Housing Ballot Measures

By A.J. Herrmann and Mary Ellen Wiederwohl

Summary

Ballot measures offer a mechanism by which elected leaders can ensure that there is a dedicated local funding source to help fill capital gaps in affordable housing developments, provide funds that abate homelessness, and support a stressed ecosystem struggling to produce and preserve affordable unit, especially during periods when elevated interest rates or high construction costs might constrain private developers. These dollars have the benefit of being locally controlled, are more responsive to local priorities and needs, and can be leveraged with private, philanthropic, and (in some cases) federal dollars, making them an extremely valuable resource for local communities trying to combat the housing crisis. When combined with strategic policy choices that maximize access to quality housing options for low-income renters and prospective homeowners, and leveraged by private and philanthropic investment, a dedicated local funding source can have a major impact in addressing affordable housing production and preservation needs.

The Challenge this tool solves

As the costs of land, construction, and maintenance have increased in recent years, projects to build or preserve housing increasingly need infusions of additional capital to pencil out. Without a dedicated local source of funding to help fill these gaps, many cities will be unable to produce needed new housing for many of their residents, compounding an already acute affordability crisis.

Type of Communities that could use this tool

Housing ballot measures could be pursued by thousands of local governments, including cities and counties, as well as at the state level. Nationally, most local governments have the authority to raise dedicated revenue through a ballot measure, though whether that authority resides with city or county government, and the process which a local government must go through to put a measure on the ballot, can vary greatly by state.

Expected Impacts of this tool

Local governments have been able to leverage public dollars up to 9.5X with private, philanthropic, and federal sources. Based on a development cost per subsidized unit of \$250,000, each \$1 million raised in a local ballot measure could finance approximately 38 new homes. A \$100 million bond could thus finance nearly 3800 new homes. Costs for preservation and/or household stabilization programs can be much lower than this, allowing these funds to be stretched even further. Furthermore, if local government funds can be deployed through a revolving loan,







they have the potential to support many more units over the long-term, as the initial investment(s) can be redeployed into future projects as funds are repaid.

Background

The <u>average cost</u> of constructing a new single-family home has soared 89% since 2017, far outstripping wage growth and inflation, and making even starter homes out of reach for many working Americans. <u>Broader measures</u> of construction costs for all residential buildings (inclusive of multifamily) also show that construction costs have increased at more than double the rate of overall inflation over a similar timeframe. This impact is compounded by higher interest rates, which make it more expensive for builders to complete projects and individuals to ultimately purchase new homes. Because of <u>higher interest rates</u> and construction costs, the average monthly mortgage payment to afford a median priced home has nearly doubled since 2019. Without a dedicated local source of funding to help fill these gaps, many cities will be unable to produce needed new housing for a majority of their residents, compounding an already acute affordability crisis.

A broad majority of Americans are seeing the impacts of these cost increases and believe housing affordability needs to be addressed. A <u>national poll</u> conducted in the fall of 2024 found that 76% of Americans believed housing affordability was a growing problem, with people living in rural and suburban areas even more likely than residents of urban areas to say the problem is getting worse. <u>Another poll</u> conducted in the summer of 2024 found that 83% of Democrats, 71% of independents, and 68% of Republicans believed that the lack of affordable homes was a significant problem. This recognition suggests there is a huge opportunity for elected leaders around the country to make the case for local investments in housing production. Indeed, a number of ballot measures which called for increases in taxes to finance housing production passed in the fall of 2024, despite cost-of-living concerns being a major priority for many voters.

In 1986, Seattle voters passed the Seattle Housing Levy, the first-time local voters had passed a measure to increase their property taxes for the sake of public investments in affordable housing. Seattle voters have renewed the levy six times since then, <u>most recently in 2023</u>. In the years since, dozens of local governments around the country have passed ballot measures dedicated to affordable housing production, preservation, and homeless support services.

