

ABSTRACT

VELEZ, ANNE-LISE KNOX. Understanding the Structuring of an Institutional Field: Examining the Intersection of Emergency Management and Historic Preservation in the U.S. (Under the direction of Dr. Branda L. Nowell).

There are frameworks available to explain adoption and implementation of public policy at the national level. However, much less is known about how these processes work at the local level. There is also limited knowledge regarding structuring of nonprofit subsectors, and how factions in those subsectors may participate in or influence local-level policy processes. An institutionalist approach undergirded by a wealth of literature in social science dictates that these elements and levels of influence and actors comprise an interrelated system and must be examined together in context if they are to be understood.

Because of increasing concerns over the frequency and severity of natural disasters and cultural resource loss, the intersection of emergency management and historic preservation is an interesting context to ask questions salient to public administration regarding structuring of subsectors and local policy processes. Hazard mitigation planning is mandated for some federal grant eligibility, and numerous institutions and regulations in the United States support cultural resource preservation. Despite this, little is understood about pressures shaping decision making in this area. This three-paper dissertation seeks to address these gaps by examining nested national and regional forces shaping organizational structure and capacity in nonprofit historic preservation; determine the relative contributions of policy processes and economics to local-level disaster planning decisions, and better understand constrainers and drivers of local-level post-disaster policy change.

The first study, *To what extent is regionalism versus institutionalism shaping the field of U.S. nonprofit historic preservation?*, examines patterns in the structure and capacity of

the nonprofit subfield of historic preservation to understand the structuring of organizations and of the field. Data comprise telephone interviews with leaders at 96 National Trust for Historic Preservation Partner organizations in six regions used to develop frameworks for explaining organizational scope and capacity. Regional comparisons show that both institutional and regional pressures shape the field, and underscore the need to study nonprofit organizations within nested institutional and cultural contexts.

The second study, *What are the relative contributions of policy process factors versus economics to local-level disaster planning for cultural resources?*, explores factors related to cultural resource specification in local disaster policy. It uses survey data from 96 county managers and interviews with 3 historic preservationists in the Pacific Northwest to explain inclusion of and emphasis on cultural resources in local disaster planning. Findings show neither policy process nor economic factors are related to inclusion of cultural resources in disaster plans, but that economic importance of historic resources is significant in predicting the amount of emphasis on cultural resources in planning.

The third study, *From agenda setting to policy change after Hurricane Sandy: constraints and drivers of local-level change*, uses a grounded theory approach to examine local-level policy processes and develop explanatory propositions for future research. Propositions suggest similarities between extant policy process frameworks and local-level post-disaster policy regarding previous history of adjustment, coalition formation, and degree and type of damage, but importantly suggest that pressures asserted by state and federal level policies that interact with localized capacity shape local policy and cause variation in policy adoption and implementation.

Overall, findings indicate field-level values in this nonprofit sector and in disaster planning often overlap but, in large part because of economic and funding factors, interaction and shared decision-making are rare. This has important implications for public managers, legislators, and others involved in decision-making or policy implementation. They must recognize variation in opinion and behavior even among seemingly narrow subsectors, as well as factors that constrain or drive public input into the public policy process, and should support adequate funding to help ensure relevant stakeholders' policy input and compliance with legislative intent.

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Understanding the Structuring of an Institutional Field: Examining the Intersection of
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: WHY STUDY HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DISASTERS?

While the intersection of historic preservation and disaster management may at first seem like a narrow window through which to view problems of public administration and policy, the nexus of the two fields in fact provides a rich context to examine a number of questions salient to both public administration. Benson and Klein (2008) point out that as a profession, “historic preservation is... relatively new and has no official curriculum, certifying body, qualifying examination, or entrance fee” (p. 4), creating an ideal context for understanding the development of an institutional field. Much of our culture, history, and sense of community and place are embodied in the built environment (Kaufman, 2009; Wells, 2010). There is a history of valuing cultural resources in the United States, and a record of federal legislation both encouraging and mandating cultural resource preservation (Benson & Klein, 2008) as well as mandating preservation concerns in hazard planning.

Existing public policy frameworks address adoption and implementation of national-level public policy, and Birkland (1997; 2006) posits that natural disasters can act as potential focusing catalyzing changes in agenda setting and public policy; but little is known about how these processes work at the local level (Benton, 2005) especially regarding disaster planning (Scavo, Kearney & Kilroy, 2007). Relatedly, knowledge regarding how nonprofit subsectors are shaped and how organizations or groups of organizations in those subsectors may participate in or influence local-level policy processes is limited. From a social constructionist viewpoint it is necessary to examine the levels of actors and influence comprising this interrelated system and process in context if the structuring of this intersection is to be better understood (ex. Giddens, 1984). To do so necessitates a three paper dissertation examining the forces shaping a nonprofit subsector, determining the contributions of policy process factors and of economic factors in shaping local-level disaster planning, and undertaking a study of post-disaster constrainers and drivers of policy change.

Increasing concerns over the frequency and severity of natural disasters and resulting destruction of cultural resources makes understanding the intersection of emergency management and historic preservation of particular importance. In the United States the preservation of historic structures has been a part of national culture since the nation's founding, with government funding of landmark preservation beginning in 1791 with the maintenance of Revolutionary War monuments (Benson & Klein, 2008). In the 19th century this was followed by a series of grassroots movements related to saving individual buildings like Independence Hall in Philadelphia and structures of importance in Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Tennessee, and Virginia. Most of these early efforts were led by wealthy women, and most "received some kind of public assistance" (ibid. p13).

The spirit of preservation changed somewhat with the formation of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (now known as Historic New England), founded in 1910 to operate house museums and provide preservation education to historic property owning members (Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1952). This organization took a more businesslike approach to preservation involving identifying and buying endangered buildings then mortgaging them to others to restore so that the revenue could be invested in other endangered structures (Benson & Klein, 2008). According to its website, Historic New England is the largest regional preservation organization in the U.S. and is still supported by its membership. The group has been criticized for preserving only certain pieces of history—indeed "elitist leaders dominated the preservation field into the 1920s" and not focusing on accuracy or structural integrity, but is important to the development of the field of historic preservation in the U.S. as the general model is one that is still in place in a number of preservation organizations today (Benson & Klein, 2008, p. 15).

The adoption of the Antiquities Act of 1906 was the first time preservation considered on a national scale in America (Carlson, 1980). The 1920s saw the advent of the City Beautiful movement which focused mainly on large-scale planning and development. While the movement carefully considered many aspects of the built environment, then, as now, development was considered progress and preserving historic structures was usually not

part of development considerations. Preservationists felt that patriotism could be promoted by educating the public about history through “ingenuity” in re-use, but as “planners...were [mostly] college-educated men [and] opposition [was] made up mostly of well-meaning women [who] posed no direct threat...their arguments fell on deaf ears” (Benson & Klein, 2008, p. 19). The preservation “movement managed to survive and grow” during the Depression following well-known 1931 creation of the Charleston Historic District in South Carolina, and the 1933 creation of the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), which provided work for architects, draftsmen, and photographers and was originally part of the Civil Works Administration. A national policy for the preservation of historic places, whether on public or private property, was adopted with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (Carlson, 1980).

The 1966 National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA- Public Law 89-665) asserted that the preservation of historic resources is vital to “give a sense of orientation to the American people” and the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA- Public Law 91-190) reinforces this in specifying that potential negative impacts to cultural resources (which include built historic and archaeological resources) should be considered and minimized in federally-funded projects. A number of historic preservation tax credits and presidential executive orders since then show continuing commitment to preservation in the United States. While there has been continued legislative support for historic preservation, increases in the severity of damage caused by natural disasters in recent decades mean that historic preservationists and government officials are facing an increasingly difficult problem.

Extant policy process frameworks have been used both alone and combined to understand the policy process, and are considered to “exist within a family of theories” although they approach agenda setting and policy change in slightly different ways (Schlager, 2007). While agenda setting and policy change do not necessarily depend on a shock to the existing system that focuses public and decision-maker attention and thereby precipitates change, existing frameworks all allow for change precipitated by external stimuli that can act to focus public attention. Birkland (1997) conceives of these shocks as being potential focusing events that are “sudden, relatively rare... harmful or revealing the

possibility of greater potential future harms” and become known to the public and policy-makers at the same time (p.22). Natural disasters provide one important source for potential focusing events, but little is known about factors that change an event from a potential to a realized focusing event, and how this may contribute to agenda setting and policy change, especially at the local level. Kingdon’s Streams model (1984; 2011) attributes policy change to opportune windows that occur when independent streams (policy, problem and politics) combine and allow policy entrepreneurs to change public perceptions or problem definition in a way that then allows the entrepreneurs to push for policy change. Baumgartner and Jones’ Punctuated Equilibrium Model (1993; 2009) considers system-level decision making over of time based on agenda setting from multiple venues and collective action from entrepreneurs based on positive feedback loops. PET explains lack of change as a result of policy stasis, incremental changes over time, and characteristics of punctuations. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith’s Advocacy Coalition Framework (1998; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014) also considers incremental policy change over time but is a causal theory focusing primarily on agenda setting and policy processes evaluation, but may also focus on how coalitions influence policy change by negotiation. However, these frameworks do little to address local agenda setting and policy processes, nor do they account for contextual factors that may cause variation in processes or outcomes.

Exploring the intersection of institutional and policy theory

There is a history in the field of public management and policy studies seeking to understand both micro and macro forces that shape institutional fields. However, rarely are these micro and macro perspectives brought together. Historic preservation represents an understudied domain for this program of inquiry. Disasters represent a significant threat and subsequent force of change for the field— so studying the two together provides an information rich context for understanding how macro level policy and micro level management and policy process interact. The rationale for seeking an understanding of the interactions among fields and levels of influence lies in part in *The Constitution of Society* (1984), in which sociologist Anthony Giddens outlined the theory of structuration, an

approach to understanding the creation and reproduction of social systems by seeking an understanding of both structures and agents (individual actors) across space and time. Giddens contrasts structuration theory to other social theory by noting that others have conceived of structural properties as constraining actions, whereas in structuration theory structures “is always both enabling and constraining” (p. 169). Structuration theory comprises three core concepts: (social) structure, system, and the duality of structure. He explains:

The basic domain of study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time. Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible.... It is the specifically reflexive form of the knowledgeability of human agents that is most deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practices... possible only because of the continuity of practices that make them distinctively ‘the same’ across space and time. (p. 2-3)

The concepts and systems are closely related, and, by definition, interrelated. Structure is conceived of not just as patterns of social relationships or phenomena acting “akin to the skeleton... or the girders of a building” (p. 16) but to structuring properties that allow similar practices to exist across different spaces and times, “allowing the binding of time-space in social systems... and which lend them ‘systematic’ form” (p. 17). In other words, structure comprises rules and resources, which, when organized and reproduced, result in systems of institutionalized social practices that help define social life. Giddens describes the concept of duality of structure as the actors undertake actions with unintended consequences, noting “these unintended consequences also may form unacknowledged of

action in a feedback fashion” in a way that grounds as well as shapes the repetition of the action across time and space (p. 27).

In other words, Giddens conceives of structure as both shaping and shaped by the reproduction of social practices by these individual actors, and as influenced by regionalized context. Patterns of social relations change according to temporal and geographic proximity, with changing interactions changing the frames created by collective social practices that help individuals make sense of patterns of interaction. The routinization of these relationships and interactions become institutionalized over time, thereby ensuring subsequent interactions will likely conform to the patterns set by earlier interactions and creating a structure of rules and resources that help dictate individual actors’ future actions. Giddens notes that “context... connects the most intimate and detailed components of interaction to much broader properties of the institutionalization of social life” (p. 119). He notes the need to consider “regionalization... not merely as location in space but as zoning of time-space in relation to routinized social practices” meaning that there is the need to consider not only geographic differences in structures and systems, but elements of structure and systems that are tied to conditions that are only present at certain points in time (p. 119).

In *The Politics of Climate Change* (2009) Giddens notes that “planning was in vogue” after WWII but fell out of fashion because it was seen as authoritarian and oppressive in some contexts, and at best as attending to heavy-handed, faceless bureaucrats who intervened in local communities without considering local concerns. Because of the threats associated with climate change, he calls greater intervention from the state as a reaction to failure in de-regulation in the economy, in industrial policy, and in infrastructure planning and in “trying to alter public attitudes towards risk [as] a key part of planning policy” (p. 100). Climate change policy must be developed including diverse stakeholders like nonprofit organizations, businesses, and the public and recognize local initiatives, combining governance at the national, regional, local, and city government levels to address the wicked problems associated with climate change.

Because of the iterative and interrelated processes involved in reproduction of social practice, Giddens calls for interdisciplinary studies in social science that consider agency,

structure, and context. In *The Constitution of Society* (1984) he noted that from historians, the field of sociology could learn to incorporate considerations of “the contingent and the short-term with institutions that endure over long periods of time” but “anchored in the events of daily life” and the “continual interplay of agency and structure” (p. 362). From human geographers, sociologists could learn about the importance of regionalization at micro and macro levels, and the importance “of place in the reproduction of social practices” (p. 367). This points to the importance of studies seeking to explain how patterns in behavior come about, how they are reproduced, and how they vary by location, both in terms of sub-sector location and geographic proximity.

Structuration theory provides a lens for understanding how institutional fields are shaped. While public administration and management recognize key sub-sectors in the public sphere as nested within and shaped by institutional fields, we know little about the forces that influence their development at different levels. It is also unclear how patterns in institutional fields, in the forces shaping these fields, and in related policy areas vary by level and by location.

As described above, despite legislation supporting the preservation of built historic resources and a wealth of historic preservation case studies it is unclear to what degree this legislation, combined with regional and local culture, is creating uniformity in expectations of what should be preserved and how preservation should be approached. NEPA is procedural and therefore requires that federal agencies ensure funded programs, including disaster plans, are NEPA-compliant, but it is unclear whether built historic resources are really being considered in local-level disaster plans and how natural disasters are changing the way preservation policies are approached. It is also unclear how the decisions made in these fields are shaped, and how local-level disaster planning processes unfold, especially in the face of natural disasters acting as potential focusing events. To address these issues, this dissertation comprises three studies that seek to answer the following overarching questions: 1) *To what extent are regionalism and institutionalism shaping the nonprofit subfield of historic preservation in the United States?* 2) *What are the relative contributions of economic and policy process factors to local-level disaster planning including cultural resources?* and,

relatedly, 3) *What are the forces that constrain or drive local-level post-disaster changes in agenda setting and policy?*

The three studies are designed to stand alone, but build on each other as a clear body of research as parts of this dissertation. The focus of each study is summarized briefly below, and each appears as an individual dissertation chapter in ensuing pages. In the first study, *To what extent is regionalism versus institutionalism shaping the field of U.S. nonprofit historic preservation?*, I examine patterns in the structure and capacity of the nonprofit subfield of historic preservation to understand the structuring of organizations and of the field. This study focuses on nested ecological levels of influence (national and regional) shaping a population of organizations as recommended by Hannan and Freeman (1977). Institutional theory suggests national-level isomorphic pressures will cause nonprofit historic organizations to behave very similarly to one another to retain legitimacy and access to funding (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Selznick, 1996). However critical regionalism and literature on cultural regions suggests organizations will vary based on varying regional culture and politics (Elazar, 1984; Powell, 2007; Quirke, 2013). Specifically, I ask: 1) *What is the scope and capacity of U.S. nonprofit historic preservation?*, and 2) *What elements of scope and capacity in U.S. historic preservation nonprofits display national patterns, and which show regional patterns?*

I conducted telephone interviews with leaders at 96 National Trust for Historic Preservation Partner organizations in six regions defined by the NTHP using a concurrent mixed method strategy. I then created frameworks for explaining scope of activities being conducted by and capacity in these organizations. Qualitative indicators of scope and capacity were “quantitized” (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003; Driscoll, 2007), and then combined with quantitative data from the key informant interviews. National and regional patterns were examined using ANOVAs, cross-tabulations, and descriptive statistics. Both statistically significant and qualitatively different patterns are discussed. Findings provide evidence that both institutional and regional pressures shape the field, and underscore the need to study nonprofit organizations within nested institutional and cultural contexts rather than assuming they are homogenous within their sector. Importantly, findings from this study

are applicable to public and environmental resource management as public managers are in part responsible for ensuring preservation of cultural and historical legacies (Lewis, 2006). They also contribute to historic preservation literature by providing a national overview of the work done by these organizations in the U.S., providing a baseline for future research. In addition, this study establishes the scope and definition of built historic resources used in the second study.

The second study, *What are the relative contributions of policy process factors versus economics to local-level disaster planning for cultural resources?*, explores factors related to local disaster policy adoption that considers historic preservation concerns. This paper focuses on county level disaster planning efforts. To better understand the focus of local disaster plans and emergency managers I ask: *Are county managers including built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* For jurisdictions that do include such resources in their disaster plans I ask: *How much emphasis are emergency managers putting on the inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* To address these questions, I use survey data from 96 county emergency managers in four states in the Pacific Northwest. Those data are combined with interview data from leaders at three nonprofit historic preservation organizations in WA and ID to address: *What are the relative contributions of policy process and economic factors in local-level disaster planning for cultural resources?* I also report factors that local emergency managers and preservationists say would increase the likelihood of disaster planning around built historic resources.

I developed a number of hypotheses based on policy process studies, studies of environmental policy, and disaster literature. For example, other research shows policy adoption is linked to the presence of ties between different stakeholder groups (Bodin & Crona, 2009) and that pre-disaster familiarity between stakeholders positively effects communication between stakeholders during disasters (Steelman, McCaffrey, Velez & Briefel, 2015; Nowell & Steelman, 2014), leading to the expectation that familiarity between emergency managers and preservationists will increase the likelihood of disaster planning in that area including cultural resources. Work by Anderson and Hill (1975) and Jenkins-Smith et al. (2014) suggests that the presence of advocacy groups, in this case presence of an

historic preservation advocacy group in the county, will increase the likelihood of disaster planning in that area, including planning relevant to historic resources. Findings by Laurie (2008), Çela et al. (2009), and Rypkema et al. (2011) suggest importance of built historic resources to local economies will lead to increased attempts to protect these resources. I used crosstabulations, correlations, descriptive statistics, and qualitative content analysis to test the hypotheses. Findings show inclusion of historic resources in disaster planning at the local level is not upon policy process factors, as might be expected based on national institutional pressures to include historic resources in disaster planning, nor are economic factors of significant importance. Through further analysis, I show that when historic resources are included in local disaster plans, the degree of emphasis put on such planning is related to economic importance of the resources, but not to expected policy process factors. These findings underscore the importance of economic incentives over larger institutional pressures to adopt and implement certain policies at the local level. They also mean that critical resources protected by legislation reflecting important cultural values are still at risk in ways that many may assume extant legislation has mitigated.

The third paper and final paper, *From agenda setting to policy change after Hurricane Sandy: constrainers and drivers of local-level change*, examines local post-disaster changes in community conversations as well as policies and procedures. I ask: *What are the forces that constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in public conversation, procedures, or policy?* Because little is known about local level policy processes and factors that turn disasters from potential focusing events (Birkland, 1997; 2006) to catalysts of change at the local level, a grounded theory approach free from a priori expectations was most appropriate in approaching this question.

Interview data are from 10 state-level key informants and 16 local-level informants in 12 communities that received federal Public Assistance disaster declarations resulting from Hurricane Sandy. Additional data are included to further explore effects of the storm in these communities, including a review of articles in 21 local newspapers and archival documents regarding evacuations. Seven explanatory propositions were developed from case analysis. I compare the explanatory propositions to national-level policy process theories to examine

areas where the national and local-level policy processes are similar. Similarities between extant policy process frameworks and local-level post-disaster policy were found regarding previous history of adjustment, coalition formation, and degree and type of damage. Additional pressures asserted by state and federal level policies that interact with localized capacity (including financial capacity) to shape local policy and cause variation in policy adoption and implementation.

Collectively, these three papers address a number of questions important to both public management and environmental and cultural resource management concerns. Findings underscore the importance of considering context in the structuring processes in nonprofit subsectors. They also provide insight into the activities of historic preservation, a field that is little explored in public administration, but the activities of which are of particular interest in relation to institutional and public management values. Insights into local-level decision-making around disaster planning shed light on larger questions about local-level policy decisions and implementation, suggesting that the perceived economic value of certain policy decisions is more important at the local level than extant policy process frameworks posit. It also suggests that while changes in local-level agendas and policy change may follow similar patterns after focusing events as do national-level policy processes, there are additional pressures related to regional and local context that must be considered in understanding local-level policy adoption and implementation.

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CHAPTER 2

EXAMINING PRESSURES IN A NONPROFIT SUBSECTOR: TO WHAT EXTENT IS REGIONALISM VERSUS INSTITUTIONALISM SHAPING THE FIELD OF U.S. HISTORIC PRESERVATION?

Abstract

This mixed method study examines nested pressures shaping a subsector of the U.S. nonprofit field. In doing so, it provides a national overview of the scope of work of U.S. historic preservation nonprofits and the capacity of these organizations. Despite the importance of historic preservation to cultural identity and economic development, it is unclear what forces are shaping the activities of nonprofits in this field. This study looks at two ecological levels of influence on these organizations. Institutional theory and isomorphic pressures suggest that these organizations may be shaped by national pressures as they shape their practices to retain legitimacy and secure opportunities for the organization, making them behave very similarly. However, concepts from the literature on critical regionalism and cultural regions indicate that the degree to which organizations conform will vary according to cultural and political climates in the region in which each is located. Data are from interviews with 96 National Trust Partner organizations in 44 states. Typologies for examining professional approach to preservation and capacity were developed from qualitative interview data. Findings indicate elements of scope and capacity in U.S. historic preservation nonprofits are shaped by both national and regional pressures. Findings regarding regional variation in this subsector of nonprofits contribute to nonprofit studies by underscoring the importance of institutional contexts in shaping organizational behavior rather than assuming sector-wide patterns and behaviors. This study also provides a baseline for future research about the changing scope and focus of the field of U.S. historic preservation.

Keywords: historic preservation, historic resources, regionalism, institutional theory, isomorphism, nonprofit organizations

Introduction

We know that organizations develop within institutional fields, and that these fields shape how they behave. However, we rarely look at how these fields evolve and are influenced by nested pressures at institutional and regional levels (ex. Hannan & Freeman, 1977). The need for these studies is salient in the nonprofit sector as “the behavior of non-profit organizations [is] crucial to understanding sociopolitical behavior” (Anheier & Seibel, 1990, p. v). The field of historic preservation is an appropriate context for this type of study, as much of the historic preservation work in the U.S. is done by a small population of

organizations. Despite the sociocultural (ex. Wood, Ewalt & Baker, 2013; Maloutas, 2012; Wells, 2010) and economic importance of cultural and historic preservation (Wojno, 1991), little is known about the patterns in this field, and whether nonprofit organizations doing this work are shaped by national-level institutional pressures or regional pressures. To address this gap, I ask: 1) *What is the scope and capacity of U.S. nonprofit historic preservation?*, and 2) *What elements of scope and capacity in U.S. historic preservation nonprofits display national patterns, and which show regional patterns?*. This study aims to 1) provide the first known national study of the work and structure of historic preservation nonprofits in the United States, and 2) leverage these findings to investigate how the institutional field is shaping nonprofit structure and strategy at national and regional levels.

The majority of academic literature on historic preservation focuses on case studies and materials preservation. While these areas are important, a current overview of the scope of preservation understood by and capacity present in this field of organizations is missing. This is particularly salient as defunding local government preservation positions historic preservation increasingly makes preservation a responsibility of nonprofits. The work performed by these organizations is important to the American cultural history of valuing historic preservation. This cultural value is demonstrated in activities like historic government investment in maintaining Revolutionary War monuments and private investment in individual historic sites (Benson & Klein, 2008). It is also demonstrated through legislative actions supporting the preservation of cultural and historic resources, as in the American Antiquities Act of 1906, the 1949 congressional charter creating the National Trust for Historic Preservation, or the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. The work of this field of nonprofit organizations becomes more important as the occurrence of disasters increasingly threatens cultural and historic resources (ex. Verderber, 2009). However, there are no known are field level studies of these organizations; this paper makes an original contribution to the literature on U.S. historic preservation by providing a comprehensive look at the scope and capacity of organizations working in this field. For historic preservationists, this study may provide a better understanding of activities undertaken by colleagues, so practitioners can better learn from one another. It may also provide activists with a picture of

the types of resources that will likely be saved in a given area and those that may need extra attention or advocacy efforts focused on them.

This study contributes to the body of research on nonprofit organizations by examining the nested forces shaping, and variation present in, a particular subsector. The population of historic preservation nonprofit Partner organizations affiliated with the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) is substantially responsible for nonprofit historic preservation activities undertaken in the U.S. and there are clear nested layers of influence present in the field. Because of these nested influences, there are therefore strong theoretical reasons to think isomorphic pressures from the national preservation community and decisions made by the NTHP will likely lead to national conformity in the scope of preservation and in organizational capacity (ex. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). But, there are equally strong reasons to suspect the scope and capacity of this field of nonprofit organizations is shaped by regional conditions and pressures (ex. Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1981; Powell, 2007). This institutional field is therefore a rich research context for a case examining how this nonprofit subsector is shaped by nested levels of influence. It provides a unique and important contribution to nonprofit management and administration literature. This is both because historic preservation is largely unexplored in public administration despite its importance as an element of public management and sustainability concerns, and because the chance to study a population of nonprofit organizations within the context of their subsector allows for a rare opportunity to examine forces that shape the subsector, rather than assuming homogenous behavior across the larger sector.

Additionally, this study contributes to public management literature informing those seeking to fulfill “responsibility to future generations: ensuring a viable future by preserving resources” (Lewis, 2006, p. 694). Public managers are in part responsible for safeguarding public goods and “...ensuring the capacity to sustain life and to preserve and transmit civilization’s cultural, intellectual, artistic, and historical legacy” (Lewis, 2006, p.694). This means it is important for public managers working to address ongoing sociocultural issues in subsectors that affect public goods to understand variability in these subsectors so they can work with both nonprofit practitioners and the public to manage these goods in the best way

possible. As such, public managers can benefit from this study in understanding how this population of preservation organizations understands the scope of their responsibility as a field, how they make decisions, and what types of resources they focus on preserving.

Background

Historic Preservation in the United States

A brief review of the relationship between nonprofits and the built environment provides a basis for understanding the physical and social context in which preservation nonprofits are operating and have operated historically in the United States (Palen & Bruce, 1984; Boyer, 1994; Stubbs 2009). Because of tensions related to patterns of urban social change spurred by gentrification in the mid-late 20th century, the American public developed an increasingly negative perception of the goals and work that preservation nonprofits and government departments providing preservation services had pursued in the past (Filion, 1991; Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Saito, 2009; Maloutas, 2012). Just as the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was passed in 1966, the civil rights movement was expanding the number of Americans whose stories were considered worth telling and hearing. As a result the scope of built resources traditionally of concern to historic preservationists (usually monuments and landmarks associated with White culture) and the actions being taken to preserve them (often turning them into museums) came into question.

The NTHP was created in 1949 and funded by the federal government as part of the NHPA. According to the NTHP website, the Trust became privately funded after 30 years through “mutual agreement” (<https://savingplaces.org>). Around the same time, the antagonistic public climate related to gentrification concerns led NTHP to rewrite its mission statement to include more community-minded wording in order to regain public support for its work (Barthel, 1997). In doing so, the NTHP became a participant in an overall change in the way the benefits of historic preservation are promoted and understood. A new focus on cultural meanings and a concern for future use has shifted the emphasis from physical elements of the built environment that are being preserved to a broader definition of what is

worth preserving, and to the symbolic and semiotic meanings of the places being preserved (Matero, 2003; Worthing & Bond, 2008; Wells, 2010).

A number of changes in recent decades have led to historic preservation being seen as increasingly important. This is partly because historic buildings have become a widely acknowledged aspect of material culture. Sax (1982) described the “transformation in the context of property rights” related to historic preservation laws occurring in the early 1980s as a possible result of “social coherence demand[ing] evidence and symbols of common purpose” causing Americans to “turn... to symbols of stability, of links with our past. History is an obvious outlet for such values... as growth and development seem to become less valuable guides for future well-being” (p. 490). The urgency of preserving historic places and buildings as important elements of material culture and place identity has increased as the number of natural disasters and related threats to historic resources has increased (Morgan, Morgan & Barrett, 2006; Verderber, 2009) and as the economic importance of cultural elements has become clear (Wojno, 1991; Rypkema, Cheong & Mason, 2011). Meanwhile, government funding for historic preservation has been declining at the state and local level, and the recent economic downturn has meant that many municipalities that traditionally funded an historic preservation staff person no longer provide such services. Historic preservation in the United States has therefore increasingly become a concern of the nonprofit sector.

Nested pressures

Taking an institutionalist view, understanding variations in U.S. historic preservation nonprofits requires the organizations be studied as a population (ex. Hinings, Greenwood, Ray, & Suddaby 2004). Hannan and Freeman (1977) assert that organizations should be studied in populations rather than as single units because variation among organizations reflects not only adaptation, but also inertial pressures from within and from the operating environment. These inertial pressures include sunk costs for personnel, organizational norms based on past decisions, and legal and fiscal barriers to market entry and exit. Additional inertial pressures are created by “external legitimacy considerations” that mean only certain

organizations will be selected to survive in a certain environment. Because NTHP Partner organizations perform the same function (historic preservation) in the same sector (nonprofits) and all have an affiliation to a larger organization grounded in legislation that formed them (NTHP, formed out of the National Historic Preservation Act, or NHPA), this study considers NTHP Partners a comparable field of organizations.

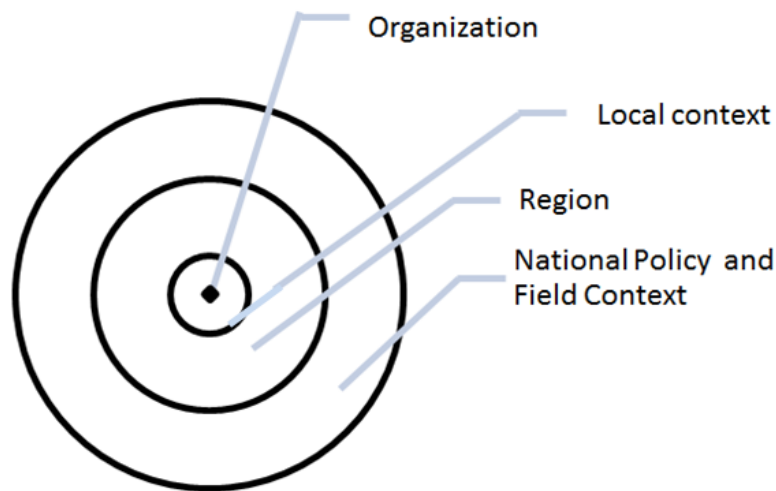


Figure 1.1. Nested levels of influence on U.S. nonprofit historic preservation organizations.

Nonprofits in this field are nested within institutional levels, influenced by both the region in which they are located and the national policies that apply to their operations as a nonprofit and as an historic preservation organization. As shown in Figure 1.1 (based on Bronfenbrenner’s 1979 ecological model), historic preservation nonprofits can be shown as being nested in multiple institutional environments operating at different levels. From a social constructionist viewpoint the levels of actors and influence comprising this interrelated system and process of field structuring must be examined in context if the structuring is to be better understood (ex. Giddens, 1984). Rypkema et al. (2011) describe the field of historic preservation as “a complex matrix of laws, incentives, policies and advocacy groups at the national, state, and local level” (p. 1). One of the most prevalent ways national pressures can be expected to show is through professional approach to preservation, in part through these

organizations' mission alignment with NTHP. Regional variation can be expected to show in resources preservation. Each of these levels will be discussed in more detail below.

