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What We Have Learned

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INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS: SEE INSIDE BACK COVER

quires a more Herculean strategy than those that focus on the individual. Nonetheless the potential pay-off makes these strategies worthy of more attention. Consider the consequences of raising the levels of commitment and trust in a community. Collective action on community-wide issues would be repeated as the need arises and would become an intrinsic part of residents' lives.

Commitment, trust and other group properties that affect individuals' decisions on voluntary collective action deserve more attention than they have received during the community development profession's first 25 years. A major shift in how we view communities and groups will be required. When communities and groups are thought of as having properties distinguishable from their members, different theoretical perspectives can be used to shed new light on forces important to collective action. As an example, it is almost a truism to say that two like-minded individuals tend to "hang together." Strong ties are created between close associates based on the frequency of their contacts, their degree of intimacy, and reciprocal expectations. From the interdependence produced by strong ties, either individual will influence the other person's participation in collective action. Granovetter (1973), however, goes beyond two-party ties by considering the subsequent formation of cliques. When strong ties exist between two individuals, they are more likely to be tied to the same set of individuals. The clique identified by strong ties is characterized as having weak ties with persons outside the clique. Subsequently, recruitment based on strong ties is limited by the size of the clique. Successful recruitment across cliques, however, would need to concentrate on the weak ties that serve as bridges connecting two or more cliques. Marwell et al. (1988) contend that mobilization for collective action is more effective when all cliques share the same weak tie, making centralization an important property of the group's structure.

The position outlined by Granovetter clearly illustrates the distinction between the egoistic and structural interpretations of collective action and its importance to community development. From the egoistic perspective, collective action occurs through strong ties, or close affiliates. Collective action from a structural perspective, however, looks to weak ties that bridge existing cliques. Consequently a broader, community-wide understanding of collective action is offered from the structural perspective. Community development should be more concerned with fostering collective action that transcends the boundaries of existing cliques.

The application of such generalizations to the practice of community development would be premature without further research and discussion. Nonetheless, they serve to illustrate the potential direction of

the tenets of social exchange theory, which hold that individuals' decisions are based on the consequences of prior and future obligations. Outstanding credits and debts are seen as important attributes that affect the voluntary decisions associated with collective action. From this perspective, educational efforts would help to sensitize individuals to the importance of existing social obligations. The implicit assumption is that candidates for collective action can be taught to recognize the personal benefits gained when consideration is given to reciprocal expectations.

The success of strategies based on social exchange theory depends on the strength of the prevailing norms of reciprocity. Groups vary on the strength of these norms. Primary groups, such as families or friends, are more likely to be governed by high expectations of reciprocal relationships. Communities, on the other hand, because they rely more on secondary relations, show greater tolerance with the reciprocity expected of their residents. Some communities experience little if any norms of reciprocity. In these circumstances, residents find it easy to ignore recruitment efforts for collective action.

A second concern can be raised with respect to strategies based on social exchange theory. It pertains to the broader question of community development's objectives. Is it ethical, professionally speaking, to promote participation in collective action based on anticipated personal gains? One might reason that the profession's commitment to the community is neglected when efforts are made to engender participation on self-serving grounds. The counter argument is that individuals' participation in collective action serves to strengthen community solidarity and increases the amount of social capital available for future development efforts. For this reason, strategies promoting collective action from a social exchange perspective should be monitored and evaluated less by who or how many participate, and more by their impacts on the community's structural attributes.

The second overall strategy for mobilizing collective action involves seeking change in the group directly. Instead of encouraging individuals' participation through personal gains, collective action also can occur when the levels of trust and commitment are high. With commitment to the group comes a sense of duty to carry one's own weight in the production of public goods. With trust in the group comes the assurance that other members will reciprocate by carrying their own weight. Both are important when promoting collective action. However, because of the micro-level bias inherent within community development (Chambers & McBeth, 1992), commitment and trust are often neglected as targets of development efforts.

Changing the properties of a group or community admittedly re-

their members through the interdependencies emerging out of social relationships (Granovetter, 1985; Marwell et al., 1988). As one individual can be linked to other individuals, so too can he/she be associated with a group that nurtures a collective will that generates collective action. As Tonnies contends, "collective persons . . . all know of their dependence on one another . . . and it is through this very knowledge that they are connected to one another (1957:243). And realizing their connections, or independence, will influence their decisions on collective action.

Altruism as a determinant of collective action can be explained from a group perspective. Individuals who take part in collective action for altruistic reasons act on the principle that assistance should be given to those needing help. Such benevolence, while lacking the calculated reciprocity found in market-oriented exchanges, nonetheless rewards the individuals through group recognition and a feeling that they are paying back debts accumulated over the years. As Gouldner suggests (1973), reciprocity lurks in beneficence, since it offers the opportunity to receive satisfaction for past dues or to offer assistance to others in anticipation that they will do the same in the future if necessary. Without a sense of group commitment, however, there would be no reciprocity. Subsequently, even participation for altruistic reasons comes back to group identity and obligations. It is difficult to imagine voluntary participation in collective action that is not affected by an individual's affiliations with groups.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Group decisions and group actions, according to Abshier (1970), are unique and require different interpretations from those used to explain the decisions and actions of individuals. The frameworks discussed in the previous section attest to the uniqueness of a group when collective action is understood as a group property. Collective action is seen not as an aggregation of individuals' behavior, but rather as an outcome based on structural traits and ongoing relations among group members.

The practice of community development extends beyond the explanations provided through the social sciences. As an applied profession, attention shifts from explanation to remediation. This requires putting into practice the lessons learned through theoretical discussions. In the present context, it means translating the previously outlined frameworks into meaningful community development strategies.

Two distinct strategies can be noted when defining community development beyond the egoistic paradigm. The first strategy relies on

Community development is rich with illustrations that document the importance of social capital in generating collective action. The success of collective action at one point in time tends to foster future collective action. This is frequently observed in communities recognized for successful development. *Capacity* or *synergism* are terms often used to describe communities and groups that have this innate ability. Coleman (1988b) identifies the source of social capital as the accumulation of expectations resulting from prior exchanges. Unlike financial or human capital, however, social capital is not reducible to the members involved. In this sense, it becomes a group property that is available for future development efforts.

Impact of Groups on Members

Individuals influence group structures, and groups also affect individuals deciding on collective action. Unlike the oversocialized paradigm, which credits historical socialization patterns for influencing collective action, this framework recognizes the influence of ongoing relationships within groups as they constantly change over time. The following discussion demonstrates the variety of influences that groups cast on their members' actions.

According to Gould (1993), groups vary in the extent to which members feel obligated to contribute to the production of a public good once other group members have made a commitment to do so. When feelings of obligation are readily apparent, the group shows evidence of adhering to norms that promote fairness and discourage free-riders. As long as these norms of fairness persist, members will imitate the actions of others involved in collective action. In the absence of such a norm, groups are unable to instill a sense of duty to participate.

Beyond the sense of fairness, groups may also influence members' actions through the amount of trust produced. In groups where trust is high, members are willing to subordinate present desires to take part in collective actions on issues that may be less important to them personally. With minimal levels of trust, however, groups are unable to promote collective action since long-term consequences are less predictable.

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) maintain that the influence of "enforceable" trust on collective action is in direct proportion to the group's sanctioning capacity. When members respond out of a fear of punishment or in anticipation of rewards, they are more likely to act on behalf of the group's interests. Greater levels of sanctioning capacity encourage collective action among its members.

Another line of research suggests that groups have an impact on

this strategy confirms the importance of former contacts beyond personal egoistic motives.

Impact of Group Members on Groups

According to the perspective outlined above, individuals are influenced by their prior social relationships with others when deciding whether to participate in collective action. It reasons that individuals' actions are also tempered by relationships with others who accept the obligations as defined by norms of reciprocity. Such reasoning has been extended to another perspective that accentuates the group characteristics evolving from the actions of its members. In this case, however, group identity and solidarity evolve, whereas the rational social paradigm relies only on the formation of agreed-upon obligations that influence members' actions. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) refer to *bounded solidarity* as representing this perspective, in which individuals' interests are "welded together" into a higher form of group consciousness. Such bonding typically occurs among individuals experiencing a common crisis. Given their common circumstance, a sense of moral obligation emerges among the individuals. Unlike the obligations defined by the rational social paradigm, however, obligations in this case result from a sense of loyalty and common identity that emerges among group members. Two retailers who feel threatened by a large chain store coming to town will experience this form of bonding which, in turn, increases their propensity for shared collective action.

Coleman (1988b) has coined the term *social capital* to refer to a feeling of solidarity created by the actions of group members and embedded within the group's structure. Social capital, unlike other resources, is not intentionally produced, nor is it produced for the sole use of individuals who are responsible for its production. Rather, it results as a by-product of action and is available for use by any of the group's members. The accumulation of social capital serves as a valuable resource for future collective action.

Social capital as a resource for collective action originates from the obligations that arise between rational social group members as in the previous discussion. For every obligation, a countervailing expectation arises. Groups differ in their levels of obligations and expectations outstanding. High levels outstanding mean that more social capital is available on which members can draw. Groups with high levels of social capital will be more likely to produce collective action than will groups with minimal social capital available. Social capital, as a by-product of the obligations and expectations arising in social relations, becomes a valuable resource that increases the propensity for collective action.

ment of individuals in social situations. Second, the impact of members on their groups is discussed as an important consideration for explaining collective action. And finally, attention is given to groups' influences on their members' contributions to collective action. All three frameworks include conditions overlooked by the egoistic paradigm.

Individuals as Rational Social Actors

The rational decision to participate in collective action is not based solely on an individual's self-interests. This is the argument advanced by researchers who interpret collective action as a rational response to an individual's social situation. Coleman (1988a) typifies this position by maintaining that collective action is based on individuals' calculations of the consequences of their participation, where consequences are determined as much by their social conditions as by their personal self-interests. This perspective follows closely the arguments pronounced through social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1981; Homans, 1974). It contrasts the actions of atomized individuals, acting solely on behalf of personal utilities, with the actions of social individuals who are influenced by the conditions as defined by their social placement. As a result, the influence of personal motivations is moderated by the social conditions neglected in the egoistic paradigm.

As members of a community or group, individuals are influenced by norms of reciprocity where favors and credits through previous good deeds are carried over to future situations. These debts are paid off by acting on behalf of the needs and interests of other individuals who are part of their social environment. Because communities and groups endure through time, it is considered rational for members to evaluate the consequences of their actions based on prior and future obligations rather than to treat such actions as solitary events. Accordingly, rational behavior occurs when individuals' actions are contingent upon the action of others. When such calculations are made, norms emerge that support cooperation in collective endeavors, providing individuals' interactions are recurring and they remember their actions in prior circumstances (Coleman, 1988a).

From a community development perspective, rational behavior based on generated norms of reciprocity is common. Consider the recruitment of others for community projects. Recruitment often comes down to a you-owe-me-one assertion. It is common for individuals to lean on friends and other acquaintances when seeking new recruits. In these situations, participants are recruited based on their prior relations with the individual doing the recruiting. The success of

are basic to the community development profession, but lie beyond the limits of the egoistic paradigm.

ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

In sharp contrast to the egoistic paradigm, some have viewed collective action as a mechanical response of individuals who possess no distinct personal identity and are totally absorbed by the group's interests. This tradition has evolved from the structural functionalist school (Durkheim, 1947; Parsons, 1951), where individuals are viewed as little more than robots whose behavior is determined by normative role prescriptions derived from overriding value orientations. Etzioni (1988) labels this perspective as the "oversocialized paradigm" in which individuals' actions are based on an over-sensitivity to their group's viewpoints and absolute obedience to the demands placed on them through consensually derived norms. According to this perspective, conformity motivates individuals to participate in collective action because it's the "right" (normatively defined) thing to do.[2]

As Granovetter (1985) contends, the oversocialized paradigm possesses the same fault inherent in the egoistic paradigm. By emphasizing socialization into normative roles and the acceptance of universal value orientations, motivations to participate in collective action are internalized within each group member's self-identity. As a result, decisions are left up to atomized (though socialized) individuals, a situation identical to the egoistic paradigm.

Falling between the extremes of the egoistic and oversocialized frameworks have been a variety of perspectives that have more intrinsic value for community development. These frameworks view collective action as a by-product of the mutual existence of the group and its members; individuals as members are recognized as impacting the group's influence on collective action, and the group in turn is seen as affecting the willingness of members to voluntarily participate in collective action. All note the interdependence of individuals that emerges from their common group membership.

Three general frameworks are identified. First, rational behavior as described by the egoistic paradigm is extended to consider the place-

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[2] The two extremes (egoistic and oversocialized) in many ways reflect the contrast in orientations adopted in economics and sociology, respectively, leading Duesenberry to quip: "Economics is all about how people make choices (ala egoistic paradigm) while sociology is all about how they don't have any choices to make (ala oversocialized paradigm)" (1960:233).

members of the group will benefit from the collective actions of other members. Why participate, the rational self-centered member would rightfully ask, if benefits are also received by those who do not participate? Accordingly, collective action would fail to occur and no public good would be produced.

The shortcomings of the egoistic model for explaining collective action in community development efforts have far-reaching implications. As an illustration, a severe drought may require a community to call for a voluntary moratorium on watering lawns. Assuming each resident cooperates, the community benefits by saving its water supply. But when rational self-interest serves as the only motivation, residents would neglect the request since by doing so they would achieve a greater personal gain (green lawn) relative to the minor community loss (small reduction in water supply). And if everyone is motivated by self-interest, there would be no moratorium. The result: Individual rationality, when defined in narrow self-interest terms, becomes an obstacle, not an incentive, for collective action. Clearly, other explanations are needed beyond the egoistic, self-interest model for explaining and promoting collective action.

Given the shortcomings of the egoistic paradigm, Olson (1965) maintains that private goods can serve as incentives if individuals are expected to contribute voluntarily to the production of public goods. He refers to this as the by-product theory of collective action, in which private goods are used to motivate individual participation. While those unwilling to participate (free-riders) will benefit from the public good produced by others, they will be excluded from the private inducements reserved for participants. The primary motivation to participate continues to be determined by the utilitarian calculation of personal costs and benefits.

Olson's (1965) attempt to rid the egoistic paradigm of its logical fallacy has limited value for community development. Numerous illustrations can be used to demonstrate individuals' voluntary participation in collective action with no promise of private gains. With no promise of private inducements, volunteers during the recent floods in the midwestern United States came forward to sandbag in communities they had never visited and for individuals they had never met. As a member of the Des Moines city council recounted: "I met this guy, a Nashville singer, who was performing somewhere downtown (in Des Moines). He's down there at the library sandbagging with us at 4 a.m. Sunday morning. I couldn't believe it" (Fuson, 1993:1). And neither would others who view participation in collective action as motivated by self-interests. Attempts to explain and foster collective action

munity has been reflected in terms frequently adopted in the community development profession. For instance, we have spoken of common needs when referring to the shared expectations of individuals who live within the same community. Public goods are yielded in many cases to satisfy common needs because their consumption by one resident does not subtract from what is available to other residents (Samuelson, 1954). As public goods, they also are available to all residents if they are available to one resident (Olson, 1965). When the production of public goods involves a cost to its producers, such as time away from other valued pursuits, and the goods are available to all group members in a nonexclusionary fashion, collective action is necessary if common needs are to be satisfied (Heekathorn, 1993).

This term, collective action, is one of the basic yet most misunderstood concepts used in community development. In virtually every program, either the abilities of individuals to act collectively on common needs and public goods have been taken for granted or strategies have been employed to increase the likelihood of such action. How collective action has been understood has had considerable influence on the strategies selected in pursuit of community development objectives.

Collective Action And The Egoistic Paradigm

The egoistic paradigm that has dominated community development practice is grounded in neoclassical economics. From this perspective, collective action has been defined as a product of atomized decisions made by individuals who come together in pursuit of similar self-interests. The motivating factor for their participation is maximizing personal goals. It is based on the assumption that maximum well-being is attainable through selective participation in collective pursuits, just as maximum efficiency presumably is rendered through the competitive marketplace (Etzioni, 1988). The rational decisions of individuals as they attend to personal goals are taken for granted by this prevailing framework.

In spite of the prominence of the egoistic perspective in community development, major shortcomings are noted as efforts are made to aggregate self-interests to the level of collective action. Consider the notion that individuals' rational efforts to realize personal self-interests will somehow lead to collective action. This is the assumption made by Dunbar (1972), who expects individuals facing the same predicament to join together to improve their shared life conditions. However, if rational self-interest is the sole reason for participating in the production of public goods, then collective action would never occur. This is because of the free-rider principle, which states that passive (nonactive)

should be evaluated not only by changes in peoples' self-motivations, but also by changes in their sensitivity to the common good. Of importance to this discussion is Biddle's reminder that the common good is different from an individual's self-interests. In the same volume of the *Journal,* Batten suggests that "every development objective should contribute to the betterment of people [by helping them to become] more self-reliant and more willing to work together for the common good" (1973:36). From this perspective, collective action emanates from the pursuit of common good.

As the Society celebrates its silver anniversary, it seems an appropriate time to critique the profession's understanding of collective action and, more generally, the value we place on community as an object. In the following pages, attention is focused on what Spiegel (1971) referred to during its early stages as the "conceptually threadbare" nature of community development's foundation. Since theory dictates our approaches and solutions to problems (Yoak, 1979), more discussion is needed on the theoretical choices accepted and utilized in community development practice. Following a review of our implicit choices and their implications for community development, suggestions are offered to broaden our conceptual foundation in ways that would give prominence to communities and groups as arenas where collective action emerges for reasons not reducible to the vested interests of their members.

LOOKING BEYOND THE INDIVIDUAL

The tenth anniversary of the Society was commemorated with the publication of *Community Development in America.* In this volume, the editors synthesized 22 published definitions of community development into one: "a group of people in a community reaching a decision to initiate a social action process to change their economic, social, cultural, or environmental situation" (Christenson & Robinson, 1980: 12). This definition conveyed the message that community development is about the decisions and actions of groups. Implicit but no less important were the concepts *voluntary* and *consensual.* It is assumed that the groups referred to in the definition were composed of individuals who voluntarily participated in the group's decisions and actions. It is also assumed that there was consensus among the members that the group, however defined, is distinguishable from its members. Even informal groups must be acknowledged by their members before a singular (group) decision is possible. This consensus on the group's existence was considered critical to establishing a common identity.

Common identity as prominently mentioned in definitions of com-

individual subscribes to collective action when personal benefits from joining are expected to exceed the benefits anticipated from acting alone.

Atomized reductionism also shows up in an article by Dodge, who contends: "If you start with the candid assumption that all the people involved (in community activities) are self-interested, you are much more likely to understand the motivations of the different actors than if you start by assuming they are primarily interested in serving other people" (1980:51). Napier and Mauer's vested interest model supports the same position: "People are motivated to development action by reward systems. If they do not believe they will receive some type of benefit from their participation . . . they will not contribute to the planned change" (1978:15).[1]

The consequences of community development's individualistic orientation have evolved despite warning from the profession's architects. Consider Pulver's reference 20 years ago to the continual strain between private (individual) rights and public (community) interests, forecasting that "as the year 2000 grows ever closer, the delicacy of (their) balance will become ever more apparent" (1974:59). In spite of his prediction, we have failed as a Society to realize the importance of public interests, leading Chambers and McBeth rightfully to conclude:

> The CD process today exhibits the inclinations of individuals, firms, and other micro-entities toward calculated economic choice and away from collective action. Economic development has filled the void created by community development's retreat. Yet the 'public' is often ignored in economic development activities (1992:21).

The concern is not that community development purposely neglects the interests of the public. Rather the problem has to do with our failure to interpret and promote collective action as an occurrence that is not directly attributed to self-interests and self-motivations. Biddle (1973) stated over two decades ago that community development

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[1] By coincidence, the Community Development Society was being organized precisely at the time Hardin was publishing "The Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin, 1968). This article has been credited with drawing attention to the inevitable demise of a world where individuals act rationally in the pursuit of limited resources. Using a communal pasture to illustrate his point, Hardin showed that the carrying capacity of the commons eventually loses out to the herdsmen who rationally decide to increase their herds for personal gain. The tragedy in this fable is that all rational beings are compelled to act without limits in a world that, in reality, has limits. Or as Hardin contends, "Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons" (1968:1,243).

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THE EVER ELUSIVE 'COLLECTIVITY'

By Vernon D. Ryan

ABSTRACT

During its first 25 years of existence, the Community Development Society has viewed collective action as a product of the atomized decisions of individuals who come together in pursuit of similar self-interests. Alternative paradigms that define collective action more as a by-product of the mutual existence of individuals and groups have been overlooked. The significance of this oversight is illustrated in the strategies adopted to mobilize for collective action. Alternative strategies are proposed based on a broader definition of collective action and a greater awareness of attributes associated with groups.

INTRODUCTION

George Abshier, speaking as the second president of the Society, suggested a cornerstone on which the future of community development could be framed:

> When you are dealing with a group of individuals on things that they can do as individuals, each one can make his own individual decision without regard to what the other person thinks, or says, or does, or wants to do. When you talk about community development, it's not that way. Rather you are talking about a process that involves group decisions and group action (1970:38).

This simple yet provocative statement underscores the importance of the group as an entity distinguishable from the individual. Yet in spite of Abshier's statement, the community development profession has retreated to a theoretical stance that positions the individual as the primary focus of attention and the group as little more than the aggregation of individuals' self-interests. Consider Dunbar's statement as the fourth president of the Society: "It is the nature of man that if he can fulfill his needs better by cooperating with others than by acting alone, he joins a group with common interests (1972:47). For Dunbar, the

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components of rural development. He also outlines the differences between rural and urban practice.

When all of these articles concerning what we have learned about community development are examined as a whole, two important themes are apparent. First, we have learned much about community development in the past twenty-five years. As evidenced by the articles, the community development process is complicated and full of potential hazards. The community development profession, however, has come a long way in terms of successfully facilitating the development process. And secondly, it is also apparent from the articles that the community development profession still has work to do. There is still much to learn.

Putting together this special edition of the *Journal of the Community Development Society* was without question a team project. The editors of the special edition want to express a special thank you to Phil Favero who not only co-authored one of the articles but, as Chair of the Publications Committee, also coordinated the "call for papers." In addition, Phil was a blind reviewer for several of the submissions. The editors want to thank the following people who served as manuscript reviewers for the special edition:

John Allen
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Nan Booth
Timothy Borich
Richard Cawley
Bev Ciglar
Douglas Durst
Phil Favero
Therese Fitzsimmons
John Gulick
Bruce Hall
Beth Honadle
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Duane Olsen
Mark Peterson
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Steve Smith
Jack Timmons
Milan Wall
Paul Warner

of principles of leadership in community development organizations. Favero, Meyer, and Cooke, however, focus on another aspect of the development process: controversy. The community development has a role in dealing with public controversy. Community development often involves controversy. Favero, Meyer, and Cooke argue that addressing controversy is essential to the development process and outline program management methods available to do this effectively. Darling, Rahman, and Pillarisetti propose a community life cycle model and demonstrate how the role of the community development practitioner changes depending on where the community is on its life cycle. Communities evolve and practitioners need to take this into consideration when facilitating the development process.

Community development practice and the practitioner is the second area considered. Napier and Tucker, Daley and Netting, and Gillett-Karam and Killacky systematically examine the practice of community development. These authors focus on methods to improve the effectiveness of community development practice. Napier and Tucker describe ways the practitioner can improve communication with the client population and therefore enhance effectiveness. Daley and Netting depict a number of appropriate conceptual frameworks that practitioners can use to improve development practice. Gillett-Karam and Killacky use a conversational style to demonstrate how methods of community-based programming can be employed to improve the practitioner's effectiveness in community development.

The third and final topic addressed by this symposium is rural development. While community development is, of course, tremendously important to urban areas, rural and small community development emerged as an important component of the theme in this symposium. Much of what the members of the Community Development Society have learned about community development has taken place in rural and small communities. The Society's membership is largely composed of professionals who spend a significant portion of their time in non-metropolitan communities. It is not surprising that rural development is important to the readership of the *Journal.*

Articles by Quinn and by Knapp in this edition of the *Journal* discuss a number of issues especially critical to small town development. Their observations of rural communities are designed to critically review and hopefully improve development practice. Several other articles in this special edition also address rural development topics. Quinn identifies a number of characteristics that rural communities share which affect development efforts. He also proposes a new concept of community. Knapp, by the use of case study methodology, describes the essential

reviewers included practitioners, researchers and community development educators. Authors of accepted manuscripts were then asked to make revisions suggested by the reviewers and editors. Some of the revisions were substantial. The result of this process is this special issue of the *Journal* addressing the theme: "What We Have Learned."

The papers for this symposium deal with diverse community development issues. The articles relate to three general categories. The *community* is the focus of attention of CDS. The Society itself is generally composed of *practitioners*. Given the work environment of many CDS members, a third major topic emerges, *rural or small community* development.

The first broad topic addressed in the special symposium is the community. The community is the object of the concerted efforts of community development professionals. According to the Vision Statement of the Community Development Society, the community is a "basic building block of society." The community has central importance to social interaction. The Statement asserts that the community has many sides and the human side, which can grow and develop, is the most critical. The community is the primary focus of the first set of articles by Ryan; Ewert, Yaccino, and Yaccino; and Leonard.

Ryan addresses the concept of collective action in relation to the community. Rather than looking at collective action as the sum of individual actions taken in pursuit of common interests, Ryan proposes alternative community development strategies based on a broader definition of collective action. While the Ewert, Yaccino, and Yaccino article examines the qualities of effective community development facilitators, they also point out the critical need to consider the culture of the community when facilitating the community development process. Leonard's article calls for a rededication by community development professionals to the community. She identifies challenges to the common good of the community and calls for a rededication to citizen participation in community development.

The second broad topic addressed by the symposium is the practitioner. The articles that focus on the practitioner can be further subdivided into the community development *process* and the *practice* of community development.

The community development process and the practitioner is the first area considered. By focusing on the manner in which the practitioner facilitates the community development process, articles by Robinson; Favero, Meyer, and Cooke; and Darling, Rahman, and Pillarisetti critically address the development process itself. The development process can always be improved. Robinson, based upon his years of experience as a facilitator of the community development process, identified a set

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What We Have Learned: A Community Development Symposium

By Robert Blair and Jerry Hembd

The Community Development Society was organized in 1969 to help promote the practice of community development and to meet the information and continuing education needs of the professional practitioner. When the *Journal of the Community Development Society* began publication a year later, it was devoted to meeting these needs by "improving knowledge and practice in the field of purposive community change." Since then the purpose of the *Journal* has been to "disseminate information on theory, research, and practice" of community development. *Journal* articles have reported on community-based research projects, examined various aspects of community development theory, critiqued a number of community development techniques and methods, and examined the profession itself. Now, twenty-five years since the founding of the Society, it is time to reflect on and gauge the progress made in community development.

As a way to commemorate the Community Development Society's silver anniversary, editors of the *Journal* solicited papers for a special symposium with the theme "What We Have Learned." The theme provides a way to reflect on the past and build for the future in community development. The symposium provides a forum to share important insights gained by people participating in community development the past quarter century.

Many excellent manuscripts were submitted to the *Journal* as the result of the call for papers. Because of the reflective nature of the symposium theme, most of the manuscripts tended to focus on community development practice rather than theory. The manuscripts were subjected to a blind peer review process. Three reviewers critically evaluated the substance and content of each manuscript. Manuscript

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EDITORS' NOTE

We have now approached the middle of our third year as the editors of the *Journal of the Community Development Society*. There appear to be two issues that need to be continually addressed in the publishing of a research-based journal: increasing the number of quality manuscripts, and identifying a growing number of skilled manuscript reviewers. While the editorial staff at the University of Nebraska at Omaha continue to receive a number of very good manuscripts, there always seems to be a need for more. Also, without the careful work done by reviewers, manuscripts are not likely to be useful to readers. Therefore, the editors have undertaken a couple of efforts to address these issues.

This year, at the annual International Conference of the Community Development Society members of the editorial staff of the *Journal* will present a workshop on how to submit manuscripts for publication. The purpose of this presentation is to provide an outline for members who are considering submitting manuscripts. We hope the workshop will provide members of the Community Development Society with hints on how to successfully submit manuscripts that report on research; evaluate theory, techniques and methods; examine community problems; or analyze, critically, the profession of community development.

During the last several months the editorial staff of the *Journal* has been compiling a data base of potential reviewers of future manuscripts. The data base includes past reviewers, previous contributors, and presenters at past conferences. In addition, information from several directories were also added. Potential reviewers are identified by their research interests. This will enable us to find the best peer reviewers for the wide range of subjects that are contained in the submitted manuscripts.

The Editors and staff of the *Journal* want to take this opportunity to recognize and thank the many *Journal* readers and Society members who conducted extensive reviews of manuscripts. We sincerely appreciate their efforts. Following are the most recent reviewers:

Frank Akpadock
Sam Burns
Randy Cantrell
Robert Chambers
Bev Ciglar
Annabel Cook
Sam Cordes
John Daley
Phil Favero
Jan Flora
Mike Hattery
Jerry Hembd
Peggy Hickman
Ron Hustedde

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community development when broadening the meaning of collective action to the structural level. Intriguing questions come to mind, which have been neglected thus far within the community development profession. For instance, is it better to foster collective action by changing the strength of existing ties or by improving the quality of contacts? The strength of ties might be increased by encouraging social events, or by relying on ties between persons who already experience multiple relationships with each other. Improving the quality of contacts, on the other hand, would require efforts to enhance the communications among individuals without changing the intensity or frequency of their contacts. A related question pertains to the potential benefits of alternative strategies when working with highly centralized versus undifferentiated group structures. Such questions, if seriously debated within the profession, would help rekindle the attention to group properties as important attributes for mobilizing collective action.

CONCLUSIONS

For 25 years, the egoistic paradigm has dominated the Community Development Society's understanding and use of the term *collective action.* The Society has neglected important traits of communities and groups, traits that influence why some persons voluntarily participate in development efforts while others ignore requests for assistance. This oversight has led to a void in strategies that would encourage collective action by altering the structural attributes of communities and groups.

In the future, more attention should go to attributes not reducible to the vested interests of individuals. The intent, however, is not to ignore the importance of personal attributes, but rather to view collective action more broadly and to recognize the mutual existence of groups and their members.

Etzioni's (1987) reference to "open community" might be used as a guiding principle for community development. Such communities exist when both the community and its residents are morally obligated to work through their perpetual strains. These strains are inevitable in any situation as communities and individuals compete with each other in their attempts to diminish the rights of the other. With strong individuals and weak communities, influential individuals are in the position of controlling other individuals for personal gains. Contrary to popular belief, freedom does not begin with independence: "To be free requires individuals that are not socially isolated [but rather they] must be linked to one another and bound into a community" (Etzioni, 1988:138). Strong communities accompanied by weak individuals are equally problematic because individuals are required to sacrifice per-

sonal concerns for the needs of the community. Social control is used in these situations to impair individualism.