Meanwhile, private production of housing has decreased dramatically in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis, and much of what is now produced without subsidy is only affordable for those who make at or above median income. The <u>average starter home</u> is now only affordable to a household making \$77,000 or more a year, up from \$40,000 in 2019. The <u>median household income</u> nationally was \$80,000 in 2023, suggesting that nearly 50% of US households are unable to afford a starter home. On a per capita basis, <u>federal investments in affordable housing</u> have declined since their peak in the 1970s, and rising costs of construction, maintenance, financing,







and insurance mean that many developments that previously made sense financially without any local government support now need additional capital to fill those gaps.

Local sources of funding can be a critically important way for cities and local leaders to help fill these funding gaps and support increased housing production and affordability, particularly for households with incomes at or below the regional median. This funding can provide local leaders greater flexibility in the types of projects they support and how they support them and can be more easily matched to community needs and priorities. A local funding source enables cities and counties to tailor affordable housing projects to the specific needs of their residents, such as targeting support for seniors, veterans, mixed-income development, low-income families, or individuals experiencing homelessness. Furthermore, locally sourced funding can be leveraged with private capital, federal programs such as Low-Income Housing Tax Credits (LIHTC), and philanthropic dollars to stretch further in supporting housing projects.

Dedicated local funding sources offer a way to incentivize and channel private capital into community priorities, as developers will sometimes be willing to adjust projects in order to maintain eligibility for local public funding. San Antonio has leveraged the \$67 million it has disbursed to date from its 2022 housing bond with \$644 million in private and federal funds, with the vast majority of units (91%) affordable for households making 80% of AMI or less.

Proposed Solution: Housing Ballot Measures

With the federal government unlikely to dramatically increase spending on housing, interest rates remaining high, and construction costs still elevated from historic levels, local funding mechanisms will be an increasingly important piece of the puzzle as city and state leaders attempt to combat the housing crisis. In order to establish a dedicated local funding source, especially in an age of already overcommitted municipal budgets, it is necessary to establish a local revenue and/or financing mechanism. Locally authorized revenue and financing mechanisms, like those approved via ballot measures (also referred to as a referendum or referenda), can be a critical tool for cities and counties to help bridge capital gaps in housing production and preservation, and some communities may want to further use these voter-driven measures to fund homelessness initiatives and operating support for local housing agencies and programs.

Local governments are already investing in housing production and preservation. Common financial tools include tax abatement and/or tax increment financing to "close the gap" in the capital stack for development projects that would otherwise not be financially viable. Many local governments are providing land at no cost or low-cost long-term land leases. Some localities are dedicating a portion of their annual bonding capacity or a portion of general fund revenue to local housing trust funds or similar programs dedicated to housing production and preservation. But given the widening gap between the cost to preserve and develop housing and the available resources, new tools are needed.







The creation of a local funding source through a voter-approved ballot measure secures a dedicated source of funding for housing over the long term – untethered from the whims and pressures of an annual budget process or the local political cycle. The long-term stability can also make it easier to attract federal matching dollars as well as private capital from developers and investors, who can be assured there is a dedicated and secure local revenue source that they can leverage. Finally, the long-term nature of such funding can help build capacity in local housing service providers and non-profit developers, who otherwise may be dependent on limited allocations from federal programs such as the LIHTC, HOME, and/or CDBG.

Here, we provide a primer on the typical actions that cities would need to take in order to launch a new housing ballot measure campaign. These are general in nature and will need to be customized based on the needs, legal authorities, and political environment of each interested community.

Plan Development

The first step in launching any housing ballot measure is to clearly define a set of challenges or opportunities that the funding would address. As leaders consider pursuing a ballot measure, they should first ask the question: What intervention(s) does my community need? What specific funding gaps or challenges are we trying to address? What is the scope/scale of the problem/challenge measured against local revenue options and budget/bonding availability? Answers to these questions might include supporting new housing developments for rent or for sale, providing funds for the operating budgets of existing affordable housing providers, preserving existing affordable units, paying for the increasing demands on city budgets and local non-profits for supportive housing and services for the homeless, or some combination of the above. These questions should initiate an active listening campaign with the community and with key stakeholders that helps to inform the plan development.

