Friend or Foe? The Media Coverage of Chicago's Public Housing Transformation

Thesis

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Abstract

How does the newspaper participate in public housing reform battles? Contemporary urban theory suggests that the local media tends to support elite actors in their quest for urban growth and redevelopment, but social movement research demonstrates that the press has the power to either help or harm groups. For low-income groups, media attention plays an especially important role. This question has consequences for both urban theory and social movement tactics, but it is unclear if media coverage is biased in any way, what factors motivate the media to pay attention in the first place, and how these factors contribute to both supportive and unsupportive coverage. This paper conceptualizes housing battles as a social movement and focuses on Chicago's Plan for Transformation, the most radical example of public housing reform to date. A content analysis of a sample of *Chicago Tribune* newspaper articles indicates that newspaper coverage was skewed towards the pro-development side, but only slightly. Negative binomial regression then indicates that case-specific group actions rather than contextual, city-level issues better explain variation in both supportive and unsupportive coverage of the issue. Implications for urban theory, social movement strategy and future research are discussed.

Dedication

To God, for everything and every day

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

INTRODUCTION

Twenty years from now, 25 years from now, when a sociologist or anyone starts to dig into this matter and figure out what happened with public housing--how it changed--there's going to be two sides. There's going to be the side that everyone sees now, and there's going to be our side.

--Mark Pratt, Cabrini-Green Resident

From the era of urban renewal in the 1950s and 60s to the present day, the redevelopment of city land often brings groups into intense conflict. Because these decisions can affect the city for generations to come, scholars have long been interested in studying the redevelopment process. The growth machine theory provides a useful framework for understanding urban redevelopment and the conflict it often entails. This theory conceptualizes a "growth coalition" of political, real-estate and business elites who profit from increases in land values by aggressively pursuing redevelopment projects to raise population and revenue within the city (Molotch 1976). Often, growth coalition plans do not coincide with neighborhood-based uses of urban land, breeding conflict between the two interest groups.

Contemporary urban theory tends to assume that the growth coalition has a powerful ally in these land-based conflicts: the local media (Molotch 1976; Logan & Molotch 1987). Because the media's interests seem to align with growth coalition goals, theory expects this institution to support redevelopment and oppose neighborhood interests. Other areas of research, however, suggest something different. Notably, the

social movement literature notes that the media represents a crucial resource to marginal populations, and as such, may be successfully engaged by neighborhood groups (Lipsky 1968). This mismatch between theoretical expectations and contemporary evidence suggests that there may be substantial gaps in our understanding of how the media participates in urban redevelopment conflicts. Specifically, it is unclear if the media is biased against neighborhood groups or what factors drive both supportive and unsupportive coverage of redevelopment proposals.

This question has important implications for social movement organizations. If the media is biased against neighborhood groups, the press is not a resource which organizations can mobilize on their behalf, but if coverage is truly unbiased, they can potentially be a valuable ally. Additionally, depending on what factors motivate the media to cover an issue, neighborhood groups must recognize these opportune times and capitalize on them. To better explore this question, the current study examines a particularly contentious case of urban redevelopment: public housing reform in Chicago. Despite public housing's pejorative reputation, the institution still represents a haven for the "hardest to house" (Popkin et al. 2005; Wyly & DiFillippis 2009). In 1999, Chicago's Mayor Richard M. Daley announced the 10-year, $1.6 billion Plan for Transformation, designed to end public housing's isolation and concentration of poverty by replacing nearly every decaying high-rise with vibrant, functional mixed-income communities.

Given that public housing is cited as one of the major causes of urban segregation and poverty (Goetz 2000), it seems unlikely that anyone would fight for these buildings'

continued existence. Not everybody shared the vision of a transformed city, however. While politicians, Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) officials and private real estate developers enthusiastically supported the plan, resident groups like the Local Advisory Council and the Coalition to Protect Public Housing opposed the transformation and feared losing their right to the neighborhoods in question (Venkatesh 2000). This case, and others like it, can be conceptualized as a very contentious social movement dispute.[1] Public housing battles, in which a marginal, low-income and largely powerless group fights a dominant alliance of business and political interests, are an ideal example of a disadvantaged social movement organization fighting to protect their place in the city. Surprisingly, there has been little effort to view these battles as such.

While Chicago's Plan for Transformation has been explored from a multitude of angles, it remains unclear how the media participated in this dispute. Marginalized, low-income groups like public housing residents lack the resources and political power to lobby effectivly for change through political routes, so the media becomes a crucial institution for groups to reach a public audience and disseminate their message. How the press participates in these conflicts, then, offers a lesson to other disadvantaged housing groups across the country. In this paper, I use the Chicago case to advance both urban redevelopment and social movement research. By combining these two areas, the media's relationship with movement groups like public housing residents can be better understood. The goals of this project are two-fold. First, using a sample of *Chicago Tribune* newspaper articles, I examine the local media's coverage of the Plan for

[1] Tilly defines a social movement as "a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others" (2004).

Transformation and assess the coverage provided to each side. Second, I explore what contextual, city-wide issues and case-specific events drive both favorable and unfavorable media coverage of the Plan for Transformation. I do this with an innovative approach to measuring media coverage, through an analysis of quotes printed in the newspaper. Specifically, I ask who is being quoted, how often, and what is the slant of their statements? Finally, I conclude with implications for both urban theory and social movement organizations.

URBAN REDEVELOPMENT, THE GROWTH MACHINE AND THE MEDIA

Urban redevelopment, and the conflict it entails, has long been a subject of scholarly interest. While numerous theories seek to explain it, Harvey Molotch's growth machine has evolved into one of the most powerful frameworks for studying urban politics and growth (1976). This theory suggests that political, business and real estate elites do more than just benefit from local redevelopment projects. It argues that land-based redevelopment is the greatest of all their concerns. These powerful actors become a growth coalition that pushes for constant appreciation in land values, and the city becomes a "growth machine" to accomplish this goal. In *Urban Fortunes,* Logan & Molotch (1987) expand this argument, creating a distinction between use value and exchange value. Use value, according to the political economy of space, is the emotional connection people feel towards land. They use it to live, eat, work and as a setting for everyday social action. Exchange value, on the other hand, is the difference between the current and potential values of a property. Suburbanization, the dominant residential trend for years, robbed the city of much of its tax base (Massey & Denton 1988) and local governments must provide better services for fewer tax dollars (Bartlett 1998). Redevelopment proposals, designed to bring more affluent residents back into the city and raise the value of urban land, is extremely profitable for the local growth coalition. The neighborhood residents, however, are not guaranteed to support the coalition's proposals (Cox 1999). The coalition often targets low-income, disadvantaged areas, and

the residents fear losing their place in the city (Logan & Molotch 1987). In other words, the intense conflict over urban redevelopment arises from disagreements over land use.

Besides identifying the source of land-based conflict, this theory also suggests what groups of people should support redevelopment, what groups should oppose it, and why. Because many elite local actors have their investments bounded to their location, they take a leading role in shaping the future of that city (Cox & Mair 1988; Davis 1991). Therefore, those whose interests are tied to land values (i.e. not mobile capital) should support redevelopment and local growth. They cannot move in search of a more profitable arrangement. This group tends to include politicians, powerful business leaders tied to a particular city, anchor institutions (like universities or medical centers), real estate brokers and private developers (Logan & Molotch 1987; Clarke & Goetz 1994). In contrast, the opposition is constructed from the local residents, whose interests are best served by growth control rather than development. This is especially true for lower-income residents, who struggle to cope with increases in land value that threaten to displace them (Logan et al. 1997). Both groups have a vision of their place in the city, and fight for the ability to control the use of urban space, but due to the unequal distribution of resources and decision-making power, the ensuing conflict is fought on an unequal battlefield.