Institutional theory: national pressures lead to national patterns

Institutional theory addresses the evolution and spread of institutions like rules, norms, cultures, and symbols as well as formal political institutions that affect both individual and collective behavior and decision-making. The focus of neo-institutionalism is not upon the individual organization but upon a category or network of organizations—hence it is an appropriate theory to examine the national network of NTHP Partners. Neo-institutional theorists treat organizations as a population within an organizational field. These theorists stress that the institutional context is made up of vertically and horizontally interlocking organizations and that the pressures and prescriptions within these contexts apply to all relevant classes of organizations (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996).

A major approach to new institutionalism is the normative approach advocated by March and Olsen in the 1970s. March and Olsen argue that the best way to understand political behavior (and therefore policy-making) is through a “logic of appropriateness” that individuals acquire through membership in institutions. They contrast this normative logic with the “logic of consequentiality” that is central to rational choice theories. That is, March and Olsen argue that people functioning within institutions behave as they do because of normative standards rather than because of their desire to maximize individual utilities. Further, these standards of behavior are acquired through involvement with one or more institutions and the institutions are the major social repositories of values.

This perspective on institutions has been adopted widely in public policy studies in the form of the concept of isomorphic pressures delineated in DiMaggio and Powell's *The Iron Cage Revisited* (1983), in which the authors explain the influence of coercive, normative and mimetic isomorphic pressures. Isomorphic pressures, such as perceived need to conform to peer practices or professional standards, cause similarities in structure and related behavior among organizations that organizations face once they become part of a network of organizations (in this case, the NTHP network) and expectations become institutionalized. In

this context, these professional standards are communicated largely through the NTHP's mission. Institutional theory is used to explain the "emergence of distinctive forms, processes, strategies, outlooks, and competences" that come about "from patterns of organizational interaction and adaptation (Selznick, 1996, p. 271)." Selznick asserts that these patterns and responses should be understood as responses to internal and external stimuli.

Regionalism: differing regional climates lead to regional variation

While most institutional theorists focus on institutional pressures that are nested at the national level, a competing body of literature would argue that institutional pressures may operate at multiple levels. Recent research by Quirke (2013) on 60 "rogue" private schools in Toronto, Canada, suggests that in organizational fields that are "patchy and uneven," more marginal organizations can avoid pressures for conformity from the larger field, but that homogenous patches can be found even within seemingly heterogeneous fields. Quirke defines an organizational field as "organizations [that] face the same regulations and environmental conditions" (p. 1676) and notes work by others including Lune and Martinez (1999) demonstrating that organizational fields segment to preserve identities within larger institutional environments and that this may occur as fields mature (Schneiberg & Clemens, 2002; Wooten & Hoffman, 2008 in Quirke, 2013). Patchy organizational fields are characterized by "weak regulation and sparse infrastructure" combined with a pluralism that allows for multiple logics in approaching work within the field, and shifts in technical demands and stakeholder expectations "which encourage varied organizational responses across the field" (p. 1684). Quirke notes that in educational fields, participation in voluntary accrediting leads to more prevalent conformity to organizational norms, and that for "rogue" private schools "can be expected to conform to traditional school models along a number of dimensions: governance structure [as nonprofits], physical structure [traditional school buildings and facilities], professional model of teaching [credentialed staff with dense networks], and curriculum [generalist]" but "fail to conform on any of these dimensions" because of the patchiness of the field within which they operate (p. 1688).

The degree of patchiness in the field of historic preservation nonprofit organizations is arguable. While there are potentially multiple logics in American preservation and there are some very clear regulations such as requirements for National Register status and tax exemptions at the federal and state levels, there is both variability and changeability in regulations at the local level, and there is little government-related infrastructure dedicated to preservation at any level. There are seldom substantial shifts in technology concerning materials preservation, but there are relatively rapid shifts in technology regarding public information and outreach, in which these organizations must excel to succeed. This uneven patchiness presumably means this population of organizations may be expected to conform to isomorphic pressures along some dimensions but not others. Because the NTHP is a national-level organization with resources and recommendations to which all NTHP partners have access, national pressures presumably lead to similarities in most indicators of governance structure, and to professional approaches to preservation. However, because the environmental conditions affecting this organizational field vary relative to infrastructure and regulation as well as regional histories and cultures of support for preservation, this may mean some dimensions scope and capacity vary by region, especially if indicators of local organizational context vary regionally.

The preceding section makes the argument that regional variation may result from patchiness within the field. Other arguments for regional variation in historic preservation nonprofit organizations can be found in ideas borrowed from cultural regions (Elazar, 1984) and critical regionalism (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1981; Powell, 2007). These literatures suggest at least some characteristics of these organizations may vary according to the cultural and political climate of the region in which the organization is located. According to Elazar (1984), American regional subcultures affect political behavior, political processes, institutional structures, and state and local policy and programming. He classified the United States geopolitically, using individualistic, moralistic, and traditional labels creating nine possible subcultures based on observations and outside research. While there has been criticism of Elazar's assertions about regional differences in the four decades since the publication of *American Federalism* (Nardulli, 1990; Lieske, 1993; Hero & Tolbert, 1996)

and the population of the U.S. has certainly changed composition in some regions since he wrote of the centralized control of the Midwest and traditionalist culture of the South, his ideas still hold. There are unarguably still distinct regional differences in culture, and therefore in policies and policy adoption still exist (Lall & Yilmaz, 2001; Barnett & Coble, 2011; Thorlton, McElmurry, Park & Hughes, 2012), and can therefore be expected to influence the activities of historic preservationists as well. Elazar's theory has been applied to explaining regional philanthropy in the U.S. as well (Schneider, 1996), and other scholars have found differences in corporate disaster philanthropy between global regions (Muller & Whiteman, 2009).

Elazar describes states in the South and Midwest as tending toward central control. For example, Southern states have a tradition of historic preservation and a resource base traditionally willing to support preservation. This suggests Southern organizations may be more likely to make programming decisions based on tradition than those in other regions and may be less likely to exhibit conformity to overarching national trends in historic preservation than states in other regions because they are not compelled to align themselves with NTHP to secure grants in ways that other organizations may be. The Midwest has a greater percentage of states with historic preservation tax credits in place than other regions, suggesting the Midwest may show a greater advocacy or education programming focus than other regions. Because the Western region has more pre-European history but was urbanized much more recently than other regions, Western historic preservation nonprofits may exhibit different characteristics than other regions. Likewise, the earlier industrialization and urbanization of the Northeast region may mean the organizations in that region have different preservation scopes and resource foci than other regions.

Critical regionalism was originally an architectural approach aimed at rooting design in geographic and cultural contexts (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1981; Frampton, 1983; Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1990; Lefaivre & Tzonis, 2003) that came about as a response to the generic globalized approach of modernism. Some date the approach back to the post-WWII writings of Lewis Mumford and contemporaries (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1990; Lefaivre & Tzonis, 2003), or even to the 1930s in Greece (Tzonis & Lefaivre, 1981), where the "opposition between

universal civilization and autochthonous [essentially place-based] culture can have strong political connotation” (Frampton, 1983, p.161). The idea transferred from design to include cultural and political studies, where regions are conceived not as places with stable boundaries and autonomy, separated from other regions and “not so much as places themselves but ways of describing relationships between places” (Powell, 2007, p. 10). This conception of regions as relationships rather than separations reinforces the need to understand both national and regional patterns in preservation practices. However, Powell makes an important point that “often when a region is evoked, described, or defined, it is for some specific purpose: to achieve certain changes in the physical or cultural landscape, often changing one by changing the other” (p. 5).

Wood et al. (2013) use critical regionalism as a lens for understanding displays on Willa Cather and Brandon Teena in the Nebraska state history museum and questioning the heteronormative viewpoint that in their view “disciplines the memory of queer figures” using rhetoric that “maintains rather than disrupts” memories of regional identity (p. 358). This reflects Powell’s assertion that dominant narratives and identifiers of region are often reaffirmed when regional lines are drawn, purposefully created demarcation on a map, often “unreflectively, reaffirming conventional wisdom about the place” (Powell, 2007, p5). All this suggests regional variation be examined as part of this study to address one of the central questions of critical regionalism: “What do people actually do in region?” (Rice, 2012). The answer to this particular question in relation to historic preservation activities is missing from the current literature on the field. In part, this study aims to address this gap.

A regional lens is appropriate for examining this group of nonprofit organizations; in the United States regional designations are often used in order to better understand differences in the policies and actions of government and nonprofit organizations (Schneider, 1996; Clerkin, Paarlberg, Christensen, Nesbit & Tschirhart, 2013). This approach has been used in historic preservation research as well: Carlson (1980) analyzes historic preservation by region using National Register data coded into 10 different building types and finds that the eastern states have a higher concentration of sites on the Register than western states. While this may not be surprising given the timeline of history in the U.S., it does provide one

reason to expect regional differences in preservation organizations in America. Borden, Schmidlein, Emrich, Peigorsch and Cutter (2007) examine variations in vulnerability to environmental hazards (natural disasters) against available federal funding using social, built environment, and hazard impact vulnerability indices and find vulnerability to be manifested as a “place-based regional phenomenon.” Further, NTHP Partners within the same region have more opportunity to interact with one another than with organizations outside their region because of geographic proximity and the likelihood of attending more locally-based conferences.

The NTHP has designated to six regions for their Partner organizations, providing technical assistance and leadership to each region through a regional field office. Using Powell’s (2007) reasoning that the lines drawn around regions may work to reinforce or change physical or cultural landscapes, this suggests that the values promoted and services provided within a region may be different than other regions, and will likely cause organizations within a NTHP region to be more similar to one another and less like those in other regions. These conditions suggest organizations will differ by region in relation to both scope, as indicated by professional approach to preservation, and in capacity, as shown in governance structure and organizational structure.

Methodology

Comparative mixed methods design

This research uses a mixed methods design (ex. Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib, & Rupert, 2007). In this study contextual factors are believed to vary regionally and are examined in terms of regional patterns. Mixed methods research “should... use a method and philosophy that attempt to fit together the insights provided by qualitative and quantitative research into a workable solution” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 16). Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) asked 36 leaders in mixed methods research (more broadly called mixed research) to defined mixed methods, and distill 19 definitions using cross-case analysis to describe mixed methods research as “generally speaking, an approach to

knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions, and standpoints (always including the standpoints of qualitative and quantitative research)” (p. 113). These authors note that “the dividing lines [between methods] are *much* fuzzier than typically suggested and antagonism between the paradigms is unproductive” and that while it is still worthwhile defining mixed methods research as a third research paradigm that developed as a in as a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative methods in reaction to divisions between approaches (p. 117). They also note that leading mixed methods researchers have varied opinions on “where or when in the design mixing” takes place, with some reporting it must take place during data collection, some during data collection and analysis, and most that it “can occur at all stages of research” (p. 122). In this study, the research questions require both qualitative and quantitative components to address, data that is representative of the population is used, data collected included both qualitative and quantitative components, and data analysis relies on both qualitative and quantitative phases to answer the research questions.

Data collection used a concurrent mixed method strategy, following expectations that “the same individuals provide both qualitative and quantitative data so the data can be more easily compared” (Driscoll, et al. 2007, p. 20). Analysis also used the mixed methods approach of “quantitizing” qualitative codes to “create a single comprehensive data set” so that “the quantitized data can be statistically compared to the quantitative data” (p. 22). Data are from 168 semi-structured telephone interviews with representatives from 96 historic preservation nonprofit organizations in 44 states in the in 6 regions defined by NTHP. Data collection took place in two phases, followed by two phases of analysis. The first phase of analysis involved qualitative coding of the scope and governance structure of these organizations reported in interviews. The second phase involved quantifying codes followed by a quantitative population- level description of national and regional patterns in the scope of work done by these organizations and their professional approaches to preservation, and in organizational capacities, as represented by governance and organizational structures. The sample, data collection, and two phases of analysis are described in greater detail below.

Sample

This study uses NTHP's 2010 list of state and local Partner organizations as largely representative of the breath of nonprofit historic preservation organizations, and, since the recent recession, as a population of organizations largely responsible for doing the work of preservation in the U.S. The list provides a basis for comparison of similar organizations as well as ensuring a reasonable sample of organizations from across the United States. Data in this study capture organizations ranging from the oldest preservation organizations in the nation to some of the newest organizations. Geographic focus areas for these organizations range from the city to the state level.

A list of potential key informants was identified by reviewing the NTHP Partners list that was current and available as of autumn 2010; the goal was to get population level data on the organizations identified via this list. Because the data are near population level, descriptive analyses are believed to be representative of the population. The National Trust defines six regions; these regions are used as the basis for regional comparisons in this study. The Southern region consists of the largest number of states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. The Midwest includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The Southwest has the fewest states: Arkansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas. The Mountain-Plains region is made up of Colorado, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. The Western region includes Arizona, California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington. The Northeast is geographically smallest, being composed of Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

Data collection

Telephone interviews were chosen as the most effective method of gathering data because they allow collection of a broader range of information about the current organizational behaviors through open-ended questions and a semi-structured protocol. This

study focuses on these types of organizations because they are often the primary geographic representative in their area and therefore presumably have the largest impact on the area's approach to historic preservation. Executive directors were chosen as representatives of the organizations because they were likely to know the most about the mission alignment and organizational structure. In two cases the organization had a vacancy in the executive director position and a Board member was used as an informant instead.

I conducted the interviews in two: between October 2010 and October 2011, and between June 2014 and March 2015. In all, 77% of the organizations on the 2010 Partners list participated in the first phase of data collection¹. In the first phase of data collection, conducted between 2010 and 2011, interviews were conducted with leaders at 95 historic preservation nonprofit organizations in 43 of the 48 states with active NTHP Partners nonprofit organizations. Delaware, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire and North Dakota were not represented in these phases of study because organizational representatives did not respond to my requests for interviews, and Alaska and Wyoming did not have an active NTHP Partner nonprofit organization at the time the initial two phases of interviews were conducted. The second phase of semi-structured interviews took place with the same organizations between June 2014 and March 2015, and was part of a larger study focused on organizational activities around disaster planning, still aimed at understanding the scope and capacity of historic preservation nonprofits in the U.S. An organization in Wyoming² was included in the second phase of the study, bringing the total number of preservation organizations represented to 96 organizations in 44 states.

Organizational representatives were asked open-ended questions about the scope of the field in relation to professional approaches to preservation, including organizational mission, targets of preservation, and programming priorities. They were asked for categorical responses about leader opinions on the importance of adaptive use and disaster planning

¹ This does not take into account those organizations from which I got no response after several attempts at contact. Taking non-response into account, 91% of organizations were included in the first phase of data collection, and 75% of those organizations took place in the second phase as well

² In addition to Alaska, Delaware, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire and North Dakota not being represented in the disaster-specific questions, Pennsylvania was not included because organizational representatives were unable to be contacted or declined to participate. number of interviews to 168, including interviews with

activities. Respondents were also asked open-ended questions pertaining to indicators of capacity around governance structure in relation to organizational bases for programming decisions. Categorical responses were solicited to indicate conformity to the Department of the Interior's "50 year rule" and solicitation of public input. The "50 year rule" refers to National Park Service Criteria for National Register Evaluation, which state that, with some specific exceptions, sites that have "achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible" (Andrus, 2002). Organizational representatives were asked additional questions indicative of organizational capacity around organizational structure, including organizational age, numbers of employees, membership status, number of members, and Board size.

Analysis Stage 1: Operationalizing qualitative frameworks of typologies for understanding scope and capacity

Because there is no known previous study documenting the activities of U.S. historic preservation nonprofits, there was no existing framework for assessing the scope and capacity of these organizations. It was therefore necessary to develop typologies for understanding the scope of activities undertaken by this field of organizations and organizational capacities. Four typologies were developed related to scope, representing facets of professional approaches to preservation. Typologies around professional approach to preservation describe: 1) strategic aim, 2) mission intent, 3) targets of preservation (resources being preserved), and 4) programming priorities. Strategic aim and mission intent are based on organizational mission statements. Two additional facets of scope derived from quantitative data are nonprofit leader opinions on importance of adaptive use and disaster planning activities, described in quantitative operationalization.

Three additional typologies were developed for assessing capacity of these organizations. Two are related to governance structure in relation to programming decisions: 1) programmatic decision-making and 2) solicitation of public input, and 3) geographic focus. Other elements of capacity described in quantitative operationalization below include

decision-making bases related to adherence to the Department of the Interior's "50 year rule" and additional elements of organizational structure.

Procedures for qualitative analysis

The four typologies related to scope and two typologies related to capacity described below were developed from qualitative inductive coding of semi-structured interview data. Survey data were analyzed for codes or themes using Excel spreadsheets to group similar responses together. Columns were then added with qualitative response category labels. In a subsequent stage similar categories were then grouped together. A peer reviewed the categorized raw data at both stages in order to assure reliability, which was over 95%.

Scope

Organizational scope describes professional approaches to preservation displayed by these organizations. This includes strategic aim and mission intent of these organizations as indicated by wording of mission statements. Targets of preservation and programming priorities are also included.

Professional approach to preservation: Strategic aim

Based on inductive coding analysis, three distinct categories of strategic aim were identified: 1) preservation of place; 2) preservation of culture, and 3) promotion of economic growth. Preservation of place comprises historic places and resources, architecture and built heritage, landscapes and environmental heritage, neighborhoods, districts, and getting historic designation. Preservation of culture includes cultural heritage and resources, encouraging improved quality of life and sense of community, unspecified heritage, object and artifacts, archaeological and prehistoric resources, and maritime heritage. Promotion of economic growth comprises encouraging economic growth and vitality and re-use or continued use of structures. These categories are not mutually exclusive; missions reflect one or more of these aims. Interestingly, mission statements and the scope of work described by the NTHP respondents demonstrated significant variation across the country.

Professional approach to preservation: Mission intent

Additionally, the intent of these organizations' mission statements is indicative of their understanding of the appropriate scope of work in the field. The structure of mission

statements was assessed, and a parallel structure revealed, with missions specifying a certain intent involving intended action toward a certain scope of resources through particular types of outreach. Some elements of mission intent overlap, but two distinct categories emerged. Some organizations’ missions aim only to protect, preserve, or promote awareness of resources; others sought to enhance the state of the resources as well as protecting, preserving, or promoting awareness (see Table 1.1).

Mission intent		Number of missions containing this intent	% of organizations with this mission intent
Protect, preserve, promote	Preserve or protect only	52	54
	Preserve & promote or Preserve & protect or Promote & protect	20	21
	Preserve, promote & protect	8	8
Protect or preserve AND enhance	Preserve or protect & enhance	9	9
	Preserve, protect & enhance	8	8
Total		97	100

Table 1.1. Mission intent in mission statements. This table shows the combination of intents contained in historic preservation nonprofit mission statements.

Professional approach to preservation: Targets of preservation

Each organizational representative was asked the types of resources that their organization was targeting for preservation at the time of the interviews. They were not asked to name a certain number of resources, nor were they prompted to respond to resource categories. Resource types listed by at least two organizations were retained as separate categories of resources to allow a finely nuanced picture of resource preservation to emerge. From this, 33 categories of resources were identified (see Table 1.2).

Resource category (N=94)	# reporting	% reporting
Bridges	44	47
Cultural landscapes or the built environment	43	46
Residential	42	45
Mid-Century Modern or recent past	40	43
Landmarks or historic sites	39	41
Commercial	38	40
Religious structures	36	38
Landscaped open space or parks	36	38
Industrial Buildings	32	34
Historic districts or neighborhoods	29	31
Open or rural un-landscaped space	25	27
Civic or institutional buildings	21	22
Farming or ranching resources	17	18
Schools	16	17
National Register eligible (50 years or older)	16	17
Barns	14	15
Archaeological resources	12	13
Theaters	9	10
Antiques, details, and objects	9	10
Cemeteries	8	9
Maritime resources	6	6
Military resources	6	6
Geographic features	4	4
Water towers or hydrology related	4	4
Historic university	4	4
Railway or transportation related	4	4
Libraries	4	4
Museums	3	3
Murals	3	3
Mining resources	3	3
Racetracks	2	2
Heritage lifeways	2	2
Historic neon	2	2

Table 1.2. Targets of preservation. This table shows resources reported as preservation foci at two or more organizations.

Professional approach to preservation: Programming priorities

Respondents were asked about the top three programs run by their organizations. Responses for the top programs run were then coded, and five focus areas emerged: 1) advocacy, 2) development activities, 3) administration and management, 4) physical interventions, and 5) conferences. Advocacy-focused activities include preservation awards, technical assistance, and publication of endangered properties lists. Development activities comprise fundraising, museum programs, and educational programming. Administration and management involves programming related to visitors' centers and loan administration. Programming focused on physical interventions includes both active restoration undertaken by the organization itself as well as revolving funds. Conferences are self-explanatory, and are usually held annually.

Organizational Capacity

Organizational capacity is related to organizational decision-making. It includes bases for decision-making about programming, whether and how organizations solicit public input, and the geographic area covered by the organization.

Governance structure: Programmatic decision-making

To understand the capacity of this field of organizations, it is important not only to understand how the field defines its scope, but to understand governance structure in terms of decision-making. Governance structure measures related to facets of decision making in these nonprofits include how programming decisions are made. Organizational representatives were asked how their organizations make programming decisions. They were not asked to list a certain number of decision-making bases, nor were they prompted with any potential answers. Programming decision bases reported were coded into a six categories including funding, Board and staff input, strategic plan, mission statement, tradition, and other (mostly local need). Each organization may use one or several bases for making programming decisions.

Governance structure: Solicitation of public input

Interview data reveal that public input used in decision-making can be actively solicited or passively acquired. Organizational representatives were asked whether they solicit public input, and if so, how. A range of answers emerged across interviews, and it became clear that not all public input considered important by these organizations is acquired actively. Actively solicited public input is obtained through holding public meetings, conducting surveys, soliciting endangered list nominations, and sending staff into the field to collect information about local concerns. A number of organizational representatives also reported their organizations obtain public input “passively,” without direct solicitation. Passive solicitation of public input includes information organizations obtain through emails, letters, or telephone calls they receive, responses to information they publish in newsletters or online, or members of the public dropping by their offices to ask questions or share information. Organizations may take either or both approaches to obtaining public input.

Organizational structure: Geographic area covered

These historic preservation organizations provide programming and other services to differing geographic areas. Data for this descriptor are drawn from mission statements and from descriptions on organizational websites. The four different geographic coverage areas that emerged from categorizing these data include city, county, multi-county, and state.

Analysis Stage 2: Operationalization of quantitative data, procedures for quantifying qualitative data, procedures for quantitative comparisons

Operationalization of quantitative data

Several measures of both scope and capacity were collected as categorical responses and therefore did not require qualitative interpretation. These measures are described below.

Scope

Professional approach to preservation: NP leader opinions on adaptive use

Nonprofit leaders were originally asked to assess whether adaptive use or more traditional, stricter approaches to preservation and restoration is considered more important by the field of nonprofit historic preservation today. They were also asked to assess will be

more important to the future sustainability of the field. Answer categories³ included adaptive use, a balance of the two approaches, or a stricter approach to preservation.

Professional approach to preservation: Participation in disaster planning

Organizational representatives were asked whether their organizations participated in local or state-level disaster planning efforts, had done in-house disaster planning, or were part of local or state efforts to plan for disaster clean-up and recovery. All types of disaster planning were indicated using a binary yes/no answer. The three binary indicators were then collapsed so that participation in one or more types of planning is indicated here using a single binary variable.

Organizational Capacity

Governance structure: Adherence to “50 year rule” for decision-making

In addition to categorical bases for decision-making coded from interviews, another element of governance structure defining these organizations is whether they conform strictly to the National Park Service’s National Register eligibility criteria that resources be 50 years in age as a basis for making decisions. Respondents were asked whether or not their organization adheres strictly to the “50 year rule” in making preservation and programming decisions. Responses comprise a three category variable indicating whether adherence to the rule is strict, usual but not strict, or not a consideration in decision-making.

Organizational structure: Characteristics

Respondents were asked about a number of characteristics describing organizational structure. They were asked what year their organization was founded to establish organizational age, and how many full and part-time staff the organization employs to establish size. They were also asked Board size, whether the organization has a membership structure, and if so, the number of members.

³ This question was originally designed as binary, but a third category was added to allow for respondents to report that the two approaches are equally important after several respondents indicated the binary answer choice was not appropriate for this question.

Local organizational context

Respondents were directly asked to categorize the importance of built economic resources to the area covered by their organization on a 5-point Likert-type scale (not at all important, a little bit important, somewhat important, quite important, or very important). They were also asked to rank the local influence of historic preservation advocacy groups as no influence, a little influence, some influence, or a lot of influence.

For region code, nonprofits were assigned a code based on the state in which they are located; the list of states included in each of six regions is specified by NTHP regional boundaries. This six-region variable (Southern, Midwest, Southwest, Mountain-Plains, Western, Northeast) is used as the basis for all regional comparisons in this study.

Procedures for quantizing qualitative data

Quantizing is described as a process by which qualitative data is translated into numerically identified categories for the purposes of quantitative analysis (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003). The strategy for quantizing qualitative data outlined by Driscoll et al. (2007) was followed here, as “quantitized” data reflect “whether or not qualitative responses contain certain codes” (p. 22). Databases of the qualitative codes described above and the quantitative data were linked using respondent identification numbers. Coded qualitative data were then quantified into numeric categorical variables (as in top programming areas) or into binary variables indicating presence or absence of a certain category of coded response in the interview data. Relationships were analyzed using IBM SPSS statistics software. This created a number of variables with which to describe patterns and make statistical comparisons (see Table 1.3).

	Organizational dimension	Variable name	Variable structure
Scope	Professional approach to preservation	Strategic aim [typology]	Three category variable
		Mission intent [typology]	Two category variable
		Target Resources [typology]	Binary variables (33)
		Top programs run [typology]	Five category variable
		Adaptive use current opinion	Three category variable
		Adaptive use future opinion	Three category variable
		Disaster planning	Binary variable
Capacity	Governance structure	Programming decision basis [typology]	Six category variable
		Whether solicit public input	Binary variable
		Solicit public input actively [typology]	Binary variable
		Solicit public input passively [typology]	Binary variable
		Conformity to “50 year rule”	Three category variable
	Organizational structure	Geographic area covered [typology]	Four category variable
		Full time employees	Numeric
		Part time employees	Numeric
		Board size	Numeric
		If membership organization	Binary variable
	Local organizational context	Number of members	Numeric
		Local economic importance of built historic resources	Five point scale variable
		Influence of historic preservation groups on local policy making	Five point scale variable
		Local influence of historic preservation groups on state policy making	Five point scale variable
		NTHP Region	Six category variable

Table 1.3. Categorical variables. This table show categorical variables related to scope and capacity.

Procedures for quantitative comparisons

Regional and national patterns were explored using ANOVA to test for significant differences among regions for continuous variables representing organizational structure, including age, numbers of employees, whether organizations have members, numbers of members, and numbers of organizations covering different types of geographic areas in

different regions. ANOVAs were also used to assess percentages of organizations responding affirmatively to binary variables. Because the rest of the measures are categorical rather than numeric measures, cross-tabulation is used for the remainder of the analyses. National patterns are reflective of characteristics reported by more than two-thirds of organizations.

Findings

Organizational structure: organizational characteristics and geographic area covered

Analysis revealed that nationally, ages and other organizational characteristics of these nonprofit organizations vary quite a bit, but do not show significant regional differences or strong national patterns. Organizations range from ten to 140 years old⁴, with a mean age of 37.29 years. Organizations vary in size from zero to 45 full time staff and zero to 100 part time staff, with a mean of about five full time and five part time staff. The modal value for both full and part time employees is one. Boards range from six to 82 members, with 22 Board members on average. Relatedly, there is variation in the geographic focus of these organizations. Most organizations cover the geographic area of a city (48%), or a state (42%), with less than 10% each covering a multi-county area (7%) or a single county (3%). See Table 1.4 for descriptive statistics.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	95	10	140	37.29	19.958
FTE	95	0	45	4.93	7.513
PTE	95	0	100	4.86	13.445
Board size	95	6	82	22.24	11.087
Member units	90	0	5000	683.78	844.615

Table 1.4. Organizational characteristics. This table shows descriptive statistics for organizational characteristics.

⁴ At the time of data collection in 2010.

Similarly, over half of respondents report that historic preservation organizations have “somewhat” of an influence on both state (53%) and local-level (56%) policy making, but there are no clear national patterns or regional variations. When asked what their top programs were, advocacy programming was mentioned first most frequently (by about 37% of organizations), followed closely by development activities (36%), physical intervention programs (15%), administration and management programs (10%) and then conferences (3%).

National Patterns

Analysis reveals national patterns in scope, with most elements of professional approach to preservation showing similar patterns nationally. National patterns are also found in relation to some indicators of organizational capacity.

Scope

Professional approach to preservation: Strategic aim, mission intent, targets of preservation, and disaster planning

There are also national patterns in most components of professional approaches to preservation in the field, including strategic aim and mission intent of these organizations, which are comparable to that of the National Trust, and show strong commonalities as a group.

Strategic aim

Strategic aim is indicated by the focus of a mission statement on preservation of place, preservation of culture, economic development, or a combination. Analysis shows clear national patterns in the strategic aim of historic preservation nonprofits, shown in an overwhelming aim toward preservation of place, with 99% of all mission statements reporting a focus on preservation of place. In fact, 54% of organizations in this population of nonprofits specify a focus on preservation of place alone, with no mention of cultural or economic concerns. There is much more variation in strategic aim around preservation of

culture, with half or fewer of organizations in each region and only 41% of organizations nationally mentioning cultural preservation in mission statements.

Overall, 31% of this population of preservation nonprofit organizations report a focus on a combination of preserving place and culture, then a focus on place, culture, and economic development in combination (10%). The remaining organizations focus on preservation of place and economic development (4%) or economic development alone (1%). In total, 15% of these historic preservation nonprofits include economic development as an important part of their approach to preservation, as stated in their mission statements, but there are no significant regional variations in either cultural or economic development foci.

Mission intent

Analysis also shows strong national patterns in the intent of the mission statements, with 83% specifying a focus on preservation, promotion, or protection in some combination; only 17% of organizations reported an additional focus on enhancing historic resources (see Table 1.1).

Targets of preservation

Relatedly, analysis shows patterns in specific types of resources these organizations report as being within their preservation focus are largely national as well. While some historic resources types being preserved by NTHP Partners differ by region, many do not. The relationship between resource preservation and region was examined using crosstabs. National patterns are found for the following resource types⁵: mid-century modern or recent past, libraries, landscaped open spaces or parks, residential resources, historic neon, hydrology related resources or water towers, barns, geographic features, archaeological resources, heritage lifeways, military history, theaters, historic neighborhoods or districts, civic or institutional buildings, antiques details and objects, national register eligible structures, museums, murals, railway or transportation related resources, university resources, schools racetracks, cemeteries, and maritime resources. Some historic and cultural resources that show national patterns in preservation are a part of the current preservation focus in only a small numbers of organizations, but the focus does not concentrate more

⁵ Resources that differ by region are described in the regional differences section

heavily in one region than another, so they are listed here as national patterns for simplicity. Of resources that show national preservation patterns with no significant differences by region (see Table 1.5), the most common are residential (reported as a preservation focus at 45% of organizations nationally), mid-century modern or recent past (43%), and landscaped open space or parks (38%).

