part to raising rental costs and stagnant wages. With an increase in overall homelessness, Seattle saw a significant increase in unsheltered homelessness specifically. The increase of visible homelessness correlates with an increase in negative typologies within the public discourse and a subsequent increase in *delimit* policies. Sections 4.2 and 5.1 provide further details relating to this question.

Main Goal: Test theory on the role of public perception of target population on homeless policy design.

It is important to note that since 2010 the overall goal of the United States, and therefore each individual state in the US, has been to prevent and end homelessness. This was reinforced with the publication of the first edition of the ten-year plan, *Opening Doors: Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness* (United States Interagency Council on Homelessness 2015). The plan was most recently revised in 2015 because the goal to end homelessness was nowhere near the halfway mark.

Ending homelessness is a lofty, if not entirely unattainable goal, but it is the driving force behind all policy related to homelessness. Therefore, the most common policy designs since 2010, on both the national and local level (Seattle, WA), have been house and transition despite how public discourse has framed the homeless in terms of target populations.

The theory tested in this thesis on homeless policy design, surmises that public perception of the homeless influences policy design based on the categories. Applying the Homeless Policy Design Model, policy type predictions based on the identified public perception are, overall, accurate most of the time (63%). This confirms the theory that public perception of target populations influences homeless policy design.

When considering the year by year breakdown of perception versus the overall findings, negative perceptions of the homeless have become more common since 2006. This uptick in negative perception typologies, along with the increase in the number of homeless people in Seattle, culminates in the shift away from the status quo of house policy designs. Further research into the demographic makeup of the homeless populations by year may provide greater insight into which groups are specifically framed negatively or positively. This may also better inform the specific target groups of enacted policies. Such a research project might answer, for example, in a year with a majority of delimit policies, what is the makeup of the homeless population and how is the homeless framed in the public discourse? Are racial or ethnic minority groups framed in a different typology than White homeless groups? Do policies target said groups differently based on public perception?

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List of appendices

Appendix 1: List of State, County and City Legislative Documents

Appendix 2: Coding of News Articles, Example from 2006

Appendix 3: Coding of Public Policy Documents, Example from 2007

Appendix 4: Policy Predictions

Appendices

Appendix 1: List of State, County and City Legislative Documents

| Document Source | Name of Document |
|---|---|
| STATE LEVEL | |
| Revised Code of Washington | Chapter 13.32A RCW FAMILY RECONCILIATION ACT |
| | Chapter 28A.300 RCW SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION |
| | Chapter 28A.320 RCW PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO ALL DISTRICTS |
| | Chapter 35.21 RCW MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS |
| | Chapter 35A.21 RCW PROVISIONS AFFECTING ALL CODE CITIES |
| | Chapter 36.01 RCW GENERAL PROVISIONS |
| | Chapter 36.22 RCW COUNTY AUDITOR |
| | Chapter 43.185C RCW HOMELESS HOUSING AND ASSISTANCE |
| | Chapter 43.20A RCW DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AND HEALTH SERVICES |
| | Chapter 43.330 RCW HOMELESS YOUTH PREVENTION AND PROTECTION ACT |
| | Chapter 59.24 RCW RENTAL SECURITY DEPOSIT GUARANTEE PROGRAM |
| | Chapter 67.28 RCW PUBLIC STADIUM, CONVENTION, ARTS, AND TOURISM FACILITIES |
| | Chapter 74.13 RCW CHILD WELFARE SERVICES |
| | Chapter 82.08 RCW RETAIL SALES TAX |
| | Chapter 82.14 RCW LOCAL RETAIL SALES AND USE TAXES |
| Chapter 84.36 RCW EXEMPTIONS | |
| Washington Administrative Code | WAC 388-408-0040: How does living in an institution affect my eligibility for Basic Food? |
| | WAC 388-865-0256: Behavioral health organizations—Community support, residential, housing, and employment services. |
| | WAC 392-172A-01090: Homeless Children |
| | WAC 458-16-320: Emergency or transitional housing. |
| | WAC 458-20-166: Hotels, motels, boarding houses, rooming houses, resorts, hostels, trailer camps, and similar lodging businesses. |
| COUNTY LEVEL | |
| King County Code | Title 20 PLANNING |
| | Title 21A ZONING |
| | Title 24 HOUSING AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT |
| | Title 27 DEVELOPMENT PERMIT FEES |
| | Title 2A ADMINISTRATION |
| King County Council Legislation (2006) | Enactment #: 12270 |
| | Enactment #: 12279 |
| | Enactment #: 15406 |
| | Enactment #: 15559 |
| | Enactment #: 15560 |
| | Enactment #: 15571 |
| | Enactment #: 15606 |
| | Enactment #: 15625 |
| | Enactment #: 15652 |
| | Enactment #: 15667 |
| File #: 2006-0324 | |
| King County Council Legislation (2007) | Enactment #: 12566 |
| | Enactment #: 15804 |
| | Enactment #: 15873 |
| | Enactment #: 15940 |
| | Enactment #: 15949 |
| | Enactment #: 15955 |
| | Enactment #: 15959 |
| | Enactment #: 15971 |
| Enactment #: 15975 | |