It is important to note that the growth coalition is not all-powerful. With strong organization and innovative tactics, neighborhood groups can alter or even defeat redevelopment plans (Aschuler & Luberoff 2003; Gotham 1999). Unlike the era of urban renewal, growth coalitions can no longer implement their plans without any resistance

(Avila & Rose 2009). Despite this obstacle, construction cranes have become a fixture of city skylines over the last few decades (Curry et al. 2004). Neighborhood groups can win, but because actors in these conflicts draw from an unequal pool of resources, policymakers naturally favor certain interests over others (Stone 1980; 1989). Low-income neighborhood groups, who struggle to organize effectively, are particularly disadvantaged. As Logan & Molotch point out, this complex tangle of interests will not always result in the maximization of value for everyone involved:

> Current urban arrangements, we now know, are not there simply because they maximize efficiency, or because they follow a uniform pattern of capitalist exploitation. Instead, they represent the physical and social consequences of cumulative strivings by capitalists bent on profit, rentiers seeking property returns, and neighborhood groups striving for use values from places. (Logan & Molotch 1987: 292)

Theoretically, one major point from this passage bears stressing. The spatial distribution of the city is not the product of the whims of elite actors, nor is it the result of ecological, free market forces. Urban redevelopment is a contested political arena where the outcome is not preordained. It is a battlefield where various groups compete to shape the city's future, but one where the growth coalition wins far more often than they lose. How is the coalition so successful at implementing their plans despite the backlash from neighborhood groups?

A substantial body of research assumes that the mass media, especially newspapers, is far from a passive medium for the transfer of information, but rather a place-dependent actor responsible for spreading pro-growth rhetoric to the local population (Molotch 1976). Because the news represents not just an account of what happened but rather reflects the practices and preferences of those who have the power to

make it, the framing of the news is likely to influence public opinion (Molotch & Lester 1974; 1979). This theory expects the media to cover revitalization proposals favorably, because their fortunes are often tied to those of the local growth coalition. Recall that locally bounded institutions have a natural incentive to favor redevelopment (Cox & Mair 1988). The media, especially the newspaper, is one such institution. Because news companies cannot move to another city, this theory expects them to take a leading role in shaping the area's future according to the growth coalition's wishes (Boyle 1999). They generate profit mainly through advertising, so redevelopment policies that increase population align with their own goals.[2] Population growth in the only locality available helps increase the newspaper's circulation and allows for more revenue generated from advertising. They become champions of growth policies and do not care exactly where redevelopment takes place; just that it does (Short 1999). Because of the newspaper's stature as the voice of the people, the growth coalition can use this well-respected forum to spread pro-growth rhetoric and generate public support. Studies of publicly subsidized sports stadium proposals, a popular downtown revitalization technique, lend support to this idea. In the presence of a strong growth coalition, the media tends to support the proposed stadium development and downplay oppositional concerns through unbalanced coverage (Delaney & Eckstein 2003; 2008; Buist & Mason 2010). Even though the stadium does not benefit the majority of the population, the coalition is able to use the media to gain public approval (Collins 2008).

[2] To Illustrate this point: When explaining why he supported plans to replace San Jose's orchards with freeways and business offices, the lead publisher of the *San Jose Mercury News* famously said: "Trees do not read newspapers" (Downie 1974: 112, as cited in Domhoff, 1983:168).

But ultimately, this theory is not without its shortcomings. This viewpoint seems to imply a broad urban conspiracy to generate profit for the rich and oppress poorer residents. It ignores that journalists operate in a profession with high ethical standards and expectations of integrity (Tuchman 1972). For the vast majority of American reporters, objectivity is the norm (Tuchman 1972; Schudson 2001). Reporters who exhibit a noticeable bias in any direction should have difficulty keeping their jobs. It seems unlikely that media actors can be part of a scheme that constantly pushes for growth even when it stands to harm the city's less affluent residents, but this assumption is often made in the literature (Clingermayer & Feiock 1991; Nijman 1997). Additionally, as I describe next, evidence from social movement research does not always coincide with the theoretical expectations of contemporary urban theory.

MOVEMENTS AND THE MEDIA

How the press interacts with movement groups has important consequences for organizational tactics, both of housing groups and other marginal social movements. If the media always opposes neighborhood-based interests, then they cannot realistically expect to work with the press. On the other hand, a large body of evidence refutes this claim and suggests that the media can be effectively engaged by movement organizations, even disadvantaged ones. Lipsky argued that the media is the most important resource available to movement groups (1968). Without media attention, these groups often cannot achieve their goals (Koopmans 2004). The media's public platform allows groups to disseminate their message and recruit public support from an audience which might not be aware of the issue otherwise (Jenkins & Perrow 1977; Gamson & Modigliani 1989; McAdam 1983). Their power to decide what is newsworthy and how it should be reported gives them an impressive amount of agenda-setting power (Kiousis 2004). Evidence also suggests that favorable media representation helps contribute to movement success (Ferree 2002; Rohlinger 2002).

This relationship can quickly get complicated, however. Studies show that there is wide variation in media coverage (Gans 1979; Gitlin 1980). While many scholars consider any media attention to be generally advantageous (Ryan 1990; Mazur 2009), the factors which drive media coverage and motivate the press to pay attention are complex (Andrews & Caren 2010). Gitlin argues that movement groups only gain the media's

attention when they conform to journalistic expectations of what a story "really looks like" (1980). Editors of local news outlets, like newspapers, cannot cover every available story. They act as gatekeepers, making tough decisions about what is newsworthy (Shoemaker & Reese 1996). The way in which they choose stories tends to exclude many social movement organizations, especially marginal groups that need coverage the most (McCarthy et al. 1999). Very contentions social issues, like abortion, can attract more intense media attention than other, less controversial topics (Ferree et al. 2002). In their stories, media actors can pick and choose among the frames offered by each group, ultimately accepting some while rejecting others (Rohlinger 2002). Event size, violent conflict, organizational sponsorship, political significance and geographical location can all affect the amount of media attention (McCarthy et al. 1996; Oliver & Myers 1999; Oliver & Maney 2000; Myers & Caniglia 2000). Finally, the organizational structure of a movement group can also influence the likelihood of coverage. The media prefers professional, established and formal groups who do not use confrontational tactics, while volunteer-led and aggressive outsider groups do not garner as much attention (Andrews & Caren 2010).

What is responsible for the fluctuations in media coverage? Some argue that the media responds to broad, contextual factors or general social concerns that comprise the "issue cycle" (Downs 1972). The hot social issues of the day can inadvertently make a movement group more or less newsworthy, and as the political climate changes, so too can the amount and type of coverage (Gamson & Modigliani 1989). In Downs' example, public concern over pollution led the media to cover environmental protection groups

more intensely, a great accomplishment for the movement. Despite this example of success, the issue-cycle can also lead a movement group to fly under the radar if their cause does not match up with what is currently newsworthy (McCarthy et al. 1996). Others argue that the case-specific events and actions of a group ultimately determine the magnitude of media coverage a group receives. Lipsky (1968) argues in favor of group actions by noting that protest is crucial to recruiting the media's attention. Through a public demonstration, they can enter the limelight, if only momentarily. McAdam (1983) also finds that innovative protest tactics and collective action help keep a group newsworthy, but McCarthy and colleagues (1996) have demonstrated that the number of total protest events far outpaces the number of events actually covered by the media. Also, Oliver & Maney (2000) claim that protest has become institutionalized, so its effect may not be as significant. How groups should act to attract the media is still under debate, and the tactics which attract the most attention do not always lead to success, (Gamson & Modigliani 1989).