The process itself is important. Incorporating community input about housing priorities during the needs assessment phase demonstrates that local elected leaders are responsive to the community's needs. The translation of community feedback into an actual plan enables more robust investments, and the engagement process itself fosters a ready-made coalition, and community buy-in, that will be essential to a successful campaign. The public wants to know what they are buying with their tax dollars, who is spending it, and how they will be sure they got their money's worth. Voters are looking for clarity and transparency. Local leaders will benefit from implementing robust communications and spending transparency measures such as "open checkbooks" and community oversight boards. Engage community early and stay close throughout plan development, campaign, and implementation.

Furthermore, a data-driven, community-informed housing investment strategy allows organizers to address questions and concerns about potential displacement and fear of gentrification. Voters







may be skeptical that new investments in housing will benefit them directly and worry that enhanced local support for development projects may exacerbate existing financial pressure in the housing market. This challenge is also an opportunity, as engagement around the needs assessment and housing strategy provides opportunities for organizers to inform constituents about how these funds will be used to help prevent displacement and provide more housing choices for local residents. Local officials can work with their community to design local programs and funding support that both make better policy and help build a broad coalition to support the initiative.

The plan development process should clearly delineate which types of projects will be eligible for support from the measure, and how the funds will be used to support those projects. Common categories of funding include:

- Production of new rental housing, typically affordable for households at or below median income, with priority given to lower levels of income;
- Preservation of existing affordable rental housing, particularly ones that are at risk of losing federal support through programs such as LIHTC (i.e., rolling off affordability requirements);
- Homeownership support, including down payment assistance, often working in collaboration with local non-profits and/or Community Land Trusts;
- Home repair programs and/or tenant assistance that allows at-risk households to remain in their homes;
- Homeless support services and the construction of temporary and permanent support housing for the chronically homeless; and
- Operating support for city staff and non-profit partners to administer the proceeds of a ballot measure.

The plan development stage must also include definition of the parameters that will govern the use of the funds, if the ballot measure is successful. Questions that should be considered include:

- Will funds only be used to support households at or below a certain level of income?
- Will funds only be used for housing production or preservation (capital dollars), or are support services (operating dollars) also eligible?
- Who will decide how funds are allocated and which projects are prioritized? An existing city agency such as a Housing Department? A locally established Housing Trust Fund? An independent Board appointed by an elected official? What role will elected officials such as City Council members have in ratifying or approving these recommendations?
- How much funding needs to be raised, and over how long a time period will that funding be authorized?







• How will the public be informed about the ongoing revenue and expenditures? How will local elected leaders ensure a transparent and accountable process?

Authorizing the Ballot Measure

Policymakers need to identify who has the authority to levy, collect, and spend the proposed new or expanded revenue; this will vary by jurisdiction and is often governed by state law. In some states, localities are limited by their state constitutions on what they can and cannot pursue locally in terms of certain taxes or ballot measures. Other states or localities have restrictions on public dollars being used for private benefit, which could preclude funding from going to programs that benefit homeowners or private developers. Some local leaders may be able to look to colleagues in other cities/counties in their state who have already pursued housing or similar ballot measures to learn about both the relevant state law(s) and lessons learned from their experience.

In some cases, local leaders may need to pursue new state legislation to authorize their ability to even pursue a local ballot measure or to authorize new intermediaries with the power to manage and implement the proceeds from an initiative. For example, the California State Legislature authorized the creation of the Los Angeles County Affordable Housing Solutions Agency (LACAHSA) in 2022 to provide better coordination of affordable housing and homeless support programs across LA County. LACAHSA will receive and oversee 36% of the proceeds from LA County's recently passed \$1.1 billion annual affordable housing initiative (Measure A), with remaining proceeds to be allocated to individual cities within LA County based on the relative size of their unsheltered homeless populations.