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| | Enactment #: 15978 |
| | Enactment #: 16001 |
| | File #: 2007-0472 |
| King County Council Legislation (2008) | Enactment #: 16077 |
| | Enactment #: 16153 |
| | Enactment #: 16248 |
| | Enactment #: 16259 |
| | Enactment #: 16262 |
| | Enactment #: 16263 |
| | Enactment #: 16299 |
| | Enactment #: 16312 |
| King County Council Legislation (2009) | Enactment #: 13008 |
| | Enactment #: 16428 |
| | Enactment #: 16445 |
| | Enactment #: 16513 |
| | Enactment #: 16564 |
| | Enactment #: 16576 |
| | Enactment #: 16590 |
| | Enactment #: 16661 |
| | Enactment #: 16693 |
| | Enactment #: 16702 |
| | Enactment #: 16741 |
| | File #: 09-03 |
| | File #: 09-07 |
| File #: 09-11 | |
| King County Council Legislation (2010) | Enactment #: 16808 |
| | Enactment #: 16950 |
| | Enactment #: 16984 |
| | Enactment #: 16960 |
| | Enactment #: 16975 |
| | Enactment #: 17001 |
| | Enactment #: 10-05 |
| King County Council Legislation (2011) | Enactment #: 17060 |
| | Enactment #: 17072 |
| | Enactment #: 17162 |
| | Enactment #: 17185 |
| | Enactment #: 17200 |
| | Enactment #: 17232 |
| | Enactment #: 17245 |
| | File #: 11-11 |
| King County Council Legislation (2012) | Enactment #: 13655 |
| | Enactment #: 17292 |
| | Enactment #: 17295 |
| | Enactment #: 17407 |
| | Enactment #: 17416 |
| | Enactment #: 17419 |
| | Enactment #: 17420 |
| | Enactment #: 17424 |
| | Enactment #: 17438 |
| | Enactment #: 17443 |
| | Enactment #: 17460 |
| | Enactment #: 17476 |
| | Enactment #: 17500 |
| King County Council Legislation (2013) | Enactment #: 13884 |
| | Enactment #: 13981 |
| | Enactment #: 17527 |
| | Enactment #: 17553 |
| | Enactment #: 17619 |
| | Enactment #: 17695 |
| | Enactment #: 17696 |
| | Enactment #: 17707 |

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| King County Council Legislation (2014) | Enactment #: 14096 |
| | Enactment #: 14125 |
| | Enactment #: 17752 |
| | Enactment #: 17757 |
| | Enactment #: 17781 |
| | Enactment #: 17855 |
| | Enactment #: 17923 |
| | Enactment #: 17929 |
| | Enactment #: 17932 |
| | Enactment #: 17941 |
| Enactment #: 17950 | |
| King County Council Legislation (2015) | Enactment #: 14374 |
| | Enactment #: 14376 |
| | Enactment #: 14379 |
| | Enactment #: 14457 |
| | Enactment #: 14472 |
| | Enactment #: 17966 |
| | Enactment #: 18070 |
| | Enactment #: 18088 |
| | Enactment #: 18097 |
| | Enactment #: 18110 |
| Enactment #: 18189 | |
| King County Council Legislation (2016) | Enactment #: 14649 |
| | Enactment #: 14743 |
| | Enactment #: 14754 |
| | Enactment #: 16-02 |
| | Enactment #: 16-05 |
| | Enactment #: 16-06 |
| | Enactment #: 18230 |
| | Enactment #: 18239 |
| | Enactment #: 18285 |
| | Enactment #: 18319 |
| | Enactment #: 18370 |
| | Enactment #: 18382 |
| | Enactment #: 18385 |
| | Enactment #: 18387 |
| | Enactment #: 18399 |
| | Enactment #: 18407 |
| Enactment #: 18409 | |
| Enactment #: 18425 | |
| CITY LEVEL | |
| Seattle Municipal Code | Chapter 23.72 - SAND POINT OVERLAY DISTRICT |
| | Chapter 3.20 - HUMAN SERVICES DEPARTMENT |
| | TITLE 12A - CRIMINAL CODE |
| | Title 14 - HUMAN RIGHTS |
| | Title 22 - BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION CODES |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2006) | Clerk File Number: 308266 |
| | Ordinance Number: 121878 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122061 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122104 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122134 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122168 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122280 |
| | Resolution Number: 30840 |
| | Resolution Number: 30847 |
| | Resolution Number: 30848 |
| Resolution Number: 30875 | |
| Resolution Number: 30943 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation | Clerk File Number: 308987 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122339 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122373 |