Once a movement group does attract the media's attention, they cannot always expect favorable or balanced coverage. Biased stories can portray a movement group negatively, positively or neutrally, and negative coverage can severely damage a group's hope of success. Stories about protest events do not always paint the most accurate or favorable picture of a movement (Smith et al. 2001). The coverage of controversial social issues often favors one viewpoint at the expense of others, even when the coverage is free of moral judgments (Fico & Cote 1999; Budner & Krauss 1995). It is very difficult to provide equal attention to both sides of a debate. The corporate hegemony

perspective expects media coverage to be biased due to their ownership structure (Herman 1995). This idea states that because media outlets are owned by corporate parent companies, they will be biased in favor of capitalist ideals. This is very similar to growth machine theoretical expectations, but it is not the only potential source of bias.

Tuchman (1972) argues that bias comes not from a corporate ownership structure, but rather from the day-to-day patterns of the job. News routines help shape the work of both reporters and editors, ultimately leading them to favor established sources as they seek to meet tight deadlines (Ryan 1990). The idea of sources and quotes is very important to understanding media bias. In deciding who to quote, journalists indirectly decide who should be taken seriously in the public debate (Ferree et al. 2002). This immense power to grant legitimacy to social actors is crucial to movement groups, but what influences who gets quoted? Journalists are typically overworked and under immense pressure to produce stories rapidly. They may not have time to research a story from all angles, so they return to the same reliable sources time and again. This can lead one voice to be heard more often than others, and some marginal groups may be excluded from the public debate by virtue of not being quoted. The question becomes, whose voice appears in print, and who is excluded? By raising the question of who gets quoted and who does not, Tuchman calls attention to an often ignored (but crucial) aspect of media coverage. She also argues that newspaper quotes are not equally distributed among actors in a conflict, so different groups stand to win or lose based on who can put their voice, in their own words, into the news (1972). Ferree and colleagues expand on

this argument and note that quotes are indicative of who matters in a social debate and who should be taken seriously:

> Commentary on the issue is an attempt to convey a preferred way of framing it and to increase the relative prominence of the preferred frames in the mass media arena. Those who are quoted are overwhelmingly spokespersons for collective actors – government ministries, political parties, or organizations that claim to represent the interests or values of some constituency, speaking on behalf of them. (2002: 11-12).

Theoretically, quotes indicate a unique way in which reporters can bestow legitimacy and power upon a group. Should one side of the issue be quoted more than the other, this indicates that the newspaper's readership is being exposed to one side's rhetoric more than the other. This can greatly damage an organization's chances of success and result in biased coverage without the reporter's intention. Despite the obvious importance of quotes, very few studies attempt to empirically explore them as a potential source of bias or as an indicator of media coverage.

To summarize: while a growth machine framework expects the media to ally with the elite coalition in any ensuing conflicts, social movement research suggests that this relationship may be much more complex than previously assumed. There is strong variation in media coverage and some evidence of bias, but it is unclear if the media respond more to the actions of a group or to the political climate of the time. This question has implications for both urban theory and social movement groups. Marginal organizations like those who fight to protect public housing must understand if the media is biased against them, as urban theory implies. The answer informs how they should interact with media actors. Second, if the media can be utilized as a resource, organizations must know how to effectively engage the press, and they cannot know this without understanding the determinants of media coverage (Andrews & Caren 2010). While there is some knowledge regarding the relationship between movements and the media, we know virtually nothing about how this applies to public housing reform and urban redevelopment.

The current study begins to explore this question and advances previous work in a few ways. First, while there has been little effort to conceptualize public housing resident groups as social movements, I argue that they exemplify the inherent conflict between neighborhood groups and an elite, pro-development alliance. Poor residents are problematic for local elites because they drain city resources and fail to contribute to the

city's economy (Lauria 1997). Public housing, home to some of the city's poorest people, is not the most profitable or efficient use of urban land. The growth coalition seeks to rectify this situation by drawing more affluent residents back to the city. This has been a surprising demographic trend over the last two decades (Sohmer & Lang 2001). The suburbanization trend has been reversing, and young professionals and white collar workers have shown an increased preference for the advantages of urban life (Zukin 1982) and have come back to the city in large numbers (Birch 2005). The subsequent gentrification of disinvested neighborhoods breeds intense social conflict between older residents and newcomers (Freeman 2006). Neighborhoods filled with public housing buildings are especially likely to be targeted for revitalization (Hyra 2008).

While public housing reform has not yet been examined through a social movement lens, this is truly a national issue and worthy of increased scholarly attention. Seattle, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Washington DC, St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans and Oakland and others all received federal housing grants, in addition to Chicago (Joseph 2008). I choose to focus on the Plan for Transformation because it represents the most radical efforts to restructure public housing into mixed-income communities to date. The problems Chicago faced in the 1990s are still present in other cities today. As the national low-income housing stock continues to decay, politicians are likely to target the public housing system as they seek to increase the exchange value and tax base of urban land. The case of Chicago, then, has implications for low-income housing groups across the country. I do not argue in favor of the

outdated high-rise system. The system in Chicago was broken and needed restructuring, but despite the institution's obvious problems, public housing still represents a viable option for the most vulnerable people. As the rental market becomes increasingly competitive, an attack on the housing of last resort is an attack on the most vulnerable residents themselves. These organizations must be prepared to utilize every resource available to combat a powerful opponent. The media may be one such resource, but it is not clear if their coverage is biased or what motivates the amount of attention they devote to these issues. I now turn my attention to the specifics of the case.

THE PLAN FOR TRANSFORMATION[3]

Public housing has a long and shameful history in Chicago[4]. In 1996, a Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) ruling addressed the growing public housing crisis by requiring that all government owned buildings pass a structural viability test. If renovation of the decaying structures would cost more than demolition and reconstruction, the buildings would be condemned (Bennet et al. 2006). This was especially problematic in Chicago, where the city used cheap, inferior materials in original construction. Not surprisingly, most of Chicago's public housing failed this test. At the time, however, the Chicago Housing Authority was in federal receivership since 1987, when HUD seized control from the city due to years of corruption and mismanagement. When the city regained control of the housing authority in 1999, Mayor Daley removed the acting head of operations, Joseph Schuldiner, and inserted Philip Jackson to run the organization. Daley and Jackson then announced the Plan for Transformation that same year, scheduled to cost 1.6 billion dollars over 10 years. The CHA's website states that this plan is about more than just the poor condition of the high-rises: "The Plan for Transformation goes far beyond the physical structure of public housing. It aims to build and strengthen communities by integrating public housing and

[3] I draw this brief account of the case's history from two sources: The *Chicago Tribune* articles and *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing* (Hunt 2009).
[4] For a detailed account of life in a Chicago housing project, see *There are no Children Here* (Kotlowitz 1992).

its lease holders into the larger social, economic and physical fabric of Chicago" (CHA 2011)