Our role as community development professionals should be to help groups work through these strains in ways that recognize the interests and needs of both the community and its residents. This will not be possible, however, until collective action is understood and fostered for the benefit of both.

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CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND SELF-SUSTAINING DEVELOPMENT: THE EFFECTIVE FACILITATOR

By D. Merrill Ewert, Thomas G. Yaccino, and Delores M. Yaccino

ABSTRACT

This article reports the findings of a Delphi study examining the personal qualities and skills of effective, intercultural community development workers. Unlike previous studies that focus on the traits of people who successfully adapt to cultures other than their own, this research examines what makes people effective as facilitators in an intercultural context. Two surveys examining the experience of intercultural community development workers reveal that the most important qualities of effective facilitators include discernment (wisdom), patience, people-orientation, respect, cultural sensitivity, flexibility, and balance. The skills that make them effective are interpersonal communication, the ability to gain confidence, listening skills, group process skills, the ability to ask questions, and the understanding of social processes. Community development agencies often emphasize project management skills in staff selection and training but must give more attention to helping facilitators enhance their intercultural perspectives and skills.

INTRODUCTION

The challenge of cultural diversity is confronting community development facilitators as never before. The dramatic growth of community-based organizations around the world (Carroll, 1992; Clark, 1991) is matched by the increasing intercultural complexity of local communities. In North America, immigration is changing the demographic profile of many neighborhoods. New immigrants are moving into urban areas, re-energizing many inner cities, and increasing the degree of cultural diversity in these communities. Not only is this radically

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changing the composition of the work force in the United States (Abbasi & Hollman, 1991; Johnston & Packer, 1987), it is significantly changing the ethnic and cultural composition of local communities. In other countries, ecological disasters, famine, ethnic conflicts, and war also contribute to the increasing cultural complexity as people move in search of food, political freedom, or peace (Korten, 1991).

The effects of cultural diversity on the ability to mobilize collective action are often overlooked by community development practitioners. Salamon argues that a community's ethnic background affects not only the nature of community but also the how it responds to the challenge of change (1989). Borich, Korsching, and Petrzelka's study of rural Iowa found that homogeneity is a factor in generating participation in community development (1993). As communities become more interculturally complex, so does the task of the facilitator. The literature, however, often reflects two unspoken assumptions: (1) that communities tend to be culturally homogeneous, and (2) that facilitators with appropriate community development training will be able to function effectively in an intercultural context.

In spite of this increasingly complex context, few studies have examined how community development can be made more effective in multicultural environments in either North America or elsewhere. Although researchers have examined the knowledge and skills needed by community development workers (Lackey & Pratuckchai, 1991; Biddle & Biddle, 1965), little attention has been given to intercultural effectiveness. When reflecting upon the lessons learned during the past two and one-half decades, it becomes clear that the profession has often not considered the intercultural dimensions of community development.

Much of the training in the international community development arena reflects a "project bias" (Chambers, 1983) emphasizing technical skills such as proposal writing, budgeting, planning, monitoring, evaluation, or reporting. However, attempts to increase the intercultural effectiveness of community development workers have been more limited. This paper presents the findings of an exploratory study examining the personal qualities and skills needed by successful facilitators working in an intercultural context. Specifically, these are identified through an analysis of successful facilitation experiences reported by practitioners working in intercultural community development programs around the world.

The Literature

Biddle and Biddle describe the community development worker as an "encourager" whose role includes understanding the people, iden-

tifying with their problems, believing in them, and creating instances that will help them to solve their problems (1965:266). As the initiator of the process and facilitator of self-realization among community members, the "encourager" must reflect several characteristics: identification with others, commitment to the process of growth, ability to listen with empathy, a willingness to work behind the scenes and promote others, and skill in feeding ideas, questions, and alternatives without dominating (Biddle & Biddle, 1965:276–277).

A study by Lackey and Pratuckchai found the knowledge and skills considered by United States members of the Community Development Society as "most important" for doing community development work to be: community and group organization, community analysis, leadership, human relations, oral communication, project and program planning, written communication, needs assessment, and conflict resolution (1991:10). Although human relations and oral communication made the top five, cross-cultural communication was ranked 15th out of the 22 items listed. The technical specialties Lackey and Pratuckchai's sample proposed as most important included: community economics, organizational management, project planning, small enterprise development, public administration, evaluation, education, training methods, research, and ecology (Lackey & Pratuckchai, 1991: 13). While these studies examine the role of the practitioner, they do not specifically address the intercultural dimensions of community development.

The adult education literature also speaks to the community development facilitator's role. Dean and Dowling note that community development specialists function as consultants who offer advice, provide assistance in organizing and finding resources, and encourage the community development process (1987:85). Paulo Freire defines the task in terms of promoting critical reflection that leads to learning and structural change (1971). This same theme appears in Brookfield's research on facilitation (1985) and Mezirow's analysis of transformational learning (1990). Both suggest that as people examine their values, beliefs, and assumptions, they can transform the conditions in which they live. Although they recognize the importance of the social context in their analyses, little attention is given to the effect of cultural differences on the process of facilitating learning and social change.

The intercultural communication literature has explored questions relating to cross-cultural adjustment (Kohls, 1984), cross-cultural awareness (Kohls, 1981), intercultural competence (Storti, 1989; Kabagarama, 1993), and intercultural communication competence (Gudykunst, 1983; Lock, 1992). Several studies have examined the effectiveness of technical assistance advisors serving with the Canadian International

Development Agency (CIDA). Ruben and Kealey examined the characteristics and skills needed for working successfully overseas (1979). A 1979 study of 22 technical assistance advisors found that several factors contributed to successful intercultural adaptation: empathy, respect, role behavior, non-judgmentalness, openness, tolerance for ambiguity, and interaction management (Ruben & Kealey, 1979).

A second study of 250 people working in six countries created a profile of the effective technical assistance advisor overseas. An effective advisor has the following traits: flexibility, respect, listening, relationship-building, self control, and sensitivity (Hawes & Kealey, 1980). Researchers found, however, that while most Canadians in the study were considered well-adjusted and satisfied with their lives overseas, only a few were considered (by their counterparts) to be effective in transferring knowledge and skills. This was attributed to the inability of expatriate advisors to interact effectively with their hosts (Kealey, 1990). Focusing primarily on characteristics of those who live successfully in cultures other than their own, these studies have generally not examined what makes people effective both as intercultural workers and as community development facilitators.

THE EFFECTIVE INTERCULTURAL FACILITATOR

Methodology

This study utilized a modified Delphi technique involving a purposive sample of 74 community development practitioners. Participants were asked to ground their comments in their personal observations and experience. The researchers selected respondents who had worked in more than one cultural context and held leadership roles within a community development or educational organization engaged in community development. To participate, respondents were required to have at least five years of intercultural development experience, including some during the three years prior to the study. The sample included program administrators, adult educators, physicians, and subject matter specialists in health, nutrition, and agriculture.

The study involved two stages. During the first, the 74 respondents were randomly divided into two groups. One group received an open-ended questionnaire asking about the qualities and skills needed by facilitators working in an intercultural context: What is facilitation? What is the role of the facilitator in the process of community-based development? What are the skills needed by facilitators working in intercultural community development? What are the personal qualities needed by a successful facilitator? The questions asked respondents to

present specific examples or cases from their own experience and observations. The second group responded to open-ended questions regarding the nature of participation in community development: What is *participation*? What are the goals of participation? What are the barriers to participation? The respondents were asked to ground their comments in specific examples or cases.

The responses generated by the two open-ended questionnaires included many examples of successful (and unsuccessful) practice. The findings from the first group were used to create lists of personal qualities and skills identified by the respondents. The second group identified factors affecting the nature of participation. The responses from the first round (both the "facilitation" group and the "participation" group) were analyzed for underlying themes. These themes were then combined into categories and resubmitted in a single questionnaire to the participants who ranked them in terms of general importance. Thirty-nine of the 74 responses were available for the second round of the analysis.

Personal Qualities: The Effective Intercultural Facilitator

The first round of open-ended questionnaires generated examples of successful and unsuccessful facilitation in various intercultural contexts. Several themes emerged.

Wisdom/Discernment. The need for wisdom (discernment) was reflected in the experiences reported by many development workers in the survey. One, for example, noted the importance of knowing when to push, when to stand back, and when to leave:

> Errors of facilitation can occur from both too much and too little. I know of a facilitator in another program who has been working for over ten years and very little has happened. He has sat back too much and waited for something to happen instead of motivating and facilitating the process. I know another program where the facilitator tried to do too much for the people and retained ownership of the process himself and his efforts were ultimately ignored.

The growth of dependence through a lack of discernment can be seen in the experience of a community development worker in Africa:

> A single health worker in a rural community . . . became a neutral "gathering force" drawing all, regardless of sex, age, or political standing. She helped the community focus on its most urgent health needs, and to realize that it can act on its own behalf. The community also came to depend on someone from outside the area [herself] to constantly prod them on, make suggestions and offer moral support.

Patience. Respondents described the facilitation of intercultural community development as an often long and arduous process. The facilitator, said one, must have "patience because the process is long and the path has many re-starts." Another suggested that the facilitator must possess a "willingness to move slowly and over an extended period of time." A community development worker in Africa said, "facilitating development is not easy and only determination will keep the facilitator going when things get tough. When his/her patience runs out, failure comes."

The same theme appeared in another statement highlighting the importance of process over product: "I think the facilitator needs to possess patience, satisfaction in a 'behind the scenes' role, and an enjoyment of 'process' vs. a desire for 'products.'"

The problems that emerge when facilitators lack patience are reflected in an observation from a community development worker in Asia:

> The person concerned had more education than anyone in the community. He was capable in skills and had good ideas about appropriate technology. He began projects on his own initiative and gave people directions on what to do. He did not give time for the people to come to their own solutions to problems, and acted on his decisions alone. His focus was on getting the work done, not on the community involved. . . . Almost all economically-based projects failed. Disillusionment set in and the person who was once seen as a leader was rejected by the community.

Community-based development is a process in which the most important changes occur in people over time. Since facilitating change takes much longer than doing something oneself, it is not as conducive to project-oriented or service delivery approaches which often operate on stricter time schedules.

People-Orientation. People-orientation involves a degree of concern for a person's growth in self-esteem and confidence. Effective facilitators, they reported, see people as essential. One respondent said, "Work with and for the good of the people—not an institution such as a church or center. Put people first." Another added, "The focus of development is the people themselves. The people achieve development through changing themselves." This perspective suggests a genuine love and concern for individuals, according to a development worker in Latin America, who identified the qualities needed by the effective facilitator as, "caring about others first, second, and third."

Echoing these sentiments, another survey participant pointed out that community development processes reflect the cultural context: "The facilitator must start where the people are—their concepts, perceptions and beliefs—and work on fundamental problems that the people themselves identify." Another simply concluded, "Decisions

about what should be done, for whom, under what conditions, should be made by the community." This emphasis on people and their needs came through in another response:

> The focus of development is the people themselves. The people achieve development through changing themselves. Development is an ongoing process. Projects are a means of developing people, not the development itself. Start where the people are and [work] within [local] institutions. . . . The people should be involved from the start in all aspects of development, from discussion and decision-making, to implementation.

A High Respect for People. Without respect for individuals, community development efforts, one respondent argued, are likely to fail. The facilitator must have: ". . . respect for the dignity of the villagers and the local culture." The facilitator, another maintained, must ". . . understand that each person has experience, knowledge, and skills which can contribute to community-based development."

In having a high respect for people, the facilitator will also express faith in them and their ability to change. A community development worker in the South Pacific stated that in addition to having a "genuine concern for people," the facilitator must also have a "faith in the ability of the people to accomplish what they need for their development."

When facilitators fail to respect the people with whom they work, their actions will discourage the self-development of the community. By controlling or dominating a development effort a facilitator blatantly shows disrespect for the people and a disregard for their ideas and actions. A respondent described a facilitator lacking respect for the people as "demanding and pushy . . . divisive . . . belittling of people and communities . . . or being controlling or manipulative." These behaviors produce alienation, destroy relationships, and limit the growth of understanding and intercultural competence.

Cultural Sensitivity. The need for intercultural sensitivity was another characteristic frequently cited by the respondents in this study. One suggested that besides possessing the ability to observe habits, values, and beliefs of another culture, and to work within other cultural value systems, the facilitator must also have "the ability to understand his/her own values, beliefs, and world view relative to development and health and to find bridges of communication with those of another culture."

Given the challenges of crossing intercultural boundaries, a program director in Latin America argued that facilitators should be drawn from within the community. Community members make the best facilitators since they understand the local culture and have the highest stake in the process:

> We would never use professionals or outsiders as facilitators. This characteristic would be as important as 'caring about others.' Villagers know their people, their language, their idiom, their problems, history, desires, etc. We professionals will never do as good a job as a good village facilitator will. And if we truly believe in empowerment, villagers have to be the facilitators.

Flexibility. Several respondents identified flexibility as a necessary trait for the effective intercultural facilitator. Development processes planned by outsiders with a pre-determined agenda are less flexible than those initiated by communities themselves. One respondent suggested:

> The most common error of the facilitator is to come into a community with a preconceived objective, agenda, or problem. For example, a facilitator will decide to promote latrines, or tree planting—introduce the topic and try to convince the people to build latrines or plant trees . . . Facilitation in this fashion becomes the use of techniques to get people to agree to undertake an action.

Reflecting on his experience in Africa, a community development worker similarly agreed that facilitators often fail because: "They use the top-down approach, do not promote discussion or the sharing of ideas, never work through problems together, never listen and learn from others, and generally have little flexibility."

Assessing the Qualities

These themes elicited from the cases, examples, and anecdotes provided by the respondents in the first round of this study were then resubmitted to them for further analysis. Respondents were asked to identify the ten most significant personal qualities of an effective intercultural facilitator from a list of 25 personal attributes generated by the first (open-ended) questionnaire. Table 1 presents those items selected by at least 33% of the respondents.

Against the backdrop of these personal qualities of the effective intercultural facilitator, the next section examines the skills that the respondents in this study believe intercultural facilitators should possess.

Professional Skills: The Effective Intercultural Facilitator

Responses to several open-ended questions regarding the skills of the effective intercultural community development facilitator produced a focus on interpersonal communication and relational skills:

Interpersonal Communication Skills. The importance of interpersonal communication is illustrated in an example from Africa:

Table 1. Personal Qualities of the Effective Intercultural Facilitator

Personal Qualities	*Number*	*Percent*
Discernment/wisdom	27	69.2
Patience	25	64.1
People-orientation	23	59.0
High respect for people	22	56.4
Cultural sensitivity	22	56.4
Flexibility	20	51.3
Good sense of balance	19	48.7
Servant's heart	17	43.6
Imagination/innovation	16	41.0
Integrity	16	41.0
Selflessness	14	35.9
Perseverance	13	33.3
Honesty	13	33.3
Tolerance of ambiguity	13	33.3

> In an African village, a UN program leader 'facilitated' a community meeting. The topic was 'improved child nutrition/rehabilitation of malnourished children' . . . The facilitator introduced the topic of discussion with a problem-posing 'code,' a short skit undertaken by volunteer villager 'actors' that demonstrated a real problem (i.e. woman having no food to feed her malnourished child). After the well-performed skit, he asked a series of questions: 'What did you see?' 'Is this the real problem in the village?' 'What are the causes?' The session generated much lively discussion within the group (especially about the role of the men selling too much harvest for money) and was guided by the program leader to consider various solutions. The result? Action by the community (women) to set up a food bank.

This emphasis on interpersonal communication is consistent with the literature on community-based development and adult education which stresses dialogue, freedom of expression, group processes, and a learner-orientation (Freire, 1971). This does not necessarily obviate conflicts for which facilitators are often unprepared, as a development worker from Latin America suggested:

> Sometimes there is a coming together of the community for a specific problem or activity. However, to date I have not seen a community which has been able to get over the hurdles of rivalry, interpersonal conflict, or envy. This usually develops quickly into a negative experience for the group. Facilitators tend to look for technical "causes" of these problems since they are often ill-equipped for dealing with interpersonal conflict.

Ability to Gain Confidence of Community Members. Critical reflection which leads to change can only occur in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect. If the community lacks confidence in the facilitator as an individual, one respondent suggested, people's willingness to open up, share ideas, needs and problems will be minimal:

> Facilitation has to do with accompanying the community, taking advantage of certain events and processes which enable the community to develop its identity, a sense of history, an analysis of reality, identification of the problems and the causes and possible course of remedial action.

The importance of confidence-building as a facilitation skill emerged in the observation of another community development worker who said that the facilitator must:

> . . . listen and put him/herself into the shoes of the members of the community, to be able to identify those who represent the community . . . and distinguish them from those who have a sectional or personal axes to grind. . . . The facilitator needs to know from where help can quickly be attained and have the skill to win the confidence of the community . . . skill of working oneself out of a job.

Listening Skills. A community development worker in Latin America underscored the importance of listening:

> The role of the facilitator is to listen, to assist the community in listening to its members, and to provide additional information as appropriate to the needs of the community. It is not a passive role; the listening is accompanied by action encouraging the community to understand its ability and potential to change the existing situation which the community has identified as needing changing.

These listening skills are closely related to the ability to ask good questions and stimulate reflection as another community development worker suggested:

> A facilitator should first of all be a good active listener and have skills in sensing the flow of opinions in group discussions. She/he should be able to ask objective, precise, and creative questions in group settings and with individuals so as to stimulate new ideas, and cause progression of thought.

Group-process Skills. A community health worker with experience in a war zone in Africa noted that facilitators must have the ability to draw together people with varying opinions, functioning partly as peacemaker. The program director of another project alluded to the challenge of resolving conflict:

> Group facilitation skills are very important, not to control or manipulate the group but rather to enable them to deal with the task of working together and getting through the problems of working together. It goes without saying that culture and language [understanding] are musts.

A community development facilitator with many years experience in Latin America provided an example of a successful group process:

> A facilitator helped *campesinos* think through how to form their own savings and loan cooperative. The facilitator identified the kinds of decisions that

> needed to be made and then let the community leaders struggle through the decision-making process. Many times they would make a decision (e.g. the size of the first loan) but after talking about it with friends, they would change their decisions in a subsequent meeting. The whole planning process took 14 months, but in the end, they had created a system that hardly needed any changes later on, and one that they were deeply committed to.

Ability to Ask Questions. The facilitation of community development through encouraging the process of critical reflection suggests another important skill identified by the respondents in this study. A respondent suggested that the ability to ask questions helps bridge intercultural communication barriers. What is needed, he argued, is the

> . . . ability to pose questions that raise reflection and awareness . . . to listen and evaluate ideas . . . to understand one's own values, beliefs, and world view relative to development and health, and to find bridges of communication with those of another culture.

This process of stimulating critical reflection through posing questions may well lead to political change as one development worker found:

> In one specific area, I have seen the collective level of political consciousness rise to the point where the community rose up to throw out an entire family who had been manipulating and cheating that area over a number of years. This is because a number of "animators" had worked together over a number of years to open people's eyes.

The experience of a Latin American agency suggests the impact of critical reflection on sustainable development and the role of outside agencies:

> A water system that had been installed for a community by a development agency was broken down. The community passively accepted this condition. A facilitator helped the community think through what they could do, encouraged them and arranged appropriate technical training. They repaired the system and told the donor agency not to come back!

Assessing the Skills

The personal skills identified through an analysis of these themes in the examples, cases, and anecdotes provided by the respondents in the first round of the study were resubmitted to them for further analysis. In the second round, they were asked to select the five most important skills (derived from the list of 18 which came from their own responses to the first questionnaire) needed by the facilitator. Only those mentioned by at least 33% of the respondents are included in Table 2.

While the skills mentioned less often—program planning, management—are not unimportant, the respondents in this study seemed to

Table 2. Skills of the Effective Community Development Facilitator

Skills	*Number*	*Percent*
Interpersonal communications	24	61.5
The ability to gain confidence	23	59.0
Listening skills	22	56.4
Group process skills/management	22	56.4
Ability to ask questions	21	53.8
Understanding of process	14	35.9

indicate that these factors are less important than human relations in facilitating intercultural community development.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

This research suggests that priority be given to developing interpersonal communication skills rather than project skills. As in the Canadian International Development Agency studies (Ruben & Kealey, 1979), these respondents argued that communication skills enable development workers to cross cultural boundaries, an ability that contributes to a better understanding of local problems and issues. The interpersonal and communication skills identified in this study, important in any community development context, are absolutely essential in an intercultural environment.

In their cases, examples, and anecdotes, a number of respondents noted that mid-level and senior managers neither understand nor value the interpersonal component of community development. This suggests the need for agencies to emphasize the relational dimensions of the facilitation process in order to improve the effectiveness of community development workers in an intercultural context:

1. "Process" Orientation. Agencies committed to participatory community-based development must reorient their selection and training programs toward "process" goals if they expect to mobilize multicultural communities. Institutionally, this means creating a flexible corporate ethos that accepts more open-ended objectives, tolerates greater ambiguity, and values a broader range of professional skills. In many agencies, the incentive systems often reward "project-oriented" individuals with decision-making roles, reinforcing an organizational culture of control at the expense of the flexibility that makes community development workers effective in an intercultural context.

2. Develop Relational Skills. This means devoting more attention to interpersonal communication, listening skills, relationship-building, and asking questions. Although important, project maintenance skills

(planning, monitoring, evaluation, supervision, proposal writing, etc.) are subordinate to the interpersonal qualities and skills that facilitators might bring to the process.

3. Critical Reflection. In many of their comments, these experienced community development workers underscored the importance of critical reflection in community development. This process presupposes an ability to ask probing, analytical questions that enable people to recognize their own problems, value their own capacities, and discover how they can transform their own communities. With Freire (1971), these survey participants define the community development facilitator's task not as providing answers but as posing problems for people to solve themselves.

4. Training. Training in the skills identified through this study must be provided by organizations seeking to improve their intercultural effectiveness. The respondents reported that few community development agencies currently provide training designed to increase the intercultural effectiveness of their staffs. Experience suggests that many agencies assume that new employees bring the requisite intercultural skills to their positions so focus staff orientation on learning the organization's systems. Little attention is therefore given to training opportunities designed to promote new perspectives and skills. In view of the growing intercultural complexity today, ongoing learning in these areas is essential.

5. Emphasis Upon Effectiveness. Community development workers, particularly those working with non-governmental organizations, often emphasize good intentions more than effective practice. Organizations that advocate self-sustaining development must create corporate incentives that promote the basic values of participation, sustainability, learning, and growth to be successful in culturally diverse situations. Additional research is also needed to understand more clearly the intercultural dimensions of effective practice in an increasingly complex world, particularly where the values, beliefs, and assumptions of development workers may differ significantly from those of the people in whose communities they serve. Alternatively, scholars will look back in another twenty-five years and again have to conclude that the intercultural dimensions of community development practice have still been largely unexamined.

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REDEDICATING OURSELVES TO COMMUNITY

By Jane E. Leonard

DEFINING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

We can define community development in many ways, as many ways as there are members of CDS. That can be a problem as we try to tell others what we do. But one thing unites us, I believe, and that is our high regard for the place of common good . . . its essential place in community, and community's essential place in the life equation.

Good morning. I am honored to speak with you and share some observations to help kick off this, our 25th annual meeting. In preparing for today and this conference, I've spent many hours in reflection, some of it frustrating, much of it trying to capture in 25 minutes thoughts on our work and our place in this world today. Let's see, that's 25 minutes for 25 meetings . . . one minute per meeting!

We will soon close one century and begin another. We will close a millennium, and begin another. And I believe, as well, that we are poised at the beginning of a new era. If we choose the right path in this new era, the path of community, I think the world will blossom. As we enter our 25th year in existence as the Community Development Society, we must assert ever more ardently our passion for and beliefs in community as a healing and sustaining energy in this world. If we believe this to be so, then we must also say to others: "We are here. . . . Use our talents. . . . Hear our voices." For we have much to offer, if we can be heard over the din.

When I talk about community, I am talking about a place and an experience, but both must rest upon the foundation of common good, that elusive, ethical, civic behavioral attitude and action that lifts us beyond our individual selves. It's that attitude and action best illustrated by those who have suffered loss, or by those who have compassion

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for those who have suffered loss. And we are suffering loss every day. Five hundred years after Columbus's so-called discovery of the new world, humankind has reached the end of manifest destiny, the buffers are gone, the waste of the modern era overwhelms us, and we have to stop. Now we must turn to one another and say, enough. Enough exploitation. Maybe now we can know the deep satisfaction that arises from paying attention to the common good (Borgmann, 1992).

Common good appears in the attitudes and actions of the people in South Florida who were hit last year by Hurricane Andrew and who now send clean drinking water to the people in Iowa and Missouri devastated by recent flooding. It's the attitudes and actions of those of you in CDS who gave me support and encouragement when I lost my job two years ago today, July 19, 1991. I got on a plane the next day and flew to Saskatoon for our 23rd annual meeting. Your love, your concern, all told me that I was ok, that I was valued and my skills as a community development practitioner were valued. You gave me back my self-esteem.

We in community development are those people called to harness that sense and action of common good in the worst and best of times. It's difficult to do when we live in a world shaped and diverted by market-driven energy that tends to run amuck in all sectors of society—in commerce obviously, but also in government, education, health care, technology and the mass media. This market-driven energy is especially strong in the U.S. and other westernized nations, where we, all of us, are that market. We have transformed it from an economic system to a societal one with our strong desire for individual freedom, instant satisfaction, and individual convenience. Market energy is compounded by the technology it creates—cars and television, for example, that separate and insulate us from one another and from our natural environment.

Market is not harmful in and of itself. But lacking the counterweight of common good, it tends to prey on the human weakness for greed and self-interest. It is like the carpenter ants who take advantage of the rotten wood in my house frame. Eating away unseen and unheard, they leave small clues of sawdust, which I find only when it's too late, and my house begins to collapse from the inside out. So it is when we as a society make decisions with our pocketbooks alone, and leave out our hearts. We begin, ever so inconspicuously, to lose sight of community and the sustaining force it is in our lives. In our hyperactive quest to climb economic heights, we lose sight of how our actions affect others, including the impact we make on our environment and on our fellow human beings in distant lands and across the street.

What is happening within society is also happening within commu-

nity development, as often evidenced by economic values taking precedence over social values. Because we are distracted by the trends in society, we are losing our concentration—the concentration required to stay with comprehensive solutions to comprehensive problems.

The challenge to us as community development practitioners is to advocate for balance, to help others tap into, harness, and restore the energy of common good to its mutual place alongside market. Running side by side, given equal weight, common good and market roll straight, even, true, and pull community upright and strong. Unequal, favoring one side, community goes into an energy-sapping spin and eventually may crash.

This Community Development Society was born, literally after a 9-month gestation, from an informal meeting of seventeen people in January 1969, to the founding meeting in October. CDS came into my life 18 years later, a relationship that has blessed me many times over with friendship, support and professional development, and a true sense of belonging.

Earlier this year, I consulted with Duane Gibson and Lee Cary who were present at those first meetings. Lee was the first CDS president, and Duane followed a few years later. "From day one," they said, "the emphasis was on an 'open' organization with no real membership requirements and everyone with an equal opportunity to participate." When I asked what prompted the creation of CDS, Lee replied that "events during the 1960s certainly created the climate and interest in community work. Peace Corps in 1961. The U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity established in 1964. Activities of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the United Nations, and of voluntary organizations, brought increasing attention to a range of activities that we call community development . . . the time was right; the need and interest was there; the beginning of a professional corps of development workers was on the scene" (Gibson, 1992; Cary, 1993).

As I consider our 25th annual meeting, I wonder, is the time still right for us? I say yes, more than ever.

CHALLENGES TO THE COMMON GOOD

We need community—people in covenant with one another and their environment—because being in community replenishes our character, our trust and solidarity. Without community, technology and a free market tend to create collective passivity and inequity. Without community, the state societies we build to coordinate the existence of millions of strangers remain anonymous and formidable.

As all sectors of society including the state become increasingly mar-

ket-driven, community becomes more fragmented at the very time it is desperately needed. While technology and the marketplace are effective at producing useful goods and services, they have no concern for community, for memory, for history. They encourage self and limited group interest, things which undermine the attitudes of responsibility to community (Rasmussen, 1993).

For me, community is ideally a place where love is experienced, where respect and compassion develop, where diversity is honored and where basic life needs are met. That is why community development—the work we do—is so important. Our work provides the foundation for other life activities.

The rise of community development as a profession and process coincided with the decline of community control in the 1950s, and the rise of mass society rushing toward the information age (Hobbs, 1988). There was a need to fill, a need to keep alive those skills of community interaction that were threatened. There was a need to help others see the big picture, not just the small one on the television screen.

In the latter half of the 20th century, a growing mass media that communicated only one-way began to do our thinking and feeling for us. Advanced technology separated us both from one another and from the fruits of our labor. We slipped farther and farther away from the interdependency created by person-to-person bonds, the interconnectedness of environment and humanity, and community-based decisionmaking.

We began to lose what moral philosopher Albert Borgmann calls manifold engagement: "the practice of skills, the development of discipline and fidelity to it, the broadening of sensibility, the profound interaction of human beings, and the development and preservation of tradition" (Rasmussen, 1993:80).

Borgmann says we live now in a device paradigm, that our relationship to modern technology frames not only our economic relations, but our social ones as well. We treat human relationships and things as commodities that we use, measure, and consume. At the same time, our modern world has rendered other people's lives mostly invisible to us (Rasmussen, 1993).

In his book, *Moral Fragments & Moral Community,* social ethicist Larry Rasmussen expands on this idea with a story about central heating. Today for many of us, when we want to heat our homes, we turn on a switch, giving little thought to the long line of people and natural resources that help make that moment happen. We depend on strangers and on nature, yet do not experience them directly. In contrast, consider a fireplace in a living room or kitchen. Someone must cut and gather wood, someone must light and tend the fire. Someone must

scout out new sources of wood and plant new trees. In a household or community, these tasks engage people with one another—duties are assigned, assignments carried out, and responsibility learned while we talk and work together (Rasmussen, 1993).

I still don't have a video cassette recorder in my home, because if I did, I would be sorely tempted to live in a device paradigm and spend my days getting lost in old movies. I still don't have an automatic dishwasher, because I enjoy too much the ritual and the interactions with others as we wash and dry. Over dishes I gossip, assess life, devise plans, work out problems, and learn family history. Sounds a little like community development, doesn't it?

Throughout the second half of this century, the United States and other parts of the world experienced ever more rapidly market-driven decisionmaking, individual fulfillment, and rampant consumerism, as evidenced by an explosion of gadgets and gizmos, automobile-based planning, and continued exploitation of natural and human resources. By the 1960s, a cadre of community development people, research, theory, and practice began to notice empty spots and started to replant the seeds of community responsibility.