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|--|---------------------------|
| (2007) | Ordinance Number: 122390 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122391 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122404 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122427 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122433 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122453 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122459 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122528 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122543 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122550 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122577 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122586 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122610 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122612 |
| | Resolution Number: 30953 |
| | Resolution Number: 30965 |
| Resolution Number: 31020 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2008) | Clerk File Number: 309283 |
| | Clerk File Number: 309452 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122648 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122649 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122704 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122710 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122767 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122783 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122791 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122863 |
| | Resolution Number: 31047 |
| | Resolution Number: 31060 |
| | Resolution Number: 31063 |
| | Resolution Number: 31086 |
| | Resolution Number: 31087 |
| | Resolution Number: 31090 |
| Resolution Number: 31097 | |
| Resolution Number: 31098 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2009) | Clerk File Number: 309897 |
| | Clerk File Number: 310083 |
| | Clerk File Number: 310160 |
| | Clerk File Number: 310210 |
| | Clerk File Number: 310278 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122965 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122975 |
| | Ordinance Number: 122992 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123013 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123057 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123073 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123096 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123149 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123177 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123193 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123195 |
| Resolution Number: 31113 | |
| Resolution Number: 31115 | |
| Resolution Number: 31119 | |
| Resolution Number: 31135 | |
| Resolution Number: 31140 | |
| Resolution Number: 31174 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2010) | Clerk File Number: 310384 |
| | Clerk File Number: 310465 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123281 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123311 |

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| | Ordinance Number: 123384 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123442 |
| | Resolution Number: 31185 |
| | Resolution Number: 31186 |
| | Resolution Number: 31189 |
| | Resolution Number: 31196 |
| | Resolution Number: 31210 |
| | Resolution Number: 31255 |
| | Resolution Number: 31260 |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2011) | Clerk File Number: 311097 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311277 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311333 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311345 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311655 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311702 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311920 |
| | Clerk File Number: 311995 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123634 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123643 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123692 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123729 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123758 |
| | Resolution Number: 31265 |
| | Resolution Number: 31266 |
| | Resolution Number: 31269 |
| | Resolution Number: 31292 |
| Resolution Number: 31313 | |
| Resolution Number: 31340 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2012) | Clerk File Number: 312191 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312306 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312435 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312436 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312457 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312461 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312580 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123854 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123886 |
| | Ordinance Number: 123994 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124055 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124058 |
| | Resolution Number: 31361 |
| | Resolution Number: 31362 |
| | Resolution Number: 31415 |
| Resolution Number: 31422 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2013) | Clerk File Number: 312891 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312936 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312937 |
| | Clerk File Number: 312958 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313034 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313123 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313124 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313192 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313210 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313258 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313259 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313307 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124175 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124213 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124215 |
| Resolution Number: 31428 | |
| Resolution Number: 31439 | |

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| | Resolution Number: 31466 |
| | Resolution Number: 31485 |
| | Resolution Number: 31495 |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2014) | Clerk File Number: 313581 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313614 |
| | Clerk File Number: 313873 |
| | Clerk File Number: 314096 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124492 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124511 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124542 |
| | Resolution Number: 31517 |
| | Resolution Number: 31546 |
| | Resolution Number: 31557 |
| Resolution Number: 31558 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2015) | Clerk File Number: 314244 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319409 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319410 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319460 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319467 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319509 |
| | Council Bill Number: 118310 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124747 |
| | Council Bill Number: 118325 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124741 |
| | Council Bill Number: 118349 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124742 |
| | Council Bill Number: 118439 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124812 |
| | Council Bill Number: 118554 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124892 |
| Number: 31606 | |
| Number: 31630 | |
| Seattle City Council Legislation (2016) | Clerk File Number: 319902 |
| | Clerk File Number: 319931 |
| | Clerk File Number: 320088 |
| | Clerk File Number: 320090 |
| | Number: 31649 |
| | Number: 31671 |
| | Ordinance Number: 124993 |
| | Ordinance Number: 125028 |
| | Number: 31664 |
| | Ordinance Number: 125114 |
| | Ordinance Number: 125195 |
| Ordinance Number: 125190 | |