The Plan for Transformation generated intense conflict almost immediately upon its approval from HUD in early 2000, for a variety of reasons. Resident groups like the Local Advisory Council and Coalition to Protect Public Housing staunchly opposed the CHA's proposals and stepped in to represent the resident's interests. Throughout most of 2000, the residents filed several class-action lawsuits designed to save the buildings, at least until appropriate replacements could be identified. They negotiated a legal contract which guaranteed all lease-compliant residents a "right of return" as part of a settlement with the city, designed to limit displacement. As the process unfolded, however, residents began to accuse the city of moving too fast and demolishing the high-rises without first having adequate replacements available. Many residents had to move into other CHA buildings as the wrecking balls moved in. The CHA then relied upon the private rental market to absorb the spillover, but resident groups claimed that this move was simply transferring impoverished people from vertical ghettos to horizontal ones. Additionally, the residents decried proposed policy changes designed to reshape the nature of public housing itself. The CHA instituted minimum rents and work requirements in 2003 and strict lease rules in 2004. Some of these chances were necessary, but many public housing residents struggled to meet the new regulations. It is difficult to get a job with no education and few employment opportunities available. The residents saw these moves as designed to prevent many people from returning upon completion of the mixed-income communities, thus opening up more units to be leased at

the market rate. Throughout this process, the number of public housing units steadily declined as more buildings fell to the wrecking ball. Litigation efforts to stop this process were largely unsuccessful, and many cases settled on terms favorable to the CHA. As of 2009, nearly every Chicago high-rise building had been demolished. The construction of the new mixed-income communities is ongoing, and expected to be finished around 2015. With the buildings all but gone, however, there is very little left for the resident groups to fight for.

From a social movement perspective, the resident-led opposition faced some major problems as the Transformation took place. First, low-income organizations struggle to effectively participate in the decision-making process and cannot match the resources of their opponents (Lipsky 1968). Secondly, Rohlinger (2002) notes that very contentious social issues without a clear solution or moral standpoint become problematic for social movement organizations. It can be difficult for these groups to mobilize support around these issues. From the public's standpoint, it is hard to see why the residents fought so hard to protect the high-rises. Most people believed the problems of public housing needed to be addressed, and the CHA offered a solution. The residents, who asked for more security and protection as the plans moved forward, came to be seen as holding up progress and fighting for the status quo, something very few people could accept. This put the residents in a defensive position and made their complaints seem illegitimate. While the residents did win some important concessions, like the right of return and input on the renovation of a few high-rises, it is clear that they were fighting an uphill battle from the start, and struggled to effectively shape the future of their

neighborhoods. They may have won some important battles, but ultimately, the war was won by the CHA.

Hypotheses

The Chicago case exemplifies how urban redevelopment, specifically public housing reform, gives rise to social conflict. It also leads me to some hypotheses about the media's participation in this conflict, a topic which very little is known about. I expand our knowledge of this case by examining the media's participation and use it to explore two questions. First, did the local newspaper act as a resource or an enemy to the local public housing resident groups? Based on growth machine theory, *I hypothesize that pro-development voices will appear in print more often than the opposition, and their quotes will be biased in favor of redevelopment.* This does not necessarily mean that the residents and their leaders will be ignored. Coverage will merely be slanted towards elite coalition actors. Secondly, I seek to determine what factors may contribute to media coverage, case-specific events or contextual matters which might contribute to the issue cycle. Because the media has an obligation to cover events as they happen, *I hypothesize that case-specific events and group actions are more powerful predictors of media coverage than the contextual, issue-cycle variables.* Finally, the media may interact with the elite growth coalition differently than the resident groups. *I hypothesize that the effect of each variable will differ depending on the type of coverage, pro-plan or anti-plan.*

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

Data and Coding

For this study, I drew data from the *ProQuest* Newspapers search engine, which allows researchers to examine the archives and save articles of interest.[5] I selected the *Chicago Tribune*. As the most widely circulated newspaper in the Chicago metropolitan area, the *Tribune* represents the city's widest-reaching print media source and their presentation of this issue is likely to be influential in shaping opinions.[6] I performed multiple searches in the database, deliberately using broad search terms to ensure I could find articles which mention the case, and isolated a sample which provides a comprehensive account of the Plan for Transformation, the issues involved and the conflict between pro and anti-development actors. Because the CHA announced the Plan in 1999, I began my search two years earlier on January 1, 1997 and ended on December 31, 2009. The highly public and contentious nature of the Plan for Transformation should ensure that the issue is well-covered by the paper. With the help of three

[5] Newspapers always carry the risk of description and selection bias. Earl et al (2004) find that the "hard news" tends to be reported accurately, so description bias is not of major concern. Ortiz et al. (2005) are less optimistic about using newspaper articles as a source of data, but also note that if the outcome of interest is media bias, then any possible selection bias is not a problem.

[6] The *Chicago Tribune*'s circulation in 2008 was 541,663 per day. The second most-circulated newspaper in the city, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, distributed 312,274 (BurellesLuce 2008). The *Tribune,* therefore, reaches more people on a daily basis in Chicago, making it the city's most influential source of print media and the best source of data for this project. While the *New York Times* will always be the gold standard for newspaper research, Andrews & Caren (2010) argue that local newspapers offer better, more in-depth coverage of local movements. The *Times* remains invaluable for national movements, but the *Tribune* remains the most influential of local print media sources in Chicago.

undergraduate research assistants, I gathered, read and coded 518 to assess the nature of the *Tribune's* coverage. Coders personally extracted quotes from the articles and coded them while I reviewed and approved all decisions. Every article I selected related to the Plan for Transformation or urban redevelopment in Chicago neighborhoods.

There is wide disagreement on how to measure media coverage and bias. Past case studies of the media coverage typically assign framing labels to each article and code the entire piece as pro-issue, anti-issue or neutral (Rohlinger 2002; Delaney & Eckstein 2008; Buist & Mason 2010). While this methodology has strengths, it can also be problematic. News companies expect their reporters to be objective, so most news stories will not stand out as clearly favoring one side or the other. It can be very troublesome to code an entire article as pro-issue or anti-issue, as the slant of an entire article can be impossible to discern. In a previous section, I argued that quotes are an often overlooked part of media coverage. Methodologically, quotes can serve as an indicator of both bias and as a measure of total media coverage. By determining who is being quoted and what they are saying, I can gauge media bias. By keeping track for how many quotes are published during a time frame, I can explore how intensely the issue is being covered. Previous studies rarely consider the role of quotes in shaping the balance of media coverage. The current study improves on past research by using quotes as an innovative measure of media coverage, and using them for both descriptive and predictive purposes.

In this study, I operationalize media coverage as quotes and use them in two ways. My sample of 518 articles included 2,149 quotes. For each quote, I assigned an

institutional affiliation based on who the individual is. By compiling a list of the major players in this conflict, I can see which side garnered more media attention and saw their voice appear in print more often. I selected affiliations based on growth machine theory, which suggests that politicians, CHA officials and private developers will generally be supportive of the CHA's plans. Local political officials take a leading role in the revitalization of blighted neighborhoods in their city, while private developers stand to make an immense profit off the redevelopment of urban land. On the other hand, public housing residents and their leaders should oppose the plan, in order to protect their neighborhood interests.

After assigning each affiliation, I coded each individual quote as either unsupportive of redevelopment (0), supportive (1), or neutral (no stand taken or unclear) (2)[7]. Essentially, I decided if the quote is designed to make the reader support or oppose the Plan for Transformation and coded it accordingly. This measures how often readers are exposed to pro-development rhetoric as opposed to anti-development rhetoric. I then use this quote information to describe the *Tribune's* coverage of the Plan for Transformation and assess its coverage to both sides of the debate.