Disaster planning

Analysis shows national patterns in disaster planning, with slightly over two-thirds of organizations reporting they do not participate in disaster planning efforts. About a third or less of the representatives of the 73 organizations that participated in this phase of interviews reported engaging in some type of disaster planning or another. The most frequent types of disaster planning in these organizations include developing an in-house protocol for responding to a disaster (which 34% of organizations report having done), and participating in local or state disaster planning efforts around historic resources (32%). Less than a quarter of organizations (23%) report participating in local or state disaster efforts to ensure historic resources are protected in recovery and clean-up plans. The pattern becomes even clearer if the total number of disaster planning efforts undertaken is considered. More than half (57%) of organizations are not participating in any type of disaster planning, 16% are participating in only one kind, 6% in two, and 21% in all three types of planning. This means only one in five organizations is concentrating on disaster planning in all three of these areas.

Capacity

Governance structure: solicitation of public input, and adherence to the “50 year rule”

Analysis reveals that historic preservation nonprofits also display national patterns in governance structure related to organizations’ reported programmatic decision-making basis, adherence to the National Park’s “50 year rule”, and whether or not they solicit local input passively and actively.

Solicitation of public input

Analysis shows strong national patterns in solicitation of public input. The vast majority of these nonprofit organizations reportedly solicit public input both actively and

passively. Most (84%) of the organizations reported actively seeking input from the public. Almost as many (82%) report gathering public input passively. Only one organization reported not soliciting public input at all.

Adherence to “50 year rule”

Strong national patterns in adherence to the National Park’s “50 year rule” are also shown through analysis⁶. In all, 80% of organizations report considering the “50 year rule” in making preservation decisions. Specifically, 29% of organizations report they always base decisions on which resources they should focus on preserving on whether they are 50 years in age, and 51% of organizations report they usually use the rule as a “rule of thumb” but do not adhere to it strictly. Only 20% report they do not use this rule as a basis for decision-making.

Regional patterns

Analysis reveals some regional patterns in scope, with a few elements of professional approach to preservation showing statistically significant regional differences as well. Regional patterns are also found in relation to organizational capacity, specifically in regard to the operating environment in which these organizations are working. Statistically significant regional differences are discussed below, followed by qualitative snapshots of each region that include both national patterns as well as statistically and qualitatively different regional patterns.

Scope

Professional approach to preservation: adaptive use and targets of preservation

Opinions on Adaptive Use

Findings show that while strategic aim does not differ statistically by region, another facet of professional approaches to preservation does. Analysis revealed significant differences in opinions on the place of adaptive use in the current and future state of the field,

⁶ Data for this question are from the 82 responses to this question.

despite adaptive use being widely seen as the more important approach to nonprofit historic preservation both now and in the future. Cross tabulation shows that organizational leaders' opinions on whether adaptive use or a more traditional approach to preservation is more important to the present and to the future of the field of nonprofit historic preservation in the U.S. differs significantly by region $\chi^2(10 N=77) = 27.02, p= .003$; $\chi^2(10 N=78) = 24.91, p= .006$. This variation is discussed further in the below regional snapshots section.

Targets of preservation

While analysis shows some national patterns in resources preserved, cross tabulations support regional differences for certain types of resource foci. Regions differ significantly in organizational focus on preserving: cultural landscapes or built environment $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 14.07, p= .015$, industrial buildings $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 19.26, p= .002$, bridges, $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 23.37, p= .000$, religious structures $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 42.62, p= .000$, mining $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 21.42, p= .001$, farming or ranching $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 14.61, p= .012$, urban or rural un-landscaped space $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 18.08, p= .003$, commercial resources, $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 11.52, p= .042$, and landmarks or historic sites, $\chi^2(5 N=94) = 11.12, p= .049$. Many of these resources not only differ by region, they are among the most common resources preserved nationally (see Table 1.5).

	Southern N= 31	Midwest N=16	Southwest N=12	Mountain- Plains N=6	Western N=11	Northeast N=18	National N=94
Most commonly preserved resources (% of organizations reporting as a focus)	Residential (45%) *Cultural landscapes/ built environment (39%) Mid-Century/ recent past	*Bridges (81%) *Cultural landscapes/ built environment (69%) Landmarks/ historic sites (56%)	*Cultural landscapes/ built environment (67%) *Landmarks or historic sites (67%) *Commercial (50%)	Residential (83%) *Religious structures (67%) *Open or rural un-landscaped space (67%)	Mid-century/ recent past (82%) *Cultural landscapes/ built environment (64%) *urban or rural un-	*Religious (100%) *Industrial (72%) *Bridges (67%) *Commercial (67%)	*Bridges (47%) *Cultural landscapes/ built environment (46%) Residential (45%)

	(35%)	Landscaped open or rural/ parks (50%)	Historic neighborhood / districts (33%)	*Bridges (67%) *Industrial (50%) Landscape open or rural/ parks (50%) Mid-century/ recent past (50%)	landscaped space (55%) *Bridges (55%) *Commercial (45%) *Industrial (45%) Residential (45%)	Landscaped open space/ parks (56%) Residential (56%)	Mid-century/ recent past (43%) *Landmarks/ historic sites (41%) *Commercial (40%) *Religious (38%) Landscaped open space/ parks (38%)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • < .05 significant relationship between region & this resource type 							

Table 1.5. Targets of preservation. This table provides regional and a national snapshot of resources most commonly preserved.

Capacity

Governance structure: Programmatic decision-making

The most frequently reported programmatic decision making basis is Board and staff input (52% of organizations), followed by aligning decisions with Funders' goals (46%), Tradition (38%), Strategic plan (31%), Mission (28%), and Other (21%). A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the use of programmatic decision-making bases by region. This analysis shows a significant effect of region on reported programmatic decision-making bases in these historic preservation organizations at the $p < .05$ level for aligning decisions with Funder's goals [$F(5, 89) = 2.49, p = .037$], and for programming decisions based on Board and staff input [$F(5, 89) = 3.81, p = .004$]. Specifically, organizations in the Southern region were significantly less likely to rely on Board and staff as a basis for decision-making relative to other regions. Organizations in the Mountain-Plains, Western, and Northeastern regions were significantly more likely to align decisions based on funders goals than the Southern, Midwestern, and Southwestern regions. The

regional effect for making programming decisions based on tradition approached significance at the $p < .05$ level [$F(5, 89) = 2.72, p = .054$]. Analysis does not show significant regional differences for programming decisions based on Tradition, Strategic plan, Mission, or Other bases (mostly local input). These variations are described in regional snapshots and shown in Table 1.6.

Because of unequal groups across regions, Harmonic Means are reported here, increasing risk Type I errors. Post hoc-comparisons using the Tukey HSD test show, for example, that the percentage of organizations relying on Board and staff for programming decisions in the Midwestern region ($M = 0.75, SD = .447$) is significantly different from the Southern region ($M = 0.25, SD = .440$).

Local organizational context

A one-way between subjects ANOVA was conducted to compare the reported local importance of built historic resources by region. This analysis shows a significant effect of region on the reported importance of built historic resources to economic development in the areas served by these historic preservation organizations at the $p < .05$ level [$F(5, 67) = 4.59, p = .001$]. Because of unequal groups across regions, Harmonic Means are reported here, increasing risk Type I errors. Post hoc-comparisons using the Tukey HSD test show that the mean score for local importance of built historic resources for the Western region ($M = 3.67, SD = 1.12$) is significantly lower from the Southern region ($M = 4.76, SD = .63$) and from the Northeast ($M = 5.00, SD = .000$). Interestingly, importance of built historic resources to local economic development does not seem to explain the presence or absence of organizations with missions focused on economic growth. The Southwest and Western regions report the lowest perceived economic reliance on built historic resources, but these regions are among those where mission statements show a concentration on economic development related to historic preservation (see regional snapshots below).

In addition to statistically significant differences between regions, there are also some distinct qualitative differences between regions in relation to preservation foci and decision-making bases. For example, the resource type most commonly preserved in each region

differs for all but two regions (see Table 1.5). Because there are qualitative differences between the regions and these data are representative of the population, it is interesting to look at how this field of organizations looks not just on a national basis, but regionally.

Regional Snapshots

Historic preservation nonprofit organizations in each of the six regions defined by the NTHP vary qualitatively in both dimensions of scope and of capacity. The scope of work varies by region according to strategic aim, targets of preservation, and leader opinions on adaptive use. Capacity varies according to the most common decision-making bases across regions. Regional differences are described below and shown in Table 1.6.

Southern

Unlike the strategic aim of organizations displayed in all other regions apart from the Mountain-Plains, mission statements of Southern organizations do not show any concentration on economic growth. While there are commonalities between resources preserved in Southern organizations, the region resembles national patterns more than do other regions in that even the most commonly preserved resources are a focus in less than half the Southern organizations. Like the Mountain-Plains region, the most commonly preserved resources in the Southern region are residential (reported as a preservation focus in 45% of organizations). Other targets for preservation include cultural landscapes and the built environment (39% of organizations), and mid-Century modern, or the recent past (35%). The Southern region has the highest concentration of organizations with preservation focused in part on cultural landscapes and the built environment.

The opinion of organizational leaders in the region on whether adaptive use or stricter, more traditional preservation is more important to the current state of the field is similar to that of the Southwest in that no respondents reported the two approaches were equally important. More reported feeling adaptive use to be more important (77%) to the current state of the field than traditional preservation (23%). Interestingly, the Southern region also had the largest percentage of organizational representatives (22%) that reported that traditional preservation is more important to the future of the field compared to other

regions. Also like the Mountain-Plains region, Tradition is a common basis for making programming decisions, used in almost half (47%) of organizations.

Midwest

Organizations in the Midwest have strategic aims encompassing preservation of place, preservation of culture, and economic development. When targets of preservation in Midwestern organizations are examined, the region matches the national pattern in that bridges are the most common focus for preservation (in 81% of organizations in the Midwest). After that, cultural landscapes and the built environment (69%), landmarks and historic sites (56%), and landscaped open space or parks (50%) are most commonly preserved.

The Midwest and Northeast are also similar in that the majority of nonprofit historic preservation leaders in both regions report feeling adaptive use is currently more important to the field than traditional preservation, and a larger majority in each region report it is more important to the future of the field as well. Opinions on the future of the field of nonprofit historic preservation in the Midwest favor adaptive use much more heavily (87%) than do most regions with only an eighth (about 13%) of organizational representatives favoring more traditional approaches to preservation as more important, and none reporting the two approaches will be equally important. The most common basis 75% for making programming decisions is Board and staff input, which is used in 75% of Midwestern preservation organizations.

Southwest

The strategic aims of preservation organizations in the Southwest encompass preservation of place, preservation of culture, and economic development. Cultural landscapes and the built environment are the most commonly preserved types of resources in the Southwest region, matched by preservation of landmarks and historic sites (each reported as a preservation focus by 67% of organizations). Historic commercial resources were reported as a major focus for preservation by half (50%) of the organizations in the Southwest. Like the Midwest, the Southwest does not list individual residential resources as a focus, but historic neighborhoods and districts are a focus for a third (33%) of preservation

organizations in the Southwest. The Southwest is similar to the Mountain-Plains region in that they are the only two regions with an organization reporting focusing on preserving heritage lifeways, and similar to the Western region in being the only two regions with an organization reporting focusing on historic neon.







Region	Southern	Midwest	Southwest	Mountain-Plains	Western	Northeast
Area					 <small>Includes Alaska and Hawaii</small>	
Strategic aim within region	Place, culture	Place, culture, economic	Place, culture, economic	Place, culture	Place, culture, economic	Place, culture, economic
Opinions on adaptive use	Current* (77%) Future* (22%)	Current* (69%) Future* (87%)	Current* (82%) Future* (82%)	Current* (83%) Future* (75%)	Current* (90%) Future* (90%)	Current* (53%) Future* (65%)
Most common decision basis	Tradition (47%)	Board & staff* (75%)	Board & staff* (69%)	Funders* Board & staff* Tradition (83%)	Funders* Board & staff* (50%)	Funders* Board & staff* (56%)
Resources most commonly targeted	Residential (45%)	Bridges* (81%)	Cultural landscapes/ built environment* Landmarks* (67%)	Residential (83%)	Mid-century (82%)	Religious* (100%)
*statistically significant difference by region; $p < .05$						

Table 1.6. Regional snapshots. This table shows regional patterns in U.S. nonprofit historic preservation organizations.

Like the Southern region, the Southwest did not have any organizational representatives reporting that adaptive use and more traditional, stricter preservation are of equally importance to the field currently, and the majority (82%) reported adaptive use was more important. The same pattern was exhibited with opinions on which approach to preservation will be most important to the future of the field, with no organizational representatives reporting the two approaches to preservation are of equally importance, and the majority (again, 82%) reporting adaptive use as more important. The most commonly reported basis for making programming decisions among Southwestern preservation organizations is Board and staff input, used in 69% of organizations.

Mountain-Plains

Like the Southern region, the Mountain-Plains region contains organizations that take a strategic aim focused only on preservation of place and preservation of culture, not on economic growth. The Mountain-Plains region is also like the Southern region in that the most common type of resource focused on for preservation was residential (83% of organizations). But, again unlike other regions apart from the Northeast, the Mountain-Plains region also has religious structures among the most commonly preserved resources foci (in 67%) of organizations, along with open or rural un-landscaped space (67%), bridges (67%), industrial resources (50%), and landscaped open space or parks (50%). Half of organizations in the Mountains-Plains region reported a focus on Mid-century modern resources as well. It is the only region apart from the Northeast in which organizations do not describe cultural landscapes and the built environment as being among the most commonly preserved resources. Given this area has the smallest number of organizations, it is interesting that it has a relatively large number of resources as preservation foci in the region.

Organizational leaders in the Mountain-Plains region report The Mountain-Plains region is like the Western in the vast majority of reporting that adaptive use is more important to contemporary nonprofit historic preservation than is a more traditional, strict approach to preservation (83%), with no organizations reporting that strict preservation is more important currently, and only one organization reporting the two approaches as equally important in the field today. Most organizational representatives in this region also reported

feeling adaptive use is most important to the future of the field. Similarly, but unlike regions apart from the Northeast, no organizations in the Mountain-Plains region reported stricter, more traditional preservation as most important to the future of nonprofit historic preservation as a field, and representatives from several organizations reported a balance of the two approaches as being most important to the future of the field. Tradition and Board and staff input are equally common as bases for programming decisions in the Mountain-Plains region, with 83% of organizations reportedly using each.

Western

The Western region contains organizations with strategic aims encompassing preservation of place, preservation of culture, and economic development. Organizations in the Western region most commonly focus on preserving resources from Mid-century or the recent past (82% of organizations), followed by resources related to cultural landscapes and the built environment (64%), urban or rural un-landscaped space (55%) and bridges (55%), Commercial resources were a preservation focus in 45% of these Western historic preservation nonprofits, as were industrial and residential resources.

When asked their opinion on whether adaptive use or stricter, more traditional preservation is more important to the field of nonprofit historic preservation now and in the future, 90% of organizational representatives reported adaptive use is more important to the field now, and 10% reported a balance of the two as being equally important. Similarly, 90% of organizational leaders reported adaptive use will be more important to the field in the future, but the other 10% reported stricter preservation will be more important. The most common decision-making bases reported among organizations in the Western region were Funders and Board and staff, each reported by 56% of respondents.

Northeast

The strategic aims of preservation organizations in the Northeast encompass preservation of place, preservation of culture, and economic development. The Northeast looks quite different from other regions in relation to preservation foci in that it is the only region where all organizations reported a common focus on one resource type. Every organization in the Northeast reported a focus on preserving historic religious structures, but,

like the Midwest, the majority also reporting a focus on industrial structures (72% of organizations) and bridges (67%). Unlike the Midwest but like the Southwest, most organizations focused on preserving historic commercial structures (67%), but like the Midwest, the majority also reported a focus on preserving landscaped open space or parks (56%) and residential resources (56%). The Northeast and Southern regions are the only regions with an organization reporting a focus on saving historic racetracks.

Organizations in the Northeast also look fairly different to other regions in how organizational representatives viewed the importance of adaptive use and stricter, more traditional preservation. However, the region has both the largest number and largest proportion of organizations where representatives reported a mix of the two approaches as being most important to the field currently (47%) and in the future (35%). The most common decision-making bases reported among organizations in the Northeastern region were Funders and Board and staff, each reported by 50% of respondents.

Discussion

This study makes a salient contribution to nonprofit studies literature in addressing pressures that create differing behavioral and structural patterns in a nonprofit subsector based on pressures at the national and regional levels. I found evidence that both national institutional pressures and regional pressures are shaping the population of U.S. historic preservation nonprofit organizations. These patterns are notable because even in a highly institutionalized context like this field of nonprofit organizations with ties to a larger institution, federal-level legislation shaping their environments, and similar strategic aim and mission intents, there is limited homogenization. Given the limited size of the field and association with a well-respected national institution, these national influences are not as strong as may be expected and the amount of regional variation found is noteworthy. Findings indicate that in this population of organizations, institutional pressures are largely responsible for shaping the scope of work conducted. Professional approaches to preservation including strategic aim, mission intent, some preservation targets, and disaster planning all show national patterns. Two indicators of organizational capacity, solicitation of public input and adherence to the Department of the Interior's "50 year rule," also show national patterns.

Despite the influence of national pressures on many indicators of professional approach to preservation, nonprofit leader opinions on adaptive use and some preservation targets are being shaped by regional pressures.

The capacity of these organizations varies regionally, with clear regional differences in governance structure around some bases for programmatic decision-making. These findings of regional variations as well as national patterns highlight the importance of studying fields of nonprofit organizations within nested institutional and cultural contexts, as sector-wide uniformity cannot be assumed. This may be particularly true in nonprofit fields that undertake work like historic preservation that was once considered a primarily a responsibility of the government. This matters not only to nonprofit studies, but in relation to public and environmental resource management literature, as public managers are in part responsible to future generations in relation to cultural and historical legacies (Lewis, 2006). Government managers are increasingly reliant on cooperation with nonprofit organizations private landowners to manage public resources, and recent social changes can create obstacles in establishing new relationships (ex. Bergmann & Bliss, 2004). As such it is important for public managers to understand variability in nonprofit subsectors working to help manage and preserve cultural environmental resources and other public goods, to both inform relationships with organizations working in the same resource area, and best manage these goods.

In addition to examining institutional and regional pressures in this nonprofit subsector, this study makes an important contribution to literature on historic preservation by providing an overview of the work and structure of nonprofit historic preservation organizations in the United States. I found the majority of preservation organizations have mission statements with a focus on preservation, protection, and promotion of cultural and historic resources, while less than a fifth focus on enhancing the resources they seek to protect. Bridges, cultural landscapes or the built environment, historic residences, mid-century modern or recent past, landmarks and historic sites, and commercial structures are the most commonly preserved resources nationally, with 40% or more of organizations reporting a focus on preserving these resource types. I also found the majority of

organizations in this subsector do not engage in disaster planning, either in-house or with outside stakeholders, despite historic preservation having become a widely acknowledged and important aspect of material culture and economic resiliency that is threatened by disasters (Wojno, 1991; Morgan, Morgan, & Barrett, 2006; Verderber, 2009; Rypkema et al., 2011). In providing a national overview of the scope and capacity of historic preservation nonprofits, this study may provide practitioners with a better understanding of the behaviors of other organizations, allowing for better information exchange, organizational learning, and impetus for advocacy work around particular resource types.

The findings from this study add to work by other scholars supporting regional differences in nonprofit organizations and philanthropy (Schneider, 1996; Clerkin, et al., 2013) and in historic preservation (Carlson, 1980). It also supports studies that have found differences in behaviors in nonprofit organizations related to decision-making rationale (Bromley, Hwang, & Powell, 2012). However, neither programs run by these organizations, nor elements of capacity related to organizational characteristics, geographic cover, or local context show national or regional patterns. This shows that additional research is necessary to better understand additional pressures shaping this nonprofit subsector, and how they shape organizational behavior and structure. For example, an exploration of the relative degree of influence of each of these nested pressures as well how these nested pressures interact could provide valuable information for both public and nonprofit managers seeking to influence practices regarding public resource preservation.

There are many small nonprofit historic preservation organizations in the United States but there is no comprehensive list of such organizations—and many are extremely small with a local focus and no paid employees. (At least one organization included in this study has closed its doors for good since its executive director was interviewed). This means one limitation of this study is that there may be differences in behavior among these even smaller organizations that are missed in the population included in this study. Additionally, my study provides a cross-section of the patterns of behavior and structure within this subsector, and there may be significant changes over time, especially given recent shifts in regional cultural values and threats to cultural resources. Resource preservation is

increasingly the responsibility of nongovernmental organizations in the United States. Some lawmakers and advocates argue against the continuation of historic preservation districts in urban areas, particularly in regions such as the Midwest where “the preservation of history and culture is not near to the hearts” of certain political factions (Capps, 2016.) This means it becomes increasingly important to understand when and how these organizations will act to preserve cultural resources important to the diverse publics in the area, and how they will go about identifying and making programming decisions regarding these resources.

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CHAPTER 3

WHAT ARE THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTIONS OF POLICY PROCESS FACTORS VERSUS ECONOMICS TO LOCAL-LEVEL DISASTER PLANNING FOR CULTURAL RESOURCES?

Abstract

How different fields adopt policy initiatives is of great interest in policy literature. There are several competing theoretical explanations for how environmental policies are adopted, some based on well-known policy process theories, and some based on economics. Given the attention paid to the loss of built historic resources in recent natural disasters and federal policy establishing the importance of preserving a variety of resources, the inclusion of historic preservation in disaster planning is an interesting research context to explore these policy processes. Because disaster clean-up efforts, especially debris removal, often receive federal aid, it is important to understand whether these national policies are being accounted for in local-level disaster planning efforts. This paper uses a mixed method study of emergency managers and historic preservationists in the Pacific Northwest to address: *Are county managers including built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* and, for jurisdictions that are including such resources in their disaster plans: *How much emphasis are emergency managers putting on the inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* and *What are the relative contributions of policy process and economic factors in local-level disaster planning for cultural resources?* Data are from surveys of 96 county emergency managers in 4 states (ID, MT, OR, WA) and semi-structured telephone interviews with 3 historic preservation nonprofit leaders in ID and WA. The paper also seeks to explain the lack of inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning, what would likely increase their inclusion, and what determines the degree of emphasis put on planning around built historic resources in disaster recovery plans. Findings indicate that policy process factors are not significant in predicting inclusion of or emphasis on built historic resources in disaster planning; economic importance of the resources is the only significant predictor. Similar patterns are found for historic preservationists in the area.

Background

There are a number of theories applicable to explaining stages of the policy process, and both policy process and economic factors provide reasonable explanations for agenda setting and policy change. Work by Birkland (1997; 2006) describes natural disasters as potential focusing events that will likely concentrate attention on certain problem areas, and

may act to focus attention leading the problem to take precedence over competing issues in agenda setting and subsequent policy change. However, there are few studies of local-level policy change and adoption, and even fewer of agenda setting and policy adoption around local-level disaster policies. Scavo, Kearney, and Kilroy (2007) note that top-down disaster management priorities are much better understood than bottom-up, including local government disaster planning activities. This issue is salient in public administration and planning because many of those in management positions in local government are members of the International City/ County Management Association, which lists the need to “respect the special character and individuality of each community” and “promote a balance between the needs to use and to preserve human, economic, and natural resources” among its 11 “ideals of management excellence” ([http://icma.org/en/icma/about/organization overview /who_we_are/ideals](http://icma.org/en/icma/about/organization%20overview/who_we_are/ideals)).

Kaufman (2009) describes the price of environmental damage from war (and therefore presumably natural disasters) as a loss of cultures, not just of life (p. 336), meaning that natural disasters threaten our very cultures and that disaster planning efforts should be concentrated on protecting and recovering as much of the culture embodied in the built environment as possible. Lack of adequate disaster mitigation policy has also been described as a consequence of the national focus on homeland security (ex. Birkland & Waterman, 2008). Given the threat to built historic resources created by disaster, one might expect that information about historic resources would appear in disaster literature with regularity. However a review of some of the prominent disaster and emergency management literature (ex. Lidstone, Stoltman & DeChano, 2004; Cutter and Emrich, 2006; Birkland, 2006; Block & Cooper, 2006; Nott, 2006; Rubin, 2012; Benson & Klein, 2008; Haddow, Bullock & Coppola, 2013; National Research Council of the National Academies, 2011) reveals no mention of preserving historic buildings in the disaster literature, and no mention of the necessity of disaster planning in much of the historic preservation literature.

Additionally, this paper seeks to leverage existing understandings about policy adoption in a new context to determine how national institutional pressures apply at the local level. There are a number of national institutions and federal-level regulations related both to

emergency management and disaster planning and to environmental and cultural resource preservation. This study addresses the factors that drive or inhibit whether local decision-makers act according to these larger legislative mandates.

Because it is unclear from field-specific literature how much the two fields are engaging, and it is unclear in policy process studies how policy implementation and adoption unfold at the local level, basic questions arise: *Are county emergency managers including built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* and *How much emphasis are county emergency managers putting on the inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning and recovery efforts?* Relatedly, for jurisdictions that are including such resources in their disaster plans: *What are the relative contributions of policy process and economic factors in local-level disaster planning for cultural resources?*

I examined constrainers and drivers around inclusion of built historic resources in local disaster planning using data from interviews with county-level emergency managers and historic preservation professionals. Previous research into the national policy process provides possible explanations for factors that could be expected to either drive or constrain the inclusion of these resources in local disaster planning. Studies of policy adoption in natural resource governance and communication during disasters (ex. Bodin & Crona, 2009; Steelman, McCaffrey, Velez & Briefel, 2015) suggest professional familiarity between emergency managers and historic preservation professionals will likely increase the inclusion of built historic resources in county-level disaster plans. Likewise Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith's (1988; 2014) Advocacy Coalition Framework suggests the presence of an active historic preservation advocacy group in the area will also increase the likelihood of local disaster plans considering built historic resources, as will greater public support (ex. Page & Shapiro, 1983; Wetstein & Albritton, 1995; Miller et al., 2009).

Conversely, since the nation's founding Americans have been pro-property rights and supported only limited land use regulations (ex. Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000; Paul, 2008). Historic preservation regulations are seen by some as unfairly expanding restrictions on property rights in a way that "disadvantages" land owners and contributes little to public good (Sax, 1982), suggesting built historic resources will be included in local disaster

planning less frequently than other types of resources. Alternately, the relationship between economic development and historic preservation is well established (ex. Maskey, Brown & Lin, 2009; Laurie, 2008; Strauss & Lord, 2001) suggesting economic factors may play a more central role in explaining disaster planning policies and procedures at the local level than do policy process theories. As historic preservation and economic development are linked in other studies, the importance of historic resources to the local economy may be an important factor in driving the inclusion of built historic resources in county-level disaster plans.

Studies of land use planning suggest resource limitations may constrain the inclusion of built historic resources in local-level disaster plans (ex. Allen, Moorman, Peterson, Hess & Moore, 2013; Miller et al., 2009). This study contributes to the literature on public policy by examining local adoption of policy standards based on federal-level expectations like those set forth by the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969. It contributes to literature on environmental policy by testing competing explanations for environmental policy adoption based on policy process and on economic theories. This study is positioned within the context of local-level disaster planning around cultural resources, an area that has been written about fairly extensively in case study research, but lacks empirical evidence documenting activities of emergency management and historic preservation practitioners. Such evidence is provided by this research. In addition, this research provides a baseline for regional comparisons of local-level disaster policy adoption by local emergency management agencies in other areas of the United States. It also an overview of the types of environmental resources, both natural and cultural, that are being included in disaster planning, allowing legislators and practitioners a baseline from which to work for change if they determine it necessary.

What does historic preservation have to do with disaster planning?

In recent decades the risks natural disaster poses to historic resources have become clearer. The federal response to this has included the National Trust for Historic Preservation federal programs like the National Flood Insurance Program (FEMA P-467-2). In addition,

FEMA granting entities have specified ways in which historic resources should be considered in disaster planning and recovery efforts, indicating the importance of such efforts. The preservation community has long been aware of the need to manage the effect of disasters on historic sites (ex. Spennemann & Look 1998; Graham & Spenneman 2006). However, in other research I found lack of funding for local historic preservation efforts and small staff sizes at many local historic preservation organizations means there are few resources with which to engage in long-term planning efforts and that many organizations are forced to take more of a reactive than a proactive stance with regard to preservation.

The 1990s was declared the International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction. *A Safer Future: Reducing the Impacts of Natural Disasters* by the National Committee for the Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction (1991) encourages communities to focus mitigation efforts on a variety of resources, including cultural properties. Protection of cultural properties specifies the need to protect “libraries, monuments, historic buildings, works of art and other cultural resources” by incorporating them into mitigation efforts to reduce loss, as “following a disaster, preservation of historic sites can be an emotional and costly aspect of recovery and reconstruction” (p. 25). The Committee also notes that “mitigation training should include the issue of preservation to promote informed decision-making and community involvement” (p. 25).

National-level attention to the issue may mean that locally-based historic preservation professionals are taking steps to engage in disaster planning discussions and efforts in their counties and states. However, the extent to which historic preservation nonprofits are getting involved in disaster planning and the factors that explain that involvement are currently unknown. Without pre-disaster planning and engagement with local officials responsible for responding in disaster it is unlikely that response and recovery efforts will fully succeed in minimizing damage to built historic resources.

As pointed out by the National Committee for the Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction, the true issues brought about by natural disasters often come after the natural phenomenon is over. Graham and Spenneman (2006) write that if a cultural heritage site survives a disaster,

the second danger may come from decisions made after the disaster... often there is a perception that because something is old and may have been irreparably damaged by these events, there is a need to demolish it in the name of public safety. During some disasters the lack of knowledge of the special requirements of cultural heritage has resulted in poor decisions being made which have actually exacerbated the damage (Craig, 1998; Kariotis, 1998; Traylor et al., 1990). (p. 744).

Supporting this idea, Ilan Kelman (2007) refers to Oliver-Smith's assessment of the aftermath of a 1979 earthquake in Yunga, Peru as "First the earthquake, then the avalanche... and then the disaster" as being very similar to Hurricane Katrina's "First the hurricane, then the flooding, then the disaster" because in each case the true disaster is not the natural occurrence but the "shoddy and inequitable relief and reconstruction" that occurs during recovery efforts. Peter Read (1996) examines the meaning and emotional impact of places lost to disasters. This indicates the need for preservation professionals to engage in response and recovery planning with local officials prior to the incidence of disaster in order to prevent loss of historic resources and damage to livability of communities when disaster hits.

Historic preservation planner Jeremy Wells (2010) asserts that "scientific, positivist" views that take only the empiricist, Eurocentric viewpoint into account and are easily measured against legislation are still used by the preservation community to decide what to preserve. Wells argues that this focus causes preservationists and others to miss the true importance of place and sense of place that is a result of experiencing and interacting with place. From a study of revitalization culture in a small town in South Carolina, Wells (2010) concluded that "for the revitalisation (sic) culture, a building's socially constructed meaning is part of the sense of place" and that "socially and culturally constructed meanings ... come from the experience of being in the downtown" (479). Like Kaufman (2009), Wells stresses the importance of built historic resources in allowing people to construct meanings and stories that tie them to place and to one another. Walker and Ryan (2008) conducted a case study on place attachment and rural landscape preservation in Maine and find the highest support for preserving the natural landscape, followed by historic preservation, then

preservation of scenic roads. They also find supporting research for work by Fried (1963), Giuliani and Feldman (1993), and Vorkinn and Riese (2001), concluding that participants who consider the local landscape to have been negatively affected by development have stronger support for preservation and planning strategies, that “disruption to place or negative landscape change is an important mechanism for revealing place attachment” (p. 150). This idea becomes especially important in the wake of threats that the preservation community is only recently becoming focused on: natural disasters.