Appendix 2: Coding of News Articles, Example from 2006

| Date | Headline | Typology | Perception | Keywords |
|-----------|--|----------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1/1/2006 | Clothes also make the woman trying to look smart amid disaster | Positive | Victim | homeless, hungry and dying |
| 1/4/2006 | Rich man, poor man: hungry children in America | Positive | Victim | youth |
| 1/6/2006 | What readers think about downtown parks | Both | Deviant/Victim | That place is yucky!! |
| 1/6/2006 | New patrols for downtown parks? | Both | Deviant/Dependent | Sweep the homeless out |
| 1/6/2006 | Mental-health funds waning | Positive | Victim/Dependent | turned away |
| 1/7/2006 | The dissolving door | Positive | Victim | pitiable condition |
| 1/7/2006 | KidsQuest is hottest ticket in Bellevue | Positive | Dependent | youth |
| 1/8/2006 | Invest surplus by supporting people in need | Positive | Victim/Dependent | fall through the cracks; suffer |
| 1/8/2006 | Other issues | Negative | Deviant | crime |
| 1/11/2006 | Practitioners using yoga therapy to mend bodies and spirits | Positive | Victim | |
| 1/11/2006 | Mediation, hearing set for tent city | Both | Victim/Deviant | |
| 1/12/2006 | Whiff of fresh air for downtown parks | Negative | Pathological | panhandle, indecent |
| 1/13/2006 | State should boost investment in affordable housing | Positive | Victim | |
| 1/14/2006 | “Affluent beggars” draw scrutiny for their lifestyle | Negative | Deviant | crime, panhandle |
| 9/8/2006 | NFL Bodiford finds new life after nearly losing it all | Positive | Victim | |
| 9/9/2006 | Tent City 4 hit with \$4,000 bill | Both | Victim/Deviant | unsheltered |
| 9/12/2006 | Hawaii awash in an epidemic of homelessness | Both | Victim/Deviant | unsheltered, drugs |
| 9/14/2006 | Man found guilty of list of gun crimes | Negative | Deviant | crime |
| 9/15/2006 | Addicts enlisted to steal pricey goods, police say | Both | Victim/Deviant | drugs, used homeless |
| 9/18/2006 | Pawnshop owner pleads not guilty in alleged fencing operation | Both | Victim/Deviant | crime, used homeless |
| 9/19/2006 | Judge dismisses suit about zoo elephants | Both | Victim/Deviant | crime, used homeless |
| 9/24/2006 | Blossoms of hope wilt away | Both | Victim/Pathological | |
| 9/25/2006 | Briefs Marathon winner runs fastest time in world this year | Both | All | |
| 9/28/2006 | Tending a garden of hope | Both | Victim/Pathological | death, drug addiction |

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|------------|---|----------|------------------------|---------------|
| 11/17/2006 | Hospital chain accused of abandoning homeless woman in L.A. | Positive | Victim | |
| 11/18/2006 | Readers' gifts provide food, clothes, healing | Positive | Dependent | |
| 11/19/2006 | Seattle volunteers prepare Thanksgiving meals | Positive | Dependent | |
| 11/23/2006 | The creative use of closed schools | Positive | Dependent | |
| 11/24/2006 | Fresno ordered to stop destroying homeless people's property | Positive | Victim | assault on |
| 11/25/2006 | Just say no to panhandlers? | Both | Deviant/Victim | panhandle |
| 11/27/2006 | Mental illness dilemma for jail | Both | Dependent/Pathological | mental health |
| 11/29/2006 | On the streets, cold hits hard | Positive | Victim/Dependent | |
| 11/29/2006 | Letters to the editor | Both | Victim/Deviant | |
| 11/30/2006 | Pickup lineup | Positive | Dependent | |
| 12/5/2016 | 94 deaths of homeless people highlight lack of care | Positive | Victim | death |
| 12/6/2006 | Cots, blankets, but no cold-weather shelter | Positive | Victim/Dependent | |
| 12/6/2006 | Don't forget teens in holiday giving | Positive | Dependent | youth |
| 12/6/2006 | From a meek "nobody" to a serial killer? | Negative | Deviant | crime |
| 12/12/2006 | Keeping the old, the sick and the homeless safe | Positive | Dependent | old and sick |
| 12/15/2006 | Redmond weighs decision on Tent City | Both | Deviant/Dependent | unsheltered |
| 12/16/2006 | "Me and Malcolm, we made it work" | Positive | Dependen/Victim | |
| 12/19/2006 | "I won't coddle" homeless, Las Vegas mayor says | Both | Deviant/Victim | |
| 12/20/2006 | Online only letters to the editor | Positive | Victim | |
| 12/22/2006 | Redmond OKs homeless camp at church | Both | Deviant/Dependent | crime |
| 12/24/2006 | Cave dweller, nun form an unlikely team in the Bronx | Positive | Victim | |
| 12/24/2006 | Putting an end to homelessness "can be done" | Positive | Victim | |
| 12/25/2006 | New kind of home will offer a new kind of life for five women | Positive | Dependent | |
| 12/25/2006 | Desperate search leads Vietnamese mother to foreign world | Both | Dependent/Deviant | |
| 12/28/2006 | School rallies to aid family | Positive | Dependent | family |
| 12/28/2006 | A glimpse into reality | Positive | Victim | |