Dependent Variables

To explore the determinants of media coverage, I utilize three separate outcomes, measuring total quotes, pro-plan quotes and anti-plan quotes. This helps to understand if

[7] "Neutral or no stand taken" does not imply apathy or a lack of knowledge about the case and its issues. Rather, it is a quote that does not pass judgment or take a moral stand on the CHA's actions. Many of these quotes are descriptive in nature, such as a developer explaining the timeframe of a new project.

the effect of certain variables differs based on the type of coverage and not just on the total amount devoted to the case. In the next section, I provide a description of all dependent, independent and control variables. Table 1 displays the means, standard deviations and source of all variables I utilize in my analyses.

Monthly Quotes. I operationalize total media coverage as *monthly quotes,* the number of quotes gathered from each newspaper article in a given month from January 1997 to December 2009. This variable, created by aggregating all quotes into a total number for each month, is drawn directly from the sample of *Chicago Tribune Newspaper articles*.

Pro-Plan Quotes. Next, I examine the slant of each quote and construct a variable which only measures the count of quotes which support the Plan for Transformation. I did this in the same way as *monthly quotes*, but isolate only quotes coded as supportive. This variable corresponds to the rhetoric of the growth machine and their efforts to build support for the Plan for Transformation. I draw this outcome from my sample of newspaper articles.

Anti-Plan Quotes. This outcome is a count of quotes which criticize the CHA and the Plan for Transformation. This type of rhetoric typically corresponds to the neighborhood-based groups and their rhetoric, but other groups may be critical of the CHA's actions as well. Just as with the previous two dependent variables, I created this outcome in the same way, but isolated only quotes coded as unsupportive. This variable, also drawn from the newspaper articles, measures how often critical rhetoric was quoted by local media actors.

Independent Variables

In order to model the movement in these three outcome variables, I include several measures of broad social concerns and group-specific actions. The independent variables are as follows.

Murder Rate. This variable is the rate of homicides per 100,000 people, drawn from the FBI's Unified Crime Reports. This is a yearly variable specific to the city of Chicago. I include this variable because public housing is often synonymous with violent, high-crime neighborhoods, and may factor into the discussion of public housing reform. It is possible that if Chicago homicides rises, then this could force more attention onto the violent neighborhoods which the Plan for Transformation sought to redevelop. Conversely, a drop in the murder rate may correlate negatively, making the redevelopment of violent neighborhoods somewhat less pressing.

Residential Building Permits. It is also possible that the health of the residential housing market might contribute to the issue cycle. The Plan for Transformation sought to integrate public housing residents into the private rental market and bring more affluent residents back into Chicago, but it also necessitated the displacement of many former public housing residents. For this to happen, units must be available. This variable, drawn from the U.S. Census Bureau, is the yearly number of new residential units approved in Chicago and measures the health of the residential market in the city.

Unemployment Rate. Jobs and economic development are widely cited as the growth machine's main goals. The Plan for Transformation, which necessitated the

construction of many new residential buildings, may be linked to unemployment in the city. A proposal designed to create building contracts and jobs may become more newsworthy in times of unusually high unemployment. So, I include this variable as a measure of the general economic health of the city. This monthly variable, drawn from the IDES Local Area Unemployment Statistics, is specific to the city of Chicago and may influence how the media views urban redevelopment proposals and how much attention to focus on it.

Protest. To account for group actions, I searched the newspaper articles for mentions of protest and include a dummy variable for the months in which a protest event occurred (1=protest occurred). The most common type of protest was a public demonstration. Marches and vigils also occurred, but were very rare. Lipsky (1968) argued that protest is the most effective weapon available to social movement organizations seeking to attract media attention, but Oliver & Maney (2000) suggest these events have become too routine and will not serve their intended purpose. I use this variable to test the effect of protest events on media coverage.

CHA Plans. Next, I include a dummy variable to isolate the months in which the CHA made an announcement regarding the construction of new communities, the demolition of older buildings, or the approval of a new contract with a developer (1=announcement occurred). These moments represent the growth coalition engaging the media and informing the public of their plans. I use this variable to isolate the effect of these announcements.

Policy Change. Additionally, I include a dummy variable to isolate the times in which the CHA made alterations to their resident policies. The effect of these policy changes can go either way: the CHA might use them to highlight the progress being made, or the residents can use it to fight back and call attention to the problems that still remain. This variable takes on the value of 1 during months where the policy change was announced, and also in the month after. By including the next month in this variable, I can check for any lingering effects of this specific type of announcement. Like the other case-specific variables, *Policy Change* is drawn from the newspaper.

Controls

I include dummy variables to control for the CEO of the Chicago Housing Authority. Throughout the case, 5 individuals served as the head of the CHA, so I omit Philip Jackson as the reference and include variables to account for the tenures of *Joseph Schuldiner*, *Terry Peterson*, *Sharon Gist Gilliam* and *Lewis A. Jordan*. This helps control for the fluctuations from regime to regime. I omit Philip Jackson because his tenure coincided with the announcement of the Plan for Transformation, so I expect a flurry of coverage during his time as CEO. The other four variables correspond to the change in the outcome as compared the coverage under Philip Jackson. Finally, I include *recession,* a control variable for the 2008 economic downturn. This variable takes on a value of 1 in September of 2008 and all subsequent months. Because the recession became frontline news for quite some time afterwards, it is important to isolate this section of the case from preceding times. Finally, media coverage may be driven by public dialogue, and

when one side makes a claim, the others must respond through the press. To account for this, I control for the other side's quotes in my regressions. When predicting uncritical quotes, I control for critical quotes in that month, and vice-versa.

Analytical Strategy

To analyze media coverage, I construct count models to predict the number of total, unsupportive and supportive quotes. For all three outcomes, I use negative binomial regression to predict the count of quotes in each category.[8] I construct three separate models depending on the outcome of interest. Model 1 includes monthly count as a measure of total media coverage. I regress contextual, case-specific and control variables on the outcome to discover which factors best predict overall media coverage. I construct Model 2 in a similar way, but the outcome is a measure of only positive quotes (positive about the CHA's Plan for Transformation). Model 3, conversely, predicts the factors that influence critical media coverage. It is likely that each variable has a different effect on the slant of media coverage, so I utilize these models to determine how each variable influences the type of rhetoric included in the newspaper story. In table 1, I display the name, mean, standard deviation and source of each variable. Table 2 displays the bivariate correlations of all variables included in each regression. Now, I turn my attention to the results of my analyses.

[8] I utilize negative binomial regression instead of a poisson model because of my small sample size (n=156). Poisson models are not recommended for small N's. All analyses were performed in STATA.

RESULTS

Evaluating the Newspaper's Bias

My first task is examining the balance of the *Tribune's* coverage and assessing the amount of attention given to each side of the debate. This helps establish if coverage of the Plan for Transformation is slanted in favor of redevelopment, as growth machine theory implies, or if the media provided a valuable resource in the form of coverage to the resident groups. In Table 3, I display the total number of quotes published for each affiliation in parentheses and the percentage of each group's quotes that fall into each slant, pro-plan, anti-plan and neutral. As this table demonstrates, the most quoted individuals are affiliated with the CHA, a bit over 21%. The second most quoted affiliation is political or government officials at about 14.5%. Taking these numbers together, about 32% of the quotes in my sample are from government or housing authority officials. Urban theory expects these individuals to support redevelopment (in this case, public housing redevelopment). Compare this number to public housing residents and their leaders, who are expected to be more critical of the CHA's plans. Their quotes make up about 21.6% of all coverage. The *Tribune* did not ignore the residents and their leaders, but elite voices nevertheless appeared in print more often than the Plan's opponents. This indicates that the *Tribune's* readership was exposed to pro-

development actors and statements more often than the opposition, but it would be inappropriate to suggest that the neighborhood opposition was ignored.