Community development in the United States emerged, I believe, as a reaction to the mess we had gotten ourselves into by sucking the common good and most other resources out of our physical and psychological national fabric. It emerged as well internationally in reaction to long-term exploitation by supposedly democratic nations, such as the United States. Community development was, and still is, an effort to help people get beyond self-interest and material gain and restore the power of community to sustain.

We in CDS are needed, in the words of social ethicist Rasmussen, "to foster in people the capacity to direct their lives together intelligently and creatively within a safe and sustainable environment" (Rasmussen, 1993:97).

I believe that community development helps people maintain the balance between economic, social and environmental needs. It encourages people to see the whole picture. It engages citizens in democratic decisionmaking and action. It teaches critical thought, ethical consideration, careful planning, and involvement of all stakeholders so that the passion of material gain does not overwhelm human development and social and environmental justice.

It's been an uphill battle to keep our community development voice heard, because society seems bent on maximum economic growth and mass consumption at any cost, and on individual convenience over community responsibility.

Our discipline is not immune to this trend. Robert Chambers and

Mark McBeth touched on the dilemma for community development in 1992, suggesting that "the C.D. process today exhibits the inclination of individuals, firms, and other micro-entities toward calculated economic choice and away from collective action" (Chambers & McBeth, 1992:21).

They discussed how technical assistance in both community development and economic development today relies on so-called rational, or objective problem solving, often ignoring or simply co-opting public input and citizen participation, the very bedrock upon which the Community Development Society was founded.

In a 1990 survey of California community development corporations, Ed Blakely and Armando Aparicio found that the CDCs' economic and social goals of self-determination are increasingly in conflict as government resources shrink and public support of social programs dwindles. Survey respondents reported that CDCs are increasingly giving up social service programs to attain economic stability. This supported other observations that community based organizations tend, over time, to become more attuned to economic and financial considerations to the detriment of social and educational aspects. They're going into banking and dropping job training and community organizing.

Two-thirds of the survey respondents stated that conflicts arose over resource allocation between social programs and business investments; over half indicated that the cost of social services drained business activities. The CDCs began in the 1960s with a mission to redistribute wealth, empower the community politic, and boost social development. But now they are gradually giving way to business bottom lines, forsaking core social programs to keep financially afloat (Blakely & Aparicio, 1990).

As our concern for the common good dims and inequitable distribution of resources widens, people have fewer and fewer personal resources—education, good health, and self-esteem—to bring about economic and social success, and so the common good continues to dim, and the economic cutbacks get more drastic.

The fear of losing our wealth, what little we may have, puts us in competition with one another and distracts our attention from improvements needed in education, health care, housing, and environmental stewardship—all powerful community agents that can counteract the economic spiral and its accompanying violence against gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

We in CDS must remain active in calling for community, for the common good to counteract the sometimes selfish pull of market-driven energy. One way we can do this is to take the fruits of the market and use them to foster the common good again.

When I lost my job two years ago, I was unemployed for two months until I found work with a project at the Minnesota Department of Administration, to study regional telecommunications development. They needed someone with community development skills because they were trying to organize communities and regions of the state to consider uses of voice, interactive video, and data communications systems that would improve public sector services and outreach.

At first I thought this would be a temporary job, a stopover during unemployment, but the more I got into it, the more I realized the great need for community development in this technology implementation.

The potential of common good for this technology is huge. It has the capacity to offer two-way, interactive communication between peoples of the world and those down the street. Unlike the one-way media we've grown up with, people can actually have face-to-face, meaningful, sustained, and on-going conversation through this technology. It is not a replacement for the need to have physical contact with one another and with our environment, but it does encourage citizen participation, discourse and cooperation. It can bring education and enhance health care in the remotest of places, rural and urban alike. It saves money and time, cuts down on travel, and reduces pollution.

It has all this capacity, if—and that's a big if—we can avoid the temptation of allocating this resource according to only market interests. If it goes only where people can afford it, it will not be there for the people who really need it.

If it goes only where the money is, it will only widen the gaping holes between those who are educated and those who are not; those who have health care and those who do not; those who are rich and those who are not.

If technology implementation continues to be framed solely in economic terms, it could destroy community, because it could further concentrate centers of power—information sources and decisionmakers—removing them from the true stakeholders.

If it is framed in community terms, it will strengthen the common good, for behind the wonder and awe of technology, many hands work, many heads think and many hearts beat. We must be present to help others recognize the importance of place and experience-based community as essential to the success of 21st Century advancements.

The Blacksburg, Virginia, Electronic Village is a demonstration project currently underway to connect an entire town in southwestern Virginia with 21st century infrastructure. I talked with CDS member Del Dyer, who lives in Blacksburg, about the project. Del said it will electronically link residents of the community to each other, to world-

wide networks, and to information resources in new and creative ways. The entire community is a real-life laboratory to develop a prototype "residential street plan" for the country-wide "data superhighway" now being discussed here in the U.S.

Plans for the prototype exemplify characteristics that balance community with technology and market needs. The system will be accessible to all citizens, ensuring the critical mass that makes it affordable to all citizens. It focuses on interactions between people and their needs rather than on particular technologies. Its timetable will give community networking fundamental consideration in the vision and planning of the nationwide networking infrastructure. As frustrating as it can be to work in a world of technicians in love with their technology—and I know all too well from my Minnesota experiences—we as community development practitioners need to be a part of these new creations, if we are to reclaim the power of community on this Earth (Riley, 1993).

I'm cheered by projects like those in Blacksburg, because they signal acknowledgment that the community is more important than the technology, that technology is a tool to serve the goals of community, not to destroy them. They imply a respect for the common good, not just market or self-interest. That philosophy gives me sustenance as I go out on my community development rounds in Minnesota where I'm constantly trying to balance the market-driven mentality, even in state government, to honor citizen participation in decisions that may significantly alter our lives.

REDEDICATING OURSELVES TO CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

In looking back at the start of the Community Development Society, I am struck with the philosophy of citizen participation as a foundation to the kind of work we do. As I read our Principles of Good Practice, I am always challenged by the values underlying the words. We've printed them in the front of your programs: promote active and representative citizen participation; engage community members; help leaders understand; actively work to increase skills, confidence, and aspirations.

For me, they boil down to one phrase, one purpose: engage community members. Easy to say. Not so easy to do in a world where self-interest often distracts attention from the core, from the necessity to give to community before it returns life to us.

This past year, I surveyed all the state governors in the U.S., asking them to define community development and explain their community

development mission. I received 36 responses, many of which expressed economic-based definitions and goals. Some did see community development as integral to their state's general health and well-being, and indicated understanding of the comprehensive and citizen-based community development process. But the survey still confirmed for me that we face a challenge in helping people, including our leaders and policymakers, to understand just what community development is and why it is so central to our survival (Leonard, 1993).

Adam Smith, 18th century philosopher, economist, and architect of the free market-based economic system, saw market as a model for the economy, *not* as a model for society, as it has become today. His treatise, *Wealth of Nations,* was a warning on the dangers to common good posed by mercantile interests. He observed that the freedom made possible by a commercial society would be desirable only when coupled with supporting institutions which foster the virtues of self-control and altruism—virtues that people needed to manage their new liberty (Muller, 1993). He understood that social responsibility, borne in community life, would be necessary to keep the potentially corrupting ways of commerce and self-interest from poisoning the common good, and would, in fact, direct market energies to benefit the common good (Rasmussen, 1993). Over time, society has allowed market forces to shape and define our culture and it has, in many places and at many times, poisoned our common good.

In 1927, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote,

> The big question before our people today is whether we are to be more material in our thinking, judging administrative success by its economic results entirely and leaving out all other achievements. History shows that a nation interested primarily in material things invariably is on a downward path. Great wealth has ruined every nation since the day Cheops laid the cornerstone of the Great Pyramid, not because of any inherent wrong in wealth, but because it became the ideal and idol of the people (Wiesen Cook, 1992:x).

The dilemma has faced us before, but this time community seems so fragile and our collective will so tenuous. From corporate raiders to world-wide speculation, events and attitudes of recent years have encouraged individual gratification while they sapped our collective responsibility. We've strived over the years for individual freedom through technological innovation and conspicuous consumption and now often find ourselves lonely, depressed, and restless in spirit. Can we pick up the fragments of community and rebuild?

We in community development must raise our voices and be heard. We must take the lead now to bring the elements of common good back in line with market, and in doing so help others recall and ex-

perience the deep fulfillment community can bring. We must combine our energies and our passion, because there are so few of us. We represent many areas of community expertise . . . health, education, natural resources, economic development, leadership development, arts and culture. The array of our session topics this week indicates the breadth and depth of our work in community, for community.

We must tell others that we are here: use our talents; hear our voice. We in CDS must make our existence known beyond the sphere of our own group. In our work, in our sections, in our chapters, and as a society, let us tell others what we do and who we are. As we do our work, let us identify ourselves as community development practitioners and members of the Community Development Society. Testify before legislative bodies to give the community development perspective. Explain the elemental importance of community, of common good to humankind. Explain its necessary relation to market. Believe in, embrace and live our Principles of Good Practice.

Let us here in the days ahead gather courage, skills, and sustenance for the journey to follow. Exchange knowledge, enjoy our traditions, and then, after we part company on Wednesday evening, let it be known that we are, together, rededicating ourselves to community.

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TEN BASIC PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

By Jerry W. Robinson, Jr.

INTRODUCTION

After working for more than 25 years as an educator, researcher and consultant with more than 2,000 community organizations, I have learned ten valuable lessons about leadership. The purpose of this brief paper is to describe and justify ten basic theoretical, operational and philosophical principles which guide my behavior as I work with leaders and managers in community and economic development organizations. These ten principles are based on my philosophy of organization development, human resource development, leadership development and community development. Most of the principles *can not* stand alone, instead each should be understood and practiced in relation to the other nine and in relation to the members of the group and situation in the community organization (Bass, 1985; Fielder & Chemers, 1984; Hersey & Blanchard, 1993).

Managers and volunteers in community organizations are interested in leadership. Why? Perhaps their success usually depends on their ability to enable others to get things done. There is demand for excellence in leadership in all types of community and economic development organizations—in both private and public sector groups. However, all managers or leaders do not agree on a definition of leadership.

What is leadership? *Leadership is the behavioral process of influencing the activities of an individual or group to accomplish goals in a given situation. Leadership is a learned behavioral skill which includes the ability to help others achieve their potential as individuals and as team members* (Robinson & Clifford, 1991).

PRINCIPLES OF LEADERSHIP

1. Everyone Is a Leader. Group members do not have equal knowledge and skill (Bennis, 1989), but each person can excel in some as-

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pect of organizational or community leadership. Managers must know their staff and volunteers well enough to discover the abilities of each person, even if abilities and skills are limited, and then enlist and support their efforts. Beware of the tendency for "educated" persons to underestimate the potential leadership contributions of the unexperienced, uneducated or novice.

2. Leadership Behavior is a Learned Skill. Leaders aren't born, they are developed or made! Leaders usually evolve (Stogdill, 1974). We learn leadership by copying role models, by trial, error and experience, and by study. Crises in a community organization are usually fertile ground for "creating" new leaders (Robinson & DiFonso, 1992). For example, persons with specific knowledge or skill may come to the forefront with solutions to a critical problem. Regardless of who you are, you can become a better leader by studying, practicing new behaviors and asking for constructive feedback from your work group (Fielder & Chemers, 1984).

3. For Effective Team Work, Remember—People Support Actions, Programs and Goals Which They Help Create. Involving others in planning, program development, delivery and evaluation is the key to teamwork in a community development organization. Morale and production usually decreases when people are given a plan and *told* what to do (Bass, 1985; Bennis, 1989). Leaders of successful community development organizations usually involve, involve and continue to involve others.

4. Atmosphere and Structure Should Permit Every Team Member to Lead at Some Time. The leader cannot know all the answers to every problem in a community development organization. One person does not have enough energy or time to solve all the problems faced in community organizations, especially those organizations working in economic development (Blake & Mouton, 1985). Excellence in community and economic development requires intelligent and informed group decision making. Delivering technical information and fostering economic development requires many skills and much know-how from many experts (Drucker, 1974). To succeed, community and economic development leaders must depend on others. When one individual monopolizes power, resources and time, and takes all the credit, failure is imminent.

5. "Everyone Is, in Some Capacity, My Superior." Dr. Samuel Johnson, 18th century English writer, originated this axiom. You may have to look closely to find something which someone can contribute to a specific project, but something is there. Look around and you will discover that many people have skills and abilities which you do not possess (Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Nanus, 1992; Terry, 1993). The person

who is willing and able to follow through on the most mundane, routine tasks may end up making a valuable contribution to the team—if only the leader frees up the time to spend in creative thought.

6. Democratic Leadership is Not Permissive Leadership! There's a common myth that team leadership is permissive and autocratic persons are especially prone to believe this myth. While democratic leadership is more flexible, it is not unstructured. *When the management team is in charge, that's not permissive leadership!* (Robinson & Silvis, 1993) Many studies have shown that peer or work groups have more influence than the boss over the behavior of their fellow workers (Stogdill, 1974).

There is much more organizational structure in democratic or team-shared leadership; that's why it may be harder for some folks to understand team management or to become team leaders (Bass, 1990). In democratic groups, the communication systems are much more complex and require more skill to manage. Sometimes, democratic leadership is more difficult because more time, accommodation to divergent ideas and more "people" skills are required (Fielder, 1967; Fielder & Chemers, 1984). Democratic leadership is developmental leadership because, through this system, it's easier to develop new leaders in a community or economic development organization.

7. In Spite of Many Virtues, Democratic or Team-Centered Leadership is Not Always Best! When a crisis arises, such as a fire in a building, there is no time to call a committee meeting. Someone must make decisions and do something, quickly! Democratic teams should develop policy as a group, then leader or manager can be charged with implementing the policy (Blake & Mouton, 1985). Sometimes it's o.k. to be the boss (Robinson & Silvis, 1993)! The leader cannot accommodate everyone or do everything by committees or through groups. For example, sometimes managers encounter irresponsible people who must be told what to do, when and how (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993). The next principle helps explain why democratic leadership is not best for all people or in all situations.

8. Autocratic Leadership is Not Always Bad! Some situations require "the leader" to take charge decisively—to exhibit and use authority and power (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993). This is especially effective when you are initiating an activity with people who are immature, irresponsible, disloyal or incorrigible. It's unfortunate, but some people only understand and respond to power. Some individuals have never been exposed to democratic team work, and they don't know how to follow a developmental, team-center leader (Bass, 1985). In other situations, employees may be in a dispute among themselves over work assignments. In such situations, the leader or manager should use au-

thority to bring the group together to discuss administrative policies which facilitate the development of a more flexible team-center style, then use his or her authority and power to enforce the rules developed by the work group to accomplish the task (Blake & Mouton, 1985; Drucker, 1974; Robinson & Clifford, 1991; Robinson & Silvis, 1993).

9. The Leader's Knowledge and Behavior, a Particular Situation and the Expectations and Experience of Others Determine Leadership. We are social and emotional beings. Many of us conform to the expectations of others—to the "power of the group." If a group expects authority in a crisis, the leader will frequently respond as a power actor. However, if a group is talented, loyal and expects to be involved in solving the problem in a crisis, a skilled team leader should quickly respond by involving members of the group in creative planning and teamwork (Hersey & Blanchard, 1993).

10. Leaders Must be Flexible! Leaders and managers must adjust their behavior to meet the levels of experience, the knowledge, the skills, and the expectations of group members in every situation which faces the community development organization (Stogdill, 1974). A dictator will destroy morale of a loyal and productive staff by trying to control everything they do (Robinson & Silvis, 1993). Leaders who are abdicators, always totally shaped by the demands of others or the fear of change, will discover that morale and productivity suffer. Developmental activators will become transformational leaders (Bass, 1990) because they will discover that *employees and volunteer leaders will support goals and action strategies which they help create* (Robinson & Silvis, 1993). Managers and leaders of community organizations must be many things to many people. One style of leadership will not be adequate in every situation.

SUMMARY

What is leadership? It is the ability to influence, guide or shape the attitudes, expectations and behavior of others to achieve goals. Leadership is largely a behavior skill, and new behaviors can be learned! Superb and sometimes complex leadership skills are required for leading contemporary community organizations, especially if community and economic development is the goal. Knowledge, experiential training and practice can help improve leadership skills. The effective community development professional must be a leadership role model and use a flexible framework for collaborative teamwork to be effective in today's community and economic development arena.

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CONDUCTING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS ON CONTROVERSIAL COMMUNITY ISSUES

By Philip Favero, Neil Meyer, and Stephen Cooke

ABSTRACT

Public controversy often surrounds community policy issues. Controversy creates both opportunities and risks for community development specialists functioning as public policy educators. The risks are predictable, however, and amenable to management. In this paper, the authors present two case experiences in conducting policy education about controversial public issues in South Dakota and Idaho. The case experiences are described and analyzed for the risk management methods they imply for conducting policy education amidst controversy. The authors note that a trade-off exists for public policy educators between controversy and irrelevance. They argue that by using program management methods that minimize professional risks and take advantage of opportunities, policy educators at both state and local levels can and should work on controversial public issues.

INTRODUCTION

> *Work on things that make grown men and women cry.* (Torlief Aasheim, former Director, Montana Cooperative Extension Service)

Public choice conflict, the struggle over things that often do make men and women cry, is grist for the mill of community development. Conflicts arise because people's tastes and preferences differ and because resources are scarce; therefore, not everyone's preferences can be satisfied simultaneously (Schmid, 1978). Public conflicts require communities to choose, through a governmental process, whether to protect a *status quo* policy or to undertake policy changes. Community development specialists, functioning as public policy educators, help to inform people who can be involved in making public choices.

The controversy that surrounds a public choice conflict presents the

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public policy educator with a variety of opportunities and risks. The most obvious opportunity created by public choice disputes is education. With increased contention, people will be more interested and, perhaps, more teachable. The risks in conducting public policy education amidst controversy include: facing suspicious, prejudiced and hostile people; being misunderstood or misquoted by the press; having one's administrators made unhappy by negative political reactions; having one's analysis shown to be incomplete or flawed; and not meeting the expectations of audiences.

Related Literature

Barrows (1983) argued in a seminal paper that public policy educators, operating in a climate of controversy, should avoid becoming advocates of any particular policy option. House (1993) incorporated Barrows' philosophy of non-advocacy and extended it by encouraging policy educators to use a utilitarian "alternatives–consequences" research and teaching method. Hahn (1994) noted four trends underway in current public policy education literature and practice. The trends are: (1) more complicated and richer discussions of the advocacy question; (2) more fusion of content and process teaching skills; (3) a better understanding of policy-making processes and the implications of those processes for educational methods; and (4) clearer language about the objectives and impacts of policy education.

Our reading of this literature and our experiences in doing public policy education in Idaho and South Dakota have taught us some methods that will help community development specialists manage public policy education on controversial issues. These methods take advantage of the opportunities and minimize the risks associated with public controversy.

The South Dakota Proposition

In June of 1978, a wave of protest rose up in California against property taxes. Californians made Proposition 13 a state constitutional requirement and a household term. Proposition 13 limited real property taxes to one percent of assessed value and tied their growth rate to the Consumer Price Index. Property tax protests on the Proposition 13 model then spread from California north and east to other states.

In November of 1980 citizens of South Dakota voted on a Proposition 13 look-alike, the Dakota Proposition. One year before the election, controversy erupted, and South Dakotans engaged in an intense public policy debate about the possible virtues and dangers of the proposition. The debate was accompanied by claims and counterclaims

by citizens who advocated conflicting and mutually exclusive positions. For example, citizens suggested that the State of South Dakota should: radically cut real property taxes; protect the funding base for public education and other government services; reduce state involvement in local government; and create a state personal income tax.

The South Dakota Cooperative Extension Service had for many years provided public policy education programs about state-wide ballot issues. In keeping with this tradition, the Extension Service entered the debate about the Dakota Proposition with an educational program. Demand for the program was strong. Between November 1979 and the 1980 election, two Extension Specialists—community development economists from South Dakota State University (SDSU)—spoke at 120 meetings in small towns across the state, attended by approximately 6,000 of the state's citizens.

The Idaho Policy Issue

Like California, the late 1970's was a period of rapid population growth in Idaho. Local governments in Idaho financed the costs of expanding services to accommodate new residents by increasing taxes on current residents. The "old timers" said, "My taxes keep going up, and I am not getting any better service; there must be waste in government, and/or I am paying for things I do not want or need." These feelings created resentments among current tax payers. Idaho citizens, like those in California, initiated a property tax protest and, in November 1978, passed a statutory initiative to limit real property taxes to one percent of the assessed value of real property. The law was subsequently found to be in conflict, however, with the State Constitution of Idaho.

When the legislative issue to limit property taxes first arose in Idaho in 1978, the administrators of the University of Idaho and its College of Agriculture discussed developing an educational program to assist voters' understanding of the implications of the one-percent initiative. A decision was made not to conduct an educational program because the tax issue was considered too controversial.

In the early 1980's, when interest rates increased to record levels, home construction and population growth in Idaho virtually stopped. The issue of tax payments by current residents for public service costs imposed by new residents went away until the late 1980's when a new flow of migrants, including a contingent from California, began to arrive in Idaho. The old resentments resurfaced and California bashing became popular.

In 1992 a revised one-percent initiative was put on the ballot for

voters to consider in November of 1992. The University of Idaho administration reversed its previous decision to avoid controversy and supported the development of a voter education program about the 1992 version of the one-percent initiative. University community development faculty prepared and organized a voter education program on financing Idaho's local governments and the public choices involved in the one-percent initiative.

POLICY EDUCATION EXPERIENCES

In conducting policy education programs about tax limitation initiatives in South Dakota and Idaho, we have gained experiences about methods to use when preparing educational programs concerning controversial public policy issues. For both South Dakota and Idaho, our efforts began when we discussed the policy issues with our administrators.

Policy Education Experiences with the Dakota Proposition

In 1978, the Head of the Economics Department of South Dakota State University met with the two community development economists about conducting the policy education program on the Dakota Proposition. After a discussion of how public controversy would inevitably surround the proposition, the Department Head made a request and offered a promise: take care to thoroughly research the likely consequences of passage of the Proposition, and I will argue for whatever resources you will need to conduct an extensive, state-wide educational program.

The community development specialists decided first to investigate the likely impact of the Proposition on each of South Dakota's 73 county governments. This investigation proved to be very significant. Major differences of likely impacts were found among counties. For example, predicted reductions in property tax revenues ranged from three percent in Buffalo County to 72 percent in Davison County. As a result of this analysis, the public policy educators were able to tailor their workshops for local audiences by using local county impact predictions.

Once the research was complete, the economists drafted a non-technical, yet detailed fact sheet and shared it with a small group of trusted reviewers. The reviewers were university colleagues and public finance experts in South Dakota. The authors then incorporated reviewers' comments into a final version of the fact sheet (Favero & Kelsey, 1979).

The main thesis of the fact sheet was that passage of the Proposition

would result in very uneven reductions in property taxes among counties and would create a very large tax reduction across the state. The community development economists projected a state-wide property tax reduction of 59 percent in 1982. The fact sheet also spelled out the voters' alternatives. For example, rejection of the proposition, the authors suggested, would maintain a regressive tax system and a public finance structure that emphasized the role of local, as opposed to state, government.

The community development economists had two goals in writing the fact sheet. They wrote, first, a *popular* publication that could be clearly understood by most citizens. Similarly, they wrote a publication that was *practical.* The fact sheet laid out voters' two obvious alternatives, passage or rejection of the proposition, and the likely consequences, or probable outcomes of those alternatives. The authors also provided voters with information on their other options to reform their property taxes and suggested criteria by which to make value judgments about the consequences of all their policy options. For example, the authors introduced and explained tax adequacy, various measures of tax equity, and the impact of inflation on public expenditures.

The care and effort that went into researching and writing the fact sheet paid large dividends. The public policy education program withstood skepticism and criticisms by some citizens because the educators clearly understood and had faith in the consequences they had projected. Moreover, the educators used the fact sheet as the core teaching material for their program. More than 45,000 copies of the publication were distributed to voters; it was used to produce a slide/tape set that would be sent to all county Cooperative Extension offices; it would eventually be used by numerous newspaper, radio and television reporters for background stories and interviews.

Once the fact sheet was written, the policy educators conducted a pilot workshop within the Economics Department at SDSU. This workshop provided an opportunity to try out teaching methods and materials before an audience that was well informed but also highly demanding. The quality of the program would reflect on the public reputation of the whole department.

The educators then "went public" with their program. They informed County Extension agents about the program, prepared a public service announcement for radio stations, and contacted interest groups. This effort targeted several audiences. South Dakota citizens, especially those eligible to vote, were the ultimate audience. However, many intermediate interest groups were approached, and many others requested the opportunity to "wholesale" the program to the ultimate audience by distributing the fact sheet, sponsoring workshops, or both.

Intermediate groups were: advocate groups on both sides of the tax conflict; Extension Homemaker clubs; farm organizations; fraternal organizations; League of Women Voters groups; the South Dakota Legislative Research Service; local government officials' organizations; Parent-Teacher Organizations; and senior citizen groups. In addition, the policy educators worked with the South Dakota Committee on the Humanities to provide information in the Committee's "Community Dialogue Meetings."

The educators conducted workshops on the Dakota Proposition in response to requests by local organizations. Typically, the educators requested that local public officials participate in workshops because such officials could provide detailed insights about the practical ramifications of the proposition and information about community-specific issues in public finance. The local county auditor and a school superintendent often represented local public officials in the workshops.

Proponents and opponents of the proposition were not encouraged to participate as *presenters* for the workshops, although their attendance and participation in the general discussion that followed presentations was encouraged. The educators chose this teaching method after the experience of some early workshops when proponents and opponents seemed unwilling or unable to present factual examinations of the proposition.

The policy educators presented the information at a typical workshop in the following sequence: (1) a brief statement about who the presenters were and what the purpose of the meeting was—to present information about voters' alternatives and their consequences without making recommendations about what voters *should* choose; (2) an introduction to the "principles of taxation," with explanations of tax adequacy, efficiency and equity; (3) a description of recent demographic and economic changes in South Dakota such as population shifts and changes in the sources of personal income; (4) a basic instruction on how the real property tax was levied in the state; and, (5) a discussion of the Dakota Proposition itself, beginning with a description of its major provisions, continuing with an estimation of total revenue impacts for the state and the local county, and ending with a discussion of why the proposition was on the ballot and what other tax reform options citizens had.

The local officials were then asked to state briefly their assessment of the likely impact of the proposition on their particular governmental unit and to describe any contingency plans they might have made. The policy educators and local officials spoke for about one hour. Then one hour or more was provided for questions and dialogue concerning

the Dakota Proposition and state and local public finance in South Dakota.

In addition to workshops, the policy educators also developed and utilized several other methods to teach about the proposition. These methods were:

- Two television interviews that were broadcast by nine public and private stations;
- Four radio interviews broadcast by 31 public and private stations;
- Two slide/tape sets used by County Extension Agents in group meetings in 43 of the state's 73 counties;
- A videotape which was used in a traveling display of Extension programs in five counties.

Policy Education Experiences With Idaho's Property Tax Limitation

In July of 1991, a University of Idaho community and public policy specialist met with the Director of Extension and the Dean of the College of Agriculture about the potential consequences of another property tax limitation initiative. That discussion resulted in agenda items for subsequent meeting with the Dean's Council and the University President.

In January of 1992, University administrators asked two community development economists to make a presentation to the Dean's Council on the history and potential implications for state and local government finance of the new one-percent legislative initiative. After the presentation, the Council asked the economists to return with a proposal for a state-wide policy education program. The University administration also recommended developing a program.

The economists responded with a public policy education program and county Cooperative Extension agent training on local government finance. Then they developed a distillation of the agent training into a videotape explaining the sources of state and local revenue for Idaho governmental units and comparing the Idaho system with those of neighboring states. They also included in the tape a summary of the Idaho Attorney General's and Secretary of State's advisory opinions on how the property tax limitation would likely be implemented, if passed by the state's voters.

The Idaho State Tax Commission had previously conducted research on local government revenues and expenditures and on how, if the one-percent initiative was passed by the state's voters, implementation would affect the ability of local governments to provide public services. Results of this study were used in the University of Idaho program. For

example, one argument used by proponents for the one-percent initiative was that communities could grow out of reduced rates of taxation as long as increases in assessed valuation would exceed increased expenditures. The University of Idaho economists conducted research on the 44 counties of Idaho and distinguished, by county, where change in the valuation was greater than changes in expenditures. It was shown that very few counties could realistically expect to grow out of the effects of the one-percent initiative. This information was incorporated into the policy education materials and proved to be of great interest to citizens.

As the University of Idaho economists continued their research and program development efforts, the Idaho Board of Education instructed its Public Affairs Director to bring together a committee of faculty from the state's three universities. The committee formed a task force, including the community economists, to assemble information on tax and revenue history and on likely effects of the initiative on business and local government units.

When the results of all the research efforts were complete and official University approval was provided, the two community development economists developed mechanisms for a policy education program. They had already identified Cooperative Extension faculty all over the state who were willing to participate as facilitators and educators. In addition to the videotape, the community development economists prepared a series of materials, including: (1) a publication answering common questions about the ballot initiative; (2) booklets that detailed expected financial impacts on local governments; (3) a history of Idaho tax legislation; (4) a document on the initiative's expected effects on businesses; and (5) a suggested format for teaching the public about the initiative. They then assembled all the teaching materials into a county agent's manual for local use and conducted agent training for local Cooperative Extension faculty. The Extension faculty then used the training and materials to conduct policy education programs during the six weeks immediately prior to the election when citizen interest was at its highest. In their local programs, the Extension faculty, using the videotape and other materials, explained the current system for local government finances in Idaho, compared that system to those in neighboring states, predicted with and without effects of the initiative on local governments, and articulated potential local finance alternatives with and without passage of the initiatives. Arrangements were made for the university specialists to answer questions telephoned from audiences attending meetings. Campus specialists conducted workshops in locations where demand and/or controversy was the greatest. Members of the local press were personally invited to

each presentation, as per the recommendation of a university communications specialist (Donnellan, 1993).

The University of Idaho program also provided policy education materials to others and targeted materials to key policy makers. For example, the videotape was distributed to the state library and educational materials were made available to local government officials and legislators.

METHODS TO CAPTURE OPPORTUNITIES AND MINIMIZE RISKS CREATED BY CONTROVERSY

Among the program development methods suggested by our experiences, eight methods seem most useful for helping community developers capture opportunities and minimize risks when designing policy education programs for controversial public issues. The eight begin with a comment on relationships between policy educators and their administrators.