Appendix 3: Coding of Public Policy Documents, Example from 2007

| Date | Name | Summary | Policy Type | Notes |
|-----------|--------------------------|---|-------------|---|
| 2/12/2007 | Resolution Number: 30953 | A RESOLUTION establishing the 2007 work program for the Office of Housing. | House | Plans for upcoming year related to homeless housing and services |
| 2/21/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122339 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the City's purchase of an interest in CASA Latina's new facility; removing a budget proviso restricting expenditure of an appropriation in the 2006 Budget; carrying forward the unexpended appropriation and funds from the 2006 Budget to the 2007 Budget of the Human Services Department; and authorizing the expenditure of the funds for purchase and acceptance of an easement with restrictive covenants from Casa Latina to provide for social and community services uses on the property at 317 17th Avenue South, Seattle, Washington for a period of seven years; all by a three- fourths vote of the City Council. | Funding | Increasing homeless intervention funds for homeless services |
| 2.26/2007 | Resolution Number: 30965 | A RESOLUTION adopting the Seattle City Council 2007 Work Program. | House | Includes review of housing first programs, 10-year plan, and HMIS system |
| 4/13/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122373 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the Fleets and Facilities Department, authorizing the execution of a lease with Goodwill Development Association, a Washington State non-profit corporation, for the residential home for teen parents located at 339 22nd Avenue East, Seattle, Washington. | Transition | Lease with Goodwill for housing for homeless teens engaged in employment training |
| 5/10/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122390 | AN ORDINANCE relating to assistance for the homeless, authorizing an agreement with the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development for additional funds available under the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act. | Funding | Accepting funds for homeless programs and services |
| 5/10/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122391 | AN ORDINANCE relating to housing for low-income households, adopting the 2007-2009 Administrative and Financial Plan for 2002 Housing Levy Programs; amending the Affordable Housing Financing Plan adopted by Ordinance 121803; adopting certain policies for use of funds from the 1986 Housing Levy and 1995 Housing Levy; and amending the 2005-2008 Consolidated Plan for Housing and Community Development. | Funding | Funding plan for homeless housing programs |
| 5/23/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122404 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the Community Development Block Grant Float Loan Program; authorizing a short-term loan of up to \$2,297,750 in Block Grant funds to Family Services of King County, a Washington non-profit corporation, or an eligible entity controlled by Family Services of King County, or both, to finance acquisition of 1924 Rainier Avenue South; authorizing amendments to the 2005-2008 Consolidated Plan and 2007 Table of Proposed Projects to reflect such loan; appropriating funds for the loan and related costs and for possible new advances after early repayments, and ratifying and confirming prior acts. | Funding | Funding for homeless services |

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| 6/27/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122427 | AN ORDINANCE authorizing, in 2007, acceptance of funding from non- City sources; authorizing the heads of Department of Parks and Recreation, the Department of Planning and Development, the Department of Neighborhoods, the Human Services Department, the Office of Housing, the Department of Transportation, the Seattle Police Department, Seattle Public Utilities, to accept specified grants and private funding and to execute, deliver, and perform corresponding agreements. | Funding | Allow for non-City funding for homeless services and programs |
| 7/12/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122433 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the City's 2007 Update to the 2005 - 2008 Consolidated Plan for Housing and Community Development; authorizing acceptance of grant funds from the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development for programs included in the City's Consolidated Plan for Housing and Community Development; increasing appropriations in the 2007 Budget for activities under the Community Development Block Grant Program, the HOME Program (including the American Dream Down payment Initiative program); reducing an appropriation in the 2007 Budget in the Human Services Operating Fund to reflect a lower federal grant for the Housing Opportunities for Persons With AIDS program, partially offset by a higher grant for the Emergency Shelter Grant Program; amending the City's 2007 Update to the Consolidated Plan; authorizing other conforming amendments to the Consolidated Plan; allocating unexpended funds from prior years; and ratifying and confirming prior acts. | Funding | Approves funds for ESG |
| 8/13/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122453 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the City's purchase of an interest in real property owned by Chief Seattle Club; removing a budget proviso restricting expenditure of an appropriation in the 2007 Budget; increasing an appropriation in the 2007 Adopted Budget of the Human Services Department; decreasing an appropriation in the 2007 Adopted Budget of Finance General; transferring cash between funds; and authorizing the purchase and acceptance of an easement with restrictive covenants from Chief Seattle Club to provide for social and community services uses on the property at 410 Second Avenue Extension South, Seattle, Washington for a period of ten years and the expenditure of funds therefore; all by a three-fourths vote of the City Council. | Transition | Allowing non-profit or purchase property where they provide services to homeless |
| 8/22/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122459 | AN ORDINANCE relating to property at Sand Point, authorizing the Housing Director to consent to the assignment by Sand Point Community Housing Association to Sand Point Community Connections LLC of the lease of City of Seattle land authorized by Ordinance 118770, as amended; authorizing an Amended and Restated Lease between Sand Point Community Connections LLC and the City; authorizing the Housing Director to consent to the transfer of title to buildings and other property on such land in connection with the assignment of the lease; and authorizing related actions. | Transition/House | Declares property must be used for housing and homeless related services |
| 10/11/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122528 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the Seattle Building Code, amending Section 22.100.010, and adopting by reference Chapters 2 through 28, Chapters 31 through 33, and Chapter 35 of the 2006 International Building Code; and amending certain of those chapters; and adopting a new Chapter 1 for the Seattle Building Code related to administration, permitting and enforcement, a new Chapter 29 related to plumbing systems, a new | Delimit/Transition | Related to building codes for transient lodging |