I cannot assume that just because an individual works for the CHA they will support the plan, nor can I believe that residents oppose the plan without empirical evidence to demonstrate a pattern. I address this by examining the distribution of pro-plan and anti-plan quotes for each affiliation. Table 3 shows that the slant of quotes for each affiliation is generally consistent with theoretical expectations of the growth machine. Politicians supported the Plan for Transformation more than two times as often as they criticized it. CHA officials, not surprisingly, spoke about the Plan positively 63.4% of the time, compared to negatively 4.8%. Real estate agents, private developers and investment agents represent crucial members of the growth machine. They profit from redevelopment, and thus, their opinions should fall in line with other elite voices. As the table demonstrates, their quotes tend to be skewed in favor of redevelopment. These actors expressed favorable opinions of redevelopment over 54% of the time, while expressing critical views in only 5.7% of their quotes.

On the other side, neighborhood-based opinions were also consistent with theoretical expectations. Public housing residents criticized redevelopment in almost 41% of their quotes, compared to expressing support about 27% of the time. This pattern is even more pronounced for the resident leaders, who were more critical than supportive of the Plan for Transformation at 61.1% to 22.7%, respectively. Overall, the distribution of pro-plan and anti-plan quotes shows that the CHA, political and real estate actors spoke favorably of the Plan for Transformation, while residents and their leaders

expressed much more hesitation. The *Tribune's* coverage of this case was indeed skewed to the pro-development side, confirming my first hypothesis. However, the magnitude of the difference does not necessarily suggest that the city's print media was biased against the public housing residents and their complaints. Not only did the residents receive attention and quotes, they were able to speak critically about the process. The pro-development side may have received more attention than the opposition, but I cannot say that the newspaper overtly opposed Chicago's neighborhood-based interests.

Predictions of Media Coverage

In the second part of my analysis, I turn my attention to the factors which predict media coverage. Figure 1 displays the variation in the number of quotes published in the *Tribune* per month from January 1997 through December 2009. There is a significant amount of variation throughout the time of analysis to warrant an examination of why the amount of coverage fluctuates so wildly. The number of quotes in a given month varies from 0-54, and the ratio of pro-plan to anti-plan statements also differs from month to month. I construct three negative binomial regression models designed to predict this movement in the outcomes. Model 1 predicts the overall monthly count of quotes. Models 2 & 3 are designed to predict the count of pro-plan (growth machine's rhetoric) and anti-plan quotes, respectively. I present the results in Table 4. The coefficients displayed in this table from the regressions of independent and control variables on the outcome express the expected change in the log count of the outcome per a one unit change in the predictor. I also display standard errors in parentheses. Perhaps the most

intuitive way to interpret negative binomial coefficients is by transforming them into percent change in the outcome. I do this using the formula: ((e^bx) – 1)*100 (Long 1997). The percents displayed underneath each coefficient in table 4, then, correspond to the percent increase or decrease in the count of the outcome per a one unit change in the predictor. In my discussion of each model, I refer to the transformed coefficient for interpretation.

In model 1 of table 4, the contextual variables prove to be poor predictors of overall media coverage. Murder rates, unemployment and the residential housing market did not significantly affect the amount of attention devoted to the Plan for Transformation. For the case-specific variables, the number of monthly quotes increased by almost 70% in the months when a protest occurred as compared to months without a protest event ($p<.05$). The other two case variables were not statistically significant, but the impacts are worth noting: the announcement of plans and policy changes increased the expected count of quotes by about 25% and 16%, respectively. This model implies that events on the ground, the happenings specific to the case, ultimately drove media coverage.

Model 2 adds nuance to the outcome by focusing on only pro-plan quotes. I do this to determine what effect the predictors have on favorable coverage of the Plan for Transformation. Once again, the murder rate, unemployment rate, and the number of new residential permits issued did not significantly affect the count of pro-plan quotes. The case-specific variables, however, provide some interesting trends. The effect of protest events is no longer significant or even present, implying that protest does not

motivate favorable coverage of urban redevelopment. The announcement of CHA plans increases the expected count of pro-plan quotes by 43% ($p<.05$). During these times, the growth coalition and CHA actors push their plans forward and are able to present their strategic rhetoric to the public through the newspaper. Policy changes do not have a significant effect. Additionally, the effect of anti-plan quotes on pro-plan quotes is significant ($p<.001$). Each additional anti-plan quote increased the count of pro-plan quotes by 12%. This implies that a dialogue is taking place in the public forum.

Model 3 predicts the count of anti-plan quotes in the newspaper. This is ultimately the outcome which the neighborhood-based groups strive for. Unemployment, murder and the residential housing market still did not affect coverage, but the effect of protest is massive. In the months where these events occur, the expected count of critical quotes increases by 86.3% ($p<.05$). Policy changes also increase the predicted count by 144.6% ($p<.05$). This suggests two things: first, protest events did allow the resident groups to engage the media and frame the case with their own preferred rhetoric. Second, when the CHA announces a policy change, journalists were willing to seek out those who stand to be affected by these shifts. As many public housing residents stood to be harmed by these changes, their quotes reflected their dissatisfaction with the CHA. Lastly, for each additional uncritical quote, the count of critical quotes increased by about 10% ($p<.001$). This is to be expected in light of the relationship displayed in model 2, which demonstrated that unsupportive quotes serve to increase the number of supportive quotes. The *Tribune* allowed for a dialogue to take place, and this dialogue could be influenced by actors on either side of the debate.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In summary, my findings indicate that the *Tribune's* coverage of the Plan for Transformation was skewed towards the pro-development side, but the opposition was by no means ignored. I also find that it is case-specific, group actions that ultimately attracted the media's attention. The press responded to what actually happened, not to a higher issue-cycle, and the actions of each side can affect the balance of the stories presented to the public. These findings expose some limitations in contemporary urban theory. The growth machine literature typically portrays the media as an ally of the growth coalition and their redevelopment goals. My findings from the Chicago example suggest that it may be time to rethink this idea. Growth machine theory accurately identifies the main actors and their opinions on public housing reform, but if the media was truly biased against residents groups in Chicago, then the disparities in coverage should be far greater than they appear to be. While elite coalition actors were indeed quoted more often than their opponents, it would be inappropriate to say that the residents were ignored. The best way to defeat a movement group is to simply ignore them. They cannot fight for meaningful change if nobody is noticing, but the *Tribune* did present the views of the residents to their readership.

Furthermore, if the media is truly biased, their coverage should follow a uniform pattern of bias throughout the case. Local groups should not have been able to influence coverage through their actions, and they certainly should not be allowed to generate

rhetoric that is damaging to growth coalition goals. In contrast, I find that the protest events by Chicago public housing groups not only helped attract the press's attention, but it also had the desired effect. Their criticism of the Plan for Transformation increased both during protest events and times of policy change, showing that the media did interact with the residents and included their rhetoric in the *Tribune's* stories. This helps paint a more nuanced picture of a media that is utilized more effectively by the growth coalition than the opposition, not as a staunch ally of elite interests. More research is ultimately necessary to confirm this, however.