Avoid Surprising Your Administrators

Administrators at our universities were well aware of the risks involved in public policy education about controversial tax issues. In 1978 in Idaho, University of Idaho administrators decided against initiating a public policy program. In 1992, by including administrators early on in discussions about our programs, we were able to gain their confidence, official support and additional resources. Additional resources provided by university administrators were essential in South Dakota for conducting a long and intense state-wide program. In Idaho, official support has proven very important to the policy educators; currently, an individual is threatening to sue the educators if they conduct another tax education program. Official support by the University for the 1992 program, expressed in a letter to the educators, has provided a sense of security against the threat of a lawsuit.

Approach Interest Groups to Learn Their Beliefs, Concerns and Questions and to State Your Purpose

In both programs, we became aware, at the beginning of our research, of the beliefs, concerns and questions held by various interest groups and of the policy-making process. In Idaho, for example, the policy educators learned that many proponents believed counties could "grow out of" projected property tax revenue shortfalls; the educators then oriented their research to estimating the differences that growth would contribute to property taxes in the state's counties. In

South Dakota, the policy educators incorporated a technical question from several interest groups about property tax assessment into the research, educational materials and presentation. In both states, we made interest groups aware that our purpose was to help citizens learn the likely consequences of passing or rejecting the property tax limitation on their ballots; at the same time, we let those same groups know that we did not intend to support the position of any particular interest group.

Do Objective Policy Research

Public controversy implies that policy research will be closely scrutinized and, quite likely, criticized. In both policy education programs we benefited greatly from doing objective research before going public with our ideas. We define objective policy research as an investigation of the relevant policy options surrounding a public issue, with results that are subjected to the review and critique of other researchers and clearly communicated to policy makers. Our research efforts were strengthened by advice, critique and comments from peers in our own universities and by collaboration with public finance experts in government and in other academic institutions.

Develop Information that Relates to Local Concerns

Former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill, is credited with initiating the idea that All politics is local. When writing this article, we were surprised to learn how important providing local information was in both Idaho and South Dakota. In Idaho, county-by-county analysis showed how growth would have significantly different effects. Similarly, in South Dakota, analysis revealed very large differences in projected property tax reductions among the state's counties. Having local projections greatly increases audience interest; people want very much to know what a policy will do locally, how it may personally affect them. This approach allows the local press to write follow-up stories that focus attention on the expected effects of the policy alternatives on their subscribers.

Be An Educator

In both programs we analyzed the likely consequences of the tax policy options and demonstrated how those consequences conformed to or conflicted with the various values surrounding tax policy. But we did not, in either state, prescribe a choice for voters. We were advocates for more and better information to help voters make their choices,

and we realized that such advocacy is political and has political consequences (Hahn, 1994). However, we were not advocates for any particular alternative.

To have advocated for an alternative would have been inappropriate and self-destructive (Barrows, 1983). It would have been inappropriate because we did not know all the questions or answers about the issues and because the democratic system empowers voters, not academics, to make choices about ballot issues. It would have been self-destructive because advocacy for an alternative on the tax issues would have undermined our reputations for providing objective and unbiased information, thereby reducing opportunities to provide future policy education programs.

Teach People About Making Value Judgments

Although our programs were not prescriptive, they were normative in the sense that we taught about values. For example, in South Dakota we taught about tax adequacy, efficiency and equity as criteria for judging both the existing property tax and the proposed reform. Similarly, in Idaho, we asked voters to consider equity judgments about the tax burden for current and future property owners. Being objective in public policy research and avoiding prescription in policy education does not mean being non-normative. On the contrary, as public policy educators we can teach about values, even amidst controversy. We also expect that voters' values will differ and even conflict. We hope, as policy educators, that we can help voters clarify their values. But we also expect voters to disagree; it is part of the democratic process.

Teach About Both Immediate and Long-Range Issues

Controversy surrounding a specific policy issue creates an opportunity to teach about long-range issues, as well as about the immediate issue that is generating controversy. For example, we used the property tax controversy in Idaho to teach about the history of the property tax in the state and about how Idaho's property tax system compared with parallel tax systems in neighboring states. This information will be useful beyond the ballot vote of 1992. In South Dakota, likewise, we provided information about tax reform options that extended beyond the vote of 1980.

Make the Press Your Ally

Educational resources for conducting public policy education are quite limited. In both Idaho and South Dakota, we relied heavily on

the press to use our information to write news stories and editorials. The key to developing mutually beneficial relationships with the press is found in the research phase of policy education. The press used our research, first, because it was objective—driven by practical questions, clearly communicated and subjected to the prior consideration and criticisms of our peers. Second, they also used the research because it was relevant to local considerations and of great interest, therefore, to readers, viewers and listeners concerned about policy impacts on their local communities.

CONCLUSION

It is possible, and even advantageous, to conduct public policy education programs about issues that generate controversy. Controversy creates opportunities that can be used to the educator's advantage. Risks also attend controversy, but these can be minimized through good program management.

Both local and state level community developers experience the opportunities and risks of being public policy educators. Local practitioners are often skilled in process methods for policy education and state specialists are often knowledgeable about the contents of particular public issues. The two kinds of expertise—process and content—are complementary and both are needed to do effective public policy education (Hahn, 1994). The methods we have suggested should be useful guides for increasing process skills and for improving research on public policy issues.

Local and state level policy educators should take opportunities to work on controversial issues. If we, as community developers, do not work on issues that are important to individuals and our clientele, issues that do indeed make grown men and women cry, we run the personal risk of becoming irrelevant and therefore unneeded. We must consider the trade-off between controversy and irrelevancy; as controversy increases, so too does relevancy. Our ideal should be to learn and share program management techniques that allow us to minimize the risks of working on more controversial issues, thereby enhancing our relevance and usefulness to the communities in which we work.

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MEASURING AND MONITORING CHANGE WITH A COMMUNITY LIFE CYCLE MODEL

By David L. Darling, Md. Habibur Rahman, and Janaki Ram Pillarisetti

ABSTRACT

Rural communities can go through a complete life cycle, from birth to death, unlike the large urban cities which continue to exist despite retrenchment and decline. This paper presents a conceptual model of the life cycle of a rural community measured by economic activity. Twenty-one indicators of change are next presented as well as their direction of movement at different transition points over the life cycle. A select set of communities in Kansas is presented to illustrate the uses of the conceptual model and indicators. Finally, a discussion of strategic planning and eight key resources for revitalization are included in this article. The content is based on the ideas, experience and writings of community developers working in rural Kansas.

INTRODUCTION

A community is defined as a place and a human system. (Flora et al., 1992). A community is a place where individuals interact with each other and gain access to a greater part of their physical, psychological, and social needs (Lewis, 1979). This human system has an economic function as one of its five general dimensions. The others include social, service, living, and governance functions. This paper will focus on the economic function and economic vitality.

Communities are living entities. Like people, they go through a normal life cycle. Many grow and develop, then stagnate and decline. In Kansas, while 6,000 communities once either actually existed or were platted, now only 627 incorporated places exist (Fitzgerald, 1988). However, the obvious difference is that, unlike people, communities are not destined to die. It has often been stated that communities just don't die, they have to commit suicide.

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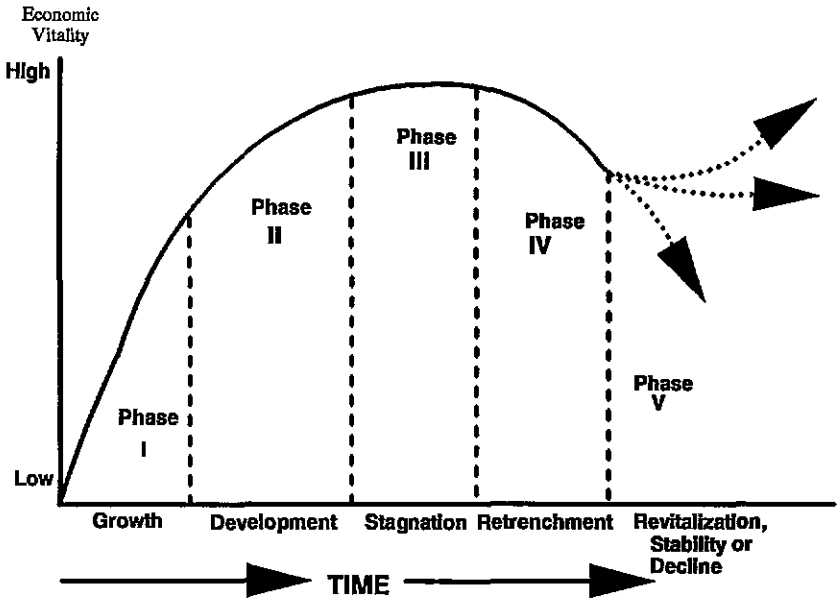

Figure 1. The community life cycle.

The objectives of this paper are to identify and measure characteristics of a community at different phases of its economic life cycle. The five phases are presented first. The next section identifies 21 variables to monitor economic and demographic activity. Six Kansas communities that are in different phases of their life cycle are next described. The final section discusses the basics of strategic planning as a revitalization process. Eight key resources are then described that are vitally important to the leadership team guiding revitalization.

THE LIFE CYCLE OF A COMMUNITY

Much has been written on the plight of rural communities, community development and rural America (Luloff & Swanson, 1990; Christenson & Robinson, 1989; Flora et al., 1992). However, we did not discover any study that has actually set out the life cycle of a rural community and described its different phases. The life cycle of a community may unfold slowly or very quickly. Most communities, however, have new functions added over many years. A conceptual model of the life cycle of a rural community is presented in Figure 1.

The Birth and Growth Phase (I)

The life cycle of a rural community in Kansas started with its birth when some economic, social, and political factors gave groups of settlers a set of reasons to organize the community at that location (Fitzgerald, 1988). The availability of relatively cheap factors of production contributes to the competitive edge of a particular location. Relatively low costs of agricultural land and mineral deposits attract people and capital to a particular place. Factor price equalization theory suggests that entrepreneurs locate their industries where they can buy factors of production at cheaper rates (Gittell, 1992).

Historically, economic opportunities created by roads and communication systems have played a great role in the birth of a community. For example, in Kansas, the Oregon Trail and the Santa Fe Trail give rise to communities early in its history (Fitzgerald, 1988). In the preindustrial period, when waterways were the primary mode of transport, people settled close to rivers. Availability of the means of production sometimes led to the birth of a community. For example, farmland attracted some people to Kansas in the early years of settlement. Sociocultural factors also play a dominant role in the birth of a community. For example, in Kansas, people of the same origin, race, color, language, and faith tended to settle close to each other (Clark & Roberts, 1936). Some examples include Yoder (Amish), Hillsboro (Mennonite), Lindsborg (Swedish) and Nicodemus (African-American). Even today, like people cluster together (Weiss, 1988).

Sometimes a government's initiative leads to new settlements. For example, the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) with its principles of "squatter sovereignty" formally designated Kansas as a U.S. territory for settlement. The passage of the Homestead Act (1862) offered land to new settlers and lured immigrants to Kansas (Clark & Roberts, 1936).

Immigrant farmers usually brought with them some livestock (Clark & Roberts, 1936). They produced crops for home consumption and for market. Governances were established based on the religion, culture, and experience of specific groups who settled in a place. This phase ends with the establishment of the basic five functions in a place, the governance, economic, service, social, and living functions. These basic functions are necessities in order for residents to build a healthy economy.

Today, few new communities are being formed, yet growth events that occur early in the life cycle can be repeated. If we define growth in two ways this becomes clear. Growth is an externally driven economic activity. Thus, the locus of control is outside the community. Also,

growth is the expansion of existing dimensions without any variation in their composition.

These concepts can be illustrated by an example. When a major energy company like Phillips Petroleum Company comes into southwestern Kansas and acquires existing mineral rights and begins to drill for gas, this causes growth. The company is headquartered in Bartlesville, Oklahoma; therefore, management decisions are not originating from within the region. Since drilling for gas in southwestern Kansas is not a new activity, more drilling is defined here as a growth in economic activity. In summary, growth is an expansion of pre-existing community dimensions.

Places experience this type of change all the time. In the retail business area, locally owned restaurants and cafes in towns as small as De Soto, Kansas, now are competing with new McDonald's restaurants. The number of restaurants grow with this addition and that is not unusual. What is unusual is the arrival of a downsized McDonald's restaurant. In the past they built in towns that have a much larger trade area. De Soto's trade area capture is only 1,287 (Lunkamba, Rahman & Darling, 1993).

The Development Phase (II)

Success stories of a new place attract more immigrants. Population grows rapidly. Along with expanding population comes a greater variety of economic activity (Emerson & Emerson, 1992). Substantial investments are made to build a viable infrastructure. Roads and communication with bigger communities nearby are established. Production systems gradually change. Market outlets for selling agricultural produce and for buying essentials are established. Thus, the development of a community is characterized by structural change such as relatively large-scale farming for subsistence as well as for market and the establishment of transport and communication linkages with other communities.

Another part of the development phase includes an array of economic, social, and administrative programs that are required to support a self-sustained community. Schools, health care and hospitals, parks and recreation facilities, hotels, restaurants, and other service industries are built. Regulatory bodies and local government are established. Each can help develop, undertake, and implement comprehensive development plans and strategies. Individual development initiatives are complemented by collective endeavors. A competent local government ensures safety and security and thus attracts innovative entrepreneurs who establish suitable industries. As a result, an indus-

trial production sector emerges along with an agricultural sector. Therefore, in this stage of development, communities undertake all suitable and feasible economic, financial, social, and infra-structural plans and strategies that are needed to grow as a full-fledged successful community.

In Phase II, a community creates more economic and business opportunities and existing businesses are able to expand. Thus, Phase II is internally driven. Government also invests more in infrastructure and public goods. A developing community encourages insiders to invest more to expand and start new enterprises. Those who live in the community have the vested interest to reinvest in their public, private and domestic fixed assets such as streets, stores, telephone systems and homes. The resulting efforts lead to further expansion of all facets of the community. Hence, development is defined by the authors as an internally driven process.

The Stagnation Phase (III)

This phase occurs when the impetus of the growth and development has ceased to propel the community forward. The opportunities of a community no longer attract new people and outside capital. This may happen due to technological changes which make some other competing community more attractive. As a result, new investment and/or expansion gradually decreases. In rural America, something usually comes along to upset the status quo. It could be an actual disaster like a tornado, an economic disaster such as a factory closing, declining wheat and oil prices, or a change in the modes of transportation. Government policies may change and magnify other calamities. Besides negative forces, positive ones can also come along to re-energize expansion. These could be outside elements investing locally or inside decision makers investing in new ventures. Existing leaders and business owners fight back to maintain stability. In this phase net population change declines to zero while net migration becomes negative.

Phase III includes three different dimensions. They are 1) a dimension of economic stagnation, 2) a dimension of seeming stability and 3) a dimension of maturity. The stagnation concept has just been discussed. Stability as a concept can be defined as a point in time when the forces that drive growth and development are counteracted by forces that bring about retrenchment and decline. In Kansas, this tends to be a short period. So stability is a temporary state.

An institution that starts today will mature sometime in the future. Once it matures, it faces the choices of retrenchment and decline or revitalization. If the same leaders have held the positions of power too

long, an organization will lose its vigor. Key organizations such as the newspaper, local banks, the Chamber of Commerce and the City Council can impact greatly on a community's economic vitality (Flora et al., 1992).

A community's life cycle is propelled by two other important variables: the product life cycle of major businesses that export output to customers outside the region and the business cycle of the multi-county area and the nation. Every product that succeeds in gaining customer acceptance will eventually be displaced by a new product. Computer aided design software is replacing hand drafting, for example. Adding to the life cycle are regional, national and even international business cycle fluctuations. One author has explored the importance of these on the economy of individual cities (Gittell, 1992).

Finally, infrastructure ages and eventually will deteriorate. If much of the public sector infrastructure is allowed to depreciate dramatically during one period, the community will be forced to confront a difficult task of reinvesting in its capital stock. Local residents and industry will be poorly served by the deteriorated roads, bridges, and school building, and industrial prospects will not be attracted to the community.

Measuring, monitoring and anticipating these changes with an inclination to intervene is a key role of a community or county-wide development organization.

The Retrenchment Phase (IV)

If the change that upsets the community in Phase III is negative, then a retrenchment phase commences. In this period, local economic vitality diminishes. People stop reinvesting in their businesses and their homes. Young innovative people leave the community to find work elsewhere. Finally, households increasingly shop for goods in nearby trade centers and central cities instead of in their local retail businesses. The ultimate indicator of distress is an actual drop in population.

The Decision Phase (V)

At some point three different directions of change can occur. The ideal one is a new phase of development that is labeled here as revitalization (Figure 1). Usually, this is an internally driven effort rather than a situation where an outside investor comes into the community like a "white knight" to save the community from further deterioration. Often, however, community leaders get together and combine local resources with outside resources to bring about new economic vitality in order to support an upturn in the community's quality of

life. Two other scenarios are possible. Either a new stability is found but at a lower level of economic vitality, or no new stability is realized and the community declines until it loses almost all of its economic activity. A community that has little economic activity is usually a rural neighborhood to one or more communities that do have retail businesses (Stinson, 1990). Communities can also try to stabilize their decline and then reverse it. Where successful, this proactive effort results in revitalization.

Academics and practitioners will realize that this model of a community's life cycle is a simplification of reality. For example, the growth phase and the development phase often blur together. Hopefully, this will not limit the audience's appreciation of the value of this concept. All models are a simplification of reality and they are used to focus on the key variables that have large impacts on the system being modeled.

ALTERNATIVE MEASURES OF A COMMUNITY LIFE CYCLE

Historically, not every community passed through all the phases of the life cycle. Some started and died immediately and some experienced a short period of growth and then died (Fitzgerald, 1988). The success of a community depends on the magnitude of its comparative advantages as well as its leaders' abilities to successfully exploit their opportunities while resolving problems. Herein lies the importance of long-range planning and actions designed to build the productive base of the economy (Darling & Sparke, 1992). A community with well-devised plans can direct its growth and development process forward over long time intervals. The authors believe it is useful to identify community life cycle phases. Recently, some efforts have been made to measure economic change using indicators (McHugh et al., 1990). We propose a set of demographic and economic measures that community developers can measure and monitor.

Demographic indicators include total population, net migration, and percentage of work-age people. We feel that the most dramatic measure of a community's relative prosperity is positive net migration, particularly among the working age population 25 to 55 years old. If a community is prospering and is relatively better off than other competing places that people could move to and work, the population should grow at a rate equal to or above the natural rate of growth. If the community is stable while other places are prospering, net migration may be negative. If the community is stable while other places are declining, the population will be stable or growing at a natural rate. Thus, population change measures the relative position of the com-

munity compared to other places. In effect, net migration rates are a gauge of a community's relative attractiveness.

Economic factors may be classified into four groups. Personal economic indicators measure the prosperity of individual members of the community. Important personal indicators are per capita personal incomes, the unemployment rate, and residential property values. In a growing community, personal income and wealth should be growing over time and the unemployment rate should be low compared to the average unemployment rate for the state. Business and investment indicators measure the comparative advantage of a community in attracting new investment and in retaining and expanding existing businesses. Investment dollars will flow to the highest rate of return for a given risk level. Outside dollars are used to start the community. By definition, no inside dollars exist at the beginning of the first phase. However, during the development phase local investors are very important to the economy's vitality. During the stagnation and retrenchment phases, outside investment is scarce while insiders may be investing their extra capital outside the community. This is both a cause and a symptom of stagnation and retrenchment. During revitalization, local people usually marshal inside and outside capital to improve their community. In some places an outsider may invest locally and lead the revitalization effort. If the locus of control is in the hands of an outside decision maker, the revitalization effort looks more like the early growth period (Phase I).

Some other economic indicators such as The Strength Index,[1] Active/Passive Income Ratios,[2] and Employment Index[3] may be used to identify the phase of the life cycle of a community. The market value of property of a community is also a good indicator of the phases of a community life cycle. Assessed valuation, as a measure of market value, should increase during the first two phases, then grow slowly or not at all in the stagnation phase. It should fall during the retrenchment phase and then change with the course of events in Phase V. Business

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[1] A County Strength Index for 1992 is the sum of three measures. The first measures wealth. The second measures income and the third measures employment. A high (over 3.00) Strength Index indicates that the residents of a county are prosperous. They hold wealth, have high incomes and have jobs rather than being unemployed or retired.

[2] An Active/Passive Ratio compares income from wages, salaries, proprietary income and fringe benefits to passive income such as social security income and property income. A high ratio indicates a dynamic economy driven by labor force activity.

[3] The Employment Index is one of the three parts of the Strength Index. The Index is created by calculating two values, (1) per capita county employment and (2) per capita state employment. The county over state ratio is the formula for the County Employment Index.

Table 1. Matrix of Measures* of Community Life Cycle Stages

	Growth	*Develop-ment*	*Stagnation*	*Retrenchment*
Demographic Indicators				
Absolute Population	up	up	stable	down
Net Migration	in	in	none/out	out
% Working Age (25–55)	large	large	shrinking	shrinking
Personal Economic Indicators				
Total Personal Income	increasing	increasing	stable	declining
Unemployment Rate	low	low	increasing	high**
Residential Property Values	increasing	increasing	stable	declining
Private and Public Investments				
Outsiders Investments	high	high	low	none
Insiders Investments	low	high	low	very low
No. of New Spec. Homes	high	low	very low	none
Public Investment	high	high	low	very low
Other Economic Variables				
Trade Pull Factors***	increasing	increasing	stable	decreasing
Strength Index***	increasing	increasing	increasing/ stable	decreasing
Active/Passive Ratios***	high	high	lower	lower
Bank Loans Locally	high	high	lower	very low
Assessed Valuation	increasing	increasing	stable	decreasing
Employment Index***	increasing	increasing	stable	decreasing
Number of New Businesses				
Outside Businesses Attracted	high	high	low	none
New Births	low	high	low	low
New Expansions	—	high	low	low
Contractions	—	low	high	high
Deaths	low	low	increasing	increasing

* The direction of change of each variable is based on the experience of the authors in the Kansas setting. Other settings may vary in other directions.

** High until out-migration lowers it.

*** See description of these measures in footnotes 1 to 4.

activities such as retail trade are directly related to the demographic and personal economic conditions. They grow along with population, personal income and wealth. The Trade Pull Factor is a good indicator of the strength of the retail business community.[4] The number of new businesses is also a good indicator of a growing community. Table I

[4] Pull factors measure the leakage and capture of retail trade across political boundaries. A pull factor of over 1.00 indicates retail trade is being captured from outside the political boundary.

summarizes these indicators and their expected behavior at different phases of a community life cycle.

COMMUNITY EXAMPLES FROM KANSAS

Kansas provides a rich mixture of economic climates that include communities in all stages of the community life cycle. Kansas has the most ghost towns of any state in the United States (Fitzgerald, 1988). The life cycle of six communities in Kansas is studied by applying some indicators mentioned in table one. Each was chosen to depict the experience of communities in different phases of the life cycle.

Eudora is a small town of 3,000 people. It is located in a corridor of dramatic growth in economic activity. A new industrial park has been developed by a local entrepreneur and three foreign companies have plants in the park. A new residential development for low and moderate income people has just been constructed by a builder from Lawrence. All this has occurred since a state road has been upgraded to a four lane, divided highway between Lawrence, Kansas and Olathe, Kansas. Both cities are growth centers. Olathe is in Johnson County, which grew by 31.4 percent between 1980 and 1990. Although Eudora has expanded modestly since its incorporation in 1858, Eudora is now in a new growth phase. Outsiders are investing in the city and newcomers who retain jobs elsewhere are moving into the city. The population has gone up from 2,934 in 1983 to 3,071 in 1993. Property values went from $3.5 million in 1984 to $10.4 million in 1993. The future possibilities for further growth and development are excellent.

Ulysses is the only incorporated city in Grant County, located in southwestern Kansas. New Ulysses was incorporated in 1921. The new town was established after the first settlement went into bankruptcy. The early settlers decided that they would move the buildings onto a new site and give the land back to the bond holders. During the 1980s, Ulysses experienced slow but steady expansion and the city seems to be in the development phase of the community life cycle. Population numbers have expanded to an all time high of 5,474. Assessed valuation has increased from $12.6 million in 1984 to $16.4 million in 1990. A residential subdivision was annexed in 1983 which increased the city population by 100 people. A local builder constructs a few new speculative homes every year. Amoco Oil Company expanded its office to oversee its natural gas operations. Sales tax revenues have risen steadily and farming activity has been relatively stable because of the irrigation dimension of agriculture. Ulysses is also near other growing communities including Garden City and Dodge City.

Osage City was incorporated in 1872. Population grew steadily until

the 1970s when it grew rapidly. The area has been positively impacted by growth in the Topeka metropolitan area. Community leaders expected growth to continue in the 1980s, but the population has actually leveled off from 1980 to 1990. Populations for those two years are 2,667 and 2,689 respectively. Thus, the city appears to be in a stagnant phase. Assessed valuation increased only modestly from $6.7 million in 1984 to $7.5 million in 1990. Osage City has the largest population of all cities in Osage County, which is located south of Topeka. It is not, however, the county seat. That function is held by Lyndon.

The city of **Russell** is the county seat of Russell County. The economy has been supported by oil mining and agriculture production. Both industries have suffered in the 1980s. This has put the city of Russell into a retrenchment phase after being in a development phase in the 1970s. Some of the signs of stress are the following: 1) 400 houses were on the market at one time in a city with a population of just under 5,000 people, 2) a commercial bank and two savings and loan firms failed, 3) the county pull factor dropped from a high of 1.82 in 1982 to 0.74 in 1993, 4) property values in the city fell from 1988 to 1990, and 5) the city population which was 5,427 in 1980 fell to 4,781 in 1990.

Lindsborg is located in south central Kansas near Salina, in McPherson County. Its 1990 population was 3,076 in the final report of the U.S. Census. The city was incorporated in 1878. In the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s residents relied on income from farming, Bethany College and jobs in nearby communities. One large employer was the Salina Air Base. The U.S. Government closed the military base and agricultural income proved too erratic to be a reliable means of family support. The city of Lindsborg was in Phase IV of the life cycle and anxious to avoid the path of decline shown in Phase V.

With the help of Extension specialists from Kansas State University, a citizens' group formed to address the issues. The group rediscovered the community's Swedish heritage. Then they conceived a plan to revitalize their town by exploiting the theme and creating a "Little Sweden" in the heart of the U.S. Their plans led to actions which now include the following outcomes: (1) a Swedish symbol for the town—the Dala Horse, (2) a museum that includes a pavilion from Sweden that was constructed for a world's fair, (3) a set of shops that sell Swedish products, (4) Swedish festivals every year, (5) revitalized downtown, (6) a downtown bed and breakfast and (7) a coordinating committee where public, not-for-profits and some for-profit organizations get together regularly to communicate and plan community events.

The population decline has been stabilized. According to the Chamber of Commerce, Lindsborg's 1993 population is 3,200 or slightly

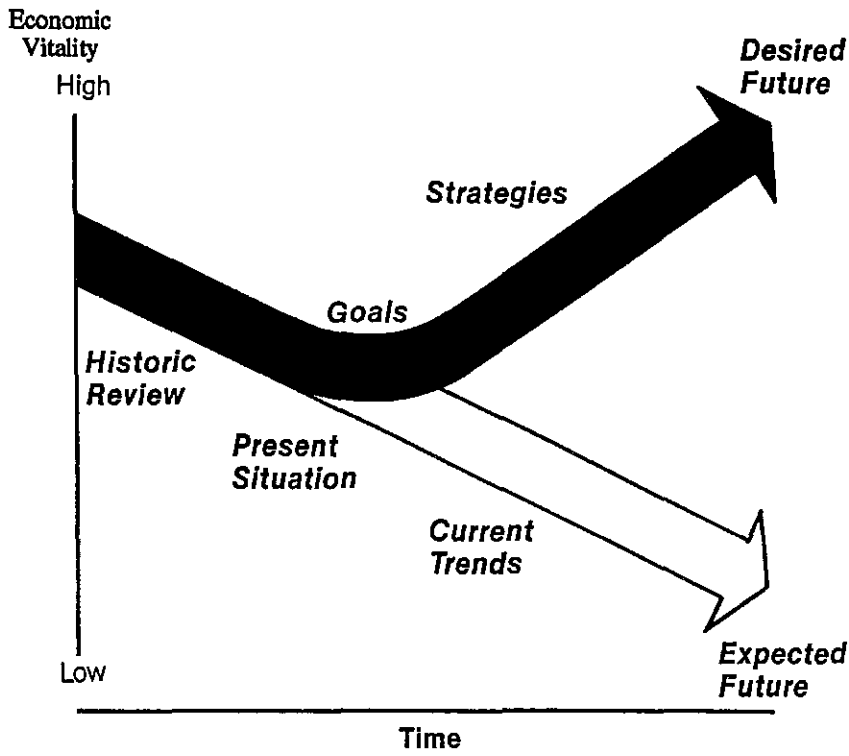

Figure 2. Community revitalization.

above its 1980 population of 3,155. Assessed valuation changes show that revitalization has occurred. In 1984, Lindsborg's taxable value was $5.4 million. By 1990 it went to $7.8 million. Finally, merchants on Main Street report tourism activity now is a year-round economic factor.

One way to graphically picture the process Lindsborg citizens went through is captured in Figure 2.

Burr Oak is a small community in Jewell County about 100 miles north and west of Salina, Kansas. It is a small farming community with an aging population that has been in the declining part of Phase V of its life cycle. The population of Jewell County peaked in 1990 at 19,420. By 1990 it has a population of 4,251, according to the U.S. Census. Burr Oak lost population in every year in the 1980s beginning with 366 in 1980 and ending with 278 in 1990. The assessed valuation also has dropped by over $100 thousand from $435 thousand in 1984 to $324 thousand in 1990. Eleven businesses are left on the main street. Many more existed earlier after the town was incorporated in 1871.

However, the land and climate could not support the hundreds of farms that originally were staked out in the later part of the eighteen hundreds. Thus, people moved away looking for better opportunities.

Tracking the different phases of the life cycle is a complex exercise involving a study of the behavior of various measures proposed in Table 1. In Kansas, county data are available on most of these measures but not city data. However, in Table 2, an attempt is made to identify the phase of each of the above communities. Data from different sources are used. Some of the data come from discussions with the city clerk.

REVITALIZING RURAL COMMUNITIES

The community life cycle suggests that a small, rural community that is stagnant today would decline into just rural neighborhood if it fails to maintain its business activity (Stinson, 1990). Revitalizing economic vitality is a key factor in sustaining the other four functions of a community. In Kansas, the Extension Service, private consultants and the university professionals have worked together and in separate teams to help county-wide community groups develop their own, unique revitalization plans. These strategic plans are now being implemented in most (80) of the 105 counties in Kansas.