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| | | Chapter 30 related to elevators and conveying systems, and a new Chapter 34 related to existing structures; and repealing Sections 3-150, 152, 153, 155, 158, 160-165, 167-189, 191,192, 194- 203 of Ordinance 121519 and Sections 1-39 of Ordinance 122049. | | |
| 10/29/2007 | Clerk File Number: 308987 | Documents related to Civic Center Plaza Project. | Erase | Indicates that specific land cannot be used for a shelter |
| 11/6/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122543 | AN ORDINANCE authorizing, in 2007, acceptance of funding from non-City sources; authorizing the heads of the Department of Parks and Recreation, the Department of Planning and Development, the Department of Information Technology, the Department of Neighborhoods, the Human Services Department, the Seattle Department of Transportation, the Seattle Police Department, the Seattle Fire Department, and Seattle Public Utilities, to accept specified grants and private funding and to execute, deliver, and perform corresponding agreements. | Funding | Allows non-City funds for some homeless services and programs |
| 11/16/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122550 | AN ORDINANCE adopting the 2008 Update to the City of Seattle 2005- 2008 Consolidated Plan for Housing and Community Development, including a table of proposed projects and general policies for the use of the City's funding resources for housing and community development; authorizing the submission of the 2008 Update to the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development; and authorizing the Human Services Director to make changes to the Plan for certain purposes. | Transition | Submission of updated plan |
| 12/12/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122577 | AN ORDINANCE relating to the criminal code and amending Section 12A.06.115 to provide protections for homeless persons from malicious harassment. INCLUDES: WHEREAS, the National Coalition for the Homeless report also indicates that between 1999 and 2002 Seattle was ranked the seventh most dangerous city and Washington was ranked the third most dangerous state for homeless persons; | Rhetoric | Adds 'homeless' to group of people protected by the criminal code -- due to inclusion here homeless people are therefore associated with a dependent group in need of protection |
| 12/13/2007 | Ordinance Number: 122586 | AN ORDINANCE relating to Family Services, authorizing the Director of the Human Services Department to purchase and accept a restrictive covenant and easement from Family Services Property LLC to provide for City and public access uses and the provision of social services on the property at 1924 Rainier Avenue South, Seattle, Washington. | Transition | Allows for services on property including free childcare for homeless children and other homeless services |
| 12/17/2007 | Resolution Number: 31020 | A RESOLUTION setting forth the 2008 State Legislative Agenda of the City of Seattle. | - | Mention of 10-year plan to end homelessness as an agenda item for the city. |

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|-------------------|---------------------------------|---|----------------------------|---|
| <p>12/21/2007</p> | <p>Ordinance Number: 122610</p> | <p>AN ORDINANCE amending the Seattle Comprehensive Plan to incorporate changes proposed as part of the 2007 Comprehensive Plan annual amendment process. INCLUDES: 22. Amend Human Development Goal 6 as follows: Create a healthy environment where all community members , including those currently struggling with homelessness, mental illness and chemical dependence, are able to practice aspire to and achieve a healthy life living, are well nourished, and have good access to affordable health care.</p> <p>27. Add new Human Development Policy 24.5, as follows: Support increased access to preventive interventions at agencies that serve the homeless, mentally ill and chemically dependent populations. Pursue co-location of health services at these and other agencies serving those disproportionately affected by disease.</p> | <p>Transition/Rhetoric</p> | <p>Amends policy goals for human development and health environments to include homeless. Also groups homeless with mentally ill and chemically dependent -- traditionally groups identified as deviant</p> |
| <p>12/21/2007</p> | <p>Ordinance Number: 122612</p> | <p>AN ORDINANCE related to the sale and redevelopment of the former Public Safety Building block; authorizing the execution of a Purchase and Sale Agreement, Project Agreement and other related documents necessary to implement the sale and redevelopment of such property; and exempting the sale of such property from the requirements of Resolution 29799 as amended by Resolution 30862. INCLUDES PROHIBITING: H. Homeless shelters, needle exchanges and food distribution programs</p> | <p>Erase</p> | <p>Prohibits a shelter from being built in the Civic Square Retail Space</p> |