Additionally, local leaders must understand the process for getting the measure to the ballot. Specifically, which legal entity (e.g., City Council, County Commission) can authorize a measure to go on the ballot – and/or is there a local petition process by which residents can place a measure on the ballot? Further, in some states, there may be different voter approval threshold depending on how a measure gets on a ballot; for example, in California, some measures placed on the ballot by petition require voters to approve by a two-thirds vote whereas measures placed on the ballot by a representative legislative body (like a County Commission) only require 50+1% approval by voters at the ballot box to become law.

Alongside this process, local leaders also need to prioritize the ballot language wording – the exact language to appear on the ballot. The authorizing body, as well as potential language requirements, will vary by jurisdiction. Some states have very specific laws about "how" a ballot measure must be worded whereas other jurisdictions have greater latitude. The styling of ballot language can have a significant impact on the measure's success at the polls. Finally, your state and local laws may limit "when" you can place a measure on the ballot. Some jurisdictions require that ballot measures accompany local elections while other places may allow stand-alone elections. Understanding this legal reality is accompanied by a political reality – you have to understand







when the best time is to pursue a ballot measure. For example, many ballot measures tend to perform better during higher turnout elections like a Presidential year; however, there are plenty of local examples of measures that succeeded as stand-alone elections in March or August. As they say, all politics are local – know your audience and your local dynamics.

Local leaders should engage legal counsel such as a city or county attorney early in your plan development process on questions pertaining to the requisite authorities necessary for the ballot measure. Local leaders should request a clear legal memorandum from local legal authorities that spells out "who" has the authority to place the measure on the ballot, the timing, the process, and any prerequisites (i.e., financial plans, cost-benefit analyses, tax projections, etc.); further, legal advice should be provided on how the taxes will be levied, collected, reported, and audited. In some cases, existing bodies within local, regional, or state governments are charged with the implementation of the plan, but in other cases, a new agency or department may be created.

Organizing and Executing an Effective Ballot Measure Campaign

Getting your plan developed and the measure authorized to be on the ballot is only a small part of the broader effort to enable and leverage new local funding. As noted earlier, community engagement is a critical element to the plan development process, and community input should be solicited and received during all parts of the planning, organizing, and execution process. It is important to remember that the core elements to the process – designing a plan, engaging the community, understanding the political environment, and convincing voters – often blend together, overlapping like a Venn diagram.

During the plan development process, the local elected leadership should be building strong connective tissue with local stakeholders who will be key to organizing and winning the campaign for new funds. Local stakeholders include housing advocates, local developers (for-profit and non-profit), business leaders, neighborhood organizations, tenants' unions, and more. Anyone who cares about the future of the community is your stakeholder and potential ally for this campaign. These stakeholders will be critical in multiple ways as you move into campaign mode. First, these stakeholders are the greatest community advocates for the ballot measure; they are validators with their networks and beyond. Second, these stakeholders can use their networks to educate voters about the ballot measure; many of these stakeholders will be non-profit organizations whose ability to "politically campaign" will be limited, but their ability to "educate" as a 501(c)(3) organization is really important. Third, some of these stakeholders will be important allies in funding the formal political campaign necessary to pass the ballot measure.

Ballot measures don't pass themselves. Just because the mayor thinks this new housing levy is a great idea, and just because the City Council voted unanimously to put it on the ballot, doesn't guarantee success. You must run a formal campaign – just like the mayor does to get elected/reelected! Effective local issues campaigns – whether they be for new transit, enhanced







parks and libraries, or housing – require a local, robust advocacy infrastructure with a professional staff. Structurally, it will be similar to candidate-oriented campaigns. It is the political home essential to passing a measure.

This effort should have strong connections to a local and vocal elected official or trusted community leader, be it a mayor, county commissioner, councilmember, pastor, etc.