Strategic planning is a framework providing a systematic approach to planning for future development and allocating needed resources for anticipated changes. Ordinary planning and goal setting usually looks at the past and bases the future on historic trends. Strategic planning considers possible future events and trends, and then bases planning and resource allocation on anticipated changes. Simple planning often falls short of implementation because the plan fails to be linked with resources and action.[5]

The crux of strategic planning is "anticipated" change. In other words, the community plans for the future by envisioning what the future will be like. The obvious questions community leaders need to ask are: "how will the future be different?" and, "what decisions can we make now, based on this perception of the future?" The basic premises behind strategic planning are:

1. A thorough understanding of the purpose for the community's existence, i.e., knowing how the local economy and socio-political structure works.

[5] This section of the paper on strategic planning was first published in the Kansas State University Extension leaflet *Strategic Planning for Community Development* (Darling & Bittel, 1991).

Table 2. Life Cycle Indicators of Communities in Kansas

Name of Community	*City Population*		*City Assessed Value*		*FY 1993 City or County Trade Pull Factor**	*1992 County Strength Index*	*1992 County Active/ Passive Ratios**	*1992 County Employ-ment Index**	*Other Indicators*	*Life Cycle Phases*
	1980	*1990*	*1984*	*1990*						
Eudora	2,934	3,006	3.5	6.9	0.47	4.61	3.25	1.12	New home, new industry in migration	Growth (I)
Ulysses	4,653	5,474	12.6	16.4	1.16	2.85	3.05	0.98	Expanded development, new homes, in migration	Development (II)
Osage City	2,667	2,689	6.7	7.5	0.41	2.60	1.81	1.02	Few new homes, no change in industry	Stagnation (III)
Russell	5,427	4,781	11.3	13.5	0.74	2.35	1.20	0.88	Retail down, failed financial institutions	Retrench (IV)
Lindsborg	3,155	3,076	5.4	7.8	0.62	2.82	2.51	1.05	New investment new business, in migration	Revitalize (IV)
Burr Oak	366	278	0.4	0.3	0.32	1.94	1.19	0.73	Business loss, aging population, out migration	Decline (IV)

*See footnotes for definitions of Pull Factor, Strength Index, Active/Passive Ratio and an Employment Index.

2. Familiarity with the competition and a comparison of strengths and weaknesses.
3. Strategies that build on strengths and overcome weaknesses.

Strategic planning focuses on key variables such as external trends that impact on the local community and internal factors that are either strengths or weaknesses. These are the key, critical issues, not an exhaustive list of all possible issues. Also, since the process leads to action, the issues will be addressed by action oriented groups such as a city council. As David R. Kolzow states, "Strategic planning stresses implementation rather than just goal-setting or long-range planning" (1988, p. 11).

Strategic planning does not try to arrive at the "best of all possible outcomes." Its purpose is to foster a better outcome than the current environment would produce. This is a relative improvement compared to expected trends. It also includes a finite list of reasonable goals and objectives rather than a lofty set of idealistic but unrealistic aspirations.

Strategic planning deals not only with the long-term, but also the short term and the intermediate planning period. Thus, those involved should be working toward goals that address important issues for the next 1 to 6 months as well as issues that will take longer to resolve.

The process is inclusive rather than exclusive, and all interested citizens should be encouraged to participate. However, it is important to identify people who have a large stake in the community and personally invite these individuals or their representatives to participate in the process. If these stakeholders are excluded, whether intentionally or not, the strategic planning process will be weakened.

Finally, the process should be repeated every 2 to 5 years, depending on the amount of change that has occurred since the last strategic plan was completed. For continuity, an organization such as a county-wide economic development commission should make the strategic planning process on-going part of their responsibilities. This will institutionalize the process.

The following organizational chart (Figure 3) shows one possible system to keep communities on a pathway leading to revitalized economic health. This chart is designed as a guide for a county-wide effort. Many rural places in Kansas are too small to stand alone. Thus, a multi-community cluster is an alternative. The typical cluster in Kansas is one that encompasses all or most of the cities in one county. By joining forces, the communities can bring together a critical mass of leaders, finances, staff and other resources.

For each project in the strategic plan, there are eight essential resources. These resources are fundamental to support a community's

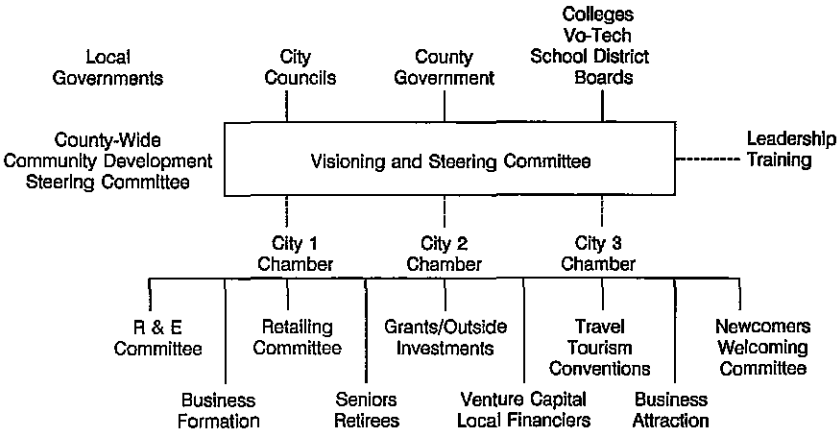

Figure 3. County-wide model of organization for local community development.

revitalization efforts. Consider the impact of these resources. Which ones would each community need? Where will they come from, within the community or from outside sources?[6]

Human Capital. This is a set of learned skills that contribute to a person's ability to lead teams of people, manage systems and produce goods and services. The sum of all these skills among all residents and in-commuters equals the human capital stock available to a community.

Infrastructure Capital. These are the public and private investments that are permanently affixed to the land in the community.

Financial Capital. Money resources can flow from one account to another. They finance community, economic, and business development projects. Financial capital for business use can be classified as seed, venture, mezzanine or expansion capital.

Innovation/Technology Capital. This resource is devoted to supporting the creation of new technologies and the transfer and commercialization of new technologies. These new technologies can be applicable to private and public activity.

Commitment/Capacity Capital. This capital is defined as the financial, human and other types of resources devoted to organizations that plan and implement community and economic development programs for the area as a whole. New institutions can be invented or adopted

[6] These eight essential resources were originally conceived as five by two University of Kansas professors, Charles Krider and Tony Redwood (1994).

to support people, firms and agencies. An example is a community foundation.

Business Environment. This is the general support or lack of support given to local firms by local government, local labor markets, foundations and other players who impact the environment. Examples like building codes and zoning ordinances can positively and negatively affect the local business environment.

Quality of Life. This inclusive concept is the set of recreational, cultural, and amenity factors people can enjoy locally.

Environmental and Natural Resources. The purity or lack of purity of water, air, soil and other dimensions of the environment are examples of environmental resources. Forests, coal and fisheries are examples of natural resources.

Concluding Comments

Monitoring, measuring and understanding change are challenges professional developers and academic scholars confront. This article presents a synthesis of the ideas, experience and writings of community developers who have been deeply involved in rural community development over a very dramatic period in Kansas, the 1980s.

An outcome of this experience is the creation of the community life cycle and the application of strategic planning procedures to help rural places regain their economic vitality. Over time, communities grow, develop, stagnate and retrench. But death is not the only possible outcome. Revitalization can occur; however, it requires the investment of scarce resources. Eight specific resources are described at the end of the paper. These are essential inputs to a successful revitalization effort.

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THE DIFFUSION TASK IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

By Mark Tucker and Ted L. Napier

ABSTRACT

Although most community development models rely on an informed client population for success, the community development literature in general has not addressed the timing and relative utility of various communication methods within the context of theoretical modeling. In this paper, the social action model is shown to provide a useful framework for viewing information-diffusion activities within the overall development process. Traditional interpersonal methods remain crucial links in the diffusion strategy, while news media and other alternative methods fulfill a critical supporting role in targeting fragmented client populations with timely information. Successful integration of various diffusion methods requires development of specialized skills outside of the traditional purview of community development training. This paper recognizes the special situational conditions and limited resources of the community development practitioner and offers guidelines for devising communication strategies in light of these constraints. It is noted that the phrase "mass media" is often used incorrectly in the literature, but that media should be used in concert with traditional diffusion methods to involve larger segments of the population in development efforts.

INTRODUCTION

Conceptualizations of community development historically have embodied a number of significant commonalities (Christenson et al., 1989), despite the variety of nominal and situation-specific definitions that pervade the literature (Napier & Carter, 1986). Few would dispute that community development is a process of decision-making characterized by broad citizen involvement at the community level in order to improve local economic or social conditions. Definitions often stress the educational function of community development and the use of democratic decision-making. Similarly, the models of change used by community development practitioners reflect a number of common

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practical concerns, such as selection of appropriate intervention strategies, degree and necessity of client participation, and methods of program evaluation.

Implicit in these models is the use and importance of communication at various stages of the development process. Breakdown in communication threatens the success of the development effort when clients are asked to endorse a plan that has been poorly justified or explained to them. In more extreme cases, potential supporters may oppose development efforts they feel are being implemented without their participation (Daley & Kettner, 1986). Because participatory democracy depends on informed actors sharing relevant data, these scenarios suggest that information should be diffused to the public in the quickest, most appropriate method(s) available to the change agent.

Although most development models rely on an informed client population for success, the community development literature in general has not addressed the timing and relative utility of various information diffusion methods within the context of theoretical modeling. This is a shortcoming because inequalities in knowledge among social groups are commonly defined as social problems (Gaziano, 1984). Because the timing and extent of citizen participation are key issues in successful community development programs (Cawley, 1984), information strategies must be carefully planned, executed and monitored. What is lacking in the existing literature are guidelines practitioners might use to integrate communication methods into development strategies.

Special situational conditions and limited resources of community development practitioners are recognized in this paper. However, guidelines for devising communication and diffusion strategies via various media are examined in the context of these constraints.

One of the major goals of this paper is to demonstrate how the effectiveness of change agents can be enhanced by increasing the precision of communication. An attempt is made to demonstrate how the efficiency of role performance can be increased by use of the social action model. One reason for the social action model's enduring popularity is its broad generalizability to various community situations. Although many intervention strategies can be identified in the community development literature, a large number of these approaches are based on the social action model. Thus, information provided in this paper can be applied to alternative development approaches. It is argued throughout that the assimilation of specialized communication skills will help community development professionals deal more effectively with well-informed and better educated populations, whose information needs require increasingly sophisticated communication techniques (Blakely & Bradshaw, 1982). It is also noted that the term

"mass media" is often used incorrectly in the literature, but that media can and should be used to communicate information to specific client populations, such as certain minority groups.

THE SOCIAL ACTION PROCESS AND THE COMMUNICATION AGENDA

A basic tenet of practically all contemporary community development philosophies is that local people should be involved in all phases of the development effort. Identification of the community's collective development goals and strategies is frequently accomplished through the social action model (Beal, 1964). Napier and Carter (1986) summarize the steps of the social action model[1] in the first column of Table 1.

Although the steps of the social action model are neither mutually exclusive nor discrete, the sequence of steps proceeds through fundamentally separate stages that require specific communication objectives.

Superimposing a communications agenda on the social-action process allows change agents to view its 12 steps in terms of four distinct phases, as shown in Table 1. Identification of the four phases, illustrated in Figure 1, allows change agents not only to formulate a preliminary communication agenda, but also provides a useful frame of reference for viewing the social action process itself. It must be recognized that the communication program does not evolve of its own accord, but must be carefully planned and executed during each stage and phase of the development process. To do this effectively requires that change agents view communication not as a secondary activity, but as an integral component of the development effort requiring a high degree of specialized expertise.

Relatively few people are involved in the initial organizational activities of Steps 1 through 4 as the change agent becomes acclimated to the local community's goals, development priorities and community resources. From a communications standpoint, Step 5 signals the second phase in the social-action process. It is here that the change agent begins to establish linkages with potential core group members who will help formulate and guide the development program. Initial communication remains largely interpersonal (Olien et al., 1984). Infor-

[1] References to various *social action* processes may be found in the literature. This paper is based upon the social action model popularized by George M. Beal. Although aspects of this model have been modified over time, its key steps are still widely used and have been integrated into a number of similar development approaches.

Table 1. Channels of Communication Corresponding to Phases in the Social Action Process

	Step	*Primary Activity*	*Communication Channel*
A	1 Analyze existing social condition.	Change agent familiarizes self with current issues, socio-economic characteristics of clientele, etc.	Interpersonal communication
	2 Identify development issues to be addressed.	Change agent identifies client priorities and goals relative to the community.	Interpersonal communication
	3 Assess prior social situation.	Change agent identifies prior events in the community leading to the current state of affairs.	Interpersonal communication
	4 Identify relevant subsystems.	Change agent identifies relevant social units, or segments, comprising the community.	Interpersonal communication
B	5 Assemble core group to act as "think tank" for the development issues to be addressed.	Tailored information is targeted to representatives of the community's various subsystems to seek cooperation in conceptualizing, planning and implementing the development program.	Interpersonal communication In-between media[1]
	6 Formalize development program and legitimize projects.	Communication is accelerated to include needed feedback from the core group and others involved in formulating the program.	Interpersonal communication In-between media
	7 Diffuse program among client population; program must eventually be accepted by a significant portion of the client group.	Change agent targets information to various subsystems comprising the client population. All available channels of communication are used to facilitate rapid information dissemination, dialogue and feedback.	Interpersonal communication In-between media News media
	8 Elicit decisions by core group as to whether efforts should be pursued.	Change agent and core group determine whether there is ample support for the development program as formulated.	Interpersonal communication In-between media News media

Table 1. Continued

	Step	*Primary Activity*	*Communication Channel*
C	9 Formulate project and devise means to solve identified problems.	Change agent works with relevant subsystems as necessary to resolve identified problems.	Interpersonal communication In-between media
	10 Secure economic, human, and technological resources.	Change agent works closely with local, regional and national sources to secure necessary resources and address identified problems.	Interpersonal communication In-between media
	11 Initiate development projects.	Projects are initiated according to schedule.	Interpersonal communication In-between media News media
D	12 Evaluate specific projects and development program in general.	Change agent evaluates specific projects, including efficiency of communication, as well as the overall program.	Interpersonal communication In-between media News media

[1] Our usage of the term "in-between media" is based upon the definition provided by Reagan and Collins (1987) and includes media that are not easily characterized as interpersonal or mass. Examples include computer-based electronic mail and bulletin boards, which permit interactive or two-way communication.

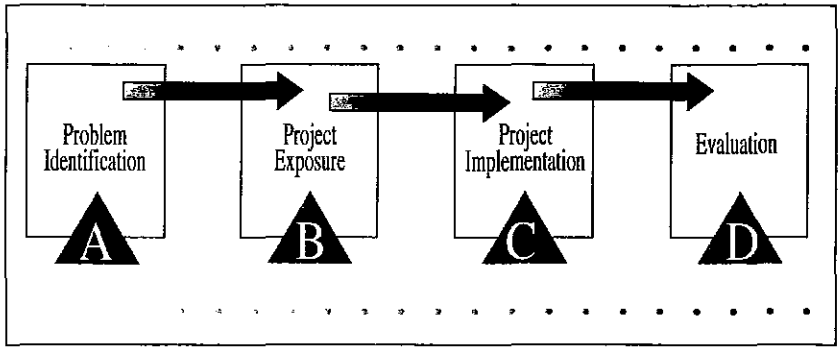

Figure 1. Component phases of the social action process.

mation about the development effort is often purposely kept within the confines of the core group. The limited information directed outside of the core group is targeted to relevant groups and individuals through mailings, meetings, and other methods that generally allow for some degree of personal contact and two-way interaction. Information on sensitive issues is particularly guarded through Step 6 of the development effort. Premature information disclosures to the public could lead to false expectations and/or misinterpretations of intent that could generate undue client concerns and opposition.

Once the development problem has been broadly defined and goals tentatively outlined in concert with key figures representing relevant social systems, the change agent must make decisions regarding how information is to be diffused[2] to the client population (Beal, 1964). Step 7 constitutes a critical shift in the communications agenda, where the change agent considers what communication channels will most efficiently carry information to the target populations identified in earlier stages of the social action process. The communication channels and techniques adopted by the change agent will either contribute to or impede the development effort. Factors influencing the impact of communications include appropriateness of the channels, timeliness

[2] As used in this paper, the term *diffusion* and its various forms are used in a narrow sense, referring only to the sending or transmission of factual news and information. We purposely restrict our focus to information-specific activities so as to avoid confusion with the term as used in the literature on diffusion of innovations. In the diffusion of innovations literature, diffusion carries with it a number of assumptions not appropriate to the community development context.

of the messages, and access to the communications by the client population.

Channels of Communication

Meetings, mailings, and news media[3] are among the most important channels used to diffuse information concerning community development programs. In practical terms, these channels have not changed substantially in recent years, although their relative importance as vehicles of communication has changed over time and varies substantially according to the client population.

Meetings continue to be more effective in smaller communities and when addressing relatively small groups about topics with high participant involvement. They are a convenient, effective method for addressing members of local clubs, associations, and professional organizations, particularly if the proposed effort will have a direct impact on clients.

Unfortunately, meetings as a channel of communication cannot reach all members of community groups. This is particularly true in metropolitan areas, or communities where residents are geographically scattered or isolated. Furthermore, not all affected community residents belong to civic groups or other types of organizations. A communication strategy that includes only meetings may reach only a small, relatively homogeneous portion of the total population and be biased toward higher socioeconomic groups. For instance, heads of single-parent homes may be unable to attend public meetings because of a constant cycle of work and daycare tasks. Likewise, rural and urban poor may be unable or disinclined to take time from work or other vital tasks in hopes that a development effort *might* improve their circumstances.

Mailings of change agent-produced fliers, newsletters, and other publications can be an important supplement to meetings for diffusing information. Printed publications can be distributed at the convenience of the change agent and, with an up-to-date mailing list, can potentially reach all or most community residents with the same information in a very short time period. Compared to meetings, however, mailings are a relatively impersonal, passive channel of communica-

[3] Throughout this paper, *news media* refers to print and electronic channels of communication used to disseminate public information to large, anonymous audiences, as through television, radio, weekly and daily newspapers, magazines and journals. This treatment excludes books, motion pictures, records and other non-periodical forms of communication.

tion. In fact, there is a strong possibility that the material will never reach the intended reader, but will be discarded as unwanted mail. Although much can be done to ensure readership through writing approach and graphic design, mailed materials generally lack the immediacy and impact provided by personal contact. Furthermore, depending on their form and type of information, they may require a higher level of literacy than that found in the client population.

Nonetheless, the increased affordability and user-friendliness of desktop publishing systems has revitalized printed forms of communication. The popularity of this new technology can be seen in the recent resurgence of company-produced newsletters and other publications. One negative aspect of increased use of such materials is intense competition for audience attention as similar direct-mail items flood the mailboxes of client groups.

Despite their limitations, meetings and mailings continue to be valuable channels of communication in the social action process. They can be particularly useful in the early stages of the development effort because change agents can control the context in which clients first receive information about the proposed program. Furthermore, both channels can provide an avenue for feedback from clientele. In meetings, the feedback mechanism is direct and immediate through verbal and non-verbal reaction. Properly designed direct-mail communication permits client feedback through the use of detachable questionnaires that can be returned through the mail, although the sender might be asked to bear postage costs. Importantly, both meetings and mailings allow the change agent to adjust the presentational approach or to consider more substantive modifications before involving the larger client population. In this regard, these channels can serve an important trial function to fine-tune informational and other aspects of the program before using more pervasive diffusion techniques. Unfortunately, neither provides a follow-up mechanism for updating client information or soliciting client input or support during later stages of the effort. This is where news media can fulfill a critical need in the information campaign.

Community development studies and communication research suggest that news media are becoming increasingly important in reaching fragmented publics (Napier et al., 1976; Wimmer & Dominick, 1987). News media are in a unique position to cross social, economic, and political boundaries of the general population (Whiting, 1976). In addition, cultivation of news media and communications skills is a valuable commodity that will remain with the core group after disengagement by the change agent.

Fry and McCain (1983) note that news media are constrained by the

same social, economic, political, and technological factors as other social processes. Some media, for instance, necessarily exclude from their audiences those individuals who cannot afford subscription costs or hardware requirements. Importantly, some media purposely target high-status subscribers to attract lucrative advertising dollars. If the change agent's client group coincides with demographic and social characteristics of the medium's target audience, then the medium can be used with efficiency. In reality, this congruence seldom exists, and a mix of media often is required to reach client groups. Collectively, media hold promise in involving larger segments of the population in community development efforts (Bradshaw & Blakely, 1979).

Seiden (1991) argues that Americans have greater exposure to media messages than to formal education, organized religion, or political parties. According to other writers, only work and sleep account for more of the average American adult's time (Yarbrough & Scherer, 1991). A pattern of extensive and habitual news media use has also been demonstrated by rural residents (Ross & Napier, 1978; Napier et al., 1976). Clearly, Americans are accustomed to using various forms of news media frequently, which suggests that change agents and others have a potentially valuable diffusion tool at their disposal.

Practical concerns also suggest the need to more fully integrate news media into the social action process. The first is the need to reach all segments of the client population who could play an important role in the proposed community development activity, yet who may not be accessible through the personal-contact approaches such as town meetings. Certain news media allow access to geographically dispersed or immobile residents with timely information, which can be updated as the development effort proceeds. Because public awareness is an important prerequisite for participatory democracy, efficient media use should be an ongoing priority of the change agent throughout the development process.

Used properly, news media can be an efficient and cost-effective tool for communicating with client populations. This is an important characteristic when change agents are facing limited or shrinking financial resources (Martin & Luloff, 1988). Evidence also suggests that news media use is justified on more than financial considerations. Tichenor et al. (1977) reported that mass media become more important than personal contacts in providing certain types of information to adult citizens as community issues develop. Furthermore, news media use can help practitioners demystify the change process and clarify their development roles to media audiences (Pigg, 1990).

To take full advantage of the efficiencies offered by media necessitates development of skills outside of the traditional purview of com-

munity development training. Some of the skills needed to effectively use media systems for community development purposes are discussed below.

Considerations of Media Use and Utility in Community Development

References to news media are scattered throughout the community development literature. News media have long been recognized as "historians" of the community, and can be an important resource for subtle cues and information about the community, its people, and its problems. Daley and Angulo (1990) indicated that local newspaper articles and television and radio reports can play an important role in people-centered community planning by providing insights on particular aspects of a population. Similarly, content analysis of newspapers and other print materials from past years can be valuable in assessing the prior and current social situation of a community, as prescribed by the social-action model. It is important to note that some content analyses involve elaborate methodologies to ensure reliability and richness of information, while others may amount to little more than an informal reading and note-taking from a local or regional library's newspaper archives. In either case, such document reviews will help change agents become more familiar with the local community and news media, which is an important prerequisite for establishing press relations.

Reeder (1974) emphasized the importance of public opinion in successful community development, citing specifically the role of the local newspaper editor as a means to that end. Recent work by Olien et al. (1990) indicates that newspaper editors view community planning positively, and conclude that such orientations are reflected in their editorial policies. In a series of case studies conducted in upstate New York, Preston (1983) examined patterns of leadership, community organization, and action processes, and noted that media performed an important public-service role by carrying announcements of meetings, agendas, progress reports, and fundraising events. Clearly, media can and do play an important role in community development efforts, and their existence has historically been cited as an important indicator of the general health and vitality of the community (Blumenthal, 1932; Goldschmidt, 1946).

Unfortunately, development agencies and change agents often have not approached communication tasks with the same levels of planning and expertise as other facets of the community development process. For instance, some agencies have chosen to use communications to persuade rather than inform, with the result of creating wariness rather

than awareness on the part of the client population and the media (Meiller & Broom, 1979).

Change agents who view communication tasks as less important than other development activities often do not have the skill or inclination to provide media with accurate, timely, relevant information about their organization or activities. Such individuals forfeit not only the opportunity for free news coverage, but also their credibility with media. News editors are not likely to give the same consideration to subsequent news briefs or information submitted by individuals whose original information was self-serving, irrelevant to readers or listeners, or submitted in an unacceptable form. If the change agent's goal is to develop a strong working relationship with news organizations, the proverbial first impression of the development activity and the personnel associated with it must be preserved. Change agents should recognize three basic media-use considerations: audience, technique and evaluation.

Audience. The admonishment "Know your audience!" has been employed by generations of professional communicators. The concept, however, needs modification in the context of community development because client populations often contain many audiences. An "audience" may be described in terms of age, needs, interests, income or any other characteristic that forms a relevant subgroup, or segment, of the client population. These segments often are most effectively reached by selective use of media, style of presentation, or both. Although the term "mass audience" is used frequently by various disciplines, it has no practical application for communication specialists, who should target their messages for relevant segments of the public (Newsom & Scott, 1985). The growth and popularity of specialty magazines, newspapers, and newsletters; cable television; and specialized news and music formats for radio stations indicate a clear trend toward segmenting a fragmented public with targeted messages (Peters & Lapierre, 1989).

It is in this regard that the term *mass media* is used loosely and often inaccurately. Although helpful in distinguishing personal and organizational media from print and electronic media used to disseminate public information (Bloomenthal, 1971; Gilbert, 1975), the concept should not imply the existence of an all-encompassing mass medium to reach diverse publics because such a means does not exist. Although community development has as its goal an improvement of the overall community, communication is more precise and awareness more readily created if certain informational aspects of the development program are highlighted in accordance with the interests and needs of selected target audiences. Segmentation is a key component of advertising and

marketing,[4] and is particularly effective when used in conjunction with specialized media that are geared to a particular segment of the population.

Alternative, nontraditional communication channels can also be an important means to reach additional audience segments. Reagan and Collins (1987) found that "in-between" media—those media not easily characterized as interpersonal or mass—were valuable information carriers for medical and health-care information. In-between media hold great promise for media practitioners because they have the potential to reach large, geographically scattered audiences, yet also allow for interactive or two-way communication. Examples include electronic mail and bulletin boards accessible through individual home computers, as well as videotex systems that allow users to electronically select news, advertisements and other information transmitted via a telephone line to a personal computer. Because subscribers to these electronic services may be charged for "on-line" activity, in-between media are currently most efficient for publicizing issues with high involvement to members of the audience or in cases where individuals can be singled out by the sender of the message, such as through electronic mail. As these systems become more affordable and user-friendly, their role in community development situations is likely to increase greatly.

Segmentation does not exclude other groups from the development process, but does provide a more deliberate communication strategy for targeting and diffusing information to relevant publics. In this regard, media could be an even more important tool in reaching overlooked groups such as racial and ethnic populations that exist within larger general communities (Preston & Enck, 1989). Oberle et al. (1975) found that low-income adults in the Arkansas, Missouri and Oklahoma Ozarks commonly were exposed to one or more types of mass media. They recommended that these media—newspapers, radio, television—be used to encourage area residents' input into needed educational programs.

Gaziano (1984) argued that neighborhood newspapers have greater potential to reach the poor, elderly and other minorities than other types of print media, and can make a unique contribution to reducing

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[4] Wimmer and Dominick (1987) provide illustrative examples where audience segments can be identified in which publication subscribers share striking demographic similarities. For example, a reader profile conducted during the debut of *USA Today* revealed that 29 percent of its readers had an annual income exceeding $35,000; 67 percent had attended college; 32 percent were 18 to 29 years old; and 26 percent had taken six or more round-trip plane trips in the past year. They conclude that such numbers would be of obvious interest to both advertisers and editors.

knowledge gaps among client groups in urban environments. Disadvantaged residents typically are aware of neighborhood newspapers, which are usually free and widely circulated. Further, the importance of local weekly newspapers should not be overlooked. The segments served by such media, although small, may not be accessible elsewhere, and most items usually are printed if properly submitted. Community development news is clearly suitable for all such media.

Other research has examined the role of the press in the local community and the relative popularity of various media. Olien et al. (1982) found weekly newspapers were the popular choice for local news among residents of rural communities they studied, but noted that media-use patterns were significantly influenced by outside forces such as neighboring metropolitan areas. Later research indicated that metropolitan daily newspapers could help rural residents increase their awareness of certain news topics to levels comparable with their urban counterparts (Tichenor et al., 1987). One implication is that change agents should not neglect media in adjacent communities or larger cities that may also be serving their target audiences. This is particularly true for electronic media and larger daily newspapers.

Technique. Techniques for targeting and submitting news items to media have been given extensive attention in the scholarly and popular literature. As news-gathering and production techniques change, so do procedures for interacting with media. In addition, change agents must tailor their approaches to fit the needs and expectations of particular media, whose needs may vary greatly even in otherwise similar communities. In all cases, the principle of targeting is a primary consideration in diffusing information to client groups.

Targeting involves more than identifying and contacting the various media that serve a particular geographic region, although this is a critical first step. Targeting involves knowing which clientele are best reached with what medium, and then providing the appropriate medium with timely information relevant to the identified group. This often involves highlighting different aspects of the development effort, or customizing the information, to suit the particular needs of various media audiences. Writing for a specific, targeted group is a sound practice even in small rural communities with a single weekly newspaper because clientele can encompass a wide range of ages, incomes, and socioeconomic characteristics.

In print media, a great deal of attention is given to news releases, which usually are no longer than a page or two, written in the particular medium's style, and based on a significant event or issue. News releases are also an important source of information for newspapers, radio and television, but editors receive so many requests for space

from corporations, educational institutions, and government agencies that selection criteria are strict, including technical details.

Releases are often accurately perceived by media writers as biased or incomplete accounts intended to promote some person, organization or cause (Kennedy, 1974; Stephens & Lanson, 1986). If such releases are the sole component of the change agent's information diffusion strategy, the development effort will likely be ignored by most people who decide what will be included in the media. It is also important to understand that editors often use releases only to gain awareness of events and ideas, and staff writers routinely rewrite information based on their own reporting and additional sources.

Although there may be some psychological comfort in sending out large volumes of information in the form of news releases, this approach is seldom effective in placing news in local media and may actually be counterproductive in the long term. More time should be spent in planning the style, content and accuracy of the message and ensuring the information is relevant to the targeted group. Many change agents may assume that the potential impact of their work on the local community assures newsworthiness. Indeed, proximity, of its own accord, is often an effective news determinant in the smaller daily and weekly print media. However, a study of 100 American daily newspapers revealed no bias toward local stories (Luttbeg, 1983). Editors' news judgment appeared to be shaped by considerations other than proximity, especially in larger communities. Environmental and food safety issues are examples of news items that are frequently featured prominently in community newspapers, yet do not originate locally.