Historic built resources can be especially important when it comes to disaster recovery efforts, as the stories and sense of community associated with a place through its built environment can aid displaced communities to engage in sense making and can contribute to the rate of recovery (or creating new norms) of a community post-disaster (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Berke & Campanella, 2006; Morgan, Morgan, & Barrett, 2006). This can be an important part of long-term recovery efforts, which according to California’s State Emergency Plan include “community restoration to state of normalcy” (Detwiler, 2001), and would therefore presumably need to include restoration of the built environment including historic resources.

If the built environment is not properly considered in post-disaster plans, the result can be reduced post-disaster recovery in the area. This makes recovery planning particularly salient in the context of historic and cultural resources. Berke and Campanella (2006) point out that “given the poor track record of ineffective planning for postdisaster recovery and mitigation in Gulf Coast states, rebuilt communities following the New Urban model are likely to have more buildings and people in harm's way compared to predisaster conditions” (p. 201). In other words, the historic housing stock and urban layout in the area was actually more resilient to disaster than the conditions replacing it. New Zealand’s Holistic Framework for Disaster Recovery includes four elements necessary for recovery: the natural, social, economic and built environments (Norman, 2006). Graham and Spenneman (2006) point out studies have shown that communities that have suffered from a disaster mourn the loss of cultural heritage. The preservation and conservation of heritage can actually assist the community in achieving some sense of normalcy and assist in the recovery

process (Read, 1996; Wells, 1993; Henry, 1991; Hollow and Spennemann, 2001; Nelson, 1991; Strong 2000; Carment, 1996; MacIntyre, 2000; Ellsmore 1992). If we refer back to the reasons why cultural heritage is so vulnerable it is evident that there is an ethical and moral obligation to implement disaster planning for cultural heritage (p. 744).

It seems maintaining the quality of the built environment, including the ability to engage in wayfinding and preserve community history, means that historic resources must necessarily be involved in disaster planning efforts.

Work on community resilience has addressed facets of community capacity needed for recovery after disaster. Godschalk (2003) specifies that traditional physical (engineered) hazard mitigation must be supplemented by a number of social monitoring, networking, and assistance measures including the need to build distributed hazard mitigation capability where “the city government would seek out opportunities to combine hazard mitigation with other functions, such as environmental conservation, economic development, community facilities, and historic preservation” (p. 140). Paton (2006) defines the nature of resilience and adaptive capacity as necessarily “encompass[ing] the social, cultural, and environmental contexts in within which societal activities occur” including “promoting heritage and environmental sustainability” (p. 910). Monday and Myers (2013) assert that part of developing local disaster resilience involves making sustainability and disaster resilience “part of day-to-day activities and decisions about land use and historic preservation,” among other activities. The 2011 *Coastal and Waterfront Smart Growth and Hazard Mitigation Roundtable Report* issued by NOAA and the EPA notes that historic preservation has traditionally been one of the concerns represented in smart growth principles and that there is the potential for intersections between smart growth and hazard mitigation strategies because attempts to elevate buildings for flood protection in coastal areas may conflict with desires for walkable streetscapes and historic character, which are seen as being important as related to sense of community and place. This makes it clear that historic preservation is an important aspect of disaster planning that is not well explored.

Select U.S. legislation and institutions related to historic resources

A brief review of historic preservation in the United States shows the practices dates to just after the Revolutionary War, when the federal government funded war memorial maintenance; this shows a long-standing cultural practice of valuing historic resources and their associated stories in America. Monument preservation was followed in the 19th century by grassroots movements (often led by wealthy women) petitioning to save individual structures, then by a more businesslike approach involving groups that purchased properties then mortgaged them to restorers in the early 20th century (Benson & Klein, 2008). Both approaches were dominated by the preservation of elite Eurocentric sites. However, American preservation of both natural and cultural resources was first considered on a national scale with the adoption of the Antiquities Act of 1906 (Carlson, 1980), and expanded the conception of historic cultural resources worth preserving to include Native American archaeological artifacts.

Despite this, preservation interests continued to focus almost exclusively on Eurocentric versions of history, and this was only magnified by the City Beautiful movement of the 1920s. This movement often failed to consider the value of existing historic fabric and led to the loss of “historical physical legacy” exacerbated by Urban Renewal legislation (Title I of the National Housing Act) after WWII that was designed to clear inner city blight and jumpstart development, but resulted in further loss and subsequent push-back from the preservation community (Benson & Klein, 2008). These cultural values meant damage and loss to sites properties of importance to indigenous and minority groups. Meanwhile, a national policy for the preservation of historic places, whether on public or private property, was adopted with the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (Carlson, 1980) and national preservation institution was created at the federal level with a 1949 charter creating and funding the NTHP⁷. The passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 states the necessity of preserving historic resources to “give a sense of orientation to the American people.” The Act requires states and territories to appoint Historic Preservation Officers to

⁷ The NTHP was federally funded for 30 years after its inception, and has since been privately funded through “mutual agreement” according to the NTHP website.

work with the public, historic sites, and federal grants, and provides support to communities willing to comply with the new guidelines; it does not legislate zoning or land use changes (Benson & Klein, 2008, p. 135). The same year the Department of Transportation Act was passed, compelling US Department of Transportation agencies to “make efforts to preserve historic sites” (ibid. p. 38), and in 1969 the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) passed, specifying that federal projects must consider not just the physical (soil, air, water, and geological), biological (plants and animals), social (communities and economies), but also the cultural (archaeological and historical resources) effects of planning and decision making. NEPA is procedural and therefore requires that federal agencies make sure their programs are NEPA-compliant. This applies to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which requires states have disaster plans in place to receive federal disaster aid, as well as to all other federal agencies. County disaster plans are often based on templates and modeled after state plans, so one would expect the NEPA resource categories to be reflected in both county disaster plans and in the activities and emphases of county-level emergency managers.

Hurricane Katrina brought post-disaster treatment of built historic resources into the public eye and has focused discussion of some historic preservation professionals on disaster planning efforts intended to mitigate the impacts of disaster on built historic resources. NTHP’s website states that often “local communities don’t fully understand the historic resources they stand to lose until it is too late—structures are wiped away, details and artifacts are irreparably damaged, integrity is forever compromised,” and goes on to note that “historic preservationists have a valuable perspective to offer both in planning for disasters and in recovering from them...” recommending disaster planning should “meaningfully integrate preservation practice.” This concern is reflected in NTHP’s education efforts, and today the organization offers a variety of documents providing information about disaster planning and response through its website with advice for homeowners, local governments, local preservation organizations, businesses, cultural institutions, fire departments, life safety personnel and emergency managers (<http://www.preservationnation.org/resources/disaster-recovery>). However, despite the legislative and institutional frameworks discussed above

seeming to promote the inclusion of built historic and other cultural resources in disaster planning efforts from the federal to the local level, it is unclear whether and how much the two fields engage with one another. Benson and Klein (2008) point out that “historic preservation is a relatively new profession. Distinct from many other fields, it has no official curriculum, certifying body, qualifying examination, or entrance fee” (p. 4). They go on to state that while “many universities offer preservation degree programs, these vary from those connected to architecture to others with strong ties to history or archaeology to interdisciplinary degrees such as urban studies” and that “many people have drifted into the field from academe, public administration, real-estate development, law, carpentry, homemaking, and many other domains” (p. 4), meaning that it is a field made up of many meanings and interpretations and studies of it must try to bridge this.

Policy process factors

The foundation calling for understand interactions between fields and levels of influence lies in part in Giddens (1984), who calls for understanding the creation and reproduction of social systems, including policy processes, by seeking understanding of both structures and individual actors. The interaction of multiple stakeholder groups and levels of influence at national, regional, local, and municipal levels is necessary, especially in considering policies that relate to climate change, like approaches to disaster planning, that by necessity must also include groups outside government including nonprofits and members of the public (Giddens, 2009). As a number of existing studies and policy process frameworks suggest a number of policy process and economic factors may influence the inclusion of built historic resources in local-level disaster plans, and these factors must be considered concurrently to understand how decisions in this area are being made. Existing research shows previous familiarity between different professional groups makes them more likely to adopt policy and practices including interests of both groups (Bodin & Crona, 2009; Nowell & Steelman, 2014), and that the presence of advocacy groups (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1988) and local support for certain policy areas (Page & Shapiro, 1983; Lax & Phillips, 2009) will likely increase adoption of these policies. However, adoption may be

constrained by local cultures that are not accepting of government intervention in land use. Likewise, if historic resources are particularly important to local economies, this may drive their inclusion in disaster planning, but adoption may be constrained by a lack of local resources available to dedicate to such efforts. These factors are discussed in further detail below.

Professional familiarity as a driving force

There are good reasons to expect factors related to policy adoption or implementation in other studies will influence the adoption of disaster policies including cultural resource protections. Bodin and Crona (2009) examine literature on the role of social networks in natural resource governance to determine the type of relational patterns that matter. They find that the adoption of new policies is largely linked with the presence of bridging ties, where individuals create connections between groups that would otherwise be unconnected. Because bridging ties put otherwise heterogeneous groups with bounded knowledge in touch with one another, these kinds of connections increase the information both groups can access to make decisions. This suggests that emergency managers will need ties to historic preservation professionals if they are to use historic preservation as part of their decision-making frame. Given that people, in both professional and citizen roles, are more likely to reach out to those they are more familiar with during disasters, and organizations that have existing ties to other organizations are more likely to reach out to those organizations as well (Nowell & Steelman, 2014; Steelman, McCaffrey, Velez & Briefel, 2015) it is reasonable to think that people will tend to interact with and seek information during post-disaster recovery efforts from people and agencies that they are familiar with. Policies involving emergency management and historic preservation concerns are only likely to be adopted if practitioners in both fields interact. However, there are indications that these two groups may not be working together. Lack of communication between disaster officials and those who manage heritage resources and an absence of details about heritage resources in disaster planning has been found in Australia (Graham & Spenneman, 2006). These findings highlight the need to include historic preservation professionals in disaster planning efforts so that their roles in

clean-up and recovery are made clear ahead of time. Because emergency managers are more likely to include concerns of organizations they are familiar with I expect that:

H1: Counties where emergency managers report being familiar with historic preservation professionals or organizations are more likely to have disaster plans that include built historic resources.

Advocacy groups as a driving force

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1988) conception of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) relies heavily on the basis that policies and programs reflect beliefs and values of the policy subsystem. Therefore, where there are advocates present in the policy subsystem, it is more likely that their concerns are reflected in local planning. ACF has a clear scope and boundaries defined by a focus on policy changes in (mostly Western) subsystems over a time horizon of a decade or more⁸, individuals conceived of as boundedly rational "believers" in the context of advocacy groups and belief systems, collective action in the form of coalitions explained by transaction costs, perceived benefits, and need for coordination. In ACF policy change is considered as incremental over time, facilitated by internal shocks and negotiated agreements by policy entrepreneurs. The theory mainly focuses on agenda setting and evaluation stages of the policy process, although coalitions can focus on policy change as well. Because it considers bounded rationality in advocacy groups rather than only in institutional settings, Schlager (1997) states that ACF "fleshes out the policy making process more completely" than other theories. Criticisms of ACF include a lack of justification for the coordination of actors in coalitions and a conflict between self-interests and policy core beliefs, as well as it being too obvious a moving target (ex. Sabatier).

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's (1988; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014) conception of ACF suggests that those issues that receive the most attention from advocates are more likely to become a part of official policies. Natural disasters and preparation for natural disasters in

⁸ While this study does not look at policy change across time as is required by ACF, it could provide the basis for a longitudinal study.

the form of disaster plan revisions and emergency planning exercises are repetitive and likely to become part of the agenda for local interest groups. Historic preservation values are most often promoted by local advocacy coalitions working to save a certain site or district, meaning that those areas in which preservationists are actively advocating for preservation are likely to have more policies around historic preservation including disaster planning policies. In discussing the development of property rights in the Great Plains, Anderson and Hill (1975) assert that higher market values attached to goods with strong ownership rights causes people to work to strengthen property rights as “witnessed by the fact that as our air, water, and scenery have become increasingly scarce, individuals or groups of individuals have attempted to better define their rights to these resources through legal action” (p. 167), suggesting that as historic resources are increasingly threatened and rare, citizens may act to ensure they are included in local disaster and land use planning. Therefore I expect that:

H2: Counties where there is an active historic preservation advocacy or action group are more likely to have disaster plans that include built historic resources.

Public support as a driving force

Relatedly, public support influences policy decisions. Miller et al.’s (2009) study of biodiversity conservation in local land use planning finds public support to be the second-most cited factor in increasing the likelihood of biodiversity conservation activity, behind increased funding, but behind support from elected officials. While conservation differs from historic preservation, existing legislation such as NEPA that comprises policy related to both resource types leads to the expectation that policy decisions in these areas will be closely related. As funding for local-level disaster policies is unlikely to increase in the near future, it is necessary to focus on other means of increasing the inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning. Scholars have established the connection between public opinion and policy decisions in the United States (Page & Shapiro, 1983; Wetstein & Albritton, 1995; Monroe 1998; Lax & Phillips, 2009). This literature combined with Miller et al.’s findings leads to the expectation that:

H3: Greater public support will rank highest as the factor most likely to increase the inclusion of built historic resource in county disaster planning efforts.

Culture as a constraining force

Legislation has established that cultural resources, comprised of archaeological and built historic resources, as well as physical, biological, and social resources are valued in our country. However, the degree to which Americans are accepting of government intervention in their rights and use of their own properties is limited in part because of lack of incentives for people to think beyond personal gain, and in part because of mistrust in the government (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000, p. 58). Paul (2008) notes that “the American founding fathers were deeply imbued with... Lockean notions” of possession of private property as “the fundamental liberty upon which all other inherent rights of life and liberty depend” but despite these also being beliefs held by “our average Americans, governments today do exercise considerable powers over how any of us can use our property” (p. 3). While most Americans accept that even on privately owned land it is necessary to regulate the use of physical resources like soil and water so that they do not pose harm to others, there are differing opinions on what should and should not be regulated on private land. There is some agreement that biological resources should be protected to avoid the loss of threatened or endangered species, and that communities and economics (social resources) should be protected for the greater good, but people tend to be somewhat less accepting of regulations that affect their rights regarding building. There is a well-established history in the property rights movement of U.S. citizens challenging the ability of local, state, and federal governments to regulate land use, not least in cases where historic preservation regulations restrict development rights on certain sites (Chapman, 1997). Precedent-setting examples of these types of challenges include 1975 *Maher v. City of New Orleans* over the right to demolish an historic property for development, or 1978 *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York City* that found land-use regulations requiring the building be preserved and contributed sufficiently to general welfare and still permitted beneficial use of the property, meaning the regulations did not comprise an unconstitutional taking (p. 119). In a lecture that

was part of the 1982 Washington Law Review Jurisprudential Lecture Series, University of Michigan Distinguished Law Professor Joseph L. Sax explained:

[that with] ...the proliferation of recent historic preservation laws [along with laws concerning] ...wetlands and coastal protection, open space zoning,[and] growth control [as a nation] ...we have moved in recent years from a situation (characterized by conventional urban zoning) in which we generally encourage developmental rights... to one in which developmental activity has itself become suspect [and] ...property rights are being fundamentally redefined to the disadvantage of property owners (p. 481).

Because of the importance of individual property rights in the United States, property owners are often more resistant to regulations regarding what they can do with structures on their property than what they can do with natural resources. Because of this, structures are less likely to be subject to regulations that go beyond health and human safety (i.e. building codes) than are naturally occurring resources.

Therefore I hypothesize that:

H4: Built historic resources will be less frequently included in disaster plans compared to other NEPA resource categories.

Economics and resource availability

Local economy as a driving force

Historic resources are often preserved not only because of their historical significance, but because of their value as an economic development asset for an area, as in Charleston, South Carolina, which was congressionally designated as part of a National Heritage area 1996 designed to “promote economic development in rural areas of South Carolina through heritage tourism” (South Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, 2007, p. 24). In the Introduction to “Preserving Our Past to Build a Healthy Future: A Historic Preservation Plan for South Carolina 2007-2015” the State Historic Preservation office describes the “wealth of historic buildings, structures, landscapes and archaeological sites.... from 10,000 B.C. through the mid-twentieth century” as not only worthy of preservation, but

as having “the potential to bring many social and economic benefits” (p. 1). In a study assessing factors that contribute to National Register status for historic properties in West Virginia, Maskey, Brown, and Lin (2009) report that numbers of higher education institutions and older houses, as well as “share of income in the service economy” contributes to the rate of historic listings. Rypkema, Cheong, and Mason (2011) note that while there are economic costs to historic preservation, “various aspects of historic preservation have substantial economic benefit” (p. 2). This is supported by Laurie’s (2008) examination of historic preservation as an element of cluster based economic development, which concludes that historic preservation interests can productively pair with tourism, film, housing, and environmental management fields to increase economic development. Strauss and Lord (2001) conducted a case study of a system of Pennsylvania historic sites and found that over the period from 1988-1998 there was a net gain of \$16 million to the area from outside the region. Çela, Lankford and Knowles-Lankford (2009) engage in a case study of visitor spending and economic impacts of heritage tourism in the Silos and Smokestacks National Heritage area of Iowa; they point out that “besides the enhancement of community pride and identity... the development of heritage tourism [is] a generator of income” (p. 245). It therefore stands to reason that places in which there are built historic resources that act as a tourist draw will take extra steps to protect this economic resource. This leads to the expectation that:

H5: Counties for which built historic resources are important to local economies are more likely to have disaster plans that include built historic resources.

Resource limitations as a constraining force

There are equally compelling reasons for expecting that emergency managers may not consider built historic resources and that historic preservationists in the United States would put little emphasis on disaster planning and recovery because of resource limitations facing both fields. Firstly, the primary role of emergency managers, like that of first responders, logically focuses on protection of life and safety, then protection of property. Historic properties are typically not distinguished from non-historic sites during emergency

response. Additionally, resources dedicated to emergency management are often limited, particularly in rural areas, with many counties relying on part-time (often less than half-time) emergency managers who have very limited time to plan even for life and safety concerns. Similarly resources are stretched thin in addressing traditional historic preservation concerns, let alone taking on the additional effort of engaging with emergency officials in disaster planning. Howard (2007) points to the widening role of historic preservationists in discussing and making decisions about “community issues, from affordable housing to containing sprawl, from downtown revitalization to heritage tourism, from highway beautification to adaptive use” (p. 6). The proliferation of roles and discussions in which historic preservationists find themselves included dilutes the potential for disaster planning being a priority. Additionally, many emergency managers, especially those in rural areas, are retired from other county positions or work only part-time as emergency managers, meaning they have very limited time to devote to disaster planning.

More recently, Miller et al. (2009) surveyed planners in Seattle, Washington, Des Moines, Iowa, and the Research Triangle area of North Carolina to assess the extent to which planning departments consider biodiversity planning and the factors that influence such planning efforts. They find that state and federal mandates drive biodiversity planning and that increased funding was the most frequently cited factor when planners were asked what would increase biodiversity planning in their communities. Allen et al. (2013) use a survey of 100 North Carolina county planning departments to identify predictors of adoption of conservation subdivisions in land use planning regulations and find urban counties and rural counties with higher median incomes more likely to adopt. While neither of these studies directly addresses historic resources they do suggest that there is a relationship between median income and adoption of certain land use policies. It is clear that availability of funding is an important factor in some local-level resource planning decisions, and because sparsely populated counties with smaller tax bases and counties with a larger proportion of residents living in poverty have fewer resources to dedicate to planning efforts it is likely that:

H6: Counties with fewer available resources are less likely to include built historic resources in disaster plans.

H6a: Counties with lower median household income are less likely to include built historic resources in disaster plans.

H6b: Counties with lower population density are less likely to include built historic resources in disaster plans.

H6c: Counties with a higher percent of the population below poverty level are less likely to include built historic resources in disaster plans.

Methods

This is a two phase mixed method regional study. Mixed methods studies combine methods that allow insights from qualitative and quantitative research to come together to create a “workable solution” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004) to better address the research problem (Creswell, 2005). Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) describe “completely mixed investigations [as] simultaneously [using] both types of data collection (qualitative and quantitative) and both types of data analysis (statistical *and* qualitative analysis)” (p. 149). Qualitative and quantitative data can be collected at the same time or in sequential phases (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Mixed methods approaches may also “combine the exploratory approach with a confirmatory research study” and “are often more efficient” (ibid. p. 149) in addressing research questions than qualitative or quantitative approaches alone (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Rossman & Wilson, 1991). A mixed methods approach is therefore well suited to this study as it combines quantitative survey data from county emergency managers, and data from semi-structured interviews with historic preservation professionals to better understand whether policy process factors or economic considerations play a role in the inclusion of built historic resources in local-level disaster planning.

To assess whether built historic resources are being included in disaster planning, it is first necessary to define which resources are included in this category and clarify the meaning of disaster plans. This definition is established below, followed by a description of the quantitative first phase of the study based on survey data collected as part of a larger

mixed-methods case study⁹. The focus of phase one is to establish the degree to which built historic resources are being included in local disaster plans and what factors are influencing this. The focus of phase two is to establish whether or not and why historic preservation professionals in the same geographic area are involved in disaster planning. Additionally, the second phase qualitatively examines whether the reasons for the inclusion of built historic resources that are suggested by the quantitative data from phase one are supported or contradicted by qualitative findings from the second phase.

Definitions and operationalization

Built historic resources are defined based on my previous research into the scope of the field as defined by U.S. historic preservation practitioners. For the purposes of this study built historic resources are defined as structures built *after* the first arrival of European settlers. They may include residences, bridges, religious structures, architecture, commercial or industrial architecture, neighborhoods and districts, landmarks, and Mid-Century Modern architecture. They do not include graveyards, artifacts or archaeological sites.

Emergency (disaster plans) are defined as outlined by FEMA. As specified in FEMA's readiness guide for businesses, emergency plans should focus on safety, with stabilization of the incident as the second priority. Disaster plans should include processes for property conservation including "damage assessment, salvage, protection of undamaged property and cleanup following an incident... to minimize further damage and business disruption are examples of property conservation" (FEMA Emergency Response Plan). Disaster plans are systematic procedures for responding to disaster events that outline clearly how and when which parties need to engage in which actions before and after an event; this study focuses on disaster plans adopted at the county level.

⁹ The larger study is described elsewhere in this paper; I designed survey items used in this study and played a significant role in survey administration.

Familiarity with historic preservation professionals or organizations

Because familiarity between emergency managers is a potential driver for including built historic resources in county disaster plans, emergency manager surveys asked if there is a community historic preservation group or association in the county as well as whether they knew anyone from the NTHP Partner historic preservation nonprofit in their state. If they reported the presence of a group in their county or knowing anyone from an NTHP Partner historic preservation nonprofit, they got a question about how frequently they interact with them and how familiar they are with the leader(s) at the particular organization, both of which were answered on 5-point Likert-type scales (ranging from less than once a year to monthly and not at all familiar to a lot of familiarity).

Active historic preservation advocacy or action group

Presence of advocacy groups was addressed by asking respondents how active historic preservation interest groups are in their county (on a 5-point scale from none exists to very active). They were also asked to rate how much historic preservation groups in their county influence county planning and policy-making (on a 5-point scale from not at all to a great deal).

Factors likely to increase inclusion of built historic resources in disaster plans

Emergency managers were given five factors based on Miller et al.'s biodiversity conservation policy study (2009) and asked to rank them in order of most to least likely to increase the inclusion of built historic resources in their county's disaster planning. The five factors included in the survey were more staff, greater public support, availability of technical assistance from historic preservation professionals, more support from elected officials, and increased State or Federal regulations. Here, the factor they listed as most likely to increase planning around built historic resources is considered.

Prevalence of built historic resources in relation to other NEPA resources

To determine prevalence of inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning overall and in relation to other NEPA resources categories emergency manager surveys asked the degree of emphasis put on county disaster planning around NEPA categories of physical, biological, social and cultural resources (on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from no

emphasis to a lot of emphasis), with cultural resources divided into archaeological and built historic resources for the purposes of this study. Resource categories were clearly defined for respondents, but were not referred to as NEPA resource categories.

Because of the need to account for clean-up and recovery efforts, surveys also asked emergency managers if built historic resources are included in post-disaster recovery planning and how much emphasis (again, on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from no emphasis to a lot of emphasis) has been put on planning for recovery around built historic resources. The interviews also included open-ended sections asking interviewees to provide an explanation for why their county puts a particular degree of emphasis on built historic resources in planning for or clean-up and recovery from disasters.

Importance to local economics

To assess the impact of economics on inclusion of built historic resources in disaster plans emergency managers were surveyed about how important built historic resources are to economic development in their county. The answers were on a 5 point scale ranging from not at all important to very important.

Resource constraints

Census data on county population density, median income, and percent below poverty level were used to assess county resource constraints. Census data on persons per square mile are from 2010, median household are from 2007-2011, and percent of persons below poverty level in a county are also from 2007-2011.

Other variables

Other variables include recent occurrence of natural disaster; type of county government (Home Rule or Dillon's rule forms), and number of National Register for Historic Places sites in the county. Frequency of natural disasters data are from FEMA's database of disaster declarations, which is searchable by year. Related maps show affected counties and were reviewed visually. The total number of disasters per county is from FEMA data from 2000-2012, and include data on flooding (including flooding related to ice jams, snow melt, flooding from heavy rains, landslides, and unspecified flooding), earthquake, volcanic eruptions, wildfires, winter storms, other severe storms, tsunami, and a dam

collapse. Data on whether states are Home or Dillon's Rule are from a 2004 research brief from the National Association of Counties. While this brief is a decade old, state forms of government seldom change so it is unlikely that these data are incorrect. Data regarding the number of National Register sites are from the National Park Service, which provides a publicly accessible spreadsheet of listed and removed properties from 1966-2012.

Emergency Manager sample and data collection

Emergency Manager data are from telephone surveys conducted with county emergency managers in Idaho, Montana, Oregon and Washington as part of the Fire Chasers Project at North Carolina State University. The Fire Chasers project is a larger mixed-methods case study that seeks to understand the relationship between adaptive capacities like communication during wildfire events and community disaster resiliency, and is jointly funded by the National-Science Foundation and Joint Fire Science Cooperative Agreement¹⁰. I developed questions addressing county emergency managers' inclusion of built historic resources in their planning efforts based on review of relevant literature and a previous case study of work being conducted by historic preservation professionals (Velez, in preparation). The counties for this study were chosen based on their risk of wildfire, confirmed by local Forest Service Fire Management Officers, and proximity of communities (either incorporated or Census Designated Places) within twelve miles of National Forests¹¹. Emergency manager respondents were recruited by first sending them a letter explaining the background and objectives of the study and informing them that the research team would be contacting them within a week to schedule the telephone survey. Members of the research team scheduled and conducted the surveys. These telephone surveys were conducted between the end of November 2012 and April 2013. County emergency managers were asked about whether archaeological, physical, biological, social, and built historic resources were included in county-level disaster plans at the time, and the degree of emphasis each of those resources had received in past planning efforts, as well as the degree of emphasis on built historic resources in disaster recovery and clean-up planning. They were also asked about what

¹⁰ Grant numbers and principle investigators are listed at the end of this paper.

¹¹ Distance is based on the maximum distance from fire on forest land for which a community had to be evacuated based on a review of IC-209 wildfire incident reports.

would likely increase inclusion of built historic resources in disaster planning efforts, and some questions about local built historic resources and historic interest groups. Based on criteria necessary for the larger Fire Chasers study, 108 counties were identified for potential emergency manager surveys, and 98 responded. Data for this study represents 96 respondents, for an 89% response rate. In cases where there was no dedicated Emergency Management office, the sheriff or under-sheriff in charge of county emergency management was surveyed.

Historic preservationist sample and data collection

To validate the findings from the first phase of the study and as part of a larger study of the role of historic preservationist participation in disaster planning, historic preservation professionals were contacted and asked questions related to the role their organization may play in disaster planning. The autumn 2010 list of NTHP Partner nonprofit organizations was used to identify potential key informants and organization websites were used to confirm individuals currently in leadership positions. Potential interviewees received an email contact describing the study and telling them to expect a follow-up telephone call to solicit their participation and schedule an interview.

Historic preservationists were asked to answer a few short questions about whether their organization engages in disaster planning, the extent to which historic preservation advocacy groups are active in their area, and the degree to which the local economy is reliant on built historic resources. In addition, they were asked the degree of emphasis they are putting inclusion in disaster planning efforts in their area, what type of efforts they are making, why they do not emphasize disaster planning if they do not, and what factors would increase emphasis put on such efforts. Interviewees were asked to expand on some of their answers in an open-ended format to be coded for content that supports or contradicts quantitative findings from Emergency Manager data collected during Phase I. Data on the extent to which historic preservation advocacy groups are active in their area, and the degree to which the local economy is reliant on built historic resources is used to validate findings from Phase I. Three of the interviews with historic preservationists conducted as part of the larger study fall in the area for comparison to emergency manager telephone survey data.

Quantitative Analysis

Data were analyzed using IBM SPSS Statistics 22 software. Crosstabs were used to assess the relationships between the inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster plans and emergency manager familiarity with historic preservation professionals (H1), presence of an active historic preservation advocacy group in the county (H2), emergency manager ratings of the importance of built historic resources to the local economy (H5), and binned median household income (H6a). Descriptive statistics were used to assess the factor that emergency managers ranked as most likely to increase the inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster planning efforts (H3) and to assess the frequency with which each of the NEPA resource categories are included in county disaster plans (H4). Correlations were used to assess relationships between inclusion of built historic resources and population density, and percent below poverty level (H6b, H6c). See Table 2.1.

Descriptive statistics					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of National Register sites in county	96	0	258	38.46	44.995
Number of Disaster Declarations, 2000-2012	96	0	18	3.11	2.745
Median household income, 2007-2011 (Census)	96	30368.00	70567.00	44371.8542	7235.40615
Persons below poverty level, percent, 2007-2011 (Census)	96	7.20	44.10	16.1354	5.38858
Persons per square mile, 2010 (Census)	96	.30	912.90	55.8615	132.56323
Economic importance of built historic resources to the area	94	1.0	5.0	2.947	1.1394
Activity level of county historic preservation groups	73	.0	4.0	2.438	1.0539
Emergency Manager familiarity with leaders at community historic preservation groups	57	.0	4.0	1.193	1.3016

Table 2.1. Descriptive statistics. This table shows descriptive statistics for variables used in analyses testing hypotheses.

Findings

Phase I: Quantitative findings

Policy process factors

Professional familiarity as a driving force

H1, stating that counties where emergency managers report being familiar with historic preservation professionals or organizations are more likely to have disaster plans that include built historic resources, was not supported. Crosstabulations between inclusion of built historic resources and binary familiarity with a member of a county historic commission show no significant correlation between the variables $\chi^2(4, N = 84) = 3.18, p = .53$.

Advocacy groups as a driving force

The relationship hypothesized between the presence of an active historic preservation organization in the area and the inclusion of built historic resources in the county disaster plan (H2) was not found. A crosstab shows no significant relationship $\chi^2(1, N=60) = .30, p = .582$ between the two variables. About three quarters (74%) of the 68¹² county managers that answered both questions reported the presence of a community historic preservation group. The remaining 28 emergency managers reported not knowing about the presence of preservation groups.

Public support as a driving force

Hypothesis 3, predicting that public support would be the factor most frequently listed by county emergency managers as being likely to increase their inclusion of built historic resources in disaster plans was not supported. Instead, more staff time was the most common (29%), then elected support (20%), then public support or availability of technical assistance from historic preservation professionals (18% each), then state or federal regulations (15%) (see Figure 2.1).

¹² Not all respondents answered all questions. Some emergency managers did not see the relevance of questions regarding local historic preservation groups to local disaster preparedness and declined to answer this question.