When setting up the campaign, the first step will be establishing the legal entities to manage and advocate for the policy measure. This will usually necessitate both local 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations. It's usually necessary to create both because some funders will only give to a (c)(3), and a (c)(3) organization can do a lot to educate the public on the measure. You need a (c)(4) organization, and/or ballot committee (depending on state election law) to do the true campaigning, like direct mail, online ads, television ads, etc.

A good example of this is Austin, TX, where <u>HousingWorks Austin</u>, a 501(c)(3) organization, was established in 2006 with the mission of increasing the supply of affordable housing in Austin by providing research, education, advocacy, and workable policy recommendations. Local advocates and Housing Works have also organized a separate 501(c)(4), Keep Austin Affordable, which has <u>provided direct campaign support</u> for local ballot measures to fund affordable housing programs in 2018 and 2023.

So, you have your plan developed, you know your pathway to the ballot, and you're setting up your education and advocacy structures with new local organizations who are going to support your campaign to win at the ballot box. Let's talk about "how" you win. While the communications strategy will vary by community and proposal, there are standard winning persuasion messages.

First, for a ballot measure campaign to be successful, it is critical to ensure that there is an appeal to the full electorate and not just those who may more directly benefit from the projects that will be supported by the new funding generated. For example, testing for Rhode Island's recently passed \$120 million statewide bond initiative showed that voters reacted more favorably to messaging around the importance of providing affordable options housing for all state residents, especially families with children and low-wage workers, as opposed to messaging more directly focused on increasing housing costs. Similarly, supporters of Ingham County, MI's housing initiative, which passed in November 2024, highlighted how the referenda would be used to support affordable housing in rural areas, not just in Lansing, the state capital and the county's largest city. They also highlighted how some of the proceeds from the millage would be used for small and workforce development programs for homebuilders and developers, making it easier for them to access other federal and state housing programs and bringing additional investment into the region.

Second, accountability is key. Advocates for Los Angeles's Measure A stressed how the proceeds of the measure would be tied to clear and specific metrics and outcomes. Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass specifically appealed to this in advocating for the Measure at a press conference in







October, <u>telling reporters</u>: "Money will be taken away from programs that do not deliver results...I want to make it clear that I mean business, and Measure A means business." Other advocates stressed that the accountability measures included in Measure A were directly developed from lessons learned from previous affordable housing efforts.

Third, the most persuasive part of a proposal is not always the biggest piece of it. Taking an example from another issue area, in the recent Nashville transportation referendum, one of the smaller proposed expenditures by dollar amount was traffic light synchronization, but it was far and away the most popular component of the ballot measure for voters. Campaign leaders should not let the division of spend in the proposal dictate the strategy, particularly given that the community and constituencies may prioritize aspects of the plan differently.

Finally, and repeating, yes, all politics is local. One community that desires faster economic growth may find that voters are swayed by economic development messaging. In another community that is experiencing the pain of fast growth, voters may be turned off by messages around economic development because they don't want any more growth. The (c)(3) or (c)(4) organization should do polling and qualitative research (e.g., focus groups) early and often in the process to really understand voter sentiment and opinions. What messages are appealing to voters? Why would they vote yes?

Housing campaigns offer a different set of voter sentiment variables than other "capital" ballot measures where voters can more likely see their dollars going to their personal use – i.e., using a new road from a transportation measure or enjoying new parks/libraries from a local quality of life referendum. Based on current experience, housing campaigns are probably most analogous to ballot measures seeking to increase funding for transit. Only a small percentage of the population uses transit on a regular basis, and successful ballot measure campaigns for transit have to figure out how to message to voters who will perhaps never use the service they are voting to increase their taxes to fund. Similarly, with local housing ballot measures, you are asking voters to raise their taxes to pay for housing they will be unlikely to live in. You have to create a message that broadly appeals to local voters and the community's vision for being a great place to live.