In addition to proximity, change agents should consider the impact of the proposed project on the target audience. What specific effects will the development effort have on the existing way of life of people directly affected by change forces? Can these effects be quantified or otherwise verified? Can quality photographs or artwork be submitted with the news release to make a more attractive information package? What local civic organizations or other familiar community institutions are involved? The human interest element of the latter question is an important consideration because media emphasize news about the people they serve—their subscribers and listeners.

Change agents should not overlook the necessity of making themselves known to the media that serve their target audiences (Yarrington, 1983). Introductions will be relatively easy with smaller media because reporters and editors often are eager to receive local community news. The task is more difficult at larger news organizations, where personnel receive numerous appeals for coverage by government agencies, corporations and various community organizations. The chances

of reaching an individual in person or by telephone will be enhanced by noting that medium's news deadline and avoiding their most hectic times.

Evaluation. From the change agent's standpoint, the practical value of using media hinges on whether efforts have the intended or desired effect. Meaningful evaluation of media efforts is impossible without realistic objectives and expectations. Effective use of media requires careful formulation of communication objectives. Some media users, perhaps clinging to the early "hypodermic needle" model of communication[5] (Severin & Tankard, 1992), tend to rely too heavily on the press to diffuse information that is assumed to be readily received, understood and acted upon by an eager public.

Furthermore, it is clear that people's attitudes and perceptions may change in response to a number of factors other than media information (Grunig & Hunt, 1984). Although these issues are beyond the direct control of the change agent, they should be taken into account when formulating communication objectives and evaluating results. For instance, a commercial advertiser would evaluate a medium for its efficiency in *creating awareness* of a product or service and providing information on specific product attributes. To this end, evaluation might focus on numbers of clients reached per unit cost and the quality of information targeted to clients at any given time during the campaign.

Considering the change agent's often-limited time and resources, it is seldom practical to initiate audience research on the effects of a media campaign or to evaluate the degree of success in diffusing certain informational aspects of the development program. Even if the time, expertise and resources were available to gather this type of information, there is limited use for it once the development program nears completion.

Instead, change agents should assess whether communication goals are being met as the development effort proceeds and while there is still time to influence outcomes. Successful evaluation need not be carried out on a grand scale. For instance, members of the core group can be used to informally monitor audience reactions to media information and to ensure that information reaches all targeted groups

[5] The hypodermic needle model of communication originated after World War I as communicators speculated about the effects of wartime propaganda. During that time, media were thought to exert an extremely strong influence, and it was thought that mass communicators needed only to "shoot" audiences with messages to achieve universal effects. Research soon indicated that communication scholars had overestimated the power of media.

throughout the campaign. Also, by monitoring letters to the editor in a local newspaper and questions or comments at client meetings, change agents can often gain valuable insights as to what informational aspects of the program need further attention.

Although subscription data are readily available and constitute an important part of the analysis for print media such as newspapers, such information does not consider the numbers of additional readers serviced by each copy in high-volume areas, such as in restaurants or business reception areas. Because there is no simple way to gather this type of information, subscription data should be viewed as a conservative estimate of clients reached. The interpersonal communication initiated by both print and electronic media messages is also an important effect not reflected in subscription data.

In later stages of the social-action process, news media updates can help keep people informed of progress; important meetings, dates or events; or any other subject where public awareness or involvement is sought. Importantly, news media and in-between media should be used in concert with traditional methods, not as a substitute for them. An important strength of building an information diffusion agenda into the development effort is that it is often useful to publicize an idea that might otherwise falter without public knowledge or support. Media may also provide a source of legitimation for the community development effort, depending on the medium, issues and audiences involved.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on literature from a variety of disciplines, seven recommendations can enhance change agents' information-diffusion strategies.

First, a variety of methods must be used to achieve rapid, comprehensive diffusion of community development information. The relative use of these channels should be based on knowledge and characteristics of the audience, not change agent preferences. Because methods used in one community may have little application in another, change agents must develop an extensive command of communication skills. Flexibility is important. Interpersonal methods remain crucial links in the diffusion strategy, particularly in the awareness stages of the process. Successful communicators integrate several communication channels simultaneously to provide reinforcement of the message.

Change agents must become more proactive in working with local media to help diffuse information related to their development efforts. This involves recognizing as much as possible their biases, motivations, and needs. This type of information should be collected in the initial

stages of the social action process, not delayed until just prior to their use.

Third, change agents should not rely solely on the goodwill of the press to present news of proposed development projects. Items submitted to media should be timely, interesting, relevant, and based on substance, not gimmicks. Adherence to these criteria is the best way to ensure media coverage and credibility.

The community development curriculum should include more exposure to media methods, public relations and marketing. Change agents should be trained in using print and electronic media to supplement more traditional communication methods. The trend toward fragmented audiences, combined with increasingly sophisticated technology, calls for increased precision in media relations that involves more than common sense. Simplistic approaches to the media task in community development are confounded by not only the variety of media, but also the community structures with which community development practitioners must interact.

While it is clear that the change agent must monitor implementation of the media tasks, his or her degree of involvement with daily matters is largely a matter of personal choice. Accordingly, change agents might consider use of paid or volunteer communication consultants to help plan information diffusion strategies. Local professional communicators can be a valuable addition to advisory boards and core groups for their counsel on media strategies and marketing and communication techniques (Fromer, 1990). In addition to sharing their expertise, these individuals often are willing to provide free communication services to facilitate public-service projects in their communities.

Change agents must be adept at identifying unique subgroups within client communities and develop relevant information packages to target these people. In larger communities, external expertise may be required to do this properly and effectively. Such personnel needs should be considered early in the social action process, when forming the core group.

Finally, as change agents disengage from the development project, they should impress upon project leaders the importance of maintaining good press relations. To maintain public support requires active media relations for the duration of the development project, not just in reaction to crises or other negative impacts.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper examines the information diffusion task in community development by proposing a communications scheme that makes lib-

eral use of both interpersonal and mass communication. During the second phase of the social action process communication can help publicize the development effort—first to the core group, and then to the general public. Change agents typically make extensive use of interpersonal communication in the early stages of the development process. As a power base is established, the change agent and core group must intensify the information campaign to diffuse information to the total client population. Successful information diffusion requires proper timing and utilization of the most appropriate and efficient channels of communication, including but not limited to those used in earlier stages. It is at this stage that media can and should be used to supplement—not to supplant—the traditional methods used to provide timely information to relevant subsystems of the community. If the communication goal is to increase awareness of the development effort, news media are likely to perform well. If the goal is to change attitudes or behavior, interpersonal sources will likely be more efficient, especially if used in conjunction with media.

The social action process described in this paper provides a useful framework for viewing communications activities within the context of the overall development process. It is important to recognize that the nature of communication changes as the process evolves, depending in part on client perceptions of the effort. Although it is helpful for purposes of illustration to view interpersonal and mass communications as separate activities with different purposes, in practice these two complement each other, as illustrated in Table 1. Use of mass communication systems often precipitates interpersonal communication among various groups about an issue discussed in the media. Such action frequently leads to increased reference to mass media by those affected by development efforts to gain additional information. Although meetings and mailings remain an important part of this effort, increasing attention should be paid to targeting scattered, mobile client populations through additional means, such as news media and in-between media.

Media skills are valuable for all community development practitioners, especially in cases that involve controversial issues. Real or imagined perceptions of a development effort can cast unwary change agents into a media relations role if an opposing group sparks media attention such as a public demonstration or other form of organized protest. To be sure, these activities do not necessarily lead to negative press coverage (or any coverage), but could threaten acceptance or continued support of the development effort if readers or listeners do not receive additional information about the issues in question. In these situations, a representative for the community development pro-

gram, presumably the change agent, should be prepared to respond quickly and professionally by providing concise, accurate information packaged in a form that is readily recognizable and usable to the particular media involved. This task is more readily accomplished if a strong working relationship already exists between the change agent and the media representative. Media relations should be viewed as an ongoing effort, not simply a crisis reaction.

These scenarios suggest that successful development efforts may depend on efficient use of media and proactive press relations. Change agents who overlook these tasks risk inaccurate or incomplete media coverage, loss of credibility of the development effort, and strained relationships with the press that could hamper media relations for future development activities.

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MENTAL MAPS FOR EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

By John Michael Daley and F. Ellen Netting

ABSTRACT

This essay invites community developers to integrate the use of a selected set of mental maps or conceptual frameworks as guides to more effective practice. Frameworks selected for this essay include: a systems approach to appreciating the interrelatedness of elements of the practice context; practice as drama; the need to develop reflective practitioners; values inherent in community development choices, decisions, and actions; the significance of language; and the need for multidisciplinary collaboration.

INTRODUCTION

As the Community Development Society approaches its 25th Anniversary, we are invited in this issue of the *Journal* to step back from day to day concerns and to reflect on "what we have learned" about community development. In the present paper we will organize our thoughts around a few mental maps or conceptual frameworks that have potential to enrich our appreciation of communities and the practice of community development.

The mental maps or conceptual frameworks described below have potential to help community developers to be effective change agents in communities that are increasingly challenged, complex and diverse. We believe that community development can contribute significantly to shaping communities that value inclusive participation of diverse groups, that reflect democratic forms of civic life and that are shaped by citizen initiatives. Each mental map will be briefly described and its implications for community development explored.

Frameworks selected for this essay include: a systems approach to appreciating the interrelatedness of elements of the practice context; practice as drama; the need to develop reflective practitioners; values inherent in community development choices, decisions, and actions;

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the significance of language; and the need for multidisciplinary collaboration.

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO INTERRELATED ELEMENTS

The venerable community organizer, Saul Alinsky, observed that the greatest fallacy of western thinking was to think about the world as though things were unconnected or unrelated to other things (1971). Indeed this mental tendency or habit of isolating some elements of a situation from other elements is a key to the positivist paradigm of knowledge building. Seeing some elements in isolation from other elements deprives the community practitioner of vital contextual understandings of the practice setting. A narrow focus that ignores the interrelatedness of contextual factors may clearly reveal a very limited part of the picture, but miss the larger picture that gives meaning to the sharp, narrow view.

In his essay on creating effective organizations, *The Fifth Discipline,* Senge (1990) addresses at length the need to think of the systematic interrelatedness of elements of a practice situation. At the same time, Senge describes the tendency within large, complex social systems for the elements of the system to be widely dispersed and distant from the other elements of the system, geographically, socially, psychologically and politically.

> From a very early age, we are taught to break apart problems, to fragment the world. This apparently makes complex tasks and subjects more manageable, but we pay a hidden, enormous price. We can no longer see the consequences of our actions; we lose our intrinsic sense of connection to a larger whole (Senge, 1990:3).

Often this leads to decisions in one part of the system that are logical and reasonable, given an assessment of significant "local" conditions. These reasonable decisions are subsequently found to produce serious negative consequences that were not anticipated when the original decisions were made. The limits of the original appreciation become apparent only after the fact, when our best plans produce more problems than they solve.

Senge argues that systems thinking (the fifth discipline) can integrate the contributions of other capacity enhancing technologies or disciplines within organizations (1990:12). Systems thinking in community development can enhance understanding of complex social systems, integrate capacity enhancing and problem solving technological innovations and guide practitioners to interventions that will be effec-

tive in shaping complex social systems. By understanding the interrelatedness of elements of the practice context the practitioner can design interventions that capitalize on the combined power of "independent" factors and avoid strategies where "independent" elements work against each other, or in combination produce undesired results.

One of the authors experienced an example of systems thinking in a neighborhood where apartment buildings housed low income families. A community center staff member became painfully aware of a number of families who were living in crowded and possibly substandard conditions. Focusing on the immediate needs of these families, the staff member's first inclination was to contact the absentee landlord to advocate for the families' housing needs. Contextually, however, this approach potentially was dangerous for the families. Some of the families in these apartments were undocumented aliens. Drawing attention to their plight could jeopardize them. Even without this complication, if pressure was put on the landlord he might close the apartments, leaving the families homeless. If the public health authority was contacted regarding the living conditions, the buildings might also be closed. As the staff member analyzed the interconnected actions and their potential impact, she altered her strategy to focus on the empowerment of the families, to work toward citizenship and to locate other housing. In the short run, volunteers from the agency actually performed repairs in the building until better conditions or other housing arrangements could be negotiated.

PRACTICE AS DRAMA

One of the most useful frameworks for understanding practice and one of the least frequently referred to in the literature is practice as drama (Bolan, 1980; Daley & Angulo, 1990). Viewing community practice as drama provides a number of helpful lenses or focal points for our consideration. The drama paradigm directs attention to the placement of a particular scene or activity within a larger story or process. Attention is directed to the staging of the scene—physical, social and psychological. Which characters are significant? Which characters are present and absent? What motivates the characters? The metaphor of practice as drama opens up the role(s) of the community developer for fresh consideration. What consequences do the facilitator, enabler, expert, consultant, advocate and other roles have for practice as drama?

Drama is art. While advances in the quantitative methodologies of social and behavioral science during the past 25 years are potentially

useful tools for the community developer, the most significant aspects of the professional practice of community development remain in the domain of art rather than science. If this assertion that community development is more art than science is valid, we need to consider practice frameworks that incorporate notions of practice as art (Schon, 1983:49–69). Community development draws on the value base, knowledge and conceptual foundations of many disciplines and professions. As this socially constructed definition of community development emerges, mixtures of science and art need to be articulated, debated, tested and refined. A caution is in order, however. Superficial application of the drama and art metaphors might camouflage the competitive nature of community intergroup relations, perhaps minimizing the attention that needs to be directed to tensions based on gender, ethnic or other differences.

More thoughtful use of these metaphors has potential for profoundly influencing the attitudes and perspectives of community developers. Traditional metaphors for community organization have been based on sports, war and violence. Strategies, tactics, blitz, campaign, victories, opposition, targets and various other terms speak to the destruction of relationships rather than to their creation. The difficult part of conceptualizing community development as drama is to be mindful of what drama implies. Certainly there is competition within drama, but there is also a creative synergy that draws on the incredible potential of humankind.

An illustration immediately comes to mind. The ground breaking book by Rosabeth Moss Kanter, *When Giants Learn to Dance* (1989), broke metaphorical tradition. Seeing sports metaphors as no longer reliable, Kanter suggested that the "game" of business is now

> more like the croquet game in Alice in Wonderland—a game that compels the players to deal with constant change ... The mallet Alice uses is a flamingo, which tends to lift its head and face in another direction just as Alice tries to hit the ball. The ball, in turn, is a hedgehog ... [which] unrolls, gets up, moves to another part of the court, and sits down. The wickets are card soldiers, ordered around by the Queen of Hearts, who changes the structure of the game seemingly at whim. ... (1989:19).

Acknowledging that the game has changed, Kanter goes on to say that giant corporations must learn to dance with consumers, employees, government regulators and other companies or they will not survive.

Similarly, in community development the drama requires the ability to dance with others. Reconceptualizing the way in which community groups relate to one another is becoming essential to successful community change. Relying solely on the metaphors of sports, war and violence is a carry-over from a time when dichotomous thinking pre-

vailed: good and evil, capitalist and communist, and so on. Empowering ourselves to move beyond zero sum games and dichotomous thinking is essential. Drama implies a complex interplay of forces, plots, and actors. It makes community development more complicated, but it also acknowledges the complexity which Senge talks about as systems thinking.

THE REFLECTIVE PRACTITIONER

Schon (1983) describes the crisis in confidence experienced by various professions.

> Newly invented technologies, professionally conceived and evaluated, have turned out to produce unintended side effects unacceptable to large segments of our society (1983:4).

The broad sanctions traditionally bestowed on professional expertise have been replaced by more limited sanctions contingent on specific proof that professional expertise does produce socially desired results. Faced with progressively more complex and challenging problems, professions are finding traditional practice prescriptions less acceptable and effective. What are we to do in the face of this crisis in confidence as related to our traditional paradigms? New paradigms arise when traditional approaches to problem solving or professional practice are no longer deemed adequate or useful (Barker, 1992).

One promising map of the mind would integrate the work of Schon (1983) and Langer (1989). Both Schon and Langer suggest the need to pay attention to what we do (practice) and to the manner in which we think about what we do (knowledge building for practice).

In launching into a description of reflective practice, Schon urges,

> Let us search instead for an epistemology of practice implicit in the artistic, intuitive processes which some practitioners do bring to situations of uncertainty, instability, uniqueness and value conflict (1983:49).

Thus we are carried beyond the synoptic rational planning models (in Schon's terms, technical rationality) that have dominated professional theory building. Reflective practice integrates theory building, developing practice knowledge and applying practice knowledge in settings that are unique and problematic to the practitioner. Reflective practice recognizes that practice entails knowing and doing at the same time, the practitioner as knowledge builder and the use of scientific as well as intuitive sources of practice knowledge. This is in stark contrast to the separation of roles and functions of technical rationality: researchers versus practitioners, knowing versus doing, science versus art and means versus ends (Schon, 1983:165).

What implications do these ideas have for community development practice? First, we need to debate community development's epistemology of practice—what we know and how we know. Second, reflective practice can facilitate an integration of the profession in terms of a number of potentially troubling issues: researchers versus practitioners, scientific knowledge building versus practice wisdom (science versus art or intuition) and the refinement of practice effectiveness by integrating knowing and doing. By forcing community developers to address the epistemology of practice, reflective practice has potential for helping to develop greater discipline in both knowledge development and practice.

VALUES INHERENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DECISIONS

Every phase of community development involves decision-making. Even the decision not to act is a decision to act. Decisions are value-based choices that impact people's lives. With choice comes responsibility. In this process of continual decision-making, community developers need to be aware of the values that drive choices, actions, and change efforts. Because values are so central to community development practice, a focus on ethical issues must be integrated into the ongoing educational experiences of community developers as well as woven into practice models and practice.

Davidoff (1965) argued that values are significant in community planning practice and that professionals need to articulate and consider the role that their values play in their professional practice. Since that time notions of professional objectivity have gained prominence. The tendency to reduce value based decisions and actions to "value free" technical choices has been critiqued by Lipsky (1984) and Daley et al. (1989). We tend to avoid value discussions and to focus on the more concrete technical aspects of community development rather than the value aspects. Recognizing that decisions are value based encourages practitioners to articulate and discuss ethical dilemmas, without making assumptions that there are clear answers. There are none. We need to recognize that not having answers to these dilemmas is okay, but that not raising these issues is professionally irresponsible. The value component of everyday family and community life is well documented in the work of Bellah and associates (Bellah et al., 1985, 1991). Values provide the common ground upon which community development is practiced.

Value dilemmas often arise when community developers experience multiple loyalties. For example, a community developer working with

a local chapter of the National Health Care Campaign experienced tremendous frustration. He was assigned to the coalition as a representative of his employing agency, a health care provider. Recommendations presented by members of the Campaign had the potential to hamper the entrepreneurial activities of his employing organization. However, he viewed the recommendations as beneficial to uninsured or underinsured persons in the community served by his agency. The professional code of ethics relevant to his discipline indicated that he was responsible to his employing organization, his colleagues, his clients, and to the larger society. The code did not provide direction for how to handle situations when commitments were in opposition to one another. These situations must be carefully and openly examined rather than ignored or denied. We need to develop practice models that give more explicit and prominent treatment to the ethical dimensions of community work.

SIGNIFICANCE OF LANGUAGE

The impact and importance of language must be understood by community practitioners. Language sets the tone and is a primary tool used by community developers. Yet language is a medium of communication that is riddled with symbols, increasingly sanitized of real meaning (Daley et al., 1989) and used in perverse ways. Words are perceived and understood differently by individual listeners. To communicate effectively with diverse audiences, language must be desanitized (and revitalized) and be made real in terms of people's lives. Language can inflame, embellish, enrich, harm, inspire, unite, divide, or a host of other possibilities.

Tannen's work (1990) on genderlects as cross-cultural exchanges is instructive here. Language, according to Tannen, represents different things to men and women. The rapport talk of women (talk that tends to emphasize enhancing relationships) is different than the report (talk that tends to emphasize conducting business or solving problems) talk of men, making communication across gender extremely complex and potentially problematic. Tannen's work with language is critical to understanding what transpires when developers talk with one another and with others. Recognizing the potential for miscommunication is a part of the mindfulness needed for practice with diverse community groups.

The language used to describe those persons who are part of any community effort is revealing. Human service terms like patient, client, and (nursing home or group home) resident tend to separate and dehumanize the very persons with whom we work. We are "profession-

als" and they are "other." Choosing one's words carefully will not assure that language will be understood. However, when unexpected or unanticipated reactions result from the words we use, we must be aware that we have been treading on unfamiliar ground. Clarifying what one means and truly hearing what is said is part of the art form of community development.

An illustration that comes to mind concerns the concept of what is often called "independent" housing in the gerontological literature. What does independent mean? Society values independence, often couched in terms of rugged individualism or taking care of one's self. To older persons living within a community the term means that they are successful in maintaining their individual or family living arrangements in an ageist society that deplores any indication of not being able to function alone. Ironically, the positive concept of independence so valued in American society becomes a barrier to recognizing the interdependence so necessary for human survival. We are socialized to value independence when in actuality no one (regardless of age or infirmity) is truly independent. The very language we use places barriers in the way of recognizing and nurturing the interdependence inherent in natural support and helping systems that form the fabric of a rich community life (Whittaker & Garbarino, 1983). Thus our language contributes to community problems and tensions, isolating groups from each other, rather than recognizing and building upon strengths (Saleebey, 1992).

MULTIDISCIPLINARY COLLABORATION

We live in a world composed of many specialties, disciplines, professions and fields. We cannot afford to be parochial or exclusionary in how we approach practice. Community development is multidisciplinary by nature. Many society members belong to multiple disciplines or professions. Community work is enriched and energized by the applications of the insights of many disciplines and professions.

Interdisciplinary work implies that one draw from other disciplines. Community development has long been recognized as interdisciplinary work. However, multidisciplinary work implies that there is the involvement of persons from various disciplines. This is very different from simply drawing from diverse literatures. Multidisciplinary work requires integrating diverse perspectives and, yes, values and all the human interactions that accompany such a process. Effective community development in increasingly complex communities requires that we learn to work within multidisciplinary teams and settings.

Community developers need to have skills in working with others

and to be able to facilitate the work of others. As communities become more complex and human diversity within communities richer, more demands for multidisciplinary expertise can be expected. Integrating community development's facilitator role with the systems thinking of Senge (1990), the mindfulness of Langer (1989) and the reflective approach to practice of Schon (1983) can produce community developers who are effective in working collaboratively in multidisciplinary teams.

An example of multidisciplinary interaction occurred when a university-based health administration program received a grant to assist rural hospitals in identifying community needs and responding to them. Several health administration students were recruited to locate secondary needs assessment data on the targeted communities. A local community developer was hired since the students were unfamiliar with the local, county and state agencies that collected these type data. Soon it became obvious that students and hospital administrators viewed the hospital as the center of the community. The "important" data were related to acute hospital care. Long-term, community-based or psychosocial needs and services were less valued. In fact, the students did not know there were human service programs (or natural support or helping networks) in the communities and quickly dismissed them as "delivering services that are not reimbursable by third-party payers."

Because these were future health care administrators, the community developer approached professors in the health administration program to see how content on community could be incorporated into the curriculum. Based on their interactions, the community developer learned about how hospitals work and how health care administrators are socialized. The students and their professors began to recognize the community context as relevant to hospital survival and functioning. The community benefited from having hospitals that began to view people more holistically rather than as patients for (acute, inpatient care) processing. We have much to learn from one another and the task is to communicate across our socializations without recoiling in disapproval, disbelief, or frustration.

CONCLUSION

In this essay, we have proposed a variety of interrelated frameworks that have relevance for community development practice. Today the community developer works in tandem with others and applies the emerging concepts of system thinking to collaborative drama in which all participants are learners in an evolving process. This requires the ability to reflect on what one does and what one observes, to be mind-

ful of the language used by self and others, and to be aware of the values that drive both words and actions. Most importantly, it requires being secure enough to recognize the expertise of others and to listen intently to what they have to say.

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PATHWAYS TO TOMORROW: A CONVERSATION ABOUT COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMMING

By Rosemary Gillett-Karam and Jim Killacky

ABSTRACT

Community-based programming is a process that enables organizations and groups to collaboratively address critical societal issues. The authors, lifelong community organizers and educators, examine the contributions of community service and extension as precursors to community-based programming. They enumerate the elements of community-based programming and its application in the ACCLAIM project.

INTRODUCTION

Twenty five years ago, as the Community Development Society was being created, the two of us were in our very young days as community organizers and educators. Our lives then and since have been dedicated to our best efforts at applying principles, concepts, and ideas that may make our communities better places to live. We have worked in rural community organizations, developed rural free universities and nonformal adult education programs and projects (Killacky, 1978, 1984), worked on leadership efforts in Cooperative Extension (Killacky & Burwell, 1990, 1992), tried to make sense of the role of politics and community services (Gillett-Karam & Brey, 1992), researched and wrote about cultural diversity in education (Gillett-Karam et al., 1991), and taught in and wrote about community colleges and universities (Gillett-Karam et al., 1990; Killacky & Hulse-Killacky, 1991). Our paths came together in 1992 at North Carolina State University as we joined the faculty team assembled to implement the Academy for Community College Leadership Advancement, Innovation and Modeling (ACCLAIM).

The theoretical framework within which ACCLAIM operates is com-

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munity-based programming. Community-based programming calls for a collaborative process among an organizing agent (in this case, the community college) and the community-based organizations, agencies, and leaders that make up its community. The objective of community-based programming is the identification of and the attempt to resolve issues of critical concern to the community. As originally envisioned by Boone (1992), community-based programming is based on a series of tasks that begin with its inclusion in an organization's mission statement or philosophy. In the four state region, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, eight pilot community colleges are presently engaged in efforts to collaborate with their communities to resolve issues that affect the quality of life of their citizenry. In Virginia, where one city's lifeblood was dependent on defense contractors and the shipping industry, the community college and community agencies are collaborating to attract new industries and businesses to replace losses forced on them by extensive military and other federal cutbacks. In a rural community in southeastern North Carolina, another community college is taking the role of catalyst and leader in the community to point up the need to form an environmental scanning committee of community representatives who will continuously respond to urgent community needs. In an area which is rapidly expanding its size and population due to its proximity to Washington, D.C., a Maryland community college and its present community leaders are working to organize and develop a leadership training program for new and future community leaders, with emphasis on previously underrepresented citizens.

In each of these areas, these assumptions are being made:

a) If any resolution is to be achieved for today's and tomorrow's critical issues, organizations and groups must come together in collaborative coalitions to address these issues;
b) Individuals directly affected by issues *must* be full and active participants; and
c) The urgency in addressing community quality of life issues has never been greater.

A community-based programming model drawing from the worlds of practice, theory, research, and application has been created and is presented in Figure 1 (Boone et al., 1993). The model provides a process for addressing and resolving current and future community-based issues. Collaborators are urged: (1) to examine their community vision; (2) to scan their environments for urgent, quality-of-life issues that require intergroup and interorganization consensus; (3) to study, analyze, and map both the populations targeted by the issue identification

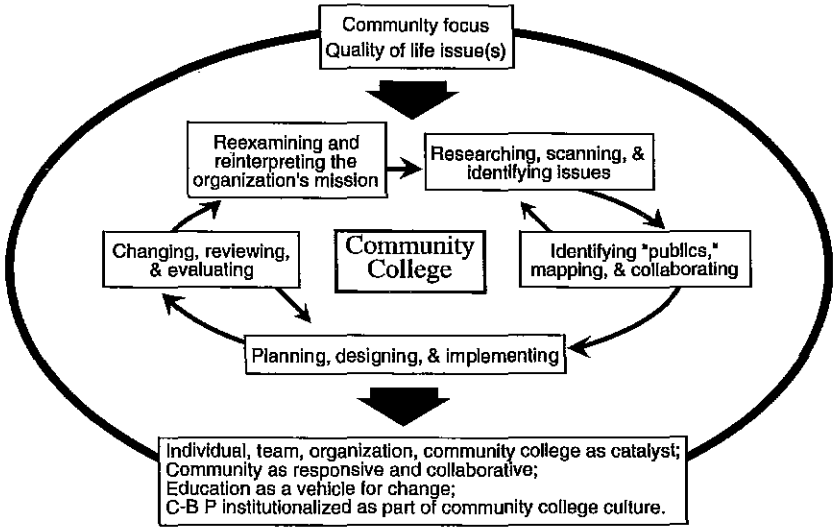

Figure 1. Community-based programming.

and those who hold stakes in the issue; (4) to develop plans of action that will result from a coalition of members who plan, design, and implement programs that seek issue resolution; and (5) to monitor, evaluate, report, and change the issue program according to its implementation and use. The outcome of these tasks, therefore, is a community-based coalition which works collaboratively to resolve issues that may threaten the quality of life of its citizenry. Eventually, because environmental scanning is on-going and continuous, other issues may be identified, ranked, and the participants agreed that other issues may have community resolution.

While the focus of ACCLAIM is on the community college as a catalyst/leader in creating effective collaborative coalitions, organizations such as extension, schools or social agencies can easily serve this role. In the informal conversation that follows, the authors discuss the community-based programming model.

A CONVERSATION

ROSEMARY: In celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Community Development Society, we will be talking about the impact of community development work via the vehicle of community-based programming.

JIM: Community-based programming is one of a number of models

or processes that people may employ in working with and doing research about communities. It seems appropriate, as the Journal of the Community Development Society is having an issue that reflects on past and future programs, that we share a new program. We are interested in community development and community work. Particularly we are interested in how community-based programming fits into community work. Why is the community college important to this discussion?

ROSEMARY: Community-based programming has a history tied to community colleges' roles in their communities. Harlacher, wrote in 1965 a dissertation linking community colleges to their communities. Influenced by community development work, he saw a natural relation between community colleges as the people's colleges and community development. Picking up on some of the ideas defined by the President's Commission (1947), Harlacher sought to cement the relationship between the community/junior college and the community. Harlacher (1969) joined by others, including Myran (1969, 1978), Gollattscheck et al. (1976), and Gleazer (1974), studied and wrote about "community-based" education. Their ideas were grounded in the community services function of the community college; they saw this function as more critical than the transfer function of the junior-community college. They believed the community college should refocus its mission away from a campus-based, campus-placed institution to one that was community-based, one that offered community services. Gleazer (1974), in his long tenure as CEO of the American Association of Community Colleges, described the community college as *catalyst* to serve community needs; he saw the role of the community college as *hub* and *nexus* to the community. Gleazer's counterpart, Pifer, of the American Council on Education, agreed that community colleges ought to think more about community needs and community issues than they did about their mission as a comprehensive educational institution (1974). Both envisioned community services as *the* central function of the community college; the academic mission was to be secondary. Community colleges did not abandon their academic and vocational mission but neither did they give up on their community-based services. As late as 1988, a renewal of the community-based mission of the community college was the subject of a monograph, *Building Communities* (Commission on the Future, 1988). Community colleges were asked to cooperate with communities, to serve as catalysts in the renewal of society, to serve as centers for problem-solving for community and educational issues, and to become focal points for improving the quality of life in inner cities (1988:3).