From a tactical standpoint, the question that ultimately matters is if the media actually made a difference in the movement to protect public housing. Despite the resident-led efforts, at the present day, Chicago's high-rises are all but gone. As time has passed, it seems that many of the resident's criticisms were quite prescient. The CHA has made some impressive gains which cannot be ignored. For instance, the majority residents who moved into a subsidized apartment feel safer in their new environment and live in better-maintained properties (Popkin & Price 2010). The process was far from smooth, however. Minority residents faced discrimination in the private rental market, and the failure rate for finding a suitable apartment with a section 8 voucher can approach 50% in large metropolitan areas, far higher than the national average (Popkin & Cunningham 2000; Grigsby & Bourassa 2004). Residents who received job training by the CHA or assistance in navigating the complicated path to a private apartment tended to fare better, but the administration of these services was spotty at best (Venkatesh & Celimli 2004). Over 40% of relocated residents moved to isolated, segregated and highly

distressed neighborhoods (Oakley & Burchfield 2009). In spite of the "right of return," the level of displacement in Chicago has been far higher than rates documented in other cities (Joseph 2008). Ultimately, it seems that the resident groups failed to accomplish many of their goals.

The Chicago case has implications for what similar social movement organizations can expect from the media and how to best engage them as a resource. Movement groups like those observed in Chicago fight an uphill battle. Due to the nature of the media's structure, groups cannot simply expect media coverage to balanced, but they can help contribute to the public debate with strategic and well planned actions. Through protest events, they can force the media to pay attention. This is a tactical decision, and largely under a group's control. They can recruit both the amount and the type of desired coverage through well-planned actions and by strategically capitalizing what their opponents do, such as when the CHA pushed for a change in policy. In contrast to Oliver & Maney's (2000) claim that protest is too institutionalized to be effective, I find that it did help Chicago's public housing groups receive media attention.

But, my findings also indicate that media coverage does not guarantee success. While it is encouraging that the *Tribune* did allow the residents and their leaders to be included in the debate over public housing in Chicago, it ultimately was not enough to halt the CHA's plans. The residents did win some valuable concessions, but still struggled to participate in the decision making which transformed not just their neighborhoods, but also their lives. While coverage may be necessary for a group to succeed, it is far from the only factor. Media coverage simply opens the door for political

opportunity, but does not guarantee anything. Their opponents can make use of this resource too. A dialogue is formed in the pages of the newspaper, and making it into the dialogue is only the first step.

Newspapers like the one I study here represent a public middleman, a link between the public and the various groups competing for support. After controlling for the alternate outcome, I find that a dialogue exists in the media which leads reporters to cover both sides of the issue. They may return to one side more than the other, which produces slightly biased coverage, but it does not appear that the media was blatantly biased against the residents. Some groups are more proficient at utilizing the media as a resource, and while journalists may seek to provide balanced coverage, they are not immune to the pressures placed on them. This happened in a highly-respected newspaper with quality journalists who adhere to strong ethical standards. Theories of the media's relationship with movement organizations and their participation in urban redevelopment conflicts should recognize the local press as a social resource. Ultimately, news coverage is fluid and can change through the timeframe of the case. This can help movements, but it can also assist their opponents. Movement groups must understand that their actions matter and help recruit the media's attention, but they must also be wary of their opponents doing the same thing as well.

CONCLUSIONS

While the lessons learned from Chicago have vast implications for public housing interest groups and marginal social movement organizations, this study is limited in a few ways. Chicago's Plan for Transformation is the most radical example of public housing reform in the country, and is a path which other housing authorities are likely to explore in the future. Despite similar motivations, however, the situation in various other cities may be different in some important ways. Public housing revitalization conflict has been documented in New York City (Hyra 2008) and New Orleans (Gotham & Brumley 2002), and these stories are all slightly different from what happened in Chicago. Nevertheless, it is important for groups across the country to realize how best to interact with the media.

Additionally, while the way I measure media bias (quotes from each side) improves on past research, it also ignores some potentially valuable information. My research examines how each side of the debate inserts their rhetoric into the newspaper, as measured by quotes. This is by no means the extent of media coverage, however. Studying various framing strategies is a powerful way to research social movement portrayals in the media (Reese 2001; Rohlinger 2002; Ferree et al. 2002). My study mainly focuses on the determinants of supportive and unsupportive media coverage, so I cannot speak to how these issues were framed or if certain frames were more effective than others. Future research should seek to describe the coverage in a more in-depth

fashion, perhaps combing quotes and frames for a more inclusive account.

This study shows the *Tribune's* coverage of the city's public housing reform to be skewed in favor of the pro-development voices. Specific actors and groups of people generally provide statements consistent with theoretical expectations. I find that case-specific variables served to more powerfully predict variation in the count of quotes per month. The impact of contextual, city-level variables is negligible, and the effect of case-specific variables differs depending on the outcome. Protest events and CHA policy changes serve to increase the amount of critical attention given to the case, while CHA announcements help increase the amount of positive coverage. This evidence suggests that urban theory may need to be restructured to account for a more nuanced view of the media.

These findings paint an optimistic picture of the media's relationship with marginal groups like the public housing residents in Chicago, but despite their ability to interact with the media and influence coverage, they still failed to accomplish their goals. Media coverage, even favorable coverage, does not ensure success. The next step in this body of research should be to understand how groups can use the media to achieve victories. If the first step is recruiting media coverage, however, these findings go a long way towards establishing a more accurate understanding of the media

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APPENDIX: TABLES AND FIGURES

Variables	Mean	Std. Dev.	Data Source
Dependent Variables			
Monthly Quotes	13.78	12.19	Newspaper
Critical Quotes	3.55	3.89	Newspaper
Uncritical Quotes	5.63	5.84	Newspaper
Neutral Quotes	4.59	5.23	Newspaper
Contextual Variables			
Murder Rate	20.09	4.03	FBI Unified Crime Reports
Unemployment Rate	6.95	1.55	IDES
Residential Building Permits	12,403.23	5,438.13	U.S. Census Bureau
Case-Specific Variables			
Protest	0.11	0.31	Newspaper
CHA Plans	0.14	0.36	Newspaper
Recession	0.29	0.45	Newspaper
CHA Policy Change	0.05	0.22	Newspaper
CHA's CEO			
Joseph Schuldiner	0.19	0.39	CHA
Terry Peterson	0.07	0.25	CHA
Sharon Gist Gilliam	0.1	0.29	CHA
Lewis Jordan	0.16	0.37	CHA

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Dependant, Contextual and Case-Specific Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
(1) Monthy Quotes	1													
(2)Supportive Quotes	0.8464	1												
(3) Unsupportive Quotes	0.7631	0.4935	1											
(4) Murder Rate	0.1839	0.2567	0.1296	1										
(5) Unemployment Rate	-0.1739	-0.1763	-0.1074	-0.2442	1									
(6) Residential Building Permits	0.1022	0.0214	0.0486	-0.2142	-0.3857	1								
(7) Protest	0.2636	0.1877	0.2954	0.1762	-0.123	-0.0701	1							
(8) CHA Plans	0.1311	0.1759	0.0241	0.1048	-0.0783	0.1806	-0.15	1						
(9) CHA Policy Change	0.0186	-0.0054	0.1394	-0.0836	-0.0059	-0.0532	-0.0967	0.0409	1					
(10) Recession	-0.2102	-0.2113	-0.1453	-0.3007	0.6616	-0.6572	-0.0874	-0.181	-0.0813	1				
(11) Joseph Schuldiner	0.0766	0.1432	0.0213	0.7121	-0.2756	-0.2436	0.1266	-0.1645	-0.1111	-0.1671	1			
(12) Terry Peterson	0.0465	-0.027	-0.0228	-0.1813	0.1143	0.586	-0.1521	0.2978	0.006	-0.3409	-0.4658	1		
(13) Sharon Gist Gilliam	-0.1353	-0.1178	-0.0408	-0.3488	-0.3154	0.3281	-0.0743	-0.1155	-0.0758	-0.1141	-0.1559	-0.3179	1	
(14) Lewis Jordan	-0.1947	-0.2068	-0.1027	-0.3394	0.5289	-0.7644	-0.0831	-0.2059	0.1361	0.8005	-0.2088	-0.4258	-0.1425	1