Appendix 4: Policy Predictions, Total

| Date of Legislation | Period of Article Review | # of Articles: Victim | # of Articles: Dependent | # of Articles: Deviant | # of Articles: Pathological | Total Number of Articles | Policy Type Prediction | Actual Policy Type |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| 13-Apr-07 | 8.1.07-11.4.07 | 15 | 18 | 13 | 1 | 39 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-8.8.07 | 6 | 5 | 13 | 0 | 23 | Transition | Transition |
| 22-Aug-07 | 1.6.07-21.8.07 | 7 | 7 | 14 | 0 | 26 | Transition | Transition/House |
| 11-Oct-07 | 1.7.07-2.10.07 | 5 | 7 | 10 | 0 | 21 | Transition | Delimit/Transition |
| 29-Oct-07 | 1.7.07-19.10.07 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 0 | 23 | Erase | Erase |
| 16-Nov-07 | 1.8.07-11.11.07 | 10 | 12 | 8 | 0 | 23 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-12.12.07 | 14 | 14 | 10 | 0 | 28 | Transition/House | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 0 | 21 | Transition | Transition |
| 21-Dec-07 | 30.9.07-16.12.07 | 14 | 15 | 12 | 0 | 21 | Transition | Erase |
| 24-Mar-08 | 6.12.07-21.3.08 | 23 | 14 | 15 | 4 | 40 | House | House |
| 4-Apr-08 | 9.1.08-30.3.08 | 20 | 12 | 11 | 4 | 32 | House | Erase |
| 12-May-08 | 1.2.08-6.5.08 | 21 | 15 | 15 | 2 | 35 | House | House/Transition |
| 11-Sep-08 | 1.6.08-5.9.08 | 21 | 13 | 11 | 0 | 30 | House | Erase |
| 22-Sep-08 | 1.6.08-5.9.08 | 21 | 13 | 11 | 0 | 30 | House | House |
| 24-Sep-08 | 1.6.08-23.9.08 | 22 | 14 | 14 | 0 | 34 | House | Transition |
| 6-Apr-09 | 15.1.09-2.4.09 | 16 | 4 | 9 | 3 | 23 | House | House |
| 11-May-09 | 17.2.09-8.5.09 | 15 | 13 | 7 | 3 | 27 | Transition | House |
| 15-Jun-09 | 3.3.09-10.6.09 | 21 | 20 | 7 | 3 | 35 | Transition | House |
| 22-Jun-09 | 3.3.09-16.6.09 | 22 | 20 | 7 | 3 | 36 | Transition | House |
| 20-Sep-09 | 2.6.09-17.9.09 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 0 | 34 | Delimit | Erase |
| 25-Sep-09 | 2.6.09-17.9.09 | 14 | 12 | 17 | 0 | 34 | Delimit | House |
| 23-Nov-09 | 20.8.09-17.11.09 | 15 | 15 | 16 | 1 | 34 | Transition | House |
| 11-Dec-09 | 1.9.09-10.12.09 | 18 | 12 | 16 | 1 | 39 | Transition | House |