JIM: In 1982, I wrote on the role of community services in com-

munity colleges, quoting Gleazer and Pifer extensively (Killacky, 1983: 82–92). The debate at that time was clearly between two camps. One maintained community services should be a part of community colleges' services while others decreed community college services and curriculum should be only academically focused. While that debate continues today, community-based programming revives the community–community college relationship.

ROSEMARY: The sociologists and political theorists today have looked at still another side of this debate. Many view current American society bogged down by the "failures" of the community to respond to social ills and concerns. Classical liberalism, some would say, has emphasized individualism at the expense of the "common good," individual rights and autonomy at the expense of societal welfare. The argument for a greater balance between the needs and rights of one individual and those of the community are contained in the philosophy of communitarianism. Communitarianism halts the stripping of the citizen away from the community or away from the society, and drives his or her sense of embeddedness in, relationship to, obligation for, and responsibility to, society and community (Sandel, 1982). MacIntyre (1984), Bellah et al. (1985) and Etzioni (1993) are among those who are concerned about the effects of "liberalism"; they are urging people to return to their communal roots and to take responsibility for problems in their own neighborhoods.

JIM: In addition to the researchers, a group of people can be identified who actually do community development work more than they write about development work. They are actually out in the field and at the grass roots as practitioners. These are people in community colleges such as off-campus workers, continuing education staff, and community services personnel. They include a wide range of community organizers, activists, and volunteers. While unheralded, these practitioners are accomplishing important community work and are essential as community developers. They are also Cooperative Extension workers, agents, and staff. Extension is recognized as the largest adult education organization in the world.

There are, of course, major changes that are going on in the Extension field. Long driven by major content areas such as agriculture, home economics, family work, and 4-H, Extension has always paid attention to natural resources and community development. Nevertheless, over the past 10 or 15 years, because of the changes in world views, changes in demography (particularly the changes in rural America in agriculture), and changes in the numbers of people getting out or being forced out of agriculture, there have been major shifts in Extension work. Now, community issues drive the agenda of Extension. This

is yet another way of talking about community-based programming. Programming occurs in response to issues that are critical to the community, the country, or the world. This shift has created changes and anxiety in Extension. "Doing Extension business" has been the same work for almost 75 years. Now extension agents and staff are being called to make major shifts. Community-based programming has permeated Extension work in institutions, such as North Carolina State University (a Morrill land-grant institution) and at other colleges and universities throughout the country (Killacky & Burwell, 1990).

ROSEMARY: In summary, we can say that community-based education, community work, and Extension work are critical to community-based programming. In our current society, writers are reconfirming the idea that citizens must have a relationship to community. We are finding that Extension workers, who have had a strong relationship to community, are moving toward the idea of looking at issues of vital concern to communities and at problems which partnerships between people and agencies can decide or resolve. How community-based programming aids in community issues resolution is critical to our discussion. There is excitement around community-based programming as well.

JIM: Two things that are exciting about community-based programming are that it calls on communities to identify issues that are to be addressed and then it offers a programming process as a means to address issues. In the addressing of the issues, the people who are affected must be centrally involved in the set of activities that determine the resolution of the issue. To me, this is a fundamental change from a way we ordinarily do business, especially in the community college. In the past we sat around and talked about what we will do *to* or *for* people, but not what we will do *with* them. People may have agreed that involving the targeted populations of issues was a critical idea, but they found it very difficult to do. Their questions were, should we sit down with people who are illiterate, or who are disenfranchised, or who are teenagers and pregnant, and actually have them at the planning table? The answer is a resounding yes! Also, we must adjust our mindsets to make groups feel welcomed and valued as contributors. The goal then is not only to teach the concept of community-based programming but also to infuse the attitudes and values the concept entails.

ROSEMARY: In that system of looking at issues there is also a defined role for the community college. This role for the community college has to do with its position as a neutral organization in the community. It is recognized in the community as an educational, nonpartisan institution. The college instigates research and discussion,

bringing disparate groups together to talk about needs. The community college is primarily interested in causing a collaborative decision-making process among various community college leaders, organizations and affected publics, included those "targeted" by the identification of a quality of life issue.

JIM: Another point I would add, Rosemary, is the other essence of community-based programming. It is this: if organizations and participants do not come together to address these issues in a coalition or in some sort of collaboration, then the issues are not going to be addressed. All we have to do is look around our world today to see what has not happened, the rising problems, and consequences.

ROSEMARY: We are asking participants in community-based programming to cherish the idea that there is a virtue in dealing with their community and establishing good practices in that community that relate to the quality of life, the common good, and mutually beneficial group practices.

JIM: Participants or groups must be involved in thinking about what happens when they get together. How many times do groups want to begin their meetings with questions such as, What are we going to do? and How are we going to do it? These are the questions that should follow and not precede the more important questions such as, Who am I?, Who am I with you?, and Who are we together?

Usually when groups get together to build or form a team, they begin with questions that deal with content and not relationships; recognition of human relations skills are critical to group cohesion, collaboration, and coalition-building. Otherwise, we sit across the tables from each other and wonder, Who is this woman? What's her agenda, viewpoint, and/or goals? In the broader context, community-based programming allows participants to say, Let's bring some people to the table, get to know them, to know one another, and then go forward to examine an issue of common concern to us. Theoretically that is a powerful model for educational change and societal development.

ROSEMARY: Participants should also ask, Who are we in our community? What can we do for our community together? As collaborators, we must ask, Who are we together? Who are we in our community? What is our social responsibility to that community? As a part of a coalition, team members are asked to divest themselves of their personal, social, occupational, and organizational identities. Separate individuals or groups are working to become a team which can be recognized as a responsive community-action team.

JIM: Community-based programming works, or can work, for a wide range of community organizations and participants, particularly those who have an educational component that is a part of their mission.

The focus of the ACCLAIM program is with *community colleges.* We envision the community college as the catalyst and the leader in bringing organizations, interests, and individuals together who are concerned about particular interests and who are concerned about moving forward to doing something about those interests.

ROSEMARY: James Sprunt Community College demonstrates one example of how community colleges are involved in community-based programming. This college is actively involved in community-based programming and has been the recipient of ACCLAIM training. The college's staff, faculty, and community leaders are actively engaged in community-based programming.

JIM: James Sprunt is a very rural community college in Duplin County in agriculturally-based eastern North Carolina. Faculty, senior level administrators, the president and a few trustees and several community people make up a learning team from James Sprunt. They completed an extensive community-based programming training institute through ACCLAIM. As a result of that training, James Sprunt has made an institutional commitment to community-based programming and has inserted the language of community-based programming in its strategic plans. They have, for example, developed an institutional definition of community-based programming, which addresses these questions: Are you committed to this philosophy and model? Is it in your mission? Are you there institutionally with this concept? In James Sprunt's case, the leaders have demonstrated this commitment.

The group at James Sprunt engaged in a series of training and working tasks that resulted in an environmental scan of their area. They identified a series of issues, with *literacy* as the joint community college-community issue that the convening groups wanted to address and begin to resolve. Already in that county and in that area, the public interest in the community college involvement in community-based programming is getting a huge response. I think this type of action underscores the name *community* in a community college's name. The chair of the county commissioners and several other notables in the community power structure are a part of this group. There's considerable excitement about the catalytic role of the college in bringing together community power players. Community-based programming is providing an important service in bringing a wide range of people in organizations together. To date, high institutional commitment toward this project is being exhibited.

Now at James Sprunt, at an institutional and individual level for the ACCLAIM group at James Sprunt, who work in various departments and represent various positions, they are applying the elements of community-based programming to how they run their own operations. En-

vironmental scanning provides an excellent example to address the question how to read a newspaper in the morning. If you have not realized the importance of "scanning your environment" with an eye to community issues, then once you've learned to do so, you will never read the newspaper in the same way again. Now you are always reading the newspaper with an eye to scanning: thinking about issues, thinking about how can this affect your community, and thinking about how you help the situation, add to it, or change it.

Moreover, the whole notion of teams, the business of focusing on the publics targeted for issue resolution, occurs throughout the language of community-based programming. This notion has opened up the eyes and ears of people. People now say, we never did get them (the target publics) in here to ask them what they think about what we're going to do to them, or for them, and rarely with them.

ROSEMARY: The model of community-based programming does provide a dynamic system that allows a community college to apply community-based programming. The first task of the community-based programming model is to look at the philosophy, mission, and assumptions of the community college. To see, to measure, and to embed this idea of community-based programming as part of the mission of the community college is the initial task. James Sprunt has done this because they are vitally interested in and committed to examining the problems and issues in their own community.

The next task was for James Sprunt to gather data about the community in which it lives in social–cultural, political, technological, and economic contexts. In the third task, their environmental scanning committee looked at, identified, and ranked issues of vital concern to its community. Having selected a major issue they will now move to legitimize it, to look at the publics who are affected, and to map, analyze, and identify the leaders who are involved. A wider range of people including the target public, those people who are most affected by the dilemma, and the stakeholders, who have a stake in the outcome of issue resolution, are now involved.

A coalition must be created. Once the coalition of actors, groups, and agencies occurs, agreement around the specifics of the issue must be decided and agreed upon. Questions such as what to do about the problem, what to do about the issue, how to come to agreement, how to resolve conflict, and how to move away from group-think problems must be asked and resolved. Gradually, collaborators and participants conceptually come to identify and specify the issue so they can design and develop a plan of action to be implemented in the community. And all along, rigors applied to this plan insure that all the affected

publics agree to it, that they find it useful and implementable, and that they plan to use their resources to make it happen.

Particular refining of an issue involves constant reviewing and evaluation of the benefits and the cost effectiveness of the issue that this group has identified, collaborated around, and drawn a plan for. The process part of the community-based programming draws to an end. The collaborators reexamine the issue and consider its progress. If it is well underway, they can re-consult the environmental scanning committee for a new issue and the process begins anew. Their work is done.

The individual, the team, the organization, and the community college, then, can be identified as catalysts in their community in affecting change. Affecting change is meant to strengthen the community, to increase participation, and to empower people who have not been empowered before. Community-based change affects how the individual lives in the community.

All along this model there may be obstacles and problems. Community colleges have not been active about seeking out their position in the community; they have not been the community issue identifiers. Nor do community colleges have the resources to go out into communities and do something that does not actually benefit them financially. Moreover, if the community college does look outward to affect organization collaboration, it is beset by turf struggles.

JIM: One more particular obstacle is the perception of the community college by the target public. They might ask such questions as, Why are you doing this now? Why should we trust you? You've never given a damn about us before, so what's all this change about now? There may be a great deal of skepticism on the part of target publics, and other sort of grass roots community organizers that are outside the normal power realm, who would see the college or other agencies as the system which will co-opt them.

To overcome these doubts, the community college should be very clear about *why* it is getting into a particular issue. It must communicate those reasons and it must do so in an environment of trust. Communities should do something about literacy, for example; otherwise there are all sorts of consequences—economically, politically, socially, culturally, and ethically. Most groups cannot effectively go it alone due to limited staff, budgets, and space. Developing a plan of action on a big issue is less resource-draining, especially when there is a cross section of participants who represent various agencies and organizations. By working for alignment, the coalition is similar to an individual organizer.

Responsibility in community-based programming is divided. No single group solves all problems. It does not have to be all things to all

people. Obviously, pressing community and societal issues are not going to go away, and the longer we live in this particular generation the more compounded they are becoming. If you look at the United States of America from outside, as we both have had the opportunity to do in recent times, and if we listen and talk to people outside of the states, it looks like the place is caving in because of crime and other dreadful issues.

Community-based programming is one serious effort, in the 25th year of the Community Development Society, of trying to move forward in a very active, inclusionary, and engaging way.

ROSEMARY: Our contemporary society is vitally interested in the great problems of society, but there is more rhetoric as response to the ills of society than there is action. Take for instance the "Just say no" campaign instigated to curtail the drug problem in America. How can the individual in the ghetto, in urban blight, who is a child, just say no? And further, is it only the individual who should say no, without the support of the community? An African proverb says it takes a whole village to raise a child—shouldn't that village take responsibility for that child's quality of life? Community-based programming, while not a panacea, is attempting to frame community issues among the partners of the community, is attempting to reawaken the response of the community to its societal decay, is attempting to resurrect the "self-help" movement of the sixties to a "community-help" of this decade and beyond. It suggests: If many of us come together and pay attention to our common needs, we may lighten the weight of our individual burdens. We do not dump in the lap of one person the responsibility, credit and/or blame for something. We share it. We do something about it. We get organized. We set into motion collaborative decision-making. We empower people. We are community-based. It is one pathway for tomorrow.

ENDWORD

Join our discussion with your ideas, critiques, observations, and suggestions about community-based programming and community development. You can reach us by writing Jim Killacky and Rosemary Gillett-Karam, Department of Adult and Community College Education, North Carolina State University, Raleigh, North Carolina.

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OUTSIDE INVADERS OR NEIGHBORLY ADVICE? COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRACTITIONERS AT WORK

By Thomas R. Quinn

ABSTRACT

Small, isolated communities have some common characteristics that both help and hinder the efforts of community development practitioners. The author has worked as a community development practitioner in Indiana, Michigan and Iowa. He shares his experiences and observations of community development activities in small, rural communities in the Midwest. Quinn lays out seven "truths" about community development practitioners and small rural communities. Among his contentions are that when community development practitioners meet as a group, they are incapable of making a decision on where to eat dinner. In a more practical mode, Quinn suggests that small, isolated communities share some common characteristics such as (a) new residents are instigators of change, (b) school sports programs keep communities from working together, and (c) sleeping dogs aren't likely to move. Quinn also proposes that the community development profession more closely follows the Native American concept of "societal rights" than the Euroamerican concept of individual rights.

The Scenario

We gotta do something. Larry Raver just put a for sale sign in the front window of his grocery store. Rumor has it that he's closing the doors for good on Saturday. That's our only grocery store. If it closes, people will have to drive to Biggsville to buy their groceries. And while they're there, they'll probably also stop at the Discount Superstore, and buy their kids new shoes, and eat at one of Biggsville's restaurants. Another nail in the coffin for Our Town. (Sorry, Thornton Wilder.)

Main street businesses are closing up. Bright, young people are leaving. The housing stock is rapidly deteriorating. The last new house was built in 1987. The tax base is declining. The streets are a mess. Potholes are doing well, though. Now they tell us we need a one million dollar sewer system or else. No wonder we can't get anyone to run for city

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council. Can't really blame them—all problems and apparently no resources with which to solve them.

The Entrance

The Scene: Community Meeting. Enter, stage left, the knight in shining armor—the **Community Development Practitioner.** Bring up the lights. Sound the trumpets. And, action!

Thank you for coming tonight. Thanks Fred, for that introduction, but I really don't have the magical answer to save your community. I'm just here to listen and see if I can help you get a handle on the problem. (The people in the audience roll their eyes upward, lean back in their chairs, and cross their arms tightly in front of them.) *Well, let's see if we can together explore what you would like your community to be like 10 years from now. . . .* (Fade to black.)

The Practice

Does the above scenario have some ring of familiarity to it? Call in the outside "expert," someone from more than 25 miles away. She/he will tell us what to do. Everything will be all right again. Everything will be like it was in the good old days. (Translation: The community will be like I want to remember it was when I was young and carefree and now that I have blocked out of my memory all the hardships and unpleasantness.)

Just what is it that the community development practitioner does anyway? What can a community development practitioner expect when meeting with a citizen's group to discuss a community's future? What lurks like a bramble bush waiting to scratch and entangle an unwary community development practitioner?

Lessons Learned

Experience is a good teacher, but it often comes too late to do us much immediate good. Observing people's behavior can be a teacher with a quicker learning curve. The feedback comes immediately. The following seven "truths" are a combination of experience and observation. They are open for discussion and debate.

These Truths Shall Be Self Evident:

1. A group of Community Development Practitioners Cannot Make a Decision. Listen in on the conversation of four community development practitioners preparing to go out to dinner together.

7:04 p.m.
"Where do you want to eat tonight?"
"Anyplace sounds good to me."
"What kind of food are you hungry for?"
"Oh, I don't care. Whatever everyone else wants."
7:39 p.m.
"How hungry are you?"
"Do you want to grab a quick sandwich or would you rather have a full meal?"
"What do you prefer?"
"What restaurants do you suggest?"
8:10 p.m.
"Who's ready to go eat?"
"Let's see what the rest of them want to do."

It's ingrained in our brains. Community development practitioners are supposed to remain neutral and not get personally involved with the communities they are working with. Don't express your opinions. Get the community people to talk, vent, and make their own decisions. Push them to come to consensus, but don't influence their decision.

The result of all this experience in staying neutral and not expressing our opinions is that community development practitioners cannot make a decision when we are among peers. All sides of the issue are clearly skirted and no concluding decision is reached.

2. Their Focus Is On Individual Good; Ours Is the Good of Society. The U.S. Constitution is a strong protector of the rights of individuals. The Bill of Rights guarantees a number of individual rights: the right of freedom of speech, the right to keep and bear arms, the right to peaceably assemble, protection from unreasonable searches, etc. Almost all of the social service and government agencies community development practitioners interact with are oriented toward individual rights. The focus is on serving the individual.

Community development practitioners have a focus more closely aligned with the Native American culture than with the rest of the country's European individualism. Native American culture says that the tribe is the primary focus, not the individual. Decisions are made for the good of the tribe and not necessarily the individual. Individual needs are subservient to the needs of the tribe.

This focus on the community is what sets community development practitioners apart from, and sometimes creates conflicts with, other agencies, organizations, and associations with which we work. We deal with community as an entity in itself—an individual or singular being with an existence of its own. The questions we ask when helping a community plan its future are societal in nature. "What would you like your community to be like in the year 2010?" "What are your com-

munity's strengths, assets, and weaknesses?" "What is the community's purpose, its reason for existing today?"

We bring a different perspective to community—a societal perspective instead of the more typical individual perspective.

3. The Teachable Moment is When a Community Needs Change. A sleeping dog won't move unless disturbed by forces not under his/her control. When the dog inadvertently gets stepped on by a passing child, the dog is forced to react to outside stimulus. Left alone in the dog's comfortable state, she/he would not willingly change positions on the sidewalk.

Community residents are like sleeping dogs. It takes a crisis to wake them out of the status quo and make them ready to face the possibility of change. They must feel threatened, hungry, or hurting before they are willing to accept change. It is something akin to wearing diapers—they're only uncomfortable when they need to be changed.

4. New Residents Initiate Change. New residents to a community often play the part of the child that steps on the sleeping dog. New residents see things that long-time residents look at, but no longer see. They see the community through eyes that have different experiences and expectations from those of seasoned residents.

The new residents moved to the community because they saw something they liked. They also probably saw the warts, but decided the positives outweighed the warts. Once settled in a new community, the new-comer sees the possibilities for change. Based upon their experiences from other communities, they see how things could be. They see ways to "improve" the community. They want to get involved in their new community. They inadvertently (or sometimes purposefully) wake up the sleeping dog.

This desire for involvement and change often manifests itself in taking leadership roles in the community. New residents are a motivating and instigating force for change in the community. This drive for change continues until they have lived in a community about four years. At the four-year point, the new resident begins to conform, their enthusiasm for change weakens, and they lose that unique perspective that they had when they first arrived in the community.

5. Small, Isolated Communities Are Bi-polar. Small, isolated communities have two characteristics that can create tension among their residents and fuel conflicts for resources. The first characteristic is the two diverse population groups that typically inhabit small, isolated communities. One group is composed of senior citizens. They were born, raised and lived all their lives in the community and are now in retirement. This group wants low taxes and a quiet community with a minimum of change. They are not willing to invest money in improving

the community. Their houses tend to be big, older homes that are starting to show signs of neglect.

The opposite population group is the young, low-resource family that has recently moved to the community primarily because of the low-cost housing that is available. They have several children. Many are single parent families. Some are on welfare. The common characteristic of this group is that they are low resource people who put demands on the community's infrastructure—parks and recreation facilities, schools, jobs, social services, and law enforcement.

The second bi-polar characteristic of small, isolated communities revolves around the school building. Residents who have graduated from the local school and whose children have graduated from there have a "keep the school at all costs" mentality. Their steadfast determination to keep the school has very little to do with education. Almost no thought is given to what's best for today's children. The school building itself is a symbol of their youth and represents the essence of the community in their minds. They are concerned with preserving the memories of their own school days.

The other population group involved in the school issue is the people who currently have children in school. These people are concerned with the quality of education their children receive from the oftentimes low-resource school. They naturally want their children to have the best possible education. They are not too concerned with preserving the symbol of the school building. They are very concerned with the quality of teaching and the equipment, computers, and labs available for educating their children.

The conflict between new and old residents and the values conflict over the school building create rifts between community members. These rifts are very emotional and can be difficult for community development practitioners to work around.

6. Empowerment Is Our Gift to the Community. Empowerment is the most important thing community development practitioners can give to the residents of a community. There is enormous human talent in every community. Community development practitioners must nurture this talent and coax it out to play. By teaching generic, transferable leadership skills, residents will be able to carry on long after the community development practitioner has left the community.

7. School Sports Programs Create Giant Rifts Between Communities. School-based sports programs are killers when it comes to getting communities to work together. Hardly anyone can remember who ran for mayor or city council last election, but almost everyone knows about the inter-school rivalries in basketball and football. And they have long memories. They can tell you about how the officials stole

the football game between your school and Biggsville in 1979. And how the kids from Brookston are mean and always start fights at games, and how the Burton school teaches their kids to play dirty to win.

High school sports programs create huge rivalries that spill over into all aspects of community life. School sports programs breed jealousies, antagonism, and mistrust. They build barriers between communities that can last for generations.

Conclusion

There are some threads of commonality that both help and hinder the efforts of community development practitioners. We as a profession typically approach our work differently than do most other agencies and organizations. We focus on the community as an entity in itself, instead of the more typical individual perspective.

Community change often requires a community-wide crisis to spur a community into action. New residents commonly precipitate community change.

There are frequently community sub-groups with competing interests, such as long-time elderly residents and low-resource, young, new residents.

Part of the job of a community development practitioner is to seek out the true nature of a community, to find its real identity. We can do this by carefully observing the way the community functions. Coffee shop gossip, local newspaper coverage, senior citizen center table-talk, school sporting events, and city council meetings are ways to get inside the heads of people in a community.

The life of a community development practitioner is fraught with hurdles and traps. When sleeping dogs aren't sleeping, they leave little "piles" on the sidewalk that we would like to avoid stepping in. There are a myriad of underlying forces at work in a community that can undermine our effectiveness and greatly reduce our ability to help a community bring about desired change. Not the least of these traps is our own perception of the community itself. We learn to quickly size up a community and take a quick read on who are the power actors, what resources the community may have with which to create change, what is the emotional state of the community, and what chance of success we deem the community may have to bring about the desired change.

As community development practitioners, we wear many hats. Each of us is part actor, part social commentator, part referee, part planner, part negotiator, part dictator, and part organizer. We must understand

and accept the various personalities of communities and their residents. Community development practitioners must have the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon. We don't have to walk on water, but it helps if we can fly.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL ILLINOIS COMMUNITIES: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

By Gerrit J. Knaap and Alison Simon

ABSTRACT

A faltering national economy and declining leadership by the federal government in the 1980s fostered a flurry of economic development activity at the local level—in both urban and rural areas. This activity stimulated extensive research on the process of economic development in urban areas. Much less has been written, however, about the same in rural areas. In this paper we examine the practice of economic development in rural areas. Drawing on case studies of economic development activities in six rural Illinois communities, we identify who participates in economic development decision making, how economic development is pursued, and whose interests are served by economic development programs in rural areas. Based on the findings of these case studies, we offer a critical review of the practice of economic development in rural areas. We conclude by describing differences between urban and rural communities that cause differences in the practice of economic development.

INTRODUCTION

The last two decades witnessed a dramatic shift in approach to economic development. Whereas the federal government once led the charge to develop local and national economies, fiscal austerity, changing intergovernmental relations, and two consecutive conservative administrations relegated responsibility for economic development to local governments. As federal leadership declined, so also did local economies, forcing local governments to pursue economic development largely on their own. By the early 1980s, economic development

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became a leading implicit, if not explicit, function of local governments.

As economic development activity grew, so did academic research on economic development, most of which, however, focused on urban areas. Academic writing on urban economic development features three general perspectives (Stone, 1984). The first perspective, exemplified by Peterson (1981), praises local efforts to develop urban economies. According to Peterson, economic development activities clearly enhance the general welfare of urban residents and thus serve as an appropriate and class-neutral function of local government.

The second perspective is the more mainstream. Mainstream writers criticize economic development programs for missing their targets and offer policy prescriptions for better economic development programming (Fosler, 1991; Blakely, 1989; Shaffer, 1989). Like Peterson, however, mainstream writers view economic development programs—when successful—as serving the general welfare of urban residents.

The third perspective is most critical. This perspective begins with the premise that local governments do not serve the public interests but instead serve identifiable private interests in society (Gottdiener, 1987). Economic development programs, from this perspective, generally serve the interests of capital but are shaped by conflict between capitalist and working classes (Fainstain et al., 1986; Friedland, 1982). As a result, economic development programs serve primarily the corporate growth machine (Molotch, 1976; Stone & Sanders, 1987; Squires, 1989) to the detriment of the working class (Mollenkopf, 1983; Swanstrom, 1985). According to writers with a critical perspective, politics in economic development matter, and politics in economic development are shaped by class conflict (Stone & Sanders, 1987).

In this paper we offer a critical perspective on rural economic development based on case studies from rural Illinois communities. Following Gottdiener (1987), Fainstain et al. (1986) and others, we begin from the premise that economic development programs do not serve a generally defined public interest but tend to serve distinct private interests in society. Further, interests served by economic development are determined by those interests that sponsor economic development programs and participate in economic development decision making. Finally, the structure of rural communities differs from the structure of urban communities in ways that cause differences in the nature of class conflict and thus differences in the practice of economic development.

The protocol was the same for the six community case studies. Summaries of findings in each rural Illinois community allow inferences about the practice of economic development in rural communities.

The final section is a discussion of ways the structure of rural communities shapes the practice of rural economic development.

The Case Study Protocol

Case studies of six communities in rural Illinois were funded by the Institute of Rural Affairs at Western Illinois University to provide examples of successful programs in rural economic development. Members of the research team included scholars at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, Illinois State University, and Western Illinois University. The research protocol for the case study research involved choosing communities active in economic development, examining economic development activities in those communities using a structured interview procedure, and drawing from the experience of active communities lessons for rural economic development.

The six communities were chosen from a list of communities identified by the Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA) as active in economic development.[1] To gather information on these communities and their activities, a member of the research team conducted personal interviews with at least six representative individuals in each community, which were chosen to include representatives of local government, local businesses, local civic organizations, and other recognized community leaders. The interviews were designed to answer a distinct set of questions: What stimulated economic development activities? Who participated in the economic development effort? How was economic development pursued? What were the results of economic development activities? Care was taken to assure that each member of the research team used the same interview protocol. The findings and results were recently published as a monograph (Walzer, 1990).

Despite extensive efforts to maintain a standard interview protocol, the manner in which the case studies were conducted presents obvious difficulties and limitations for the purposes of this paper. Because each of the communities was studied by a different person, the findings inevitably reflect the bias of the individuals conducting the research. However, utilizing information obtained by different people has advantages for the purpose of this paper as well. Because the case studies were not conducted by the same individuals, the case studies are not all tainted by the same interviewer bias. And because the research was

[1] From a list of communities identified by DCCA as "active" in economic development, the communities were also selected to represent a range of economic conditions, physical resources such as highways and waterways, and approaches to economic development.

conducted to identify examples of economic development success, the research was less likely to reveal critical elements of the process.

SIX CASE STUDIES

Prophetstown

Prophetstown (population 1,749) is located in Northwestern Illinois. The community provides services to the surrounding farm community in Whiteside County, but its economy is not inextricably dependent upon agriculture. Forty percent of Whiteside County residents are employed in manufacturing. Although there was no sense of impending crisis, the Prophetstown economy had noticeably weakened as both agriculture and manufacturing declined.

The impetus to take action was led by the mayor who, with a self-selected group of community leaders, formed the Prophetstown Economic Planning Commission (PEPCO). The PEPCO board included the mayor, a banker, the editor of the local newspaper, a real estate broker, a management consultant, an official of a local industry, a businessman with state political connections, and another community leader.

The PEPCO board met frequently to discuss economic development strategies. At several meetings, representatives of the Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA) provided information on state-sponsored economic development programs. The PEPCO board, however, opposed state intervention in local affairs and was loath to offer local tax concessions. Finally, one exasperated commissioner remarked: the only way we're going to attract a business to Prophetstown is to buy it. So they did.

To implement their plan to purchase a business, PEPCO formed Prophetstown Manufacturing Incorporated (PMI), a for-profit corporation able to sell stock. Selling stock in a new and unique corporation, however, presented problems. Meeting the requirements to sell stock by the Federal Securities and Exchange Commission and the Securities Division of Illinois Secretary of State required considerable legal assistance. Some assistance was provided by local attorneys, but critical assistance was provided by the Illinois Secretary of State. With the assistance of the Secretary of State, the sale of stock was approved and more than $100,000 of stock was sold, 80 percent of which was sold to local residents.

After extensive market research by a paid consultant, PMI purchased Clear Creek Furniture, a furniture manufacturer, and relocated the company to Prophetstown in 1986. By 1990, Clear Creek Furniture

employed ten full-time production workers, a half-time clerk and the two former owners as management consultants. Clear Creek Furniture made its first profits in 1990—$6,000 for a six-month period. With Clear Creek Furniture on solid footing, PMI is seeking to purchase other manufacturing concerns suited for Prophetstown, and is exploring the possibility of using state funds for further capitalization.

The experience of Prophetstown highlights certain features of innovative economic development programming. Creating a for-profit development organization required strong leadership by the mayor and substantial support by the local business community. Purchasing a manufacturing firm required capital contributions from local residents and technical support from state-level officials. Managing a risky and innovative program required a well-designed plan and experience in business management to make the program successful. Prophetstown met these requirements and received considerable notoriety (Thomas, 1988). However, Prophetstown's success was limited. Clear Creek Furniture took several years to turn a profit and at this writing employed only eleven residents. Purchasing a firm through a community-sponsored economic development corporation was an innovative enterprise, but the benefits of such an enterprise relative to its cost were not large.

Mount Sterling

Mount Sterling (population 1,922) is the seat of Brown County in Western Illinois. The economy of Mount Sterling declined significantly during the past decade, particularly in the retail sector. Stores in Mount Sterling compete with Beardstown and Quincy, larger cities located nearby. With outmigration from the surrounding countryside, businesses in Mount Sterling became less competitive, and property values declined. Between 1980 and 1987, equalized assessed property values in Mount Sterling dropped by 12.7 percent. Steady declines in retailing and property values stimulated interest in economic development.