Case Studies

Seattle, WA, Seattle Housing Levy (most recently 2023)

First authorized in 1986, the Seattle Housing Levy has been renewed six times by city voters, most recently in 2023 by a 69-31 margin. The most recent reauthorization is expected to produce an estimated \$970 million over seven years to support affordable housing. The levy is assessed via property taxes and amounts to about \$375 a year in additional taxes for the owner of a median-valued home in Seattle (roughly \$830,000). The program is administered by the city's Office of Housing, with oversight from an independent oversight committee of public officials and







community members, appointed by the Mayor and City Council.

Levy funds can be used for affordable rental production and preservation, operation and maintenance of supporting services for vulnerable populations, homeownership, household preservation/stabilization, and administration.

The two most recent renewals of the Levy were championed and organized through <u>Yes for Homes</u>, a 501(c)(4), which was supported by a wide range of community organizations, private companies, trade associations, and philanthropic groups.

San Antonio, TX, Measure F (2022)

In 2022, San Antonio voters passed Measure F, dedicating \$150 million to affordable housing as part of a six-initiative package that totaled over \$1.1 billion for a number of civic needs. To date, the \$67 million in awarded projects have leveraged \$644.1 million in other private and federal funds to support the creation and preservation of more than 4,100 homes, with over 91% of those affordable to households making below 80% of area median income. Showing the popularity of the measure, many of the announced candidates for the May 2025 Mayoral election in San Antonio have announced plans to renew the ballot measure when it expires in 2027.

Los Angeles (Measure A in 2024, Measure HHH in 2016)

In 2024, Los Angeles County voters approved Measure A, a half-cent sales tax measure that would raise an estimated \$1.1 billion annually for homeless services and supportive housing, with no sunset date. The measure was seen as a successor to Measure HHH, a similar quarter cent sales tax that passed in 2016 and was scheduled to expire in 2027 (and which was repealed and replaced with the successful passage of Measure A). Proceeds from the sales tax will be split between local municipalities (based on their homeless populations) and the LA County Affordable Housing Solutions Agency, which was created in 2022 by the state legislature to oversee and coordinate homeless services across the county. LACAHSA's board includes the Mayor of Los Angeles, all five LA County Supervisors, elected officials from other cities in LA County (ensuring geographic representation across the county), experts in housing production, preservation, and tenant protections, and housing justice advocates.

Ingham County, MI (Lansing), 2024

Demonstrating that housing ballot measures can also succeed in less populated and more rural jurisdictions, Ingham County, MI, which includes Lansing, passed a housing and homelessness millage in 2024 by a margin of 62-38, with proceeds going to the County's <u>Housing Trust Fund</u>. <u>Proponents of the millage</u> argued that it was a way to continue important programs that had been launched with federal and state COVID relief funds and were supporting low-income housing and services for the homeless. The millage will raise an estimated \$5.6 million annually over the next four years, with funding managed by the Trust Fund's existing <u>13-member Board</u>, which includes a mix of county officials, individuals with expertise in housing development and finance, and







members of the general public with relevant lived experience.

Colorado, Prop 123, 2023

Colorado's <u>Proposition 123</u>, a \$300 million statewide initiative which passed in 2022, created the state's first dedicated funding stream for affordable housing. Annually, 1/10th of 1% of federal taxable income from the State's General Fund, or approximately \$300 million in the first year, will be allotted to myriad affordable housing initiatives to include the development of multi-family rental units, down payment assistance for first-time homeowners, homelessness prevention programs such as legal assistance, emergency rental assistance funding, and supportive services for those experiencing homelessness. Supporters <u>attributed the measure's success</u> to messaging that focused on the ability of the funding to support a diverse array of housing needs across the state, including workforce housing, middle-income homeownership, and homeless services, as well as its flexibility in supporting solutions in both urban and rural areas.