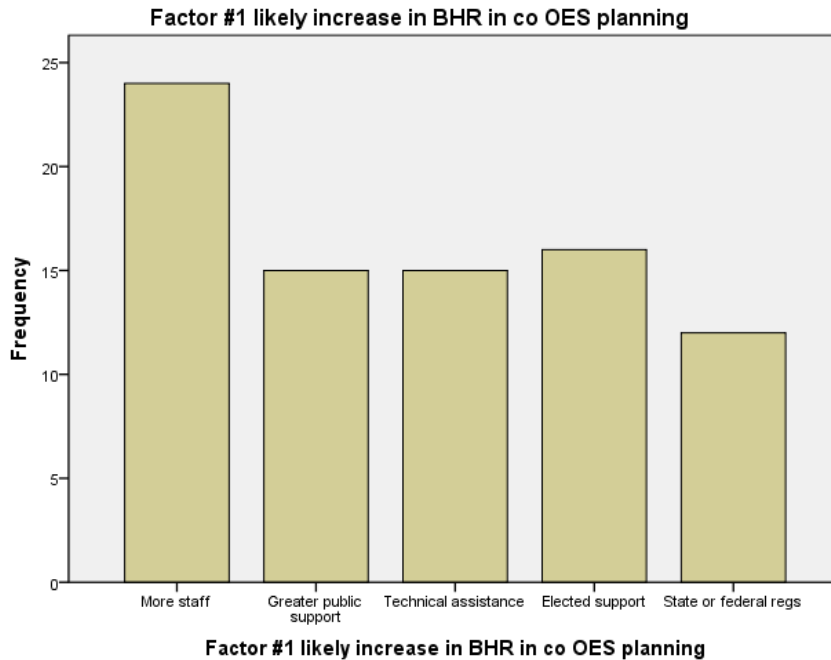


Figure 2.1. Factor #1 likely to increase built historic resource inclusion in county OES planning. This figure shows the distribution of factors rated as #1 most likely to increase built historic resource planning in county offices of emergency services, with more staff nominated by the most and state or federal regulations nominated by the least number of respondents.

Culture as a constraining force

The inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster plans was expected to be less frequent than the inclusion of other resources outlined by NEPA (H4). This was not supported explicitly, but only archaeological resources were included less frequently than built historic resources. In all, 27% of county emergency managers reported planning for archaeological resources, 49% for built historic resources, 66% for biological, 67% for physical, and 82% for social resources. The finding that social resources are the most frequently included resource category is unsurprising when one remembers this category includes broadly conceived communities and economics

Economics and resource availability

Local economy as a driving force

Hypothesis 5, stating that counties for which built historic resources are important to local economies are more likely to have disaster plans that include built historic resources is

not supported using Chi-Squared statistics measures. Pearson's Chi-Square shows there is no significant relationship between the variables $\chi^2(4, N = 84) = 3.18, p = .53$.

Resource limitations as a constraining force

No support was found for the last hypothesis, predicting that counties with fewer available resources are less likely to include built historic resources in disaster plans. A crosstabulation was run between inclusion of built historic resources in the county disaster plan and categorical median household income and no significant correlation was found $\chi^2(5, N = 86) = 2.19, p = .82$ to support H6a. The Pearson Correlation measure between inclusion of built historic resources percent below poverty level showed no significant correlation (H6c), $r(84) = -.05, p > .05$. Although the relationship between inclusion of built historic resources and population density (H6b) approaches significance at an exploratory level, no significant correlation was found $r(84) = .2, p > .05$.

Moving beyond hypotheses

Given that the expected patterns of around county disaster planning decisions did not hold, it is of interest to try to adopt a more exploratory approach to explain what does contribute to the inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster plans, and what contributes to the amount of planning emphasis put on these resources. Because the inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster plans was not shown to be related with the policy process or economic factors posited, it is not necessary to evaluate these relationships further. However, two additional outcome variables were explored: 1) degree of emphasis put on planning for built historic resources when included in disaster plans and 2) degree of emphasis on built historic resources in disaster clean-up and recovery planning is of interest. To examine which factors contribute to these outcomes I used correlation.

I ran a correlation to examine the relationship between emphasis on built historic resources in pre-disaster planning and the number of disaster declarations in the area since 2000, whether Home or Dillon's rule, emergency manager familiarity with historic preservation professionals in the area, activity level of historic preservation groups in the area, population density, median household income, economic importance of built historic resources in the area, and number of National Register sites.

N=41		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9
X1 Disaster Declarations 2000-2012	Pearson Correlation	1								
X2 Home v Dillon's rule	Pearson Correlation	-.012	1							
X3 EM familiarity with leaders at community preservation group	Pearson Correlation	-.181	-.277	1						
X4 Activity level of preservation groups	Pearson Correlation	-.154	.312	-.269	1					
X5 Persons per square mile, 2010 (Census)	Pearson Correlation	.233	-.283	.033	.135	1				
X6 Median HH Income	Pearson Correlation	.263	-.182	-.076	.035	.571**	1			
X7 Economic importance of BHR	Pearson Correlation	-.166	-.012	.348	.115	-.065	-.169	1		
X8 National Register sites in county	Pearson Correlation	.382*	-.076	.000	-.056	.742**	.503**	.145	1	
X9 Emphasis on BHR in planning	Pearson Correlation	-.137	.014	.368	.269	.074	-.049	.439**	.160	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.2. Correlation table for emphasis on built historic resources in pre-disaster planning efforts.

This correlation uses only respondents who reported including built historic resources in pre-disaster planning (N=41). I found a significant relationship between emphasis on built historic resources in recovery and clean-up planning and the economic importance of built historic resources to the area. The two variables show a positive moderate correlation $r(37) = .439, p < .01$ (see Table 2.2).

N=96		X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9
X1 Disaster Declarations 2000-2012	Pearson Correlation	1								
X2 Home v Dillon's rule	Pearson Correlation	.141	1							
X3 EM familiarity with leaders at community preservation group	Pearson Correlation	-.255	-.093	1						
X4 Activity level of preservation groups	Pearson Correlation	-.041	.202	-.027	1					
X5 Persons per square mile, 2010 (Census)	Pearson Correlation	.164	-.184	-.036	.094	1				
X6 Median HH Income	Pearson Correlation	.178	-.211*	-.135	.097	.456**	1			
X7 Historic resource economic importance	Pearson Correlation	-.144	.065	.450*	.115	.000	-.099	1		
X8 National Register sites in county	Pearson Correlation	.269*	.011	-.183	-.025	.677**	.349**	.033	1	
X9 Emphasis on historic resources in recovery	Pearson Correlation	-.070	.019	.167	.079	.087	-.067	.276**	.022	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2.3. Correlation table for emphasis on built historic resources in post-disaster recovery and clean-up planning.

I ran a correlation to examine the relationship between emphasis on built historic resources in post-disaster recovery and clean-up planning and the number of disaster declarations in the area since 2000, whether Home or Dillon’s rule, emergency manager familiarity with historic preservation professionals in the area, activity level of historic preservation groups in the area, population density, median household income, economic importance of built historic resources in the area, and number of National Register sites. All Emergency Manager respondents were asked the degree of emphasis their county puts on built historic resources in recovery planning (N=96). As with emphasis on pre-disaster planning, I found a significant relationship between emphasis on built historic resources in

recovery and clean-up planning and the economic importance of built historic resources to the area. The two variables are weakly positively correlated $r(90) = .276, p < .01$ (see Table 2.3).

Phase II: Descriptive comparison with qualitative data

Three interviews with leaders at NTHP Partner historic preservation organizations were conducted in the area where emergency manager surveys were conducted—one in Idaho, and two in Washington. These interviews took place as part of a larger study of the scope and capacity of historic preservation organizations in the United States, and focused in part on whether organizations participate in disaster planning. Interviewees were asked whether their organization engages in any local or state pre-disaster planning efforts, in any efforts to include built historic resources in post-disaster recovery plans, or in-house disaster planning at their organization. Two of the organizations reported not engaging in any of the three types of planning. The third organization reported engaging in local or state efforts around disaster planning and having an in-house disaster protocol, but only a little emphasis was placed on each of these activities.

In the two organizations that do not engage in disaster planning of any kind, leaders reported they felt it would be beneficial for their organizations to do disaster planning exercises if they had the resources to do so. Both cited lack of staff as a primary reason for not doing this type of planning and mentioned that disaster planning therefore cannot become an organizational priority. One also indicated they lack the knowledge or expertise to engage in disaster planning efforts.

From Organization A: “Although we are aware of the need for disaster planning efforts, we have not made it a priority for our organization primarily due to a lack of staff time and expertise.”

From Organization B: “There are plenty of fire threatened resources, and first of all we don't have a staff, we are an unstaffed nonprofit, so it is not on our priority list. We are stretched thin as it is, and it is just not a priority.... For us it's first and

foremost a matter of staffing, and volunteer hours— that is the primary reason [not to do disaster planning] and the federal management of lands is a good fallback; it allows me to feel a little more comfortable [that we do not plan for disasters].”

Additionally, leaders at both organizations that do not engage in disaster planning reported such activities as either being largely the responsibility of another organization or agency, or that because another organization or agency engages in planning it relieves them of responsibility.

From Organization A: “Fortunately, the [city] has been proactive in this area, which was particularly evident after the 2001 Nisqually Earthquake, which resulted in damage to a number of historic buildings.”

From Organization B: “But to a certain point the Forest Service and other land management agencies like the BLM that have resources that would be most impacted by fire, have cultural resource management professionals that are currently assessing threat in fire zones and working to manage those threats so there are hopefully not catastrophic impacts to those resources. It’s not like those threats could not happen off federal lands, but in [western states large percentages of land are federally owned]... so the resources threatened during incidents are often managed or protected by those resource agencies. It is not an excuse for us not to be concerned, but we have strong shoulders to lean on in that department.”

All three nonprofit leaders reported thinking their organizations should engage in disaster planning efforts.

From Organization A: “Historic preservation is not on everyone's radar as it is, and it is likely that it would not be in the immediate aftermath of a disaster if prior planning has not been done. Concerns about public safety may override actual conditions in the aftermath of a disaster and lead to the unnecessary alteration or demolition of a historic building.”

At the organization that is engaging in disaster planning, it was attributed to a previous disaster in the area (the Nisqually Earthquake) having caused significant damage to historic resources, and having had access to disaster planning expertise.

From Organization C: “The Nisqually Earthquake in 2001 caused widespread damage to masonry buildings in the... area. [Our organization] acquired a very damaged building and restored it as an example of how to repair and stabilize these structures. ... More recently, one of our employees used to work for the Red Cross and proposed that we work with a retired expert to develop plans for the rest of our properties... [and] we started working with an emergency preparedness expert 18 months ago to develop a plan for eight properties.”

Key informants were also asked to rank what would most likely increase their efforts to engage in disaster planning (out of staff, public support, support from elected officials, state or federal regulations, or technical expertise). One of the organizations not currently engaging in disaster planning ranked increased staff as the factor most likely to increase their efforts to do so. The other listed more support for doing so from elected officials. For the organization already taking steps to plan for disasters, official support was again ranked as the factor most likely to increase these efforts and lead to additional planning. This mirrors findings from emergency managers, who ranked more staff time and more support from elected officials as most likely to increase their efforts to include historic resources in disaster planning in their counties.

Discussion

From this study I found that many disaster-prone counties in the Pacific Northwest are not considering cultural resources in their disaster plans, and in those that are, emergency managers are putting little emphasis on including cultural resources in local disaster planning efforts. Findings from this study therefore mirror those by Graham and Spenneman (2006), who found that Australian preservation professionals and emergency managers seldom communicate, and that subsequently historic cultural resources are not often included in disaster planning efforts. Interestingly, my findings fail to support most hypotheses

developed from previous literature predicting inclusion of cultural resources in local level disaster plans based on policy process and economic factors.

Inclusion of built historic resources in county disaster plans in this sample was not related to policy process factors of professional familiarity between preservationists and emergency managers as would be suggested by work by Bodin and Crona, (2009), Nowell and Steelman (2014), Steelman et al. (2015); presence of advocacy groups, as suggested by the work of Anderson and Hill, 1975 or Jenkins-Smith et al. (2014), nor was it increased in relation to presence of public support, as suggested by the work of Page and Shapiro (1983), Miller et al. (2009) and Lax and Phillips (2009). Neither was it related to economic and resource factors of importance of historic resources to the local economy as suggested by the work of Çela et al. (2009) and Maskey et al. (2009), or to local resource limitations as suggested by Allen et al.'s 2013 work. Nor was the expectation, based on work by Sax (1982), Chapman (1997), and Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), that built historic resources are less frequently included in local disaster plans than other resource types supported, although they were infrequently included, with only archaeological resources less frequently planned for.

However, for those counties including built historic resources in disaster plans, both degree of emphasis on such resources in pre-disaster planning and in disaster recovery and clean-up plans at county emergency management offices was predicted only by the importance of built historic resources to economic development in the area. This supports expectations based on findings by Laurie (2008), Çela et al. (2009), and Rypkema et al. (2011), that importance of built historic resources to local economies will lead to increased attempts to protect these resources. For historic preservation organizations in the same area, I found lack of participation in disaster planning efforts was attributed to lack of staff time, which prevented this type of effort from becoming an organizational priority, and to lack of expertise necessary to engage in disaster planning, as well as a perception that such activities are largely the responsibility of another organization or agency. While expectations that increased public support would most likely increase emphasis on disaster planning around historic resources were not borne out, both emergency managers and historic preservationists

reported availability of more staff and support from elected officials would likely increase such efforts.

This study provides a foundation for understanding patterns in disaster planning for cultural and historic resources as well as other resource types that fall under NEPA. However, findings from this study need to take into consideration several limitations. First, generalizability is limited by the geographic bounding of the sample. Not only are the counties included all in one geographic region, they are counties at risk for wildland-urban interface fires, and therefore tend to be rural. As relatively few counties (41) were found to plan for disasters, there is a possibility results may change with an expanded sample size. Findings from this study support the need for further work to establish regional differences and national patterns in how cultural resources are accounted for in local-level emergency management. A follow-up comparative case of the communities that do include historic cultural resources in their planning could help provide the basis for additional future research.

A key implication of this study is that even though the U.S. has a history of valuing historic resources and legislation supporting preservation, the intent of this legislation may not be carried out at the local level in the ways intended by policy makers. This study shows that despite national institutional pressure for historic preservation to be a key consideration in disaster planning, this is not occurring unless there is a strong economic driver. This means many resources critical to both local and national history, identity, and place are at risk in a way that some decision-makers may assume has been mitigated. Of additional importance is the finding that in this context, policy process theories do not seem to apply at the local level in the absence of economic incentives. This creates an important consideration for legislatures and public managers seeking to implement institutionalized expectations that cultural resources will be planned for and preserved in future disaster planning efforts.

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CHAPTER 4

FROM AGENDA SETTING TO POLICY CHANGE AFTER HURRICANE SANDY: CONSTRAINERS AND DRIVERS OF LOCAL-LEVEL CHANGE

Abstract

A number of existing frameworks including Kingdon's Streams model, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's Advocacy Coalition Framework, and Baumgartner and Jones' Punctuated Equilibrium Theory provide frameworks for national policy processes, but much less is known about policy processes at the local-level. The attention garnered by disasters in the United States is fairly well understood, but not much is not about the features of these disasters that lead to local-level policy change. This grounded theory study examines constrainers and drivers of local-level post-disaster policy change in the context of communities affected by Hurricane Sandy. Data are from interviews with state-level informants, community informants, local newspapers, and other documents related to 12 communities damaged in the storm. Based on insights from the 12 cases, several key explanatory propositions emerged that can inform local-level policy process research moving forward. While a number of these propositions are consistent with existing policy frameworks regarding coalitions, previous adjustments in policy, damage severity, and policy failure, they diverge from existing frameworks regarding the relationship between public conversation and policy change, the importance of the higher level institutional and economic context, and, to a degree, the influence of local capacity on local policy processes.

Introduction

We know a lot about how natural disasters get attention in the United States (Birkland, 2006), but not a lot about local-level disaster planning, or the features of these disasters that lead to policy change at the local level (ex. Scavo, Kearney, and Kilroy, 2007; Farley et al., 2007). Birkland's (1997) theory of focusing events posits that natural disasters may act to focus public and policy maker attention on particular problems, helping create conditions for potential policy change. Kingdon's (1984; 2011) streams metaphor, Baumgartner and Jones' (1993; 2009) Punctuated Equilibrium Theory, and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1998; 2014) Advocacy Coalition Framework have been used alone and in combination to explain the agenda setting and public policy making process. While these theories are helpful frameworks in understanding components and relationships that may matter in policy making, scholars are still unable to adequately explain features of natural

disasters that determine whether they act as focusing events, and conditions that then constrain or drive changes in public conversation or policy change, especially at the local level.

Changes in local disaster policy are of particular interest because disaster policy is an example of a “policy without a public,” as it is technical and there is little public mobilization around the policy issues, and because we have little understanding of local disaster planning (Farley et al., 2007; Scavo et al., 2007). Disaster planning around historic resources is of additional interest given the importance of including historic resources in day-to-day planning to community resiliency and disaster recovery (Godschalk, 2003; Patton, 2006; Monday & Myers, 2013). In addition, historic and cultural preservation policies are also “without a public” as citizens occasionally mobilize around a particular resource but generally do not care about the day-to-day business of preservation. Understanding local-level disaster planning for historic and cultural resources is further complicated, in that this policy area comprises two levels of expertise—both emergency management and historic preservation—that makes mobilization of private citizens less likely.

This study uses communities affected by Hurricane Sandy as a context in which to examine the local-level post-disaster policy change process, addressing a gap in the literature around local-level disaster planning. Explicitly, this paper asks: *What are the forces that constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in public conversation, procedures, or policy?* This paper uses a grounded theory approach to exploring field perspectives of how the policy process unfolded at the local level in a post-disaster context, resulting in a model of factors that constrained or drove changes in procedure, policy, or public conversation in communities in the wake of Hurricane Sandy.

Background

The ways in which disasters can serve as catalysts for local-level policy change is not well understood. Local jurisdictions are primarily responsible for emergency management, calling for state and subsequent federal assistance with incident response and recovery only when the scope of an incident overwhelms local capacity. Gaddis, Miles, Morse, and Lewis

(2007) note the importance of understanding effects of coastal disasters in particular as they become more frequent and the associated loss to natural, social, human and built capital increases. Benton (2005) notes that “American county governments, once commonly referred to as the ‘forgotten governments’ within the family of local governments, have been rediscovered from both a practical and a scholarly perspective” (p. 462). He calls for further studies on counties, including studies on “counties as laboratories of democracy” (p. 469). As this study focuses on local-level policy process issues, it begins to answer the call for research in this area. Because of the type and location of the disaster, it is of additional interest to examine the effect of Hurricane Sandy on cultural resources, specifically built historic resources.

Policy Process and Policy Making

Making policy decisions is an important element of governance that relies not just on decisions made between elected and other government officials, but involving members of the general public. The role of non-state actors is an increasingly important aspect of governance as boundaries between sectors blur and cooperation between actors with differing information about a problem area becomes ever more necessary (ex. Kooiman, 1993; Newman & Thornley, 1997; Rhodes, 1996; DeAlcantar, 1998; Stoker, 1998; Borzel, 2011). The consideration of non-government actors is especially salient in understanding disaster policy because the public has valuable information needed for policy making, especially for informing policy changes post-disaster.

There are a number of theories applicable to understanding the policy process and how policy changes may come about. In her comparison of theories of the policy process, Schlager points out that “agenda setting and descriptive theories (such as Kingdon’s Multiple Streams [Streams], Sabatier’s Advocacy Coalition framework (ACF), and Baumgartner and Jones’ Punctuated Equilibrium [PET]) are closely related to one another. Although they vary in their scope and explanatory variables, they attempt to account for similar processes...and could be argued to exist within a family of theories” (In Sabatier 2007, p. 299). Each of these theories of the policy process contains conceptions of focusing, agenda setting, and change.

Before a certain issue or problem area can become the subject of the policy agenda or of a change in public policy, it must gain the attention of policy makers. At times, policy maker attention can be driven by increased public attention. Focusing attention of either the policy elite or the public on a certain policy area can occur either as a result of opportune moments, or of external events, (Kingdon), punctuations (Baumgartner and Jones) or exogenous shocks (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith). These external stimuli are all essentially describing the same idea, which involves something unexpected happening which then focuses public attention on an issue that was not at the forefront of public attention before the event. Birkland (1997) reconceives of these ideas using Kingdon's term "focusing events", more narrowly defined as *potential* focusing events that can be "sudden, relatively rare, can be reasonably defined as harmful or revealing the possibility of greater potential future harms, inflicts harms or suggests potential harms that are or could be concentrated on a definable geographical or community of interest, and that is known to policy makers and the public virtually simultaneously" (p. 22). His conception allows for the idea that the event itself may influence the policy stream by highlighting ideas that were not solidified prior to the event and allowing for consideration of possible policy solutions that would have previously been considered unacceptable (Birkland 2006, p. 159). However, while there may be certain types of shocks that are likely to gain attention for certain issues, the attention may not work to bring focus to the issue on the policy agenda, and it may not become a target for policy change.

Existing theories of policy process explain agenda setting and policy change in slightly different ways. Kingdon's Streams model (1984; 2011) portrays policy change as occurring at the confluence of independent streams (policy, problem, and politics) that combine at opportune moments to create policy windows. These policy windows allow policy entrepreneurs to attempt changes in public understandings of situations, or definitions of problems, that then allow the entrepreneurs to push for changes in policy. Baumgartner and Jones' PET (1993; 2009) considers system-level decision making over a period of time, where collective action is undertaken by policy entrepreneurs and agenda setting around a policy issue is influenced (potentially) by multiple venues. Positive feedback is necessary for

policy change; lack of change is also addressed in the form of policy stasis, incrementalism (slow changeover time) and punctuations. Like PET, Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's ACF (1998; Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014) relies on examining change over a period of time. ACF is intended to be a causal theory, and focuses mainly on agenda setting and evaluation of policy process, but coalitions can also focus on policy change. Policy change is considered to occur incrementally over time, but as in PET and streams, the change can be facilitated by internal shocks and subsequent negotiated agreements by policy entrepreneurs. These negotiations are reached based on principles of bounded rationality within advocacy groups rather than only within institutional settings.

In general, these frameworks for understanding the policy process focus on national level policy, and studies of the policy process focus on national level policies (ex. Klingemann, Hofferbert, & Budge, 1994; Klingeman, 2005; Walgrave & Varone, 2008). However, Farley et al. (2007) discuss Hurricane Katrina, noting "though Federal interest may wane..." after focusing events like Katrina, the continuing concerns of "...the state and its people... continue to languish, keeping the policy window open much longer at the local level" (p. 352). As Farley et al. (2007) point out, there is a need to focus on regional and local level policy streams, as policy windows stay open longer. This suggests there may be differences in the way the policy process works at local levels, and differences in the way potential focusing events work to focus discussion and foster change in local policy processes that are not explained by the prevailing nationally focused policy process frameworks. It is important to understand how the policy process works at the local level in part as Kingdon describes a spillover effect of policy that can start at the local level and spread to surrounding municipalities and states until "local action can lead to national action" (Farley et al. 2007, p. 352).

May (1991) points out that change can be affected even by small, narrow groups of actors, especially in areas where there are "policies without publics." These policy domains are usually characterized by a high degree of technical expertise and inherent barriers to group formation around such issues.

Investigating Hurricane Sandy through the lens of policy theory

Here, Hurricane Sandy is treated as a potential focusing event, and the circumstances around when the event led to subsequent agenda setting and policy change in local areas are examined. While historic preservation policy and indeed disaster policy may not be completely without publics, they are policy areas with very limited publics that tend to react only in the face of some obvious crisis rather than trying to adopt mitigative policies. As Birkland (2006) points out, “focusing events change the salience of issues” because their consequences and the public’s reactions to them are often “emotionally charged” (p. 168). While threats to and destruction of built historic resources that occur outside the domain of natural disasters are seldom sudden and therefore cannot be considered focusing events, the reactions (in terms of attempts at agenda setting and policy change) to these threats are often locally-driven, emotionally charged, and led by a small number of people who become involved as a reaction to the threat. This makes the confluence of these two areas of particular interest. Scavo et al. (2007) point out that despite recent questions about over-centralization of U.S. emergency and disaster policy, top-down disaster management priorities are much better understood than bottom-up, and that little attention has been paid to the planning activities of local governments. Despite suggestions in the literature that local-level processes exist apart from and contribute to larger-scale policy processes, there is a gap in the literature in that we do not understand them or how they work. This study addresses this gap in the literature by asking: *What are the forces that constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in public conversation, procedures, or policy?*

To examine factors that constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in procedures, policy, or public conversation, this study uses an inductive grounded theory approach. Communities of interest were identified and brief descriptions of change in these communities were obtained in interviews with representatives of State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) and other state-level informants recommended by SHPOs. Two community-level cases provide rich interview data to begin theory development, which I then explicated using in-depth interviews in ten additional communities affected by Hurricane

Sandy to further develop the theory of local-level post-disaster policy change. Additional sources of information for each of the cases include articles from local newspapers and archival documents used to confirm evacuations in the communities.

Grounded theory

Grounded theory (GT) differs from most popular methods in social science research in that it is inductive rather than deductive, and takes a social-constructionist bent, avoiding a priori expectations, and begins instead with a question about an experience or process, the answer to which is found, or grounded, in the data. GT has its roots in sociology, having been developed by Glaser and Strass in the mid-1960s when they were researching experiences of terminally ill patients in hospitals. At the time of its conception, GT provided a structured, verifiable approach to doing qualitative research as an alternative to the quantitative approaches that were generally considered the only legitimate research methods at the time. The use of GT moved from sociology to psychology and psychiatry, then to other fields like management, education, and nursing. It has also been used in political science and in public administration.

A GT approach can use either qualitative or quantitative data, although most GT studies rely on qualitative data. Data can be collected by the researcher or come from archival documents. If data are being collected by the researcher, analysis usually takes place iteratively as the data are collected, allowing for adjustment in sampling and collection as the process progresses. The application of GT involves systematic analysis, with codes abstracted from the data, conceptualized, and categorized iteratively until no further categories emerge and the researcher has arrived at a satisfactory explanation that allows explains both patterns and variation. The product of a GT study is a set of concepts and relationships between them that potentially comprise a theory. In other words, GT is used to generate rather than confirm theories. Strauss and Corbin (1994) contrast GT to other qualitative methods by explaining “the major difference... is its emphasis upon theory development” (p. 274)—the product is usually a set of explanatory propositions that explain relationships between categories found in the data, or a figure showing the relationships between the categories.

Grounded theory produces a theoretical understanding of the experience being studied, often in very specific areas, such as understanding how cancer patients come to an understanding of their situations (Charmaz, 2014). This can then be used to refine formal theories. Creswell (2009) refers to grounded theory as a general, abstract theory of a process, action, or interaction based on views of study participants. It is inductive, in that it creates general propositions from specific examples, and uses a correspondence perspective, with the aim of generating explanatory propositions corresponding to real world phenomena. Patton (2000) concludes “grounded theory is best understood as fundamentally realist and objectivist in orientation, emphasizing disciplined and procedural ways of getting the researcher’s biases out of the way but adding healthy doses of creativity to the analytical process” (p. 128-129). It relies on purposive sampling of different groups to maximize similarities and differences in information. This comparative approach calls for systematic choice of comparison groups—in this case, two groups counties with damage to built historic resources that resulted from Hurricane Sandy, one with changes to conversations or policies and procedures, and one without such changes.

In GT, data collection and analysis are undertaken simultaneously and theory development begins with this initial analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In other words, GT in their model is a theoretical exercise in which data is the source of inspiration—it is not a descriptive exercise. Initial codes are constantly compared to codes developed from new data, and developing new labels and categories as data collection progresses (Charmaz, 2014). The emphasis in GT is on the generation and clarification of abstract concepts, the relationships between which are combined to generate a relevant and believable theory generated from (grounded in) the data.

GT also differs from many other methods in the use of literature. Careful and purposeful use of literature is particularly important in grounded theory, and different approaches to GT call for the introduction of literature at different points during the research process. Importantly for public administration scholars, Tummers and Karsten (2012) examine the “opportunities and pitfalls” of using literature in qualitative work including GT, and develop guidelines for using literature in public administration qualitative research

design, data collection, and data analysis phases of qualitative research. They note that “because grounded theory is designed to inductively derive theories from the data, existing literature should be viewed with suspicion at the very least (70).” However, they also point out that Glaser and Strauss differ in their opinions on when it is appropriate to introduce it—Strauss recommends using extant literature in developing analysis frameworks, and Glaser using previous literature only to provide comparisons once relationships between categories have been examined. Other scholars argue “for and against the use of literature in different phases of grounded theory studies” (Tummers & Karsten, 2012, p. 71).

Using lessons from GT, Tummers and Karsten (2012) conclude literature used in research design provides the opportunity to identify gaps, explain why the research question is important, and help focus the design, but that the pitfall is that the researcher may overlook social phenomena that are not mentioned in literature. Using research in the data collection phase provides the opportunity to view the literature as additional data that may provide codes applicable to data being collected, but may narrow case selection and cause researchers to miss contradictory cases. Literature used during data analysis may enhance insights through understandings already reached by others, but may create a barrier to interpretation because it encourages use of an existing framework for understanding. They recommend that in research design “public administration scholars should indicate and justify where literature will be used in each of the remaining research phases, in what role, and to what extent” and how pitfalls will be avoided, and that in data collection and analysis “the role of literature and its influence on the development of the research, and its results, should be continuously reviewed” (p. 80). Here, I used literature to develop research questions, but did not explicitly refer to literature again until data collection and analysis were substantially complete, to allow for the emergence of categories and connections to emerge from the data. Because I am familiar with existing policy process research I was careful to remain aware of these biases throughout the research process, avoiding comparing emergent propositions to extant literature toward the end of the process. Use of data is described in further detail below.

While GT is primarily used in sociology, it has been employed in a number of social sciences including in public administration in such studies as Agranoff’s (2007) examination

of how interorganizational public management networks work and DeHart-Davis's (2009) theory about effective rules in organizations. Agranoff (2007) used GT to study 14 public management networks to develop a four category public management network typology, differentiating networks based on the type of work they do. DeHart-Davis (2009) used GT in a public management context, using open-ended interview data from city employees in four cities in the Midwest to develop a theory of "green tape" that specifies rule effectiveness. Dodge, Ospina and Foldy (2005) wrote on the contribution of narrative inquiry in PA scholarship, using a study of community-based leadership. They point out that interpretivist research allows for meaning to be uncovered in ways that can build and test social theories and complements positivist studies, and apply standard of rigor from other scholars engaged in narrative inquiry to their study. They conclude "narrative inquiry and other interpretivist approaches can offer an important contribution to the flourishing of the research community within public administration" (p. 297-298).

Methods

A GT approach is most appropriate for this area of inquiry as it was arrived at through an attempt to carry out a more traditional (in PA) positivist, confirmatory design, and finding that an a priori approach was inappropriate¹³. Initial local-level interviews were conducted using structured interview protocols with questions based on propositions from national-level policy processes, and follow-up probes designed to capture specifics related to the propositions. I soon found the assumptions underlying these propositions did not reflect the realities of local post disaster policy change as understood by my informants. Because of this, I concluded a GT approach allowing for propositions to emerge from the data rather than fitting the data to propositions was best for answering the question in this case. Subsequent interviews were conducted using a much more open-ended approach, with broader questions asking interviewees to share observations about damage from Sandy and changes after the storm, both in public conversation and in disaster procedures and policies.