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|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|----|------------------|--------------------------|
| 14-Dec-09 | 1.9.09-10.12.09 | 18 | 12 | 16 | 1 | 39 | Transition | House |
| 13-Jan-10 | 1.10.09-12.1.10 | 20 | 13 | 11 | 2 | 35 | House | House |
| 1-Feb-10 | 1.11.09-29.1.10 | 14 | 12 | 8 | 4 | 28 | Transition | Transition |
| 15-Mar-10 | 5.12.09-14.3.10 | 16 | 12 | 4 | 5 | 22 | House | House |
| 24-Mar-10 | 5.12.09-21.3.10 | 17 | 14 | 6 | 8 | 25 | Transition | Transition |
| 3-May-10 | 2.2.10-30.4.10 | 14 | 11 | 17 | 5 | 26 | Transition | House |
| 7-Jun-10 | 3.3.10-23.5.10 | 14 | 11 | 20 | 4 | 30 | Delimit | Transition |
| 23-Aug-10 | 5.5.10-12.8.10 | 13 | 6 | 10 | 0 | 23 | Transition | Transition |
| 3-Jan-11 | 3.10.10-2.1.11 | 22 | 23 | 10 | 3 | 40 | House | Erase |
| 10-Jan-11 | 3.10.10-9.1.11 | 22 | 26 | 10 | 3 | 43 | House | House |
| 28-Feb-11 | 1.11.10-23.2.11 | 18 | 27 | 11 | 4 | 43 | Transition | House |
| 2-May-11 | 1.2.11-1.5.11 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 3 | 15 | Transition | Delimit/Transition/House |
| 28-Jun-11 | 8.3.11-26.6.11 | 14 | 11 | 5 | 5 | 21 | House | House |
| 1-Aug-11 | 1.5.11-31.7-11 | 9 | 11 | 6 | 4 | 17 | Delimit | Delimit |
| 12-Aug-11 | 1.5.11-2.8.11 | 9 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 20 | Transition | Transition |
| 13-Oct-11 | 11.7.11-5.10.11 | 8 | 14 | 9 | 2 | 25 | Transition | Delimit |
| 5-Dec-11 | 9.9.11-3.12.11 | 14 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 25 | House | Transition/House |
| 8-Dec-11 | 9.9.11-3.12.11 | 14 | 7 | 10 | 3 | 25 | House | Delimit |
| 12-Dec-11 | 9.9.11-11.12.11 | 15 | 9 | 12 | 6 | 29 | House | House |
| 14-Mar-12 | 1.12.11-12.3.12 | 18 | 16 | 13 | 6 | 33 | Transition | Delimit |
| 2-Apr-12 | 10.1.12-19.3.12 | 13 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 21 | House | House |
| 10-Apr-12 | 10.1.12-5.4.12 | 14 | 12 | 6 | 4 | 23 | Transition | Delimit |
| 23-Jun-12 | 2.3.12-13.6.12 | 15 | 6 | 6 | 4 | 23 | House | House |
| 11-Jul-12 | 4.4.12-4.7.12 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 18 | House | All |
| 24-Sep-12 | 2.6.12-12.9.12 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 16 | Transition | House |
| 19-Feb-13 | 6.11.12-5.2.13 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 14 | Transition | Transition/House |
| 19-Mar-13 | 19.12.12-14.3.13 | 7 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 14 | Transition/House | Transition |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|----|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 3-Apr-13 | 2.1.13-31.3.13 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 13 | Transition | Erase/Transition |
| 3-Apr-13 | 2.1.13-31.3.13 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 13 | Transition | House |
| 5-Apr-13 | 2.1.13-3.3.13 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 14 | Transition | Transition |
| 14-May-13 | 3.2.13-13.5.13 | 10 | 10 | 11 | 3 | 24 | Transition | Erase/Transition |
| 1-Jul-13 | 3.4.13-30.6.13 | 21 | 15 | 17 | 4 | 35 | House | Transition/House |
| 2-Jul-13 | 3.4.13-30.6.13 | 21 | 15 | 17 | 4 | 35 | House | Transition |
| 22-Jul-13 | 3.4.13-19.7.13 | 23 | 16 | 17 | 4 | 38 | House | House |
| 2-Aug-13 | 5.5.13-29.7.13 | 19 | 16 | 12 | 1 | 27 | House | Transition |
| 23-Sep-13 | 2.6.13-19.9.13 | 20 | 18 | 16 | 8 | 40 | Transition | Delimit/Transition |
| 23-Sep-13 | 2.6.13-19.9.13 | 20 | 18 | 16 | 8 | 40 | Transition | Transition |
| 5-May-14 | 5.2.14-3.5.14 | 18 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 25 | House | House |
| 27-Jun-14 | 4.3.14-16.6.14 | 21 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 29 | House | Transition |
| 8-Aug-14 | 3.5.14-31.7.14 | 12 | 7 | 12 | 5 | 25 | Transition | Transition |
| 22-Sep-14 | 1.6.14-19.9.14 | 15 | 12 | 26 | 5 | 40 | Delimit | House |
| 22-Sep-14 | 1.6.14-19.9.14 | 15 | 12 | 26 | 5 | 40 | Delimit | House |
| 1-Dec-14 | 2.9.14-29.11.14 | 20 | 17 | 22 | 8 | 46 | Transition | House |
| 1-Jan-15 | 2.10.14-25.12.14 | 21 | 16 | 17 | 5 | 43 | Transition | Delimit |
| 6-Apr-15 | 15.1.15-31.3.15 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 26 | Transition/Delimit | House |
| 6-Apr-15 | 15.1.15-31.3.15 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 26 | Transition/Delimit | Delimit/House |
| 10-Apr-15 | 15.1.15-8.4.15 | 11 | 12 | 11 | 3 | 27 | Transition/Delimit | Delimit |
| 29-Jul-15 | 8.4.15-28.7.15 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 31 | Transition/Delimit | Transition |
| 30-Jul-15 | 8.4.15-28.7.15 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 31 | Transition/Delimit | Delimit |
| 30-Jul-15 | 8.4.15-28.7.15 | 15 | 13 | 12 | 7 | 31 | Transition/Delimit | Transition |
| 22-Sep-15 | 3.6.15-20.9.15 | 11 | 10 | 16 | 5 | 29 | Delimit | Delimit |
| 28-Sep-15 | 3.6.15-24.9.15 | 11 | 10 | 17 | 5 | 30 | Delimit | Delimit/Transition/House |
| 2-Nov-15 | 8.8.15-28.10.15 | 10 | 10 | 15 | 4 | 29 | Delimit | Transition/House |
| 4-May-16 | 1.2.16-30.4.16 | 31 | 22 | 16 | 9 | 51 | House | House |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------|------------------|
| 16-May-16 | 1.2.16-9.5.16 | 34 | 23 | 18 | 9 | 55 | House | House |
| 3-Jun-16 | 1.3.16-2.6.16 | 26 | 21 | 17 | 10 | 46 | House | Transition/House |
| 17-Aug-16 | 7.5.16-15.8.16 | 26 | 27 | 19 | 11 | 46 | House | House |
| | Totals | 1223 | 1017 | 926 | 273 | 2366 | | |