Denver Measure 2R (2024)

Oftentimes as many lessons can be drawn from failed ballot measures as from ones that succeeded. Denver's Measure 2R would have increased the city's sales tax by 0.5%, generating an estimated \$100 million a year in new annual revenue to support housing production through 2064. Despite strong support from Denver Mayor Mike Johnston and a broad coalition of supporters who raised nearly \$2.5 million to help pass the measure, it failed by a narrow margin of 1.1%.

Proponents of the measure attributed its failure to a number of factors, all of which can provide key lessons for organizers of housing ballot measures in other communities:

- <u>Limited Time for Needed Stakeholder and Community Engagement</u>: The campaign for the ballot measure wasn't formally launched until June, only six months before the election. This made it difficult for organizers to conduct the necessary community engagement during the design phase, leading to tough public questions from city council members and other stakeholders that otherwise could have been resolved before the measure was put on the ballot. These questions and criticism contributed to negative media coverage of the measure. Furthermore, the short timeframe for the campaign made it difficult for organizers to organize supporters at a grassroots level.
- Avoid Competition at the Ballot Box: Measure 2R would have been the single largest sales tax in Denver history, a 0.5% increase that would have raised nearly \$100 million annually over 40 years. On the same ballot, Denver voters simultaneously considered Measure 2Q, a 0.34% sales tax to fund health programs, including Denver's safety net hospital, which voters approved by a 55-45% margin. Asking voters to consider nearly \$170 million in annual tax increases may have been too much at once, especially during an election where many had concerns about the cost of living.
- Have a Clear Plan Linked to the Financial Ask: In order to keep a broad coalition together,







the measure did not include many specifics about how the funds would be allocated across various programs and targeted at households at various median income levels. This allowed proponents to build a broad tent of supporters, but also led to tough questions from council members and advocates about how the funds would be spent and whether they would address specific priorities. Further confounding this issue, Denver voters had recently approved two smaller measures to support homeless services and emergency housing: an independent ballot measure in 2020 and an allocation as part of the approval process for a general obligation bond in 2021. This led to some confusion among voters about whether Measure 2R would overlap with or be duplicative of existing taxes.

• <u>Limited Polling Late in the Election:</u> Organizers commissioned three polls over the summer which showed that 63% of likely voters supported the measure. Based on this consistent base of support, organizers cancelled a September poll to save costs for media and other campaign costs. A final poll commissioned in mid-October showed that support for the measure had dropped precipitously, leaving organizers with only limited time to adjust their messaging and shore up support.

Despite these challenges, the measure still came extremely close to passing, only failing by 3,706 votes out of more than 350,000 cast. This suggests that Denver voters might be willing to support a ballot measure to increase taxes for housing production if a more focused effort is launched in the future.

Diffusion and Scaling of Housing Ballot Measures

Housing ballot measures aren't new, but they are not yet as common as transit and local quality of life measures in our cities and counties. In 2024, local and state voters considered <u>53 measures</u> to raise or preserve local revenue for affordable housing, less than half of the estimated 120 transportation and infrastructure <u>related measures</u> that state and local voters considered last year. This suggests that there are opportunities to greatly expand the use of housing ballot measures as a tool to promote local investment in housing production.

Nationally, we need to build better intermediaries and coalitions to help support local communities in planning and launching housing ballot measures. The National Low Income Housing Coalition produces resource guides to aide local officials in designing ballot measures and annual reports cataloging the success of local and state housing-related ballot measures nationally; however, there is not currently a nationally focused organization that provides direct TA and support to cities and states in this area. As corollaries, Accelerator for America's 501(c)(4) sister organization Accelerator for America Action provides support to localities for transit and transportation measures, and the Trust for Public Land has long provided similar support across the country for parks, trails and land conservation measures.







Discussions have begun about expansion of these kinds of efforts for the explicit purpose of providing direct support to states, counties, and cities for housing ballot measures and to serve as a resource hub for national best practices and lessons learned national organizations. Relatively small investments to support capacity in these organizations could translate into billions of dollars in needed local funding to support affordable housing and make a significant impact in reducing America's housing crisis.

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