Table 2: Bivariate Correlation Matrix of All Dependent, Independent and Control Variables

Affiliation	Anti-Plan	Pro-Plan	Neutral	Total
Growth Machine				
Politician/ Government Official	20.5%	47.9%	31.6%	14.6%
	(64)	(150)	(99)	(313)
CHA/HUD Official	4.9%	63.4%	31.7%	21.1%
	(22)	(288)	(144)	(454)
Developer/Real Estate/ Banker	5.7%	54.8%	39.6%	14.7%
	(18)	(173)	(125)	(316)
Community				
Public Housing Resident	40.8%	27.1%	32.1%	12.2%
	(107)	(71)	(84)	(262)
Public Housing Leader/Official	61.1%	22.7%	16.3%	9.5%
	(124)	(46)	(33)	(203)
Relocated Public Housing Resident	39.6%	32.3%	28.1%	4.5%
	(38)	(31)	(27)	(96)
Surrounding Community Resident	26.8%	35.3%	37.8%	9.4%
	(107)	(71)	(84)	(262)
Other				
Random Respondent	17.7%	29.4%	52.9%	0.8%
	(3)	(5)	(9)	(17)
Expert/Analyst/Lawyer	51.7%	10.4%	37.9%	8.5%
	(94)	(19)	(69)	(182)
Other Respondents	28.6%	23.8%	47.6%	4.9%
	(30)	(25)	(50)	(105)
Total	25.8%	40.9%	33.3%	100.0%
	(554)	(879)	(716)	(2,149)

Table 3. Cross Tabulation: Slant of Quote by Institutional Affiliation
N's presented in parentheses.

Variables	Model 1: Monthly Quotes	(s.e)	Model 2: Pro-Plan Quotes	(s.e)	Model 3: Anti-Plan Quotes	(s.e)
Contextual Variables						
Murder Rate	0.018	(0.04)	-0.038	0.03)	0.06	(0.05)
	1.9%		-3.7%		6.2%	
Unemployment Rate	-0.057	(0.07)	-0.034	(0.07)	0.019	(0.09)
	-5.5%		-3.4%		1.9%	
Residential Building Permits	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)	0.00	(0.00)
	0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Case-Specific Variables						
Protest (a)	0.527*	(0.22)	0.0002	(0.21)	0.622*	(0.25)
	69.4%		0.0%		86.3%	
CHA Plans (b)	0.226	(0.18)	.358*	(0.17)	-0.072	(0.2)
	25.4%		43%		-7.0%	
CHA Policy Change (c)	0.151	(0.37)	-0.121	(0.34)	.895*	(0.42)
	16.4%		-11.4%		144.6%	
Controls						
Recession	-0.329	(0.49)	-0.614	(0.47)	0.137	(0.61)
	-28.0%		-45.9%		14.70%	
Anti-Plan Quotes	--		.116***	(0.02)	--	
			12.3%			
Pro-Plan Quotes	--		--		0.096***	(0.02)
					10.1%	
Joseph Schuldiner (d)	0.305	(0.37)	0.012	(0.33)	-0.278	(0.39)
	-13.2%		1.2%		-24.2%	
Terry Peterson (d)	0.247	(0.36)	-0.243	(0.31)	-0.073	(0.41)
	-24.4%		-21.5%		-7.0%	
Sharon Gist Gilliam (d)	-.239†	(0.46)	-0.591	(0.41)	0.204	(0.5)
	-54.4%		-44.6%		22.6%	
Lewis Jordan (d)	0.042	(0.6)	-0.989	(0.51)	0.704	(0.72)
	2.5%		-62.8%		102.2%	
Constant	2.204†	(1.2)	3.057**	(1.03)	-1.92	(0.23)
N	156		156		156	

Table 4: Untransformed and Transformed Coefficients from the Negative Binomial Regression of Contextual and Case-Specific Event Variables on Media Coverage

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001, two-tailed test. Standard errors presented in parentheses.
Transformed coefficients presented as percents under untransformed coefficients.
a = reference groups is months with no protest event.
b = reference group is months with no CHA plan announcements.
c = reference group is months with no CHA policy change.
d = reference group is tenure of Philip Jackson.

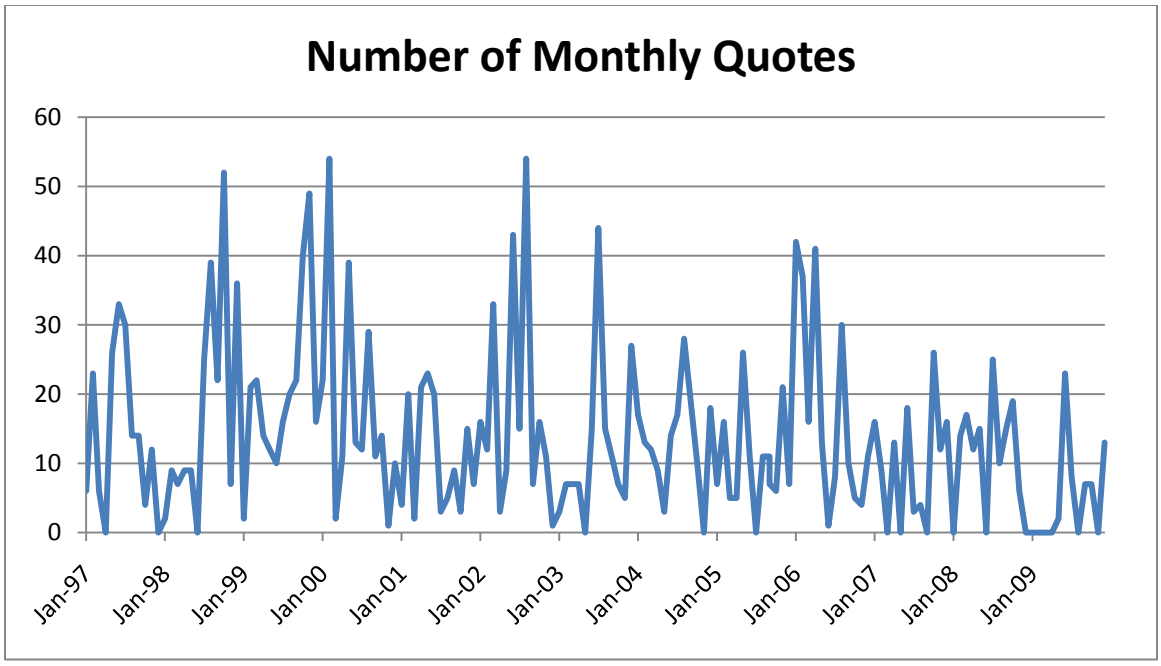

Figure 1: Number of Quotes in Chicago Tribune Articles on The Plan for Transformation by Month: January 1997 – December 2009.