¹³ While the previous confirmatory study design could create researcher bias because it included a review of extant literature and the development of related hypotheses, this does not affect the outcome of the study. As a researcher familiar with policy process literature, I am aware of these biases and remained cognizant of them while analyzing these data.

A GT case study is appropriate for this research for two reasons. Firstly, case studies are contextually specific (Groat & Wang, 2002), and this study looks specifically at local post-disaster policy changes in the United States. Secondly, this study seeks to explain the core processes involved in constraining or driving local post-disaster policy changes inductively, without a priori assumptions derived from extant national policy process literature. Stake (2005) asserts “some case studies are qualitative designs, some are not... case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used” (p. 236). The GT approach employed in this study can be considered a type of instrumental case study where a particular case is used “to provide insight into an issue or refinement of theory” because it focuses on trying to understand forces that drive or mediate changes to local post-disaster planning (Stake, 2005). Multiple data sources are important in case study research. This allows for triangulation, and therefore enhances the reliability and credibility of the study. Data for this study are from interviews with state-level informants, interviews with county-level informants, local newspaper stories about Hurricane Sandy, and archival documents related to evacuation. FEMA disaster declarations were used to identify counties for which there was a federal disaster declaration related to Hurricane Sandy, and then interviews were conducted with state-level informants to identify counties in which there was damage to historic resources. Interviews were then conducted with key informants in two counties, one of which where there was reported change in disaster policy post-Sandy, and one with no reported change. Codes grounded in these interview data were further explicated in interviews about the effects of the storm in ten additional communities. Saturation was reached after the first five of the twelve communities. No new themes were identified in the subsequent seven cases. Local newspapers were reviewed for stories that were not mentioned by local-level interviewees or that added to information shared in interviewee accounts, and interview data regarding evacuations in each community were supplemented by an online search of archival documents. These steps are further described below.

Identifying the area of interest

FEMA lists disaster declarations related to Hurricane Sandy in Massachusetts (Federal Disaster Declaration 4097), the District of Colombia (4096), New Hampshire (4095), West Virginia (4093), Virginia (4092), Maryland (4091), Delaware (4090), Rhode Island (4089), New York (4085), New Jersey (4086), and Connecticut (4087) between the end of October and end of December 2012. Pennsylvania (4099) and Ohio (4098) had disaster declarations as a result of Sandy in January 2013. The District of Colombia is not included here as it does not fit the county unit of analysis. Maps related to these disaster declarations were used to identify counties.

I first identified the counties that were eligible for the FEMA Public Assistance program under the Sandy disaster declaration. The Public Assistance program is assistance to local governments, not individuals, and covers both emergency work and permanent work to structures or equipment owned by local governments or tribes, and debris removal (McCarthy, 2011).¹⁴ I then contacted State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs) or those with equivalent knowledge, to identify the counties in each state with the most damage to cultural resources that resulted from Hurricane Sandy. SHPOs were identified through the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers website, which maintains a list of telephone and email contact information for SHPOs and their deputies in each state (<http://www.ncshpo.org/find/index.htm>).

Once SHPO informants assisted in county identification, county managers were identified as appropriate key informants. County managers were selected for understanding changes in public conversation or policy at the local level because, as a professional manager overseeing administrative operations, implementing policies, and advising the county's elected legislative body (like the county commission or aldermen), they were deemed most likely to have a clear picture of what is going on in their county. Additionally, many county

¹⁴ Some communities also had Individual Assistance provisions attached to the federal declarations, which are issued based on damage concentration, trauma, special populations in the area, voluntary agency assistance, insurance coverage, and average amount of Individual Assistance by state (McCarthy 2011.) These communities were included, but Individual Assistance was not specifically considered as a criteria for inclusion.

managers are members of the International City/County Management Association, which on its websites lists among its eleven “ideals of management excellence” the necessity for them to seek to (#3) “respect the special character and individuality of each community”, (#4) “seek balance in the policy formation process through the integration of the social, cultural, and physical characteristics of the community”, (#7) “promote a balance between the needs to use and to preserve human, economic, and natural resources” and (#11) “take actions to create diverse opportunities in housing, employment, and cultural activity in every community for all people”

(http://icma.org/en/icma/about/organization_overview/who_we_are/ideals). This indicates the breadth of county manager’s knowledge and demonstrates a clear interest in promoting professional standards valuing both the physical built environment and in cultural resources as part of their duties. Some states (Connecticut and Massachusetts) that are part of this study have county designations, but counties do not act as administrative units—in these cases, city managers in the largest municipality in the county were used as a substitute for county-level managers, as they are the closest equivalent. In a number of cases, county managers were unable or unwilling to speak with me, but referred me to colleagues in emergency management, public planning, or, in one case, historic preservation who they felt would be best able to speak to the effects of the storm on the community

Data Collection

State-level informants

Key informants from State Historic Preservation Offices were contacted by email to introduce the study, and then contacted by telephone to see if they were willing to participate, and to schedule interviews. Some were able to participate in short interviews themselves, and some referred me to others within their agency or in related state agencies who they felt were better able to answer my questions. In a several cases I interviewed a representative from the SHPO and then was given a contact at the end that they felt would have better information. In these cases I followed up with the recommended informant. Therefore the numbers of key informants necessary to obtain this information and the number of counties identified varies

by state. See Table 3.1 for summary of informants by group, and Appendix A for specific numbers of respondents and documents reviewed for each community. Archival documents relate to evacuation information, and are described in more detail below (see p. 118).

Data collection phase	Data source	N
State-level	Interviews with SHPO representatives	19 in 12 states*
Exploratory county-level data collection	Interviews with community members	4 in 2 communities
Explicative county-level data collection	Interviews with community members	10 in 10 communities
Newspaper articles	US newspaper list	400 in 21 newspapers
Archival documents related to evacuation	Internet search (varied documents included)	11 archival documents

*data from 10 SHPO interviews in 7 states were used in data analysis once the 12 communities were selected

Table 3.1. Summary of informants and data by group. This table shows summarizes the number of interviewees and documents associated with each phase of the study.

State-level informants were asked to identify which counties were most affected by Hurricane Sandy and which had the most damage to cultural and built historic resources. They were asked to rate three counties that suffered the most damage in dollars to cultural resources, and for each one were asked to rate any changes in public conversations about policies and procedures related to cultural resources that occurred since Sandy, and any changes to policies and procedures related to cultural resources as a result of Sandy on a scale of one to five (none/ a little/ some/ quite a lot/ a lot). They were also asked to describe what they heard in terms of public conversation or changes in policies and procedures. If there was no change, they were asked their opinion on whether there was room for change in public discussion or policies addressing cultural resources after Hurricane Sandy, and what they attribute lack of change to if there was room for change. Ratings of changes in public conversation or in policies and procedures were then used to identify two counties of interest for the second phase of the study. This was necessary because while amounts of damage in dollars are tracked for county-level disaster declarations to be declared, the Environmental and Historic Preservation Officer with the Sandy Recovery Office of FEMA confirmed there

is no differentiation about the types of resources damaged (personal communication with Michael Audin September 25, 2014).

While interviewees in this phase were initially asked to identify up to three counties that had disaster declarations resulting from Hurricane Sandy and that sustained damage to cultural and historic resources, the number of counties identified varies by state. This is because of both the varying levels of overall damage to counties, and because of the negligible damage to cultural and built historic resources described by informants in some states that led them to nominate fewer than three counties. In some states where damage was worse, state-level key informants indicated an equal level of damage to cultural and built historic across more than three counties, or multiple informants disagreed about which counties sustained the most damage. In these cases, all identified counties were included in the list for the second and third phases of the study.

In New Hampshire, three key informants were consulted, resulting in identification of two counties with damage to historic resources: Rockingham and Carroll. Information from three key informants in Maryland identified one county (Somerset) of interest, two key informants in New Jersey identified three counties of interest there (Ocean, Cape May, and Atlantic), and one informant in Virginia identified three counties in that state (Northampton, Accomack, and Westmoreland).

The key informant in West Virginia reported that there was no significant damage to cultural resources and therefore was unable to identify any counties to include in this study. In Rhode Island, the key informant identified Newport and Washington counties as having sustained damage to historic cultural resources, while contact with (4) key informants in New York did not result in identification of any specific counties of interest. The key informant in Delaware identified Sussex and Kent counties, where four key informants in MA identified six counties with damage to cultural historic resources: Bristol, Barnstable, Nantucket, Dukes, Plymouth, and Suffolk. The key informant in Connecticut identified Fairfield, New Haven and Middlesex Counties, and the Pennsylvania informant identified only Northampton County. Ohio's key informant identified Cuyahoga County. In total, 24 counties were identified during the first phase of the study.

State-level interviewees' inclusion of a county in the list of those with substantial damage to cultural and historic resources resulting from Sandy and ratings of changes in conversations or policies and procedures provides the basis for criterion sampling counties for subsequent interviews. Sandelowski (2000) defines criterion sampling as "a kind of purposeful sampling of cases on preconceived criteria... [which] may be chosen because they typify the average score [or state, or because] they exemplify extreme scores" (p. 248). She notes that "researchers may use the criterion of scores... for the purpose of complementarity: that is, to find out more about what makes a case typical, extreme, or intense" (p. 248). Both counties where there are reported changes as well as those where there are not are included because this study is a case study of the policy process after a particular disaster, focusing on both mediators and drivers of change. This means it is important to understand where and why changes in local conversations or policies and procedures have not taken place as well as where they have. Including interviewees in a widespread area where communities were affected by Hurricane Sandy ensures the most complete picture of the effects of the storm on local-level disaster planning and any changes in planning around built historic resources that may have occurred, and allows a more thorough explanation of why changes have not taken place in counties where no change is reported.

County-level informants

The same process was followed as for the state-level informants, with an email introducing the study, followed by telephone calls to solicit participation and schedule interviews. Telephone interviews were conducted with the county emergency manager, county planners, and any identifiable nonprofit or agency representatives working in historic preservation in one county where state level informants reported no change in policy or procedure involving disaster planning around built historic resources despite reported changes in conversation¹⁵ and with the emergency manager in one county where state-level informants reported noticeable change in policy or procedure involving disaster planning¹⁶.

¹⁵ Somerset County, MD

¹⁶ Fairfield County, CT

Interviewees were asked to tell the story of what happened in their counties as a result of Hurricane Sandy, with particular emphasis concerning what changes have occurred and what they viewed as the factors that facilitated or hindered change, especially in terms of damage to cultural and historic resources. Follow-up probes related to immediate impacts, current concerns, and changes in conversations and planning around built historic and cultural resources were used. These interviews were coded, then interviews were conducted in ten additional communities to explicate findings from interviews in the initial two communities.

Open ended questions like “Was the public discussion or sentiment about disaster preparedness different after the storm compared to what people were talking about before Hurricane Sandy?” and “Can you tell me a little bit about what motivated or caused these changing conversations?” encouraged interviewees to tell the story of Hurricane Sandy and the impacts in the community without trying to fill in information about preconceived areas. Interviews with these additional informants in ten more communities were used to establish whether the damage to cultural resources was to institutions under the control of their jurisdictions (county courthouses, libraries etc.) or private property; significant consequences for the community immediately after the storm and now, and whether there was change in public conversation or policies and procedures after Sandy, and to what county managers attribute the changes or lack thereof. Follow-up probes that emerged from the conversation were used to clarify points not mentioned in previous models of the policy process to allow for theory to emerge iteratively throughout the data collection process.

Following GT process, research notes were made during the interviews and modified directly after interview completion. Montgomery and Bailey (2007) note Jackson’s (1990) finding regarding a lack of standard definitions among researchers about what constituted field notes related to appropriate training in preparation for creating field notes, kinds, or lengths. They note that many researchers consider field notes as data gathering as focused on notes about social interactions and contexts, but that others include audio recordings in this category as well (p. 67). For this study, research notes take the form of typed notes written during the interviews and edited for content, wording specificity, and notes about tone

immediately after the conclusion of the interview to record responses from the interviewees as close to verbatim as possible¹⁷.

These notes served as the data used for first-level coding of interviewee descriptions of types of and reasons for changes or lack of changes in procedures and policies, or in public conversations that were used to build memos. Montgomery and Bailey (2007) note that research notes and memos “have distinct yet complementary functions. Field [or research] notes serve a fundamental role in showing the [context]... while memos abstract meaning” (p. 78). Across all 12 communities, there is a total N of 26 informants. Informants comprise 10 state-level informants from seven states (four states had only one related state-level informant, and three had two), and 16 community-level informants (nine communities had one informant each, and one had three).

Newspaper articles

The analysis is also drawn from the content of roughly 400 newspaper articles (online print media) in 21 newspapers¹⁸ across ten communities. I sourced newspaper articles from an online search engine, using the US Newspaper List (<http://www.usnpl.com/njnews.php>) to find the local newspapers in each area, first searching by state, then by locality. This search focused on local publications and regional Associated Press reports in the area. National publications are not included because they focus on larger issues, and do not include locally focused stories that do not matter to the general news consumer. In cases where headlines did not suggest a clear story, I reviewed the content for mentions of the storm to see if there were mentions of public conversation or policy issues that were not apparent from the interviews.

¹⁷ While taking notes that are close to transcript quality in real-time is a difficult task, I have participated in a number of projects comprising hundreds of interviews that require near-transcript quality notes to be taken in real time while interviews are taking place. While some researchers prefer not to take notes during interviews, in this case it was deemed acceptable both because of my prior experience taking detailed notes in similar types of interviews, and because the subject matter was not personal or traumatic for the interviewees and they could not see me typing, it did not distract from their ability to engage with the interview or their freeness in sharing their experiences and opinions.

¹⁸ *Ocean City Sentinel, Cape May Gazette, Cape May Star and Wave, Shore News, Hampton Roads Messenger, Virginian Pilot, Sussex Countian, Sussex County Post, Inquirer and Mirror, Nantucket Independent, Barnstable Patriot, Fairfield Citizen News, Fairfield County Business Journal, Fairfield Hamlet Hub, Fairfield Minuteman, Fairfield Sun, CTNow, New Haven Independent, New Haven Register, County Times, Middletown Press*

Kwansah-Aidoo & Mapedzahama (2015) use their previous work and work by others (ex. Andrew, 2007; Chiluya, 2011) to make the argument that “to all intents and purposes headlines constitute part of the framing mechanism used by journalists and that, perhaps more than any other aspect of the news story/ articles they (the headlines) highlight particular frames adopted in a story” (p. 6).

Documents related to evacuation

Evacuation information was pulled from 11 additional archival documents. For each community, I conducted an internet search for any official documents or news items related to Hurricane Sandy evacuation information. These documents were used primarily to establish whether evacuations had taken place in each community, but also so check for additional information about evacuation not reported by community-level interviewees. I found five news stories, four announcements from local emergency officials or local government, from one public service announcement, one county-level disaster declaration, and one set of minutes from a county commission meeting that helped inform my perspective on evacuations in these communities (see case descriptions in Appendix A for sources).

Use of literature

Tummers and Karsten (2012) note that reports and academic publications should then explicitly state where and how literature has been used. For this study, I used literature during research design to identify gaps and justify the research question. Literature was not explicitly used in data analysis until coding and theory development were substantially complete, to allow for categories and connections to emerge. However, because of my knowledge of policy process frameworks, I was aware of existing theory, remained aware of the potential biases created by this throughout data collection and analysis, and simultaneously sought to inductively allow previously unidentified themes and patterns to emerge from the data. I consulted the literature on policy process after data analysis to compare results to other researchers’ previously reached understandings of similar phenomena at work. Categories emerging from the data were examined against themes described in existing policy process literature.

Analysis

Patton (2002) points out that “in addition to comfort with striving for objectivity, grounded theory emphasizes systematic rigor” (p. 489), quoting Glaser’s (2001) assertion that “every stage [should be] done systematically so that the reader knows exactly the process by which the published theory was generated” (p12; in Patton, p.489). Here, systematic rigor is demonstrated in descriptions of detailed description of the process of iterative inductive coding and peer check and the content review of local newspaper articles about Hurricane Sandy.

I began coding the data after interviews in the first two communities of interest were complete. I coded each of the next three interviews as it was completed, deconstructing and reconstructing data and working through the interviews one at a time in the order they were conducted. Codes were applied to questions around disaster planning prior to Sandy, types and extent of damage, changes in procedures or policies and public conversation after the incident, and participant attributions for reasons behind changes or lack thereof. After coding for interviews in the first two communities was complete, a peer debrief was conducted to examine quotes from raw interview data and their associated codes for conceptual congruency. Cases of incongruency and alternative interpretation were discussed until we reached consensus. I repeated the coding process after the next three interviews, then twice more for the last two pairs of interviews. The next round of coding both looked to further clarify previous themes and patterns as described by Montgomery and Bailey (2007), as well as allow additional patterns and themes to emerge. Relationships between concepts were clarified, and explanatory propositions were developed. At this point, another peer debrief was conducted for conceptual congruency. Propositions were peer checked as well.

Newspaper articles were searched for references to Hurricane and Superstorm Sandy in the title, abstract, and body. An additional search was added for public conversation, public outcry, and failure related to Sandy. The search was limited by date to articles that appeared after the storm made landfall on the east coast of the U.S. on October 29, 2012, and does not include articles about the storm’s formation or anticipated damage prior to landfall. For the purposes of this analysis, any newspaper article reporting on the storm was included

in the initial search, but only articles with substantive mention Sandy, are included in the final count of related articles. Articles that made reference to the storm in passing but were not focused on the storm are not included in the final count. In cases where over 100 headlines about the storm appeared in a certain publication, the first 50 headlines were reviewed for negative framing, and an. In some cases, very localized weekly or monthly newspapers did not have an available search function, but PDFs of the archived issues or front pages were available. In cases of weekly publications, the archived issues were reviewed for the period of a year following the storm, and the monthly for a period of three years following the storm to allow for inclusion of a number of the monthly publications equivalent to the yearly to be reviewed.

Findings

How were communities affected by Hurricane Sandy?

I found most communities in this study suffered significant damage as a result of Hurricane Sandy, although key informants in half reported the damage was less than expected because the storm changed trajectory. Vignettes of planning efforts prior to Sandy and effects of the storm in individual communities can be found in Appendix A. These vignettes include damage caused by the storm, evacuation information, and information about news coverage of the storm in the area. They also include descriptions of reported any changes in publicly driven conversation or disaster policy resulting from the storm as well as related constrainers and drivers of these changes in each community.

Overall, 10 of the 12 communities in this study experienced evacuation during Hurricane Sandy. The most common types of damage, experienced in two-thirds of communities, were related to inland and coastal flooding and infrastructure damage, often roads or piers. Key informants in half of the communities reported either residential damage or damage to cultural resources (both historic buildings and archaeological resources). Utility damage was next most common, followed by wind damage and damage to businesses or commercial properties. Most did not experience post-disaster changes in conversation driven

by the public, but many did experience post-disaster changes in procedures or policies. Constrainers and drivers of change are described below.

Local constrainers and drivers of policy change

From local-level informants’ descriptions of Hurricane Sandy and changes in local public conversation or in procedure or policy post-disaster six inter-related categories emerged. These categories are 1) *Citizen coalitions*, 2) *Previous history of adjustment*, 3) *Damage*, 4) *Local capacity*, 5) *Higher-level institutional and economic context*, and 6) *Identifiable failure* (see Table 3.2).

Construct/ categories	Related descriptors/ subcategories	Definition
Citizen coalition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy proposal catalyzed formation
Previous history of adjustment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reactions to previous disasters • Ongoing communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning from prior incidents and adjusting procedures and policy • Prior public communication
Damage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Degree • Historic comparison • Resource type 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More or less severe than expected • Severity compared to prior storms • Function and ownership of resource
Local capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community efficacy • Financial capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to support or expect planning • Locally available planning resources
Higher-level institutional & economic context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State & federal regulations • Regional economic interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State or federal policy shaping local • Local ties to regional systems
Identifiable failure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation issues • Inadequate policy specification 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing policy not implemented • Policy implemented but intent failed

Table 3.2. Constrainers and drivers of local post-disaster policy change. This table shows the six inter-related categories that emerged in these communities post-Sandy.

The seven explanatory propositions generated from this exercise in grounded theory to be tested in future research are explicated below, and the related patterns shown in Table 3.3.

Proposition 1: Post-disaster policy changes at the local level may be more often preceded by conversations among institutional (both elected and bureaucrats, or “policy elites”) officials than by publicly-driven conversations.

In cases where a potential focusing event leads to policy change, public policy frameworks often presume a groundswell in community discussion contributes to agenda setting and subsequent change (ex. Kingdon, 2011; Jenkins-Smith, Nohrstedt, Weible, & Sabatier, 2014). At the local level there is limited evidence regarding this process as it relates to policy change following Hurricane Sandy. I found that patterns of change in public conversation in the communities affected by Sandy included in this study did not match this expected pattern. Specifically, data on policy change post Sandy revealed a departure from contemporary assumptions of policy process in two key ways.

First, while some contemporary policy theories suggest that change will be catalyzed by changes in discussion, this was not supported in over half of the counties that reported policy change. Respondents reported post-Sandy changes in public procedures and policies in nine of the 12 communities I studied. However, changes were only perceived to be preceded by changes in agenda setting conversations in only four of the nine communities that experienced policy change. The preponderance of changes in policy in the remaining five communities in which policy change was perceived to have taken place without changes in conversation were attributed to severity of damage, pressures asserted by higher level institutional and economic constraints, and policy failure.

Second, local level policy change post-Sandy further diverged from contemporary policy theory in terms of the presumed role of community discussion. Rather, in all but one case, changes in community discussion – when they happened – tended to occur apart from the agenda setting process or among local policy elites. I will begin by describing the one case in which patterns matched most closely to contemporary policy process frameworks followed by a discussion of the points of divergence, first in relation to community conversation occurring unrelated to agenda setting, then in the case of conversation occurring solely among policy elites.

Somerset County, MD, is a coastal county with a population of about 25,000 residents, which experienced significant flooding and flood damage as a result of Sandy. In response, state officials proposed a buy-out of some residences on Smith Island using Sandy recovery funds. Residents were apparently informed by the county supervisor that the

deal had already been agreed to. Local residents objected, in part on the basis that if those residents left there would no longer be enough people on the island to support the small businesses located there, and formed a coalition to oppose the change. One respondent reported that community members “kept opposing [the proposed state-level change], so we started a letter writing campaign, [to the] state head of community development, then congressmen and senators,” resulting in a conference call with the governor’s chief-of-staff on a Friday. The locals explained their concerns, and that “we would not support 10% of the population moving off, and it would signal the death” of the community. The following Tuesday the buy-out was called off, the process having taken about six months from the time the public first found out. Additional conversation was generated by other groups in Somerset County about the need for better mitigation and for better flood planning, especially around building elevation requirements. Ultimately, there was change in other public policy in Somerset County related to zoning and elevation requirements to comply with flood planning, although the buy-out related zoning on Smith Island was blocked.

It is important to note that in the Smith Island case, while the policy change did occur as a result of public conversation, public conversation was not a direct reaction to Hurricane Sandy. Rather, it was a reaction to proposed state-level policy actions that were initiated independent of any obvious public engagement. This pattern of policy makers taking action independent of public involvement in agenda setting was repeated in the remaining eight communities which experienced policy change—but in different ways and to different degrees.

In two communities, the public engaged in conversations with one another—about the need for better individual mitigation and preparedness efforts—but the type of concerns they were discussing did not involve public policy, and the community did not bring their concerns to officials asking for any change. These cases demonstrate the presence of community conversation post-disaster that local policy elites are aware of, but which does not rise to the level of agenda setting in the local policy community. Interestingly these communities (Fairfield County and New Haven, CT) still experienced policy change in the

same general area as the public conversation, but key informants did not perceive policy change to have come about as a result of public conversation.

In Fairfield County, a respondent reported changes in the way the public discuss planning among themselves: "Um, it has made the public more aware there is disaster preparedness. They actually are looking for what to do, where to go, what do they need." In Fairfield County similar conversations with the public were driven from the institutional level as well, with one local informant noting "we worked with community groups to make all hazard plans, to get their input of what was the most important thing a resident felt we did good during Sandy.... we had them have ownership, we cannot just create it, but the focus was to have them have ownership—they are living documents." In Fairfield County, the procedural and policy changes after Sandy were related to neighborhood-level emergency planning, and to increases in public outreach and education, aligning with the changes in community conversation after the storm. In New Haven a local-level key informant noted "[among the public] nobody was talking about resilience before [Sandy but now they are]. The thinking you have certain parts of your city that are susceptible to events and there is not a lot you can do. So that conversation is a good one, and is driving development patterns in low areas next to the harbor." Changes in procedures and policies in this community were related to adoption of resilient infrastructure, again generally aligning with the content of community conversation even though members of the community did not directly attempt to influence the policy agenda.

The remaining case in which there were changes in public conversation preceding policy changes exemplifies a case of conversations taking place among policy elites. In Nantucket County, MA, the changes in conversations after Hurricane Sandy were institutional officials in Nantucket were focused on planning for cultural resources: "The elevation and relocation of buildings, protection of historic structures is always in the conversation now. The municipalities, the municipal government is having them. We have a few coastal resiliency grants... to look at storm surge and flooding conditions, and how to relocate critical infrastructure—I think we are doing it because of the severity of Sandy. We are looking at things with a critical eye." Changes in policy in Nantucket County include

changes in flood mapping based on FEMA-related insurance expectations, and an attempt to include historic resources in flood mitigation efforts. One interviewee noted that officials now consider “effects of sea level rise during storm activity, like we have to raise buildings and do better drainage, and they are realizing, with the heritage side, that we have to assess the public [historic sites] first then go to private [owners of historic sites to mitigate flood hazards because] many historical public buildings are repositories of historic archival material.”

The other five communities in which there were changes in procedures and policies after Hurricane Sandy are in some ways more interesting in relation to this first proposition, as key informants in these communities did not report any perceived changes in post-disaster conversation accompanying policy change, either driven by the public or by policy elites. Northampton County, VA had reported changes in the process for disaster planning and management, forming a new management team with county and municipal officials. Cape May County, NJ reportedly changed approaches to flood planning, and Northampton County, PA had reported changes in procedures regarding public education and outreach. Ocean County, NJ reportedly changed evacuation and sheltering plans, debris management plans, and plans involving cultural resources, while Atlantic County, NJ reportedly changed evacuation and sheltering plans, plans involving cultural resources, and increased public education and outreach. Changes in public policy (or lack thereof) after Hurricane Sandy in these communities were attributed to one or more of the following factors: community-based coalitions, previous history of adjustment in public policy, degree and type of damage, local capacity, higher-level institutional and economic context, and policy failure. Community informants’ detailed attributions for the changes in policy in these communities are discussed in more detail below, as related to relevant explanatory propositions.

Proposition 2. Coalitions can constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations or public policy, but are more likely to constrain change when it is proposed from above (state-level).

Some extant policy process frameworks suggest that coalitions can work to set agendas and catalyze policy change or work to prevent policy change (Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014). Research has shown that government relies on cooperation and resources from other actors in the policy-making process, and that these resources can also block policy decisions and changes if they are “not on board” with the change (Taylor, 2011). As described above, on Smith Island in Somerset County, MD, in there were community-generated changes in conversation in reaction to a state-level policy proposal, is also reflective of coalition formation at the local level. Post-disaster policy change in this community followed a pattern that might be expected according to national-level policy process frameworks.

Key informants in this community described formation of a coalition in response to a state buy-out that “was decided upon without the community [buy-in]” and that “got us really angry” as the public was informed at “an open meeting at county supervisors, and we were informed that it was a done deal and we could not stop it.” After the meeting, members of the community decided to form a group to oppose the policy change, with a leader within this organization describing how “other citizens on the island and I had spoken out at the meeting... I spoke out fervently against it, and a few people noticed it, and they approached me and asked if I would like to help them form a group.” This resulted in a back and forth process with county and state officials that ultimately lasted six months, with officials trying to re-frame local understanding and gain buy-in by explaining that the buyout would benefit the community, but the local community members did not change their minds, and, as described above, eventually succeeded in blocking adoption of the proposed policy. This coalition has since formalized, first forming a community association, then going through the process of incorporation as a nonprofit seeking block grants for erosion control and economic development.

In the same county, an additional coalition was described as having formed after Hurricane Sandy—this one as a direct reaction to flooding and damage rather than in reaction to a proposed state-level policy change. One community member reported “there was a group that formed [as] a collaboration among citizen activists, nonprofits, and religious institutions to fund rebuilding. A lot of talk was generated from that group and then local government

from the city." The conversation generated by this community-based group was described as being "mostly regarding elevation of buildings [with] both local government and community activists [leading the conversations]." Policy changes in this community that took place in this community were in the same area, involving changes to building elevation requirements for new construction intended to mitigate effects of future flooding. In this case, the coalition's success may have been in part due to a confluence of opinion between community-based coalition members and institutional actors, as a different key informant noted changes in "zoning stuff... respecting the fact you need to build higher" based in part on impetus from "planning and zoning [which had] been asking for this [policy change] for awhile." Here, a direct community-based reaction to attention focused on flooding vulnerability by Hurricane Sandy led to the formation of a coalition that changed community conversation in a particular policy area, and at least in part contributed to policy change in the same area as the discussion, clearly demonstrating an expected component of the larger policy process at work at the local level.

Proposition 3: Previous history of adjustment in local-level disaster policy decreases the likelihood of post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations and public policy.

National-level policy process theories suggest that a previous history of adjustment may subdue the influence of a focusing event, such that when there is a history of regular or incremental adjustments in a particular policy area, a sudden shock like a natural disaster acting as a potential focusing event may not catalyze additional policy change (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009). This pattern was observed at the local level in the communities in this study as well. In six communities, key informants reported perceiving that post- Sandy changes in publicly-driven conversations, policy, or both, had been constrained by previous policy adjustments. In only one community was a previous history of adjustment attributed as a drive of change after Hurricane Sandy. Instances in which previous adjustments constrained changes in conversations and/or policy after Sandy are described below.

Repeated adjustments in Northampton County, VA resulting from previous disasters and training exercises, combined with public awareness of risk, were described as

contributing to lack of change in public conversation or calls for policy change after the storm. One respondent from this community noted “we are on the Atlantic Ocean, so it is a fact of life when you live and work here that you need to be prepared for hurricanes... our team does a lot of training on this event... most of the residents are familiar with how you live in a coastal environment that may be subject to hurricanes” and described the adoption of a reverse-911 system prior to Sandy as a result of lessons learned in other storms as having been “very well received by the public.” A key informant from Fairfield, CT, reported previous incremental change in pet sheltering, resulting in the lack of public conversation regarding the approach after Sandy: “one of the things that has changed over a period of years was pet sheltering... now we have a section that is coordinated through animal control and shelters.” Similarly, in Dukes County previous adjustments were based on “monthly meetings with all stakeholders and coordinated island wide efforts” with the respondent explaining that “as far as results of planning meetings, there are some improvements, so EMS, fire and police are streamlining radio frequencies, and use of the EOC for disasters where all the information from all towns is fed in and fed out in a coordinated manner.” This incremental adjustment meant policies worked well enough during Sandy to preclude the need for change in reaction to the storm.