Economic development activities in Mount Sterling were led by a local banker, a retail store manager, a representative of the largest local employer, and a local resident employed outside the community. A business manager who had recently moved to Mount Sterling noticed that the state government was seeking sites for a prison. Lacking local resources for economic development initiatives, the leaders focused on a single strategy: attracting the state prison to Mount Sterling.

Unlike traditional economic development activities, attracting a state prison requires the mobilization of political rather than economic resources. Thus, most development activities in Mount Sterling were di-

rected towards generating political support for the project. The committee began at home, contacting by phone nearly every family in Brown County. Residents were informed that the prison would employ 400 workers, with a payroll of more than $10 million, and purchase $13 million in supplies. At a hearing conducted by the Department of Corrections, over 2,200 residents showed overwhelming support for the project. But in spite of the show of support, Mount Sterling was not selected by the Department of Corrections for a new prison. It was, however, placed on a list of six communities eligible for a new prison in 1985.

For this new round of competition Mount Sterling was well prepared. Once again the committee marshaled extensive public support at a local hearing, and delivered a message to the director of the Illinois Department of Corrections on the high school football field. The committee also enlisted the support of surrounding communities, the Illinois Department of Commerce and Community Affairs, the Illinois Department of Transportation, and the county board, which donated 80 acres of land for the construction site. The committee also lobbied state lawmakers, hosting a social on the state capitol grounds.

In 1985, the governor announced that a 750-bed medium security prison would locate in Mount Sterling. As the prison was constructed, income and employment in Mount Sterling grew. However, many prison employees were transferred from other institutions, and most prison supplies were purchased from outside the community. The growth in population created a shortage of homes in Mount Sterling, and many of the benefits of economic growth escaped the Brown County economy. But Mount Sterling remains active in economic development. The committee regrouped as the Brown County Development Corporation, which is now pursuing a Community Development Action Grant for Mount Sterling's largest employer and is exploring new ways to alleviate the housing shortage.

The approach to economic development taken by Mount Sterling differs substantially from that taken by Prophetstown. Whereas Prophetstown shunned support from state government, Mount Sterling recruited a state prison. And whereas Clear Creek Furniture had at most a minor impact on the Prophetstown economy, the state prison created housing shortages in Mount Sterling. These differences illustrate both the limits of locally driven economic development programs and the potential consequences of externally driven programs.

Beardstown

Beardstown (population 5,270) is located in Cass County between Peoria and St. Louis on the Illinois River. Historically dependent upon

agriculture and manufacturing, the Beardstown economy suffered severe and rapid setbacks in the 1980s. First a bridge over the Illinois River closed for nearly a year, virtually isolating the community from its northern markets. As a result, several retail stores closed and downtown buildings were abandoned. Next the local Oscar Mayer plant closed, eliminating 780 jobs. As jobs and incomes declined, the city-owned hospital closed, terminating another 50 jobs. Finally, Bohn Heat Transfer closed, leaving the community with 250 fewer jobs and a seriously polluted industrial site.

Economic development activity began with the election of a new mayor in 1985. The new mayor brought extensive knowledge of state development programs based on previous experience in Springfield as a legislative assistant. The mayor convened a brainstorming session attended by business owners, labor leaders, bankers, and concerned citizens. The session set economic development priorities and established the mayor's office as the contact point for economic development activities. Recognizing the need for greater economic development efforts, the city council hired the mayor as a full-time economic development director—a rare hiring decision for a small community. With the support of long-time residents and the local office of the Central Illinois Public Service Corporation, the mayor immediately formulated an economic development plan.

Under the mayor's leadership, Beardstown adopted a multifaceted economic development program. First, Beardstown adopted several state-sponsored development programs, including a Tax Increment Finance (TIF) program and an Enterprise Zone. In the TIF district, located near a busy highway junction, increases in property tax and sales tax revenues become available for further local investments, such as infrastructure and loan subsidies. Walmart, Hardee's, and McDonald's located in Beardstown's TIF district, helping to generate over $130,000 for economic development in 1989. In the enterprise zone, created in 1986, businesses receive tax concessions for creating new jobs. By 1990, Beardstown's enterprise zone fostered nearly 1,600 jobs, resulting in a reduction of the unemployment rate in the enterprise zone of more than 2.5 percent.

Beardstown also recruited a replacement firm for the former Oscar Mayer plant—only six months after Oscar Mayer announced its closing. Although the new firm, Excel Inc., pays considerably lower wages than Oscar Mayer, the firm brought to Beardstown over 400 jobs and expects to employ more than 1,200 workers.

Recently, with state support, Beardstown provided a lucrative incentive package to Rich Lumber Company, a long-time Beardstown firm. As a result, the firm expanded, and hired 80 new employees. Finally,

Beardstown is looking to capitalize on its riverfront location. Recently, the Illinois legislature passed legislation permitting riverboat gambling. This legislation may create new opportunities for retail development along the Illinois River, opportunities Beardstown is currently exploring.

As in Prophetstown and Mount Sterling, economic development activities in Beardstown had strong leadership, provided primarily by the mayor. As in Mount Sterling, economic development was largely financed by external resources, provided by the state. Unlike Prophetstown and Mount Sterling, however, the focus of economic activities in Beardstown was diffuse. Rather than focusing on a specific firm or institution, Beardstown adopted a multifaceted development strategy. This strategy had the potential to benefit many new and existing firms in the community, thereby casting the potential benefits of economic development widely into the community. However, it is difficult for such strategies to demonstrate clear linkages between causes and effects.

Princeton

Princeton (population 7,197) is the county seat and largest city in Bureau County, located in north-central Illinois. Princeton has an advantageous location on I-80, 20 miles west of the I-80/I-39 interchange. The Illinois River, 12 miles to the southeast, provides a natural waterway to northern and southern markets, and the Burlington-Northern Railroad serves Princeton with routes to the northeast and southwest. Accessibility made Princeton an attractive location for medium-sized industries, industries that kept the economy of Princeton relatively healthy and stable, at least until the early 1980s.

The 1980 recession affected Princeton like many other rural communities. Decline in the farm economy caused retail sales to slump and property values to fall. The regional office of Transamerica in Princeton closed, terminating 100 jobs. Soon thereafter, Pioneer Seeds announced the closing of its regional facility and suspended plans for a new seed processing plant. These events compelled Princeton leaders to action.

Economic development in Princeton was led by two individuals working with local bankers, business owners, and officials of the Chamber of Commerce. Until 1988, this group operated as a not-for-profit arm of the Chamber, entitled the Princeton Development Corporation (PDC). Since 1988, the PDC became an arm of the City of Princeton, and was renamed the Princeton Industrial Commission (PIC). Moving the organization from the Chamber to the City enabled the organiza-

tion to offer regulatory concessions, to utilize city resources, and to coordinate with city planning.

While an arm of the Chamber of Commerce, the PDC gathered information and marketed the local community outside the region. The PDC also sought to develop an industrial park and to construct a speculative building for development purposes. The PDC failed to erect the speculative building, however, due to financial constraints. But with the cooperation of a local property owner, the PDC successfully completed two industrial parks which the PIC is now marketing to industrial prospects.

After aligning with the City, the PIC became eligible for financial assistance from city and state governments. As a result, the PIC now offers low interest loans to area firms seeking to expand. The first loan was made to the Harper-Hyman Company for new equipment, creating 50 jobs. The PIC also offers financial assistance for downtown redevelopment, for marketing, and for an industrial park. In 1986, the City of Princeton established an enterprise zone with several adjacent communities, in which 4 new and 11 existing firms have expanded. The enterprise zone represents a cooperative effort between neighboring communities in recognition of mutually beneficial regional economic development.

As in all the previous communities, economic development in Princeton was led by a select group, though the mayor was less prominent. As in Mount Sterling and in Beardstown, economic development activities in Princeton were primarily state financed. And as in Beardstown, economic activities in Princeton were diffuse, offering a wide variety of programs to a variety of industries.

The experience of Princeton highlights a different aspect of economic development programing: the choice of organizational structure. The Princeton Industrial Commission was able to accomplish many of its objectives—establishing an enterprise zone, providing state assistance to local firms, and offering regulatory concessions—only as an arm of city government. Economic development organizations can adopt a variety of forms—including for-profit corporations, not-for-profit corporations, departments of city government, and quasi-governmental commissions. The Princeton experience illustrates that particular organization forms are better suited to particular tasks.

Sullivan

Sullivan (population 4,354) serves as the seat of Moultrie county in east-central Illinois. The city is relatively isolated. The nearest interstate runs through Mattoon 17 miles to the east; the nearest river flows 100

miles to the northwest; and the nearest airport lies 30 miles to the northeast. Nevertheless the economy of Sullivan has remained remarkably healthy. Sullivan has felt the effects of decline in agriculture and has endured its share of plant closing. But Sullivan's largest employers—Illinois Masonic Homes and Brach's Candy—are cyclically resilient; thus there has been little sense of economic crisis.

In spite of Sullivan's economic health, residents of Sullivan have a long history of activism in economic development. For years the Chamber of Commerce has supported economic development and a countywide economic development corporation was developed in the early 1980s. Recently, however, most economic development projects have been sponsored by city government and led by the mayor.

Although supported by local bankers and the business community, the mayor has been the primary actor in economic development for several years. In 1963 a former mayor lobbied the federal government to begin work on Lake Shelbyville, a man-made reservoir. Today Lake Shelbyville represents one of the largest water-recreation areas in Illinois. Although Lake Shelbyville provides Sullivan with only minimal direct economic benefits, the lake greatly enhances the quality of life in the region.

The current mayor was instrumental in obtaining a large incentive package from the Department of Commerce and Community Affairs (DCCA) to recruit the Tubular Products corporation into a recently abandoned manufacturing plant. The package included a $400,000 Community Development Assistance Program Grant to Sullivan to loan to Tubular Products. In addition, DCCA provided a $200,000 Build Illinois Small Business Development Loan directly to Tubular Products and a $107,000 grant to the local community college to train Tubular's employees. Sullivan provided five years of property tax abatement. In March 1987, Tubular Products employed 164 local residents; but in December 1989, the plant closed.

Other community members took the lead in a drive to save Sullivan's Theater on the Square. The Little Theater on the Square opened as an equity playhouse in the 1950s, the only one of its kind in Illinois south of Chicago. This quaint theater on Sullivan's main square hosted many big-name performers, including Bob Hope and Cary Grant, making Sullivan widely known as the "Home of the Little Theater on the Square." The theater suddenly closed, however, eight years ago, due to financial difficulties. Immediately a group named "Friends of the Little Theater" was formed to save the theater. The groups sold shares of stock to finance the reopening of the theater. The theater also received public support. The state provided a $100,000 Build Illinois Grant to improve the theater's physical structure. The City of Sullivan

offered to match private contributions two-for-one, raising another $90,000. Today the theater once again draws attendance from throughout the Midwest.

More recently, the mayor of Sullivan was instrumental in the creation of the Sullivan TIF district, which attracted both a Hardee's and McDonald's restaurant. The proceeds from the TIF district have been used to finance infrastructure and housing improvements.

In sum, economic development in Sullivan was led by the mayor and financed in large part by state funds. The targets for development activities are broad, the instruments diverse. Economic development success in Sullivan is clearly mixed. Sullivan has difficulty overcoming its locational disadvantages, even with lucrative financial aid packages. Sullivan remains, however, an attractive place to live, and is able to capitalize on its quality of life.

Monticello

Monticello (population 4,549) is the county seat and largest town in Piatt county, 30 miles southwest of Champaign and 30 miles northeast of Decatur in east central Illinois. Monticello has a history of affluence and today serves as a bedroom community for nearby cities.

Monticello's wealth arose from two sources: "millionaire" residents and the headquarters of Illinois Power and General Telephone. Illinois Power and General Telephone located headquarters in Monticello because Monticello residents were wealthy and property taxes were low. Before the 1968 Illinois Constitutional Convention, corporations were required to pay property taxes only in the location of their headquarters, thus headquarters were located where property taxes were low. After 1968, corporations had to pay property taxes where their businesses were located. This ended the attractiveness of Monticello to statewide corporations; within five years the tax contribution of Illinois Power and General Telephone, which had formerly paid 86 percent of all property taxes, had been completely withdrawn. The decline continued when Sterling Drug closed its Monticello plant in 1982 and Americana Health Care moved its corporate office in 1983. These events for the first time created interest in economic development in Monticello.

Although recently becoming active in economic development, Monticello pursued economic development with less vigor and enthusiasm than many other rural communities. Three groups in Monticello were involved in economic development: the Chamber of Commerce, the City Council, and the Piatt County Economic Development Council. These groups, however, played only supporting roles and seldom ini-

tiated economic development programs. Leadership in economic development in Monticello was from local realtors, with the assistance of bankers, business leaders, and the mayor. This informal group met as necessary for economic development decision making.

The informal group made economic development decisions on three occasions. Between 1983 and 1985, Walmart was considering Monticello as a location for a new store and sought support from the city council. Walmart was opposed, however, by owners of a local department store and by drug stores concerned with competition from the national retailing chain. Since there was little local support for the Walmart store, opposition from local businessmen convinced the city council to reject Walmart's requests. At approximately the same time, a trust approached a Monticello realtor about developing a 76-acre tract for light industrial development. Shortly thereafter, the realtor was approached by the Ring Can Company about building a plant on the industrial land. With the assistance of the mayor, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, and local bankers, the realtor was able to package a deal which brought Ring Can to Monticello.

Currently, business leaders from Monticello are seeking a new firm to occupy the abandoned Sterling Drug building. A Japanese auto parts producer has expressed interest in the building. Illinois Power is leading the effort to attract this firm.

The experience in Monticello differed noticeably from the other communities. There were no strong individual leaders and no formal economic development organization. There was no economic development plan. Economic development activity in Monticello was led by those who stood to gain directly by economic development: realty and utility corporations. Monticello has not suffered economic disruption like the other communities in this study; therefore Monticello had few of the necessary components in place for economic development.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The Stimulus for Action

Economic conditions in the six Illinois communities varied widely (Table 1). Mount Sterling faced economic hardship while the Monticello economy remained reasonably healthy. All of the communities, however, suffered economic decline in recent years. Decreasing farm prices, depressed retail sales, and international competition in manufacturing caused plants to close in all six communities. In some cases the economy weakened severely in a short time; in others the economy stagnated over a longer period. Further, the vigor with which economic

development was pursued appeared correlated with the depth to which economy fell. Mount Sterling and Beardstown seemed willing to support any form of economic development; Sullivan and Monticello appeared willing to support only those development opportunities that did not challenge the status quo or the quality of life.

The experience of these Illinois communities suggests that rural communities pursue economic development largely to mitigate the impacts of external economic forces. According to participants in the process, economic development programs were set in motion by falling property values, declining retail sales, and deteriorating tax revenues, not by rural poverty, unemployment, or falling wages. These reports support the proposition that rural communities pursue economic development to serve the joint interests of capital and the local state. Only one community conducted a community survey and none of the communities targeted economic development programs towards unemployed or underemployed local residents or specific low-income populations. Instead, the case studies suggest that economic restructuring at the national and international levels which adversely affect capital and the local state foster local programs to develop rural economies.

Participants in Decision Making

The number of participants in economic development activities and decision making in all the communities was small. Although Mount Sterling did elicit community-wide support for recruiting a prison, the effort was led by a four-person committee. In Prophetstown, Beardstown, and Sullivan, economic development was led by the mayor, with the support of a select few community leaders (see Walzer & Kapper, 1989, on mayoral leadership in economic development). The decision making group in all of the communities excluded explicit representation of labor and farming organizations. In general, the case studies portrayed an elitist model of economic development decision making (Sharp, 1990).

In all six communities, economic development was supported by the business community, but not necessarily every business. Firms in retailing, banking, realty and utilities were the most active supporters—especially those locally owned. These businesses were market oriented; their profitability depended on the growth of local markets. Input oriented firms—e.g., farmers and food processors—and firms nonlocally owned were less active but seldom opposed economic development. This weak segmentation of the business community rarely created a division within capital over economic development issues, but did fur-

Table 1. Summary Community Characteristics

Town	*Town Population*	*County, Population*	*Basic Economic Activity*	*Organizational Structure*	*Town Leaders*	*Crucial Elements*	*Result*
Prophetstown	1,749	Whiteside 60,186	Manufacturing	PEPCO—Non-profit organization	mayor business	money press leaders technical support	Clear Creek Furniture
Mount Sterling	1,922	Brown 5,400	Farming	Informal group	business	state political support	state prison
Beardstown	5,270	Cass 13,437	Manufacturing	Mayor's Office	mayor business	political support leadership	TIF district 2,080 jobs
Princeton	7,197	Bureau 35,688	Manufacturing/ Government	PIC—incorporated into city department	business chamber of commerce	city jurisdiction political support	enterprise zone loan fund
Sullivan	4,354	Moultrie 13,930	Manufacturing	City sponsored	mayor	local/state political support	CDAP grant state loan
Monticello	4,549	Piatt 15,548	Government	Informal group	realtor business mayor	private gains to business leaders	various initiatives

ther narrow the decision making group. As a result, decisions in rural economic development were often made by the local head of state and representatives of locally owned and market-oriented business—that is, by the mayor and the merchants on the square.[2]

Institutional Form and Finance

Economic development in five of the six communities was implemented by a formal economic development organization. In Princeton, Beardstown, and Sullivan, economic development programs were led and administered by municipal government. Municipal governments can offer tax and regulatory concessions which directly benefit business. Municipal governments can also finance economic development with general tax revenues, shifting costs to workers and residents. Municipal governments thus can serve class interests through economic development programming, and the case studies offer evidence that they do.

The second most common form of economic development organization was the not-for-profit corporation, such as a county-wide economic development organization or the chamber of commerce. These organizations often served marketing functions: gathering information, producing pamphlets, and serving as a liaison between the local community and DCCA. Although these not-for-profit organizations were limited in ability to shift costs, they were also insulated from community politics (see also Rubin, 1986, and Hill, 1984, on economic development organizations).

The case studies illustrated considerable variety in development finance. Only the PMI in Prophetstown used equity finance; all the others used voluntary contributions or tax dollars. In general, the greater the scope of the project, and the greater the need for financial resources, the greater the need for public support. Local contributions toward economic development projects, in economically depressed communities obviously were limited, even by banks and utility companies. For these reasons, all six communities relied on external sources to finance elements of their economic development programs. In most cases the State of Illinois provided grants and loans, in others the state offered tax concessions or contributions to tax-increment finance districts and enterprise zones. In Mount Sterling, the state lo-

[2] Decision making by this rather select group of citizens stands in contrast to decision making in other policy realms such as school curricula and tax issues, where decisions are often made by elected officials or by direct referenda. See Sharp (1990) for more on the contrast between decision making in economic development and other policy realms.

cated a prison and in Prophetstown sold 20 percent of the stock in PMI to residents outside the community. In general, when large sums of financial support were required, decision makers seemed more inclined to engage in building public support.[3]

Economic Development Activities

Economic development activities differed widely across the six communities. The predominant form of economic development activity in the six communities was the recruitment of capital through tax concessions, land writedowns, and loan subsidies—even as evidence mounts that these programs are ineffective at raising wages, stimulating economic growth, or even attracting industry (Ross & Friedman, 1991; Bartik, 1991). The experience in Sullivan, where a large manufacturer was attracted by public subsidies only to leave at the threat of unionization, offered a vivid example of the risk involved in such policies.

Even when recruitment policies are successful, tax concessions and other business subsidies serve some interests at the expense of others (Harrison & Kanter, 1978). In fiscally constrained communities, business subsidies can come at the expense of other local services, especially schools. A school administrator in Sullivan made explicit reference to these costs in his comments opposing Sullivan's TIF district. Greater reliance on user fees for "extracurricular" activities, commented the administrator, enables only the children of the affluent to participate in such activities.[4] The same logic holds for other public services as well (Badcock, 1984; Fasenfest, 1985; Feagin, 1983, Hartman, 1984).

The potential bias of the economic development programs was demonstrated as clearly by those programs that the six communities did not pursue as the programs the communities did pursue. None of the communities adopted a strategy focused on retraining workers to adopt to changing technologies. None of the communities attempted to replace firms leaving the community with worker-owned firms. None of the communities established cooperatives to help struggling farmers. And two of the communities rejected overtures from Walmart—not for fear of low wages, but for fear of greater competition and lower profits for local merchants.

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[3] We thank an anonymous referee for this observation.

[4] Tax-increment finance (TIF) districts freeze the tax base available to non-TIF district jurisdictions, such as schools. See Klemanski (1989) on the impact of TIFs on school finance.

The Results of Development Programs

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the economic development activities in the communities resulted in widely differing outcomes. Prophetstown, which initiated the most innovative and highly acclaimed economic development program, added 13 jobs. By attracting a state prison, Mount Sterling created many jobs but not necessarily for local residents. Housing costs in Mount Sterling rose, benefiting homeowners but costing renters. Princeton, Beardstown, and Sullivan attracted jobs using capital subsidies, tax abatement programs, and tax-revenue transfer programs. Most of these jobs, however, were low-paying service jobs, and most of the financing mechanisms reduced revenues for social programs. Finally, Monticello attracted a manufacturer but repelled a retailer.

The economic development programs in each of the communities produced results; and often the results created jobs and economic growth. But the results in each community were mixed: growth required sacrifice that is unevenly spread. Businesses that sell in local markets benefit; displaced workers, renters, and taxpayers lose. The results of economic development in the rural communities can clearly benefit some segments of society but often at the expense of others.

CONCLUSION

The case studies offered insights into the practice of rural economic development. In general, the forces that stimulate economic development activity, the participants involved in decision making, the policies pursued, and the economic results of economic development activities in rural communities closely resembled the same forces in urban communities. Economic development is stimulated by external forces, adversely impacting local merchants and the property tax base. In response, an elite group of business and government leaders design and implement economic development programs through organization forms often insulated from community politics. The programs typically involve capital subsidies often at the expense of social programs. The programs in some cases generate jobs, but the jobs are low paying, and not always filled by local residents.

In rural economic development programs, the mayor is often more directly involved in economic development (Walzer & Kapper, 1989) than in urban programs. And more frequently than in urban areas, economic development programs in rural areas are administered directly by municipal government. Decisions are made by a smaller group of individuals (Moxley & Hannah, 1986). Programs are targeted to

narrower objectives. Finally, resources more often come from outside the community (Chicoine, 1988; Swinth & Alexander, 1990). Differences Economic development programs in rural areas differ in degree, not in kind, from urban economic development.

The difference between urban and rural areas stems from the fundamental difference in scale. The smaller scale of rural governments enables control of rural governments by a smaller group of community leaders. Further, the smaller scale of rural society eliminates the role of institutions in spawning community leaders. That is, community leaders are not typically leaders of large organizations such as national corporations and labor unions; instead they are groomed through informal networks within the rural upper class (Moxley & Hannah, 1986). This limits labor and minority access to economic development decision making.

Scale also influences the institutional form of economic development organizations in rural areas. Lack of size in most rural communities prevents the creation of an organization focused exclusively on economic development at the municipal level (Walzer & Kapper, 1989). This leaves two options: adding economic development to the functions of municipal government or creating an organization for economic development for a larger geographic area such as a county or a multi-county region. Attaching economic development functions to municipal government can create political conflict between economic development and social programs (Harrison & Kanter, 1978). Increasing the geographic scope of the economic development organizations—e.g., into a county-wide or multi-county organization—can create political conflict over the focus of economic development programing (Wells, 1991; Henderson et al., 1992). The relative predominance of economic development administration by city governments suggests that it is easier to manage conflict between capital and labor in one community than to manage conflict between capital in different communities.

Finally, scale limits influence and access to resources. Whereas urban governments have access to bond markets, Community Development Block Grant entitlements, and sizable tax bases, rural governments do not. Thus rural governments are more reliant upon state government for economic development funding. Such reliance limits the scale, scope, and autonomy of rural developmental efforts.

In conclusion, economic development programs in rural areas exhibit many of the same characteristics as programs in urban areas. Economic development programs arise in response to economic restructuring at the national and international level. And economic development programs are managed by few for a few. But differences

in scale between urban and rural areas cause differences in the practice of economic development. Lack of economic size increases the vulnerability of rural communities and limits their abilities to influence their own destinies (Swinth & Alexander, 1990). Lack of bureaucratic scale removes institutional ladders to positions of rural leadership. These differences narrow both the goals and opportunity set of rural economic development decision makers. As a result, economic development programs in rural areas are even more constrained to the conditions imposed by external funding agents and thus narrowly focused on capital recruitment.

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BOOK REVIEW

Čapek, Stella M. and John I. Gilderbloom, *Community Versus Commodity: Tenants and the American City.* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992, 326 pp.), paper, $21.95.

The title of this book is an attention getter and the contents are not disappointing. For one not familiar with housing literature this work is an excellent place to start.

While presented as an objective research project, the authors' biases come through loud and clear. Starting with the foreword and continuing throughout the narrative the selection of terminology provides more than a subtle hint to their position: left/liberal, the definition of progressive, average/ordinary, elites, greed, neglect, etc. Still this book is a very interesting piece of work and one that leads the reader constantly back over previous material. The material is well written and documented with end notes and references.

To the question of whether housing/land be treated as a commodity for sale to the highest bidder or as a community the authors make their point very well. I agree with their community conclusion.

The authors do a very credible job of relating the Santa Monica story. There is much more than a mere battle over rent control in the story! Therein lies graphic descriptions of hidden (?) agendas and a constant attempt to move to broader, more general objectives and goals. For example, from rental housing questions to the deeper question of renters' place in society, and with fairness and justice at stake are shelter rights a part of human rights? House is a physical facility, home encompasses territory or free space.

The reader is also introduced to the "movement entrepreneur." This is a fascinating notion to me.

The range of material covered is impressive from basic urban social movements theory (Marx and Weber) to an account of progressives in action on the city council with a description of how they (the progressives) were elected including details of internal discord. (There are some real, instructive examples here.)

The Houston segment (Chapter 6) seems almost an add-on and an unnecessary appendage. The private property proponents (commodity) are well described in the Santa Monica material. The Houston story is *not* well done and probably weakens the impact of the book. Providing a straw man serves no useful purpose here.

I was disappointed with the authors' ultimate conclusion that more government, not less government, is needed to resolve the nation's housing crisis.

I recommend this book to all community developers. But let the reader beware, a critical perspective is necessary. But important lessons are there for all of us!

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BOOK REVIEW

Devine, Joel A. and James D. Wright. *The Greatest of Evils: Urban Poverty and the American Underclass.* (New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1993, 236 pp.), paper, $17.95.

The Greatest of Evils is a comprehensive and insightful look at poverty in the United States. The authors set out to produce "a general and largely nontechnical overview of poverty, the underclass, and public policy in the contemporary United States." Along the way, they also attempt to dispute the claims that the "war on poverty" was a complete failure, advocating that winning the war is a noble and reasonable national goal. Devine and Wright explore our ambivalence with poverty, arguing that although there may always be some poverty that is the result of personal laziness or incompetence, we are nonetheless obligated to address poverty that is due to unfair social and economic forces.

One of the strengths of this book is its comprehensive description of U.S. poverty. The authors present useful historical background about the difficulties of defining and measuring of poverty. Relying heavily on statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau and the Panel Survey of Income Dynamics, the authors then create a picture of poverty with numbers, answering four questions: Who is poor? Where do the poor live? How long are people poor? What happened to poverty over the past 30 years with the rise and fall of the Great Society programs?

Although the book is full of statistical data and charts, it is still very readable. The numbers provide helpful ammunition for the debate over welfare reform. Many of the figures presented fly in the face of popular stereotypes about the poor, such as the idea that the poor are lazy and don't want to work. The authors write,

> When we think of 'the poor,' we seldom think of the elderly poor, and yet the elderly comprise nearly 11% of the category. Neither do we think of impoverished children, who comprise 40% of the category, nor poor working adults, who comprise about half of the remainder. That three-quarters of the poverty population are either outside the prime labor force participation years or in fact working comes as a great surprise to many, and yet this is perhaps the most salient fact about poverty in the United States today (p. 71).

The authors dispute the argument that welfare benefits encourage out of wedlock births by pointing out that as welfare benefits decreased in the 1980s, out of wedlock births increased, and by showing that AFDC

families have fewer children than the average American family. They also point out that compared to other beneficiaries of social welfare programs such as social security, medicare, veterans' programs, and home mortgage interest deductions, the poor receive the smallest average benefit of any group. While welfare is clearly a work disincentive, the answer, the authors claim, is not to make welfare smaller or less desirable, but to make work more desirable.

Although a small portion of the book is devoted to exploring poverty in rural areas, the majority of the book focuses on urban poverty. Central cities face the largest concentration of poverty. Forty-two percent of the poor are in central cities, where the poverty rate is 38.4%, three times the national average. The concentration of urban poverty is also predominately a minority phenomenon. Only one-third of white poor are in central cities, while three-fifths of black poor can be found there. The term "the underclass" has been used extensively, yet without a clear understanding of who or what it represents. Devine and Wright examine urban poverty from several angles and conclude that:

> The notion of an 'underclass' is more a metaphor than a concept. . . . To the extent that the term admits of precise definition, that definition must include economic, social-psychological, behavioral, and ecological aspects. For the present purposes . . . we will use the term to refer to 'persons living in urban, central city neighborhoods or communities with high and increasing rates of poverty, especially chronic poverty, high and increasing levels of social isolation, hopelessness, and anomie, and high levels of characteristically antisocial or dysfunctional behavior patterns' (p. 93).

As such, the authors emphasize, the term is more appropriately applied to neighborhoods than to individuals. In this type of setting, where unemployment, poverty, crime, and other dysfunctional behaviors are prevalent, the seemingly "irrational" behaviors of the poor can be properly understood as logical responses to the lack of viable and legitimate opportunities.

The last chapter of the book is devoted to the authors' proposal for a national agenda to eliminate or greatly reduce poverty. Many of their ideas are not new, such as the negative income tax, health reform, and job training, but they illustrate that we could seriously attack poverty if we were willing. The authors also attempt a simple cost-benefit analysis to indicate that the costs of poverty clearly outweigh the costs of a national program to eradicate poverty. By their own admission, however, the authors fail to explore the political and social reasons why we as a society fail to act and thus why some of their proposed policies haven't already been adopted. Although the book is not practical in the sense of providing specific community development techniques for addressing urban poverty, its reflection on the nature of poverty, par-

ticularly urban poverty, is useful for conceptualizing and framing the problem and its causes. The book clarifies issues and weeds out the "platitudes and cliches being tossed around these days" in order to reveal what is really happening.

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