Change in community conversation was also perceived as having been constrained by previous change in Northampton County, PA, where it remained “still somewhat the same as before Sandy, because there were a lot of lessons learned in Katrina” also noting that the emergency management operations and 911 center merged as a result of lessons from Katrina.” They noted that because the community learned policy lessons from responding to “Hurricane Irene and Isaac, [since] there were more local programs going on together, and when Sandy hit as far as disaster and damage assessment, we had pretty good ground work laid,” reducing the need for policy change post-Sandy. In Middlesex, CT the local key informant also explained the lack of change post-Sandy in relation to previous adjustments, stating “the shoreline had been previously hit about a year before by Irene... from that there was a bunch of things that came out to enhance the plans in place.... So there was a real big effort for hazard mitigation plans in place.... I think they learned that from [Hurricane]

Irene." In Atlantic County, NJ, the local key informant noted: "We went out and talked door-to-door with people who evacuated during Irene or Sandy and asked why, and we did listen and made changes [to our evacuation and sheltering policies] based on personal experiences." Here, changes in community-driven conversations were unnecessary because the public was already participating in change efforts with local institutional officials, and previous incremental policy change both meant that substantial policy change post-Sandy was unnecessary, and laid the foundation for institutional and community-level expectations that incremental changes will be considered in this community after storm incidents in response to specific lessons from the particular storm.

In only one instance (New Haven, CT) were changes in public procedures and policies post-Sandy perceived by the key informant as having been driven in part by a previous history of adjustments, rather than previous adjustments acting as a constrainer. In New Haven the previous history of conversation between local institutions and the public was described as being, in part, because "we have a very progressive mindset—lots of residents tell us about climate change, and push us to make decisions based on considerations of climate change." They also noted that this ongoing pattern of conversation and associated adjustments is driven both by the public "we have good relationships, [community members] see us [institutional officials] and talk to us directly" and by institutional efforts "...the mayor has an environmental advisory council, and the board of alders has had several public information sessions where we present what we are doing on storm water and preparedness. So anywhere from very formal to informal conversations [take place regularly]." As a whole, the patterns related to previous incremental change found in these communities and key informant perceptions that previous adjustments usually acted to constrain changes in public conversations, procedures, and policies after Hurricane Sandy is consistent with expectations laid forth by national-level policy process frameworks.

Proposition 4. Severe damage often drives local post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations, procedures, or public policy.

Extant policy process theory also relates degree and type of damage to likelihood of subsequent changes in conversation and policy after a focusing event. While he does not refer solely to physical damage resulting from potential focusing events, Birkland (1998) notes that the degree and type of harm caused by a particular incident is connected to how likely that event is to be focal, influence the institutional agenda, and affect policy change. Low levels of damage are unlikely to contribute to a potential focusing event becoming focal, while higher levels are more likely to work with the event to cause change.

My findings mirror this expected pattern, specifically in terms of some types of damage constraining changes in conversation and policies and others driving change. Here, damage constrained conversation or policy change in about half the instance where damage was attributed as having influenced the policy process post-Sandy, and acted as a driver in the other half.

In Northampton County, PA, and Sussex County, DE, low degree of damage constrained changes in conversation post-Sandy because the degree of damage was not viewed as great enough to focus public attention. The particular type of resources damaged constrained changes in conversation in Ocean County, NJ. In Northampton, PA, the local key informant noted that storm damage was less than expected because the storm changed track and “widespread power outages [were] the worst problem,” and did not report any perceived changes in conversation. This sentiment was echoed in Sussex, DE, as Sandy caused primarily wind damage and flooding that did not get enough attention to warrant change: “I haven’t [noticed any change in conversation because] we dodged a bullet [in terms of damage from Sandy], and I think it is kind of till the next one comes.” The key informant went on to explain that from Sandy “there certainly was not enough damage of any kind to get people kind of, excited. Honestly it was not, I mean, we have had worst nor’easters here. It just wasn’t... it wasn’t a big enough storm. And unless you get that outcry from the public, everyone just goes gosh, it was a storm. No conversation happened— it was like we dodged a bullet, whew, back to work.” In Ocean County, NJ, the lack of change in community-driven conversation was attributed to the majority of the damage having occurred to public property, which was then fixed by public institutions. The key informant described their experience

after Sandy as “things go back to normal, and people say I just want to move on.... I think most of the public areas that were damaged became top priorities and were fixed, like the Seaside Heights Boardwalk—the town stepped up and had it open for the following summer, and then the shops fixed up. A lot of that was at the town level, because [in] New Jersey [land use and planning] is a lot at the town level... There have not been people coming and talking about it. It is like it never happened.”

In the other half of the cases where damage was cited as a factor in the local post-disaster policy process, damage acted as a driver of change—in Somerset County, MD, the high degree of damage drove changes in conversation, and in Ocean County, NJ, degree of damage drove changes in policy, while in Atlantic, NJ, and New Haven, CT, damage to a particular type of resources drove changes in policy post-Sandy. For instance, in Somerset County, MD, one respondent described damage as worse than expected, with emergency management “caught off guard” by the flooding and water that “came into peoples’ homes,” causing this respondent to join in unofficial rescue efforts. They explained how they realized the degree of damage combined with a culture where “our town is very proud and it takes a lot to get people to accept [help] and ask for help” meant a conversation needed to be started among community members, joined in local conversation with other community leaders, then “went on Facebook [which] was a huge tool for us because we had no communication” and used it to communicate local needs, eventually helping to coordinate the larger volunteer effort in the community around recovery.

Of additional interest related to type of damage was the anecdote from a key informant in New Haven, CT, who noted that absence of a specific type of resource damage did not specifically drive change, but allowed for changes in conversations in other areas of concern. They explained: "since our damage was not as residential as some of the other places, we don't have that type of resonating issue.... that they did not have to worry about their homes. We have 1-95 and a rail corridor— so it allowed us to have regional and national conversations about how we become more resilient. Since we do not have to discuss home rebuilding it allows a focus on larger economic and infrastructure issues." In all,

patterns showing that damage can both constrain and drive change depending on degree and type are fairly intuitive, and align with expectations from policy literature.

Proposition 5. Limited local capacity can act to constrain post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations or public policy.

The finding that local capacity can constrain or drive change post-disaster somewhat aligns with expectations from existing literature. Existing research into climate and disaster preparedness actions shows contradictory patterns in the relationships between capacity and change. Adaptations undertaken by humans in response to climate change are described by Smit and Wandel (2006) as varying according to the system they occur in, as well as who acts as an impetus for change, among other considerations. Community capacity comprises capacities of individuals within the community as well as social and interorganizational networks, sense of community, and community values, among other elements, varies according to context, and is reflective of community ability to address societal issues (Goodman et al., 1998). Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum (2008) list four sets of adaptive capacities—Economic Development, Social Capital, Information and Communication, and Community Competence—that lead to community resilience and disaster readiness. Some facets of Social Capital, Information and Communication, and Community Competence are reflected in my conception of community efficacy. Paton and Johnston (2001) describe findings regarding characteristics traditionally associated with capacity, such as educational attainment, as inconsistently linked to hazard vulnerability. Cutter, Boruff, and Shirley (2003) note vulnerability varies by geographic area and over time, and that the construct should be refined to include elements of the social, built environment, and natural hazards indicators. This idea of geographically variable effects of community capacity was reflected in several communities in this study, specifically in terms of community efficacy and financial capacity. Limited community capacity was perceived to have constrained changes in conversation in almost half of the instances it was mentioned in connection to local-level policy processes post-Sandy, while changes in the other half were perceived to have been driven by elements of community capacity.

Cases in which local capacity constrained change occurred in Dukes County, MA, and Sussex County, DE. In Dukes County, change was perceived to have been constrained by limited financial capacity, with a key informant noting “I think there have been areas as I said raised as a concern, but the problem is to address them would require funding, and the amounts are so substantial that [the public is aware] we cannot address that on the local level.” Change in Sussex County was constrained by limited community efficacy, as the community key informant described a fatalistic attitude toward disaster planning, creating a local attitude that little can be done, explaining: "it is a matter of time, but what do you do—when it does hit, it is going to flatten everything."

Community capacity was perceived as a driver of change in Fairfield, CT, New Haven, CT, and Northampton, PA. In Fairfield, CT, community efficacy was manifested in local emergency management awareness of different information seeking behaviors among different stakeholder groups, multiple language needs, and the necessity of planning for specific vulnerable populations like homeless residents in the area. Awareness of variation in information seeking behavior was described: ‘If we say we use papers, and radio and television, but they do not have television and go to their clergy, we want to give the information to their pastor.... in any city a low to middle class income [population exists] that may not have technological means that FEMA would use, like ready dot gov.— they may not have access to internet. So we as emergency management directors have to identify those folks and reach out.’ In Fairfield this facet of capacity resulted in post-Sandy increases in public outreach and education including a goal to produce preparedness information in 70 languages. In New Haven, CT, the community made policy changes involving adopting resilient infrastructure standards after Hurricane Sandy. Community efficacy in this case was related to public attitudes rather than those of institutional officials as was described in Fairfield, CT. A key informant in New Haven described capacity for change in the area as being related to the “very progressive mindset” of the community members who “tell [officials] about climate change and push us to make decisions based on considerations of climate change.” In Northampton, PA, lack of community efficacy was described in relation to urban and rural differences, with "folks in an urban area... at more of a crisis with power

out, because rural folks expected it to be off for days, but in urban areas they thought it would be fixed at once." This led to changes in public education and outreach after Hurricane Sandy, with increased preparedness education efforts in coordination with state-level education efforts. Together, these instances demonstrate that elements of community capacity influence local changes after potential focusing events. This suggests an important consideration in local-level policy process theories must be local contextual factors. The idea that presence of local financial capacity and community efficacy helps create a foundation that allows the community to address societal issues and solve problems affecting the public, and without which change cannot be affected, means that fine-grained considerations about pressures shaping local capacity must be included when seeking understanding of local-level policy processes.

Proposition 6. Higher-level institutional and economic context most often acts to drive local changes in publicly-driven conversations and public policy.

Contemporary studies of policy adoption and implementation show regional differences based on regional culture and values (Lall & Yilmaz, 2001; Thornton, 2012). Other policy researchers have called for considerations of regional context in understanding political behavior, political processes, and state and local policies (Elazar, 1984) and in understanding policy windows (Farley et al., 2007). Smit and Wandell (2006) note that adaptations to social systems that are undertaken in response to climate change stimuli, in this case changes in local-level community-based conversations and in procedures and policies as a response to Hurricane Sandy, are often undertaken in response to concerns concentrated in economic or regional interests. Here, higher-level institutional and economic context comprises state and federal regulations and regional economic interests, and as expected, most often drove changes post-disaster.

One instance in which higher-level economic context restrained changes in policy related to state regulations was in Sussex County, DE, where the respondent noted lack of changes in planning for historic resources after Sandy despite damage to such resources during the storm stemmed from state policy expectations tied to regional economic interests,

noting cultural resource preservation “is not a priority legislatively [because] after the great recession the state coffers were nailed, and revenue has been a problem” and while the preservation tax credit program continued in the state, “in Delaware there are no laws related to historic preservation” except human remains, and historic byways disaster plans already consider historic structures. In Cape May County, NJ, the sentiment was similar but related to federal policy, as they explained perceiving lack of changes in disaster planning for cultural and historic resources as being in part “that the Biggert Waters legislation really did not provide any benefit, leniency, or consideration for a property being historic. They weren’t given any benefit, and that was a major concern we had, was there was not the recognition that historic properties are different.”

However, more often higher-level institutional context drove changes post-Sandy, and changes were often very clearly tied to state or federal policy directives. For instance, in Atlantic County, New Jersey a key informant noted “in regard to evacuation planning—we have new directives from the state office of EM now in regards to sheltering. That is probably the biggest [local policy change].” In Nantucket County, MA, the local key informant explained “if there was one thing that changed the way we did the business of renovation, or new construction, it was the adoption of the FEMA insurance flood maps, and they were voted on by the voters at an annual town meeting... It is required by FEMA that the public vote on it.” Federal expectations around flood planning were also cited as a reason for policy change in Somerset County, MD, and Cape May, NJ, and other state and federal-level regulations were directly attributed to changes in neighborhood-level hazard planning (Fairfield, CT), and changes in evacuation and sheltering plans (Cape May, NJ and Atlantic County, NJ). In Atlantic County, NJ, the changes “in regards to evacuation planning” were described as directly resulting because “we have new directives from the state office of EM now in regards to sheltering—what will be deemed as a shelter, a whole new set of criteria, and how to establish and staff a shelter, what equipment must be in that facility, how far out of the impact area we can shelter people” that caused a number of changes in the community post-Sandy, including which buildings are designated as shelters. Higher-level institutional and economic context as a driver of policy change at the local level is consistent with

expectations about higher level policy processes, but the way in which these nested pressures interact with local capacity is a unique consideration in local level policy processes.

Proposition 7. Identifiable failure in local-level disaster policy often drives post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations or public policy.

Contemporary policy process frameworks lead to the expectation that policy failure will likely bring about policy change (Birkland, 2008; Baumgartner, 2014). These patterns were found here at the local level, and in each community in which policy failure was reported, it acted as a driver for policy change post-Sandy. The policy failures in Northampton County, VA, Ocean County, NJ, and Atlantic County, NJ are described below, and include issues of both inadequate policy specification and problems with implementation.

In Northampton County, VA, inadequate policy specification led to confusion around evacuations, with a municipality needing help in evacuating an apartment building because “before Sandy was projected to make landfall we had done a coastal inspection and could see problems in that one area of the town, and had the police chief and the town manager with us, and literally just talked for a few minutes—'how are you going to handle this'—there was some reluctance on their side to evacuation, so we knew we had to step in [at the county level].” The key informant in this community went on to explain that “an evacuation order is a pretty serious step—how do you make that happen, how do you get people to leave is difficult” and that during Sandy municipal officials “welcomed our involvement from the county to help with that process to open our resources to try to secure alternate housing or funding for housing, which they are not typically accustomed to handling,” but which necessitated policy changes after the storm, and a new management team was formed including both county and municipal to plan for and communicate during future events. In Ocean County, NJ, there were also issues with evacuation procedures, with the local informant noting “during Sandy a lot of people even though it [evacuation] was mandatory did not come out. We pulled out over 400 people the day after who stayed through the whole storm” and had issues with shelter locations located in schools when shelters needed to

remain open but schools needed to re-open as well. Implementation issues also came up in Ocean County, with issues around debris removal, where “some of the smaller towns with debris removal, it was over their head because they were too small and in some [the county] stepped in with private property debris removal.” Policy changes took place in Ocean County related to both evacuation and sheltering, and to debris removal. Changes in debris removal were in part in response to failure, and in part in response to federal directives to line up debris removal contractors prior to storm incidents.

In Atlantic County, NJ, failure was also relate to evacuation, and led to changes in evacuation policy after the storm. One key informant in this community noted “[After Sandy] we revamped all municipal and county hurricane plans and looked at transportation needs... then we looked at re-populating. Where we fell short was evacuation and sheltering. Again, that plan had failed.” Another noted other issues regarding power struggles over evacuation decisions in the area explaining "we had very low [evacuation] compliance with Sandy ... because we sent people into harms' way in evacuation for Irene... to be frank, the city of Atlantic City, the mayor told the people to ignore the evacuation order. So at the 11th hour it became the priority to get the people out. There was a lot of finger pointing post-Sandy.... part of the other issue was the governor of NJ was having a pissing contest with the mayor of Atlantic City so he would not allow people back onto the island for an additional two days after we asked, and the governor would not allow us to get them home... and the local authorities never got out and spoke with the local residents through media or direct site visits, so the only information going out was through our PIOs." Together, these instances paint a clear story of policy failures tied to post-disaster changes in policy in the same area, following expectations of existing policy process frameworks.

Case location (county or municipality)	Constrainer of public conversation	Driver of public conversation	Change in publicly-driven conversation	Constrainer of policy change	Driver of policy change	Change in public policy
Somerset, MD	--	Damage-Degree (high) Citizen coalition	Flood planning & rebuilding	Citizen coalition*	Higher-level context- state and federal level regulations	Flood planning *Prevented buy-out & rezoning
Middlesex, CT	--	--	--	Previous history of adjustment- Reactions to previous storms Higher-level context- state and federal regulations	--	--
Northampton, VA	Previous history of adjustment- Reactions to previous disasters	--	--	--	Identifiable failure- implementation issues	New disaster planning & management team includes county & municipal officials
Cape May, NJ	Higher-level context- state and federal level regulations	--	--	Higher-level context- state and federal level regulations*	Higher-level context- state and federal level regulations	Change in flood planning Cultural resources- no change in planning*
3 Dukes, MA	Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication Local capacity - financial capacity	--	--	Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication Previous history of adjustment- Reactions to previous disasters	--	--
Fairfield, CT	Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication	--	--	Previous history of adjustment- Reactions to previous storms	Local capacity- Community efficacy Higher-level context- state and federal regulations	Started neighborhood-level emergency planning Increased public education & outreach
Northampton, PA	Damage-Degree (low)	--	--	Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication Previous history of adjustment- Reactions to	Local capacity- Community efficacy	Increased public education & outreach

				previous disasters		
New Haven, CT	--	--	--	--	Local capacity - Community efficacy Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication Damage- Resource type	New approach to infrastructure planning- now use green infrastructure
Ocean, NJ	Damage- resource type	--	--	--	Damage- Degree (high) Identifiable failure- Inadequate specification Identifiable failure- implementation issues Higher-level context- State and federal-level regulations	Change in evacuation and sheltering plans Change in debris management Change in planning for cultural resources
Nantucket, MA	--	--	--	--	Higher-level context- State and federal-level regulations	Change in flood planning Change in planning for cultural resources
Atlantic, NJ	Previous history of adjustment- Ongoing public communication	--	--	--	Damage- Resource type Identifiable failure- Inadequate specification Identifiable failure- implementation issues Higher-level context- State and federal-level regulations	Change in evacuation and sheltering plans Increased public education & outreach Change in planning for cultural resources
Sussex, DE	Damage- Degree (low) Local capacity - Community efficacy	--	--	Damage- Degree (low) Higher-level context- regional economic interests	--	--

Table 3.3. Constrainers of local public conversation/ constrainers & drivers of policy change post-Sandy.

Discussion

This study makes an important contribution to both policy-process and disaster planning and emergency management literature by identifying forces that act to constrain or drive local post-disaster changes in conversations, procedures, or policies. In doing so it provides a better understanding of the local-level policy process, and contributes to understanding of the ways local-level disaster policy decisions are made, helping to address gaps in knowledge identified by Farley et al. (2007) and Scavo et al. (2007), among others. Importantly, this study underscores the need for more theory related to local-level policy processes. Based on insights from 12 cases, several key explanatory propositions emerged that can inform local-level policy process research moving forward. Findings both validate propositions suggested by macro policy theory as well as identifying important dynamics that may be particularly germane to understanding local-level policy processes. Findings suggest the need to consider the relationship between public conversation and policy change, the importance of the higher level institutional and economic context, and the influence of local capacity on local policy processes, but are consistent with existing policy frameworks regarding coalitions (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2014), previous adjustments in policy (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009), damage severity (Birkland, 1998), and policy failure (Baumgartner, 2014).

Points of divergence between extant policy process frameworks begin with ideas about the actors and processes at work in agenda setting. Models of the policy process examining stages at the national level often assume that public conversation precedes, or at least accompanies, policy change (Kingdon 2011; Jenkins-Smith, Nohrstedt, Weible, & Sabatier 2014). In the local-level model of post-disaster policy change I found this assumption does not hold. Public discussion post-disaster was largely between members of the public rather than between the public and officials, or between public officials, driven by officials. Even with a potential focusing event to garner public attention, local level policy change seems to be largely driven by local elected officials and government department

employees rather than public discussion. In theory, this could be because policy elites in the area saw Hurricane Sandy as creating an opportunity to make policy changes they wanted to implement prior to the event, following findings by Farley et al. (2007) regarding Hurricane Katrina. Farley et al. (2007) cite effective management of the policy window caused by 9/11 as “neoconservatives recognized that their focusing event had arrived” and that their policy solutions could be implemented using the political stream that emerged as a result, and note that Hurricane Katrina presented the same opportunity (p. 347). They caution that order to be effective in the future, ecological economists must learn to strengthen the problem and politics streams. However, the more likely explanation for lack of change in community-driven conversation post-Sandy is related to the policy domain itself. Because both disaster planning and historic preservation are policy areas without publics, it is not surprising that community-driven conversation often does not occur, because in policy areas without publics policy elites often react to focusing events by mobilizing to promote their preferred policy changes (Cobb & Elder, 1972; Elder and Cobb, 1983). In addition, if there is already change being discussed or implemented, the public may feel they don’t need to mobilize to steer policy discussion. Further investigation of the local policy process in another policy area may shed more light on this.

The proposition that higher-level institutional and economic context more often drives than constrains change is important to remember given the additional levels of influence on the local policy-making context that are not applicable at the national level. Birkland (1998) notes differences in reactions to focusing events among seemingly very similar policy domains and “shows them to be sufficiently dissimilar that we can begin to generalize from these domains and this research to assert that the nature of a policy community matters in long-term policy making (73).” As others have suggested, differences in regional political contexts (ex. Elazar, 1984) lead to differences in policy communities, and differences in regional culture directly affect policy adoption and implementation regionally (Lall & Yilmaz, 2001; Barnett & Coble, 2011; Thorlton, 2012). Local policy is shaped by the need to conform to both state and national level regulations while attempting to address local concerns and satisfy local constituents, creating an additional consideration

in understanding local policy process that does not warrant consideration in national-level theories of the policy process. As such, the interactions between regional local and regional environments in influencing local policy decisions provides an interesting context for future studies.

I propose that limited local capacity can work to constrain post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversations or public policy. This aligns with other research about local capacity, but is an important consideration in thinking about policy process at the local level. The relationship between local capacity and change depends very much on contextual factors within the community environment and the hazard itself. For instance, community capacity in public health has been defined as comprising “participation and leadership [including presence of citizen involvement], skills, resources, social and interorganizational networks, sense of community, understanding of community history, community power, community values, and critical reflection” (Goodman et al., 1998, p.260) but this list is not exhaustive and “that capacity is a construct that has different meanings in different contexts” but that “reflects on a community’s preparedness to address... societal issues” (273). In describing factors that relate to vulnerability in communities, Paton and Johnston (2001) note that other researchers have found opposite relationships between factors such as age and low educational attainment and increases or decreases in vulnerability to certain hazards, while Cutter, Boruff, and Shirley (2003) use 1990 Census data from all 3,141 U.S. counties to construct an additive Social Vulnerability Index (SoVI) comprising 11 elements based on concepts of social vulnerability most often found in the literature, and note that the score varies by area.¹⁹ Adaptations undertaken by humans in response to climate change are described by Smit and Wandell (2006) as contextually sensitive, varying according to the system they occur in, as well as the identities and affiliations of the particular actors calling for change, among other considerations. Norris et al. (2008) combine a number of indicators in four sets of adaptive capacities (Economic Development, Social Capital, Information and

¹⁹ Dimensions include per capita income, median age, commercial establishment density, percent employed in extractive industries, housing stock including percent of mobile homes, percent African-American, percent Hispanic, percent Native American, percent Asian, make-up of occupations including percent in the service industry, and infrastructure dependence including percent employed in transportation, communication, and public utilities.

Communication, and Community Competence) related to community resilience and disaster readiness, including informal ties related to social embeddedness, formal ties related to citizen participation, skills and infrastructure, community action, critical reflection and problem solving skills, collective efficacy, and political partnerships.

I found capacity in these communities is perceived as representative of financial capacity and of community efficacy, or community member perceptions of community capability, which are linked to whether or not the community is able to take action for change. Because perceptions of vulnerability and risk as well as perceptions about the likely effectiveness of preparedness actions have been linked to action or inaction in preparing for disasters, it stands to reason that local perceptions of likely effectiveness of conversations around or calls for change in local disaster policy may be influenced by such factors as well. Further research is needed to determine whether there are particular elements of vulnerability or context linked to community efficacy and whether particular elements work to constrain or drive capacity for post-disaster change.

Despite important points of divergence between the elements necessary in a framework for understanding local policy processes and those comprising extant frameworks that have traditionally been used to study national-level policy processes (ex. Klingemann, Hofferbert, & Budge, 1994; Klingeman, 2005; Walgrave & Varone, 2008), there are also a number of consistencies between national and local policy processes. Jenkins-Smith et al.'s (2014) conception of ACF suggests that those issues that receive the most attention from advocates are more likely to become a part of official policies. The instance in which a local citizen-driven coalition emerged in my study suggests that coalitions may act to drive or constrain post-disaster changes in publicly-driven conversation or in policy, but are more likely to constrain change when the changes are proposed top-down. Jensen (2011) combines Baumgartner and Jones' PET with the concept of policy dictators to examine conditions that cause political parties in parliamentary systems to block policy change, in this case Danish elementary and childcare policy. Jensen notes that party competition affects attention to policy areas and that if focusing events change policy images to be counter to the "policy position of the pivotal party" in a parliament then that party will veto all substantive policy

reforms in that but if the new policy image aligns with the views of the pivotal party it will be more likely to embrace policy reform. In short, Jensen concludes that even for a party firmly in power it is difficult to introduce policy reforms unless something occurs to focus public and legislative attention on the area, but that even when an event occurs to focus public attention, the party in power will likely move to veto any change that does not align with its views of the policy area. Taylor (2011) notes that “partnership has become the currency of policymaking in many countries. In today’s complex and globalised (sic) world, government depends on the cooperation of other actors... for their resources, knowledge... legitimacy they can confer... and, if they are not on board, these same resources give them the capacity to frustrate and block the decision-making process” (p. 147-148). The ability to block change was seen in my study in the community where a coalition emerged. While the policy community is different, the process is very similar—local citizens hold the power over local elected officials that would be responsible for implementing the unwanted state-level policy, and, because of the potential for focusing negative media attention on the proposed policy change, have a considerable degree of influence over state-level officials as well. My findings also identify the need for additional studies investigating the circumstances in which local publicly-led coalitions emerge post-disaster to promote changes in policy.

The proposition that previous history of adjustment often acts to constrain post-disaster changes in conversation and in policies and procedures aligns with extant policy process literature. Baumgartner and Jones’ (2009) PET takes a longitudinal view of policy change, considering system-level change based on collective action by policy entrepreneurs and agenda setting from several areas. They attribute lack of change in part to slow, incremental changes in policy over time, which make drastic changes resulting from punctuations unlikely. In discussing reasons for disproportionate policy responses and changes based on his work with Jones, Baumgartner (2015) lists power of incumbent policy regimes opposing policy change, the degree of institutional clarity and control in the policy area, and the existence of “stable equilibrium of political mobilization” reflecting “vast under-attention to this or that policy problem” as reasons for policy stability and disjointed public responsiveness (p. 5). He also notes that new information in the form of changing

professional norms can contribute to “evolving consensus from within a community of professionals... as shared professional knowledge evolves,” that “can be a powerful source of policy change” (p. 10). Evolving norms that have occurred in disaster planning and mitigation as well as emergency management professions in the decade since Hurricane Katrina combined with federal public education efforts have to cultural shifts in thinking about disaster mitigation that help explain why so many previous policy adjustments were made in the area. Patterns described by many local community respondents from this study describe repeated incremental changes in this policy area precluding large changes after Sandy, with previous changes having resulted both from responses to previous focusing events, providing further evidence for Birkland’s conception of disasters as potential catalyst for policy change, and to ongoing communication with the public—which is in part reflective of these changing norms in emergency management. As the communities included in this study are still engaged in the Sandy recovery process and are at ongoing risk for similar disasters, future studies could revisit these communities over time to better explain incremental change and look at the effect of subsequent storms on conversations or policy change spurred by Sandy.

The proposition that changes in conversations or policy can be driven by severe damage is consistent, both on a common-sense basis, and in light of previous literature about when potential focusing events become focal. If people are housed and the local economy is functioning, larger cultural concerns may take precedence, allowing members of the community to discuss or call for changes in local plans and procedures. However, if basic needs are not met, it stands to reason that people will be focused on getting their immediate needs met rather calling for changes in policy, as participation in public conversations and policy process take both time and resources. Additionally, Birkland (1998) points out that if harm done by potential focusing events is “subtle, contested, and difficult to visualize” the event is “less likely to be focal” (p. 55) and that “the less clear the nature and harms done by the event, the less the issue will expand, and therefore the lesser the detectable influence on the institutional agenda” (p. 73).

Lastly, the proposition that identifiable failure in local policy drives post-disaster change aligns with national-level policy process explanations and findings by others suggesting that evidence of failure will likely lead to change. I find evidence that this pattern is applicable in local-level policy processes as well. Birkland (1998) notes “focusing events can lead interest groups, government leaders, policy entrepreneurs, the news media, or members of the public to identify new problems, or pay greater attention to existing but dormant problems, potentially leading to a search for solutions in the wake of apparent policy failure” (p. 55). Baumgartner (2013) suggests that “the degree of discredit to the status quo” may be important in explaining policy reform.

Baumgartner looks at OMB budget changes from 1791-2010 in relation to PET, Peter Hall’s (1993) argument that there are three different kinds of policy change (first-order, or routine adjustments; second-order, or changes in policy instruments to achieve shared goals, and third-order, or shifts in policy goals), and John Padgett’s (1980) idea of policy change at the presidential, agency and program level based on decision-making based on the bounds of decision-maker knowledge and embeddedness in a hierarchical structure. Baumgartner notes that these approaches are tied tighter by the idea that small policy adjustments can be adopted and implemented “without major involvement by outside political actors” (p. 249), but also notes that Padgett’s concept of the status quo (weight of past decisions) can prevent policy change because members of policy communities expect others to respect previous policy lessons (as in Hall’s paradigms). If the status quo (in this case, existing local disaster policy) is discredited or if it changes because of changes in the composition of leaders in a policy area this can provide an opportunity for policy change that would not occur if those paradigms remained in place. Baumgartner suggests that examining the degree to which the previous paradigm was discredited before policy change may be helpful to furthering our understanding of when policy change will occur. My study supports his call for further research in this area.

When interpreted within a traditional positivist framework, study limitations include the relatively small N, limitations inherent with data collected at one point in time and concentrated on one potential focusing event, location of all cases in one region, and limited

sources of data applicable to each community case. However because of the methodology, this study should be interpreted within the context of grounded theory, which has different sets of criteria for reliability and relevance than do deductive studies. As is the goal of such inductive studies, in this study I developed a number of propositions for future research. As it stands, this GT study makes an important contribution to the literature on local-level policy processes and local disaster policy decisions. Findings demonstrate that the formation of coalitions, previous adjustments in policy, severity of damage, identifiable failure, and some expectations regarding policy conversations concentrated among policy elites influence local policies in ways expected based on existing policy process literature. Importantly, my findings also diverge from existing frameworks regarding the relationship between agenda setting-conversation and policy change, and the influence of higher-level institutional and economic context and local capacity on local policy process. Findings also contribute to literature on focusing events (Birkland, 1998; 2006) by examining how constrainers and drivers of change interact with a focusing event to influence agenda setting and policy change at the local level. I find nested context and localized capacity combine to influence local-level disaster planning and local policy processes, causing local variability that can best be understood by examining these nested levels of influence and actors together.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A. Case vignettes of communities affected by Hurricane Sandy and related post-disaster changes in publicly-driven discussion and public policy		
Case county/ municipality	Data sources used for this community case	Case description
Somerset, MD	<p>3 local-level informants</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>County Times</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: WBOC News article about Governor coming to assess damage and talking to some residents in shelters— “Md. Governor Visits Somerset County to Assess Sandy Damage” 10/31/12</p> <p>http://www.wboc.com/story/19969967/gov-omalley-visits-somerset-county-after-sandy-damage</p>	<p>A local respondent reported that there is a very active shelter committee involved in disaster planning, and that there had been a recent training exercise in swift water rescue right before Sandy. This community was described by the state-level informant as having had more damage than other areas in the state that sustained damage from coastal flooding, and having issues with widespread residential damage that was particularly problematic for historic homes because the community is very low income and a lot of homes were not deemed to their current occupants. One local-level informant reported that the damage was worse than expected, and while the area had been evacuated before, it had not been for a long time, and that "they got caught off guard with Sandy because of the wind shifts" that "pushed five feet of water into town" causing widespread damage to residential areas, infrastructure, and utilities. Another reported widespread wind damage to the island community. Informants reported evacuations having taken place in the mainland areas of this community but not islands, in part because of local culture and historic flood patterns. A news story about the governor visiting a municipality in this community to assess damage after the storm describes widespread power outages, and him talking to evacuees in shelters who were waiting to return home.</p> <p>The local newspaper in this community did not report on Sandy much after the storm, but made mention of a local coalition formed to promote resilience in their island community, and successful spending of Sandy recovery money. In this community, perceptions of post-Sandy changes in community capacity were reported in terms of greater risk awareness and support for disaster preparedness among local elected officials. There were reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public around flood planning and rebuilding, driven by the high degree of damage in the community and the formation of a citizen coalition concerned with land-use and rezoning issues.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding flood planning. These changes were attributed to compliance with federal land use and planning expectations. In this community, there was an attempt by the state government to buy out residents in a vulnerable area of Smith Island, a community widely recognized to be of historic and cultural importance, and a local grassroots coalition emerged and successfully prevented the buy-out and rezoning of this area.</p>
Middlesex, CT	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Middletown Press</i></p>	<p>In this state, counties are no longer administrative units, and disaster management occurs at the state or municipal level. In this community, the local informant reported that there had been changes in local hazard planning leading up to Sandy as a result of Irene the previous year. This community was described by the state-level informant as having "some damage but not acute situations." The local informant described the damage as being less substantial than in other areas of</p>

	<p>Evacuation information checked in list of evacuations issued for CT in advance of Sandy: WFSB Eyewitness News 3, Hartford CT “Cities, towns issue evacuations, open shelters”</p> <p>http://www.wfsb.com/story/19935060/cities-towns-issue-evacuations-open-shelters</p>	<p>the state, and reported flood damage, damage to public infrastructure such as roadways, damage to businesses and residential areas, and damage to cultural resources, mainly concentrated in Native American archaeological resources along the coast. Despite lesser damage than in some areas, the local informants reported evacuations having taken place during Sandy. A CNN Eyewitness News affiliate station in the area published a list of evacuations issued for the state in advance of Sandy, and several areas in the community were listed as having mandatory evacuations.</p> <p>Local newspaper coverage after the storm focused mostly on information about disaster relief and funding. In this community, perceived post-Sandy changes in community capacity were reported in terms of greater awareness that heritage and cultural resources should be considered in disaster planning. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public, and conversation among officials around planning for cultural resources was driven by the type of resources damaged.</p> <p>There were no reported post-Sandy changes in local-level policies in this community. Lack of change was attributed at the local level to a previous history of adjustment in terms of reactions to previous storms, which meant incremental adjustments in policy had been made previously and to previous compliance to state and federal regulations that had already caused them to adjust hazard mitigation to remain eligible to apply for recovery grants.</p>
<p>Northampton, VA</p>	<p>1 local-level informant 1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Hampton Roads Messenger, Virginian Pilot</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: Public Service Announcement Bulletin from the County Director of Public Safety from Saturday October 27, 2012</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant reported that there had been regular summer trainings as normally done on annual basis during the time leading up to the storm. The community was described by the state-level informant as having had the most damage to cultural resources because of its proximity to the coast. The local informant described damage as being less than expected, but that there was some coastal flooding and flooding of an apartment building as well as coastal erosion and damage to a pier and jetty system. They reported evacuations having taken place. According to a PSA Bulletin from the county Director of Public Safety issued on October 27, 2012, the Northampton Director of Emergency Services issued a local emergency declaration on the 26th, and was advising residents to prepare for high winds and flooding, with voluntary evacuation encouraged “for residents in low-lying areas, mobile homes and areas prone to flooding.”</p> <p>Local newspapers reporting on the Sandy after the incident focused mainly on the disruption of transportation and the port catching up on the volume of cargo Sandy had delayed as well as the clean-up process in the community, and charity and fundraising efforts for storm victims. In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived to have taken place in terms of better communication and working relationships between county and municipal officials. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public because of a previous history of disasters and subsequent adjustments that rendered publicly-driven conversation unnecessary.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding a new disaster planning and management team that includes both county and municipal officials. This was attributed</p>

		to identifiable failure of evacuation procedures during Sandy, in terms of implementation. Despite some damage to cultural resources, the state-level informant reported that there were no changes to disaster planning around cultural or historic resources in this county after Sandy because the counties lacked the appropriate information about cultural resources and the resource mapping that would enable them to plan accordingly.
Cape May, NJ	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply (1 interview; 2 informants)</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 2 local newspapers: <i>Cape May Star and Wave</i>, <i>Cape May Gazette</i> (covers Cape May and Atlantic)</p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: Pre-Event Disaster Emergency Proclamation for the County of Cape May, 10/27/12</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant reported that they do annual tabletop trainings, and had done in the summer before Sandy as usual. This community was described by the state-level informants as probably having had the second-worst damage of any county in the state. The local informant described damage to the island community as less than expected as “it was supposed to be a direct hit... but it actually struck to the north” but including flooding and residential loss, some damage to Victorian resources in a local historic district, and damage to historic bridges. Evacuations were reported in this community, and a Pre-Disaster Emergency Proclamation for the county issued on October 27, 2012 temporarily banned through-traffic except for citizen movement to areas outside the county, and delayed re-entry until the area was deemed safe.</p> <p>After the storm, local newspapers in the area focused mainly on reporting new flood elevation and emergency preparedness information, ensuring proper insurance is in place for public buildings ahead of other storms, and clean-up and recovery efforts. In this community, perceived post-Sandy changes in community capacity were reported in terms of greater risk awareness and disaster preparedness among the public and at the local government level. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public because conversations about local changes were driven entirely by federal-level policy expectations.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding land use planning and development related to flooding. These changes were attributed at the local level to compliance with state and federal land use and planning requirements. The state-level informant reported the need for changes in local-level planning around cultural resources post-Sandy, but the local-level informant commented that while these changes would be ideal, the lack “of benefit, leniency, or consideration for a property being historic” in federal-level land use regulations means a general lack of differential planning for historic resources.</p>
Dukes, MA	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Barnstable Patriot</i> (covers Nantucket & Dukes)</p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: County Commissioners Minutes from 11/14/12</p> <p>Dukes County Commissioners</p>	<p>In this state, counties are no longer administrative units, and disaster management occurs at the state or municipal level. In this community, the local informant reported that the county holds monthly meetings of all EMs from the 6 towns in the county, which is on an island. They were doing these as usual leading up to Hurricane Sandy. This community was described by the state-level informants as having mostly flood damage. The local informant described damage related to flooding from both rain and storm surge, residential damage, utility damage with lots of power lines down, and damage to this island community's public infrastructure, with road undermining, as well as flooding in the historic district. Evacuations were not reported in this area, and according to minutes from the County Commissioners' from two weeks after the storm, damage assessment was able to be conducted the day Sandy by the Emergency Management Director and</p>

	<p>Minutes from Wednesday November 14, 2012— http://www.dukescounty.org/Pages/DukesCountyMA_DCCMin/2012%20Minutes/S03DE1CE8</p>	<p>County Manager, who primarily found damage from coastal erosion.</p> <p>Local newspaper coverage after the storm focused mainly on the relatively minimal nature of damage in the area and on local storm recovery efforts. In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived to have taken place in terms of somewhat greater awareness that heritage and cultural resources should be considered in disaster planning as an integral part of planning for natural resources, because they are so closely related to one another. A state-level informant noted that to a degree this was limited by the culture of private philanthropy around preservation rather than government intervention. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public because of the presence of ongoing communication between officials and the public prior to and following the storm, and public awareness of lack of local financial capacity to make certain changes to beach erosion control.</p> <p>No post-Sandy changes in public policy took place in this community because of the same presence of ongoing communication between officials and the public that precluded the need for change in publicly-driven conversation. Lack of policy change was also attributed to previous adjustment to policy and procedure resulting from reaction to previous disasters.</p>
Fairfield, CT	<p>2 local-level informants 1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 5 local newspapers: <i>Fairfield Citizen News, Fairfield County Business Journal, Fairfield Hamlet Hub, Fairfield Minuteman, Fairfield Sun</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: Municipal emergency management website http://www.fairfieldct.org/cert</p>	<p>In this state, counties are no longer administrative units, and disaster management occurs at the state or municipal level. In this community, it was reported that there had not been any emergency planning exercises leading up to Sandy, but that the county had made changes made prior to Sandy because of low levels of compliance with evacuation orders in previous storms (Irene & a Nor'easter). These changes were based on regular post-incident meetings with community groups to find out who did not get messages and why, and they adapted their plan accordingly. This community was described by the state-level informant as having the largest number and widest range of overall storm damage as well as damage to historic properties of the damaged counties in the state. One local informant described widespread flood and wind damage to businesses and commercial properties, utilities, and residences as well as historic war monuments, a seaside village all on the historic registry, coastal barriers, horse barns, marshlands, pier, and a dock. The other specified that in their area "residential structures got damaged, but government buildings did not." Informants reported evacuations having taken place in the community, and the municipal website describes the CERT team having staffed the evacuation shelter at a local high school during Hurricane Sandy.</p> <p>A number of local newspapers reporting after the storm focused mainly on lessons learned from Sandy from citizens and from local businesses and institutions as well as related flood-mitigation information sessions, disaster recovery, and donation and fundraising information. In this community, perceived post-Sandy changes in community capacity were reported in terms of greater risk awareness and disaster preparedness among the public. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public because of the presence of ongoing communication between officials and the public prior to and following the storm.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this</p>

		community regarding an increase in neighborhood-level emergency planning and increased education and outreach. The state-level informant reported post-Sandy changes in flood assessment and planning because of state and federal changes. These changes were attributed at the local level to compliance with state and federal land use and planning requirements and local efficacy in recognizing the constantly evolving composition of the local community requires changes in public outreach. The degree of change was constrained by a previous history of adjustment in terms of reactions to previous storms, which meant incremental adjustments in policy had been made previously.
Northampton, PA	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Express Times</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: <i>Express Times</i> article from 10/29/2012 http://www.lehighvalleylive.com/thebrownandwhiteblog/index.ssf/2012/10/hurricane_sandy_hits_the_lehig.html</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant reported that regular quarterly planning meetings had been done several times in 2012 prior to Sandy, and that local stakeholders had practice with disaster policies and evacuation procedures during hurricanes Irene and Isaac, so locals therefore knew what to do for damage assessment after the storm. In this state, EM is the responsibility of the local municipal jurisdiction. The community was described by the state-level informant as having had some damage to private historic properties. According to the local informant, the storm was not as bad as some previous storms, and they did not have full EOC activation. They noted "we were spared flooding because the storm changed track, but we had wind damage and power outages... We had widespread power outages as the worst problem." The local informant described wind damage to buildings and trees, and to utilities in the form of power lines and power supply, and loss of phone service. According to local news sources, the mayor issued an emergency declaration the morning of October 29, 2012, recommending people in traditionally flood-prone areas evacuate by 3:00 that afternoon.</p> <p>Local news sources reported that post-Sandy, there were issues with electricity being restored in a timely manner, resulting in law suits against utility companies and changes to the way utility companies are required to prepare for inclement weather. In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived to have taken place in terms of greater risk awareness and disaster preparedness among the public. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public because of the relatively low level of damage in this area.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding increased public education and outreach, driven by a realization that there was a previous lack of community efficacy in disaster planning among urban residents compared to rural. The degree of change to local-level policy was limited because of a previous history of policy adjustment in response to previous disaster incidents involving ongoing communication with the public, which limited the need for change post-Sandy.</p>
New Haven, CT	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 4 local newspapers: <i>Business New Haven, CTNow,</i></p>	<p>In this state, counties are no longer administrative units, and disaster management occurs at the state or municipal level. In this community, the local informant reported that the area doing periodic training and EM operations staff drills, and that one had been done in the time leading up to Sandy. This community was described by the state-level informant as having highly localized damage, with damage to some historic homes from the mid-20th century. The local informant</p>

	<p><i>New Haven Independent, New Haven Register</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: Mayor's Message from the Office of the Mayor from 10/28/2012</p>	<p>described damage related to flooding of businesses and commercial properties, an aquaculture school, public infrastructure like an historic pier, a fishing pier, and utility damage. They reported being aware damage was nearly worse, and flooding had been worse in some previous storms. A message from the Mayor issued on October 28, 2012 states that they had announced a state of emergency and ordered an evacuation of flood-prone regions of the community in advance of Sandy to remain in place until high tide the day after the storm.</p> <p>Local newspapers in this community focused mainly on Sandy's effects and on fundraising and recovery efforts after the storm, including some local changes to resident eligibility to apply for elevation funds in newly designated flood plains.</p> <p>In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived in terms of greater risk awareness. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public but the resilience conversation taking place among public officials was driven by the degree and type of damage and larger regional economic interests because of the local proximity to regional interstate and rail corridors.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding a new focus on resilient infrastructure planning. These changes were attributed at the local level to the type and ownership of resources damaged, a previous history of adjustment including ongoing public communication that made officials aware of public support for the policy changes, and a local culture of support for resilience planning.</p>
<p>Ocean, NJ</p>	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply (1 interview; 2 informants)</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Ocean City Sentinel</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: <i>Star-Ledger</i> "Hurricane Sandy: N.J. county by county evacuations, flooding, closings" on Monday 10/29/2012</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant reported that the presence of the nearby nuclear power plant means the Nuclear Regulatory Commission requires regular drills, so the EM department meets and drills with other stakeholders frequently and had done so in the period leading up to Sandy. The local informant described damage to this part-island community as more than expected because Sandy "came up and turned left and came straight at us," with widespread loss of residences, flooding, and large amounts of debris, commenting "in all directions there were houses that were piles of rubble." There was also significant wind damage, damage to utilities including downed telephone and power poles, and damage to public infrastructure including damage to the sewer system, road damage, and boardwalks. They described the damage to registered historic homes as substantial, as "some of them were just blasted to hell" along with destruction of an historic pier, churches and downtown areas. They also reported evacuations having taken place, and news in a state newspaper on October 29, 2012 reported flooding in the community, with few residents left in the area ahead of the storm.</p> <p>The local newspaper reported mainly on assistance for homeowners affected by Sandy, as well as other recovery projects and an effort to repair a fire station damaged in the storm. In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived in terms of greater public awareness of the need to prepare for disasters and preparedness actions among the public. There were no locally-reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public reported at the local level. The state-level informants reported some post-Sandy changes in conversation and enforcement about elevating historic and contemporary structures to avoid flood damage.</p>

		<p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding evacuation and sheltering plans, changes in debris management and related contracts, and change in planning for cultural resources. These changes were attributed at the local level to the high degree of damage in the area, identifiable failure in both specification and implementation of evacuation and sheltering and of debris management procedures, and to compliance with state and federal land use and planning requirements.</p>
Nantucket, MA	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 3 local newspapers: <i>Inquirer and Mirror</i>, <i>Nantucket Independent</i>, <i>Barnstable Patriot</i> (covers Nantucket & Dukes)</p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: local emergency management website</p> <p>http://www.nantucket-ma.gov/Search</p>	<p>In this state, counties are no longer administrative units, and disaster management occurs at the state or municipal level. In this community, the local informant reported that 40 organizations do tabletop trainings for coastal storms on a regular basis at least once a year, and had done so in 2012 prior to Hurricane Sandy. This community was described by the state-level informants as having sustained damage from flooding. The local informant described damage to the island community from both wind and flooding, mainly to utilities like power poles, and public infrastructure like wastewater treatment. Evacuations were not reported by the local informant in this area, nor was any information about evacuations issued during Hurricane Sandy found on the local emergency management page.</p> <p>Local newspaper coverage after the storm focused primarily on comparatively minimal damage in the area, and local storm recovery efforts. In this community, perceived post-Sandy changes in community capacity were reported in terms of somewhat greater risk awareness and greater awareness that cultural resources should be considered in disaster planning. While a state-level informant noted that to a degree this was limited by the culture of private philanthropy around preservation rather than government intervention, the local-level informant reported thinking there have been changes in municipal changes in attitudes around planning for historic resources. There were no reported changes in conversation driven by the public, but local officials are reported to be engaging in new conversations, especially at the municipal level, about elevating and relocating historic structures.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding flood planning driven by federal-level changes in land use and planning requirements. Changes also took place in planning for cultural resources, driven by state-level expectations about heritage resource planning in the face of sea-level rise.</p>
Atlantic, NJ	<p>2 local-level informants</p> <p>2 state-level informants apply (1 interview; 2 informants)</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 1 local newspaper: <i>Cape May Gazette</i> (covers Cape May and Atlantic)</p> <p>Star-Ledger “Hurricane Sandy: N.J. county by county evacuations, flooding, closings” on Monday 10/29/2012</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant reported that there had been adjustments to disaster planning procedures prior to Sandy, most recently to evacuation procedures. These changes were due to inadequate evacuation specifications that did not work well in evacuation during Hurricane Irene because people were bussed too far away and did not know when they would return. This community was described by the state-level informants as having had significant damage, including damage to historic row houses. The local informant stated of damage in this part island community that “probably the most significant was the residences; a lot will never be able to get back in,” and described damaged to public infrastructure including traffic signals, pumping stations, and historic fire stations. An historic hall on the boardwalk was also damaged. They reported evacuations having taken place, and news in a state newspaper on October 29, 2012</p>

		<p>reported flooding and mandatory evacuation of casinos and other entertainment venues in the area.</p> <p>In this community, post-Sandy changes in community capacity were perceived to have taken place in terms of greater awareness that heritage and cultural resources should be considered in disaster planning. There were no reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public reported at the local level because of a previous history of adjustment and inclusion of the public in planning conversations.</p> <p>Post-Sandy changes in local-level policies took place in this community regarding changes in evacuation and sheltering plans, increased public education and outreach, and changes in planning for cultural resources. These changes were attributed at the local level to the type of resources damaged, identifiable failure in both specification and implementation of evacuation and sheltering and of debris management procedures, and to compliance with state and federal land use and planning requirements.</p>
Sussex, DE	<p>1 local-level informant</p> <p>1 state-level informant applies</p> <p>Review of newspaper articles from 2 local newspapers: <i>Sussex Countian</i>, <i>Sussex County Post</i></p> <p>Evacuation information checked in: County Emergency Management news Sussex County website https://www.sussexcountyde.gov/news/delaware-governor-orders-evacuation-coastal-areas-sussex-county-ahead-hurricane-sandy</p>	<p>In this community, the local informant was a historic preservationist, and reported not being aware of any emergency planning exercises in the months leading up to Sandy. This community was described by the state-level informant as having had less damage than expected because the storm hit further north, but described wind damage and coastal flooding. The local informant described flood damage, damage to historic cottages along the coast and historic sweet potato storage houses, and damage to public infrastructure in the form of a lighthouse. On the evening of Saturday October 27, 2012, the Emergency Management Office in this community issued a bulletin explaining the governor had issued a limited state of emergency and mandatory evacuation of flood-prone areas within ¼ of a mile of the coastline in this community effective on the evening of October 28th, the evening before the storm was due to hit, and advising residents of evacuation procedures and shelter locations.</p> <p>Local newspapers covering Sandy after the storm focused mainly on damage, and on public information workshops, for instance encouraging input to prepare for subsequent hurricane events or learn about changes in flood insurance maps. In this community, there were no perceived post-Sandy changes in community capacity reported, nor were there reported changes in planning conversations driven by the public. These conversations were constrained by the low degree of damage and community efficacy surrounding a somewhat fatalistic attitude toward natural disasters.</p> <p>Similarly, there were no reported changes in local-level policies in this community despite damage to historic resources that according to the local informant perhaps should have prompted changes in planning. Lack of change was attributed in part to the low degree of damage and in part because of the higher level economic context, where there is not economic value placed on cultural resource planning. The local informant noted that the "2013 plan—one goal [of the state historic preservation review board] was disaster preparedness, but to be honest there is not funding for it, and it is a challenge."</p>

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Together, these three papers heed the call to study organizations within institutional fields (Hannan & Freeman, 1977) and to consider interrelated actors and levels of influence to better understand the structuring of social processes (Giddens, 1984) and ways policies designed to respond to climate change engage diverse stakeholders (Giddens, 2009). Others have shown the importance of historic resources in disaster recovery efforts, in helping restore a sense of normalcy and providing a needed connection to place for displaced communities returning after disasters (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Berke & Campanella, 2006; Morgan, Morgan, & Barrett, 2006). Using the intersection of historic preservation and emergency management as a context in which to examine forces shaping institutional subsectors and local policy processes, I contributed to understanding of local-level policy and institutional change processes, and to understanding of the ways local-level disaster policy decisions are made, helping to address gaps in knowledge identified by Birkland (2006), Farley et al. (2007), and Scavo, Kearney, and Kilroy (2007), among others. In these studies I showed that nesting within institutional and policy contexts; localized culture, and organizational and community capacity are critical forces in shaping institutional fields and local-level policy.

Influence of nested institutional and policy contexts

The importance of considering nested institutional and policy contexts in understanding how institutional fields are structured and local-level policy process is clear from my findings related to forces shaping U.S. nonprofit historic preservation and the unique nested pressures shaping local-level policy processes. There are clear national-level institutions and policies like the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP), National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) that

relate to both historic preservation and disaster planning, but there are state level requirements in each of these areas too. In examining pressures shaping U.S. historic preservation nonprofits I found that some elements of scope and capacity show national patterns and other elements vary significantly by region, emphasizing the need to consider region and context in conjunction with federal expectations when studying institutional structures. My findings support work by other scholars that have found regional differences in nonprofit organizations and philanthropy (Schneider, 1996; Clerkin, et al., 2013) and in historic preservation (Carlson, 1980). In examining constrainers and drivers of local-level post-disaster policy change I found that local policy makers base decisions not only on considerations of national regulations, but on state-level regulations and regional economic interests. Cutter et al. (2008) propose a disaster resilience of place (DROP) model that includes considerations of vulnerability and resilience in relation to antecedent place-based conditions that interact with a hazard event to produce immediate effects influenced by coping actions and mitigating actions. If the impact of the event exceeds the absorptive capacity of the community then it may use adaptive resilience to make changes, including “policy making and pre-event preparedness improvements” which then alter the community’s resilience for the next event (603). They note “while the DROP is a place-based model, we recognize that exogenous factors such as federal policies and state regulations do exert powerful influences on resilience at the community level” (602). My findings reinforce the notion that when considering local-level land-use and disaster planning policies, it is necessary to consider the nested institutional and policy contexts that work in concert with and shape attributes connected to the physical location and circumstances of the jurisdiction or policy community.

However, the importance of these particularly local attributes connected to physical locations policy communities cannot be discounted. There are clear indications in my studies that local-level pressures nested within state, regional, and national contexts play a clear role in structuring institutional fields and local policy process as well. Neither national nor regional patterns were found in the types of programming conducting in the population of nonprofit preservation organizations I studied, nor were there such patterns found in their

organizational characteristics, geographic cover, or in elements of local context. This mirrors findings by Quirke (2013) that even within seemingly homogenous fields of organizations, there may be patchiness, and that these differences in behaviors in nonprofit organizations are often related to decision-making rationale (Bromley, Hwang, & Powell, 2012). In examining local-level post-disaster policy change, I found local policy process to be responsive not only to expectations from the federal or state governments, but to expectations of local policy elites, and to local cultural and community capacity. This is important because it shows that even when there are higher-level institutional and regulatory pressures, these may not structure local-level policy in the way state or federal policy-makers expect.

Findings provide evidence that both institutional and regional pressures shape nonprofit subsectors, and underscore the need to study nonprofit organizations and policy communities within nested institutional and cultural contexts rather than assuming they are homogenous within their sector. These studies provide a foundation for additional work in this area to better understand additional levels of influence and the interactions of nested influences in shaping both nonprofit subsectors and in shaping local policy processes. Findings also provide specific opportunities to examine changes in the structuring of nonprofit historic preservation over time as reflected in the scope and capacity of this field, and to study how local disaster policy is shaped in particular geographic regions over time in response to repeated natural disaster incidents. Because one study focuses on disaster planning in communities at risk for wildland-urban interface fires and one focuses on communities at risk for flooding and wind damage from hurricanes and nor'easters, a continuation of this research agenda may provide an additional opportunity to investigate how local adoption and implementation of particular disaster planning policies differ not only by region but based on the most prevalent type of threat.

Localized culture matters

The localized differences that combine with national and regional pressures structuring institutional fields and local-level policy adoption and implementation appear to be a function of variability in local culture. While the presence of national-level legislation

and institutions like the NHPA, NEPA, and NTHP reflect collective American cultural values related to preservation of cultural and historic resources, as described above, I found evidence that these values are not uniformly accepted and manifested. Differences in culture by region, state, and local community must be considered in examining structuring of fields and policy areas because culture shapes and is shaped by the formalized nested institutions and policies that influence these structuring processes.

I showed that the degree to which this subsector and other preservation practitioners interact with local-level policy processes is limited—in large part because of lack of larger cultural incentives for the two fields to interact. Not only did I find that the majority of preservation organization are not participating in disaster planning efforts in-house or in the communities they serve, I found evidence of clear regional and local variation in preservation activities and suggestions of variation in disaster policy processes as well. This adds to findings from literature on critical regionalism and cultural regions suggesting organizations will vary based on varying regional culture and politics (Elazar, 1984; Powell, 2007) and policy literature suggesting policy communities (Birkland, 2006) and policy adoption and implementation (Lall & Yilmaz, 2001; Barnett & Coble, 2011; Thorlton, McElmurry, Park & Hughes, 2012) vary according to localized culture as well.

One area in which I found differences in regional cultures clearly manifested was in regional differences in nonprofit historic preservation leaders' opinions on adaptive use of historic structures. I found statistically significant differences by region in opinions on the importance of adaptive use to the current sustainability of the field of nonprofit historic preservation and to the future sustainability of the field. This is notable because such opinions are tied to professionalization, and point to regional differences in preservation cultures that are underscored by findings of significant differences in the ways programming decisions are made and in resource preservation. While both my study on local-level disaster planning for cultural resources and my study on local post-disaster agenda setting and policy change are concentrated within regions, making comparisons between regions impossible, there are anecdotal indications from both studies that suggest the importance of place-based cultural differences in influencing local preservation and disaster-planning procedures and

policies. For instance, in my study of post-disaster policy change, one respondent commented that they attribute lack of needed change in planning for cultural resources to lack of state-level legislation regarding historic resources. Regional differences in preservation culture—and potentially in approaches to disaster planning—are suggested in the comment by a historic preservationist that the need for them to participate in disaster planning is mitigated because many cultural resources are located on federal or municipal lands, and therefore the responsibility for planning for these resources falls on that jurisdiction.

I found that in most cases local disaster plans do not account for cultural resources, but where they do, degree of emphasis is predicted by the importance of built historic resources to local economic development. Despite U.S. institutions and legislation supporting planning for cultural and historic resources, my findings show that this legislation may not be implemented as intended at the local level when there are not economic incentives to do so. Both emergency managers and historic preservationists report support from elected officials and extra staff would likely increase disaster planning around cultural resources.

Future research should consider the importance of both regional and more localized place-based cultural differences in structuring institutional fields and in policy adoption and implementation. Combined with findings from other scholars, my work strongly suggests that future research should focus on understanding regional differences in disaster planning and policy implementation related to cultural resources. Findings also underscore the need for including cultural considerations in understanding structuring of formalized institutions and regulations, not least because cultural considerations are closely tied to local capacities.

Capacity as a critical shaping force

Capacity is borne in part out of culture, and appears to be a critical force in shaping decision-making in organizations, norms within fields, and local post-disaster policy-change. Here, capacity relates both to financial (or resource) and economic capacity, and to the efficacy of individual organizations or communities to support certain policies. This can loosely be related to NEPA's social resource category, comprising communities and economies, and reflects findings by Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum

(2008) regarding adaptive capacities, including economic development and community competence, that comprise community resilience and readiness. I found limitations in capacity to be a critical shaping force at the local level in constraining policy adoption, implementation, and change. Notably, I found variable effects of community capacity in several communities in my study of post-disaster agenda setting and policy change, specifically in terms of community efficacy and financial capacity. This supports research by other authors stating that capacity is place-based, varies according to context (Goodman et al., 2008) and cannot be separated from social vulnerability (Cutter, Boruff, & Shirley, 2003) so it is of particular importance to better understand how community capacity structures local decisions about disaster planning.

In my study of local-level disaster planning for cultural resources I found that both county emergency managers and historic preservationists ranked an increase in available staff and support from elected officials as the factors most likely to increase their organization or agency's focus on disaster planning around historic resources. These elements are representative of resource capacity in the organizations and of community efficacy to support certain mitigative policies. In my study of local post-disaster agenda setting and policy change I found evidence that local capacity and regional economic pressures—which relate to higher-level capacity—and play important roles in post-disaster policy processes. I found that in almost half of the cases where community capacity was perceived to have influenced agenda setting, limited capacity was perceived to have constrained changes in conversation. Relatedly, changes in the other half were perceived to have been driven by elements of community capacity. Community efficacy, which is based in part on local culture, was particularly important in influencing post-disaster policy change.

Together, findings from these studies demonstrate that elements of community capacity influence local-level disaster planning decisions, and policy changes after potential focusing events. This suggests an important consideration in future research seeking better understanding local-level policy adoption and implementation, and in refining local process theories should be local contextual factors. Findings from these studies suggest presence of local financial capacity and community efficacy provide a foundation that allows the

community to address societal issues and solve problems affecting the public, and without which change cannot be affected. This means that fine-grained, place-based considerations about local capacity must be included in understanding local-level policy process frameworks.

The studies comprising this dissertation are not without limitations. Findings from the study on local-level disaster planning for historic resources are not generalizable because of the regionally-bounded nature of the sample. This is potentially problematic in that regional differences in policy adoption and implementation have been made clear by previous research, and my findings in these studies support the idea that regional differences in emergency planning and historic preservation practices exist as well. While the data on nonprofit organizations included in the study of U.S. historic preservation are population level data of NTHP Partners, there are other organizations doing historic preservation work in the U.S. that are not included in the study. Importantly, a lot of preservation work in the U.S. is undertaken by private citizens seeking to preserve their own properties independent of an historic overlay district requirement or tax credit incentive, and the way these individuals make decisions is not known.

Despite the limitations, together, these studies address several questions of importance to both public management and environmental and cultural resource management. My findings make an important contribution to scholarly understanding of how institutional fields and local policy processes are shaped, emphasizing the importance of context in understanding the structuring of fields. Not unimportantly, findings provide an overview of the activities of historic preservation organizations in the U.S., an area of study that has previously been predominantly studied based on individual cases or limited geographic areas. Patterns related to local-level disaster planning and post-disaster policy change reveal that economic considerations are of particular importance in determining the types of resources included in disaster planning and the range of stakeholders included in planning efforts. This has important implications for both historic preservation and emergency management practitioners as well as other public managers and decision-makers, as resources that are protected by existing legislation and valued in American culture may not

be protected in local-level planning in ways decision-makers at the state or national level may assume. However, when regional economic interests or state and federal policies tied to economic incentives are leveraged, the likelihood of affecting local disaster planning activities is increased.

As a collection of research, the three papers comprising this dissertation make clear the importance of considering the combination of nested institutional and policy contexts, regional culture, and organizational and community capacity in seeking to understand institutional fields and local-level policy processes. Findings supporting the presence of both regional and local variations or “patchiness” in organizational subfields and in local policy processes. This suggests further investigation is need to better understand how these variations evolve over time, and whether they are present across subsectors and policy areas.

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